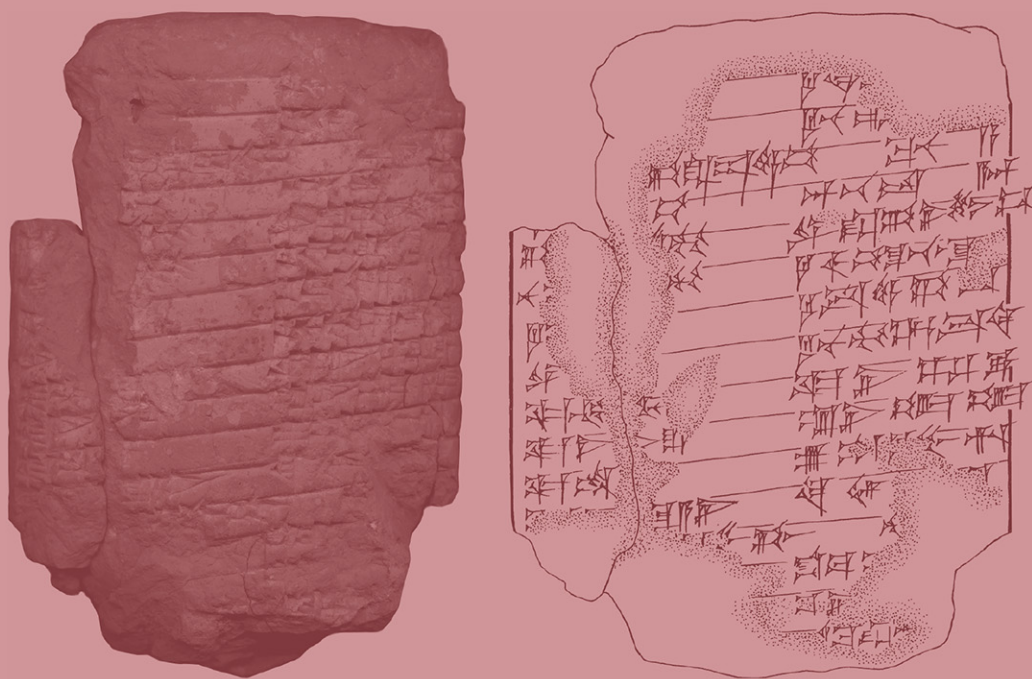


Studies in Sumerian civilization

Selected writings of Miguel Civil

Edited by Lluís Feliu



Studies in Sumerian civilization

BARCINO MONOGRAPHICA ORIENTALIA

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Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic (IPOA)
Facultat de Filologia
Universitat de Barcelona

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Foreword

There have been many who have acclaimed the career of Miquel Civil for his significant contributions in the field of cuneiform studies and especially in the arid terrain of Sumerology. There have also been many who are and continue to be grateful to him for his proverbial generosity, his perspicacity and his innovative approach to the cultures of ancient Mesopotamia. However, very rarely has there been any mention of one of the most idiosyncratic characteristics of his œuvre, from his first youthful writings, during his formative years in the Abadia de Montserrat, up to his most recent academic publications: the conciseness and utter precision of his writings. In anything that Civil has written, it is almost impossible to find a single superfluous sentence, a longwinded line, an elaborate adjective, a useless synonym or a redundant reference. Modestly following his example, this foreword will not repeat the adulation that his work deserves, still less expound here on his extensive and productive life and work. Others have already done so and from more illustrious and prestigious platforms, while his two anniversary volumes clearly provide further testimony*. Nor is there any need to justify the suitability of publishing the volume that the reader is holding in his or her hands. Publication of the principal articles by Miquel Civil is justified by the sheer quality and importance of his work and because it still remains valid today.

Editing a book on Sumerian civilization comprising essays published between 1960 and 2010 means taking a long journey through the history of Sumerology. The readings of signs, the abbreviations and other idiosyncratic Sumerological matters have been left as in the original text, as a witness of the evolution of both the author and the discipline. The system of citation and a few minor details have been harmonized, although some inconsistencies undoubtedly remain.

* P. Michalowski, P. Steinkeller, E.C.Stone & R. L. Zettler (eds.), *Velles paraules: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, AuOr 9, Sabadell 1991; L. Feliu, F. Karahashi & G. Rubio (eds.), *The First Ninety Years. A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12. Boston/Berlin 2017. See also a sketch of his life and work in L. Feliu “Miquel Civil: d’exiliat cultural a sumeròleg”, *Afers: Fulls de recerca i pensament* 85 (2016) pp. 631-663.

The following publishers, journals and institutions have permitted the reproduction of the articles published in this book:

Acta Sumerologica (I.16).
American Oriental Society (II.8; II.14; II.19).
American Schools of Oriental Research (I.1; I.2; I.3; I.15; I.17; II.7; .II.11).
Archiv für Orientforschung (II.13).
Brill Academic Publishers (I.18; II.25).
CDL Press (II.22).
CNRS Editions (II.18; III.1).
De Gruyter (I.8).
Dietrich Reimer Verlag (I.14).
Editorial Ausa (I.12; I.21; II.15; II.20; II.23; II.24; II.26; II.29; III.3).
Eisenbrauns (I.20; I.22; II.28).
Harrassowitz (II.27).
Pontificium Institutum Biblicum (I.4; I.9; I.10; II.17).
Presses Universitaires de France (II.2; II.3).
The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (II.1).
The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (II.21).
Ugarit Verlag (II.12).
University of Chicago Press (I.5; I.19; II.4; II.5; II.6; II.9; II.10; II.16; III.2).

Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to contact the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples (I.11; I.13) and those responsible for *Oriens Antiquus* (I.6; I.7).

Gregorio del Olmo Lete was the prime mover for producing this volume and I would like to thank him for his constant help and encouragement during the editing of this book.

I would like to express my gratitude to the following persons for their help in the painstaking task of correcting the galley proofs of this book: Agnès Garcia-Ventura, Annabel González, Sara González Moratinos, Elena Martínez, Adelina Millet Albà, and Albert Planelles.

I also owe my gratitude to Adelina Millet Albà for accepting this volume in the series *Barcino. Monographica Orientalia* and to Wilfred G. E. Watson for correcting the English of both this Foreword and the contribution of Gregorio del Olmo Lete. Obviously any remaining errors are mine alone.

Lluís Feliu
Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic
Universitat de Barcelona

Miguel Civil, a point of reference

Between 1987 and 1993, when we were setting up the Institute for Studies of the Ancient Near East (IPOA) at the University of Barcelona, we were determined to follow the example of Professor Miguel Civil – all the more so because Miguel was a son of the same Catalan soil in which the IPOA was now taking its first tentative steps. His ascent to the summit of Sumerian studies was the result of a single-minded quest embarked upon with great will and resolve, in a context that offered only meagre stimuli and encouragement.

We were in contact with Miguel from the outset and we enlisted his support for our new project. In 1990, Miguel took part in the *Master's course in Assyriology* as a teacher of Sumerian. We were keen to keep him among us and we took full advantage of the program for engaging elite foreign researchers organized by our University to promote research and academic innovation. This was how Professor Civil came to Barcelona, after many years of teaching and study in France and the United States. He stayed with us for two academic years, from 1992 to 1994, as *Visiting Professor* and he played an active part in the research and teaching plans of our new institute. His presence and influence were an inspiration for the first year of pupils of the IPOA's master's course in Assyriology, the first of its kind at a Spanish university. Several of his students are now highly respected professors of ancient history at our universities or at official oriental research centers. Today, ancient history and oriental studies have shaken off the Graeco-Roman yoke and now have a life of their own: Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt, and Ancient Iran have all established themselves on the new horizon of Antiquity at our universities. In this connection we should recall the decisive support offered to us by Rector J.M. Bricall and his team of vice-rectors (all of them professors of experimental sciences!) as well as the substantial financial backing provided by Professor A. Mariné (of the faculty of pharmacy!), who at that time was secretary of the newly created CIRIT – support and aid that allowed us to pursue our aims and lay the bases of our specialist library, one of the cornerstones of the project.

But as clear as it was for us from the very beginning that the involvement of Professor Civil were essential to launching and consolidating the IPOA, it was also distressing to see how little acknowledgement and gratitude the professor of Sumerology at the Oriental Institute of Chicago, one of the world's finest researchers in his field, had received in his own country. We worked hard to promote his

nomination as *Profesor Honoris Causa* of the University of Barcelona as a token of the recognition owed by his country to this universal Catalan, a recognition which was supported by the entire University. The academic authorities accepted our proposal and on 14 November 2000 Miguel was granted the academic title of “Professor of Honor”, an award that at the same time honored the University. On this occasion the professor offered us a fascinating lecture, a synthesis of his expertise in Sumerian lexicography, his main area of research.

Our determination to pay tribute to Professor Civil’s personality and achievement coincided with a suggestion made by his American friends and disciples (professors at that time at Harvard, Philadelphia, Ann Arbor and New York and other leading US universities) that we should devote to him a Festschrift of our journal *Aula Orientalis* to mark his sixty-fifth birthday. At that time the journal was already fully consolidated and recognized in the ambit of Near Eastern Studies, a recognition to which Professor Civil had himself contributed in a decisive way: he had been one of the journal’s founding members and had published half a dozen papers between 1983 and 1990, as well as the edition of the key monograph *The Farmer’s Instructions* as volume 5 of *Aula Orientalis Supplementa* (1994). The suggestion was carried out and volume IX (1991) of *Aula Orientalis*, under the title of *VELLES PARAULES* (a quotation from a poem by Salvador Espriu), included some twenty papers from the leading voices of Cuneiform studies of that moment, including Kramer, Jacobsen, Biggs, Black, Edzard and Sjöberg to mention only those who already have left us.

But Miguel’s tenacity has astounded us all and in order to celebrate his ninetieth birthday our Institute, again in agreement with his American friends and disciples, has taken on the task of preparing a *new homage volume* (2017).¹ Lluís Feliu, professor of Sumerian at the IPOA and a confessed disciple of Miguel’s, has coordinated a group of Sumerologists who were invited to take part. Moved by their admiration and sincere affection for Professor Civil, a huge number of specialists offered to contribute to the volume, but for reasons of space not all could be included. The *Tabula Gratulatoria* gives an idea of how many people were eager to participate.

But greater than the honor that others might be able to offer him with their work is the honor that Miguel has already bestowed upon himself by his own achievements. I suggested to the heads of the IPOA (to some extent as an act of revenge for not having been able to take part in the homage volume just mentioned) that we should edit a *Miscellanea of Professor Civil’s articles*. A publication of this kind would help scholars interested in Sumerian philology to gain access to these stimulating and pertinent essays which are currently published in far-flung journals and collected volumes that are often very hard to locate. The proposal was accepted with wholehearted enthusiasm by the IPOA, who proposed that the volume should be published in the institute’s own series *Barcino. Monographica Orientalia*. But now the task of gathering together and formatting the material awaited. Once more, it was Lluís Feliu’s enormous enthusiasm and recognized expertise in the field of Sumerian studies that allowed the task to be brought to fruition. To get an idea of the difficulty of the task it should be borne in mind that a great many of these papers, written over an academic career of more than sixty years, were published well before the advent of the electronic era and the establishment of the PC as part of the life of the academic researcher. In passing,

^{*} L. Feliu, F. Karahashi & G. Rubio (eds.), *The First Ninety Years. A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12. Boston/Berlin 2017.

it is worth mentioning that Miguel was a pioneer in introducing computers in the humanities and was a great specialist in their use.

So the present volume is the latest token of the affection and gratitude that his friends and disciples at the IPOA feel for Professor Civil, and an opportunity to pass on his wisdom which we in some way have made our own and which we now, with his permission, offer to the rest of the scholarly community. Many thanks, Miguel, for your tireless work. To finish, let us recall the Sumerian thought: *mu 2 šu-ši mu.meš nam-lú-u₁₈-lu níg-gig-bi hi-a*, “one hundred and twenty years of life for humanity, this is its destiny” (Emar VI.4:368 / 771:23-24); in it, the Hebrew Bible probably found its inspiration to declare in its turn: *’ādām... hū’ bāšār w^ehāyū yāmāyw mē’āh w^eešrīm šānāh* (Gen 6:3-4). We promise to prepare another homage volume then!

Gregorio del Olmo Lete
Em. Professor of Barcelona University

I.1

Notes on Sumerian Lexicography I^{*1}

1. d u m - d a m — z a

The existence of a verb ÍB.DAM—z a is commonly accepted in the Sumerological literature: Van Dijk *Sagesse* 10; E. I. Gordon *JCS* 12 62; Å. Sjöberg *Mondgott* I 178⁹; Römer *SKH* 182. Its meaning is given uniformly as “to be(come) angry”, and only Van Dijk and Römer by capitalizing ÍB.DAM have expressed some doubts about the reading.

The lexical data are:

[1.1] ÍB.DAM = *i-ta-zu-mu* Igituḥ. I 131

[1.2] ÍB.DAM = *na-wa-a-ru šá* LÚ Nabnitu XXII 254

[1.3] ÍB.DAM- m a = *ra-ma-mu* Nabnitu B 225

To these equations, the last two of which have been known for a long time (Deimel *ŠL* 207: 36 f.), we must add, after correcting its usual interpretation,² *BRM* 4 33: 45 ff. (published previously by Scheil *RA* 16 201):

[1.4]

ÍB.DAM¹ = *ḥa-ša-šu*

ÍB.DAM¹- z a = *ḥa-ša-šu*

p i - e l = *ḥa-ša-šu*

The occurrences of ÍB.DAM — z a in literary contexts agree with the information of the native lexicographers. As shown conclusively by [2.1] it means “to shout, to make noise” and, probably in a secondary sense, “to rejoice” [2.4]. There are no traces of a meaning “to be angry”, introduced only

* The present article was originally published in *JCS* 20 (1966) pp. 119-124.

1. The abbreviations are those of *CAD* and/or *AHw*. Römer *SKH* = W.H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische ‘Königshymnen’ der Isin Zeit*. Leiden, 1965.

2. Both *CAD* 6 138b *ḥašāšu* A v. and *AHw* I 333b *ḥašāšu(m)* I read í b - ḥ ú l — (z a) in lines 45-46. The signs do not look like a normal ḥ ú l; examination of the photo in *BRM* 4 pl. v and a recent collation by E. Reiner are inconclusive. Even if the second signs were effectively ḤÚL on the t an original DAM has taken place.
See specially [2.4] in the text.

because of íb - (ba) = *agāgu*, nor can such a translation be based on Akk. *nazāmu*, which means “to complain (loudly)” (cf. Landsberger *ZDMG* 69 514 f.). As for the reading of the sign ÍB, there can be no doubt that it must be d u m (attested in A VII/2: 151) since the verb clearly belongs to formations of the type C₁u(C₂)-C₁a(C₂)—z a which express the making of different types of noises and will be discussed later in this note.

The literary references are:

[2.1]

za-pa-ág-dugud-da-ni-šè dingir-kalam-ma-ke₄ ní àm-ur₄-ru-ne
ur₅-ša₄-a-ni^d a-nun-na gi-dili-dù-a-gin_x sag mu-da-ab-sìg-sìg-ge-ne
dum-dam-za-ni-šè kilib₃-ba-bi á-úr mu-un-dab-bé-e-ne

“At her (Inanna’s) loud vociferations, the gods of the country become scared, her uproar makes the Anunna tremble like a solitary reed, at her clamor, they hide all together”³

In-nin-ša-gur₄-ra 9-11⁴

[2.2]

ur-gir_x gi^{is} ellag (var. gi^{is} illar)-ra-a-gin_x dum-dam ì-ib-za

“He yelps like a dog beaten with a stick”

Prov. 5.93 (Gordon *JCS* 12 62)

[2.2a]

ṛx^ʾ [ni]bru^{ki} ti uru GÌR.BAR nu-tuku

“Gives life to the [sons(?)] of Nippur, the city out of reach”

Anam Hymn 3 (Falkenstein *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 80)

The first half of the line remains uncertain (cf. Falkenstein loc. cit.). A restoration ṛ d u m u^ʾ seems possible on the photo (op. cit. pl. 13) and would relate this line to lines 38-40 of the same hymn which describe the return of the Nippur captives to their city.

[2.3]

u₄-gin_x an-úr-ra dum-dam mu-ni-íb-za

ki-ma UD-me ina i-šid AN-e ut-ta-az-za-am

“He rumbles like a storm on the horizon”

Angin 74 (= II 15) *CAD* 7 236a

[2.4]

en gal-an-zu šà-ní-te-na-ka dum-dam mu-un-da-ab-za

[be-lu]m mu-du-ú ina ìb-bi ra-ma-ni-š[u (x)x]-im-ma uḫ-taš-ša-ši

“All-knowing lord, he ... rejoices in his heart”

STT 2 151: 23’ = 3N-T 150: 26

3. á - ú r — d a b is to be compared with Akk. *puzra aḫāzu* “to hide” *CAD* A/I 179a; cf. [á]- ú r = *puzur*, *puzurtu*, *dūtu* (Lú excerpt II 97).

4. From Ni 9801 (*Belleten* 16 pl. 63 ff.), *STVC* 81, and CBS 13892.

[2.5]

[lú-t]ur-ra dum-ù-dam za tu-ta-z[a-am-ma šeḥ-ra]

[é]r ú-t[a-za-am ...]

[i-š]eš₄-šeš₄

“Shout at a child, and he will cry”

KAR 103 r. 8 ff. (Lambert *BWL* 229)

E. I. Gordon still quotes Prov. 3.40: dum-dam an-[da-ab]-za, without context, in *JCS* 12 62.

Van Dijk has recently (*Acta Orientalia* 28 36) called attention to the use of the verb za with an object consisting of a reduplicated root with vocalic alternation u — a. In addition to dum-dam-za, formations of the same type known to me are:

bu-ud-ba-ad — za: in *SLTN* 82 a 3 as a var. of [3.2]

bùl-bal — za:

[3.1] ki muš-gír-da bùl-bal an-da-za *MBI* 1 ix 11 f. (Van Dijk *Acta Orientalia* 28 36).

dub-dab — za:

[3.2] na₄-tur-tur-bi-im na₄-gal-gal-bi-im murgu-gá dub-dab' (*UET* 6 78 has DIB) ḥé-im-mi-ib-za Šulgi A 68 f. (Falkenstein *ZA* 50 68 and new dupl.); cf. bu-ud-ba-ad above.

[3.2a] ebiḥ^{ki}-a na₄-su-ní-zu-ke₄ bar-bi-a dub-dab (var. ŠEN.ŠEN⁵) im-mi-ib-za

Inanna and Ebiḥ 144 f. (*PBS* 12 47 r. 5' f.; *TuM* NF 3 7 f.; etc.)

du-bu-ul-da-ba-al — za:

[3.3] ^{duḡ}šà-gub ^{duḡ}lam-sá-re du-bu-ul da-ba-al mu-un-da-ab-za *SRT* 1 v 1

gum-ga-àm — za:

[3.4] ur-bar-ra-gin_x gum-ga-àm i-ni-za Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 245 (with var. LUM-LUM)

Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 245 (*SEM* 1 iv 16 = 3N - T 824)

[3.5] si-am-ma-ke₄ gum ga mi⁶-ni-ib-za Keš Hymn 115⁷ (to be published by G. Gragg).

KUN-ga-an — za:

[3.6] ú-lu₅-ši e a-pa₄-BU-gin_x KUN (= *gun_x)⁸-ga-an za-a-da Gud cyl B vii 2 f.

ḥu-um-ḥa-(am) — za:

[3.7] šeš-a-ne-ne ku-li-ne-ne ur-KAS₄-ur-(tu)-ra-gin_x ḥu-um-ha mu⁹-un-ši-ib-za-na-aš Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 318 f. (*SEM* 1 v 30 f. = *OECT* 1 pl. 7 ii 31 f.)

5. To be read perhaps šu_x-*š a n; a value šu_n for SU×A is assured by the var. BÚR/SU×A in Bird-Fish Contest 60.

6. For gum-ga m mi-.

7. The texts available to me for collation all have gum-ga, not mi-ga. If mi turned out to be attested somewhere, one would have to read gu_x (cf. ku₁₀)-ga.

8. For kun = *gun, cf. gukkal < *gun = gal < kun-gal. See also Å. Sjöberg's remarks on the passage in *AS* 16 63.

9. For ḥu-um-ḥa m mu-.

mul-ma-al—za:

[3.8] sulu_hu-túg-síg-babbar-ra-mu lugal bara₂-ga-na im-mi-in-_húl-le
bar-mu su-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-ka mul-ma-al (var. mal) im-mi-ib-za Laḥar and
Ašnan 107 f.

[3.9] ní-dúb-ba é-za _hu-mu-_húl-la

é-za mul-ma-al _hu-mu-ri-íb-za VAS 10 200: 6 f.

[3.10] ì-ligidba (ŠIM.^dNIN.URTA) ì-^{šim}erin-babbar-ra mul-ma-al _hé-im-mi-íb-za
HSM 3624: 15 (D. O. Edzard *JCS* 16 79). Šurpu IX 19 (gi) an-ta ki-ta mul-mul bí-ib-si (var.
mu-un bí-ib-za) may represent a misunderstood mul-ma-al—za. The new duplicate *STT* 2 204
does not solve the problem.

pu-ud-pa-ad—za:

[3.11] na₄-gal-gal-bi pu-ud-pa-ad im-mi-ni-ib-za Lament of Sumer and Akkad
378. Cf. bu-ud-ba-ad above.

pu-ug-pa-ag—za:

[3.11a] ú_h túl-lá tar-re pu-ug-pa-ag mu-un-da-ab-za *CT* 17 40: 4

sù_h-sa_h₄—za:¹⁰

[3.12] ^{giš}al-gar-sur₉-ra sù_h-sa_h₄ mi-ni-ib-za Keš·Hymn 116

[3.13] na₄-tur-tur-_hur-sag-gá-ke₄ (var. -ka) sù_h-sa_h₄ mu-un-da-ab-za Enmerkar
and the Lord of Aratta 351

*zur-za-ar—za:

Attested only in fragmentary context:

[3.14] [... zu]r-za-ar _hé-mi-íb-za *SLTN* 53 r. 4'

wu-wa—za:

[3.15] [ùz-má]š-gur₅-gin_x wu-wa_x(BA) mu-ši-ib-za 6N-T450: 2¹¹

[3.16] ^{giš}asal-i-ni-ná wu-wa mu-ši-ib-za

^{giš}šinig-i-ni-ná ù-a mu-un-ši-ib-za *CT* 15 27: 18 f.

The duplicate *CT* 15 30: 20 f. has zal in both lines. There are indications that the forms C₁u(C₂)-C₁a(C₂)—za, which are an ancient feature of the language (cf. [3.1] and [3.15]), were not well understood in later periods. Practically all late references show peculiarities which do not agree with the forms and their use in the Isin-Larsa period: [2.5] inserts an ù which probably belongs before za (the parallel lines have ù- verbal forms); cf. also the var. -si and mu-un in the Šurpu passage quoted above; and the

10. The presence of the two values sù_h and sa_h₄, one alongside the other, shows how cautious we must be in the interpretation of the syllabary sources. Since the publication of Proto-ea, the value sù_h (attested only in Group Voc. D 76) has tended to be replaced by the “better” OB value sa_h₄, but our passages show that both are equally “good”. It must be stressed that Proto-ea and all its derivatives represent only the backbone of the phonetism of the signs. As a didactic tool the syllabaries were always accompanied by an extended oral commentary whose contents can be only painstakingly, and fragmentarily, inferred from scribal practices and general linguistic considerations.

11. Cf. u₈ sila₄-gur₅-a-gin_x sig₄ mu-da-gi₄-gi₄ Lugalzaggesi Vase ii 44-45 (*BE* 1/2).

Akkadian translator of [2.4] felt the need of adding something to *ḥašāḥu* [(x)-x]-*im-ma*) to render *dum-dam-za*. A final proof is given by *CT 17 20: 72: u₈-a-a-a u₄ mi-ni-ib-za-l-za-l-e ina MIN MIN u₄-me-e-šam uš-ta-bar-re*. These late forms with *za l* and the var. -*si* can hardly be used to explain *za* which is apparently an old auxiliary verb similar to *du g₄/e* or *a k*.

Going back to the meaning, all these forms mean “to make noise”, usually a repeated, monotonous kind of noise. The subjects are: animals [2.2, 3.1, 3.4, 3.11], musical instruments [3.5 (horn, from a wild ox), 3.12], falling hailstones [3.2, 3.11], rolling(?) stones [3.2a, 3.13], flowing liquids (beer) [3.3, 3.6], thunder [2.3], and people [2.1, etc.]. A specialized sense “to rejoice noisily” is assured for *dum-dam* [2.4], and for *mul-ma-al* [3.8, 3.9] because of the parallelism with *hú l*; on the other hand the Akk. translation *nazāmu* shows that the noises expressed by these verbs can also be signs of pain or displeasure, cf. also [2.2].

The alternation *u / a* is found elsewhere in Sumerian, cf. among many other cases:

ù-a lum-e ḥé-me-lum-lum-e

ù-a lam-e ḥé-me-lam-lam-e

UM 29-16-85: 48 f.

su nu-mu-un-zu sa nu-mu-un-zu

Laḥar-Ašnan 81

su-su-àm sa-sa-àm : *ši-i-ru ši-i-ru* [...]

Lambert *BWL* 271: 16

See also D. O. Edzard *ZA* 53 297¹. Twin words with vocalic or consonantal (cf. English hodge-podge, roly-poly) alternations are a particular type of reduplication found in many languages, mostly with an onomatopoeic or expressivistic value and rather limited in use, there are nevertheless cases where the pattern is productive, see, for instance, L. Bese Zwillingswörter in Mongolischen (*Acta Orientalia Budapest* 7 199 ff.).

2. The Reading of ANŠE.KUR.RA

A. Goetze suggested in *JCS* 16 34 a possible reading **si sa* for ANŠE.KUR.RA. Although the ANŠE section in the canonical version of *Diri* has not yet been recovered, it is fully preserved in *Proto-Diri*, and the compound logogram ANŠE.KUR.RA is not listed there among the derivatives of ANŠE. This omission, implying that the logogram is not a “Diri-compound” but an “Izi-compound”,¹² apparently speaks against Goetze’s hypothesis. Some considerations, however, tend to support Goetze’s reading in the slightly modified form **si si*.

A duplicate from Susa (*MDP* 27 220) of a Šulgi hymn, edited by Falkenstein in *ZA* 50 61 ff. reads ANŠE.ZI.ZI ḥar-ra-an-na kun sù¹-sù¹-ù¹-me-en *MDP* 27 220 i 5 ff., while the texts used by Falkenstein give ANŠE.KUR.(RA) ḥar-ra-an-na kun sù¹-sù¹-me-en *ZA* 50 64: 17. The form

12. These terms are used to indicate on the one hand the compound logograms in which each sign preserves one of its “normal” values, i.e. logograms whose reading is approximatively the sum of the readings of its compounding elements, such as *nam-lugal*, *èš-ta-gur-ra*, *dal-ba-na*, and which are found in the series *Izi*, and on the other hand, compounded logograms whose reading cannot be deduced from its compounding parts, such as *ŠU.NÍG.TUR.LÁ* = *tukun*, *AN.AŠ.AN* = *tilla*, etc. These compounds are found in the series *Diri*.

ANŠE.ZI.ZI is found in a repetition of the same topos in *SRT* 13: 52 and in the Šulgi fragment *SRT* 37: 4'. Falkenstein (*ZA* 50 77⁴) proposed to take ANŠE in this case as an “abbreviation” of ANŠE.KUR.RA, and translated *zi-zi* as “eilend”. The same point of view can be found in Römer *SKH* 63¹⁶², who tries to justify such a translation with the equation *zi-zi* = *tebû*. Since Sum. uses consistently *ka sa* (*Ḫh* 13: 281 etc.) for “eilend”, and the Ur III evidence quoted below shows that ZI.ZI designates rather a specific type of equid, a better solution seems to be to read ^{anše}*sí-sí* and consider it a synonym of ANŠE.KUR.RA and possibly the reading of this logogram, at least in some contexts.¹³

The ^{anše}*sí-sí* is known from Ur III economic texts. It is always listed in very small numbers (*BRM* 3 50; *RTC* 244; Jean *SA* lviii 4; Boson *Tavolette* 265: 1; Jones-Snyder 86 ii 57; A 3119 [2 ^{anše}*sí-sí nita mu-túm-luga*]), it is under the care of special persons, the *sipa*-^{anše}*sí-sí* (Barton Haverford 3 pl. 104 175: 11; pl. 124 268: 9; Nies *AB* 25 41: 14; *CT* 7 17775 r. 6; *ITT* 2 3503; Reisner *Telloh* 173; Fish *MCS* 3 6 (H 6375); 7 (H 6496); 8 (BM 102105), is fed with grain (*ša-gal*-^{anše}*sí-sí CT* 1 4 ii 14 ff.; Reisner *Telloh* 57:1 [3 ^{anše}*sí-sí 20*¹⁷ (*sil a₃*) *še gur-ta*]), and pieces of its harness are mentioned: *x túg-murgu síg-ùz ...* ^{anše}*sí-sí sìr-re-dè UET* 3 531: 1ff. The position of the sex and age qualifications (*nita*, *munus*, *mu-l*, etc.) after, not before, ZI-ZI, suggests that this term designates a specific type of equid. It cannot be claimed that this Ur III evidence alone proves the meaning “horse” but it is perfectly compatible with the possibility that ^{anše}*sí-sí* was the horse. The term ^{anše}*sí-sí* is so far restricted to the Ur III texts and a few literary passages, all related to Šulgi. The lexical lists ignore the word completely.

Some new passages which mention the ANŠE.KUR.RA can be quoted here:

[a]nše-kur-da ki-ná ak-zu-dè

“When you (Inanna) sleep with horses” *UM* 55-21-308 ii 7’

za-e [kù]-^dinanna-an-na-gin_x

[anše]-kur-ra ki im-a-ág

“You (the Grain), like the pure heavenly Inanna,

You love the horses” *Laḫar* and *Ašnan* 144 f.

These two passages are clear allusions to the episode of Akkadian Gilgameš VI 53 ff.

anše-kur-ḫur-sag-gá umbin-ḫu-rí-in^{mušen}-na-ka

“Mountain horse (with hooves like) the talons of an eagle” *U* 16857: 3

3. ^úKI.^dNANNA = ^ú*m u n z u r*

In the Ur-Nammu hymn *UET* 6 76 r. 14’ we read¹⁴:

gú-gú-bi ^úKI.^dNANNA lú-a ù-làl-e kú-e

while the duplicate *UET* 6 77: 8’ has:

13. The only indication of a reading *a n š e - k u r - r a*, aside from the indirect evidence of its absence in *Diri*, is a NB source of *Ḫh* XIII 373 (BM 93080 [*CT* 14 11]) which has [*a n š e . k] u . ù . r a = s i - s u - [u]*, discussed by Poebel *AS* 14 70⁵⁰. The writing is considered a textual corruption by Landsberger *MSL* 8/2 52.

14. These passages were kindly collated for me by E. Sollberger. The tablet has effectively ^úUD, for ^úKI, in 76 r. 14’.

[g]ú-gú mu-su-ur lú-ú¹⁵ ú-làl 'kú¹⁶-e

“on its banks (i.e., of the canal) (there grows) the ...-plant, (and) one can eat sweet herbs,” showing that the reading of the logogram ^úKI.^dNANNA is m u s u r.

This conclusion is confirmed by one of the texts of Proverb 3.131, quoted by me in *RA* 54 68, which, according to information kindly provided by E. I. Gordon, has a variant m u n - KA, i.e., m u n - z ú, instead of ^úKI.^dNANNA. A further confirmation of the reading can be obtained from Hh XIII 337 (*MSL* 8/1 48), if we read the last sign of the Sumerian column as ^dNA[NNA¹], instead of *KAL as in *MSL* 8/1. The only source available for line 337 is A as copied in Oppenheim-Hartman *JNES* 4 155 vi 3, where the traces of the sign are not clear. The original tablet has since been damaged and no collation is possible. Since the term á b - ^úKI.^dNANNA is well known (references in Sjöberg Nanna I 143), and the gloss given by text A has no parallel among the readings of ^úKI.KAL, which are all rather well established, I would thus suggest the reading

á b - ^úKI^{mu-un-zèr} ^dNA[NNA¹] = ['] in Hh XIII 337.

We have thus the syllabic writings:

m u n - z ú

m u - u n - z è r

m u - s u - u r

and we can assume an original *m u n z u r, *m u n z e r¹⁶, or the like. One of these forms must be restored in Diri IV 23-24:

[] [^úKI.^dNANNA] = *su-pa-lu*
= *a-ṣu-ṣi-im-tum*

4. k i - ṣ e - e r / k i - ṣ e r_x (GÌR.BAR)—t u k u, Akk. *kišda išû / rašû*

A number of lexical passages:

[4.1]

GÌR.BAR = *ki-iš-dum*

GÌR.BAR nu-tuku = *ša ki-iš-^rda^r la i-šu-<û>*

Kagal I 320 f.

[4.2]

lú GÌR.BAR nu-tuku = *ša ki-iš-dam la i-su-ú*

OB Lu A 131

[4.3]

ka GÌR.BAR nu-tuku = *pu-um ša ki-iš-dam la i-š[u-ú]*

Kagal D 3: 12

give us an idiom already known in Sumerian [5.1 and 5.2], but not attested in Akkadian contexts except for the passage [5.3] with the similar form *kišda rašû*. All the occurrences of k i - GÌR.BAR—t u k u (as well as those of k i - ṣ e - e r—t u k u, see later) can be satisfactorily explained starting from the literal

15. ú is an unusual writing for - ù > (- e); the - a of 76 is thus a mistake for - e.

16. The ending - n z e r is typical of a certain number of words: p i - e n - z é - e r, g a - a n - z é - e r, ḥ a - m a - a n - z é - e r, ḥ e n z e r, etc. of unknown origin.

meaning of *kišda išû* “to have a limit,” more literally “a reaching point,” with manifold idiomatic meanings.

[5.1]

tur-ra-mu-ta ḥé-im-ma-dim₄-e-en a-rá-mu igi ḥe-bí-du₈

kù-ša₆-ga-gin_x kur₅ ḥé-bí-ak ki-GÌR.BAR la-ba-(an)-tuku

“Since my childhood, I am (continually) examined, my conduct has been scrutinized, inspected like precious metal, there is no end to it.”

Dialogue 4: 50 f.

[5.2]

dub ì-sar dí-m-ma-aš nu-mu-da-an-ku₄

ù-na-a-dug₄ ì-sar ki-GÌR.BAR a-ra-ab-tuku

“You have written a tablet, (but) you cannot penetrate (its) meaning,

You have written a letter, that is all you can do (lit. that is the limit for you)”

Dialogue 3: 15f.¹⁷

[5.3]

ki-nam-tar-ra-na GÌR.BAR^{šèr} nam-bí-in-tuku-a dug₄-ga-mu-gin_x dug₄-ga-zu ḥé-en-gu-la

a-šar šì-ma-a-tum kiš-da e tar-ši-i ki-ma qí-bi-ti-i<a> qí-bit-ka lim-ši

“May you have no restrictions in the place of the fates (i.e., “May you have limitless powers”), may your word be as big (Akk. “be the same”) as mine”

RA 12 74: 25 f.

Following a suggestion of Langdon’s (RA 12 80⁷), AHw 1 490b explains *kiš-da* as *kišdû*, taken, after an unlikely correction of GÌR.BAR to k i š - d à, as a loanword from Sum. k é s - (d a); this *kišdû* is then dissociated from *kišdu*, correctly translated in AHw l. c. as “Erreichung.” A simple comparison of [5.1], [5.2] with the passages [5.4]-[5.7] shows that k i - GÌR.BAR is an alternative writing of k i - š e - e r, and the gloss in RA 12 74: 25 is consequently to be read š è r and not k é š.

[5.4]

a-šà ki-dur₅-bi en-nu-un ak-ab ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku

gud-suḥub_x(MUL) gîr na-ra-ab-zukum-e

“Watch the wet spots of the field, when it seems right to you do not let the ... oxen trample it (any more).”¹⁸ Georgica 6 f.

[5.5]

šeš-mu ì-ak-ke₄-eš maḥ-bi ì-ak-ke₄-eš ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku-e

šagar ba-an-tuku ninda ma-ra-an-zé-er ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku-e

enmen ba-an-tuku a ma-ra-an-zé-er ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku-e

“My brother, they (the demons) are acting, they are acting haughtily, it is too much for you!

17. My transliteration and translation in JNES 23 7 are therefore incorrect. The equations from Kagal I 320 f. quoted above show beyond doubt that the first sign is GÌR, since they are found in the GÌR-section of the series.

18. Uncertain translation because of the ambivalent meaning of n a -. Although in disagreement with the advice of modern agriculturalists that consider the effect of trampling adverse to favorable texture of the soil, it is quite possible that the Sumerian farmers followed that practice, attested elsewhere; see, for instance, J. Faublée, “Le piétinement des boeufs dans les rizières irriguées de Madagascar” (*La Nature*, oct.-dec. 1945).

You were hungry (and your) bread has been taken away from you, it is too much for you!
You were thirsty (and your) water has been taken away from you, it is too much for you!”

VAS 2 35 ii 2’ ff.

[5.6]

ár ak-dè la-ba-ab-du₇-un

ní-zu na-ab-bulug_x(BALAG)-en na-an-na ki-še-er nu-e-tuk

“It does not become you to praise (yourself),

Do not boast about yourself! Besides you do not know moderation.”

Dialogue 2: 59 f.

[5.7]

ki-še-er nu-un-tuku na-ám-munus-e la-ba-ab-du₇

“She does not know moderation, she is a disgrace to the womenfolk.”

Dialogue 5: 67

The standard Sumerian passages use *k i - š e r_x / - š e - e r — t u k u* in two ways:

a) affirmatively, with dative of 2nd person [5.2, 5.4, 5.5], and

b) negatively in all the other references, as well as in the lexical texts [4.1, etc.]

In the first case, “it is the limit for you,” the meaning can range from “it looks right enough to you” [5.4] to “it is too much for you” [5.2, 5.5], in the second case a lack of measure and self-control is generally implied.¹⁹

5. IM.DU₈ = “*dew*”

An IM.DU₈ obviously different from the *i m - d u₈*- (a) which is a graphic variant of *i m - d ù - a* “wall of sun-dried mud”, appears in the following passages:

[6.1]

e-ne-ne-ne IM.DU₈ è-a-me-eš

IM.A-an-na-ke₄ bulug₃-gá-me-eš

“Both of them (Tree and Reed) come out (from) ...

They are reared by the rain from the sky”.

Tree-Reed Debate 18 f.

[6.2]

u₄ im-zal ^dutu im-ta-è-a-ra

^{gš}hu-rí-in ú-šim-gin_x IM.DU₈ ù-me-ta-zi-ga-ta

“The time passed, after the sun had risen,

when the *clan standards*, like grass, arose from ...”

ibid. 210 f.

19. *š e - e r* could be related to *š e - e r - t a b - b a* “fence”, see Civil *Iraq* 23 173; the last equation (*kurullu*), however, does not mean “fence”, *š e - e r - t a b - b a* being in that case a variant of (*š e*)*z a r - t a b - b a* (written *z à r - t a b - b a* in Ur III texts) “cornstack”. For an Early Dynastic writing *š í r - d i b* see M. Civil -R. D. Biggs in *RA* 60 (1966).

[6.3]

še' [x] a-gàr-a-gàr-re IM.DU₈-an-na-ka mi-ni-in-è-a-gin_x

"As (if you were) the one who makes the grain (?) [...] in the fields come out with the ... from heaven"

Winter-Summer Debate 119

[6.4]

kin-gi₄-a gi₆-ù-na IM.1-gin_x šèg-gáan-bar_x-gán-ka IM.DU₈-gin_x zi-ga

"The messenger (went) all night like a (persistent) rain,
rose in the early morning light, like ..."

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 159 f.

[6.5]

šà-ki-ág an-ta IM.DU₈-gin_x ...

"A loving heart, like ... from heaven ..."

BL IV: 18 (cf. Falkenstein ZA 56 125)

VAS II 11 vi 29 (ZA 56 37 rev. 8) presupposes an original [^di š k u r] IM.DU₈-a n - n a. The text is, however, hopelessly corrupt.

From the preceding contexts one can infer that IM.DU₈ (a) represents a phenomenon similar to rain [6.1], [6.4], (b) occurs in the early morning hours [6.2], [6.4], and (c) contributes somehow to the growth of vegetation [6.1]-[6.3].

The lexical texts are of little help: only the secondary equation of the astronomical commentary 5R 12 no. 5: 8' (omitted by *CAD* under *imbaru* and misquoted in *ŠL* 399, 115) is so far attested: IM.DU₈: (!) *šal-gu* : *im-ba-ru*. It shows only that IM.DU₈ is an aqueous atmospheric phenomenon. The author was presumably thinking that IM.DU₈ means "frost," a meaning that does not fit the contexts given above; a translation "dew" seems preferable for IM.DU₈, because of its favorable effect on plants. The use of the verbs è [6.1] and [6.3], and z i - g a [6.2] and [6.4] seems to point to an active role of the dew in the growing of the plants, but the above passages are insufficient to answer the question whether it simply refers to the effect of the water or whether a belief in some form of abiogenesis is involved.

The IM of IM.DU₈ is probably a determinative as in ^{IM}š è g, and the meaning of DU₈ remains obscure. The Akkadian term for "dew", *nalšu* (Weidner *AfO* 14 340⁴; Landsberger *ZA* 42 160 f.), corresponds regularly to š è g in the lexical sources: *MSL* 2 127 i 26; *Kagal C* 296, 299; *Diri* 3: 125f.

I.2

Notes on Sumerian Lexicography II*

6. *The Reading of GÁN.*

It is well-known that, on the one hand, the term a-šà-(g) “field” is exceedingly rare before Ur III times, and is mostly followed, in its exceptional occurrences, by GÁN (Eannatum 1 vi 12ff.; Entemenna 28-29 iv 22),¹ and that, on the other hand, in the genitive and locative GÁN is followed by -ga (references in Diakonov, *RA* 52 9 n. 1; also *PBS* 9 8: 10, 29 iii 15; *BIN* 8 29: 3). The explanation of GÁN-ga proposed by Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI* 50 note a,² as “‘Hügelfeld’ (eigentliche *mamma*-Feld)” is obviously inadequate. Diakonov suggests that “the more ancient form of the word gán was probably gánag” (*RA* 52 8), and Edzard speaks of “gán a mit g-Auslaut” (*ABAW* NF 67 44).

A simpler solution is to assume a reading ašax for GÁN-(g), without excluding, of course, the well-attested reading gán a in certain contexts. This solution is justified by the Ur III version of a literary text that may be provisionally entitled “The Fields of Ninurta”.³ Its preserved parts consist mostly of enumerations of fields by name, with appropriate descriptive or laudatory phrases. These sections end in the OB version with:

en-e a-šà-ga-né mí ám-me
ur-sag gal^d nin-urta-ke₄

while the pre-OB sources (e.g., A 33646, A 33655+) give instead:

* The present article was originally published in *JCS* 25 (1972) pp. 171-177.

1. Quoted according to Sollberger Corpus.

2. Followed by Deimel, *Or* 2 28, and in part by M. Lambert, *RA* 50 144, 174.

3. Composition 1.64 of the Sumerian literary Corpus of the Oriental Institute. The opening lines in the pre-OB version were u₄-r í -[a] u₄-s u d -r [í -a], and the composition may have had as many as 300 lines. Sources: CBS 7976 (*SEM* 47), CBS 15096, N 4164 (+) Ni 9658 (*ISCT* 2), Ni 9628, Ni 9818 (*ISCT* 1 130), HS 1583 (*TuM* NF 4 79), VAT 4546 (*VAS* 10 197), and at least seven pre-OB pieces from the 6th Nippur Expedition. Cf. Kramer, *TuM* NF 4 p. 21.

en-né GÁN-ga-né mí àm-e
ur-sag gal ^dnin-urta-ke₄.

There are other instances of pre-OB GÁN (even without - g a) = OB a - š à in the composition, but the passage quoted above provides, I think, sufficient proof for the double reading of GÁN before the Ur III period. Isolated occurrences of GÁN alternating with a - š à in field names of the Ur III period (in texts from Lagaš) have been pointed out by Pettinato *Landwirtschaft* 1 15 n. 1. Finally, the Eannatum and Entemenna spellings must obviously be interpreted as ^{a-šà}GÁN, i.e., as a phonetic gloss.

7. ^{im}tu-ru-na “oven”

Among the enormous mass of Ur III accounts, texts dealing exclusively with potter’s activities and products are very rare. Thus the two large texts recently published by H. Waetzoldt (*WO* 6 7ff.)⁴ are specially welcome because of their wealth of information about the manufacture of earthen objects. Among the artifacts listed in the texts there are some called ^{im}tu-ru-na (1 ii 25, v 25f.; 2 ix 19f.). The term is left untranslated by Waetzoldt who was unable to find any references for it (*WO* 6 25 n. 189). In the first place, the word is already attested in texts of the same period, e.g.:

[7.1] 72 sila₃-sá-dug₄
2 tu-ru-na
še-bi 10 (sila₃)-ta
ki giš-x-gar-ni-ta
kišib ur-sig₅⁵
ša nibru^{ki}
(Amar-Sin 6) (Genouillac, *Bab.* 8 pl. 3 P 6)

[7.2] 30 ^{im}tu-ru-na
15 dug 30 sila₃
15 ^{dug}sila₃-bàn-da
é-muḫal-dim ša-bal-a
ki lú-kal-la-ta⁶
kišib in-šag₅-šag₅
(Amar-Sin 7) (Bryn Mawr College, unnumbered below, p. 176.)⁷

In the second place, it seems reasonable to assume that ^{im}tu-ru-na is nothing but one of the several spellings attested for the Sumerian name for the common oven (Akk. *tenūru*, with reflexes in most Semitic languages). The size of the implement, according to Waetzoldt’s texts, speaks for this

4. In 1 iii 25 read ki-a - ‘na g¹-e n s i₂’ - ke₄-ne.

5. Spelled ur - š a g₅-g a in the seal.

6. Cf. Waetzoldt text 2 i 35.

7. Submitted to me for examination with permission for publication in 1961.

solution. Before attempting to harmonize the different phonetic shapes of the word, the following spellings must be added:

[7.3] ^{im}du-ri-na, followed by ^{im}NE DU.DU CBS 7269: 21f.

A pre-Ur III lexical tablet (see copy, p. 177).⁸ The second term corresponds presumably to *kinūnu muttalliku*.⁹

[7.4] In Gudea Cyl A xix 4f.: KA-a1 ^{im}du₅-rí-na-ba-šè igi-zi ba-ši-bar, it seems natural to translate ^{im}du₅-rí-na by “oven,”¹⁰ because of the context and because of the parallel en aratta^{ki} ^{im}šu-rin-na-né igi im-bar-bar-re Enmerkar 542 which shows that with “oven” igi—bar means “to watch the firing or baking.”

The lexical references were gathered by Landsberger, *MSL* 7 95, and are given again by Salonen, “Die Öfen der alten Mesopotamier” (*Bagh. Mitt.* 3 101ff.).¹¹ The various readings fall into three groups: a) readings with the consonants in the Semitic order (t-n-r), b) readings with metathesis¹² of the last two consonants, and c) Sumerian words translated by *tenūru* but unrelated to the preceding ones.

a) ti-nu-ur Ea I 90 (var.), A I/2: 272; all LAGAB×IM.

tu-nu-ur Ea I 90a; same logogram.

b) du-ru-na Ea I 90 (LAGAB×IM)

du-ru-un Diri IV 136 (ŠU.LAGAB.NA)

du₅-rí-na [7.4]

durun-na [7.3]

tu-ru-na [7.1], [7.2], and Waetzoldt’s tablets.

di-li-na Ea I 89 A I/2: 271 (LAGAB×IM), Diri IV 137 (ŠU.LAGAB.NA)

di-li-im Ea I 89 var.

dili-en Ea I 89 var.

dili-na Ea I 89a

The readings of group b) form two subgroups: the ones which preserve the [r] and the ones with [r] > [l] and a concomitant change in vocalization [u] > [e] (more likely than [i]). The [r] > [l] change,¹³ although more frequent in final position, is not completely unknown intervocalically: bu lu ḥ / bu ru ḥ = HAL, misspelling da-la for da-ra₂ (Proto-ea 593). Following the criteria outlined in my article

8. Copied in 1961 and published here with the kind permission of the present curator, Prof. Sjöberg.

9. Cf. *WO* 6 25 n. 186 for Ur III references.

10. This interpretation has recently been proposed independently by M. Lambert, *RA* 63 96. It has been suggested also to read a ga_x-rí-na for a ga_rin (Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 83f.). Note that although the *tenūru* is mostly a kitchen implement, tablets were occasionally baked in it. Gudea would have used it for commemorative cones or tablets but hardly for bricks, even stamped ones.

11. Salonen’s transliterations of the type LAGAB×IM.IM are misleading. The second IM is not part of the logogram, but it is the inscribed sign repeated outside of its carrier to avoid ambiguities due to the small size of the inscribed signs. It is a scribal device commonly used in the Ea series.

12. The phonological instability of the sequences r-n and n-r in loanwords is illustrated by the case of šu-nir=šurinnu.

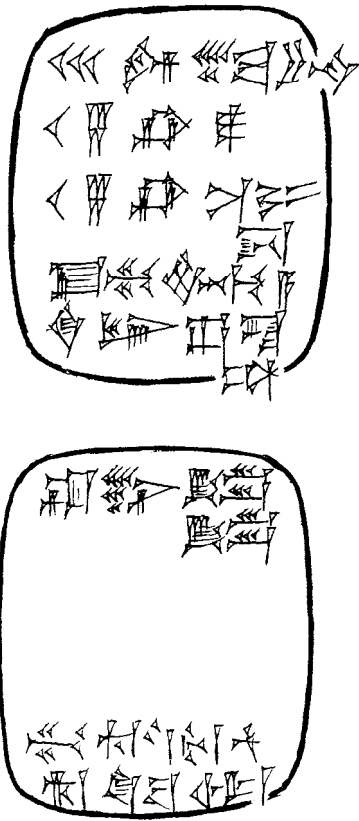
13. The phonetic nature of [r] in native Sumerian words is a peculiar one (cf. *OrNS* 42 21ff.); here, its alternation with [l] may be due at least in part to the foreignness cf. the word.

It may be useful to point out a rare variant of ŠU.LAGAB.NA found in CBS 4852, an unpublished forerunner to HAR-ra X:

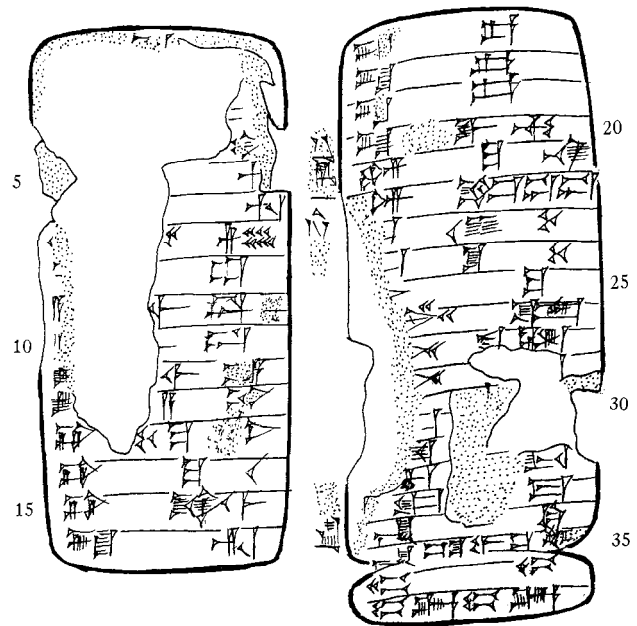
The type c) equivalents of *tenūru* include: ula(I)=BAD Ea II 115, NE.GAR Izi I 60, and a word which is probably a compound of im and (n)inda “bread,” spelled variously as im-mīn-du = LAGAB×IM Ea I 88 (with vars. ni-nin-du and nīn-du = LAGAB×GAR) and nīn-da=LAGAB×IM, and in-da=LAGAB×GAR A I/2:69f.

14. Later written k a - t a m (Hb. X 341), Akk. *katammu* (CAD K 297b s.v.); MSL 7 95, and Salonen, *Bagh. Mitt.* 3 103f. are to be corrected accordingly.

Bryn Mawr (unnumbered)



CBS 7269



I.3

Notes on Sumerian Lexicography III*

8. The Reading of KÙ.GI

The traditional reading *g u š k i n* - (g) of the logogram KÙ.GI “gold” goes back to the earliest days of cuneiform studies (2R 1: 111 [1866], see e.g. Lenormant, *Études cunéiformes* 5 [1880] 34ff.), and has not been challenged since.

[8.1] The basis for this reading is S_b II 110 (*MSL* 3 138): *g u - u š - KIN* KÙ.GI = [*hu-ra*]-*šu*. The value is fully preserved only in source A; F has *g u - u [š - x]*; I have been unable to check the third source S₂ = VAT 134121, “schlecht geschrieben und schwer lesbar” (*MSL* 3 130), which according to Schuster has *g u - z a - [x]*. A and F are Neo-Assyrian (Kouyunjik), and S₂, I suspect, is of Southern origin.

[8.2] The syllabic text from the Khabaza collection CBS 112:5 gives *k u - ZI* for KÙ.GI, see Bergmann, *ZA* 56 (1964) 21f. In the syllabic and bilingual letters from Susa recently published by Edzard (in Labat, *MDAI* 57 9ff.): we have the following spellings: *k u - u s - k e* III 20, *k u - u d - k e* III 36, and *k u - u z - z i* IV 11. The last is considered by Edzard as a dittography of *k u - u z - z i = g u - z a*.

[8.3] Commentary B 31 to Aa III/1 (to be published in *MSL* 14) has the following entry in the GI-section: ^{si}HA GI *ár-qa* MIN *hu-ra-ši*, (the text of this commentary is often faulty and disorganized). Commentary A to the same tablet is half-broken at this point (line 48), but it is clear that the GI-section also had an entry with *hurāšu*: [*x x : h*]*u-ra-šu* : KÙ [*: k*]*ās-pi* : GI <: > ‘x’ [...]. If one emends the meaningless HA of commentary B to *KÙ, it then becomes possible to reconstruct in Ea III an entry: *si* GI=*ša* KÙ.GI *hurāšu*.

This hypothetical entry implies that the word for “gold” must have been originally **k ù - s i g_x*(GI), “yellow precious metal,” a neat parallel to *k ù - b a b b a r* “white precious metal,” i.e., silver. In [8.2] one can now read *k u - s i* in the passage CBS 112:5.¹ In the Susa text, to explain *k ù - u s - k e*, it is sufficient to assume that /*k u + s i g + a*/ > /*k u s k e*/ (compare /*k u g r e*/ < /*k a + g u r u*/); the *d* for *s* in *k u - u d - k e* must be counted for the moment among the many oddities of the text, although the alternation *d*~*s* is, of course,

* The present article was originally published in *JCS* 28 (1976) pp. 183-187.

1. See later for a possible spelling *k ù - s i - g a* in standard orthography.

not unknown. It no longer *seems* necessary to explain ku-uz-zi as a dittography of gu-za (presumably, kù-gē was taken as KÙ.GI). In [8.1], the value can now be reinterpreted as gu-uš-qe or gu-ús-qe. Even if the š is retained, there is no problem in explaining it: the Kouyunjik sources of S_b are, for instance, the only ones anywhere in the lexical tradition that write ša₆ (I 174) and šám (II 201) with š, against the s of all other lexical sources. The use of q is similarly a local scribal habit, as is shown by the Assyrian branches of the Ea tradition (for a different interpretation, see Krecher, *AOAT* 1 172ff.). For the initial g instead of k, compare, for instance, gukkal < kun-gal.

The Old Assyrian spelling of the logogram KÙ.GI as KÙ.KI in Akkadian contexts cannot be considered as an argument against my proposal; see Gelb, *OIP* 27 63. The spelling kù-GIG adduced by Oppenheim, Eames Coll. 32 107, from Chiera *STA* 22 i 3, must refer to something other than gold, since the totals in the tablet list only kù-babbar. Wilcke reads in Lugalbanda II 18, source AA, kù-ZI-ga as a variant of KÙ.GI-ga (Lugalbanda-epos 138). Not only is it quite likely that the variant is perfectly correct (I have not collated the passage), but one wonders whether there may be other similar cases with -ZI- instead of -GI- which have escaped the attention of the cuneiformists, who, automatically expecting a GI after KÙ, have failed to examine the sign closely. Occasionally the graphic difference between the two signs GI and ZI may be slight; compare, for instance, Sjöberg's transliteration of UM 29-16-42 r. 1ff. in *JCS* 24 71f., with the photo published there. In *SLTN* 61: 136 there is the expression ḥa-zi-'en' ḥa-ra-li, which Mark Cohen (*WO* 8 35, following a suggestion of Sol Cohen) reads as ku₆-ze-en. In A 30229 (Enlil and Ninlil II) the phrase is written ḥA-x ḥa-ra-li, where x is a sign I cannot identify,² but certainly not zi or zi-en. We expect naturally a form for gold (cf. *UET* 6 2 ii 1, etc.). I cannot offer an explanation, but it does not seem that so far one can build on this form an argument against *kù-sig_x.³

The controversy about the final consonant of KÙ-GI: -ng or -ḡ? (cf. Jestin, *RA* 43 47; Notes de graphie et phonétique sumériennes 110; Falkenstein, *Afo* 18 90; etc.) resolves itself; -ga is the natural complement of sig_x.

I do not dare to claim that a reading kù-sig_x is proved beyond doubt with the arguments above, but it certainly appears to be a very attractive and reasonable possibility.

9. šu-kin—dab = kamāsu

The verb šu-kin—dab has sometimes been translated as “to perform a service; to serve,” e.g., Kramer, *Suppl. to Vetus Testamentum* 3 177: 28; Falkenstein, *Bagh. Mitt.* 3 26: 6f. This translation goes back to an often quoted remark of Landsberger in Kramer, *Schooldays* 18. According to Landsberger, šu-kin = *šitappuru*, but he does not provide any justification for the equation. Several years ago I tried unsuccessfully to pin down the source. When I asked Landsberger for help in locating the lexical or bilingual source, he explained that his comments to *Schooldays* had been written in a hurry and entirely from memory, and that it was quite possible that the equation was incorrect. Note that Landsberger's equation, as it stands, refers to šu—kin, not to šu-kin—dab, as is sometimes assumed (for instance in *SGL* 2 32). It has been recognized for some time that *šitappuru* does not explain many occurrences of

2. x looks a little bit like TAG.

3. Perhaps one could read ku₆-sí-'ig!' in *SLTN* 61.

š u - k i n — d a b (Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 39 “den Befehl entgegennehmen”; van Dijk, *SGL* 2 32 “verehren”)⁴; my contention is that *šitappuru* does not fit *any* context, not even the Warad-sîn inscription in *Bagh. Mitt.* 3 26:6f., and that therefore, and until further proof, š u - k i n = *šitappuru* should be eliminated from the Sumerian lexicon.

In VAT 10555: 12’f. (copy by Geers) we have: i - b í - z u š u - k i n m u - u n - d a b - b é - e š : m a - h a r - k i k á m - s u “they (presumably the Anunnaki) kneel down before you.” A confirmation of this meaning can perhaps be found in Nigga bil. B 153 [š u] - K I N = *kamāsu* (MSL 13 119).⁵ Akk. *kamāsu* does seem to provide a satisfactory meaning for all contexts.

A quick survey of the more representative passages will prove this point: The verb š u - k i n — d a b is found in parallelism with k i — s u - u b “to kiss the ground” in [9.1] Inninšagura 109 (cf. van Dijk, *SGL* 232, and Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 [1975] 189), and in [9.2]: š u - k u - u n d e - e p - p a h é - e n - z u k i - s u - p a h é - e n - z u (syllabic) = š u - k i n d a b - b é h e - e n - z u k i - s u - u b’ [h é - e n - z u] Ur-ninurta text (Sumer 11 pl. 15: 67 [new improved copy, courtesy van Dijk], and dupl. for which see *OrNS* 41 89 [C₃]). In [9.3] VAT 10555 (see above) follows: k i - z u m u - u [n - ...] : a - š a r - k i - i š - ‘ x ’ - [...], which has to be restored on the basis of k i — k i n - k i n (cf. Seux, *RA* 60 172): a - š a r - k i i š - t [e - ‘ u]. In [9.4] m e - d í m - z u [x - x] - a š n í g - d u g - g a - ‘ z u ’ š u - k i n š a - b a - a n - d a b I š m e - d a g a n F (3N-T 252 i 2’, dupl. *TRS* 18), the context is poorly preserved, but the parallel verb is apparently g ú - k i — [g a r]. [9.5] *Bagh. Mitt.* 316: 6f. can despite Falkenstein’s reservations very well be translated “every day I stand before him to humbly perform the prostration (rite).” Still in the religious sphere, one can include [9.6] Kešhymn 14’ (*TCS* 3 176), [9.7] u ₄ t i - l a - g á š u - k i n g a - m u - n e - d a b U M 29-16-10:8 (letter, dupl. *VAS* 17 44:20’ has variant - n i - i n - ‘ d u g ₄ ’); [9.8] [...] d i n g i r k a l a m - m a š u - k i n d a b - b é *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 80: 9. [9.9] d i n g i r g a l - g a l a n - k i - k e ₄ - n e š u - k i n m u - r [a - a n - d a b - b é - e š] “the great gods of the universe prostrate themselves before you” *JAOS* 93 353: 10 (cf. Sjöberg’s commentary, *ibid.*). In secular contexts, i.e., when the gesture is not addressed to a deity, we have [9.10] d u m u é - d u b - b a - a - k e ₄ š u - k i n a n - d a b i g i - n i - š è a l - g u b “the apprentice scribe prostrated himself (in front of the master sitting in the high chair) and then stood in his presence” *Schooldays* 54. It is difficult to tell when the gesture is performed physically and when it is used metaphorically as a symbol of submission; Clearly symbolic are: [9.11] š e š - e š e š - r a n í g - g i - n a d i a - a - r a š u - k i n - d a b - b é “(Utu gave as the king’s share for him to watch that) brother acts justly towards brother, there is submission to the father” I š m e - d a g a n A 96 (*TRS* 9 iii 3, and dupl.), and [9.12] l ú l u l - l a - k e ₄ u _x (GÍŠGAL) - l u m u - u n - d u l š u - k i n m u - u n - n a - d a b “the liar is all over (me like) a storm from the South, I (have to) show my submission to him” Man and his God 28 (Kramer, *Suppl. to Vetus Testamentum* 3 177).

While the verb presents few syntactic problems, its morphological structure is of some interest. A verb š u - K I N does exist: 1) In the stereotyped expression i g i - n i š u - K I N which describes an action of someone awakening from a dream (*JCS* 1 12: 72; Dumuzi’s Dream 18; L 1: 353), a translation “to rub the face, or the eyes,” corresponding to *panišu kuppuru* (equation not formally attested) seems natural; in this case, however, as pointed out by Alster, Dumuzi’s Dream 89, the most likely reading is š u — g u r ₁₀.⁶ The

4. See also Römer, *Königshymnen* 70³³⁶.

5. I cannot assign this entry to *kamāsu* B “to kneel down” without hesitation because (g i .)š u - K I N = *himmatu* (see later sub 3), being a derivation from *hamāmu*, shows that an equation š u - K I N = *kamāsu* A “to gather” is a distinct possibility.

6. For a possible reading s i g _x (KIN), see J. S. Cooper, *RA* 66 81ff.

idea of rubbing is confirmed by *šu-KIN*—*ak* = *šuppu* Erimbuš V 96; Nabnitu E 282.⁷ 2) As a verbal adjective qualifying the most varied things. When it is applied to agricultural implements, *ŠU.KIN* is a graphic corruption of *túg-gur₁₀*. Otherwise, it qualifies straw (Hh XXIV 228; V 198; VII B 37; *TuM* NF 1/2 293:2) with the meaning “chopped,” a special type of cake used in brewing: *bappir-šu-KIN* (Hh XXIII iii 10; Emeš-Enten 212), a type of rushes: *únun₂-šu-KIN* (Hh XVII 11a, 12); etc. etc. 3) *gi.šu-KIN* = *himmatu, šūru* Hh IX 337, variant *gi.ú-KIN* N 1455, and *BWL* 242:28f. “some kind of reed load or bundle” (“driver’s stick” according to G. Meier, *ZA* 45 212). The connection with *hamāmu* suggests again a reading *gur₁₀* for *KIN*. The same applies to 4) *giš.šu-KIN* = *niggallu* (or part of it): *BWL* 225: 10; cf. Hh VII A 47 “handle of the sickle.” Thus there is practically no evidence for a reading *kin* in *šu-KIN* and *šu-KIN*, except in the case of *šu-kin-dab*, where the value *kin* is assured by the syllabic spelling in [9.2]. Two cases are left in which *šu-KIN* is part of a compound verb and therefore plays the same role as in *šu-kin-dab*: 1) *šu-KIN-ak*: in the meaning *šuppu* (see above) and in *maḥāšu* [*ša* X] Nabnitu XXI 14; in the first case, the probability of the reading *šu-gur₁₀* has already been suggested; in the second, it is difficult to reach a decision because the object of the verb is broken, but observe that the lexical context includes plows and the like, so that it is likely that *šu-KIN* stands for the older *túg-gur₁₀*. 2) *šu-KIN-si-sá*: attested in Man and his God 17, in broken, inconclusive context ([... *šu-KIN si bí-in-sá*); and in the difficult passage of ELA 439f.: *pa te(men) si-na mu-un-gub, šu-KIN si bí-in-sá a kin b[i-i]b-ak-e* “he put the branch in the ground he had prepared, he ..., he watered it.”⁸ In conclusion: despite the graphic resemblance, the *šu-kin* of *šu-kin-dab* has nothing to do with all the other *šu-KIN*, with the possible exception of *šu-KIN si-sá*, whose precise meaning I am unable to determine.

This conclusion confirms the suggestion of von Soden in Römer, *Königshymnen* 70³³⁶, and favors the proposal that sees in *šu-kin* a cognate of Akk. *šukēnu*, comparable to *šu-bal* and *šupēlu*.⁹

7. Note, however, the extremely specialized use of *šuppu* in Akkadian contexts (*CAD* § 250a s.v.). Another possible translation is *sēru*, see Cooper, *RA* 66 83⁵.

8. This interpretation differs from the one proposed by Sol Cohen, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 133, 276. I assume that a) *pa* is a branch or cutting of the magic tree whose fruits are precious stones (ELA 340ff., 382ff.), not a scepter. b) *te(men)-si* stands for *te(men)-si-(ga)* “to prepare the perimeter or ground (not necessarily an excavation!) for something,” see my commentary to Laḥar and Ašnan 5 and, provisionally, Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 19/20 168, on the related *temen-si-sá* (incidentally, Sjöberg’s proposal for Flood Story i 44 [ibid.168²] is much better than mine). c) *akin-ak* means here “to water” but implies a special care or technique, see commentary to Tree and Reed 182. I do not think that any ritual or sacred meaning can be attached to this act. The value *ná* cannot be used in line 440 because of the presence of the infix *-b-*; *ná* in *TCS* I 148:13f. is in fact *=n+a₅* (as in *-ne*, *-bé*, *-me*, for *-n+e* [verb], etc.), compare *u₄-l é-a kin-ag-ga* *TuM* NF 1/2 286:7. I cannot, however, provide a completely satisfactory explanation for *šu-KIN-si-sá*. It must have something to do with planting the sapling: the messenger prepares the ground, “sets the cutting (cf. *gi/gi š.šu-KIN?*) upright,” and waters it. If so, *šu-KIN-si-sá* would not be properly speaking a compound verb.

9. Cf. Hallo, *Gaster Festschrift* 168f.

I.4

The Sumerian Writing System: Some Problems^{*}

1. *Introduction*¹

1.1. A considerable number of the most vexing problems of Sumerian grammar (e. g., the so-called amissible consonants, some verbal affixes, the root alternations, etc.) can be solved either by reducing them to graphemic problems or by interpreting correctly some peculiarity of the writing system. Sumerologists have too often taken the written version of a text *as transliterated by them* at its face value, disregarding scribal conventions, and adopting, in practice, if not in theory, the principle that “what is not in the written text is not in the utterance”. The traditional position is best stated by Poebel: “Das sumerische Schriftsystem ... trägt einen durchaus phonetischen Charakter, indem jedem Zeichen oder einer bestimmten Zeichengruppe ein bestimmter ein- bis viersilbiger Lautwert zukommt” (*GSG* § 12). In other words, logograms are nothing but more or less lengthy syllabograms. Trying to improve Poebel’s position, Krecher states that “für den Schreiber die Zeichen bzw. Zeichengruppe primär Phoneme fixieren, nicht Bedeutungsinhalte” (*ZA* 58 [1967] 18). While laudably attempting to dispel the notion (one which no serious Sumerologist defends at present anyway) that the signs of the script have a semantic content without any phonological connotation, Krecher’s statement, if applied to the standard orthography, is misleading because it disregards the fact that the script is basically logographic, representing

^{*} The present article was originally published in *Or* 42 (1973) pp. 21-34 [= G. Buccelati (ed.), *Approaches to the Study of the Ancient Near East: A Volume of Studies Offered to Ignace Jay Gelb on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, October 14, 1972*].

1. For some time I have been promising to publish a book on Sumerian writing. For practical reasons, however, I have decided to postpone its publication until the mss. of *Ea* (*MSL* 14) and *Diri* (*MSL* 15) are sufficiently advanced, so that the index of values in the book can be used as indices to these *MSL* volumes. In homage to I. J. Gelb, who has contributed so much to the study of writing, some of the ideas behind my book are given here in an abbreviated form. [] = graphemic transliteration; / / = approximation to a phonemic transcription; # = word boundary.

morpholexical² units which are subject to morphophonemic changes. Curiously enough, the pioneer Sumerologists sometimes had more exact ideas about the matter. Thus Lenormant affirms that “comme dans toutes les écritures en grande partie idéographiques [i. e., logographic], le scribe peut se borner à tracer l'idéogramme verbal ... laissant à l'intelligence du lecteur et à sa connaissance de la langue le soin de rétablir la modification du radical” (*Études sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes* [1877] 74 ff.), and consequently he interprets [mu-un-si-si-eš] as /munsisigeš/. The traditional position would be acceptable only by assuming that Sumerian completely lacks morphophonemics of the normal sort. While this may be true of a few languages, e. g., Vietnamese, it is hardly applicable to Sumerian, where (in composition) [siki] becomes /skil/ in [ki+siki], [lugud] becomes /lgud/ in [sa+lugud], and [ka+guru₇] was pronounced /kugre/; (in inflection) certain types of reduplication of a root such [gir₅] have the allomorphs /gir/~gig/~gr/ (note that the last one can not even be represented in isolated form in a syllabic script). A more detailed study of verbal root alternations marû-ḥamtu, for instance, undoubtedly would show that, even excluding the cases of suppletive paradigms, the phonological changes involved often go beyond the simple addition of [-e]. For a further discussion of the function of logograms see 2.3, section 2, and 3.21.

1.2. In the study of an extinct language, the description and analysis of its writing system(s) forms an *integral* part of its grammar. The chapter on phonology must of necessity be preceded by a chapter on the writing system(s) used in the corpus of texts since in such cases phonology is accessible only through a system of graphic correspondences with other known scripts (see 4.1). The chapter on graphemics should provide, in addition to an inventory of symbols, the rules which establish the correspondences between the graphic symbols and the elements of the spoken utterances. No matter how interesting, all other considerations (which clutter most studies on the Sumerian script) about the origin, history, shape, etc., of the symbols used, have no place in the grammar. They are irrelevant to the message-conveying function of the signs, and fall within the realm of anthropology or archaeology. The “graphemic” terminology has been introduced precisely to make this distinction clear.

2. Theoretical Considerations

2.1. Because no graphemic theory encompassing all types of writing has been proposed so far (most studies deal exclusively with alphabetic scripts)³, a brief preliminary outline of the basis for analyzing Sumerian script is required here. The written counterpart of a spoken utterance can be considered as a coded version of it. The process of encoding-decoding involved in writing down and reading a text can best be stated in terms of the now classic model of a generalized communication system in the information

2. I. e., morphemic units with a semantic content and as represented in the lexicon of the language. *Lexicon* should be understood in this article in the narrow sense with which it is used in the generative-transformational approach, and is to be considered, therefore, as an integral part of the grammar.

3. For a brief but substantial exposition of graphemic terminology and theory in a context of historical grammar, see H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction* (Chicago 1960) 4 ff. Up to this point, the generative field has produced nothing viable on writing; for a somewhat ineffectual attempt, see R. D. King, *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1969) 203 ff. Examples of applied graphemics are, among others: S. Allén, *Grafematisk analys som grundval för textedering* (Göteborg 1965), and I. T. Piirainen, *Graphematische Untersuchungen zum Früh-neuhochdeutschen* (Berlin 1968). Piirainen's statistical definition of grapheme is difficult to accept.

theory⁴. Although in the field of general linguistics this theory has seemingly failed to fulfill its expectations, it appears to be the most powerful model available in the case of writing systems. Writing is obviously a typical situation to which the information theory applies since (1) there is a change in the media in which the symbols are formulated (acoustic signals in the speech, graphic marks in the writing), and (2) there is a difference in the coding capabilities (number of symbols which can be handled) of the media. While the spoken language will have a number of phonological segments which will usually fall within the twenty-fifty range, there is no such limitation in the case of writing. Several consequences of the application of the information theory to writing (some of which were applied intuitively by the ancient scribes) are given informally here:

a) Each symbol which can be used to compose a message has associated with it a certain degree of probability of its appearing in the message: thus in written French the probability of a letter being [e] is about 15.8%, that of its being an [r] only 6.4%.

b) If several of the symbols preceding the one whose probability is being investigated are taken into consideration, higher degrees of probability can be reached. Due to the internal structure of the language, this probability can reach 100% in certain contexts; in other words, certain elements are completely *predictable* and therefore *redundant*. Syntactic concord, for instance, always involves redundancy. It has been estimated that in a natural language redundancy at the phonological level is about 50%. That is, if the communication conditions were always optimum, only about one-half of the elements in operation would be needed. The redundant elements, however, are not superfluous in real life situations where imperfect articulation, noise, and other interferences may result in the loss of some elements of the message. Redundancy in such cases helps in reconstructing the original message and may have, furthermore, an aesthetic value.

c) Redundancy becomes truly superfluous in the case of a written text which can be repeatedly reinspected if necessary. Many characteristics of certain scripts, including Sumerian, can be explained by their built-in capacity for abbreviation due to the presence of redundant elements of the spoken language no longer needed in a written text⁵.

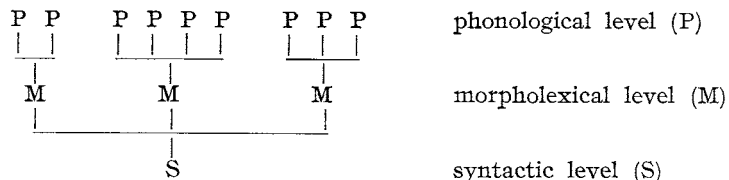
d) The size of the message (assuming a more or less uniform size of symbols) is inversely proportional to the number of symbols available for its formulation. This is the reason for the survival of syllabic and logographic scripts which, despite putting a heavier burden on the memory of the encoder-decoder, give shorter messages than an alphabetical system.

e) If the symbols vary in length or complication, there is an advantage in assigning the shorter or less complicated ones to the statistically more frequent items, and *vice versa*.

2.2. Some characteristics of the writing systems are common to all coding and transmitting processes, but others can be traced back to the complex structure of the spoken message itself. For the purpose of this analysis, the spoken message may be considered as a multilayered structure with several “encoding” levels in a hierarchic relationship:

4. For an elementary introduction, see G. Raisbeck, *Information Theory* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964). The linguist’s point of view is presented by H. A. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* (revised ed.: New York 1965) 373 ff.

5. Sumerian in its earlier stages goes farther than any other known script in its omission of elements predictable only to the well-informed native reader; see Biggs and Civil, *RA* 60 (1966) 1 ff.



The related elements can be mutually substituted, but with important restrictions: a subset of elements at levels P or M can be replaced by the corresponding elements at levels M or S respectively, but substitution in the opposite direction (from bottom to top) is not always possible because the lexical component of M-level elements, taken in isolation, and all S-level elements can be encoded in different languages, i. e., they can be translated. Encoding identifies unambiguously the language of the message only when level P is at least partially involved. A message encoded exclusively at level M can be read in all languages which happen to have the same syntactic order. A message encoded at level S could be read in any language. The feasibility of these different types of encoding is limited by the number of encodable items at each level: 20 to 50 at level P, 2×10^3 to 20×10^3 at level M, infinite at level S. Encoding at level P will produce the longest messages but also the easiest ones to encode and decode. At level M the messages will be shortened by a factor equal to the average number of sounds per morpholexical unit, but the increase in the number of symbols needed will be enormous. Encoding at level S is not practical except for marginal, mostly paralinguistic, cases. Encoding is possible, due to the bonds between levels, in two levels simultaneously.

2.3. The main types of graphic representation are the following:

1) Encoding at P-level:

- P1 one grapheme corresponds to one phoneme
 - P2 one phoneme has no corresponding grapheme
 - P3 one grapheme does not correspond to any phoneme
 - P4 one grapheme can represent different phonemes
 - P5 one phoneme can be represented by different graphemes
 - P6 a phonemic cluster is represented by a single grapheme
 - P7 a phonemic cluster is represented by different graphemes
 - P8 a cluster of graphemes (or a discontinuous grapheme) represents one phoneme
 - P9 a cluster of graphemes represents different phonemes
- For mixed types see 3.22.

P1 with a one-to-one correspondence between phonological and graphic elements is the ideal case never found in practice in “natural” writing systems. The deviations from this ideal norm are due to the historical observation that most languages have been reduced to writing by borrowing a foreign script, to an inertia in the spelling habits (historical writings), and last but not least to a tendency to simplify by omitting sets of phonological elements (e. g., tone or stress) which are more or less predictable for the

native reader⁶. Syllabic writing, a particular case of P6, deserves special consideration because of its use in Sumerian and Akkadian. Its obvious advantage is that, without unduly increasing the number of graphemes, it cuts the length of the written message to almost one-half as compared to a P1 system. Among its disadvantages are an inability to represent certain consonantal clusters, and a tendency in some systems to cut down the number of symbols by omitting consonants in determined positions. This tendency, rooted in part in native concepts of the syllable different from the popular one in Western linguistics, can be illustrated by systems as far apart as the well-known case of Minoan, and the syllabic script used up to the XVIth century A.D. for Tagalog in which [ba-ta] can represent /báta/, /bantá/, /batà/, /bátac/, etc.⁷. The fact that the symbols represent syllabic shapes does not guarantee that the syllabic boundaries of the spoken word will coincide with those of its graphic segmentation.

2) Encoding at M-level (logographic writing):

- M1 there is a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and graphemes
- M2 a morpheme is not represented in writing
- M3 a grapheme does not correlate with any morpheme
- M4 one grapheme represents different morphemes
- M5 one morpheme may be represented by different graphemes
- M6 a group of morphemes is represented by a single grapheme
- M7 different groups of morphemes are represented by a single grapheme
- M8 a cluster of graphemes represents one morpheme
- M9 a cluster of graphemes represents different morphemes

A purely logographic writing connotes only indirectly a determined phonetic shape, and it is not possible to tell which allomorph is used in a particular environment. For further discussion of the M-types, see 3.21.

3) MP-encoding (*simultaneous* encoding at phonological and morpholexical levels):

- MP1 a set of allomorphs is represented by a grapheme which represents phonemically only one of the members of the set (morphophonemic spellings)
- MP2 if a system admits spellings of the type P2-P7, homonyms may be represented by different sets of P-graphemes
- MP3 in a predominantly M-type system additional P-graphemes (phonetic complements) give wholly or in part the phonological shape of the morpheme. Examples of MP1 are found in almost all languages represented by P-systems: the plural morpheme for French nouns is /s/~/z/~/ø/, all represented by [s], German [Wald] represents both /valt/ and /vald-/, etc. MP2 is

6. The controversy about whether the Semitic scripts which do not represent vowels are alphabetic or syllabic has no place in the theory proposed here, since “alphabetic” and “syllabic” do not exhaust all the possibilities. The omission of vowels is simply a case of P2 encoding.

7. The phonological status of a consonant in initial position and one in final (syllable or word) position is quite different: E. Pulgram, *Syllable, Word, Nexus, Cursus* (The Hague 1970) 72 f. The omission of the last consonant in these syllabic scripts is more apparent than real due to overrigid modern transliteration systems. The values transliterated [CV] should in fact be transliterated as [C₁V±C₂], where C₂ may correspond to several consonants whose representation is subject to given environmental constraints.

useful to differentiate homonyms as in English [bear] and [bare], both /be(ε)r/. French [sept], [cet(te)], [Sète], all /set/. MP3 is typically exemplified by Egyptian hieroglyphics.

3. The Sumerian Writing System

3.1. Although the cuneiform signs used to write Sumerian and Akkadian are essentially the same for both languages, the way they are used is quite different, at least as far as the standard orthography of Sumerian is concerned. Akkadian has a typical P6-system of syllabograms with some M-graphemes used as abbreviations for common, often repeated terms. For instance, a letter of Anam to Sînmuballit (XIXth century B.C.) uses 95.7% syllabograms, 3.5% logograms, and 0.7% classifiers or determinatives (a M3-type grapheme with a purely lexical function described below 3.21); in a sample from Sargon's annals (early VIIIth century B.C.) the ratios are 85.6%, 6.7%, and 7.6%, respectively. These figures must be compared with the normal ratios in the standard orthography of Sumerian as represented in samples from the following texts:

Ratio between types of graphemes

	Urukagina Cones B-C	Gudea Cyl B	Šulgi hymn B	Enmerkar- Aratta	An-ta-è-a- ra	Laḫar- Ašnan
Logograms	60.3%	56.0 %	53.0%	47.2%	48.5%	42.8%
Syllabograms	36.4%	40.6 %	44.5%	49.5%	47.2%	54.3%
Classifiers	3.1%	3.3%	2.4%	3.2 %	4.1%	2.9%
-CV Syllabograms ⁸	15.1%	15.3%	20.8%	14.2%	16.8%	16.4%

Akkadian administrative and legal texts have, not surprisingly, a larger proportion of logograms (30%, for instance, is a typical figure for a Seleucid document). Omina, medical manuals, rituals, and similar technical, repetitious texts with probable esoteric tendencies, have a much higher number of logograms: 84% in a typical tablet of *šumma ālu*. In any case, a high ratio of M-graphemes is a secondary development in Akkadian.

3.2. Sumerian must be considered basically as a M-system with P-graphemes reserved for bound morphemes, loan words, and a few roots (most of them non-native). In detail:

3.21. M1 writings are relatively infrequent due to reasons of economy. In order to keep down the number of signs, most of them function as M4 (the improperly designated polyphony⁹ of signs). In the archaic texts, isolated cases of M2 are found but they soon disappear (for some particulars see Biggs and Civil, *RA* 60 [1966] 1 ff.). The classifiers mentioned above (3.1) are M-graphemes which alone function as M1 or M4, but may accompany a logogram to indicate lexical classes. Occasional M5 encodings may be found when the same lexical item is written differently by different scribal schools, but a more typical, yet not too frequent, function is to distinguish semantic disjuncts in lexical entries: for instance /g a r z a/ "regulations" may be spelled PA+DINGIR when it refers to "divine regulations" and PA+LUGAL, when

8. Percent of the total of syllabograms.

9. *Polyphony* ought to be reserved for P4, P7, and P9 writings.

denoting “royal regulations”. M8 is used in the so-called Diri-writings or in compound signs: several graphemes are combined to represent a single morpheme, thus avoiding the need for a specific grapheme and helping to keep the graphemic inventory within reasonable limits.

3.22. The P-graphemes are of the type P6 or P7 and have a syllabic shape: V, CV, VC, and less frequently CVC. Polysyllabic segments are found only in exceptional cases of rebus writing such as [n a m m u - u l] instead of [n a - a m - m u - u l - (l u)], or irregular spellings like [g a b a - k a r - r e] for the standard [g a - b a - k a r - r e]. The types P6 and P7 may be considered as including several subtypes since each phonological segment of the syllabic unit can, at least in theory, be omitted, underdifferentiated, or overdifferentiated. Its representation, therefore, can be mapped in correspondences analogous to types P1-P4. Thus the sign [ÁG] is in fact /V_fg̃/, where V_f represents any front vowel, and can be considered as a case of P6 (41). If the possibility that [-Ca#] and [-Ce#] may represent in some particular instances nothing more than /-C#/ turns out to be acceptable, it would be an example of P6 (13) or 6 (43), and so on.

3.23. The MP1 or morphophonemic spellings are of considerable grammatical importance. For examples see Biggs and Civil, *RA* 60 (1966) 14 ff. MP3 writings are used in several ways: they can give the full phonological shape of the logogram as in [ú.NAGA.g a . m u š e n] = /u g a/, [g̃ e š - t ú g . P I] = /g̃ e s t u g/, etc., or only part of it as in [t ú g - ŠE.KIN], optionally written [t ú g - g u r₈.ŠE.KIN], representing /t u (g) g u r/, or in [š u b . u b] = /š u b/. A particular and rather unusual case is the explicit indication of an allomorph as in [b a - t a - r a - z a l], an exceptional variant of [b a - r a - z a l] and [b a - t a - z a l], all representing /b a d^r a z a l/, where [-r a -] gives the pronunciation /-d^ra/ of the infix /-t a -/ in intervocalic position.

4. Determination of the Phonetic Shapes

4.1. The phonetic shapes of a written extinct language L₁ are accessible only through a system of graphic correspondences with texts of another language L₂, for which the rules governing the equivalences between the graphic symbols and the phonological segments are known. It is possible that such information will not be immediately available for L₂, so that L₂ in turn is accessible only through L₃, and so on. Sumerian is accessible only through Akkadian, whose graphic-phonological equations are in turn reconstructed from the correspondences with other members of the Semitic linguistic family, most of which are accessible only through similar reconstruction processes based on later stages of the same or related languages. Needless to say, if the reconstruction requires several steps, the uncertainties accumulate and the degree of probability of a given solution will be lowered accordingly. Two important considerations in reconstructing the phonology of an extinct language are: (1) are L₁ and L₂ related? are there any other relatives? and (2) which one is primary and which one is secondary from the point of view of the scribe and/or speaker? For all practical purposes Sumerian has to be considered as an isolated language.

The question of whether Sumerian or Akkadian ought to be considered the primary language in the sources used to reconstruct the phonology of Sumerian is a difficult one and is partly discussed in 5.2.

4.2. Considering L₁ as secondary and L₂ as primary, the scribes or speakers of L₂ will tend to replace a sound of L₁ with the sound of L₂ which is nearest, in some sense, to the sound of L₁. The results

sometimes can be startling, as when English /s/ is replaced by /h/ in Maori and by /k/ in Hawaiian. There are three basic types of distortion¹⁰:

1) underdifferentiation: if L_1 distinguishes / n_1 / from / n_2 /, but L_2 has only one sound which can be considered similar to those, the speaker of L_2 will tend to confuse the two sounds and the scribe will normally lack the means to differentiate them. For this reason the vocalic system of Sumerian will never be satisfactorily recovered.

2) overdifferentiation: phonemic distinctions which are significant in L_2 but not in L_1 are imposed on L_1 by the scribes/speakers of L_2 . If, for instance, L_2 has three classes of stops and L_1 only two, L_1 texts written by L_2 natives will, under certain circumstances, give the impression that L_1 has three classes of stops.

3) reinterpretation of distinctive contrasts: a speaker of L_2 distinguishes the phonemes of L_1 according to the features which are relevant in his own L_2 system, but may be redundant or concomitant in that of L_1 . E. g., if, in L_2 , the relevant contrast is between voiced/voiceless, but is between lax/tense in L_1 , the speaker of L_2 will apply the voice distinction to separate the two classes of stops. This type of distortion is most likely to be the cause when a scribal school systematically replaces the (apparently) voiced stops of another language by voiceless ones, and *vice versa*.

4.3. As a rule, the phonological reconstruction of L_1 cannot be more precise nor more detailed than the knowledge of L_2 allows. In an initial approximation, using L_2 to decipher L_1 , one can assign to L_1 a number of phonological segments only equal to or smaller than the number of phonemes of L_2 . Qualitatively, these will appear to be identical to the phonemes of L_1 , so that Falkenstein's surprise at the observation that Sumerian and Akkadian phonologically "in einer *unerwartet* [emphasis added] engen Weise zusammengehen" (Genava 8 [1960] 303) is unwarranted, and there is no need to seek an explanation for this presumed similarity on the influence of a substratum.

5. Sumerian Phonological Sources

5.1. The native sources which make it possible to define the phonetic shapes of the cuneiform signs used in Sumerian cannot be discussed in detail here (see, for instance, Krecher, *AOAT* 1 158 f.), but a few remarks are needed. One type of source ordinarily disregarded is the comparison of the divergent spellings provided by the same Akkadian translation. The use of this source is justified by the logographic nature of the script and is easily available in the lexical sections of the *CAD* and, to a lesser extent, of *AHW*. Cf. [d u₉], [t u₉], [š e - e r], [š í r] = *enēšu*, or [(s i) - s i - i g], [s í g], [š e g₅], [š e g₁₀], etc. = *šaqummatu*, and so on. The importance of loan words and of sign names tends to be overrated. As far as loan words are concerned, the likely existence of phonemic subsystems reserved for words of foreign origin, as well as the adaptations across linguistic borders due to the distortions discussed in 4.2, are consistently neglected in Assyriology. Rhymes, puns, plays on words can occasionally provide useful information. The presence of /a r g a n u m/ and /a r g i b i l/ among words which are expected to include the syllable /a l/ in the "Song of the Hoe", is an indication of an underdifferentiation of /r/ and /l/ in given environments. An extremely

10. Cf. U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague 1968) 18 f.

important distinction occurs between sources which give the phonetic shapes context-free (such as syllabaries) and those which provide a context (such as syllabic texts and certain glosses).

5.2. The syllabaries form a closed system in which the phonetic shapes of the signs are defined in terms of a relatively small set of basic syllabograms. In this system, the basic syllabograms can be defined only tautologically; some copies of Proto-Ea, in fact, leave the pronunciation column of such signs blank. To break the circle, a series of phonetic equations between the basic syllabograms and a foreign known system is required; without such outside sources, the syllabary would be undecipherable. For the Assyriologist, the obvious solution is to assign to the basic syllabograms the phonetic value they have in Akkadian. It is necessary to ask, however, whether this Akkadian value was exactly the same as that used by the native scribes. In other words, which is the primary and which the secondary language (cf. 4.1) in the syllabaries? The oldest syllabaries preserved (Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri) leave no doubt that the phonetic value of the signs was determined by an oral tradition: the pronunciation was learned not from the written tablet but from the teacher's mouth. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why many copies, even when provided with an Akkadian translation, lack the pronunciation column¹¹. Furthermore, the existence of variant values not explicitly given in the syllabaries (cf. Civil, *JCS* 20 [1966] 120⁸) also must be explained by oral tradition. In this type of oral instruction, were the basic syllabograms assigned the very same phonetic value they had when used for Akkadian, or were they assigned a traditional Sumerian pronunciation, similar, to be sure, to the Akkadian one, but with phonologically significant differences? At first glance, it appears somewhat difficult to believe that an essentially extinct language, surviving only in cultural and religious usages, a language whose morphology was being strongly influenced by Akkadian and whose lexicon was increasingly less well understood, could preserve phonetic peculiarities foreign to Akkadian. Nevertheless, there are traces of articulations not found in Akkadian such as the already mentioned intervocalic articulation of [d] as /dʰ/, or the like, attested at very late dates: syllabic g ú - r u - s u - u n for g u d - s ú n, *Ξισουθρος* for z i - u₄ - s u d - r á, etc. The different rendering of the Sumerian and Akkadian stops in the Greek transliterations seems to require a similar explanation. Despite the linguistic difficulties, the importance of oral transmission in traditional societies with a highly restricted degree of literacy can hardly be overestimated. In short, the existence of an independent phonological tradition for Sumerian has an appreciable degree of probability. Obviously such a tradition is not recoverable as a whole, and only in particularly favorable instances and by indirect means can the Sumerologist venture beyond the method of assigning Akkadian values to the basic syllabograms.

5.3. To determine the phonetic value of the basic syllabograms the following steps must be followed:

1) The signs are provisionally assigned values similar to the ones they have in Akkadian. These Akkadian values must be the ones used by the scribes of the same school and period.

2) The distortions referred to in 4.2 must be detected, if possible. They will appear either as a surplus of similar values, as for instance the several [u] signs of Proto-Ea, or as variants (diachronic or synchronic). A surplus of signs must be investigated to see whether it results from an overdifferentiation from the Akkadian, or is a truly Sumerian phenomenon. Some of the diachronic variants, due to the nature of the sources, will turn out to be mere scribal errors. An example of genuinely Sumerian synchronic variation is [m] in Proto-Ea which is split in [m] and [g] (= /ḡ/) in canonical Ea. But the split of [Z] in [s]

11. Out of the thirty-one tablets of Proto-Diri from Nippur, only ten include the pronunciation column.

and [z] is an Akkadian scribal practice, as shown by the frequent use of [sà], [sí], and [sú] in Nippur OB Akkadian texts.

3) The requirements needed to postulate a particular non-Akkadian sound are described in more detail in the discussion of logograms in 6.2. Such sounds can be properly described only as a system of variants, and their possibility is acceptable only if there is a series of similar cases. An example would be the alternation /g/~/b/, amply attested and with clearly preferential environments (before /-ur-/). These alternations will have several plausible phonetic solutions: /ḡb/, /g^w/, etc. A successful example of the detection of a sound alien to Akkadian is the old discovery of /ḡ/, for which several phonetic solutions are likewise possible: /ŋ/, /ḡm/, etc.

4) Even when one of these sounds has been reasonably postulated, it is not always possible to ascertain all of its occurrences: [g] and [b] are certainly in relevant contrast in [s u₈-g] versus [s u₈-b], by semantic criteria.

5) It must be remembered, finally, that the scribal habits of the same school and period will almost never be completely consistent.

6. *Determination of the Phonetic Shapes of the Logograms*

6.1. The only viable definition of the Sumerian logogram implies that it represents a lexical entry with all its possible phonetic shapes (allomorphs). Which of these shapes is usually entered in the syllabaries? The syllabaries give the Akkadian pronunciation of some very common logograms such as [A.ŠA] and [NA₄]; Ea gives consecutively their two most common allomorphs, /eqlu/ and /eqel/ and /abnu/ and /aban/, respectively. In other cases the syllabaries give only one allomorph (e. g., Proto-Ea has only /kalab/ for [UR]), and not necessarily the one which the modern linguist would consider the basic or underlying form. There is a tendency in canonical Ea to give the two forms CV and CVC for the same lexical entry, but Proto-Ea in most cases has only one form (mostly CV). Up to this point no attempt has been made to reconstruct the rules which govern the choice of a given allomorph in the lexical lists. It is quite possible that when some of the rules have been rediscovered (a complete recovery is most unlikely), it will become evident that they are based on reasons other than grammatical ones. It is probable, for instance, that the choice of /zi/ as the phonetic shape of [ZI] is not simply due to the existence of the allomorph /zi/ of /zig/ and /zid/, but rather to the fact that the two entries (including, naturally, /zi-ø/) could be represented more economically by a single form [zi]. Thus the interpretation of the syllabaries requires a considerable degree of native linguistic competence which is not accessible to the modern Sumerologist. It is clear that, for practical purposes, to say nothing of the requirements of a generative formulation, the lexicon must list the words in a form that includes the final consonant. It is easy to write quite general rules for deleting final consonants, but it would be absurd to write rules for adding various consonants to the end of CV roots.

6.2. The main objective must be not merely a simple assignation of values to signs, but a reconstruction of the phonology of the lexical entry. It would be not only impractical but also misleading to give the full status of phonetic value to every single variant provided by the sources. The discovery procedures should be as follows:

- 1) Collection of all values which fulfill two conditions: a) similar or at least compatible phonetic shapes, and b) identical meaning.
- 2) Preliminary clean-up to eliminate obvious scribal errors and semantic misinterpretations.

3) Interpretation of the scribal data according to the scribal habits of the different schools and periods. For instance, /i k i/ (Boghazköy) should not be given as a value of [IGI], since the habits prevalent among Hittite scribes requires it to be reinterpreted as /i g i/ (Sturtevant's law).

4) Morphophonemic classification according to morphological class, allomorphs, and syntactic context: all these must be identical to make the values comparable.

5) Test for consistency: are all values which have been interpreted and classified identical or do several variants remain?

6) Final determination of the phonetic shape: if all the values are identical, the resulting phonetic shape must be accepted as the best available one in the present state of information; if there are variants, an explanation for them must be sought. Variants can be explained either as dialectal, historical, or, if they appear to fit the same diachronic and synchronic slot, as phonological. The latter case may be due to the presence of a Sumerian sound foreign to Akkadian, or to attempts to render an exotic non-Sumerian sound. A phonological solution must be acceptable from the point of view of phonological universals, and must be based on a series of similar cases (see 5.3, point 3).

6.3. A few examples illustrating the application of these principles are given here:

1) For the number 10 the syllabaries give the forms [a₆], [u], [h à], and [h ù]. Is a restoration */h o/, or the like, warranted? A close examination of the syllabaries shows that the forms with /a/ come from sources that give the numerals followed by a suffix /-a/, so that /a/ comes from /u/ + /a/, and the only forms to be considered are /u/ and /h u/. Since there are not sufficient examples of /h/~ø/ in initial position to support any general statement, the two forms must be considered free variants, and [h ù], being the more explicit form, must be given as the main lexical entry, with a cross reference under [u].

2) [t u r] and [d i₄-(l)] seem sufficiently close phonetically and semantically to warrant an investigation. The existence of constructions such as lú d i₄-d i₄-l á t u r-t u r-ra-ke₄-ne "the smaller (or smallest) of the little ones" shows that the two forms are not semantically interchangeable. The only valid conclusion is that the two forms be regarded as possible evidence that the process, well known in other languages, of expressing the diminutive by alternations in the root consonants (see, e. g., J. Nichols, "Diminutive Consonant Symbolism in Western North America", *Language* 47 [1971] 826 ff.) could exist in Sumerian. Naturally, other parallel formations of this kind are needed to postulate with certainty the existence of this process in Sumerian.

3) [d i b] and [r i b] have the same meaning "to surpass" (Akk. *šūtuqu*). Are both graphic variants of the same word? In view of the very frequent alternation /d/~r/, it is quite likely. Note, however, that [r i b] does not seem to be used in finite verbal forms, so that the criterion of morphophonemic identity is not fulfilled.

4) Can the forms [r i-g i₄-b i l-lú/l u], [a r-g i₄-(b i l-l u)], and [a r-g i b i l₂] be combined? The word is certainly the same but the forms are too separated in time and space, and a historical and/or dialectal explanation is to be sought.

5) Consider the following equations:

b é-e K U = zû, b é-e d K U = tezû, and š e-e K U = zû, š e-ed K U = tezû (Ea I 150 ff.). /b/ and /š/ are not normally considered as similar sounds, but, because of semantic identity, the question of "one or two lexical entries?" has to be asked. In the first place, the distinction between noun and verb as given in the syllabaries is probably incorrect. There are a number of abbreviating conventions in the lexical lists whereby, according to one of these conventions, instead of

value₁ SIGN = meaning₁, meaning₂

value₂ SIGN = meaning₁, meaning₂

the scribe, in canonical Ea, simply writes:

value₁ SIGN = meaning₁

value₂ SIGN = meaning₂

The textual variants in the case under discussion (see *MSL* 14, ad. loc.) seem to confirm the presence of an abbreviation. The passage can be used only as evidence for the alternation of short and long forms of the root. Can the two forms be combined by assuming /b/~š/ (hypothetically one could think of a fricative labial)? So far, I believe, the only other similar alternation is in *ka-aš-bar/šar*¹², and this is not enough to establish a phonological pattern. The two forms must therefore be considered as two separate lexical entries, unless more examples of /b/~š/ come to light.

7. Problems of Transliteration

7.1. The preceding paragraphs lead to conclusions regarding transliteration that are far from encouraging, and show how difficult the Sumerologist's task can be:

1) There is no such thing as a *Sumerian Syllabary* which can list all the values of the signs. Instead, what is needed is a relatively simple *Syllabary* and a lengthy and rather complex *Lexicon*.

2) A definitive list of phonetic values *for the logograms* will be possible only when the reconstruction of the lexicon is sufficiently advanced.

3) Contrary to common expectations and to the resolutions of Assyriological meetings and committees which have dealt with these matters, it would be impractical, and perhaps impossible, to establish a transliteration system equally valid for Sumerian and Akkadian.

This does not mean, of course, that values need to be given different subindices in the different languages, or anything as confusing as that, but it does mean that the Assyriologist must recognize that he is transliterating two writing systems which function in quite different ways.

7.2. The distinction between transliteration and transcription, which was first applied to the cuneiform field by I. J. Gelb, is a useful one and should be carefully maintained. This distinction is not sharply defined, however, because several subtypes and gradations are possible, so that one can speak of a "narrow" or a "broad" transliteration or transcription. *Transliteration*, the sign by sign rendering of one writing system into another, admits several levels; a text, for instance, could be adequately transliterated by merely replacing each sign by the number assigned to it in some standard list of signs. Such a transliteration conceivably could be useful for computer work, but is of very limited usefulness for anything else. The system traditionally used by Sumerologists, a good one and one that must be preserved, works as follows: each sign is assigned one or several values represented by Latin letters according to the data of the native sources; the selection of values (in the case of logograms) is made in such a way that the value is the one that corresponds to the meaning intended in a given passage. This process involves more than simple substitution, because it includes a semantic interpretation of the text, and thus it is more than a transliteration in the usual sense.

12. Not explainable as /b/ → /s/ in environment /š_/, because the form is found in a finite verbal form of the compound verb. See G. Gragg, *TCS* 3 178, and cf. J. Klein, *JCS* 23 (1971) 118.

The basic rule for transliteration is that it must be kept as much as possible *on the same level*, in a narrow sense. Consequently, non-graphemic distinctions must be systematically disregarded. When some paleographic information is considered important, reference should be made to the number given to the sign in some standard paleographic list, even when the graphic variants are provided by the native syllabaries. Thus there is no need to make a distinction among all the [ka ra di n] signs as in Thureau-Dangin *HS* (although the writing with [NIGIN] should appear, of course, with a special subindex), since the sign has still other graphic forms in the fairly infrequent occurrences of this lexical item in context. To keep the transliteration on the same level also requires making a decision about the choice of allomorphs. Morphophonemic inconsistencies must be eliminated. A transliteration [lu ga l - n i] has to be preferred to [lu ga la - n i]. Note that in this case the solution is even misleading: it is not that /lu ga l/ has an allomorph /lu ga la/ before the suffix: [- n i], but the suffix is really /- a n i/, so that it would be preferable in any case to attribute to [NI] a value [a n i]. Similarly, even when a particular type of reduplication is attested in more phonological detail than usual, it has to be sacrificed for the sake of level uniformity. Thus one has to transliterate [gi r₅- gi r₅- (r) e], not [- gi gre]. As long as the various types of reduplication and their distribution are not well established, the use of narrowly defined reduplicated forms may well lead to an incorrect transliteration in a particular context. Furthermore, this information is not available for all roots, so that the use of the gi gre-type of transliteration infringes again upon the rule of uniformity. Similar considerations apply to nominal compounds. It appears that the best rule for transliterating logograms is to give them in the form accepted as basic in the lexical entry. Since the lexicon is supposed to indicate, whenever possible, which morphophonemic rules apply to each lexical entry, the choice of the particular allomorph applicable to a specific context is already implied by the main form of the lexical entry.

7.3. *Ceteris paribus*, the *simplest* transliteration should be preferred. When a gloss gives a reading identical to that of the individual signs, the signs should be written separately, thus avoiding the proliferation of values. For instance, one must transliterate [a - g à r], not [a ga r]. The unwarranted inclusion of a determinative in the logogram should be avoided: no special value must be given to [GIŠ.SAR] or [GIŠ.BAD] as opposed to [SAR] and [BAD] with the same meanings; these readings come from a misinterpretation of some entries from the Diri series. The use of hyphens implies a morphemic analysis; the practice of hyphenating entire nominal phrases should, in my opinion, be avoided. The argument that postpositions affect the full phrase is insufficient (no one would think of writing [RemusRomulusque] as a unit) and, if it were applied consistently, it would then be necessary to hyphenate entire subordinate clauses, with a consequent loss of clarity and readability. The use of the hyphen must be reserved for indicating the different graphic parts of a morpheme, the affixes joined immediately to it, and the nominal compounds. In this way it is possible to make a distinction between [ki si kil] (noun + adjective) and [ki - si kil] (compound noun). Incidentally, the extra spacing between letters customarily used in printing Sumerian texts not only fails to add anything of scientific value to the transliteration, but also, as anyone who has used Kramer's edition of the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" can testify, impairs readability, is uneconomical, and of dubious aesthetic value.

7.4. There are many problems which still need discussion: which non-Akkadian phonemes are well established enough to be accepted in the list of values? Hardly anyone would oppose the inclusion of /ġ/, but what about [b]~[g] and similar alternations? Someday, some Sumerologists with good phonological sense will no doubt propose to transliterate [ka la k] rather than [ka la ġ], pointing to the probable

existence of a rule that adds a feature + voice to final stops before suffixes with initial vowel (/k a l a g a/). Or will they prefer a devoicing rule? Many other questions are still unanswered¹³. A universally accepted system of transliteration, completely uniform in the smallest details, is an unlikely prospect, and perhaps not even desirable. But the Sumerologist has the right to ask his colleagues to use a system that is unambiguous, clear, economical, and above all, consistent.

¹³ If and when the question of the so-called amissible consonants is satisfactorily answered (a much more difficult task than is ordinarily assumed), a means must be found to differentiate roots which are apparently homonymous but which differ in being subject or not to a certain rule. This rule may very well take a form other than consonant deletion, such as a change in the vocalic nucleus of the syllable.

I.5

Lexicography*

Rather than write an introduction to Sumerian lexicography exclusively for the specialist, I have attempted to make the following pages accessible to interested readers in neighboring fields, following Thorkild Jacobsen's view that Sumerian culture is the "first humanistic culture" and as such must be placed in the wider frame of man's intellectual history. Since so much remains to be done in Sumerian lexicography, however, I could not help expressing my personal views on how the tasks ahead could be carried out, in pages that I am afraid take sometimes a somewhat unpleasant prescriptive tone, for which I apologize to my colleagues.**

1. *Native Lexical Sources*

Burdened with all the problems that the paleolinguistic nature of his work entails,¹ the Sumerologist may fail to realize how lucky he is to have at his disposal an enormous wealth of

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** In addition to their normal function, [] are used on occasion to indicate graphemic transliterations; / / indicate approximate phonemic transcription.

1. The term paleolinguistics has been used occasionally in the somewhat ethnocentric sense of "earlier (i.e., pre-nineteenth-century) stages of the linguistic sciences" (see, e.g., L. Romeo and G. E. Tiberio, "Historiography of Linguistics and Rome's Scholarship," *Language Sciences*, No. 17 [1971] p. 25), but here I apply the term, by analogy with other paleosciences, to the study of languages inaccessible to direct observation. In paleontology, only the anatomy is recoverable and not always whole; the missing anatomical parts and the physiology have to be reconstructed by analogical reasoning and comparative techniques. He who studies a language accessible only through texts has at his disposal only an imperfect and incomplete representation of the utterances of the language, and, because of the lack of informants, the functional, creative process involved in generating these utterances is not recoverable. In particular, if he can assume that the sentences in his corpus are grammatical, he has no means of testing the grammaticality of related sentences not present in the corpus, and, without this test, the study of the generation of sentences is seriously impaired. He has to rely on the relatively poorly known universals of language: the (inductive) structural or distributional universals of the type proposed by Greenberg, and the universal semantic and syntactic

ancient lexical material without which his understanding of the Sumerian language and texts would be very meager indeed. In this section I present a very sketchy outline of some matters well known to the Sumerologist in the perhaps naive hope that outsiders may also be interested in the world's oldest body of lexical works.

1.1. *Typology*

The Mesopotamian lexicographical legacy is not only imposing in its bulk –the series HAR-ra alone has close to 10,000 entries– but also offers a great diversity of types of compilations.² The lexical lists may be unilingual or bilingual, totally or in part. Although the physical arrangement of the languages in the bilingual lists is always the same on the tablets (Sumerian in the left subcolumn, Akkadian in the right),³ there are reasons to classify them as Sumero-Akkadian or Akkado-Sumerian, depending on which of the two languages provides the criterion for the ordering of the entries (1.2 (g) and (h)). A few examples of polyglot lists are known, mostly Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite, with rare examples of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian, and even Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Ugaritic.⁴ An isolated type lists the dialectal Emesal spellings alongside the main dialect forms and their Akkadian translations.⁵ Although only translations and not definitions of words are given, there are some conventions by which homonyms can be distinguished. The lexical entries may be ordered according to the graphic or phonological shape (sign lists, syllabaries), or according to subjects (thematic lists); explanatory and etymological commentaries are late and relatively rare.

For practical purposes, such as the description of individual manuscripts, it has been found convenient to symbolize the parts of an entry by a numerical code⁶ representing the subcolumns in their usual order, from left to right:

0—A vertical wedge preceding the entry in certain types of lists;

1—Sumerian pronunciation of logograms, formulated with the help of a small set of basic syllabograms;⁷

2—Logograms; in late lists it may not always be a faithful imitation of its Old Babylonian shape (the inscribed signs [sign₁×sign₂] are often written sign₁×sign₂.sign₂);

3—Sign name; a post-Old-Babylonian innovation, although some sign names can also be found in Old Babylonian non-lexical texts;

claims of the generative grammarians. A formal study of the limitations and methods of paleolinguistics would be most welcome.

2. For some of the lexical lists, see the still useful study of H. S. Schuster, “Die nach Zeichen geordneten sumerisch-akkadischen Vokabulare,” *ZA* 44 (1938) pp. 217-70. The series published in *MSL*, after Volume XI, are provided with a brief introduction.

3. An exception is the use of Akkadian glosses in unilingual lists, where the gloss may precede the Sumerian entry.

4. For the trilingual lists from Boghazköy, see E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris, 1971) pp. 47-54; for Ugarit, see J. Nougayrol *et al.*, *Ugaritica* V (Paris, 1968) pp. 230-51.

5. Published in *MSL* IV 3-44.

6. Based on the one proposed by Landsberger, *MSL* IX 125.

7. For the concept of basic syllabogram, see, provisionally, Civil, “The Sumerian Writing System: Some Problems,” *OrNS* 42 (1973) p. 29.

4—Akkadian translation;

5', 5'', etc.—Translations in other languages.

A code number in parentheses indicates that the item is optional; a code number written as an exponent indicates that the item occurs as a gloss.

1.2. Main Lexical Series

The most important compilations are first described in their final (canonical) form; see 1.3 for their older stages.

(a) E a group. The purpose of the lists of this family is to give the simple signs of the cuneiform writing system with their pronunciation and Akkadian meanings. The lists are type 0-1-2-(3)-4. They include the main series á : A = *nâqu*, with forty-two tablets and some 14.000 entries, and a shorter recension e a : A = *nâqu*, with eight tablets and 2.400 entries, 70 per cent of which are preserved.⁸ Syllabaries A and B, published in *MSL* III, can be considered more or less as direct derivations from intermediate stages of E a (see introduction to *MSL* XIV).

(b) D i r i : S i A = *atru*. D i r i has a purpose similar to that of E a, but it is limited to compound logograms whose reading cannot be inferred from their individual components; it also includes marginal cases such as reduplications, presence or absence of determinatives, and the like. There are seven tablets of type 1-2-(3)-4, with about 2.100 entries, almost completely preserved except for the last two tablets, which are in fragmentary condition.⁹

(c) H A R - r a = *hubullu*. A thematic collection of twenty-four tablets, H A R - r a = *hubullu* includes legal and administrative terminology (tablets 1 and 2), trees and wooden artifacts (3-7), reeds and reed artifacts (8 and 9), pottery (10), hides and copper (11), other metals (12), domestic (13) and wild (14) animals, parts of the body (15), stones (16), plants (17), birds and fish (18), textiles (19), geographic terms (20-22), food and drinks (23 and 24). It is type 2⁽¹⁾-4. This inventory of material culture had more than 9,700 entries and has been almost entirely reconstructed and published in *MSL* V-XI.

(d) L ú = *ša*. A continuation of the preceding list, L ú = *ša* is a thematic list of professions, kinship terms, and various human activities. It, too, is type 2⁽¹⁾-4. At least four tablets, with 1.300 entries, or about 60 per cent of the whole, are preserved and published in *MSL* XII.

(e) I z i = *išātu*. A collection of compound words (as opposed to the compound logograms of D i r i) or simple words, I z i is arranged according to the initial sign by means of the so-called acrographic principle. Thirty or more tablets have been very imperfectly reconstructed, of the type 2⁽¹⁾-4, and published in *MSL* XIII. A large number of the entries that have not been recovered are probably to be found in *Nabnitū*, E r i m h u š, and A n t a g a l.

(f) K á - g a l = *abullu*. K a g a l, which is similar to I z i, has few sections preserved. Its extent and size are not known. It has been published in *MSL* XIII.

(g) S I G₇.A L A N = *nabnītu*. An Akkado-Sumerian vocabulary, *Nabnitū* is grouped by the Sumerian equivalents of Akkadian roots, which in turn are ordered according to the parts of the human body and

8. For a few more details, see Landsberger, "The Third Tablet of the Series E a A *Nâqu*," *JAOS* 88 (1968) p. 133.

9. To be published in *MSL* XV.

the activities they perform. It is type 2⁽¹⁾–4. Of thirty-two tablets,¹⁰ only twenty-two are preserved wholly or in part, but originally it must have had approximately 10.500 entries.

(h) *Erimhuš* = *anantu* and *An-ta-gál* = *šaqû*. *Erimhuš* has seven tablets with about 2.000 entries in all; six of them are reasonably well preserved. *Antagal* has more than ten tablets very poorly preserved. Both are Akkado-Sumerian thematic collections of triplets (occasionally larger sets) of synonyms, or two synonyms and one antonym, or the like. These two collections and *Nabnitû* must be considered as Akkado-Sumerian indexes to the lists *Ea*, *Diri*, *Izi*, *Kagal*, and the like. The more “logical” and accessible arrangement of items in the former may have been a factor in the restricted diffusion and neglect of the latter.

There are still other secondary lists which are excerpts or local recensions of the ones mentioned above, occasional collections of lexical items for practical purposes, and so on. Typologically, they all can be considered as derived from those already discussed.

(i) Commentaries. Oriented mostly toward the explanation of Akkadian words, this late genre¹¹ can be of direct interest to the Sumerologist when the text to which the commentary belongs is a lexical one, as in the *HAR-gud* commentary to (c) or the commentaries to á : A = *nâqu*. Commentaries to Akkadian works, such as omnia or medical texts, are of indirect interest because they contain a fair amount of explanation based on entries from the main lists.¹² There are two types of commentaries: the older ones consist of two subcolumns with the word at right explaining the word at left; the late Neo-Babylonian commentaries offer a continuous text with the items separated by the cuneiform equivalent of our colon, indulge freely in etymologies, and frequently use quotations from classical works (*Enuma eliš*, *Gilgameš*, *Ludlul*, *omnia*, etc.) as examples.

1.3. History

Lexical lists have been found among the oldest tablets discovered at Mesopotamian sites (Uruk IVa and III).¹³ Among the ones being prepared for publication by H. Nissen there are not only the list of professions (see *MSL* XII 4-24) but also lists of fish, trees, vessels, and artifacts. For the latter half of the Early Dynastic period, lexical lists are extremely abundant from Fara and Abū Šalābīkh, but, curiously enough, are almost unknown from Tello. Toward the end of the history of cuneiform writing, lexical tablets were still being copied assiduously in Persian and Seleucid times. Although wooden tablets (waxboards) are attested from the end of the third millennium at least, there seems to be no

10. A NB catalogue of this series from Sippar, recently discovered by E. Leichty, shows that the number of tablets was probably much higher.

11. See the somewhat outdated remarks of R. Labat, *Les commentaires assyro-babyloniens sur les présages* (Paris, 1933) pp. 9-23; cf. also G. Meier, “Kommentare aus dem Archiv der Tempelschule in Assur,” *AfO* XII (1937-39) 237-46. H. Hunger is preparing for publication a large number of commentaries from Warka. For some considerations about the commentaries from the lexicographer’s point of view, see M. Civil, “Medical Commentaries from Nippur,” *JNES* 33 (1974) pp. 329-38.

12. E. Leichty’s statement in “Two Late Commentaries,” *AfO* XXIV (1973) 78 that commentaries “quote from lexical texts, but always from the late series like *Antagal* and *Erimhuš* and not from the core lexical works like *ĜĜ* or *A*” may be true for the commentaries he is discussing but does not apply to all commentaries. See my article cited in the preceding note.

13. See *ATU*, pp. 44-47.

evidence for copies of lexical lists written on this material.¹⁴ If waxboards were used, however, and are now lost, this could account for some gaps in the textual transmission of lexical texts during the late Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian periods.

Period I: from the beginning of the cuneiform script until the end of Ur III. The lists are always unilingual; the examples of syllabaries are ambiguous. The lexical tradition shows great uniformity at all sites. As examples, one may quote the list of fish (see M. Civil, “The Home of the Fish,” *Iraq* XXIII [1961] 170, n. 9) and birds (M. Civil and R. D. Biggs, “Notes sur des textes sumériens archaïques,” *RA* LX [1966] 8, n. 1), whose survival until Ur III times is now confirmed by new fragments from Nippur. The scarcity of lexical texts during the Ur III empire is surprising. Could it be due to the strength of the oral tradition? (see 1.6).

Period II: Isin, Larsa, and Early Old Babylonian. There is a clear break with the textual tradition of the preceding period, and two main innovations: syllabaries, which become extremely common, and the addition of Akkadian translations. The canonical series (1.2 (a) to (f)) are based on originals of this period (proto-series or forerunners).¹⁵ A few important lexical lists, however, such as U g u - m u (*MSL* IX 49-73), l ú - a z l a g₂ = *ašlāku* (*MSL* XII 151-219), and n í g - g a = *makkūru* (*MSL* XIII 91-124), did not survive into the canonical period. Most of the tablets preserved, perhaps all (see 1.6), are school exercises. The interesting problems of the textual relationship between the forerunners and the canonical series cannot be discussed here in detail. Among the points worth mentioning: the series HAR-ra started originally with the tree list (Tablet III of the canonical recension). The late Tablets I and II derive from a list of legal terms, phrases from the old collection of “model contracts,” and excerpts from Proto-Izi, but were first compiled in Old Babylonian times. The oldest dated forerunner to HAR-ra I-II is from the fifteenth year of Samsuiluna. The forerunner to Tablet XV lists cuts of meat, not parts of the human body (which are to be found in U g u - m u), and that explains the surprising absence of important parts of the human body in the canonical Tablet XV. The principles of organization of the lexical entries in Proto-Izi and Proto-Kagal, a combination of mnemotechnical economy and associative digressions, would make a fascinating study.

Period III: Late Old and Middle Babylonian. By a process that can also be detected in the transmission of such literary texts as b a l a g and é r - š è m - m a, there is in late Old Babylonian a branching-off and a certain deterioration of the textual tradition. The main centers (Nippur, Babylon) must have preserved more effectively the tradition of period II, since the canonical recensions are based on copies from these places and are of a better quality than the recensions that are at the source of exportations to peripheral regions (Assur, Boghazköy, Ugarit, Nuzi). Few lexical tablets from period III have been recovered in the south. E r i m h u š (above (h)) must date from this period since it is attested in Boghazköy, and SIG₇.ALAN is mentioned in the Kassite text CBS 10938 rev. 14 (*BE* XVII, No. 73a). The period ends with the textual stabilization of the lists.

14. Of all occurrences of *lē'u* as the model for a tablet in H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* (*AOAT* 2 [1968]) p. 166, not one is a lexical tablet. (A recently discovered [fall, 1974] tablet of A V/3 is copied from a GiŠ.DA, according to its colophon).

15. There no longer seems to be any reason to distinguish between proto-series (“Ur Serie”) and forerunner (“Vorläufer”); cf. *MSL* II 2. The format of the unilingual series is 2 or 2⁽⁴⁾, rarely 2⁽¹⁾.

Period IV: Canonical recensions. The origin of the canonical forms of the lists is not clear because of the scarcity of sources during period III. The only thing that can be said is that they must be the product of Babylonian schools before the twelfth century B.C., since the recensions from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.) already differ minimally from the ones in the Assurbanipal library and are practically identical with late NB copies coming from Babylon, Sippar, Borsippa, Uruk, and so on. Lists of any consequence do not seem to have been produced during the period, except perhaps for “practical vocabularies” and the very secondary syllabary $\dot{A} = idu$. Most, if not all, of the commentaries date from this period.¹⁶

1.4. Geographical Diffusion

Wherever tablets are found in substantial numbers, lexical texts appear. Mari, which so far has not produced any lexical texts, is an exceptional case. During period II, we have texts from Elam and Cappadocia (unpublished).¹⁷ In period III lists are found in Nuzi, Boghazköy, Alalakh, Ugarit, Palestine, and Tell el-Amarna.¹⁸ All texts can be traced ultimately to the main series described above (1.2). Textual variations are either orthographic, due to local scribal habits, and mostly affect the rendering of the stops, or they are misunderstandings caused by a lack of familiarity with the languages: an Ugarit scribe will write, for example, *e me - d a - d a g a l - l a* for *e m e d a - g a - l á*, or will copy materials which were exotic in a town on the Syrian coast, such as fish names and toponyms of Southern Mesopotamia. For scribal misinterpretations in Boghazköy, see the remarks of Güterbock in *MSL* XIII pp. 132-43.

16. Some OB texts classified as “grammatical” (e.g., Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts XVII [*MSL* IV 47-128], V 196) could very well be bilingual commentaries.

17. V. Scheil, “Vocabulaire pratique,” *RA* XVIII (1921) p. 49ff. (post Ur III!), and “Quelques particularités du sumérien en Elam,” *RA* XXII (1925) pp. 45-53. Dossin, *Autres textes sumériens et accadiens* (*MDP* XVIII [1927]), and van der Meer, *Textes scolaires de Suse* (*MDP* XXVII [1935]), include a large number of school exercises of a lexical nature.

M.J. Mellink, “Archeology in Asia Minor,” *AJA* LXXIII (1969) p. 206, *AJA* LXXIV (1970) p. 160, *AJA* LXXV (1971) p. 164. Note that if “non-commercial tablets in three columns” refers to subcolumns, it can hardly be *HAR-ra*, which is 2⁽¹⁾-4, but perhaps it is a *S^a* vocabulary, unless of course it is a so far unattested format of *HAR-ra*: 1-2-4, which is after all a conceivable format for a peripheral region (compare for instance the *Ka ga l* Boghazköy version in *MSL* XIII 149-53). The fact that the tablets have “a distinctive script and vocabulary” could point to an import.

18. E.-R. Lacheman, “Nuziana I: Tablettes scolaires,” *RA* XXXVI (1939) p. 81ff. The Middle Assyrian (MA) lexical tablets, despite their many peculiarities, I consider as part of the main, not peripheral, tradition. Cf. E. Weidner, “Die Bibliothek Tiglatpileser I.,” *AfO* XVI (1952-53) 197-215. Catalogue of lexical texts from Boghazköy by H. G. Güterbock, apud E. Laroche, *Catalogue*, pp. 47-53. H. Otten and W. von Soden, *Das akkadische-hethitische Vokabular KBo I 44+KBo XIII 1* (“Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten” Nr. 7 [Wiesbaden, 1968]). E. von Weiher, “Ein Vokabularfragment aus Boğazköy (*KBo* XVI 87),” *ZA* 62 (1972) pp. 109-14 (should have been included in *MSL* XIII, *I z i*, Boghazköy A and *Ka ga l*). D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), Nos. 445-47. F. Thureau-Dangin, “Vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra,” *Syria* XII (1931) 225 ff., “Nouveaux fragments de vocabulaires de Ras-Shamra,” *Syria* XIII (1932) pp. 233ff.; J. Nougayrol *et al.*, *Ugaritica* V (Paris, 1968) pp. 199-251. Cf. J. Krecher, “Schreiberschulung in Ugarit: die Tradition von Listen und sumerischen Texten,” *UF* 1 (1969) pp. 131-58. A very large number of texts are being prepared for publication by J. Nougayrol and D. Kennedy. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (*VAB* II [1915]) Nos. 348-54; hand copies in F. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna* (London, 1894); C. H. Gordon, “The New Amarna Tablets,” *OrNS* 16 (1947) pp. 11-20.

1.5. Interpretation

Taken at their face value, some entries in the native lexical lists appear to be incorrect. There is, to be sure, a fair amount of plain scribal error and misunderstanding, but most of the inaccuracies are to be ascribed to the missing oral component of the lexical tradition on the one hand, and to scribal conventions and abbreviations on the other. Disregard for these factors, especially when the lists are used through modern logogram compilations such as *ŠL* where the entries are listed mechanically with no critical comments, may lead to serious mistakes. Needless to say, the modern compiler has often compounded the problems by his own misreadings and misunderstandings. The case for the inadequacy of *ŠL* and similar collections was convincingly argued by S. N. Kramer many years ago (*Enki and Ninhursag* [*BASOR* "Supplementary Studies," No. 1 (New Haven, 1945)] pp. 31-34). One cannot, however, follow him when he overreacts to the lexical texts described by him as "a huge and more or less amorphous mass" of lists of "all classes and descriptions." Not only is it uncritical to lump together for instance Ea and Á = *idu*, but Kramer, forgetting that without lexical lists he would be unable not only to translate approximately the literary texts, but even to read them, is in fact biting the hand that feeds him. His apparent assumption that a lexical text ought to be derived from bilingual literary texts in order to be reliable is unwarranted and conflicts with what is known about the lexical and literary traditions. Nevertheless, Kramer deserves the credit for having clearly established the need for a correct interpretation of the native sources, and for pointing out the dangers involved in swallowing whole what Deimel says. The mistakes of the modern compiler are usually quite easy to detect. Nowadays, only a beginner will be baffled by such oddities as IN.GAM.ZA for in-nu-ha (*ŠL* 148: 50), or will take MUD.HU.ME (*ŠL* 81: 32) for a Sumerian word. The inaccuracies, real or apparent, of the ancient scribe are another matter. A critical appraisal needs first a discussion of the native lexical tradition.

1.6. Oral Tradition

To understand and interpret properly the lexical tradition, one has first to realize the central role that oral instruction necessarily had to play in the training of the scribes, at least in the better known conditions of Nippur.¹⁹ In later times and in other places the situation may have been somewhat different: a scribe from Boghazköy or from Assurbanipal's library may have learned his Sumerian from tablets. The OB Nippur scribe, however, learned to associate sounds and meanings with the signs he was being trained to write from the teacher's oral instruction, and certainly not from consulting a tablet. Otherwise, several facts would remain unexplained: the lack of a pronunciation column in so many tablets, how information which is not included in the most complete copies of Proto-Ea found its way into Ea, the omission of absolutely essential morphophonemic rules, and so on. The lexical lists are only a skeleton, the flesh of the oral teaching is gone forever. Scribal practices, alternative spellings,

19. For the transmission of texts in societies with a highly restricted degree of literacy, see J. Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), in which suggestive parallels are offered; see also J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition* (Chicago, 1965), historically oriented. Although it has not been so far formally discussed, the concept of an oral tradition accompanying the lexical lists seems to be gaining acceptance; see, e.g., Krecher, in *UF* 1, p. 133; M. Civil, "Notes on Sumerian Lexicography, I," *JCS* XX (1966) p. 120, n. 8.

context analysis, and the like allow us to reconstruct some of the interpretive rules, but the recovery will always be partial. It is difficult to say when this oral tradition was lost. The latest tablets, with their emphasis on the quality of the original, the place where it was obtained, and the collation of the copied text, certainly give the impression of “library” copies that were intended to be read. It seems unlikely that the late NB commentaries, with their accent on etymology, could represent the original form of the oral instruction. The information necessary to interpret the lists is just not found in them. A corollary of the OB Nippur situation is that it is quite likely that we may not have a single “library” or “teacher’s” copy among the preserved tablets of that period. The expert scribe was the one who knew the traditional craft by heart; as the trainee was approaching the master’s stage, lexical tablets became less and less necessary to him. That may be one of the reasons why so few tablets with the final sections of the lists have been recovered, in contrast to the innumerable tablets with opening sections that have been recovered (see *MSL* XIII 91).

1.7. *Scribal Conventions and Interpretation Problems*

Leaving aside for the moment elementary scribal errors, it is not always feasible to distinguish between the abbreviating convention and the misinterpretation of the text on the part of the ancient copyist. The examples, which illustrate some of the most frequent scribal conventions, have been chosen in such a way that they will also show how the lexical tradition becomes progressively more explicit (and occasionally deteriorates).²⁰

1.7.1. WRITING SYSTEM. (a) “If one of the signs which is part of a Diri compound can have a pronunciation that agrees with some segment of the phonological shape of the compound, assign to the rest a value which will allow the compound to be read as if it were syllabically written.” The entry *la - a : KAL* in Proto-Ea, l. 339 is given in Ea IV 306 as *la - a : KAL = šá A.KAL^{il-lu} ni-’-lu šá A.ME*; that is, A.KAL is reinterpreted as *e₄ - l a₆*. Similarly, *nu - ú : KU = re-e-i-a-ú-[um]* in Vocab. Proto-Ea, 22:1,²¹ is later explained as *nu - ú : KU = šá ÁB.KU ú-tul-lu* in Ea I 157; that is, ÁB.KU = *un u₃*. Note that Proto-Ea apparently neglects this crucial information. The ancient scribes rarely made excessive use of this rule which still looks attractive to some modern Sumerologists who like to transliterate PA.TE.SI as *en₅ - si* (why not *en si₂*^{si?}).

(b) “Homophonous signs can share their meanings,” for example, *tu - ur : TU = šerru*, and its usual synonyms (A VII/4 66-67) from TUR; *se - e : TIR = náhu, pašāhu* (A VII/4 78-79) and *se - e : LUL = kuššu* (A VII/4 129), the correct logogram in both cases being MÜŠ×A.DI and its variants. This rule goes against the principles of logographic writing, and so it is not surprising to find that it is not applied in genuine Sumerian texts, where such sign confusions appear only as rare textual mistakes.

(c) A number of artificial signs in Ea are never found in actual text occurrences: for instance *ur bi(n) gu*, written $\begin{smallmatrix} LÚ \\ LÚ \end{smallmatrix} \times$, or $\begin{smallmatrix} UR \\ UR \end{smallmatrix} \times$, replacing *ur - bi — gu₇*, “to have a fight,” in the literary texts; there are many other examples of this, such as the large number of instances of LAGAB with

20. See Landsberger, *MSL* IX pp. 143-44 for some of these conventions.

21. Vocab. Proto-Ea is quoted according to *MSL* XIV.

inscribed signs in Ea I 48-131. This is a revival of an old tendency to invent inscribed signs, as shown by the large number of compounds in the Early Dynastic sign lists.

1.7.2. PHONOLOGY. (a) Emesal forms are listed in OB vocabularies with no hint as to their dialectal nature, for example, *ta* = *minû* (*MSL* II 145, l. 28), although Emesal forms are more or less regularly labeled as such in later lists. (b) Basic syllabograms can have undifferentiated values: [MU] = /mu/ and /ġu/ in Proto-Ea. Ea resolves the ambiguity at the price of creating a new one: old [MU] = /ġu/ is replaced by [GU] which now = /ġu/ and /gu/. The diachronic graphic correspondences solve the problem. (c) Some pronunciations are restricted to some lexical items: *gu-u* : KU = *šá* KU.LI *ibru* (Ea I 135),²² that is, “KU is pronounced /gu/ in the word *gu₅-li*, ‘friend.’” The statement is ambiguous, for it can mean “only in” or “as for instance in” (*gi-in* : KUR = *šá* ZA.KUR *uqnû* [Ea II 189] applies also to *še-gin* for *še-gin*, “glue,” in the Ur III texts). The net result is that one is left in doubt about the pronunciation of *all* instances of KU as a syllabogram! A pronunciation may be restricted without any indication of the fact in the lexical sources: NI can be read *líd* (Ea II 11) only in *líd-ga*, an old loanword from Semitic *litku*, obsolete since Sargonic times and as such unfamiliar to the scribes who compiled Ea;²³ the meaning they give (*litiktu*) is approximately correct, but the value is incomplete. Note that in this case the commentary to A II/1 has been preserved, and it too ignores the correct explanation. (d) The example of *líd-ga* illustrates the occasional survival of obsolete spellings, as in the case of the value *zàr* of SUM (Ea IV 126), obsolete since Ur III, when it was used in *zàr-ta-b-ba*, “pile of sheaves,” written *zar-ta-b-ba* in Old Babylonian times. (e) Some alternations in spelling, such as *s~š* in /sig/ ~ /šig/ = *šaqummatu* (cf. *MSL* XII 73 ad 846) are perhaps to be explained as the unsystematic updating of original sources from different time periods.

1.7.3. MORPHOLOGY. (a) Verbal root alternations of the type singular/plural, or *hamtu/marû*, are often, though not always, indicated in later sources, but they appear as simple synonyms in OB lists: [*su/tu-uš*] : KU and [*du-ru*] : KU = *wašābum* (Vocab. Proto-Ea, 12:1, 21:2); for the second entry Ea I 144 adds *ša ma’dūti*. In fact, these alternations have often been discovered by context analysis and not in lexical sources, for example, *ù-tu* (*marû*)/*tu-u* (*hamtu*) (*SP*, p. 125). (b) Unexpected translations such as *bu-ú* : BU = *ina, ana, -ma* (A VI/1 187-88, 191) must come from a “syllabic” analysis of forms such as *á-gùb-bu* (< *á-gùb-a*), “on the left side.”

1.7.4. SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS. (a) Some verbal roots have certain meanings only in construction with specific nouns and noun phrases (not only in the so-called compound verbs, but in other syntactic frames as well), but the lexical lists give the restricted meaning without indicating the distributional constraint. Such entries are very common in late vocabularies, but they are attested as early as Old Babylonian. The only indication so far in the lexical lists that *zi-gi₄* means “to calm down,” “to pacify” is *gi₄* = *nuhhu* (*MSL* II 143, l. 12).²⁴ Selectional restrictions had to be inferred from literary contexts. Although the existence of these semantic restrictions is a very well known fact, and was one of the main arguments in Kramer’s criticism of the lexical lists, one can occasionally find in the contemporary

22. The *gu-u* : KU of Ea probably corresponds to one of the two /ku/ values of KU in Proto-Ea, ll. 10-11.

23. On *líd-ga* see I.J. Gelb, “The Philadelphia Onion Archive,” *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (AS 16 [1965]) p. 58 (the correct reading is not among the possibilities listed there). *Diri* III 28, 32, give the word (with other logograms) as *líd d a*; perhaps an assimilation or a confusion with the measure name *n i n d a₂*(?).

24. Cf., however, *zi-gi-ba-a-n* (Erimhuš IV 151) and *zi-in-[gi₄]* (*Nabnitu* X 221) both = *šuharruru*.

literature commentaries such as “in the expression $ge\dot{s}tu_2-ri$, $ri = has\bar{a}su$ ” (Å. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* [TCS III (1969)] p. 54), or “ $sag-ke\dot{s}da = it'udu$ ” (W. W. Hallo and J. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* [YNER 3 (1968)] p. 88).²⁵ (b) Cases of homonymy are solved in late, though not in older, lists when the specification $\dot{s}a Y$ is added to the Akkadian translation X ; if X is a verb, Y can be the subject, the object, and the like. (c) What were the rules for the addition of t-forms or D-forms after the simple verb or, in general, of derivations from a root in the Akkadian column of $\acute{a}:A = n\acute{a}qu$? The same question may be asked about the mechanical accumulation of Akkadian synonyms.

1.7.5. ETYMOLOGY. In addition to the omission of part of a compound just mentioned, which can reach extremes such as $l\acute{a} = er\bar{e}\dot{s}u$ (from $apin-l\acute{a}$), and, still worse, assign a meaning to a phonetic complement as in $l\acute{a} = \dot{s}ehru$ (presumably from $di_4-di_4-l\acute{a}$), some Akkadian translations are the product of rather involved processes of etymology or word associations. An Old Babylonian Proto-A text gives $n\acute{ig} = j\acute{a}\dot{s}im$, which can only be explained as “possession = (what belongs) to me”; it is like translating Latin *mihi* as “property” because of constructions like *mihi est*.

1.7.6. STYLISTICS. (a) Only actual occurrences in context will show that $bar_a_2 = a\dot{s}\bar{a}bu$ (A I/2 358) is based on a mistranslation of an idiom. Sum. bar_a_2 can mean “throne (personified),” or “person of royal lineage”; in this meaning the correct Akkadian translation is $\bar{a}\dot{s}ib parakki$, “the one who sits (or may sit) on a throne.” (b) Opposite meanings may be given to the same word, for example, $[sa - a] : SIG_7 = ban\bar{u}$ and $la ban\bar{u}$ (A V/3 234-35); one of the meanings presumably applies only to ironical discourse. This stylistic device was rightly compared by Landsberger (*MSL* IX 144) with the word pairs called *qaddad* in Arabic rhetoric: *ağuzun* can mean both “young girl” and “old woman.”²⁶

1.7.7. VARIA. As already pointed out by Poebel (*ZA* 37 [1927] pp. 252-54), there are some “editorial” conventions in the lexical lists whereby instead of:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{value}_1 : \text{SIGN}_1 &= \text{meaning}_1 \\ &= \text{meaning}_2 \\ \text{value}_2 : \text{SIGN}_1 &= \text{meaning}_1 \\ &= \text{meaning}_2 \end{aligned}$$

the scribe telescopes the entry and writes:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{value}_1 : \text{SIGN}_1 &= \text{meaning}_1 \\ \text{value}_2 : \text{SIGN}_1 &= \text{meaning}_2 \end{aligned}$$

with the result that what may be a simple morphophonemic alternation has the appearance of a phonemic contrast. The scribes themselves seem to have forgotten this convention on occasion and created

25. Instead of $sag-ke\dot{s}da - ak$; the previous remarks of Falkenstein quoted there are more nuanced and avoid the trap.

26. K. Hale has described a curious linguistic tradition among the Walbiri (Central Australia) which makes systematic use of antonymy. For instance, to say “I am sitting on the ground,” the men, after the first initiation rites, will say “someone else is standing on the sky” (D. S. Steinberg and L. A. Jakobovits, eds., *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader* [Cambridge, 1971] pp. 472ff.)

semantic overdifferentiations: ^{du-u}UL = *nakāpu ša alpi*, ^{ru-u}UL = *nakāpu ša urīši* (*Nabnitu* I 88-89). Ea IV 151-52 gives now: *du-u* : UL = *nakāpu, asāmu*; *ru-u* : UL = *kašāru*, and so on.²⁷ It is hardly likely that *zugud* and *zubud* are two different words, despite their different translations *patarru* and *zubuttu*, respectively, in Ea IV 115-16 (cf. Civil, in *JNES* 32 [1973] p. 60). For other “editorial” conventions, see the introduction to *MSL* XIV. There are many other points to be kept in mind when using the lexical lists, such as incorrect glosses frequent in the late lists (e.g., ^{ku-uš}U = *patānu* in *Erimhuš* II 296, as well as the more serious *u-ra-aš* : IB = *nēbettu* in A I/8 39), but the preceding paragraphs give a fair sampling of the most important ones.

1.7.8. SCRIBAL ERRORS. Since most, if not all, of the Old Babylonian lexical lists from Nippur are school exercises, it is not surprising to find in them elementary mistakes, which appear also to a lesser degree in texts of all periods and places. In addition to erroneous substitutions of signs, omissions, and repetitions, there are also cases which show that the scribe simply did not properly understand the entries. The Akkadian equivalents of *ú-gu—dé* in the lexical lists are *abātu*, “to run away,” *āšû*, “one who goes away,” *halāqu*, “to disappear,” *lābû*, “howling,” “bleating,” and *šasû*, “to cry out”; *napardû* in *Izi E* 315 is possibly a mistake for *naparkû*, “to leave work.” All of these meanings belong to the same semantic sphere, except *lābû* and *šasû* (or *šāsû*). One can try to save the reputation of the ancient scribes and assume that the last two forms refer to vocal manifestations of a lost person or animal (see *CAD*, s.v. *lābû*). In all likelihood, however, the scribe simply mixed up *ú-gu—dé* with *gù—dé*.

1.7.9. A SAMPLE CASE. In order to understand what kinds of problems the lexicographer is up against when unusual signs, poorly understood Akkadian translations, and scribal errors conspire to confuse the data, let us consider the case of U.PIRIG and its compounds.²⁸

The sign U.PIRIG is clearly attested from OB to the S^b syllabary, but it is, nevertheless, an infrequent one. Its reading is fairly well assured: *ku-š u* (Proto-Ea, l. 577; S^b I 210, with variants *ku-uš* and *ku-š u-u m*) and glosses *ku-uš* (*Erimhuš* II 9) and *ku-š u m* (*Nabnitu* B 146); Recip. Ea A iii 12 gives a slightly divergent form, *ki-š i*. See also below the passage from *Antagal* III.

The sign appears in the following constructions: (a) *kuš u* alone, (b) *kuš u—tag*, and (c) *kuš u—ki—tag*.

The sign alone (a) is only lexical; if it does appear in context, it has not yet been recognized.

The form *kuš u—tag* (b) is attested (outside of lexical lists) in: *anše-edin-na bar-rim₄-ma kaš₄-di-gin_x(=GIM) kuš u (!)* (collated) *i-tag-tag-ge*, “(the messenger)...s like an onager running on dry land” (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, l. 415; S.N. Kramer [Philadelphia, 1952]). The sentence is one of many in this composition that describe traveling messengers. It is attested further in *dūr^{ur} en-gal-gin_x(=GIM) kuš u i-tag-tag-ge* (Lugalbanda and Hurum, l. 273, Enmerkar and Enmuškešdanna, l. 46), in *úr nitadam_x(=SAL.UŠ.DAM)-zu^d dumu-zi-da-ka kuš u tag-tag-ga-me-en* (for the reference and variants, see Å. Sjöberg, in *OrNS* 39 [1970] p. 87), in [...] ‘x’ *mu-ni-kéš kuš u*

27. Quoted according to *MSL* XIV; the restorations in R. T. Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary* (*AS*, No. 7 [1940]) p. 20, ll. 144f. have to be corrected.

28. See Å. Sjöberg, “Beiträge zum sumerischen Wörterbuch,” *OrNS* 39 (1970) p. 87, No. 13, for a partial and inconclusive discussion. I will not discuss here the precise meaning of Akk. *pašālu*; it would seem that the traditional “kriechen” (*AHW*, p. 841b) could be improved upon.

mu-tag-tag-ge, [...máš-a]nše <níg>-úr-4-e edin ní-ba lu-a (Enlil and Ninlil II 98-99), and in 'x-x'-gin_x(=GIM) kušu i-tag-tag-ge (Bird-Fish, l. 147).

The form kušu—ki—tag (c) is found in: inim mah-a-ni-šè ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne kušu ki(!) mu-un-tag-ge-ne (for references, see Sjöberg, in *OrNS* 39, p. 87).

The history and meaning of the last form is fairly straightforward; the Old Babylonian reference above is translated by *ip-ta-na-ši-lu*. In post-Old-Babylonian times kušu is replaced by kùš, presumably by a scribe who knew the pronunciation but was uncertain about the correct shape of the logogram; he decided to replace it by a homophone. Lexically, we have kùš-ki-tag-ga = *pašālu* G and kùš-ki-tag-tag-ga = *pašālu* Gtn (Izi E 329-30); possibly derived from this passage are kùš^{kes}-ki-tag-ga = *pašālu* G and kùš-<ki>-tag-tag-ga = *pašālu* Gtn (Antagal III 221, 223). In order to fit the format of Antagal (see 1.2(h)), an entry KU-KU-ru = *pešēlu* was inserted between the two entries just cited to form a triplet. The final episode of its history is a literary passage: gašan-mu ... kùš ki a-ra-ab-tag-tag, translated as *aptašilki* (*OECT* VI, Pl. 19, K. 4623 r. i 1-2). The translation and even the Sumerian morphology are correct, but the text belongs to a genre that probably was composed with the help of lexical lists.

The form (b) had a more complicated life, interwoven with that of (a). The starting point is: ^{ku-uš}U.PIRIG = *šá-a-qu*, U.PIRIG-tag = *lāpu*, U.PIRIG-tag-tag = *nāqu* (Erimhuš II 9-11). The form U.PIRIG is clear in the source CBS 328; the other available source, a Middle Assyrian one, offers a sign form that looks like PÉŠ. In the Boghazköy recension (*KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 and 1431/u + [Ottén and Von Soden, *Das akkadisch-hethitische Vokabular*, Pl. I], collated by Güterbock) the sign form is  the Akkadian translations are mixed up with those of the preceding section, so that this branch ends in complete confusion. In support of Erimhuš as given above, one can adduce: ^{ku-šum}U.[PIRIG] = [x]-a-qu (*Nabnitu* B 146), at the end of a very loosely organized section that violates several principles of the arrangement of lexical items in *Nabnitu*. Landsberger restored [na]-a-qu, because there is a *tanūqātu* two lines above, but since there is no consistency in the roots of the section, [šá]-a-qu seems equally acceptable, if not more. An additional item is ki-tag-ga = *lāpu* (5R, Pl. 16, col. i, l. 37, and dupl.). But (b) seems to have a secondary branch: ku-šu-u-m : BI.LUL = *šá-a-qu*, *nāqu*, *nāšu* (A V/1 176-78) and ku-šu-u-m : LUL = *šá-a-qu* (A VII/4 136; Ea VII 299 has *šu-ú-q[um]*, but the beginning of the line is broken). Do we have a sign confusion with U.PIRIG becoming LUL, or just an example of the case discussed in 1.7.1(b), with *nāqu* included by attraction next to a bona fide kušum = *šāqu* (or *šāqû*?, see below)? Semantically, the situation is extremely confused. The verb *nāqu* B is explained by *alāku* (*AHw*, p. 744b), but what is the semantic difference between the two? Observe that U.PIRIG—tag is said of quadrupeds in literary contexts. One could infer from the Erimhuš style and from the similarity of the Sumerian forms that *lāpu* is roughly a synonym of *nāqu*. The problem of *šāqu* is still more complex. It may not even belong to the same semantic range as *nāqu* and *lāpu*, since its membership in the Erimhuš triplet could be justified by the common logogram U.PIRIG. On the one hand, ^{lū}BI.LUL is a logogram for *šāqû* in MB and later texts; on the other hand, there is a *šāqu* with unknown meaning attested in ri = *šāqu* (together with *rādu*, *rābu*, and *redû* [Erimhuš V 204-7]), and in hum, huz = *šāqu* (A V/1 15, 29). I will not attempt to solve the problem here; my point is to illustrate what happens, unfortunately too often, in the study of the lexical lists. Finally, it must still be pointed out that in S^b I 210 kušu is translated by *būlu*, “animal herd.”

1.8. *Modern Editions*

The first significant block of lexical sources was published by Rawlinson in typographical facsimiles (2R [1866] and 5R [1880-84]); the handcopies of Thompson (CT XI [1900], XII [1901], XVIII and XIX [both 1904]) replace almost completely the older editions, adding at the same time considerable new materials. These four volumes still constitute the main core of sources published in copy. Most Assyriologists (Meissner, Thureau-Dangin, Zimmern, Scheil, Meek, Langdon, Gadd, etc.) have contributed something new in this field. Worthy of special mention are the efforts of Chiera in *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (OIP XI [1929]) and of Meissner in his *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie* ("Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft" I [1925], III [1929], XI [1937], XIII [1940]). Full reconstructions were attempted only for the short basic syllabaries (see, for example, the reconstructions of S^a, S^b and S^c by Delitzsch in *Assyrische Lesestücke* [2d ed.; Leipzig, 1878; more complete in the 4th ed., 1901]). The systematic reconstruction of all lexical series is the result of the insight of Benno Landsberger, who, realizing their crucial importance for any serious lexicographic work, devoted a great deal of his time and effort to the enterprise from the late twenties to the time of his death in 1968. The actual realization of the project received a decisive impulse when Chiera, then head of the Assyrian Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, asked Landsberger to prepare the lexical series for the CAD files. With the collaboration of L. Matouš and H. S. Schuster, he reconstructed HAR-ra, S^b, and Ea, and collected materials for the other series. After Landsberger's publication of the fourteenth tablet of HAR-ra (*Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien* ["Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig," Philol.-hist. Kl., XLII, No. VI (1934)]), the first volume of *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* (MSL) appeared in 1937. The onset of World War II interrupted the printing of a second volume with the series Ea and á-A, of which only a few page proofs remain. The work did not start again until the late forties, and Landsberger, who had joined the Oriental Institute staff in 1948, prepared the manuscripts of all the lexical series,²⁹ including a completely new revision of Ea and á-A, but excluding most of the unilingual OB forerunners whose extent and importance had not yet been realized. A second volume of MSL (different from the one planned more than a decade before) was published in 1951. At Landsberger's death, seven more volumes had been printed. In 1968, E. Reiner and M. Civil took over the editorial task of MSL and four more volumes are now available. MSL XIV (vocabularies of the Ea group, including a re-edition of Proto-Ea) should appear in 1975. Volume XVI (*Nabnitu*) is being prepared for publication in 1976. It will be followed by Volume XV (*Diri*), prepared by M. Civil. With the publication of Volumes XVII (*Erimhuš* and *Antagal*) and XVIII (miscellaneous vocabularies) the main task will be finished. It is worth noting that the lexical sections of the individual entries of CAD have already made available to everyone perhaps as much as 70 per cent of the unpublished series.

29. Many Assyriologists helped Landsberger in this task; see the list in MSL IX 124, n. 3.

2. Available Resources

The publication of all native lexical sources, even after the most complete indexing, is only a preliminary step in the study of the Sumerian lexicon. The contextless words of the lexical lists are as dead as the plants in a botanist's herbarium. Only by considering the words in their syntactic, literary, and cultural context can we revitalize them so that their meaning can be established as a means to capture the messages from a past that is separated from us perhaps more by linguistic and cross-cultural barriers than by millennia. As things now stand, the Sumerologist must improvise a "dictionary entry" for each word he encounters in his texts. If he is lucky, some of his colleagues will have done part of the work for him; nevertheless, it is always a painstaking task that often detracts his attention from the literary and anthropological aspects of the texts he is working on. In any case, and for several years to come, he will have to write his own private lexicon. Where he gets his materials and how he goes about it are the subject of this section.

2.1. Classification of Lexicographic Works

The resources at the Sumerologist's disposal can be classified under the following headings: (1) Logogram Collections, (2) Dictionaries, (3) Partial or Specialized Glossaries, (4) Lexicographic Notes, and (5) Word Indexes. Admittedly, the borderline between types 3 and 4 will be somewhat fuzzy in particular cases. Naturally, I do not include in the list either etymological dictionaries based on the signs' *Urbild* and *Grundbedeutung* or comparative dictionaries that attempt to relate Sumerian to any number of other languages. An example of the first type is J. D. Prince's *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (AB XIX [1905-8]). The discovery of many Early Dynastic texts in the 1920's marks a revival of his approach. Deimel has an opening paragraph about graphic etymology for each sign of his *ŠL*, and he left at his death an unpublished "Šumerisches etymologisches Lexikon." A series of notes "Zur Erklärung sumerischer Wörter und Zeichen" (*OrNS* 13 [1944] pp. 321 ff., etc.) gives an idea of its content and style. A recent demonstration *ad absurdum* of the inanity of this approach is K. Jaritz, *Schriftarchäologie der altmesopotamischen Kultur* (Graz, 1967; see the review by R. D. Biggs, in *BiOr* XXVI [1969] 207 ff.). The graphic analysis of pictographs is an archeological problem and totally irrelevant to linguistics. The comparative glossaries range from relatively sober, if misguided, studies such as P. Rivet's *Sumérien et Océanien* (Paris, 1929), to monstrosities such as Hilaire de Barenton's *L'origine des langues, des religions, et des peuples* (Paris, 1932-37), of the purest seventeenth-century erudite style. All of these studies can be safely disregarded by the Sumerologist.³⁰ The same applies to recent attempts to apply glottochronological methods to Sumerian (for a recent example, see *Current Anthropology* 12 [1971] pp. 215ff., with discussion).

2.1.1. LOGOGRAM COLLECTIONS. After a pioneer tradition represented by J. Ménant, *Éléments d'épigraphie assyrienne* (Paris, 1864), E. de Chossat, *Classification des caractères cunéiformes babyloniens, ninivites, archaïques et modernes* (Lyon, 1878), and J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen* [i.e., Sumerian] *Wörter* (AB IV [1886]), R. E. Brünnow

30. For a partial bibliography of such studies see Sollberger, *Le système verbal dans les inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Geneva, 1952) pp. 10-11, and K. Oberhuber, "Zur Struktur des Sumerischen," *OLZ* XLIX (1954) 7.

published his careful and precise work, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs* (Leiden, 1887-89), which presented the final form for all subsequent logogram compilations. Everything published afterwards, although not always of the same quality, can be considered a supplement to Brünnow's list of 14,453 entries. Brünnow limited his compilation to Sumerian entries, included bound morphemes, and, except for the latter, proposed no translations other than the Akkadian ones. The indexes are complete and include a list of all verbal forms in the book. Supplements soon started to appear, the more substantial ones being C. Virolleaud, *Premier Supplément à la liste des signes cunéiformes* (Paris, 1903), C. Fossey, *Contribution au dictionnaire sumérien-assyrien* (Paris, 1905-7), and especially B. Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme* (AB XX [1910]), which included 11,521 additional entries, but again, semantic preoccupations were lacking. In 1904, G. Howardy modestly started his publication *Clavis Cuneorum, sive Lexicon signorum assyriorum* (London, 1904-33), with a new orientation and format: facing each page of hand-copied logograms and their Akkadian translation is a page with the Akkadian words translated into Latin, English, and German, with references. The work progressed very slowly and its last fascicles were printed after the author's death in 1931 by G. R. Driver. Several scholars helped Howardy in his last days, among them Thorkild Jacobsen. This compact and quite useful book unfortunately was not imitated. The last compilation of logograms was A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1928-33), completed later with additional specialized supplements. The first part, re-edited three times with important modifications, is a list of all phonetic values;³¹ the second and largest (1144 pages) is the *Vollständige Ideogramm-Sammlung*, basically an updating of Brünnow and his successors,³² but with the addition of some unilingual material: some entries from the Fara texts which Deimel himself had published in *Die Inschriften van Fara II* (*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 43 [1923]); the Pre-Sargonic words that he was studying at the time for some article in the old series of *Orientalia*; and some Ur III materials that N. Schneider was collecting in close association with Deimel. The literary material is almost completely neglected, except for the royal inscriptions.³³ For the last fascicles, A. Goetze contributed references from the Boghazköy texts. The third part gives Sumero-Akkadian and Akkado-Sumerian indexes (the latter based mostly on Bezold). No one will deny that *ŠL* has been, and still can be, a useful work for the discriminating reader, despite its many defects: it is uneven, uncritical, hastily put together in a mechanical fashion, with many incorrect quotations. There have been some proposals to revise *ŠL* and to publish a "Super-Deimel," but the wisdom of such a project appears doubtful. The time for a dictionary centered on a logogram collection is past. A full index of the native lexical lists, based on the *MSL* editions, is an absolute necessity, but it must be kept separate from the dictionary proper, since it is only one of its sources.

2.1.2. DICTIONARIES. The only serious work that can be classified as a conventional dictionary is F. Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (Leipzig, 1914). The entries are given in transliteration (with the key signs added afterwards in typographic cuneiform) and are arranged alphabetically (if that term can be used

31. The third edition unfortunately does not include the list of sources for the sign values given in the previous editions.

32. As a matter of fact, in the first fascicles of *ŠL*, the references are given simply by the numbers used in Brünnow and Meissner.

33. The skepticism about the literary texts was of course widespread during that period; "our only safe foundation [for writing a grammar] is either the pre-Sargonic or Gudea texts" (S. A. Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* [Copenhagen, 1956] p. 237).

to describe the succession a i e u b p g k d t l r m n ġ z s š, based on phonological considerations). The quotation of sources by museum numbers rather than by publication makes the handling of this glossary somewhat awkward. Nevertheless, the importance given to meaning and a good critical sense make this work of less than 300 pages worthy of imitation. Why it has not found continuants is a mystery. This may be due in part to its idiosyncratic format and in part to the fact that it has not been easy to integrate the data coming from lexical lists and bilinguals (the basis for the *Sumerisches Glossar*) with the new material from the archaic and Ur III periods that has been pouring in since the publication of Delitzsch's work. In 1954-55, R. Jestin and M. Lambert published two mimeographed fascicles of a *Sumericae Linguae Thesaurus* (later entitled *Contribution au Thesaurus de la langue sumérienne* [Paris]). Their objective was to provide a concordance with contexts, with only secondary attention given to semantics. The project was not continued. Without being, properly speaking, a dictionary, it would have been a mine of useful references far superior to Deimel's work.

2.1.3. SPECIALIZED GLOSSARIES. There are several varieties of specialized glossaries, as, for example, those accompanying a restricted corpus of texts (1), such as A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden* III (ABAW NF 44 [1957]), and E. Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* (TCS I [1966]). One can also include under this heading more modest glossaries such as the one in I. M. Price's edition of the Gudea texts, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea* (AB XXVI [1927]), which will continue to be useful until Falkenstein's posthumous edition appears. There are also monographic studies of a particular lexical domain with the emphasis on vocabulary (2), such as the long series of volumes loosely inspired by the "Wörter und Sachen" school, produced by A. Salonen. They range from the *Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (StOr VIII/4 [1939]) to *Die Ziegeleien im alten Mesopotamien* (AASF Series B 171 [1972]). Extremely useful for a preliminary survey of a lexical field, they are basically secondary compilations, whose quality does not always measure up to their bulk. And finally there are monographic studies that include all the items of a lexical field and are oriented mainly toward anthropological and material culture aspects (3). Although such studies do not contain a formal vocabulary, one can be extracted with the help of the indexes. Works to be included under this subdivision range from studies such as H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie* (Rome, 1972) to B. Landsberger, *The Date-Palm and Its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources* (AfO Beiheft 17 [Graz, 1967]). These studies do not need to be in book form; B. Landsberger, "Über Farben im Sumerisch-Akkadischen" (JCS XXI [1967] 139-73), covers the full field of color terms. It must be noted at this point that because of the bilingual character of Mesopotamian civilization, it would not only be inadvisable but downright impossible to study the *denotata* by a separate handling of the Sumerian and Akkadian sources. As a result, as soon as the studies classified under 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 leave the lexicon proper to investigate the anthropological aspects of the meanings of words, they have to deal with both languages at the same time.

2.1.4. LEXICOGRAPHIC NOTES. The main difference between lexicographic notes and the studies described in 2.1.3 is that the former investigate individual words without attempting to assign them a place in the semantic sphere to which they belong. Most published commentaries to text editions are a series of lexical notes rather than explanatory remarks on the form and content of the literary work. A typical example is Å. Sjöberg's commentary to the temple hymns (TCS III) with its wealth of lexical

data. The lexicographic note can be considered as a partial dictionary entry, the advantage being that its author can concentrate on isolated sections of the entry (for my idea of a complete entry, see 3.3) and can expand into “encyclopedic” considerations that would be out of place in a dictionary (see 4). A close examination of the lexicographic note according to a typological classification of its range, perspective, and presentation would be in itself a fascinating study worthy of a special monograph. There is no room for it in the present context, however, so I will limit myself to some general remarks. Range would include, among other things, the degree of completeness of references. The lexicographer must of course inspect all available references to the word under study, but in the exposition of his conclusions completeness is a condition neither necessary nor sufficient. Not all occurrences are equally informative, and the indiscriminate piling up of references, even when not used as a smokescreen to avoid taking an unambiguous position, tends to obscure the semantic results. Many Sumerologists still show a certain reticence in their use of Pre-Sargonic and Ur III administrative materials, which could be extremely revealing when discussing literary texts.³⁴ Because of the concrete nature of these administrative texts, words occurring there have a precision of meaning that can amply compensate for the difficulties of a diachronic approach. Presentation is of course of secondary importance, and some of the most important lexical contributions, for instance those of the deservedly admired master of the genre Benno Landsberger, are often written in a somewhat obscure and rambling style which, by way of compensation, gave Landsberger the occasion to make public brilliant insights on words completely unrelated to the ones he was discussing which otherwise would have remained unsaid. Mechanical repetitions of references to lexical sources and studies can have curious results: there are instances when an author says “for the Akkadian translation *X* of Sumerian *Y* see *ŠL*,” and the only reference in *ŠL* is precisely to the passage upon which he is commenting! These defects in the presentation do not affect in general the lexicographic value of the note, but a faulty perspective can. The two main distorting factors are the ethnocentric approach and the Akkadocentric approach. By the ethnocentric approach I mean the unwarranted projection on Sumerian vocabulary of semantic categories, presuppositions, and cultural classifications applicable only to the standard Western worldview, or perhaps to only part of it. To show how difficult it is to get rid of ethnocentric prejudices, it is enough to consider the problems involved in the translation of kinship terms, despite the fact that the *denotata* involved can be rigorously defined in objective terms. The implications of the

34. An article about sesame oil (F. R. Kraus, “Sesame im Alten Mesopotamien,” *JAOS* 88 [1968] pp. 112-19), for instance, forgets the existence in Ur III of the *e n g a r - g e š - i - k a - (k e₄ - n e)*; Szlechter, *Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la III^e dynastie d’Ur* (Paris, 1963) Pl. 55, No. 26: 3, Pl. 57, No. 29: 3; H. F. Lutz, *Selected Cuneiform Texts* (University of California “Publications in Semitic Philology” IX [Berkeley, 1931]) p. 200, No. 78: 25; *TCL* V, No. 6038 viii 16, No. 6049 i 3; etc. The contrast with the *e n g a r - g u - k e₄ - n e* would have reinforced the author’s thesis on the one hand and spared him the incorrect statement that “ein... *g i š - i kommt nicht vor,” on the other hand. The Sumerian Ur III terminology is *g e š - i - (a k)*, “the oil producing plant” (well-attested without *e n g a r*); e.g., M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, Part II (*HSS* IV [1915]) No. 63: 7; *NRVN* I, No. 31: 2; N. Schneider, *Die Drehem- und Djoħa-Urkunden* (*AnOr* 1 [1931]) No. 303: 2; H. Holma and A. Salonen, *Some Cuneiform Tablets from the Third Ur Dynasty* (*StOr* IX/1 [1941]) No. 36:15; *g e š - i s u r - s u r*, G. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* (Berlin, 1901) No. 101 iv 15; *š e - g e š - i*, “the grain of this plant,” and *i - g e š*, “the vegetable oil,” the last two also genitives. Note, incidentally, the Soviet claims of having found sesame grains at Urartian sites: B. B. Piotrovskij, *Vanskoje Carstvo (Urartu)* (Moscow, 1959; Italian trans. by M. Salvini, 1966) pp. 200ff. The neglect of the Pre-Sargonic administrative texts among scholars working on Sumerian literature is almost complete.

lack of a term for “cousin” in Sumerian have not yet been realized by Sumerologists. The anthropologist will conclude that *šeš* and *nin*₉ apply not only to siblings but to cousins as well (i.e., that the Sumerian kinship system belongs to the so-called “Hawaiian” type). The importance of this conclusion for the correct interpretation of some mythical tales cannot be overrated. By the Akkadocentric approach I mean the procedure that stops the semantic investigation of a Sumerian word as soon as its Akkadian equivalent is determined. The syntactic and/or stylistic constraints on the constructions with *ú—s u d* (see 3.3.2-6) could hardly be inferred from the occurrences of *patānu* in Akkadian. The use of *zi—t ú m* (with terminative), “to take refuge from a mortal danger,” is the equivalent of *napista abālu*. The sense is clear from many Sumerian contexts, but it could not possibly be deduced from the rare instances of the Akkadian idiom (cf. *CAD* A/1, p. 18b, with the translation “to present oneself”). In most cases the help from Akkadian is crucial, but there are also many instances in which Sumerian solves a problem for the Akkadian lexicographer. Whenever possible, however, the meaning of a Sumerian word should be sought first in Sumerian contexts.

2.1.5. WORD INDEXES. Little can be said about indexes except that the contribution they make to facilitating the lexicographer’s task far outweighs the trouble and expense involved in adding a complete list of words to all text editions, and especially to journals: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* and *Orientalia* are to be commended in this respect. Let us hope that other journals, such as *Revue d’Assyriologie* and *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, will someday follow the same path.

3. *The Sumerian Dictionary*

After seeing what the Sumerologist can expect from the past and how he is coping with the present, it is time to look at the future of his lexicographic activities. The need for a dictionary is evident, and most of the materials are at hand; the discussion therefore can happily center more on how to make the dictionary than on its feasibility. The question “how does one make a dictionary?” is not an easy one to answer. As Weinreich put it: “The indifference which lexicography displays towards its own methodology is astonishing.” If dictionary-makers are notorious for their disregard of the theoretical bases of their work, the opposite approach of wasting time in interminable procedural discussions without getting down to writing more than a few sample entries is a real, if less frequent, trap to be carefully avoided. Several years ago, the writer, in collaboration with Å. Sjöberg, who was at the time a member of the Oriental Institute staff, read a paper at an American Oriental Society meeting about a dictionary project, but nothing concrete came out of it.³⁵ Recently, an announcement has been circulated about a project directed by K. Oberhuber, but no technical details are available. Other proposals must be around, but none has reached the execution stage. I assume, therefore, that it is still appropriate to spend a moderate amount of time and energy to ensure that the end result of a dictionary project will fulfill some of the requirements that the recent progress in the field of semantics and grammar

35. This is somewhat inexact. At present the Oriental Institute has (1) a word index that covers most of the Sumerian literary corpus and a good deal of the administrative texts, (2) a file of 106.800 Sumerian lexical cards of various kinds, (3) a computer concordance prepared by G. Gragg of 7.000 lines, and 6.500 additional lines on punched cards, partly processed, and (4) several hundred sample dictionary articles (mostly verbs).

imposes on the ones who will have the courage to engage in the tedious and long task of giving us a Sumerian dictionary.

3.1. Methodology

The appearance of the *CAD* and *AHw* has been one of the greatest, if not the greatest, accomplishments of Assyriology in the last two decades. There is no need to stress that, because of the bilingual nature of the most important native lexical lists, the writing of a Sumerian dictionary without a reliable Akkadian one at hand would be a most difficult task indeed. But what concerns us here is not this obvious fact, but the potential use of the *CAD* and *AHw* as models for a Sumerian dictionary. The *CAD* and *AHw* are, each in its own way, fine examples of a descriptive dictionary in the nineteenth-century tradition inaugurated, it is customary to assume, by the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1852-1961) of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The question before us is whether the Sumerian dictionary should follow the same path, that is, imitate *CAD* or, if a more concise format is desired, *AHw*. In my opinion the answer must be negative, for two main reasons: first, two great revolutions, the structuralist and the generativist, have permanently changed linguistic science as the creators and practitioners of nineteenth-century lexicography knew it; second, anthropological linguistics has refined its methods of handling cross-cultural vocabulary analysis, and these methods have been successfully tested in the study of many exotic languages. For the Sumerologist to ignore these developments is tantamount to depriving himself of powerful means to arrive at a deeper comprehension of the Sumerian vocabulary, to minimize his ethnocentric bias, and, ultimately, to get a better understanding of his texts. It is completely impossible in the present context to give an adequate idea of the new concepts and tendencies in lexicographic and semantic studies to a Sumerological audience unfamiliar, with honorable exceptions, not only with the transformational-generative approach, but even with the older structuralist methods. I will limit myself to some of the consequences of the new approach:

(1) The lexicon is an integral part of the grammar, since, for example, the choice of the types of syntactic constructions is in large measure predictable from a number of basic semantic factors. Without a grammar there cannot be a dictionary, and without a dictionary a grammar is incomplete.

(2) The usual definitional descriptions of lexical items are advantageously replaced or at least supplemented by a more strict treatment, be it in the form of sets (matrices) of contrastive or specificative features, or preferably in the form of categorical trees.

(3) The componential (*lato sensu*) analysis is incompatible with the practice of writing a dictionary in alphabetic order and “making it up as you go along.” Each one of the different classes of verbs, each set of related nouns, for example, terms for parts of the human body or kinship terms, must be studied together.

(4) Only the data that account for the shape and behavior of the word in the grammar, and the data that identify the *denotata*, need to be included in the dictionary. The “encyclopedia treatment” is no part of it. See section 4.

I do not believe, however, that dictionary-making, despite all theoretical progress, is close to being a precise science; no mechanical application of clear-cut methods will be capable of solving cases such as the one described in 1.7.8. A good dictionary is still above all a work of art and cannot be created by a committee, but it can, conceivably, be made in collaboration with other people, and probably

should. A good lexicographer classifies the occurrences of a word according to the variations in its meaning, and classifies them as crucial, significant, or ballast good only for a concordance, using his natural instinct and flair, a gift that does not necessarily come with academic degrees and that cannot be acquired by reading the theoreticians; both may be necessary but not sufficient.

3.2. *The Collection of Data*

Next to the lack of a grammar, the single major obstacle in the preparation of a Sumerian dictionary is the relative unavailability of a main literary corpus. Fortunately this obstacle is in the process of disappearing. Strategically placed Sumerologists have or are in a position to have a relatively complete corpus. I am sure all texts would be made available for a serious dictionary project. There are reasons to believe that the texts at our disposal form a sample of sufficient size to give a reasonably complete picture of the vocabulary of Sumerian.³⁶ A practical problem is that as long as the editions have not been officially published one cannot refer to the texts by standard line numbers, even if one has a completely reconstructed text at his disposal. Variations in the line arrangement of the manuscripts, the practice of counting as lines such rubrics as *ki-ru-gú*, *sa-gíd-da*, and the like (not counted by the ancient scribes but usually counted by modern editors), different textual recensions, variable estimates of lacuna length, all make line numbering highly subjective. When a text is updated or re-edited, the new editor does not hesitate to introduce changes in the sigla of the manuscripts and in the line numbering; Sumerologists would be well-advised to imitate the editorial practices in more experienced fields such as Greek and Latin textual studies. The minor aesthetic inconveniences

36. This affirmation is obvious, I think, in the case of administrative texts. It can be demonstrated that a substantial portion of the literary corpus has been recovered. Van Dijk, "Une variante du thème de 'l'Esclave de la Lune,'" *OrNS* 41 [1972] p. 339, n. 3, may be correct in considering some of the preserved catalogues (e.g., *UET* V, No. 86) as occasional inventories of tablets. However, when one can find duplicates of a catalogue, even though it has all the appearances of an inventory (e.g., *TMH* NF III, Nr. 55, now duplicated by Ni. 1905), some other interpretation seems to be in order. I believe that this is the case for the so-called Nippur and Louvre catalogues: (1) Despite their divergencies, they show an extensive common structure, a significant fact if they come from different sites, as my examination of them leads me to believe. (2) The first three compositions (or perhaps five) of the Nippur catalogue are the only ones (with the exception of proverbs and certain short tales) which are found in type II/2 exercise tablets (for this designation see *MSL* XII 27-28). Note that the first three are all brief compositions of barely more than 100 lines and of a relatively simple structure. That seems to point to a didactic arrangement of the catalogue, at least at its beginning. (3) There are cases where a composition has as a catch-line the one which follows in the catalogue: e.g., UM 59-15-1 has the Enlil hymn (No. 5), with the Keš hymn (No. 6) as a catch-line; in UM 29-16-198, Šulgi A (No. 1) is followed by Lipit-Ištar A (No. 2); and so forth. (4) The overwhelming majority of important compositions so far recovered are represented in the catalogues. Quantitatively, of the 62 incipits listed in the Nippur catalogue, 54 are identified (with four more tentative ones), and 46 of the compositions are virtually complete. The original extent of this corpus must have been around 14.000 lines (to be compared with the 15.793 lines of the Iliad alone). Of them, ca. 75 per cent are preserved, although not all of them are understandable and therefore lexically useful. Although some important texts are not listed in the Nippur catalogue (among them *lu-gal-e* and *an-gin*, which are nevertheless mentioned in the Louvre catalogue), most of the missing ones are royal and divine hymns with a restricted vocabulary. An analysis of the catalogue of canonical liturgical series 4R, Pl. 53 likewise shows a similar situation, though not as favorable as the one in Nippur, but again this literary genre calls for a limited range of vocabulary. Needless to say, new discoveries may change the picture, and unusual or archaic texts of exceptional lexical interest may appear, but in any case we have more than enough to begin a Sumerian dictionary on a solid, broad basis.

involved in adding line 326*a* after line 326, or of leaving certain line numbers vacant (as is done in *MSL*) makes an edition immediately available for quoting without reference to the individual sources, a system that clutters many lexical studies and is impossible to use in collecting data for a dictionary.

As far as the collection of data itself is concerned, the size of the corpus is not so large as to preclude simple solutions. With excellent and flexible concordance programs for computers readily available,³⁷ it would appear that the best way to collect and organize the material would be through a computer concordance. Experiments in this direction conducted on two different occasions in the Oriental Institute (see Figs. 1 and 2 for samples of the output) make me skeptical as to the wisdom of this solution. In the first place, a concordance is not a dictionary. All concordance programs, unless one is willing to handle outputs of enormous size, give only a limited amount of context. A reinspection of the original edition when the reference is processed for a dictionary is therefore required. There were additional reasons for suspending, at least temporarily, our computer concordance project: (a) we considered that we had found satisfactory programs and acquired enough experience in the various stages of concordance-making (encoding, key-punching, etc.) to be able to compile one any time we wished to do so; (b) a concordance makes sense only when a textually stable corpus is available; and (c) we had not found a satisfactory system for including textual variants. A program for such a purpose is technically feasible, but those proposed so far have been too cumbersome or too indiscriminating. The best returns from our computer concordances have been in the field of grammatical studies. In summary, the usefulness of mechanical concordances for Sumerian texts appears to be somewhat limited. At present it seems that the best solution to making sources easily available to the dictionary compiler would be the preparation of a list of references (this can be done by computer, of course), and the microfilming of the corpus in such a way that, given the reference, the passage and the whole of its context could be located within seconds.³⁸

3.3. *The Ideal Lexical Entry*

3.3.1. What follows is a very tentative sketch of what a lexical entry should look like. It is given here more as a stimulus than as a paradigm. No suggestion about style or format is implied; the time to write a standard operating procedure for a Sumerian dictionary has not yet come. It is not the form that interests me here but the contents, with one exception, and that is my contention that quotations must be given in a separate section within the entry and numbered consecutively. The reason for this is, I think, obvious. If the lexicographer wants to quote the pertinent references in the different sections dealing with orthography, morphophonemics, syntax, and the like, he will find that a linear system of divisions and subdivisions of the references is not adequate. The occurrences of a given word in context can only be classified in several sets with multiple intersections. The limitations of the linear system can be illustrated by a relatively simple example: the very first entry in *CAD*, “*a/ā*, ‘that, those, the aforementioned’ (a demonstrative of Aramaic origin).” Using, for practical purposes, a tagmemic frame (with ± indicating an optional item), the constructions with *a/ā* can be formulated as:

37. The current activities in this field are reported in the journal *Computers and the Humanities*, published by Queens College of the City University of New York.

38. Note that a standard 16 mm. Recordak cartridge could easily contain some 40,000 lines!

Noun + $\bar{a}$ $\pm$ pronomial suffix $\pm$ number $\pm$ measure. That gives eight possibilities:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Suffix	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Number	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
Measure	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–

All possibilities occur, except 3 and 7, for the obvious reason that measure implies number. The references are classified by the *CAD* into four groups: (a) followed by a number; (b) followed by a number and measure; (c) without specification of quantity; and (d) determined by a pronominal suffix. Note that (d) does not exclude (a), (b), and (c), and sure enough there are examples of these three types in *CAD* under (d). This inadequacy in the entry's subdivision is the rule rather than the exception in both *CAD* and *AHW*; both dictionaries mix the morphological classification by verbal stems with a classification by subject, or object, or both. The complete entry in a sufficiently explicit dictionary should give syntactic information about the feature $\pm$ ANIMATE of agent and patient, about the presence or absence of the dative complement, about possible infixes, prefixes, spellings, and the like. This information must then be followed by the numbers identifying the pertinent references; for instance, taking as example the arrangement of the entry *š u m u* (Sollberger, *TCS* I 169, No. 640), one could have: conjugation prefixes: b- (1, 2, 4), m- (5-7), vocalic (3, 8, 9, etc.).

3.3.2. The information that one should expect to find in a dictionary entry includes:

- (1) Orthography: all graphic shapes of the word.
- (2) Morphophonemics: various forms that the word takes in different grammatical situations.
- (3) Meaning: translation plus semantic structure.
- (4) Syntax: syntactic environments in which the lexical item can occur, rules of the grammar which apply to the item, etc.
- (5) Semantic environment: conceptual or morphological relations with other items in the lexicon: synonyms, antonyms, compounds.
- (6) Stylistics: stereotypes in which the item intervenes, etc.
- (7) References, numbered and translated.
- (8) Native lexical sources.
- (9) Homographs.
- (10) Bibliography, and remarks.

Note that etymology is not even mentioned. Somewhere in the entry, the item may be marked as a compound or as +FOREIGN, if it is a loanword, and the Akkadian, or other etymon should be given. Internal etymologies are implied in the compounds, but they have no value whatsoever for *predicting* the meaning of the item.³⁹ The verb *š u — t i* may very well be “*die Hand nähern*,” and *š u — t a g*, “*die Hand berühren lassen*,” but this fact is a trivial consequence of the compounding process and contributes only *retrospectively* to the understanding of the meaning. “Etymologically” *š u — t i* could very well have come

39. Note that the traditional definition of the compound word is precisely “a combination of roots whose total meaning *is not explicable* in terms of the constituent parts.”

to mean “to caress” or “to punch in the nose,” instead of “to take,” “to receive.” Some comments on the points above are necessary:

(1) The section must include all the logograms, syllabic spellings, textual variants, and so on. In this, as in the other sections, if diachronic changes are attested, they should be indicated. One of the spellings must be chosen as the head word. Traditional, but less well founded transliterations, such as *k ú* instead of *g u₇*, will be better replaced. A typical problem will be the choice of the phonological shape of the head word: To give a simple example: do we need two entries *m e z e m* and *p i s a n*? The word is written with two different logograms: [1] *GÁ* and [2] *ŠID×A* (frequently abbreviated as *ŠID*). The phonological information is (with the logogram indicated in brackets): *b i - s a - a n* (Erimhuš D 11 [1]), *b i - z é - è ĝ* (An = *anum* III 82 [2]), *m e - z é - è ĝ* (Proto-Ea A, l. 238, Vocab. Proto-Ea A f 7 ([. . .]-z é - è ĝ) [2]), *m i - z é - è ĝ* (Ni. 1142:7 [2]), *p i - s a - a n* (Ea IV 234, S^a 66, Hh IX 49, Hh X 332 [1], Hh VI 224 [2]). It would be absurd to list all the forms as entries in the main lexicon; *p i s a n* is the traditional form because it happened to be the first one discovered (5R, Pl. 26, l.61a). Note that the value for *GÁ* is not preserved in Proto-Ea. The initial consonant shows the alternation *b~m~p* that may be phonemicized as /^mb/, as I have shown elsewhere. The second consonant is an example of OB [z] ~ late [s] (cf. *MSL* II 28). It may be conventionally represented by [ś] (or the like). The third consonant is obviously /ĝ/: from the OB spelling *-è m*, from spellings such as *ša GÁ- g á - k a g á l - l a* (*TCL* V, No. 6055 iv 11), or *GÁ- g á u - m u - n i - g á - a r* (E. Sollberger, *TCS* I, No. 290:4),⁴⁰ and from the sign name *pisannu*, which has a genitive *pisangaku* (E a IV 229, 235, 248). An occasional late *- n a* after *GÁ* would not be sufficient to invalidate this conclusion. What form must one choose as the head word? The narrower phonological transcription is /^mbiśeĝ/ or /^mbiśaĝ/ (I cannot discuss here the vocalic reconstruction), but it is advisable to use a broader transcription since not all occurrences of /^mb/ can be identified because of the lack of information in the native sources. I would choose *b i s a ĝ*, adding afterwards (/^mbiśaĝ/).

(2) This section must tell, for example, whether a word ending in [-m] is subject to the rule [-m] → [-n] before pause, as in *e z e m / n*, or not, as in *k a l a m*; whether a vowel can be reduced in compounds, as in *s i k i l > s k i l*; types of reduplication of verbal roots; and so forth.

(3) See 3.1 (3), with regard to supplementing the definitional description with a more rigorous componential and structural one, whenever possible. Some lexical domains are more amenable to this treatment than others.⁴¹ Generative semantics uses other means and obtains deeper results. If its assumptions about the deep semantic structure (Universal Base) of the sentence are correct, the benefits for translating would be enormous. The old dichotomy between literal translations and translations *ad sensum* simply disappears. Whenever possible, meaning has to be treated in such a way that the connection with syntactic properties rooted in semantics appears clear and natural.

(4) What kind of agents and objects, what kind of complements a verb can take are examples of the information that must be included in this section; the dictionary must give such data explicitly, without its

40. Translated by Sollberger as “in my (tablet-)basket,” but in view of the rest of the evidence I prefer to take *- g á* as a locative.

41. For a relatively simple illustration, see H. Landar “Seven Navaho Verbs of Eating,” *IJAL* 30 (1964) pp. 94ff.; B. Berlin “Categories of Eating in Tzeltal and Navaho,” *IJAL* 33 (1967) pp. 1ff.; and J. A. Frisch, “Maricopa Foods: A Native Taxonomic System,” *IJAL* 34 (1968) pp. 16ff. These studies are anthropologically oriented and apply a distributional approach based on folk taxonomies, which would be interesting to test on, let us say, all Sumerian verbs meaning “to cut.”

user's having to infer it from an *ad hoc* examination of the passages quoted. For instance, for the verb *geštu₂ — gu b*, “to set one's mind on,” it must be indicated that it takes only +ANIMATE agents; that the goal is +ANIMATE, and it takes -šè if it is a nominal phrase, and -dè if it is a verbal phrase. Furthermore, if it is a nominal phrase, it is a place name; if it is a verbal phrase, it can designate any activity, but the verb's agent must be the same as that of the main clause. The verb takes the infix -ši- only if the goal is “pronominalized,” having been mentioned in a previous clause.⁴² The conjugation prefix is the vocalic one, with one case of *ba-ši-* in Gudea, which is at the same time an exception to the previous statement about the directional infix. The verb class must also be indicated, as well as related facts, such as that *ù — ku* (negated) shares many peculiarities with *geštu₂ — gu b*, and so on. It is, of course, out of the question to formulate this information in the informal descriptive way it is given here. Appropriate symbols, used systematically, will provide the information in a clear and compact form. The format will depend on what kind of grammar the authors of the dictionary are using. Note that all the data above refer to surface structure. If a case grammar or a generative semantics approach is followed, the syntactic frames and rules that may apply will have to be formulated in a much stricter way.⁴³ It will not be easy to define the border between syntactic and stylistic facts: is it significant, or purely accidental, that all occurrences of *geštu₂ — gu b* are in the third person, or that no negative forms are attested?

(5) Some near-synonyms should probably be dealt with in the preceding section: what is the difference between *šag₅/sig₅* and *zíl*, both = *damāqu*, or between *ku₄-(r)* and *sun_x(=BÚR)*, both = *erēbu*?⁴⁴ But true synonyms, as polysemy, do exist, even if to a lesser extent than is usually assumed. The synonyms and antonyms must be listed, for example, *pà-(d)* opposed to *ú-gu — dé*, *zi — gi₄* opposed to *du₁₄ — mú*, not only because they help to clarify the meaning but also because of frequency of parallel constructions in the literature. In general some explanation must be offered for words translated by the same Akkadian equivalent: thus, in the case of *bisaĝ*, one should also list the other words translated by Akk. *pisannu*, namely ^{im}še₁₄/te₆ (=šID) and ^{giš}dùn-lá-ig. They are not true synonyms, but an explanation must be given for the translations of them into Akkadian. The convenience derived from listing all the compounds of a given word does not need comment.

(6) As indicated above, given the abundance of stereotypes in the literature and the absence of a sufficient number of occurrences of the same lexical item in different genres, it is not easy to separate syntactic properties from stylistic uses. The verb *sag-kéš — ak* occurs many times in the frame *N₁-e in im N₂-ak-šè* (late variants *-ke₄* and *-Ø*) *sag-kéš ba-ši-in-ak*, “N₁ paid attention to the words of N₂,” where both N₁ and N₂ are animate, and N₂ is usually superior or somehow higher in rank than N₁. Isolated occurrences show the possibility of other constructions: *nig du[mu]-ne-ne sag-kéš mu-ak-e*, “the bitch attracted the attention of her puppies (and said)” (direct discourse follows) and *nimgir-a-ni en^dhendur-sag-gá-ke₄ sag-kéš mu-na-ab-ak*. Note that the Akkadian translation *it'udu* applies only to the form with *ba-*. Note the fact that *ú — sud*, “to eat,” which as far as we can tell is said only of divine agents, takes a locative, and the thing eaten is never mentioned, or that *šu/šú-luh — ak*, “to clean,” is said exclusively of canal beds; is this due to syntactic constraints or to

42. This statement is somewhat hypothetical, being based on a single passage.

43. For an example based on case grammar see R. P. Stockwell, P. Schachter, and B. H. Partee, *The Major Syntactic Structures of English* (New York, 1973) pp. 717 ff.

44. The stem *sun_x(=BÚR)* will probably turn out to be a plural.

stylistic tradition? Clearly stylistic is the use of *geštu₂—gub* with the modal prefix *na-* in the introductions to narrative passages.

(7) The reasons for having quotations serially numbered are discussed in 3.3.1.

(8) The passages from the native lexical sources may require some critical comments, if the entry is not a straightforward one (see 2 for details).

(9) The list of words written the same way as the head word, regardless of their pronunciation, can be a time-saver and can enable the user to avoid mistakes. Thus, along with the variant spelling *kùš—tag* for *kuš_u—tag* (see 1.7.9), the homographs *ú-tag*, “part of the plow,” and *ú—tag*, “to weave reeds for a fence,” should be given; similarly, *hé-ši*, a variant of *he-ši/še*, “to be dark” could be confused with the prefix group *hé-ši*.

(10) Only essential remarks relative to dubious passages, semantic confusions, and the like should be given. Encyclopedic explanations and anthropological digressions on the *denotata* are to be avoided (see 4.0).⁴⁵

3.4. Preparatory Work

All lexical studies described in 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 are, in one way or another, positive and useful contributions to a future Sumerian dictionary, but I would like to single out a type of research that has up to this point been completely neglected by Sumerologists,⁴⁶ although it is indispensable if we want a good dictionary: the systematic investigation of semantic classes of verbs, and their syntax, following the methods of different grammatical schools. Besides the direct benefits for the lexicon and grammar, the use of different types of grammar would answer the question of which theoretical grammatical framework is the most suitable to the paleolinguistic task of describing Sumerian. Not only does the absence of informants preclude the use of the most common tests of a generative grammar, but the paucity of contextual data seriously hampers the use of inductive generalizations: what can one say about a verb such as *heši*, “to be(come) dark,” of which, as far as I can tell, only three occurrences are known? Will we need to content ourselves with a tagmemic approach, which does not require the use of non-sentences for its descriptions? I do not think so, but the answer can come only from the actual tests provided by the kind of studies I am suggesting. Examples of such studies are physical perception verbs; how does Sumerian express the cognitive/active contrast (see/look, hear/listen, etc.) of such verbs? By different lexical items or by different syntactic constructions? Do these verbs include in Sumerian a third descriptive subclass, as, for example, in English “it looks crooked”? Or cognitive verbs; how can the polysemy of Sum. *zu*, “to know,” “to learn,” “to teach,” be resolved? Apparently the only solution is by different syntactic frames. If the vexing problem of the conjugation prefixes ever receives a satisfactory solution, it will occur in this kind of study. Some important verbs appear to be “missing” in the Sumerian lexicon. Which ones, and why? Does the lack of a verb “to begin” force us to look for inchoative forms in the verb? The frequently

45. The experience of the *CAD* shows the danger of adding, among extremely useful information, uninformative comments of an anecdotal nature; see as an example the amusing semantic *quid pro quo* “note that Ez. 16:4 speaks of the cutting of the navel, not of the umbilical cord,” (*CAD*, s.v. *abunnatu*).

46. Note, however, that several chapters about verb constructions in Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš II* (*AnOr* 29 [1950]), and classified there as syntax, do in fact represent an attempt in this direction.

heard complaint that, with most of the main literary texts either edited or in the course of being reconstructed, students are running out of subjects for their dissertations thus has an obvious answer. Lexicographic dissertations are urgently needed.

4. *Beyond the Dictionary*

Despite the contention that the dictionary proper should not include encyclopedic information, the fact that a Sumerian dictionary describes a vocabulary across cultural barriers implies that if one cannot write a dictionary without a grammar, one cannot write one without an “encyclopedia” either. There is such a work being published in the Assyriological field, the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.⁴⁷ Its publication was initiated by Meissner and Ebeling in 1928, and at the onset of the Second World War two volumes, covering topics through the end of letter “E,” had been published. The work was taken up again by Weidner almost two decades later. Von Soden later replaced Weidner as editor; Edzard is the present editor. The last published fascicle (1972) covers the beginning of letter “H,” so that, in forty-four years, only about one-fifth of the work has been completed. Changes in editorship as well as the personal orientation of the numerous collaborators make far rather uneven coverage of the subjects (“*Granatapfel*” has 25 columns and three full plates, while “*Gerste*” is dispatched in less than two columns), to say nothing of the variations in quality. What has been said above about the need to study the items of a given semantic field at the same time and in relation to each other applies *a fortiori* to the *Reallexikon* and its alphabetized articles. The usefulness of the work is undeniable, and the overall quality of the last fascicles is outstanding but its approach belongs to another era, to the nineteenth-century *Reallexikon* genre, exemplified by Pauly-Wissowa. The lexicographer is not always able to consult it with satisfactory results, because of the fact that it is partly outdated, too little of it has been published, and it lacks systematic organization.⁴⁸ The lexicographer is thus on his own most of the time and must improvise and assemble the data related to the *denotata* from all kinds of sources.

What is needed is a global survey of Mesopotamian civilization in an anthropological frame.⁴⁹ It is certainly a difficult task, but B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vols. I and II (Heidelberg, 1920-25), shows the way.

In the study of a semantic field, the investigator may look for “etic” or “emic” (to use Pike’s terminology) elements and classifications. In the first case he works in terms of his own background and the principles of his own scientific field. In the second case, he strives to discover the native’s

47. In 1968 the title was expanded by adding “und vorderasiatischen Archäologie” (3, Fase. 5).

48. The problems of coordinating material culture and textual evidence can be illustrated by the article of P. Calmeyer and C. Wilcke, “Hacke,” *RIA* 4, pp. 31 ff., divided into two sections: A. In der Archäologie, B. Philologisch. Both sections are informative and prepared by competent specialists, but no expert in the history of agriculture has been consulted, except for the second-hand source A. Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica* (AASF Series B 149 [1968]) with the result that the typical structure of the Sumerian wooden hoe (^{gis}a l), correctly determined by Thureau-Dangin, “Notes assyriologiques,” *RA* XXIII (1926) p. 31, and the only graphic representation of it on an Akkadian cylinder seal escaped the authors’ attention; see my forthcoming edition of the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow.

49. As a first step, the Sumerian dictionary entries could be coded by giving at their end a numerical classification such as Murdock’s in the “Human Relations Area Files,” or a similar one devised *ad hoc*.

arrangement and classification of the world around him and of the words which designate it.⁵⁰ Only by trying to look at the world the way the ancient Mesopotamian did will the lexicographer properly understand his vocabulary.

Selected Bibliography

There is no general, up-to-date introduction to the native lexicographic compilations. The series published in *MSL* I, II, and XII-XIV are provided with brief introductions. See also Landsberger's remarks in *MSL* IX 124-26, and *JAOS* 88 (1968) pp. 133-47. Still useful, but partly outdated and/or incomplete, are:

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U2

LN262 U4-B1-A T1-SU C43 KUC2-H3 D. EN-LIL2 -LA2 -KA LN263 U2 NAM-T1 -LA =I-IN DU* LN264 ID2-NAL-HAL -LA ANA HUR-SAG -GA2 -KE4 A
 -HAL -LA ANA HUR-SAG -GA2 -KE4 A NAM-T1 -LA -KA KA =NAM-NI-IN GUB / KA-GUB LN265 A NAM-T1 -LA -KA
 B / KA-GUB LN266 A NAM-T1 -LA -KA DUB* =NAM RIG LN267 U2 NAM-T1 -LA -KA =HE2-IN GUB *SU LA KA LN268 A NAM-T1 -LA *DUB =HE2
 U =NAM-GA-MU-NI-IB DUG4 / CU-DUG4 LN27 U2, I-LI-IN-AU X U2 SIKIL KUR -RA -KE KI-NA2 -CE3 =MU-UN GAR LN270 TUG2. SIG2-SU3 -E =

Fig. 1.---Part of the entry *ú* in the Oriental Institute Computer Concordance. The head word appears in the center preceded and followed by as much context as can be fitted in one line of the output. Note C represents *s* and * marks capitals; the verbal prefix chains are preceded by = so that they may be listed together in a special section of the concordance.

TUR-TUK

AT615 U4-KUR2 -CE3 DUM C43 -GA -NI =HE2-NI-IR2 TUK-TUK INI-NI-MA =MU-NI-UN-CL - GA2-GA2

A A-NA KA-TI-NA MU-UT C43-BI-KU I-MU-US-SU U7-NU I-RA-AG-GU-UM-KI

L ANA MATI1 MUTU L1880 ANAZU UL KAS888U

AT635 C43 KI-AG2 -A-NE -TA NAM-MU-G16 B-A-NI =IN-NE-IN TUK-TUK

A INA RA-ME-KU QAZ-AX-CU-US-SU I-MU-US-SU

L INA RAMU-S QAD1XDU1U QADUATU ANAZU

Fig. 2.---Sample of a bilingual section of the concordance. S gives the Sumerian as in

Fig. 1; A gives the transliteration of the Akkadian and L the lexical transcription. Only S and L are concorded. Note that in Akkadian X represents *x* (and C represents *s*, except in logograms), and length is represented by doubled vowel.

I.6

Early Dynastic Spellings^{*1}

1. PA.DÙN = ḥ u r s a g

UET 7 86 is an OB duplicate of ED Lu A (*MSL* 12 8ff.) provided with glosses; line ii' 7' corresponds to line 115 of the complete text and reads: [PA.GAL^h]u-ur-sa-ág-gal¹DÙN². A confirmation of this reading and the meaning of the logogram are given by Proto-Diri Nippur 373 (see *MSL* 15, forthcoming): ḥ u - u r - s a g PA.DÙN = *ga-al-la-[bu]*; the source N 4932 gives the logogram as PA.DÙN.GAL, an obvious reminiscence of ED Lu A. PA.DÙN does not appear in ED professions lists (ED Lu B-E) or in OB Proto-Lu and should be considered as an archaic logogram already obsolete in late ED times, at least in the sense of *gallābu*. It is used, however, for ḥ u r - s a g “mountain” in Abū Šalābīkh both alone and in the name ^dn i n - ḥ u r - s a g. The God List *OIP* 99 82+84 vi 18 (dupl. 86 v 9) has ^dn i n - PA.DÙN. There is no doubt that Ninḥursag is meant since she is mentioned again in a text that deals with Keš (*OIP* 99 124 iv 5' and vi 9') and her name precedes that of Ašgi (cf. Biggs, *JCS* 24 1f.) in *OIP* 99 116 (dupl. 246) vii 6', in both cases written with PA.DUN. The ED version of the Keš Hymn (Biggs, *ZA* 61 193ff.) has a line (*OIP* 99 307 ii'

* The present article was originally published in *OrAn* 22 (1983) pp. 1-5.

¹ In addition to the usual abbreviations, UGN =UD.GAL.NUN writing system. My colleague R.D. Biggs read the manuscript and made valuable remarks.

2. The fragment U 30497, transliterated here from a photo (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum), duplicates *UET* 7 86 adding only a few signs (line numbers as in *MSL* 12 10f.):

i'	92	GAL:[	ii'	115	[GAL:SANGA][	-an-d]a-ga-na[GÁ]N
	93	EN.[		116	[GAL:P]A[h]u-ur-sag-gal	DÙN
	94	TA[R		117	[GAL][	t]i-ti-im-galDIM
				118	[GAL]:PA[	]ti-di-im-galSAG ₉
				119	[GAL][lu?]-uš-ḥu-um-ni-ir	LUḤSU
				120	[GAL][	]x'ḤUB
						MUS _x
				121	[GAL][	]x'-kuMUS

'x' in lines 120f. is a final vertical; MUŠ in 121 lacks the *gunû* verticals.

4'f.) which is not present in the OB version: PA.DÙN ki-dùg u₆ ma³-gub “a mountain, a good place that stands as an object of admiration”. Most occurrences of PA.DÙN are in UGN texts and it is therefore difficult to judge from the context how well the meaning “mountain” might fit. Note PA.DÙN za-gìn in 203 v 2' and ^eMUŠ×MUŠ^{na} AN PA.DÙN šu-du₈ ibid. 6'f. A phrase that recurs often in the large UGN composition *OIP* 99 142 is PA.DÙN ná-m-ná (see also 129 ii 1', 148, 214); one finds also PA.DÙN ná-durun (142 vi 10', 129 ii' 4').

Besides other occurrences in 142, PA.DÙN is found in 237 ii' 4', 253 vii 4, 392 iv' 9', etc. The regular spelling *hur-sag* is not completely unknown in Abū Šalābīkh: 326 i 17, iv 11 (see, however, Biggs' remarks in *OIP* 99 p. 91 about the possible foreign origin of this text); ^dnin-*hur-sag* appears in 345 i 5 (with *hur* written ŠAR×DIŠ) and ii 2'; note also ^dšara *hur-sag-še nam-ma-ti* ibid. ii 4'ff. In Fara PA.DÙN is exceedingly rare: Fara II 55 x 10 (UGN), 18 v 12 (but note that the duplicate 19 i 13 writes NUN DÙN PA). In the God List 1 vi 17 the Fara scribe writes ^dnin-*hur-sag*.

2. BALAG^{mušen} = *hurin* / **arin*^{mušen}

In line 28 of the ED Bird List (Pettinato, *OA*, 17, 1978, 165ff.), the Ebla version offers the variant a-*hu-ri* to BALAG.A of the Fara version, and to BALAG alone in a Ur III source of the List (A 31247 +31249, Nippur) not used by Pettinato⁴. The writing BALAG.A was nevertheless known at Ebla as shown by TM.75.G.1636 ii 1 (*OA* 17 117) and thus the difference in spelling is not a dialectal variant; a-*hu-ri* is a non-standard syllabic spelling. In connection with this variant, note line 23 of the Bird List: bu₄-*HUR* (Fara), BUR-BALAG (Ebla, where BUR is an abbreviation for NU₁₁.BUR⁵; the normal spelling appears in TM.75.G.1636 i 3). It seems reasonable to inquire whether the sign BALAG represents *hu-ri-in* in the ED texts (the spelling *hu-ri-in* itself does not appear in them as far as I can tell). The omission of the final -in in (a)-*hu-ri* poses no problem if one considers spellings like *ha-zi* for *ha-zi-in* or é-ba for é-ba-an; the problem of the a- will be discussed later.

The suspicion first raised by the textual variants of the Bird List can be bolstered by showing that BALAG.(A) shares with *hu-ri-in* two stylistic distributions in the literary texts: 1) more than one-half of the occurrences of *hu-ri-in* in OB texts are in the phrase *umbin hu-ri-in*^{mušen}-na, and 2) the *hu-ri-in* bird is often found in parallel with *anzu*. For references and previous literature, see B. Landsberger, *WZKM* 57 (1961) and C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbadaepos* (1969) p. 63²³⁷ as well as Heimpel, *Tierbilder* (1968) p. 426ff.; several new textual passages could be added to these discussions but they would not change the perspective of the problem. In the ED texts BALAG appears 1) with *umbin* in Fara II 18 vi 4ff. (a collection of Inanna Songs): *igi uru, 'umbin' BALAG*^{mušen}, AN é²-tùr⁶ ná-m-da₆-da₆ (URUDU), and in *OIP* 99 162 viii 12f.: *GI uru umbin BALAG*^{mušen} KU [...], and 142 xvii 2: *umbin 'A' BALAG*^{mušen} in a difficult, half-broken context; and 2) in parallel with *anzu* at the beginning of Fara II 18 (see above, and note the strophic pattern):

3. Probably for *im-ma* in later texts.

4. [For an updated edition of the Bird List, see now Pettinato, *MEE* 3·p. 105].

5. Usually transliterated ŠIR.BUR but note that ŠIR (LAK 23) and NU₁₁ (LAK 24) are carefully distinguished in ED texts, and even later.

6. Or šila m?

anzu(^{an}IM^{zu})^{mušen} kur SAG₉
 BALAG^{mušen} kur MAR
^{d:}inanna anzu^{mušen} kur SAG₉
 BALAG^{mušen} kur MAR

In OIP 99 321 ii 4'f. A.BALAG^{mušen} precedes- a n z u(^{an}MI)^{mušen}. The distribution of BALAG^{mušen} in the ED texts is thus obviously similar to that of ḫ u - r í - i n^{mušen} in later texts⁷.

There is another word /ḫ u r i n/ in ED. To write the names of the trees which appear in the later texts as e r i n and š u - ú r - m i n (spelled also š u - ú r - m e, etc.) the ED scribes use the sign ERIN accompanied by phonetic indicators, for instance: ^{giš} ḫ u ERIN^{rin} n á, ^{giš} š u ERIN^{me} n á (*Fara* II 20 iv 20f.), and ^{giš} s i l a ^{u'} - m e ERIN, ^{giš} s i l a ^{urin} ERIN (*OIP* 99 35 iii 3f.), where u r i n = LAK 31. The conclusion that ^{giš} e r i n has an older form ^{giš} ḫ u - r í - i n, homophonous with ḫ u - r í - i n^{mušen}, is thus inescapable. As a result, the sporadic ^{giš} that appears before ḫ u - r í - i n^{mušen} (A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuḫšešdana* 54: 230) and the m u š e n that appears when ḫ u - r í - i n is obviously a tree (*Lugalbanda* 28, see Wilcke p. 141) are now understandable: at one time the name of the tree e r i n and the name of the bird were homophonous. Whether this homophony implies that the tree e r i n was originally the “eagle-tree” is uncertain but not impossible. In any case, both words lost the initial ḫ-, which is preserved only in the historical spelling ḫ u - r í - i n for the bird in literary texts where the writing cannot vouch for the phonological preservation of the ḫ- (note the frequent transliteration u₁₁ - r i - i n, supported by the spelling variants ú - r i - i n and u₅ - r i - i n as well as by Akk. *urinnu*)⁸. The origin of the word in the case of the bird must be sought in a form *ḫara- (which is the ultimate source of Akk. *a/erû*) or perhaps more precisely in a form *ḫaran-, attested in the area by Hittite *ḫara(n)-* (compare ὄρνις and related words), reinterpreted in Akkadian as *ḫara-+-ēnu/-īnu from which *a/erû* was extracted in order to escape the homonymy with the tree *erīnu* (see already Landsberger, *WZKM* 57 p. 15⁵⁸). In A.BALAG^{mušen} the A must be a phonetic indicator (since it may be omitted) showing that ḫ u - was already a “historical spelling” in ED and the word started with a vowel and not with ḫ-; at the same time it helped to separate the reading *a r i n from b a l a g and other possibilities. The Ebla spelling quoted at the beginning of this note should thus be interpreted as ^aḫ u - r í. The gloss u r i n in OIP 99 35 may be an indication of a vocalic initial but it is not conclusive since Proto-Ea gives a variant ḫ e - r i - i n (line 624) for ú - r i - i n = ŠEŠ/LAK 31.

3. GI = s i g₁₇, again.

In addition to the evidence for reading GI as s i g₁₇ in the logogram KÙ.GI (*JCS* 28 183ff.), it appears now that this value goes back to ED times and applies to words other than KÙ.GI:

a) Line 6 of the short folktale “The Fowler and his Wife” reads:

N 1237	e-sig ^{mušen} -e sa ì-bí-ná
Ni 3206 (<i>ISCT</i> 2 12)	e-sig-e sa ṛ-ù'-bí-ná ¹⁷
N 7918	[x-G]I ^{mušen} -e ...
UIC 9 (<i>JCS</i> 31 143 no. 11)	e-GI ^{mušen} -e sa bi-ná

7. (A).BALAG^{mušen} occurs, of course, in ED contexts without u m b i n or a n z u; e. g., *Fara* II 56 vi 8.

8. See Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 426 for additional data.

NMK A 10068 (*JCS* 27 201ff.)e-GI^{mušen}-e sa ba-e-ná

The natural explanation of the variant s i g/GI is that e-GI has to be read e - s i g₁₇. Hh XVIII 218 (*MSL* 8/2 132) has now to be read: [e - s i g^{mušen}] = e-si-^rgu' (according to collation by O. R. Gurney), giving the Akkadian name of the bird, missing in the dictionaries. The Nippur Forerunner to Hh XVIII (unpubl. *MSL* ms.) line 84 has only e - s i g^{mušen}, but *FLP* 145: 14 (Ur III, courtesy D. O. Owen) has e - GI^{mušen}. It is likely that line 61 of the ED Bird List (Pettinato, *OA* 17 p. 170) refers to the same bird: Fara has GI^{mušen} while Ebla has s i g₁₄ (or š e g₉)^{mušen}.

b) The following UGN passage shows an alternation between GI and IGI-gunû = s i g₇:

A	sig ₇	za-gìn	u ₆ -gub _x (TUKU)	DU ₆ NUN gar ₅
B	GI	za-gìn	u ₆ -gar	DU ₆
C	sig ₇	za-gìn	u ₆ -gar ₅	TIR
A	^d inanna	kiri ₆	gi ₆ -edin	u ₆ am ₆ -ma-gub _x (LAGAB)
B	^d inanna	kiri ₆	gi ₆ -edin	u ₆ am ₆ -ma-gub _x (LAGAB)
C	^d []	kiri ₆	edin	u ₆ [x]- ^{gub} TUKU

(A = *OIP* 99 120 iv 2ff.; B = *OIP* 99 299 ii' 4'ff., C = *TSŠ* 126 iv 9ff.). The s i g₇ in C has been collated by R. D. Biggs: it has several wedges at the beginning instead of the two copied by Jestin. The second part is reasonably clear: "Inanna stood in the deep shade⁹ of the (palm) garden as an object of admiration", and although I would not dare to translate the first half the use of GI with a value s i g₁₇ is not in doubt.

c) The terms for colors in ED texts still need investigation, but there is a series UD, MI, GI that obviously corresponds to b a b b a r, g i₆, and s i g₇ of later texts. See, for instance, *OIP* 99 33 iii 2ff. (stone vessels), or Fara II 64 v 11ff. (wool and garments). The second example is in a list that belongs to the oldest lexical texts (Jemdet Nasr [*OECT* 7 194, *JRAS* 1931 837ff.] and Uruk).

d) Note, finally, ^dŠAR×DIŠ-g i/g i₄ later written ^dŠIR.SIG₇ (Biggs, *JCS* 24 p. 2)¹⁰.

9. The translation "deep shade" of the streets of a town (s i l a g i₆ e d i n - n a) or of the trees of a garden (k i r i g i₆ e d i n - n a) will be justified in another context. The term g i₆ e d i n - n a seems to be strictly poetic and is well-attested in ED literary texts, e. g. *OIP* 99 253 vi 3. See, provisionally, Bauer, *Altorientalische Notizen* 12, and Wilcke, *AS* 20 301f.

10. I do not include here additional evidence for the word KÙ.GI itself, such as new examples of k ù - s i (e. g., *UET* 6 195 i 4', 8', etc.; see also Talon, *RA* 74 p. 95), but I would like to point out the spelling g u - š i - g e identified by Kienast, *Kisurra* II 171 ad 193 B 1).

Studies on Early Dynastic Lexicography I*

In a chapter of *MEE* 3,¹ entitled “Liste di parole e di oggetti eblaiti” (pp. 247 ff.), Pettinato published four lexical texts (nos. 61-64) considered by him to be probably written in Eblaite. This is true for no. 61 which I was able to recognize in the draft of *MEE* 3, kindly shown to me by its author, as the Semitic translation of lines 1-98 of Word List B (*MEE* 3 45 + 46 - and dupl.). Shortly afterwards, J. Krecher identified no. 62 as the Sumerian syllabic version of lines 1-26 and 105-24 of Animal List A (*MEE* 3 12-17 and dupl.). Inspired by Krecher’s discovery, I recognized in no. 63 the syllabic version of lines 1-49 of Word List D and in no. 64 lines 13-40 of the ED Bird List.

The existence of Early Dynastic syllabic versions of three lexical lists, all of which go back to the Uruk period, is a most unexpected surprise which opens a new chapter in the understanding of the earliest lexical compilations and provides phonological data for the oldest stages of Sumerian.

These pages are a preliminary effort to explain, phonologically and semantically, these syllabic entries and to discover the native philological principles that govern their creation. Many points remain obscure. The concerted efforts of many Sumerologists will be needed before these goals are attained.

1. *Word List D 1-49: Syllabic Version*

The lexical list that Pettinato calls “Lista di parole sumeriche D” (*MEE* 3 pp. 165ff.) contains 102 entries designating mostly food items, organized as follows:

* The present article was originally published in *OrAn* 21 (1982) pp. 1-26.

1. The following abbreviations are used in addition to the usual ones: GL = Geographic List *MEE* 3 pp. 227ff.; LE = L. Cagni (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981; RS = Ras Shamra version of Hh XVIII (courtesy D. A. Kennedy); SLE = Sign List Ebla *MEE* 3 pp. 196ff.; VE = Vocabulary Ebla; line numbers as in *MEE* 4 pp. 197ff. and 349ff.

I am grateful to Giovanni Pettinato for allowing me to check the texts on photos, to H. Nissen and M. W. Green for permission to quote from unpublished Uruk texts, and to my colleague R. D. Biggs who was kind enough to read a draft of this article and make valuable observations.

a)	numerals and measures.....	1-18
b)	foods based mainly on grain.....	19-49
c)	various types of food and their preparation.....	50-56
d)	meat cuts prepared as s u - l á.....	57-79
e)	meat cuts prepared as a d k i n.....	80-102

The introductory section a) seems to be included to teach how to measure or count food portions. Section b) is the subject of the present article. Section c) lists what seem to be the terms for “animal carcass”² (lines 50f.), fish (lines 52f.), and two(?) types of salt (lines 54f.), and ends with GÁ×HA.A, probably the ancestor of GÁ×A+DA+HA = *sihil nūni* “fish bone”³. Although the term SU-lá in section d) could conceivably designate an object made of animal hide (reading kuš-lá, compare Akk. *kurussu* “leather strap”, etc.), as suggested by Bauer, *ZA* 71 323, I prefer to read s u - l á “a dried and/or salted cut of meat”⁴. The following passage from Hh XV 304ff. (with the unpubl. dupl. BM 35742), given here in simplified form, is, I think, decisive in favor of my interpretation:

304	uzu ad-ki-in ŠÉŠ	ŠITtu	
305	uzu MIN ŠÉŠ	kirrētu	
306	uzu MIN ŠÉŠ	muddulu	
307	uzu NI ^{SU} -ul -lá	MIN	(with var. ^{uzu} s u - l á)
308	uzu NI ^{MIN} -l á	sāqu	(with var. <i>sādu</i> , error?)

Note that these entries are immediately preceded (lines 302f.) by ^{uzu}LÚ.BAD in the sense of “carcass” (*pagru*, *šalamtu*).

Word List D was briefly discussed by Deimel in *WVDOG* 43 pp. 21*f., with special emphasis on its metrological contents. Possibly for this reason H. Nissen defines this list as “mathematisch” in LE 107.

Sources

The sources for Word List D (see *MEE* 3 p. 169) are repeated here for convenience and with the addition of two sources from Susa.

2. For LAK 350 meaning “carcass”, see, for example, *TSŠ* 515 i 6: 1 LAK 350 š á h - k a m₄ “one pig carcass”. In this sense, LAK 350 is later replaced by LÚ-šeššig and similar signs. It appears to be used also in the general sense of “meat” as opposed to “fish”. Note, besides the passage discussed here, Word List E 82ff.: LAK 350-a, mu ḥ a l d i m LAK 350 š e ḡ₆, mu ḥ a l d i m k u₆ š e ḡ₆ “the cook cooks meat, fish”; and *WVDOG* 43 57 iv 6f.: sila k u₆, sila LAK 350. For a possible reading bu_x, see Pettinato, *MEE* 3 134, and A. Archi, *SEb* 4 189: 287.

3. VE 078 gives GÁ×HA.A = *ti-lum* ḤU.A; it could perhaps correspond to Akk. *šēlu* “rib”, whose first consonant is a reflex of the controversial “voiced emphatic interdental” or fricative-lateral /d/. If this assumption is correct, this consonant would thus be represented graphically in Ebla by d/t. A meaning “bird’s ribcage” seems compatible with the meaning “fish bone/skeleton” of the logogram GÁ×A+DA+HA.

4. Cf. *OSP* 1 126 ii 2’ s u - l á - a d à r a - m a š - d à. VE does not include s u - l á, but a d k i n is found in 1055 with the translation NI-šè-bù-um; compare, perhaps, Akk. *nešbû* (*CAD* N/2 191b *nešbû*, adj.); the drinking of “dried-up blood” could fit the Lamaštu quotation well. See also Pettinato, *MEE* 3 175 ad 80-102.

- A = VAT 12770 (*WVDOG* 43 15, photo; photo of the l. c. in Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* pl. 4) 1-102
 B = VAT 12421 (*WVDOG* 43 16, photo)..... 1-102
 C = VAT 12616 (*WVDOG* 43 17)..... 1-12, 18-27
 Upper left corner fragment with parts of cols. i and ii.
 D = AbS-Tl43 (*OIP* 99 5, photo and cast) 1-3.3, 54-55?, 62-63, 81-83, 101-102
 Left and lower edges of a tablet that contained the full text.
 E = AbS-T151 (*OIP* 99 6, cast) 2-6, 16-20
 Upper left corner fragment with parts of cols. i and ii.
 F = *MEE* 3 48+ 49 (transliteration only) 1-102
 G = *MDP* 18 21 8-14, 60-63, 75-77, 95-102
 Fragment from a six-column cylinder, or hexagonal prism, with ca. 18 lines per column.
 H = *MDP* 27 196 46?-50, 67-73, 87-88, 101-102
 Fragment from a hexagonal prism; the copy is so deficient that I cannot identify the first two cols. The present whereabouts of the prism are unknown; it is not in the Louvre (J.-M. Durand, personal communication).
 S = *MEE* 3 63 (photo, courtesy G. Pettinato)..... 1-49
 Complete round tablet with four cols. per side; syllabic.
 U = nine unpublished pieces from Uruk (unpubl., courtesy M. W. Green).
 Only some variants are mentioned in the commentary.

The standard text below represents, whenever possible, the Ebla version. Variants from other sites are mentioned, if needed, in the discussion. Since a quite complete critical apparatus is available in *MEE* 3 pp. 169ff., it has not been considered necessary to give a new edition here.

*Text*⁵

Standard	Syllabic (source S)
1. NINDÁ×○	[g]ú [?] -sa-ma
2. NINDÁ×DD	gú-sa-ma
3. NINDÁ× 	en-da
4. NINDÁ× 	en-da sur _x (ḪUŠ)-ru ₁₂
5. 	[me]-ne

5. For variants, traces of signs, etc., see commentary as well as the critical edition in *MEE* 3 169ff.

6.		ˁméˁ-[n]e sùr-ru ₁₂
7.	2	me-ne ba-du
8.	3	iš-ší ba-du
9.	4	lam NI.NUN ba-dum
10.	5	u ₉ -ì-a ba-dum
11.	6	u ₉ -iš ba-du
12.	7	u ₉ -ma-nu LU NE <ba-du>
13.	8	u ₉ -iš-ší ba-dum
14.	9	u ₉ -lu ši-zi ba-du
15.	10	u ₉ -NINDÁ
16.	sur	sur
17.	NUMUN	sùr NE da-la
18.	40	u ₉ -mì-na ba-dum
19.	GAR.UD	gi-ˁmeˁ-xˁ
20.	ŠÚ+ZÌ	si-ˁxˁ
21.	ninda-sur	ì-da sur ¹
22.	ninda-ĝír	ì-da gú-ru ₁₂ -da
23.	sur	ì-da NE nu-gú-ru ₁₂ -da
24.	GÀR	ha-i
25.	gàr-gàr	gàr-gàr-lu[m]
26.	saĝ-gur ₈	sa-mar-u ₉
27.	gàr-sud(BU)	gi-zu-ur
28.	gàr-babbar	gi-ba-bar
29.	ninda-gal	ì-da-gal
30.	gúg-gal	gú-gal
31.	GÚG	gu ₄ -du
32.	GÚG.GÚG	ga-da
33.	gúg-GÁ×SÌLA.ME	gú-sa-al
34.	GÁ×SÌLA.ME-GÁ×SÌLA.ME	si-sa-al
35.	GÁ×SÌLA.ME	ni-sa-al NE-a
36.	GÁ×SÌLA.ME-ud	sa-la ù-ˁduˁ [?]
37.	gár-GÚG	ga-ga-rí-na
38.	MUNU ₄ .GÚG	ti-dab ₆
39.	LAK 384	NI-na-al
40.	LAK 384-ĤI	NI-na-al-ˁlíˁ-a
41.	LAK 384	a-wu-zu
42.	LAK 384-ĤI	ù-zi-la
43.	LAK 384-ì	ù-zi-ti-a
44.	LAK 384-ga	ù-zu-ga-ti-a
45.	LAK 384-gára-ti ₅	ù-za-ba-da-ti ₅ [?]
46.	LAK 384-še-ti ₅	ù-zu-ti ₅

47. LAK 384-ziz-ti ₅	ù-zu- ^r x-x ^r -ti ₅
48. LAK 384-NAGAR	ù-zi-NAGAR
49. LAK 384-ZI.ZI.A	ù-zi-gú-na

Commentary

1-4. Fractions with NINDÁ. The inscribed signs vary as follows:

line 1: all sources have $\circ$ except U which gives $\mathbf{D}$.

line 2: ABD: $\mathbf{DDD}$; E: probably [$\mathbf{D}$] $\mathbf{DD}$; C: $\circ\circ$; F: 2 (translit. only); U: $\mathbf{DD}$.

line 3: ABC: $\mathbf{G}$; DE: $\mathbf{DD}$; F: $\mathbf{DD}$ or $\mathbf{B}$ (not clear from description); U: $\mathbf{U}$.

line 4: AB: $\mathbf{G}$; C seems to omit this line (not collated); DE: $\mathbf{U}$; U br.

These textual variations, plus the lack of actual accounts using this system, render the interpretation of these lines problematic. A priori and by comparison with later scribal practice, one would expect a series of fractions of increasing value. Similar signs, in the form NINDÁ×ŠE.1 and NINDÁ×ŠE.2, are used later for 1/3 and 2/3 of the gín, respectively (see Edzard, *AOAT* 1 102)⁶. In the present text, however, there are no indications that the numerals represent units of weight. The disagreement among sources could stem from a lack of understanding of a system that became obsolete as early as the time of the Fara tablets. Note in this connection that the system attested in Fara is (*WVDOG* 43 20 v 22ff.):

1 ma-na uruda	1 mina of copper
2 ša ₄ -na-bi uruda	2/3 mina of copper
1/2 ma-na uruda	1/2 mina of copper
1 šú-ša ₄ -na uruda	1/3 mina of copper

Lines 1-4 contain terms for measuring vessels, all later translated by Akk. *namandu* (*CAD* N 206b *namaddu* A), but with no clear indication, as far as one can tell, of their specific capacity (see however line 4). In any case, the scribe of *MEE* 3 63 seems to have considered the signs in lines 1 and 2 as equivalent; the [g]ú- in line 1 is not completely certain but very likely. I assume that gú- stands for gu₉ (Sb II 194, etc.) followed possibly by sa₁₀-(m) with the meaning “measuring vessel for buying/selling”. In lines 3f., en-da represents the value usually transliterated nindá but whose OB form in-da provided by Proto-Ea 609 was current in Ebla, as evidenced by the sign name *en-da-um* in SLE 80. The meaning of ^{gis}nindá is, according to the late lexicographers, the same as gu₉. The sign after en-da, in line 4, seems to be PIRIG (ELLEs 143 B), but here the sign must be a syllabogram and the parallel between lines 3-4 and 5-6 requires precisely a value /sur/ or /šur/. I assume therefore that the sign is in fact HUŠ, which can conceivably have a value *sur because of its meaning *ezzu*. A likely translation of line 4 is “split or half-measure”, but see below, line 6.

5-6. The reading of these lines differs from the transliteration proposed in *MEE* 3 and is based on my examination of the photo. As shown by line 7, here me-ne must be the word for “two”, and the added

6. These signs are translated, incorrectly, by *malmala* and *šinnû* in Aa VII/1: 22ff.

sùr - ru₁₂ in line 6 could have a meaning “half” as in the later lexical tradition of translating sùr by *šinnû* (Aa III/6: 120), *mišlu* (Nigga Bil. i 11), etc.⁷. Since, however, a translation “two halves” does not make much sense, one may ask whether sùr has here a more general meaning “part”, specifically “third”, and the entry would be the older form of 2 ša₄-na-bi quoted above. It is not clear, however, how this could be reconciled with the meaning of /sùr/ suggested for line 4. The sign HI×MAŠ, for which see Pettinato, *MEE* 3 p. 204 ad 66, is to be considered as the paleographic ancestor of OB sùr (HI×AŠ), and as such it can receive the same diacritic. Note that the scribe uses sùr and sùr interchangeably, cf. lines 16f.

7-15. The numerals 2-10. These lines present three problems: 1) the spelling of the numerals themselves, 2) the meaning of *ba-du/-dum*, and 3) the elements inserted in lines 9, 12, and 14.

Syllabic spellings of Sumerian numerals in Ebla are given by *MEE* 3 54 and have been studied separately by Pettinato in *AIUON* 41 141ff. and by Edzard in *SEb* 3 121ff. Most spellings of the late lexical tradition can be found conveniently collected in M. A. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration and Metrology* (Univ. of Minnesota Ph. D. Diss. 1971. University Microfilms 72-14, 445) 13ff. Table 1 (p. 07) gives a simplified overview of the various forms.

Remarks. The word for “four” lacks the final vowel found in all other sources; it is unlikely that NI.NUN plays here the role of a syllabogram with a value *m u (for which one could compare perhaps NI = mu₅). The apparently superfluous u₉ in the word for “five”, if not a scribal mistake, has curious consequences: the numbers “five” (in composition) and “ten” become homographs if not homophones. Since u₉ represents etymologically in Ebla the common Semitic syllables /ju/ and /hu/, in contrast with ù which represents /u/ and /’u/, the pronunciation may have been different. It is quite possible that u₉ is a kind of gloss to stress the semivocalic character of the initial /j/. Note also that vowel harmony does not operate, at least graphically, for “five” as a component of the numerals “six” to “nine”, agreeing with Ea II, MA version, but not with *MEE* 3 54 and the other sources. In line 9, the numeral “four” in “nine” lacks the second syllable. The spelling of “ten” answers the question about the initial of the word in *Or* NS 42 p. 31: the numeral can now be reconstructed as /ḥu/ or, perhaps more precisely, as /ḥu w u/ according to *MEE* 3 54 (to be read u₉-^{wu}m u?).

The final element *ba-du/-dum* follows only the integer numerals except that it seems to be replaced by NINDÁ (there is probably nothing written inside of it) in line 15, and is accidentally missing in line 12 (unless it is on the edge and not visible on the photo). It does not correspond to any overt sign in the standard version although one copy of U adds KUR to the numerals. The replacement of *ba-du(m)* by NINDÁ in line 15 gives a clue for its interpretation: *ba-du(m)* is a Semiticized form of ^{gis}ba - an - (da) / b á n d a, Akk. *pānu*, a measuring basket or container (cf. Landsberger, *WdO* 1 p. 373ff.), which is also given as the translation of NINDÁ-compounds in Aa VII/1: 32ff. It is obvious that here the word does not yet have the specialized meaning of a fraction of the gùr. Note, finally, the entry NINDÁ×ŠE = *mu-da-dum*, Akk. *middatu*, in VE 0311.

7. Perhaps šu - ri - a = *mišlānū* is related to a root sùr.

	<i>MEE</i> 3 63	<i>MEE</i> 3 54	Ea II ¹	Ea II (MA) ²	ST ³	Si 485 ⁴	sign names
2	me-ne	me-nu	ma-an, mi-in, me-na	mi-na	me-nu	mi-in-nu	min-na
3	iš-ši	iš ₁₁ -ša-am	e-eš, iš	eš-še	e-šá	eš	eš-še
4	lam	li-mu	lim-mu	li-ma	lam-mu	lim-mu	lim-mu
5	u ₉ -i-a	i	ia	ia	ia	ia	ia-(a)-ú
6	u ₉ -iš	a-šu	a-áš	u-šá-a, a-šá-a	e-šá, a-ši, a-šú	áš-šá	áš-šá
7	u ₉ -ma-nu	ù-me-nu	ú-mu-un	ú-mi-na	—	—	i-mi-nu
8	u ₉ -iš-ši	ù-sa-am	us-su	ú-sa	ú-sa	us-su	us-su
9	u ₉ -lu	i-li-mu	i-lim-mu	ú-li-mu	◊-lam-mu	e-lim-mu	i-lim-mu
10	u ₉	u ₉ - ^{wu} mu	a, ú, ḥa-a, ḥu-u ⁵	—	u	ú	

Notes: 1) *MSL* 14 252ff. 2) *MSL* 14 262. 3) Hulin, *JCS* 17 72ff. 4) Neugebauer, *MKT* I 26f. 5) ḥ u - u only in Aa II/4: 37.

Table 1. Main Forms of Numerals in the Lexical Tradition

The extraneous elements inserted between the numeral and *ba-du(m)* (NI.NUN in line 9, lu-NE in 12, and ši-zī in 14) remain unexplained. They must refer to something associated with a determined number of measures. The last one, ši-zī, bears a striking resemblance to Akk. *šizû*, a word that designates, however, a measure of length, 1/3 of a cubit (see Landsberger, *WZKM* 56 111f., and add there the reference Ugu-mu Bil. D 15). I am at a loss to explain these terms and I am not even sure to which language they belong.

16-18. Line 18 obviously means “forty” although the reading appears to be incorrect: the attested reading for this numeral is ni-min ← ni+mīn “two twenties” (Ea II 170, 187; Aa II/4: 193). As it stands, u₉-mi-na would mean “two tens”, while the correct form “two twenties” would be *ni-mi-na. Did the scribe mean to write u₉-li-ma meaning “four tens”? Such a compound would be an unexpected innovation in the Sumerian numerical system. Deimel understandably wanted to see in lines 16f., terms for “twenty” and “thirty” (see *WVDOG* 40 p. 2 no. 12). It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the lines, but the terms used are not part of the regular system of numerals as far as one can tell. In line 16, sur can mean “half” (perhaps of forty). If one takes da-la as representing da-ra = di-ri, line 17 could be built according to the pattern x y di-ri-(ga) “x+y”, used in late mathematical texts (see Hulin, *JCS* 17 p. 76 ad 23-24) giving: sur + NE (meaning?). Note that in line 17 U has a circle divided by a horizontal line, and in line 18 a circle divided in four parts by a horizontal line and an additional vertical one. Therefore these entries doubtless originally represented numerals or measures of some sort. For sur designating a type or amount of bread, see comments to line 21.

19-20. With line 19 begins the section dealing explicitly with bread, although 16 and 17 may also designate types of bread. GAR.UD is transliterated in capitals, not as ni-da-ba-ba-r or the like, because of the reading gi-‘me?-x’ in F. VE 60 and 0238 have GAR.UD = [...-l]u. GAR.UD is listed with sur in *WVDOG* 43 20 r. vi 3f., see notes to line 25. Hh XXIII v 19 gives [ni-da]^{min-da si-ki}UD = a-kal si-ki. The meaning of *sīku*, attested only lexically, is unknown. The term GAR.UD is well-known in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš texts where it occurs in three constructions:

1) alone in *DP* 122 (issued to brick makers), 123 (to guards and masons engaged in construction work), 220 (to various workers and functionaries), and *VAS* 14 182 iv 4, v 2; *DP* 215 i 2, ii 4 (to

functionaries, mostly *s a n g a*'s, for threshing-floor(?) work); in the last two references it is associated with *n i n d a - GÍR*, far which see line 22;

2) in the term *GAR.UD-še* in *VAS* 14 159 iii 7, viii 6 (issued to functionaries), associated also with *NINDA-GÍR*;

3) in the term *GAR.UD- ma* as an ingredient of beer: *Nik.* 1 142; *DP* 168 v 2; etc.

The meaning seems to be substantially the same in 1) and 2) above, but in 3) it may very well be something else⁸.

The sign in line 20 is a ligature of *Zì* and *GAR*, sharing the last wedge of the first sign with the first of the second in *A* and, possibly, in *B*; the *Abū-Šalābīkh* texts (sources *D* and *E*) both have *ŠÚ+Zì* with the end broken, so that it is not possible to tell whether they had in fact *ŠÚ+Zì+GAR*; the transliteration of *F* (*Ebla*) gives *DU₆* which is presumably meant for the ligature *ŠÚ+Zì* (see *ELLeS* 174); *U* has *NINDA* preceded by two horizontals, like a *SUR* with an extra wedge. In the *ED* lexical lists, *ŠÚ+Zì+GAR* appears in *WVDOG* 43 43 ii 13 in an inconclusive context, and in *20 r. vi* 20, written as *ŠÚ+Zì*, immediately before *PAD.INANNA* (the older form of *PAD.^dINANNA*) confirming that it is indeed a type of food. The sign is extremely rare and its latest occurrence seems to be *TMH* 5 140: 2 (new copy in Westenholz, *ECTJ* pl. xiii) in the obscure term *ú - ḥ á b ŠÚ+Zì SAG₉- d a*. Source *F* gives the reading of *ŠÚ+Zì* as *si - 'x'*. From *GL* 246 it results that *ŠÚ+Zì* (perfectly clear in the sources from *Abū-Šalābīkh*, collated on cast) is equivalent to *ša - g ú - m a - a k* on the *Ebla* tablet. Consequently, one could expect *si - 'gu'* or *si - 'gum'* (not verifiable on photo) and see in *ŠÚ+Zì(+GAR)* an earlier form of the late term *z i k u m*, Akk. *isqūqu*, a still unidentified type of flour, attested in *n i n d a - ^{zi-kum}UD = akal isqūqi* *Hh* XXIII v 21. *PS* Lagaš and *Ur III* seem to use the spelling *z i - g u*.

21-23. In line 21, *Ebla E* has *n i n d a - s u r*, confirmed by *F*, against all the other sources that omit *n i n d a*. The reading *i - d a* has been preferred to *n i - d a* because the word did not have an initial *n -* in *OB*: *i n - d a*, *i - d a - a* *Proto-Ea* 210; gloss *e n - d a* in *CT* 42 13: 53; see above, remarks to line 3, for the absence of *n -* in *Ebla* in the similar case of *n i n d á*. My interpretation of *F* differs from the one proposed in *MEE* 3. I assume, judging from the photo, that the scribe started to write *TUR* after *i - d a*, left the sign unfinished and wrote *SUR*. There is a vertical wedge crossing the lower part of the *GAR* element in *SUR* that I take to be a teacher's mark pointing to a scribal error. In view of the absence of *n i n d a* in the *Fara*, *Abū-Šalābīkh* (*D* had only *SUR*, collated), and *Uruk* copies, *n i n d a - s u r* may represent the well-known *sur* of Pre-Sargonic Lagaš. The meaning "half bread" or "half-sized bread" was already established by Deimel, *AnOr* 2 p. 38 (ref. in *Or* 14 p. 28) from the passage *DP* 159 vii 7ff.: 68 *ša - d ù g*, *l ú 1 - š è*, *n i n d a K U . K U - n a 1 s u r - t a*, which results in a total of 34 *n i n d a K U . K U - n a*⁹. In *Nik* 1 140 and 141, *sur*-breads are given, among other types of bread, to the "rider" (*l ú - u₅*, presumably some type of courier) from the town of *Uruaz*. A type of tablet with the subscript *n i n d a ' g a k ù - g a* (Deimel, *AnOr* 2 40ff.) lists *sur* among various kinds of bread and milk products for *Nanše* and *Nindara*. *DP* 65, to be added to Deimel's texts, mentions *sur z i - g u* and *sur t u r - t u r*. See further *TSA* 5, *DP* 133, and *RTC* 16 ii 8 and 17 ii 8f. *A*

8. In *Ukg* 4 x 3f. one has to read: 7 *n i n d a g i₆- b a - a - k a - n i 1 n i n d a u₄- d i - k a - n i*, and in *Gud Cyl.* *B vi* 4, possibly, *n i ḡ u₄- d a*.

9. To be read *d u r u n(KU.KU)- n a* "oven(-baked) bread"? See *JCS* 25 p. 172.

frequent term is *sur bar-si*, distributed to the keepers (*ér-si g₇-me*)¹⁰ at Baranamtarra's funeral *TSA* 9 i 1ff.; *VAS* 14 137 ii 7ff. In *BIN* 8 376, Uru-inimgina's wife sends as gifts (*šu e-na-ta k₄*): *sur gú g*, *sur GUD*, and *sur tur-tur*. The last two items reappear in *DP* 336. The term *SUR* is found in OB Mari: Limet, *ARM* 19 269ff. and p. 23.

No source has an unequivocal *SUR* in line 22. A has a wedge before *GAR* but, according to the photo, it is very small and faint compared with the corresponding wedge in neighboring *SUR*'s. The traces in C are very uncertain, and in D the sign following *GÍR* is completely gone. The reading *ninda-gír* in F is preferable for textual reasons and because, if the term *ninda-gír* is well known in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš, a term *sur-gír* is, as far as I know, unattested. I take the reading *gú-ru₁₂-da* in F as representing a Sumerian word meaning “short” and “thick” whose phonological shape can be reconstructed as **lgu d^r*. Its attested forms are: 1) */lgu d/* [*lgu d*], Akk. *kurû*; 2) */lgu d/* in the sign name *salgu^{ttu}* of the sign *DI/SÁ* (i. e., the “short” *SA* as opposed to (*sa*)*gīdu* the “long” *SA*); 3) */gur/* [*gu r₄*], Akk. *kabru*, *kurru*, *kuddu*; and 4) */gu d/* [*gu d₈*], Akk. *kurû*, cf. *sag-ki gu d₈/gu d* “a short forehead” Dialogue 5: 142, and the vars. in Hh II 254. Another Akk. word that confirms these data is *katû* “poor, destitute”, a semantic cognate which shows the forms *lgu d*, *ku d/ku r₅*, and *gu r₄*. The term **lgu d^r* is explicitly applied to bread in the lexical equation *gu r₄ = ebû ša akali* (Aa I/2: 17 and parallels). The term *ninda-gu r₄-ra* is very common in OB and later lexical texts. It is translated by *kiršu* in Hh XXIII v 31 (see *CAD* K 411 s. v.)¹¹, and many varieties of it are listed in the Forerunners: *MSL* 11 118 6. 1 10ff.; 148 ii 71; 155: 255ff.; 159 i 13ff.; 160 17: 11'; etc. VE has both *ninda-gu r₄ = gú-ru₁₂-ma-du* and [...] *-uš-lu* (a form of *bašālu*?) 39, and *ninda-gír*, with no translation, 101. In Pre-Sargonic Lagaš, *ninda-gu r₄* does not seem to occur, but *ninda-gír* is relatively frequent, occurring in:

1) passages giving information on the size of the *ninda-gír*: 10 *ninda-gír ba-an-né 10 du₈* *DP* 53; 197; Nik 1 23; *TSA* 1; 180 *ninda-gír ba-an-né 30 du₈* *VAS* 14 182 ii 6.

2) other passages: *BIN* 8 375 i 1; *Genava* 26 fig. 3 3 i 1; *VAS* 14 159 pass.; 171 pass.; see also the references quoted above for *GAR.UD* in line 19 1) and 2).

There are no alternations to confirm the equivalence *gír = gu r₄* in ED texts, except for the not-too-clear *ERIN.gu r₁₀.SI = AN.gír* in Bird List 92, but note the late gloss *kur* to *GÍR* in Hh IX 128 (see also *MSL* 9 182). The use of a sign with initial *g* (*gír*) to represent a root with initial *g*, alternating with *k* (*gu r₄*), is of course surprising, yet note the case of *GAR = /g ar/* “to place” and */g ar/* “to pile up”.

For *sur* in line 23, see comments to line 21. F does not give here the pronunciation of the term but rather an explanation of *sur* as the opposite of *ninda-gír*. If the latter means “thick loaf of bread”, the meaning “half-sized (lit. not-thick) loaf of bread” fits *sur* perfectly in this line. I cannot explain the NE.

24-28. Section *gàr*. The word *gàr* meaning “cake” or a similar baked product is extremely rare, if not unknown; it must have already become obsolete in the Fara period. Note, however, *gàr-bappir* in *TSS* 456 i 7', and 1 *PISAN×GI, šà-ba 2 šu-DIM₄-lá, 1 gàr mun-si*¹², *e-gál DP* 507 i 8ff.¹³.

10. Cf. Bauer, *AWL* p. 229. Note, however, that *si g₇* in *ér-si g₇* is the plural theme of *ti/si g₇* “to sit, to live in” (see P. Steinkeller, *Or NS* 48 p. 55 n. 5) and therefore this term is the equivalent of the later *ér-tu š/dur un*.

11. Observe, incidentally, that *karašu* corresponds to Sumerian */kidr/* or */gidr/*. Any statement about a possible relationship with **lgu d^r* has to wait for a much needed investigation of apophonic derivation in Sumerian; see also comments to lines 31f.

12. A “cake of salt”?, cf. *si g₄-mun RTC* 307 iv 19; Barton *HLC* 3 pl. 112 240; etc. and Hh XXIV 285.

In line 24, the reading ḥa-i, /ḥaj i/ or /ḥah i/, in F is completely new and I have no explanation for it.

The reading proposed in line 25 differs from the one in *MEE* 3 and results from a reexamination of the photo: the second sign is gār, not bur (compare the sequence gār-gār in *MEE* 4 pl. xiv I' 7'), and -lum is on the edge but unambiguous. The word /*karkarum*/ is known in the form *kakkaru* “a round loaf of bread or pastry” in Mari (*ARM* 11 142; 12 10) and as a loanword in Hittite (Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 167); elsewhere the form *kakkartu* is preferred.¹⁴

WVDOG 43 20 r. vi and dupl. contain some of the items of the present lines 25-38:

25 = vi 9	31 = vi 7
26 = vi 6	35 = vi 5
27 = vi 2	37 = vi 8
28 = vi 1	38 = vi 10.

The pronunciation mar-u₉ of GUR₈ (line 26) is also given by SLE 78 and the entry saĝ-GUR₈ has the translation *a-sa-su-tum*, *a-sa-su-wu-tum* (presumably for *ašamšūtu* which, however, would fit better mar-GUR₈) in VE 242. The term saĝ-GUR₈ as a baked product remains a lexical hapax.

In line 27, gi- is to be taken as a spelling for the bound form of gār; if -zu-ur represents sīr, the i-vowel could be taken as the result of vowel harmony. The fact, however, that gi- is found before babbar in the next line casts serious doubts on the correctness of this explanation. Note that -zu-ur in F may represent not only sīr but also sud, i. e., /sud^h/, in which case the entry gār-su in VE 1020, without translation, could be an alternate spelling for -sud. Proto-Izi I 411 has gār-BU, without translation, preceded by gār-uš which in Nabnitu XVII 299 is translated by *qiršu* which could refer to a baked product (see *CAD* Q 270a *qiršu* A).

Note that whereas line 28 reads UD as babbar, line 36 seems to have /ud/(?).

30-38. Section gūg, with a subsection LAK 636 inserted. Although sparsely documented in the lexical lists, gūg, Akk. *kukku*, is a type of baked product that is found with moderate frequency in texts of all periods including literary ones (see Römer, *SKIZ* 184 for some literature).

The term gūg-gal (line 30), apparently not found in ED administrative texts, is attested in Gud Cyl. A xxviii 5: gir₄-mah-bi-ta gūg-gal si-gal, echoed in *VAS* 10 124 r. 15 (with determinative ninda).

Lines 31f. give a reading, so far unattested, of gūg with final -d. There is an erasure between gu₄- and -du in line 31. The form ga-da in line 32 shows that the repetition of the logogram is not considered here as a plural but as a collective, or maybe a designation for a gūg of larger size than usual. The

13. Obscure references: NÁM.NÁM GĀR NINDA *WVDOG* 43 19 i 14, PISAN GĀR KAK ibid. i 16; cf. further *WVDOG* 43 39 iv 2; 40 i 4, 6, 9f.; 47 ii 4; 60 iv 20. In *WVDOG* 43 8 v 16 (= “Nagar” 5f.) the photo shows that the tablet has a clear LAK 492, the pseudo-DÚB, for which Krecher, *LE* 136f., proposes ta_k with the same function as ta_k. I agree wholeheartedly with Krecher’s proposal, supported by the entry ^{gis}gál-ta_k = *ba-da-um* (Akk. *petū*) in VE 1241, which solves the problem of the enigmatic šu mu-dúb, replacing it by a meaningful šu mu-ta_k. For this verb, see M. Powell, *ZA* 68 p. 189ff., where níĝ-šu-ta_k-a = *šūbultu* Nigga bil. B 9 (which gives the clue for the Akk. translation of the verb), and the occurrences of this compound in administrative texts (ref. in Edzard *ZZ* p. 38 n. 165 [read as ní-šu-peš-a]) are overlooked.

14. In *na-iš gār-ga-ri-im* *MEE* 4 116 r. 4, the second word has to be understood, despite the spelling, as /*qaqqarim*/ “of the earth”, and has nothing to do with the *kakkaru* pastry. The entry is a term for “vermin” parallel to Hh XIV 403. *MEE* 4 112 r. ii has to be restored from 116 r. 4, resulting in the equation níĝ-kí = /*na’iš qaqqarim*/.

alternation a / u may result from an apophonic process as in *gal* “large” vs. *gu-ul* “larger”, or *tur* “small” vs. *di₄-l* “smaller” (cf. *Or NS* 42 p. 32). These alternations are one of the factors contributing to the present confusing picture of the Sumerian vocalic system.

The sign LAK 636 (lines 33ff.), and its Ebla-variant, have thus a reading /s al(a)/ (the full form is seen in line 36) which undoubtedly corresponds phonologically to OB *sila*; see SLE 9 and Nagar 31 for a similar change in vocalization¹⁵. To further justify this assumption note that the combination GÁ plus inscribed sign often has the reading of the inscribed sign itself, see, e. g., Ea IV 235ff. The context again calls for a designation of a bakery product, but there are no parallels to confirm it. The proposal of Deimel (LAK p. 60) of setting up LAK 636 as an ancestor of the sign DUG does not seem justified, although a container could be meant that would take its name from its contents or vice versa, a frequent semantic process in culinary terms. In ED lexical texts, *sila_x* = LAK 636 appears, in addition to the passage quoted in remarks to line 25, in *WVDOG* 43 43 ix 11ff.: *sila_x-tita_b*, *sila_x-GAR-mu_{nu}₄*, *sila_x+sila_x-š_u-ak*, and xi 2f.: *sila_x-h_u_b-h_u_b*, *sila_x-PAP.LAK 672*. The administrative text *TSS* 715 (completed from photo) lists repeatedly food supplies consisting of the following items: *n sila_x še sila eš du₈*, *n sila kaš*, *n GIŠGAL×TITAB (gú-zì)*, *n sila gúg-i-dé eš du₈*. The distinction between *sila_x* and the measure *sila* is clearly apparent here. In the literary text *WVDOG* 43 40 viii 4ff. (collated), Enki addresses Isimud as follows:

dumu-mu lú gúg¹⁶ gu₇-gu₇
sila_x-sila_x SUM gúg gu₇-gu₇
ga A.LAGAB gúg-zu₅ a-na ak
sila_x-sila_x-zu₅ a-na ak.

The syllabic form in line 34, reading of the reduplicated logogram used in the passage just quoted, is a reduplication: *sa-a-l-sa-a-l*→*sa-sa-a-l*→*si-sa-a-l* /sissal(a)/¹⁷ which conforms to the well-known reduplication pattern $C_1VC_2+C_1VC_2 \rightarrow C_1VC_1C_1VC_2$.

The reading of F in line 35 I take to be a “descriptive” value. The sign was considered by the scribe to be NI+SILA+ME, and a sort of sign name replaces what must have been a forgotten or obsolete reading.

My reading ù-’d u’ in line 36 remains uncertain since the putative -d u is written on the edge of the tablet and is not clearly visible. For another case of UD read apparently /u d/ and not *babbar* (as in line 28), see *MEE* 3 62 r. iii 1: ù-w u-u d corresponding to *u₈-UD* and following ù-w i-k i-k i = *u₈-gi₆*; in *MEE* 3 62 i 3 á b-UD = *a b-UD*, UD could have been used as a logogram.

The text of B in line 37 is clearly a scribal mistake, as already seen by Pettinato (*MEE* 3 p. 175). It is not clear whether the sequence of signs in the standard version has to be *gàr-GÚG (ga_r₅)* or *GÚG-gàr*. I prefer the first sequence and assume a form /gargarina(k)/←*gàr+agarin* with subsequent

15. See note 17.

16. The sign GÚG is not completely certain in the first two lines. It has an, admittedly peculiar, horizontal wedge and is, perhaps, AK, although it is not quite like the clear AK in the last two lines.

17. One may wonder if the i-vowel of the first syllable could not be an indication of an anomalous first a-vowel in /s al(a)/ which would thus be closer to the OB form /s i l a/ than the Ebla spelling indicates at first glance. For a similar phenomenon, see commentary to line 49.

simplification of the consonantic cluster -rg-, as frequently done in syllabic spellings, and with GÚG representing a garin by virtue of its value / (a)gar/ [gar₅]. For a parallel formation, see TŠŠ 456 i 7': gar-bappir.

Line 38 has the standard logogram for titab. Only in post-OB periods will GÚG be replaced by BÁRA (see my remarks in *Studies Oppenheim* p. 76). VE 668 uses the logogram ŠE.GÚG translated *du-da-bu-um*, *du-du-bu*, and *da-ba-bu_x*(NI), corresponding to Akk. *titāpu*, while MUNU₄.GÚG is translated by *sa-ba-tum*, Akk. *sābūtu* “brewing (supplies)”, in VE 1068, 0215¹⁸. Elsewhere in ED texts, the logogram MUNU₄.GÚG is well attested alone (*WVDOG* 45 37: 4; 82: 6; etc.) and in the compounds LAK 341, 453, and LAK 720 (for which see also the passage TŠŠ 715 quoted above in comments to lines 33ff.). Note further še-GIŠGAL×IGI-MUNU₄.GÚG = *ti-tum* VE 649¹⁹.

39-49. LAK 384 and its compounds. This sign and its history are discussed in detail in a monographic note (*Or NS* 52 p. 233-240). It is essentially the same sign that appears in the much-discussed term sa-LAK 384.ki in the Ebla administrative texts and for which I confirm in the study just mentioned the reading sa_g (as well as za_g and za_x) and a translation “treasury”.

The new reading NI-na-a1 in lines 39f. can receive several phonological interpretations: /ninai/, /ninar/, /inal/, and /inar/ being the most obvious ones. The final -l is difficult to accept since Sumerian does not have free morphemes of the shape /nVl/. It could be, however, a compound, unanalyzable at present. I cannot offer any suggestions for its interpretation except that it must designate some sort of food.

Line 40 requires for HI a reading */lV/, confirmed by -la in line 42 which I consider a contracted genitive form -la ← lī-a(k). Since in line 42 this word causes the final vowel -u of (a)wuzu to become -i, I take the reading of HI here to be */ili/, with a meaning “oil”, which corresponds formally to late Sum. i-li, Akk. *ūlu*. This assumption is based on the sequence in lines 42ff.: *ili, i, ga.

The form awuzu in line 41 is a “full” form that loses its initial a- in composition (lines 42ff.) becoming /wuzu/ or /uzu/, spelled ù-zu (compare ù-wa-a1 : ù-a1 in GL 43). The final -u is modified by the initial vowel of the following word and perhaps also by vowel harmony:

/wuzu+ili-a(k)/ → /wuzilia(k)/ [ù-zī-la] (line 42); /wuzu+i+ti-a(k)/ → /wuzitia(k)/ [u-zī-ti-a] (line 43); see still line 48f.

In line 45, the exact reason for the change -u → -a cannot be ascertained, see below.

The word (a)wuzu is an early form of post-Ur III útū (written U.GA) which designates a type of cereal concoction, Akk. *tiktu* and also *šipku* (Biro, *ARM* 9 279ff.). For justification of this statement, see the note on LAK 384 quoted above. The meaning “food preparation”, perhaps “soup”, with various added substances and flavorings, fits perfectly well the context of the present word list. In lines 42ff. the products added are: oil, butter, milk, cream(?), barley, emmer wheat, and two plants discussed in lines 48ff.

The -ti-a in lines 43f. is not explicit in the Standard version: either it is an “explanatory” element or has been added by the scribe, perhaps incorrectly, by analogy with lines 45ff. The emendation of the text of lines 45-47 in source A proposed in *MEE* 3 p. 171 is not supported by collation. The photo shows an

18. Note, further, bur titab = BUR za-bī-ù *MEE* 3 61: 83.

19. Pettinato's transliteration of this entry does not quite reflect the entry as visible on the photo of source AZ v 4 in *MEE* 4 pl. xxxi. The inscribed IGI is clear and MUNU₄.GÚG is written outside of and underneath GIŠGAL. The reading sad_x comes from VE 0321, where the sign is not visible on photo. Note, however, the similarity of translations in 1123 and 0321.

unmistakable TI in all lines; source B clearly has BAD instead of TI. For this element -ti-a, -ti, -ti₅ one could suggest perhaps a meaning such as “mixed with”. Note, in this connection, the -te or -ti that follows the name of the milk product ga-nu-nu-z (see my commentary to line 115 of “The Marriage of Sud”, *JAOS* 103).

My reading of line 45 in source S is a tentative interpretation of what the photo of this line, written on the edge at the top of the last column, seems to show and differs from the reading in MEE 3. The sign GÁRA comes only from source F, A and B being damaged at this point. The reading of GÁRA given by S is otherwise unknown.

The text of S for line 46 requires emendation by insertion of the syllabic value corresponding to še of the Standard version, unless one surmises a reading consisting of a simple vowel that has merged with the -u of wu-zu. This solution is quite possible: Aa VII/4: 33 has: ú ŠE = u-um, giving an Akkadian word for “barley” that appears in the accusative as É-a-am and a-am in OB Lu A 57 and B ii 13, respectively, and a Sumerian word u₂₀. It would be worth tracing this word in Akkadian contexts where it can very easily pass undetected, but this is beyond the scope of the present study. Supposing that ù-zu-ti₅ ← wu-zu+u₂₀+ti, no emendation is needed.

There are definite traces, perhaps erased, of two signs in line 47 in source S, not indicated in MEE 3 p. 253, and the sign BAD is clear on the photo.

The only edible substance whose name includes the sign NAGAR (line 48) is, to my knowledge, níĝ-na-gar^{SAR} (see *RA* 54 68; 55 94, with var. nín-na-gar), a vegetable that is translated as *egingīru* in Hh XVII 310f. (where the Sumerian has the var. níĝ-GÁN.GÁN^{SAR}). The text *WVDOG* 43 58 iv 7, and dupl., which includes a list of vegetables, has NAGAR^{SAR} dīnanna-šè ĝi š (i ĝi)-lá DU; there, as in the present line, the simple NAGAR stands probably for níĝ-na-gar. Akk. *egingīru* is obviously a loanword from Sumerian: if *egi-* = níĝ- is not easy to explain, at least *-ngiru* = na-gar is transparent. The vowel i in the loanword, implying */nigir/, explains the change u→i in the final vowel of wu-zu by vowel harmony, although an alternative explanation that assumes the presence of a reflex of the *egi*-part of the loanword is also sufficient and perhaps preferable. I do not think that the value /nigin/ of NAGAR in Proto-Ea 805, now confirmed by the alternation NAGAR : níĝin in *OIP* 99 p. 52: 227, plays any role here.

A parallel to the term in line 49 is ninda-ZI+ZI.A attested several times, alongside ninda-ba-ba and ninda-gu, in *CT* 50 46 and *MM* 731, Sargonic tablets of the mu-iti-type. Evidence for the use as a food of a plant written with the sign NUMÚN is offered by: [tu₇]-^uNUMÚN^{SAR} *MSL* 11 152 no. 15: 14, and by the literary passage Enki and Ninhursag 207f.: lu-gal-mu^u A.ZI+ZI.LAGAB mu-[na-ab-bé] mu-na-bu-re ba-[gu₇-e]. ZI+ZI.A is, of course, the older spelling of ZI+ZI.LAGAB. Nothing indicates that numún was in fact /nuĝun/, and thus the syllabic spelling na-gú and the attendant vocalic change u→i in wu-zu remain unexplained in the hypothesis of a spelling based on numún. However, if one is allowed to change the sign order and read gú-na, the difficulties disappear. The value gú-na is partially corroborated by the bird name ZI+ZI.A-šà²⁰, spelled gú-si in Ebla (Bird List 81), which can be taken as representing /gun+s i/. Now, gú-na can be considered as /gun+a(k)/, and /gun/ is a reflex of the value gin₄ of NUMÚN in *Diri* IV 11, with an Akkadian translation *kuštu* “a type of rush”. The change u→i in the final vowel of wu-zu can be explained by a puzzling phenomenon in the representation of vowels in

20. Compare ZI+ZI.A-šà in *WVDOG* 43 19 iv 8.

Ebla Sumerian. In texts from Ebla, a vowel can induce a phonological change – and precisely the type of change which is expected from the quality of the vowel in OB spelling – while being apparently represented by a different vowel. A case in point is the reading *m u - š a - n a - u m* of NU₁₁, in SLE 79, which on the surface can be phonemicized as /ġ u š + n a/, and undoubtedly corresponds to late ġ e š - n u₁₁ “light” (A VIII/4: 93f.; Emesal Voc. III 33). The change ġ e š → ġ u š is caused by vowel harmony with the following /n u/, as in ġ e š - ù r → ġ u š u r. However, Ebla represents the second value of ġ e š - n u₁₁ not by the expected [u] but by [a]. Similarly, the “u”- vowel of ġ ú - n a triggers a change u → i in the preceding syllable that can be justified only by the i -vowel of the late form /ġ i n/. The phonology of Ebla Sumerian, therefore, may not be as different from the OB Sumerian as a superficial inspection of the forms would seem to indicate.

Going back to ġ i n₄ = *kuštu*, the meager information available about this word (see CAD K 602a s. v.) does not indicate any culinary uses for the plant; however, they should not be excluded a priori. Furthermore, the name might have been applied to other similar plants. It is uncertain whether the reading ġ u ġ₄, known only from a gloss in Uruanna (CT 14 18 i 7') and absent from the major syllabaries²¹, is related to ġ i n₄. If there exists a relationship between these two forms, the required phonological reconstruction would almost certainly be */ġ i ġ/ or */ġ u ġ/. The underlying uncertainty of the vowel quality surfaces in two places centuries apart. The form */ġ u ġ/, in turn, would have to be investigated for kinship with Akk. *g/kungu* “a type of rush”, which Thompson, DAB 12, relates to the edible roots, reported by Berossus, *Babyloniaca* I 2 (ed. Schnabel 252), growing in marshy spots (ἐν τοῖς ἑλεσι), called γόγγυαι by the natives, and said to be “as nutritious as barley bread”.

2. ED Bird List 130-40: Syllabic Version

The similarity between MEE 3 64 and MEE 3 62 and 63 is undeniable, but the interpretation of the former is still more difficult than that of the others. First, no photo of the tablet is available for collation – although G. Pettinato kindly obviated in part this difficulty by putting at my disposal his copies of the partially preserved signs – and the shape of the piece itself is unknown. Second, the standard text treated in this tablet is not as easily recognizable as in the case of the two other texts. There is much to say, I believe, in favor of my identification with Bird List 130ff., but I would be the first not to be unduly surprised if this identification turned out to be wrong.

From the catalogue description of the fragment in MEE 1 no. 3342, it would seem to consist of the two rightmost columns of a round tablet (like MEE 3 61-63) with seven lines preserved from col. i' and four, plus a blank line after line 2, preserved from col. ii'. Other solutions are, of course, possible, especially if col. ii' is longer, its line 4 being followed by a broken space.

A preliminary remark on the Ebla copy of the ED Bird List (MEE 3 39) is in order here. In contrast with the Ebla copy of the ED Fish List (MEE 3 27-38), which is textually almost identical with the copies

21. Nougayrol, *ArOr* 17/2 pp. 213ff., suggested that AO 11276: 32 (ibid. pl. iv) had a spelling i z i ^ua - k ù - ġ i n₇ ħ é - t e - e, with k ù standing for ^uġ u ġ₄ and sought a confirmation in a presumed gloss i z i ^ua - k ù - ġ a in VAS 10 202 r. 9. The sign read k ù is not unambiguous in both passages. Corroboration for a reading ġ u ġ₄ in this literary formula could be provided perhaps by Antagal VII 235f.: i z i - ^uġ u ġ = *ki-ib-bat* [i]zi, i z i ^uġ u ġ - ġ a = UD-*ru-pat* [zi] (corrupt text), but only if one assumes a misunderstanding of the entries by the scribes.

from other ED sites, the Ebla Bird List has many syllabic spellings (see Pettinato, *MEE* 3 pp. 118ff.) without, however, being almost purely syllabic in character as are *MEE* 3 62 and 63. Because this feature of the Ebla copy of the Bird List makes the interpretation of *MEE* 3 64 somewhat less difficult, the present text is first compared with it and the variants of non-Eblaitic origin are quoted only when needed. *MEE* 3 64 is designated here by the siglum S. For the other sigla, a combined edition, and a general commentary, the reader is referred to *MEE* 3 pp. 109ff. and 275ff.

	Source S	Text Source B	Others
col. i'			
1'	ˁx-xˁ	130 an-gá-a[n-x]	a-gi ₆ -a-gi ₆ (A)
2'	ug ₅ -dalla	131 ù-da-[x]	UG.TÙR (A)
3'	gú-ša-ki-da	—	—
4'	mu-ša-gú	132 maš-ga	muš-KA (A)
5'	šu-ba-*al	133 šu-ba-l[á]	LAM.SAG-lá (A)
6'	a-bàd-ša ₄	134 áb-š[a]	DÚR.X (A), LÚ.DÚR:LÚ.DÚR (C)
7'	ˁxˁ-bù	135 AMBAR.DAG	AMBAR.DAG (A, C)
col. ii'			
1	gú-si-ˁxˁ	136 ḥa-b[u ²]	ḥa-mun ^{ma} -na (A), ḥa-mun-na (C)
2	du-li-ma	137 šu-sur	še-úr (A), ki-[t]i ⁷ (C)
	blank space		
3	ga-gú-ti-na-mu	139 igi-geštin	igi-geštin (A, C)
4	gú (erasure)	140 gur ₄	DÙL-gur ₄ (A), gur ₄ (C)

Remarks

Col. i' 1'. The traces, according to Pettinato, are:  and are insufficient for a positive identification.

2'. A possible harmonization of the spellings is obtained by taking t ù r → d a - [r a] (or d a - [l a]) → d a l l a. I cannot identify this bird in later lists.

3'. This line has no apparent correspondence in the standard ED list. The form g ú - š a - k i - d a reminds one immediately of k a - s u k u d - d u, attested in the Nippur Fore. to Hh XVIII 20 (unpubl. *MSL* ms.); the later spelling is k a - š u - k u d - d a Hg to Hh XVIII B 287 and C 4; RS 137; Kish 1924-848 ii 7'; probably identical to the bird name spelled syllabically q a - x - u d - d u in a Boghazköy text (*MSL* 8/2 159: 7').²²

4'. Although source A has m u š - KA, there is no doubt that the name intended is m u š - g u₇, well attested in the lexical lists Nippur Fore. *SLT* 76 vi. 2; Hg B 275 and D 324. The unpublished revised *MSL* edition of Hh XVIII now offers:

22. On the copy, x looks like šID; one would expect -š u - k u -.

- 280c muš-gu₇^[mušen] = MIN (= ki-...) (S₁₄ only)²³
 281 muš-gu₇^{mušen} = muš-ku-u(E, J, S₁₄)

Nanše and the Birds B 6f. has two lines, badly preserved, devoted to the bird m u š - g u₇, from which we learn only its color (s i g₇- g a - à m). This bird has nothing to do with the m u š - g i bird (ED Bird List 6 and 90). Note that RS 126 has m u š - g i and not m u š - g a as stated in *MSL* 8/2 122 ad 148a.

5'. The -l á in A is missing in Deimel's transliteration but is clear on the photo. I assume that the -g ú in *MEE* 3 is a possible modern misreading for -a l; the extremely similar outline of AL and GÚ in Ebla justifies this emendation. This entry implies that the group LAM.SAG, attested only before the Ur III period, has a reading /š u b a/, at least in some cases. Its occurrences fall into two groups:

a) ^{ĝis}LAM.SAG, known from PS texts from Lagaš. In the logging texts it designates a piece of lumber of a length of from four to ten cubits (2-5 m.) and contrasts with ^{ĝis}LAGAB (to be read here e l l a ĝ) and with less frequently mentioned lumber pieces (^{ĝis}t i, ^{ĝis}b a r - b i - d a, etc.) in *DP* 447, 449. In general it is longer than the LAGAB pieces, but in *DP* 451 it is listed in the total as LAGAB and has to be considered therefore as a subclass of LAGAB. It is remarkable that in all instances where the source of wood of the LAM.SAG is mentioned it is the tamarisk (^{ĝis}s i n i g). Even when the tree is not specified, one can presume from the persons and toponyms involved that the texts deal with tamarisk wood: *DP* 456-458; *MVN* 3 17. The ED lexical list *OIP* 99 33 xi 16 lists ^{ĝis}LAM.SAG, and note further ^{ĝis}ù-LAM.SAG in the same list (*OIP* 99 53 iii' 4).

b) LAM.SAG, without ĝ i š. Its occurrences are more heterogeneous and, being ED literary passages, of problematic interpretation. In *OIP* 99 282 vii 9f. it could be used in the sense of "log, beam":

LAM.SAG sikil mu-búr-búr	"I spread the clean logs,
é-zu kù za-gìn ga-dù	I want to build your house with precious metals and stones".

Although the stereotyped form u n ú - l á š u b a - l á, Akk. *šikkatu šubû*, common in late Inanna texts, is known in ED times (*OIP* 99 278 iii 9, with š u b a written MÜŠ)²⁴, it is possible that one has to read š u b a_x in the Inanna text *OIP* 99 388 iv 4: LAM.SAG za-gìn š ú m - m u - d è "when I give necklaces(?) of lapis lazuli". Note the divine name ^dLAM.SAG-za-gìn in the Fara God List viii 4. Obscure passages are: LAM.SAG a ma š DÚR *WVDOG* 43 58 iii 10; SIG₇ LAM.SAG MÜŠ.KUR sa l - sa l *TSS* 269 + x 20, and URU×GÁN-*t*. LAM.SAG MÜŠ.KUR iii 3'. Finally, note the PN LAM.SAG- d ù *WVDOG* 45 65 iv 9; *CT* 50 32 iv 1; Bab 8 pl. 12 HG 12 iv' 6; etc.²⁵ to be compared with Ur III š u b á - d ù - a *HSS* 4/2 1 iii 20.

If the reading š u b a is acceptable for at least some of the passages quoted in b), one can wonder whether the same reading is good for the passages sub a). Postulating a reading *l a m - s a ĝ, for /e l l a ĝ - s a ĝ/, one could assume a graphic evolution similar in many respects (including /ĝ/ as the final consonant of lam) to lam-re → lam-sá-(r) → lam-si-de → é l l a ĝ(BIR)-si-de, discussed in *Studies Oppenheim* 84f. The reading e l l a ĝ - s a ĝ, "first quality piece of lumber", would account very well for the fact that ^{ĝis}LAM-s a ĝ is a subspecies of ^{ĝis}e l l a ĝ.

23. S₁₄= *UET* 7 139: 14ff.

24. Other references are *OIP* 99 39 vi 6 = *OSP* 1 9B v 6'; cf. AO 13024 ii' 11'f. (*FT* 2 pl. 44).

25. Cf. LAM.SAG^l- d ù - d ù in the lexical(?) context *WVDOG* 43 63 vii 8.

6'. The sign X in A is like a DÚR with two extra verticals on top and bottom and looks like the central element in BÀD. Deimel's copy of it is correct if one eliminates the two horizontals at the end of the verticals. My suggestion in *MEE* 3 p. 277 to read it *du r_x*, because of the double DÚR in source C, was ill advised, and it appears now that it must be considered as an abbreviation of BÀD and read /b a d/. The solution to the spellings in the present line is provided by the assumption that the readings *b e₅* and *b è d*, and *š e₁₀* and *š e d₆* (given in *MSL* 14 141: 24ff. and Ea I 150f. and 153f. for the OB sign KU) belong in the ED period to the sign transliterated conventionally as DÚR, i. e., the short "KU" in contrast with the tall "KU" (see R. D. Biggs, *JCS* 20 76f.). There is no objection to a reading *š a₄* for DU; this value is attested in ED in *ša₄-n a-b i* and *š ú-š a₄-n a* in *WVDOG* 43 20 v 23, 25 (see p. 5).

One can thus reconstruct the name of the bird in OB orthography as **b è d-š e₁₀*. In Ebla the form is /a b a d š a/ with an unexplained initial a- and different vocalization. The vocalization with a has to be presumed in Fara because of the use of the abbreviated sign BÀD in A. The spelling in B must be an abbreviation by omission of the central element -(b) a d-. A more precise determination of the consonants in the word would have to consider the problem outlined in *Or* NS 42 32: the pairs *b e₅* / *b è d* and *š e₁₀* / *š e d₆* have the same Akkadian translations *zû* "excrement" and *tezû* "defecate". There are several questions involved. 1) Are both pairs basically the same word, and do the different spellings attempt to render an initial consonant foreign to Akkadian? 2) Is there a distinction of nominal root vs. verbal root? 3) Are the long form, with -d, and the short form, without it, simply allomorphic alternations (e. g., *hamtu* and *marû*)? Only the second point can now be answered: if a contrast between noun and verb is involved, /b è d/ is a nominal form and /š e d/ a verbal one²⁶. The addition of the two LÚ's in C probably did not affect the phonological shape of the word so they should be considered as some sort of determinative.

I am unable to offer any substantial suggestion for the identification of this bird in late lexical lists. Note, however, *š e d₄-š e d₄ m u š e n* = *rit-kub* MUŠEN.MEŠ Hh XVIII 385, Diri I 333, Aa VIII/l: 24, etc. which could be an ancient bird name misunderstood by the late lexical tradition.

7'. I would suggest, always assuming that line 7' was immediately followed by ii' 1 on the tablet, that source B interchanges two lines and that i' 7' and ii' 1 correspond in fact to 136 and 135, respectively, of the standard list.

The first sign of line 7' in S is, according to Pettinato, the beginning of LAGAB. If one could read 'h á b'-b ù it would then be possible to consider /h a p(p) u/ as the pronunciation of h a - m u n; note Akk. *hāpu* (*CAD* H 86a) which is probably a loanword from h a - m u n. In B, the second sign can be -m u n u₄, as suggested by Pettinato, or -b [u]. Note that the first part of BU is identical with MUNU₄, see the grouping in Proto-Ea 473ff. If BU does not seem to be used regularly in Ebla for the syllable /b u/, MUNU₄ is not a regular syllabogram either.

The bird h a - m u n - (n a), Akk. *lallartu* (*CAD* L 48a *lallaru*), is known in lexical lists (Hh XVIII 328, RS 226), and in the literature (Nanše and the Birds [*PBS* 5 14: 15']).

ii' 1. I have no information about the sign -'x' in S. The bird AMBAR.DAG does not seem to be known outside the ED bird list. The line is thus at present unexplained. The inversion hypothesis for these two

26. The conclusion implies two assumptions: 1) the correct sign sequence is the one given by B and S, and 2) the term follows the standard sequence object+verb. Note that the conclusion is not in agreement with the late lexical texts *MSL* 14 141: 27f. and Ea I 150f., 153f., as well as Erimhuš III 66: KU^{bi-bi}KU = *tezû*. However, KU-d a represents a noun in Proverbs Coll. 2.100 (Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* pp. 248f.).

lines, I repeat, may be wrong, in which case the present line and the preceding one would require a completely different analysis.

2. For the reasons given above in line 6', *du-li-ma* may be read *ša₄-li-ma*. The interpretation of this line is complicated by the variation between sources A and C in line 137 and by the uncertainty about whether this line represents line 137 or 138 of the standard list. The blank line on the tablet indicates the omission of one of them, presumably, but by no means certainly, line 138.

Source A, in line 138, is transliterated KA.LUL by Deimel. The two signs are almost juxtaposed and not as clear as in Deimel's edition. The putative LUL is, I believe, LAK 244 and the entry has to be read *zú-péš*, Akk. *pingu*, restored in Hh XVIII 161 and preserved in Fore. Nippur 19; RS 136; CT 6 14 D i 21. The reading is given as *zu-bi-iš* by the Boghazköy text MSL 8/2 159: 6'. The Ebla variant GÍR in Bird List 138 is curious; is there a graphic confusion involved somewhere? One could imagine *péš* → *PEŠ* = *GIR* → *gír*. Or, is *gír* = *kir₄*, a misreading of KA = *zú*, and the rest of the entry is omitted? Such abbreviations are not unknown in the Ebla version of the Bird List. Perhaps the solution hinges on some unknown ED reading of GÍR.

3. Except for the unexplained final *-mu*, the interpretation of this line in S is straightforward: omission of the first vowel of *igi-* and graphic simplification of the cluster *-št-*, with the usual vocalic variations of Ebla school tablets. Note, incidentally, that C probably has *i[gi]*; according to collation the spacing is sufficient.

The bird *igi-geštin-na* is found in lexical lists (Nippur Fore. 48 [with var. *níg-*]; RS 197; CT 6 14 D ii 49) and in the literature (Nanše and the Birds D 16).

4. The two signs *-DI-ab-* following *gú* in S are considered an erasure by Pettinato, personal communication. The rendering of *gur₄* by *gú* in B does not pose special problems even though final consonants are generally written in Ebla. The DÙL in A could be an old logographic representation of the word, with *gur₄* as a pronunciation gloss. No similar value of DÙL, however, seems to have left traces in the lexical tradition.

3. Conclusions

The importance of the lexical texts studied in the preceding sections stems from the fact that they are, together with SLE and MEE 3 62, the earliest lexical lists preserved in a form that includes the systematic definition of the phonological shapes of the entries. There is nothing comparable in South Central Mesopotamia until the XVIIIth century B. C.²⁷ Until now, the readings used in the transliteration of pre-OB Sumerian texts were extrapolations of OB values, occasionally confirmed or modified by sporadic sign replacements. Although the number of lexical entries provided by the Ebla syllabic texts is only a very small fraction of the entire Sumerian lexical inventory, it is possible to state some generalizations about early stages of Sumerian, at least as far as writing and phonology are concerned. I cannot attempt

27. A school exercise with unmistakable sign values is Al-Hiba 29 (Biggs, BM 3 37). This text is divided in paragraphs each of which begins with a semicircular wedge followed by a sign or group of signs. The continuation gives readings of the sign(s) and what seems to be some sort of explanatory words. The tablet is in poor condition, but note: *i-DU* = *i-mi-né* (i. e., *i-gén*) in ii 10f.; *TUM* = *du-ú, da-ma, e-gi-ir, ha-á[š]* in v 5ff.; and *AMBAR* = *ášt-i, ku-nú* (i. e., *gunin*) in r. iii 2ff.

here a complete analysis of the new data and will limit myself to the texts *MEE* 3 63 and 64, occasionally using the other texts for comparative purposes.

The Ebla texts, historically speaking, represent the first instance of the systematic use of cuneiform signs for the syllabic representation of both Semitic and Sumerian. In certain ED texts, presumably older than the Ebla tablets, occasional spellings of Semitic words (besides the personal names studied by Biggs, *Or* NS 36 55ff. and *OIP* 99 pp. 43ff.) can now be recognized. Nowhere, however, can one speak of any systematic usage²⁸. In the case of Semitic, suffice it to say that the system used in Ebla is highly consistent within its limitations (e. g., disregard of the various series of stops which are all represented by the same graphic series) when verified against the Proto-Semitic forms. The system used for Sumerian can be verified only by comparison with the OB system, as represented by Proto-Ea and related texts. Ebla, in contrast to the latter, uses only one series of stops and tends to handle consonantic clusters in different ways, but agrees with it in the representation of sibilants²⁹. Differences in form are found mostly in the vocalization and in the addition of phonological detail of two types, namely, apparent nasalization of final vowels and internal glides (see my paper in the second Convegno Internazionale [Naples, April 1982], in press). These two aspects were either disregarded by the OB scribes or had been eliminated by historical changes when Proto-Ea and similar compilations were written.

The “rules” governing the syllabic representation of Sumerian words are not the same in all Ebla texts. Within lexical texts, SLE does not spell out words in the same way as the school exercises *MEE* 3 62-64. The different styles of representation can be explained either by different spelling principles of different schools or scribal groups (perhaps of different geographic origin), or by a different purpose of the texts. I tend to favor the second explanation. In contrast to SLE, the school texts tend to simplify consonantic clusters, applying the graphic rule: $-C_1C_2 \rightarrow -C_2-$ instead of inserting an epenthetic vowel as SLE does.³⁰ The school texts use more VC and CVC signs than SLE, use syllabograms not found in SLE (such as *k i* or *š a₄*), and use some logograms (e. g., NAGAR, NINDÁ).

The following is a brief synopsis of the main characteristics of the Ebla syllabic school texts.

28. See, for instance, *OIP* 99 328, with dupl. *TSŠ* 984 (pl. 181, collated on photo) and *MDP* 14 p. 62; line numbers from the first source: ‘n i ġ’ á ‘n u’- k ú š = *ma-ši a-na-ah* (cf. PN *A-nu-uš-ma-si₄* *CT* 50 172: 72) v 4ff.; g i s s u n u - g á = *ši-la la* GÁ vii 8f., completed by *TSŠ* 984 (cf. *ši-li* as reading of MI in Animal List B 31); note further *a-la-lum* in vii 13f. and *áš-ŠUL-la* in viii 4.

29. Contrasting with the treatment of the Semitic. The Ebla sibilant syllabary is (leaving aside some less frequent signs):

VE/SLE	Akk.	Proto-Semitic	Proto-Ea
sa, si, su, sum ₆	š	š, ś	s
ša, šè/ší, šu, šúm	š, z	ḡ, ṭ	š
za, zi, zu	s, z, š	s, z, š	z

The treatment of the sibilants in SLE is surprising and puts the problem of the Old Akkadian and Akkadian sibilants in a new light.

30. The use of epenthetic vowels in medial clusters is extremely rare in syllabaries and late syllabic texts where such clusters are represented by the use of VC-signs in the combination $-VC_1-C_2V-$, or (especially in a group of late OB religious texts) by graphic reduction: $-C_1C_2- \rightarrow -C_2-$ (cf. Krecher, *ZA* 58 48). Examples: *ḡ a - ḡ u - r* (a) = *ḡ a š ḡ u r*, *k i - b i - l a - b a* = *k i + g* (i) *b i l + a + b i + a*, *ù - k i m a š* = */u z d/+g i n₇ # m á š*. This system of resolving clusters is frequent in many syllabic writing systems (cf. *Or* NS 42 25). To interpret these spellings as straightforward phonological representations – as, for example, concluding an actual pronunciation */s u g i (r)/* from the spelling *s u - g i - r* (a) for *š u l - g i (r)* (J. Klein, *PAPS* 71 42) – is, in my opinion, incorrect.

1) Forms deviating from the ones expected from OB evidence:

1.1) An apparently unjustified a- is added to: a-bàd-ša₄ 64 i' 6', the logogram seems to require only bàd-ša₄; a-wu-zu 63: 41, with a short form /wuzu/ or /uzu/ close to late útú; the uncertain -ba-da- for GÁRA 63: 45 might have had an initial a- that triggers the change wuzu → wuz^a³¹.

1.2) The omission of initial n- in ì-da [ninda] and en-da [ninda] agrees with OB but not with the post-OB tradition.

1.3) The initial vowel is omitted in ga- for igi- 64 ii' 3.

1.4) A medial vowel is elided in NI-na-al-lí-a → NI-na-al+*ilí-a (k) 63: 40, if the hypothesis that HI is to be read *ilí is correct.

1.5) Epenthetic vowels are inserted in mu-ša-gú = muš-gu₇ 64 i' 4 and gú-ru₁₂-da = /(l)gu^d/, with metathesis in the representation of /d^f/.

1.6) Consonantic clusters are simplified: -rz- → -z- 63: 27, -rb- → -b- 63: 28, -gs- → -s- 63: 33, -ls- → -s- 63: 34, -št- → -t- 64 ii' 3.

1.7) Final consonants are generally preserved, but note gú = gu_r 64 ii' 4; uncertain since gú may have been followed by some sign(s), now erased. The genitive is represented by -a.

1.8) The final vowel is omitted in sa-al for sa-la 63: 33f., cf. 36, and in šu-ba-*al = šuba_x (LAM.SAG)-lá 64 i' 5'.

1.9) There are changes in vocalization, some justifiable, others unexplained; see, for instance, comments to 64: 49. Vowel harmony does not always operate, at least graphically; see remarks on numeral "five", 64: 10ff.

1.10) A Semitic ending seems to be added to *ba-du(m)* 63: 7ff. and to *gàr-gàr-lum* 63: 25. The -mu at the end of 64 ii' 3 remains unexplained.

2) Syllabic spellings not limited to a one-to-one representation of phonological shapes:

2.1) Elements of an apparent explanatory nature are inserted: *ba-du(m)* 63: 7ff.; unexplained additions to some numerals 63: 9, 12, 14; -ti-a added to 63: 43f. Note further NE in 63: 17 and 23. The tendency to make entries more explicit is found elsewhere in ED lists. For instance, the Kish copy of "Nagar", lines 67ff., adds a verbal predicate that it is not found in older copies: *ĝír áb BAD^{uruda}* "knife to slaughter cattle", instead of simple *ĝír áb*, and *ĝír ku₆ dar^{uruda}* "knife to split fish", instead of *ĝír ku₆*.

2.2) The expected syllabic term may be altogether replaced by a syllabically spelled entry that fits the explained term only semantically. A clear example is 63: 22f.; other cases are 63: 17, 35.

31. Is it a coincidence that a- is followed in all three cases by a bilabial, or does it have some phonological significance?

Index of entries

- (a?)-ba-da = GÁRA 63:45
 a-bād-ša₄ = bēd-še₁₀ 64 i' 6'
 a-wu-zu = LAK 384 63:41, see also wu-zu
 *al = lá 64 i' 5
 ba-bar = babbar 63:28
 ba-du(m) = bānda 63:7ff.
 da-la = ? (perhaps diri) 63:17
 dalla = TÜR 64 i' 2'
 du-li-ma = ? 64 ii' 2
 en-da = ninda 63:3f.
 ga- = gār-C 36:37
 ga-da = GÚG.GÚG 63:32
 ga-gú-ti-na = igi-geštin-na 64 ii' 3
 (V)-ga-ri-na = agarin-(ak) 63:37
 gār-gār-lum = kakkarum 63:25
 gi-^rme^r-x^r = GAR.UD 63:19
 gi- = gār-C 63:27f.
 gú = gu₇ 64 i' 4'
 gú = gur₄ 64 ii' 4'
 gú- = gur₉-C 63:1f.
 gú- = gúg-C 63:30, 33
 gú-n(a) = gin₄ 63:49
 gú-ru₁₂-d(a) = lugud 63:22f. (= GÍR?)
 gú-si-^rx^r = ? 64 ii' 1
 gú-ša-ki-da = ka-sukud-da 64 i' 3'
 gú-ti-n(a) = geštin 64 ii' 3
 gu₄-du = GÚG 63:31
 ḡa-i = GÀR 63:24
 ḡáb?-bù = ḡa-mun? 64 i' 7'
 ḡI, see *ili
 i-da = ninda 63:21ff., 29
 *ili (HI) = i-li 63:40, 42
 iš-ší = 3 63:8
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 mar-u₉ = GUR₈ 63:26
 me-ne = 2 63:5ff.
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 NAGAR = NAGAR 63:48
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 NI-sa-al = x + *sila_x 63:35
 sa-al = sila_x (LAK 636, GÁXSILA.ME) 63:33ff., see also
 sa-la
 sa-la = sila_x, see sa-al
 sa-ma = sa₁₀-(m)? 63:1f.
 sa-mar-u₉ = sag-GUR₈ 63:26
 si- = sila_x-C 63:34
 si-^rx^r = ŠÚ+Zi 63:20, possibly si-^rgu(m)^r
 sur = sur 63:16
 sùr = ? 63:17
 sùr-(ru₁₂) = sur 63:6
 sur_x = HUS? 63:4
 ša-ki-d(a) = sukud 64 i' 3'
 ša₄ = še₁₀ 64 i' 6'
 šu-ba-*al = LAM.SAG-lá 64 i' 5'
 ti-dab₆ = ti-tab 63:38
 ù-[du?] = ud? 63:36
 ù-za, see ù-zu
 ù-zi, see ù-zu
 ù-zu = utu 63:42ff.
 u₉ = 10 63:15
 u₉-i-a = 5 63:10
 u₉-iš = 6 63:11
 u₉-iš-ší = 8 63:13
 u₉-lu = 9 63:14
 u₉-ma-nu = 7 63:12
 ug₅-dalla = UG-TÜR 64 i' 2'
 zu-ur = BU 63:27, sir or sud?
 wuzu = LAK 384 63:4lff.
 LAK 384, see a-wu-zu, NI-na-al
 LAK 636, see sa-al

[Addenda. Line 48. The element *egi-* in *egingīru* can easily be explained by assuming that the spelling NIN- n a g a r is, despite its textual rarity, the original one. With NIN- read e g i-, *egingīru* reflects e g i - n a g a r “lady-carpenter”. –The transliteration ḡ is used only when needed to stress the nature of the consonant.]

Studies in Early Dynastic Lexicography II*

3. Word List D 50-57 (*ARET* 5 No. 23)**

The tablet published in *ARET* 5 no. 23¹ turns out to be a scribal exercise containing lines 50-57 of Word List D (*MEE* 3 165ff.) whose first forty-nine lines were studied by this writer in *OrAn* 21 (1982) 1ff. The tablet *ARET* 5 23 starts exactly where *MEE* 3 63, ends and both tablets are therefore likely to be part of the same curricular activities.

The text, presented with the corresponding “standard” Sumerian version² on the left, reads as follows:

<i>MEE</i> 3 p. 172	<i>ARET</i> 5 23
50 uzu(LAK 350) sila gal	1 ù šu-la ga-la
51 uzu sila dili	2 ù šu-la ti-li
52 ku ₆ sila gal	3 gú šu-la ga-la
53 ku ₆ sila dili	4 gú šu-la ti-li
54 DIM×MAŠ (var. maš-DIM)	5 me-si-gú- ⁷ ru ₁₂ -um
55 DIM×ŠE	6 me-za ⁷ -su-ma
56 GĀ×A+ĤA	7 ⁷ a ⁷ -da- ⁷ gú-wa ⁷
57 su-lá áb	8 sa-la- ⁷ à ⁷ [ab]

The comparison of the two versions shows that the interpretation of this section of Word List D proposed in *OrAn* 21 2 (section “c”) is correct, with the exception of lines 54 and 55.

1-2. Here the sign LAK 350 is read ù.³ The meaning “carcass, meat” for LAK 350, suggested in *AnOr* 2 2², is correct, but now it may be added that LAK 350 is definitely the ancestor of the sign u z u

* The present article was originally published in *ZA* 74 (1984) pp. 161-163.

** Continues *OrAn* 21 (1982) 1ff.

1. D. O. Edzard, *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes* (*ARET* 5 [1984]).

2. Quoted according to Pettinato’s edition in *MEE* 3 pp. 169ff.

(note the form of the sign in the Susa duplicate *MDP 27 196 iii 4'*). It seems likely that *u z u* is here reduced to *ù* because of the following initial sibilant of *sì la*: *u z u + sì la = /u z s u l a/*, written *ù - š u - l a*, with no clear reasons for the spelling with *š*.⁴ In *MEE 3 63: 33ff.* *sì la* is rendered as *sa - a l* or *sa - l a*, while here it is given as *š u - l a*. Perhaps the reason for the difference in form must be sought in a difference in meaning, since here *sì la* does not designate a measure but a part of an animal or meat cut. Note the frequent use of *sì la* in terms for parts of an animal body or meat cuts in Hh XV 61-67, 71-79a, etc. Judging from the present list, *sì la* must be a general term for “portion” of meat or fish. Line 1 corresponds to ^{uzu}*sì la - ga l = malaku* Hh XV 79 and its Sumerian can be translated as “large meat portion” while line 2 can be translated as “single (= small) portion.”⁵

3-4. The value *g ú* for *k u₆* is exactly as expected.

5-6. These two lines appear now to have nothing to do with “salt”, as incorrectly suggested in *OrAn* 21 2. The syllabic entry in line 5 has to be interpreted as *m a š + g u r_x(DIM)*. For *m e - s* as reading of *m a š*, note *m e s* alternating with *m a š* in the “List of Names and Professions” 51, 264, 276 (A. Archi *SEb* 4 pp. 181ff.). The value *g u r_x* comes from VE 0325 which gives the gloss *sa - g u r* for *sa g-DIM×KAK/NI = sa-bi-du* SAG.⁶ It is not clear whether the final *u m* of *g ú - r u₁₂ - u m* is a Semitism or whether it is part of the root; compare *g ú r/g u r u m*. The meaning of the term *sa g - g u r_x* is uncertain⁷ but surely must be a part of the body. I can offer no suggestions for the interpretation of line 6. In ED Fish List 47 (*MEE 3 97ff.*) DIM×ŠE probably is to be read *ga k k u l* since an OB duplicate (N 5867) gives U.DIM for this line. The sign DIM×ŠE is used in Pre-Sargonic Girsu and Ur III for *ga k k u l*. It begins to be used occasionally for *m u n* in Ur III (compare, e.g., *BIN 5 109* with 304) and this usage later becomes the rule, replacing DIM-*gunû*, the sign used to write *m u n* from ED to Ur III. The value of the present line 6 is not preserved in the traditional lexical lists.

7. My interpretation of *GÁ×A+ĤA* in *OrAn* 21 as the predecessor of *GÁ×A+DA+ĤA* is thus confirmed; its value is identical to the one given by the late syllabaries: *e - d a - k u - ú - a* Proto-Ea 229 and Ea IV 293, and *a - d a - k u₆ - a* *MSL 14 115:41*. In VE 078, *GÁ×A+ĤA* is translated *ti-lum* ĤU.A – a surprising translation if ĤU.A means here ‘bird’ since the logogram and its reading refer to fish; see additional remarks in *OrAn* 21 2³.

8. The first syllable of *sa - l a = s u - l á* shows a change due to vowel harmony. The following ’à I take as the glide marking the vocalic end of a word as discussed in my paper in the 1982 Naples Convegno

3. Pettinato, *MEE 3 134*, points out a reading *bu_x* based on the alternation *a-LAK 350-ká* with *a-bù-ká* in line 28 of the List of Names and Professions (see also A. Archi, *SEb* 4 [1981] p. 189). Without additional material it cannot be determined whether this value /bu/ is independent from *u (z u)* or whether it makes explicit a bilabial syllable onset in *u (z u)*; compare *wu* for *ù* in line 60 of the same list and *bù* for *ú* in line 189 of the Geographic List.

4. In Proto-Ea 818 the word *u z u* has *s* rather than *z*.

5. Compare perhaps the entries in Hh XV 76-78.

6. See also *MEE 3 68: 4, 71: 15* (lists of parts of the body), written DIM×KAK- *sa g*.

7. It could correspond to Akk. *šipātu*, OA *šāptu*, but note that Akkadian uses *šartu* for “hair (of the head).” The preceding entry in VE reads *sa g -DAR = sa-ba-tum*, which from the context of the same entry in *MEE 3 68: 41* could be taken to represent *šaptu* “lip,” and it would thus be a different root.

(in press). For the meaning of s u - l á “dried and/or salted meat,” see *OrAn* 21 2. For the syllabic spelling of á b in Ebla, see Krecher, *OrAn* 22 180ff.⁸

8. Without getting into details about the fascinating texts published by Edzard in *ARET* 5, I would like to point out that no. 6 is duplicated in Abū Šalābīḥ by *OIP* 99 342, besides. no. 326 discovered by G. Biga and already mentioned by Edzard. Judging from the casts, nos. 326 and 342 can very well be parts of the same tablet.

Studies on Early Dynastic Lexicography III*

This article continues in a sense *OrAn* 21 (1982) pp. 1ff. and *ZA* 74 (1984) pp. 161ff. and presents, from the Sumerological point of view, notes on selected entries of the Ebla bilingual vocabularies. The paragraph numbers correspond to the entry numbers in MEE 4 197ff.**

69. n í g - d ù = /šarkul/ “a string of (dried) fruit”

1. The Sumerian of VE 69 is a form well-attested in administrative documents from the Fara period until early Sargonic¹. The term is always found in association with ^{giš}ḥ a š ḥ u r “apple” and g i š - p è š “fig”², except in a couple of cases where it accompanies LAK 490, probably a milk product. The word n í g - d ù is attested in the following contexts.

a) Fara. n í g - d ù ^{giš}ḥ a š ḥ u r / g i š - p è š³ *WVDOG* 45 145, *TSŠ* 363, 422, 557f., 750. *WVDOG* 45 152 iii 3f. abbreviates the term to n í g. LAK 490 n í g - d ù *WVDOG* 45 141 i 2, ii 2 (in this line transliterated n í g - NI by Deimel), iii 3f.

b) Pre-Sargonic Lagaš. The word is frequent appearing in the form n í g - d ù - a, followed by fruit names, in two types of contexts:

1) Lists of offerings for m a š - d a - r i - a, ritual baths (a - t u₅ - a), sacrifices (g i š - t a g), and similar religious occasions include a small number of n í g - d ù - a ^{giš}ḥ a š ḥ u r / g i š - p è š alongside all sorts of delicacies: *DP* 42, 51, 57, 59, 134, *Bab* 8 pl. xii, *VAS* 14 171, etc. *DP* 196 is noteworthy for giving the

* The present article was originally published in *Or* 56 (1987) pp. 233-244.

** I wish to thank L. Viganò who was kind enough to read the ms. and provided some references.

¹ I have not investigated the possible existence of the term in Uruk period documents.

² The different status of g i š in the two words, determinative with ḥ a š ḥ u r, part of a compound word with p è š, is inferred from passages such as BM 24975: 27f. (S. N. Kramer, *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.* 140) where (the text is Emesal) m u - p è š is found in parallel with ^{giš}ḥ a š ḥ u r. A similar case is m u - n á in parallel with ^{giš}g u - z a. It may very well be that the difference in the treatment of g i š / m u is due to metric considerations, the forms just mentioned being attested in poetic passages. If so, it is not necessarily legitimate to extrapolate the difference to administrative contexts. The Sumerian subcolumn of Emesal Voc. II-128f. is unfortunately broken.

³ The scribal habits of the period do not allow one to establish whether n í g - d ù preceded or followed the fruit names.

term ^{giš}ḥašḥur/giš-pèš šu-ru-a which, as the totals on the tablet show, means “one-half níg-dù-a”⁴, implying a certain standardization of its size.

2) Receipts for regular fruit deliveries by the gardeners of Bau list large amounts of níg-dù-a of apples and figs, next to dates and grapes or wine: *TSA* 42f., Nikolski 1 141f., *DP* 105, 107, *VAS* 14 113, *VAT* 4865 (*Or* 9-13 326); after the third year of Urukagina the term níg-dù-a is replaced by sa g-kéš. For details, see supplementary note 3.

c) Nippur. The texts write níg-dù, after the fruit name. *OSP* 1 126 iii 3’f. lists, among food products for an unknown purpose, 10 LAK 490 níg-dù, 10 giš-pèš níg-dù, and 10 ^{giš}ḥašḥur (MA×TAK₄) níg-dù; 4 giš-pèš níg-dù are included in a list of miscellaneous foods for máš-da-ri-a in *TMH* 5 166; 30 similar units are listed in *OSP* 1 131 iii 9; the term níg-dù alone, without mention of fruits, can be seen in *OSP* 1 51 and *TMH* 5 167 iv 3’ff.

It is obvious that the term níg-dù-(a) indicates something to store or carry fruit. An examination of the passages above shows a lexical distribution practically identical to that of the term še-er-gu, exhaustively studied by I. J. Gelb in *Kraus Vol.* 67ff. Furthermore, its diachronic distribution is complementary with še-er-gu; this term appears first in late Sargonic (Gelb, o.c. 68, 1-6)⁵ while níg-dù-a disappears in early Sargonic (Nippur texts). From the texts examined so far, the two terms may be considered functionally equivalent, and thus one can translate níg-dù-(a) as “string of (dried) fruit”. The occasional use with LAK 490 does not invalidate this hypothesis. LAK 490 is assumed, with good reason, to be the functional equivalent of ga-àr “cheese”⁶ and one can think of the “milk cakes” (Iraqi Ar. *bakl*, Kuwait Ar. *igt*⁷), made of curds of sour milk, formed into small, hard, round, flat cakes let to dry hanging on a tent pole. It seems reasonable to assume that such a product could occasionally be put on strings⁸.

2. Of the two Semitic translations of VE 69. *ne-[d]u-um* is clearly a loanword from Sumerian. The rendering of níg as *ne* is the usual one in Ebla sources (e.g., VE 101, 165, 420, 0253; *ne-si-gi-im ARET* 5 6 i 8 compared with níg-sig *OIP* 99 326 i 8). The other term, *ša-gú-um*, can now be interpreted as /šarkul/ and considered identical to the word borrowed in late Sargonic as še-er-gu. The graphic omission of *r* in a cluster /rV/ is attested, for instance, in *ša-mi-nu* alternating with *šè-rí-mi-nu* (*šarmēnu* “cypress” or the like) VE 379, and in *àr-zu-um* alternating with *’à-zu-um* VE 424f.⁹ The sibilant in VE

⁴ As already recognized by Deimel, *ŠL* 354, 113; see also J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte* p. 283; šu-ru-a of course is nothing but a variant of šu-ri-a “one-half”, compare, for instance, ga ba - ru and geštú - ru, with ga ba - ri and geštú - ri.

⁵ The *MCS* 9 texts quoted by Gelb are to be dated to Šarkališarri’s reign, according to unpublished parallels, courtesy P. Steinkeller.

⁶ First noted, I believe, by Deimel in *Or* 21 (1926) p. 12 where he remarks that ga - àr is not attested in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš. It is likely that the switch from LAK 490 to ga - àr is part of the same widespread lexical change that caused the disappearance of níg-dù-a and its replacement by še-er-gu. The latter shows that to assign to LAK 490 a reading *ga(h)ar, without corroborating evidence (as is current practice, following R. Scholtz, *MVAG* 39/2 33), may very well be incorrect.

⁷ I have been unable to collect enough information about this word to decide whether it could be etymologically related to Akk. *eqīdu*. The most frequent reading of GA.ĤAR seems to be given by W 23280 iv 8’ ga - àr = *gur²-ru* = *e-[qi-du]* (Hġ XXIII-XXIV, courtesy E. von Weiher).

⁸ Information on “milk cakes” from H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arabs of the Desert* p. 402, and L. Stein, *Die Šammar-Ġerba* pp. 61ff.

⁹ Note the spelling še - gu in *TCS* 2 169.

shows that the root is *trk*. Searching for Semitic cognates, Gelb, o.c. 71f., rejects von Soden's proposal of a relationship with Eth. *tasargawa* "to adorn" (*AHw* 1216b *šerg/kûm*, *ZA* 62 p. 273) and *serg^{wa}* "decoration". However, von Soden's proposal provides a suggestive parallel for the word borrowed in Sumerian as *še-er-ka-an* (—*du*_g) "to adorn"¹⁰, which in turn finds an undeniable reflex in the Old Akkadian text *MAD* 5 8: 25 down to the dual form **širkuan* postulated by Gelb. Related to this, may be the fact that *še-er-gu* does not have either an ending -*um* or an ending -*a*. In any case, the same word seems to have designated some sort of ring-shaped ornament on the arms, in the Old Akkadian love incantation, and the rings or loops of dried fruits in administrative texts. The passage Lugalbanda I 390f. ^{giš}*pèš še-er-gu hi-li sur-ra-gin₇ á-ne-ne-a mu-un-dè-lá-lá* "he put (armor rings?) on their arms like charming strings of figs"¹¹, shows the relationship between something on the arms and *še-er-gu*. Other literary references –not used by Gelb– worth mentioning are: [^{giš}*pèš*] *še-er-gu-šè è^{giš} d al-e [...]* "figs strung¹² as *še-er-gu*, [hanging] on the rafters" Tree and Reed 219¹³. In Winter and Summer 96, in a half-broken context, *še-er-gu* appears next to "Mari figs".

3. The word */šarku/* reappears, it seems, in VE 647 in a passage that lists some terms designating the various ways in which fruits could be arranged.

645	ŠE.DIN	= <i>sa-[x]-lu</i> (ef. 1406)
646	ŠE.DIN-gal	= <i>da-gú-ru₁₂-um</i> , <i>da-gú-lum</i>
647	ŠE.DIN-kur	= <i>ša-gú-um</i> , <i>ša-gúm</i>
648	ŠE.DIN-du ₆	= <i>gú-mu-ra-nu-um</i> , <i>gú-mar-núm</i> , <i>gú-núm</i> = <i>gú-NI-lu ša NI-ba-nu</i>

This passage is briefly discussed by G. Pettinato in *MEE* 2 p. 37¹⁴. Line 645 is restored *sa-[gi]-lum* by Pettinato, presumably thinking of Aram. and Syr. *segōlā* "grape cluster". Note, however, that VE 660 has *še.geštin* = *iš₁₁-ga-um*, *áš-ga-lum* (cf. J. Krecher in L. Cagni [ed.], *Bilinguismo* p. 160, and M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 p. 26), a form more in consonance with the Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Arabic forms. In any case, ŠE.DIN (see, e.g., *TSS* 881 iv 10', xi 4', xvii 9'; *OSP* 1 128 i 10, ii 4, 9; *PBS* 9 56 i 1', ii 3') has to be considered the functional equivalent of *ga-ra-an*¹⁵. I have no satisfactory suggestion for line 646¹⁶. But line 647 could very well have the same */šarku/* discussed above, although I cannot account for the -*kur* in the Sumerian. Finally, line 648 must be a nominal form from the root *kamāru* "to pile up" with the suffix -

¹⁰ Attested only as compound verb. The dominant spelling is with -*ka-*, but spellings with -*ga-* (or -*gá-n-*) and with -*ga-*, although less frequent, are also known. For references, see A. Falkenstein, *ArOr* 17/1 p. 221²²; W. H. Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* p. 61¹¹⁸; A. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 92.

¹¹ Assuming that the object is a *n-ba-r-su* d of line 289. This part remains doubtful. Text from *TMH* NF 3 9, CBS 7085, and N 1594.

¹² Here *è* = *šakāku* "to string beads, etc."

¹³ For the restoration of a verb meaning "to hang", see *AOAT* 25 95 ad 124.

¹⁴ The discussion has some inaccuracies in the transliteration, remedied in *MEE* 4 272.

¹⁵ For the current interpretation of ŠE.DIN see, e.g., *ARET* 1 303 (lú-ŠE.DIN). K. Butz in L. Cagni, *Bilinguismo* 116, disagrees (SAL.ŠE.DIN = "Friseur").

¹⁶ Compare, perhaps, the (g u) - *gu-ul* after *hašhur* in Enki and Ninhursag 165 (and parallels), *CT* 36 50:10, *VAS* 2 2 iii 16, and ^{giš}*hašhur gu-gu-ul ba-gál-le-ne* FLP unpubl. cylinder, Ur III (courtesy Å. Sjöberg). The Semitic probably is not the same as the */tamguru/* discussed by Krecher, o.c. 151.

ānu and with a meaning “pile of fruit”. The -d u₆ in the Sumerian seems to bolster this interpretation; note also the use of the root *kmr* with dates.

121. n í g - k i - l u ḥ¹⁷ = /*ḥarātu*/ “broom”

1. The Sumerian term is well-known in Ur III texts (*ITT* 5 6785:4'; *MVN* 6 25 r. 4; Reisner, *Telloh* 114 ii 15 and pass.; *BE* 3 78:15; etc.) with the meaning “broom”, confirmed by ^{giš}n í g - *k i - l u ḥ - ḥ a g i š i m m a r¹⁸ = *mušēširtu* Ḫḫ III 407 “broom”. The word is lexically attested in ED in *WVDOG* 43 43 xiii 20.

2. The word *ḥa-la-tum* must be the same as Akk. *ḥarūtu* (*ḥaruttu*), Aram. *ḥ^arūtā*, “branches of the date palm”¹⁹, from which brooms –like the typical *muknasa* of S. Iraq– are made. I have no suggestion for *GIŠ da-bū*²⁰ beyond the obvious /*iṣu tābul*/ “the good tree”, perhaps not too far-fetched since there is a Sumerian word g i š - n í g - d ù g, with exactly the same meaning and glossed as “date palm” in Ḫḫ III 279. If this is correct, it would be an example of the loose equations that appear on occasion in VE.

124. n í g - e s i r(LAK 173)- s á²¹ = /*ubbuṭu*, *šūbuṭu*/ “to tie shoe(laces)”

Since the meaning “shoe, sandal” for LAK 173 is firmly established (see P. Steinkeller, *AfO* 28 [1981-82] 140f.) and is attested in VE 1323 (see my remarks in L. Cagni, *Bilinguismo* 78), the translations *ù-bù-tum*, *su-bù-tum* here can be considered forms of *ebēṭu* “to tie around”²². The spelling does not allow one to decide whether the forms are infinitives (*ubbuṭu*, *šūbuṭu*) or nomina actionis (*ubbuṭ-tu*, *šūbuṭ-tu*). In the Sumerian, the reading s á is preferable to d i because the Sumerian verb for “to tie shoes” is s i; Aa III/4:158, confirmed by literary contexts, see, for instance, Å. Sjöberg, *AfO* 20 174f. For s a g - k é š = /*ibṭu*/, see supplementary note 3.

222. g ù - k i n / k i n_x(UNKIN) = /*paḥāru*/ “to gather”, /*dad(a)mu*/ “totality”

For the Sumerian, compare g ú k i n(ḪI×KIN), g u k i n(LAGAB×KIN) = *dadmū* “the (inhabited) universe”; related to Ar. *tamma* and He. *tamam*. The translation *ba-ḥa-lum^{um}* presents no problem. Note that several Sumerian translations of *paḥāru* include the word g ú (g ú - g a r, g ú - s i, g ú - n i g i n), while Ebla uses g ù²³. The translation *da-da-mu* reappears in n í g - k i = *da-ma-du gu-(um)* “the totality of

¹⁷ This is the proper sequence of signs.

¹⁸ The -š u-, instead of -k i-, in the *MSL* edition is a late scribal error; the Nippur Fore. III 115 (unpubl. *MSL* ms.) has -k i- in all sources.

¹⁹ *CAD* Ḫ (1956) 121a s.v. and Landsberger, *Date Palm* (1967) 43.

²⁰ M. Krebernik, *ZA* 72 189 reads *iz-da-bū* and considers it an instance of the syllabic value *iz*. The other example there, *iz-gi-bū-um* corresponds to Akk. *iškippu* “worm” and has therefore to be read *is-*.

²¹ Vars. omission of e, and a for e. It is unclear whether the e and a have to be considered as phonetic indicators (like the e in VE 1323) or as verbal prefixes, see Civil in Cagni, *Bilinguismo* 82.

²² Compare *CAD* E 13b s.v. and *AHw* 182f.; the latter has two different verbs, one meaning “unter Krämpfen schwellen”, the other “etwa ‘binden’”. It is quite possible that there is only one verb “to gird, to tie around” with a secondary, even if more frequently attested, medical meaning “to constrict, with subsequent swelling”. The proposal of S. Picchioni in L. Cagni, *Bilinguismo* p. 305, who, “con estrema prudenza”, sees in this entry the fish name *zubuttu* does not account for the Sumerian form, the nature of the initial sibilant, or its omission in one of the sources. M. Krebernik, *ZA* 43 41 considers it a form of *abātu*.

²³ The word g u k i n in OB or Post-OB lexical lists illustrates the presence of ancient, probably obsolete, words and signs in late canonical lists.

animals” and ŠE.SU+SU SAR = *da-da-ma-du wa-rí-gi* “the totality of vegetables”, see my remarks in L. Cagni, *Bilinguismo* 91. The precise morphology of these forms is not completely clear, but there is no doubt that all are derivations from the same root. A further occurrence could be *ù-ga-l-ga-l* = *da-da-mu-u[m]* VE 0437, but I have no evidence to verify if this is right.

258. *sag* - KAK - *ba d - ba d* = /*puršu*/ “hole”, /*karratu*/ “window”

This entry has to be discussed together with *sag-si-ba d - ba d* = *ma-ba-a-su* SAG VE 1216. The Sumerian of the latter is included among metallurgical terms in the lexical list *WVDOG* 43 20 v 16. Assuming that VE 258 and VE 1216 belong to the same semantic set, the best solution appears to be to see in *bur-zu-um* a form of the root *prš* “to pierce” and in *ma-ba-a-su* a nomen instrumenti from *plš*. It is uncertain whether the SAG in 1216 narrows the meaning to “drill for trepanning”. According to R. D. Biggs in A. C. Crombie and M. A. Hoskin (eds.), *History of Science* 8 (1969) 100³⁸, there is no Mesopotamian evidence for trephined skulls. The presence of this practice, however, would not be at all unexpected given other Middle Eastern evidence. The form *ga-la-tum* could be taken, very tentatively, as similar to Akk. *karratu* “a type of window”. This term translates Sum. *ab šukur/šugur*. If the form *šukur* “spear point” is the original one, one could think of a small window formed by a “perforation”. Corroborating evidence could perhaps be found in É×BÜRÚ = *ga-la-tum* VE 0468, a term which reappears four lines after *sag-si-ba d - ba d* in *WVDOG* 43 20, and for which one would expect, judging from the logogram, a meaning “hole in a (house) wall”²⁴.

286. ^uŠIM-*ga* /*ši/aḡabu*/ “plant with milky juices”

The variants are: *sa-ša-bu*, *si-ša-bu*, and *si-sa-ša-bu*. The latter should be interpreted as “*si-* or *sa-*”, as a phonological or lexical alternation²⁵. In all likelihood the word is the same as *níg-ga* = *sa-ša-bu* “milk” discussed in L. Cagni, *Bilinguismo* 84f.²⁶ The correspondence of sibilants shows a voiced interdental in Semitic. For the meaning, compare Akk. *šizbānu* “a milk-plant”; besides the obvious interpretation of a plant with milky juice, one could think of a plant used in dairying, for example, to coagulate milk.

431. ^{giš}*subur* = /*šumḥuru*/ “a type of vehicle”

Direct evidence for a meaning “chariot” is given by the OB lexical text AO 5401:3 (*MSL* SS 1 97) ^{giš}*subur* = *narkabtu*. Ample confirmation for this meaning can be found in Sargonic texts. For example, ^{giš}*gigir-subur* A 700: 10 (inventory from Adab); ^{giš}*subur*, after ^{giš}*gigir*, in *OSP* 1 8 ii 3 (lexical); [x]+ 1 ^{giš}*mar-gíd-da šu-du₇-a*, 1 ^{giš}*subur* ^uKI.KAL.SAR, ^{giš}*za-ra nu-tuku*, ^{giš}*erín nu-tuku* “x+1 wagons, complete, 1 platform(?) wagon, without pole, without yoke” *BIN* 8 127; 1 ^{giš}*gigir-*

²⁴ Any relation with *é-sag-kéš* = *šu-du-gu gal-la-tum* VE 330? I have no suggestion for the first word (*ttq?*). M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 p. 12 ad 1428 takes it as /*šutukku qallatim*/ (“Sklavin”), M. Fales, in P. Fronzaroli, *Studies on the Language of Ebla* interprets it as /*kallatum*/ “daughter in law”.

²⁵ A similar case is *li/la-šu* VE 53, 127.

²⁶ With a misprint *sa-sa-bu* for *sa-ša-bu*. The Ebla text quoted p. 85 is now published by Edzard in *ARET* 5 20: 21, p. 36. I would like here to correct my unpardonable interpretation of *mu - mu* VE 1148 in *Bilinguismo* p. 78. It is of course to be read *da ḥ*, see M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 p. 41.

subur é-ba, l^{gis}gigir-kak-sila é-ba *PBS* 9 5 ii 6f.; ^{gis}subur mentioned among other types of wagons (^{gis}gur₈-kèš and ^{gis}mar [abbrev. for mar-gíd-da]) *BIN* 8 20 i 12. The word is attested in Ur III, but its texts by themselves do not provide evidence for the meaning. Specialized carpenters (na gar ^{gis}subur) are mentioned in *ITT* 3 5185, and supplies (eme-sig, kuš gud) in *ITT* 3 6242:1f. and Reisner, *Telloh* 83 r. 1. The word does not seem to be attested in any kind of text, except for the lexical reference in AO 5401, after Ur III²⁷. Note, finally, that there is no direct evidence for a reading subur²⁸; the pertinent passage in Ea VIII is not preserved, except for an incomplete commentary (*MSL* 14 506f.). The choice of the reading subur is based on the belief that subur and Akk. *saparru* have a common origin. Unless, of course, subur here is simply a designation of origin, compare ^{gis}mar-gíd-da su-bir₄^{ki} = *šuburītu* *Hh* V 77. If so, however, one would expect the word to be written su-bir₄.

The only attempt I know to interpret the Semitic translation *su-mu-ḥu-lu/lum* is that of K. Butz, *ArOr* 53 (1985), who reads it as *šumḥuru* and translates “Joch”²⁹. While I cannot follow his translation, I think that he is right in seeing in this entry a form of *maḥāru*. Note, on the one hand, the entry ^{gis}gigir-šu-gi = *maḥāru ša narkabti* Antagal E a 5, and, on the other, the use of *ša māḥirti* to describe a boat sailing upstream, i.e., on tow. I would suggest that *maḥāru* when said of a wagon or chariot means “to pull”³⁰, and propose that the intended term is **šumḥuru* “the pulled/towed one”, as a designation for a particular type of wagon or chariot.

501. šu-paḥ = *ūtu* “half-cubit”

The term šu-paḥ appears also in *MEE* 3 70 r. i 4, between šu and á-ku₅, in a list of parts of the body. Later forms of this word are zipaḥ (Proto-Izi I 522, Proto-Ea 117) for the logogram MAŠ (i.e., 1/2) and zapah for šU.BAD in *KUB* 3 97:7 (Diri). A more explicit form is á-1/2-kuš-mu = *u₄-tí* Ugumu bil. D 14. Since the etymology of zipaḥ is not clear, the reason for the alternation š/z remains unexplained; perhaps the Ebla scribes tried to find the word šu “hand, arm” in its first component. The interpretation of the translation *ū-du-um* (with vars. -du, -dum) as *ūtu* is straightforward. For this word, see B. Landsberger, *WZKM* 56 109ff. (with additional data) and W. von Soden, *ZA* 67 240.

²⁷ Cf. *RA* 61 p. 66³. *OAI* 1 39:1f. ^{gis}subur, ^{gis}u-rí-im is not clear. Gelb, *ibid.* p. 294, proposes “ŠUBUR-trees, wood for the roof”; note that no number precedes it. Text no. 33 in the same volume lists large numbers of ^{gis}subur 20ff. and 4 gú ^{gis}subur (line 15). It cannot be wagons in this text; most likely, the word refers to some kind of wood.

²⁸ Note my transliteration subur rather than the usual šubur. The form with šu- comes solely from a single Kouyunjik source in S^b II 319 while the Neo-Babylonian source has su-. All other spellings (Voc. S^a AA 15, *VAS* 2 47:5) have su-. A reexamination of the partly broken sign in Proto-Ea 869 shows that [s]u- is perfectly possible there.

²⁹ Butz sees in subur a variant of šudun/l and bases the translation of the Semitic on a particular instance in which the III conjugation of *maḥāru* is translated “to level the ground” in *CAD* M/1 70a, 10f. Since Ebla elsewhere uses the so-called UŠTIN-sign for “yoke” and there do not seem to be enough parallels for an alternation b/d and the translation “to level” does not seem particularly relevant to “yoke”, the proposal is open to serious doubt. Furthermore, this interpretation uses an approach that, in my opinion, relies excessively on thematic groupings. For the following entry ^{gis}ka-k-subur VE 432, I would propose */magarru/* “wheel”, rather than “Joch-Keil”.

³⁰ More precisely than “to guide” (*CAD* M/1 51b, lex. section).

693. š e - g í n = /šimtu/ “glue, paint”³¹

This equation is so transparent as to need no comment, see, for instance, P. Fronzaroli, *Studies on the Language of Ebla* 149. However, since the *MEE* 4 edition (p. 277) here transliterates š e - t ù n, a brief remark is included to underline the need to keep carefully apart the signs TÙN and GÍN in Ebla tablets. The two signs –LAK 666 and 786/Elles 325, and LAK 667/Elles 325, respectively– are kept apart by the scribes, even in OB tablets. In VE only GÍN³² is attested; besides the line under discussion, VE 477 and the section 754-61 all have GÍN, not TÙN. Examples of genuine TÙN in ED sources can be seen in s a g -TÙN ‘chief field surveyor’, d ù n - l u^{SAR} *WVDOG* 43 58 iv 4 and dupl., (lexical list, vegetables)³³, and PA.TÙN “mountain”. Examples of š e - g í n in ED texts are *TSŠ* 782 iii 9, iv 6, 9 (for š i d i m - g a l, n a g a r, and a š g a b) and *MEE* 3 45-46 r. vi 13’, next to the well-known tannery term e - r i n₄ (cf. M. Sigrist, *JCS* 33 [1981] p. 162f.). Note the Sargonic Nippur text *TMH* 5 179:4: 15 e g u d š e - g í n a b - g u₇ “15 straps of oxhide treated with glue”³⁴. In Ur III texts, where š e - g í n is common, one occasionally finds the writing š e - g ì n³⁵. OB Mari systematically writes še-gin₇³⁶.

VE 761 offers g í n - i r = *si-tum, ma-gu*. I do not know of other instances of g í n - i r, but it is quite likely that *šimtu* is intended in the first translation (cf. also M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 p. 38¹³⁶) in view of the, admittedly late, equations *ma-gu-u* = *hu-ra-šu* Malku V 172 and ^{kuš}š e - g í n - k ù - s i g₁₇ = *šindu hurāšu* *Ḫḫ* XI 287³⁷.

827. silim na-e /šalmu/ “peace, greetings”

The alternation *sa-ma* / *É-ma* is just paleographic. The Ebla scribes occasionally write SA with a vertical at the end, see for instance *MEE* 3 61 iii 8 *ga-ra-É* for *ga-ra-sa* /*karašu*/ “leeks”. The interpretation of *sa-ma* as /šal(a)ma/ is based on the Sumerian form. It represents a form of *silim*—*du*g₄/e with the prefix *na-*, frequently used with *silim*—*e* in OB literary texts in a congratulatory formula, see, for instance, J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* 165, 215. As usual, the morphology of the Ebla entry remains uncertain. Is it a noun with an ending -a? Does it stand for the verb *šalāmu*?³⁸

³¹ For recent discussions of these terms, see M. Sigrist, *JCS* 33 (1981) pp. 157ff. and F. Joannès, *ARMT* 23 pp. 134ff.

³² Which in Pre-Sargonic also has the value a g à. The entry t u - u n TÙN = *šim-tum* Aa VIII/l: 119 has to be considered an instance of the incorrect expansions occasionally found in canonical Aa.

³³ For *d ù n - l u - ú b^{SAR}. Compare the d ù n in d ù n - l á - g a - r a š^{SAR} and l u - ú b - d ù n - z i^{SAR} *Ḫḫ* XVII 317, 353, and elsewhere.

³⁴ The word e, found also in *TMH* 5 154 i 1 (e á b) and 4 (e g u d) and in the lexical lists *WVDOG* 43 43 iv 12ff., *MEE* 3 45-46 xiii 10 (= *OIP* 99 33+ x 18) survived written e₆(SU+SU) in canonical lists with the meaning “leather hinges of a door”; for references, see *CAD* E 1 *eau*.

³⁵ For instance, in Jacobsen, *CTC* 30:4f.; *AnOr* 7 366:5; *RA* 16 19 v 15. Some of these references are quoted in Sigrist, o.c., but transliterated š e - g í n.

³⁶ F. Joannès, *ARMT* 23 p. 134.

³⁷ There is, however, a *magû* in *MDP* 4 pl. 2 iii (see *CAD* M/1 48b s.v.) that could be a weapon, which could in turn explain the g í n of the logogram. No clear solutions are possible in dealing with hapax legomena.

³⁸ On -a endings and written a in general, see my paper (in press) on “The Early History of ḪAR-ra” (Naples 1985).

Supplementary Notes

1. Archeological material for third millennium apples and apple strings can be found in R. Ellison et al., “Some Food Offerings from Ur, Excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley, and Previously Unpublished”, *Journal of Archeological Science* 5 pp. 167ff. It is instructive to compare the fruit sizes in the table ibid. 172 with the table given by M. Villaret - von Rochow in P. J. Ucko and W. G. Dimbleby, *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals* p. 202 and the remark, ibid. 205, that “there is as yet no evidence at all of a progressive evolution [in fruit size] up to the late bronze age”. About early apples, see also my remarks in “Feeding Dumuzi’s Sheep”, note 13 (*E. Reiner Vol.*, in press).

The color of the fruit has caused some concern to Assyriologists who seem to believe that all apples are green. See the remark of A. Goetze, *JCS* 10 p. 34²⁵, quoted by Gelb in *Kraus Vol.* 484 (addendum), to the effect that since the apple-colored (*ḥašḥuru*) wool is red the *ḥašḥuru* cannot designate the apple. A comment in the same vein, but in the opposite direction, can be found in *CAD* H 142 *ḥašmānu*: “apple-colored wool indicates a greenish hue”. B. Landsberger in his study of color names, *JCS* 21 172f., favors yellow or orange. It is hard to see why the red color could not have been taken as more characteristic of the apple than green, especially dealing with apples of a crabapple type. In relation to *ḥašmānu*, note that the stone of this name can hardly be kept apart from Egyptian *ḥsmn* “amethyst”, see J. R. Harris, *Lexicographic Studies in Ancient Egyptian Metals* 121f. The word thus designates most probably a color in the red-violet range.

2. Although strings of figs and apples are mentioned in all periods under discussion, i.e. from ED to Ur III, the relative amounts of the two fruits show a curious change. The following analysis partly disregards texts which list only small, and frequently equal, amounts of the two fruits. Such texts are mostly ritual offerings and the like, while the tablets listing large amounts may be expected to more closely reflect production and general distribution. In Fara, apples outnumber figs almost two to one (*WVDOG* 45 145) and when only one fruit is listed it is the apple (e.g., *TSŠ* 363, 557, 558, 750). For Lagaš more detailed information is available in the accounts of the gardeners (*nu-kiri₆-ke₄-ne* in the Lugalanda texts, *nu-kiri₆-ḫa-ú-ke₄-ne* in the UruKagina texts). Nine gardeners provide figs and apples, next to dates and grapes or wine, to the governor’s household. The amounts provided by each individual are variable in nature and quantity. Thus *ḫa-mu* provides only apples, *ur-gigir* supplies large amounts of dates but few other fruits, while *é-TU.TU* produces almost no dates, etc. The totals delivered, however, show a definite regularity, and it is clear that the administration expected to regularly receive, if not fixed amounts at least amounts that fell into well-defined ranges, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Total amount of fruits delivered per tablet³⁹

text	date	n í g - d ù - a		s a g - k é š		ratio apples/figs
		apples	figs	apples	figs	
<i>TSA</i> 43	[Lg 1]	358	20			17.9
Nik 145	Lg 2 ¹	320	18			17.9
VAT 4865 ²	Lg 3	270	30			9.0
<i>VAS</i> 14 155	Lg 4	340	42			8.1
Nik 144	Lg 6	250	50			5.0
<i>DP</i> 105	UKg 1	480	93			5.2
<i>DP</i> 107	UKg 1	400	90			4.4
<i>TSA</i> 42	UKg 2	529	110			4.8
<i>DP</i> 108	UKg 3			59	11	5.4
<i>DP</i> 106	UKg 4			56	12	4.6
<i>DP</i> 109 ³	UKg 4			56	12	4.6

Two more texts, *VAS* 14 113 (Lg 6) and *DP* 422 (UKg 4), belong to the gardeners' dossier. They report transactions of a more limited scope; a second delivery and arrears, respectively, and do not contribute to the general picture. *DP* 422 uses *s a g - k é š* and thus confirms the change in terminology which takes effect beginning in UKg 3.

In Nippur the sources do not allow conclusions as clear as in Lagaš. *OSP* 1 126 lists ten strings each of apples and figs. However, it may be symptomatic that the two texts that list only one kind of fruit refer to figs. The progressive change of the dominant fruit from apples to figs is complete in Ur III, as can easily be seen from the documentation gathered by Gelb, *Kraus Vol.* 68ff. The OB Sumerian literary texts mention only strings of figs.

3. As table 1 shows, beginning with UKg 3 the texts use *s a g - k é š* instead of *n í g - d ù - a*. At the same time, the number of units delivered is cut down by a factor of 8 or 9. One may assume that the new unit was several times larger than the older one, or that the size of the unit was the same but the size of the deliveries was reduced. An answer would require a study of trends in the size of deliveries during the last years of Urukagina.

The not too frequent term *s a g - k é š* may very well designate a loop or string, judging from its Akkadian translations *kašāru* and *rakāsu* and from the Ur III Text *TCL* 5 6044 v 32, 36 (and possibly iv 29) which lists necklace beads *š à 1 s a g - k é š - k a m* "in one loop or string" (cf. G. Pettinato, *OrAn* 21 63 who does not seem to account properly for the meaning of *š à*: "comprendente una testa legata"). Rather large *s a g - k é š* of cedar branches are mentioned in an Ur III text from Tell-Asmar: 56 1/2 *m a - n a* ^{giš}erin *s a g - k é š - b i 2* ..., 59 1/2 *m a - n a* ^{giš}erin *s a g - k é š - b i 1* (TA 1930-354). The *s a g - k é š* was also a way of transporting fish: VAT 4415 iii 2, iv 1f., etc. (*Or* 9-13 243), *TDr* 81:19, 23ff., etc.,

³⁹ Notes: 1) Date according to collation by M. Powell, *ASJ* 3 138. 2) *Or* 9-13 326. 3) *DP* 106 and 109 are exact duplicates; as shown by the totals, *DP* 109 i 2 should read 7 rather than 5.

Nakahara 19:11, *RTC* 317:30 (of cooked fish). VE 253, 1428 give *sa g - k é š* = *i-ba-tum*, *ib-tum* which can be interpreted as */ibtu/* “loop, belt”⁴⁰. Note, in a passage with words meaning “to tie around”, *sa g - k é š - š è - ra* = *kašāru*, next to an entry translated *ebētu* *OBGT* XII 4f. Another word with apparently the same meaning is *d á r a* = *izhu*; *ku₆ d á r a - g i n₇ t é š - b i g u₇ - ù - [x]* “like fish put together on a string” (speaking of the peoples of Elam and Marḥaši) Enki and the World Order 243, *u₄ 2-š è k u r - r e k u₆ d á r a - g i n₇ t é š - b i g [u₇...]* “for two days, the foreign countries gathered together like fish on a string ...” N 3394:6’ (Šulgi C). The Akkadian term appears in Sumerian in Gudea St. E vii 9ff. 1 <g ú?> *mu š en t u r - t u r i z - ḥ u - b i* 15, 1 *d ù n ^{ku₆} s u ḥ u r i z - ḥ u - b i* 30 “one talent(?) of small birds on fifteen strings, one talent(?) of carp bellies on thirty strings”. Whether *sa g - k é š* and *d á r a/izhu* are two designations for the same thing or whether they designate two physically different types of loops or strings cannot be answered with the available evidence.

⁴⁰ For a different interpretation, see M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 12 / *’ebdu/* “slave”.

The Sign LAK 384*

1. The sign LAK 384 (see now also ELLeS 209)¹, sometimes designated arbitrarily as MI.ŠITA² or U.ŠA, corresponds partially to LAK 382³ and to Schneider, KP 509 (cf. also Fossey 35283). Its first mention as an individual sign is R. D. Biggs, *OIP* 99 70f. The frequent presence of this sign in the administrative Ebla texts has resulted in a series of notes and remarks. Pettinato's last position, after some hesitation, seems to be *MEE* 2 p. 31 and 196: the sign is read $z a_x$ and the group $s a - z a_x^{ki}$ is translated as "governatorato"; see also P. Mander, *OA* 19 (1980) 263f. Previous relevant remarks include D. O. Edzard, *SRU* p. 121, and J. Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1973) 240f. The relationship between LAK 384 and KP 509 is not always recognized in these references. Krecher treated this sign again briefly in *LE* 143f. where the identity of LAK 384 and the Sargonic sign is recognized.

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¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper in addition to the usual ones:

ELLeS = P. Mander, "Lista dei segni dei testi lessicali di Ebla", *MEE* 3 p. 285-382.

LE = L. Cagni (ed.), *La Lingua di Ebla* (Napoli 1981).

LNP = List of Names and Professions (*OIP* 99 pp. 62:ff., *MEE* 3 pp. 125:ff.). UGN = UD.GAL.NUN-orthography.

VE = "Vocabulario di Ebla", *MEE* 4 p. 115-343.

WL = Word List, corresponding to "Liste di parole sumeriche" in *MEE* 3, with the same designations (A, B, etc.).

The texts are quoted *CAD*-style: no abbreviation for obverse, reverse indicated by r.; contrast the use of r. (recto) = obverse and v. (verso) = reverse in *MEE*.

² There is no need to add a subscript x to ŠITA since LAK 503 and GĀ = ŠITA are simply diachronic paleographic variants. In LAK 384, of course, there is no real ŠITA because it has two initial verticals, not one, and there is no ŠA in it either for the same reason.

³ Part of the references to this sign in LAK belong to GUR₈ as already noted by Biggs, *OIP* 99 p. 71.

2. LAK 384 occurs in the following contexts:

2.1. Early Dynastic

The passages from the Uruk texts are not included here since a relatively complete corpus of texts from this site is not yet available. Note, however, that several of the lexical passages are first attested in the Uruk period.

2.1.1. Lexical Lists.

[1] PN gal:sukka l é LAK 384 LNP 132 (*OIP* 99 p. 66)⁴.

[2] PN dub-sar^{sa} LAK 384 LNP 162 (*OIP* 99 p. 67; *MEE* 3 p. 127 viii 9 with omission of sa).

[3] WL D 39-49 with syllabic dupl. *MEE* 3 63⁵:

39 LAK 384	ì-na-al
40 LAK 384- HII	ì-na-al-lí-a
41 LAK 384	a-wu-zu
42 LAK 384- HII	ù-zi-la
43 LAK 384-ì	ù-zi-ti-a
44 LAK 384-ga	ù-zu-ga-ti-a
45 LAK 384-gára-bad	ù-za-EN?-ba-du
46 LAK 384-še-bad	ù-zu < >-bad
47 LAK 384-ziz-bad	ù-zu-< >
48 LAK 384-NAGAR	ù-zi-NAGAR
49 LAK 384-ZI+ZI.A	ù-zi-na-gú

[4] WL E 64f. (*MEE* 3 pp. 179ff.):

64 A: GA an-ta	65 A: LAK 390 LAK 384
B: LAK 384 ta	B: LAK 390 GA

[5] *WVDOG* 43 20 r. ii 4: LAK 384.z a - ḥ a - d a^{uruda}; spelling confirmed by Pettinato's observation (*MEE* 2 p. 196) of the alternation of LAK 384-ḥ a - d a^{kù-sig17} (*MEE* 2 27 r. ix 6) with ^{gis}z a - ḥ a - d a^{kù-sig17} (*MEE* 2 4 ii 2) and that of ZA.GUL-(z a) : g ì n (*MEE* 2 16 r. i 5) with LAK 384. GUL-z a : g ì n (*MEE* 2 35 vii 1; 49 iv 2).

[6] WL C 17 (*MEE* 3 p. 159): 3 LAK 384, before g í r - a n.

[7] LAK 384 is found in VE 1140 with no translation in an imprecisely defined lexical context.

2.1.2. Literary Texts.

[8] Most literary occurrences are in UGN texts, mostly still unintelligible, and only the references are given here: *OIP* 99 123 iv' 8'f., r. i 3'f.; 134 iv 1'; 162 ix 11'; 177 iii' 6',8'; 178 ii' 5'; 229 i' 3'; 245:5'(?); 254 r. iii' 12'f.; *WVDOG* 43 18 vi 17; 39 vi 9.

The divine name^{dsa} LAK 384 has been discussed by P. Mander, *OA* 19 263f.

⁴ At least this is the word order assumed by later copyists, see *JEOL* 26 (1979-80) pl. III iii' 3.

⁵ The reading ì - n a - a l is provisional; possible interpretations are /n ì n a l/, /n ì n a r/, etc. *MDP* 27 196 is a poorly copied duplicate of this passage. This text is studied together with other syllabic lists in my forthcoming "Studies in ED Lexicography".

2.1.3. Administrative Texts.

[9] 6N-T1164 (Nippur):

- i 13 zabar^{kù-babbar}
1 KA.MUNU₄×MUNU₄-maḥ^{kù-babbar 6}
- ii 2 KA.MUNU₄×MUNU₄-maḥ^{zabar}
18 zabar^{uruda}
2 sila gestin^{kù-sig₁₇} zabar
- iii 1 níg-É^{kù-sig₁₇}
LAK 384^dinanna
KA-ba-an-né-maḥ
- iv an-da-gál
u₄ 14
dub bal

2.2. Sargonic Period

2.2.1. Nippur.

The sign LAK 384 is extremely frequent in Sargonic texts from Nippur; it appears in two different types of contexts:

(a) At the end of inventories of various types of goods in the same position where, as observed by Edzard and Krecher, in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and in Ur III texts one finds níg-ga, and it is usually followed by a personal name:

[10] LAK 384 lu ga l-KA-^re'-giš-tuku-kam ur-^dnamma-[ke₄] i-ba *PBS* 9 5 ii 14ff. and 6 ii 3'ff. (reconstructed from both); see also 27:5' and 33 ii 8ff., among many others.

(b) In personal names:

[11] LAK 384- pa - è *TMH* 5 29+ (new copy in Westenholz *ECTJ* pl. 8; cf. p. 11) = U.GA- pa - è *PBS* 9 45:7 (photo pl. 73) = sa g - p [i]- è - a *TMH* 5 66 ii 3. Note that this PN is preceded by ur-šubur in both *TMH* 5 29 and 66, suggesting that both spellings indeed designate the same person.

2.2.2. Ur.

[12] *UET* 2 Suppl. 20: LAK 384 é i m - í l (after list of animals and slaves).

2.2.3. Elsewhere.

[13] Personal names: *MVN* 3 29 iv 2f.: LAK 384- a - ^{šu}ERIN^{me} (PN), a Lagaš text according to its editor (doubtful); *MAD* 4 81: nin-níg-LAK 384; níg-x-pa-è *BIN* 8 181: 3, where x could be a misinterpretation of LAK 384⁷.

⁶ Cf. KA.MUNU₄.MUNU₄ = za-a-lú-gú-um VE 0157 and bur KA.MUNU₄.MUNU₄ = BUR za-lu-ga-am in WL B 78 (bilingual). See also *WDOG* 43 20 i 21 and *BIN* 8 45 i 8.

⁷ Perhaps níg-LAK 384 is to be read níg-sa g_x and corresponds to nisa g, frequent in Ur III names, e.g., lu ga l-nisa g - e, usually read m ur u b₄ by Sumerologists. Cf. níg-LAK 384 = a-da-na-du MEE 4 205: 75.

2.3. Ur III.

LAK 384 does not seem to occur in texts of this period with the exception of the PN *ḥu-mu-LAK* 384 in *BE* 3 128 which, perhaps significantly, comes from Nippur. In the inventories from Inanna's temple in Nippur the phrase LAK 384 ^d*inanna* of [9] seems to be replaced by AN.ZAG ^d*inanna* in the subscript of 6N-T372+, a ten-column inventory of jewelry, luxury items, and all kinds of goods. There are other occurrences of AN.ZAG in the same archive: (gold objects) AN.ZAG ^d*inanna* *bar-ta gál-[la]* *ki* ^{gis}*gu-za* ^d*inanna-ka* 6N-T372+; (copper objects) *ša* AN.ZAG-*ta á-si ig-še* 6N-T418; and, in a context similar to [12]: (goods) AN.ZAG *é igi-ša-ga* 6N-T413.

3. The only information from a syllabary is the sign transliterated as M.LAGAB×SAL-[x] = *sa-ga-um* in the Ebla Sign List 128 (*MEE* 3 51-52). I assume that the sign thus described is in fact LAK 384, possibly in a paleographic variant (note that some occurrences of LAK 384 in Abû Šalābīkh could understandably be described this way). The resulting value /*sa g*/ (or /*sa ga*/) agrees with the data in [11]. Thus the *za* and *sa* which accompany so frequently the sign have to be taken as phonetic indicators with the three following corollaries: a) the sign has the values /*sa g*/ and /*za g*/, b) the sign must have had some other value(s) whose exclusion required the use of phonetic indicators, and c) the *sa* in the Ebla term ^{sa}LAK 384^(ki) is a phonetic indicator.

The syllabogram /*za*/ in [5] is a natural extension of a value /*za g*/ along the lines of *za g < za*. For a possible value *ša_x*, see Krecher, *LE* 143 and Mander, *OA* 19 263.

The value(s) required by corollary b), or at least some of them, are given in [3]: /*ina l*(?)/, and /*u z*/ with a full(?) form /*aw u z*/ . There is insufficient evidence to posit a value /*ga*/ from [4], as long as there are no indications for the reading of GA in that context.

The contextual analysis of the passages with LAK 384 suggest the following meanings:

I) “Goods, treasure”. This meaning is required when the word is followed by a PN or DN (possessor) and is preceded by a listing of animals, slaves, metal objects, etc. The sense of “treasure” is suggested by the frequent presence of precious stones and metal objects in the list. In this meaning, as indicated by [1], [2], and the spelling ^{sa}LAK 384, the reading is /*sa g*/.

II) “Treasure house, treasury”. By extension from I), indicated by the determinative *ki* in Ebla. The reading is assumed to be the same as in I).

III) “A food product”, and perhaps its container; from [3], and compare also [6] where LAK 384 represents a count noun, and [4]. The readings attested for this meaning are /*ina l*/ and /*u z*/ or /*aw u z*/.

4. Further investigation of the meanings of LAK 384 should inquire first into the likely successors of the sign in Ur III and OB times. As indicated above, 2.3, AN.ZAG seems to replace LAK 384 in Ur III Nippur. This word has two meanings: a) “limits of the sky, horizon” in the phrase *an-za g-še*, Akk. *ana pāt šamê*, as in *mu nu-tuku mu-ne an-za g-še* “(the demons) of unknown name, their names beyond the horizon (should go)” *CT* 16 33:189f., or *ša-bi ab sud-rá an-za g nu-zu-a* “its heart is a vast sea which knows no horizon” Enlil hymn A 44 (cf. *JAOS* 92 [1972] 271); b) a second meaning which agrees well with the one postulated above (I):

[14] ^{gis}*m[á m]á-gan^{ki}-na* AN.ZAG *ḥé-en-lá*
^{gis}*má-[g]i₄-lum me-luḥ-ḥa^{ki}-ke₄ kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar bal-še ḥé-ak-e*
^d*en-lil [lugal] kur-kur-ra-ra nibru^{ki}-še ḥé-na-ab-túm*
 “Let the boats from Magan carry a treasure,

the m a g i l l u-boats from Meluḥḥa trade in gold and silver.
Let them bring (all that) to Nippur, to Enlil.”

Enki and the World Order 125-27.

[15] ^{uruda}alan AN.ZAG-gi, si-a-ba gú-gur₅ ba-an-ne-eš

“The copper statues (of the gods) have been destroyed in the treasure rooms where they were sitting.”

Lament of Sumer and Ur 452.

AN.ZAG in the first meaning is obviously a compound of a n + z a g to be read simply a n - z a g. The native lexical lists contain no information about the second AN.ZAG. One can assume, reasonably, that it was later spelled ZAG.AN, with a reading u z u g or u s u g (Erimḥuš VI 187f., Antagal A 226) and with the translations *sagû*, *sukku*, which designate a particular room in a temple. These Akkadian words are considered different in Erimḥuš VI 187f. and in an inscription of Shalmaneser I (*AOB* 1 122 iv 5) but, in view of the variant spellings of *sagû* (*saggu*, *sakkû*) and the Sumerian equivalents, there are grounds to wonder whether this is not an artificial distinction.

5. The hypothesis that LAK 384 in the meaning III was replaced by U.GA is based on the observation that LAK 384 tends to occasionally lose the final vertical ([1] in the copy *JEOL* 26 pl. III iii' 3, and, apparently, in *MDP* 27 196, a dupl. of [3], [11] and perhaps *PBS* 9 53 r. l'f. compared with 46 r. 3')⁸ and on the semantic similarity between LAK 384 in [3] and U.GA in the canonical lexical lists [23]. The sign U.GA (LAK 412, Fossey 28476ff.) is not attested in ED proper; its earliest occurrence seems to be in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš (*VAS* 14 93 i 6, ii 13, iii 7, etc.), in a list of food products presented to various deities which includes: z i - s i g₁₅, z i - U.GA, z i z - g a, and š e -GAZ (see Förtsch, *OLZ* 18 [1915] 230f.). This U.GA could have originated as ŠÚ+GA, a derivative of GA with added ŠÚ, the addition of ŠÚ being a quite productive process in the formation of signs, comparable to the *gunû*-wedges or to the inscribed KASKAL, later *šeššig*. The physical similarity, almost identity, of LAK 384 without the final vertical and U.GA is obvious. On the other hand, it could be a local simplification of LAK 384, later adopted elsewhere. The second hypothesis seems preferable.

6. The history of U.GA is difficult to trace because the sign is exceedingly rare and its Akkadian translations are words that are either very unusual or limited to lexical lists. Furthermore, U.GA can easily be confused with UL in a cursive script. The sign is found in the following passages:

[16] š u - n i r - b i s a g U.GA - b i, ^dn i n - g í r - s u z i m u - í l - à m Gudea Cyl. B xvi 11f.

I am at a loss to explain U.GA here; perhaps it is syllabic for u g - g a.

[17] i - d u b U.GA ^db a - ú - š è Reisner, *Telloh* 301; in the name of a storage area for grain, not listed in Pettinato, *Neusumerische Landwirtschaft* 2 245ff. A literary text dealing with Enmerkar and written in a very peculiar and hard-to-understand variety of Sumerian⁹ seems to use U.GA several times:

⁸ *PBS* 9 53 r. l'f.: LAK 384 (only final wedges preserved according to collation, not in Barton's copy) l u g a l - k[A] - g i - n a d a m - g à r - r a; *PBS* 9 46 r. 3': [U].GA l u g a l [KA] - g i - [n a d a] m - g à r [.

⁹ An old photo from the files of the British Museum with the obverse of this tablet, taken when it was in perfect condition, was presented by S. N. Kramer at the Göttingen Rencontre of 1975. I was able subsequently to recognize this tablet in the Louvre where it bears the number AO 26522. The tablet deteriorated in the hands of the dealer and is now in the most lamentable condition.

[18] en-me-er-kár bur-sal bí-lá-a-ba MAŠ.U i-te-U.GA-ga-àm¹⁰ “in the bowl that E. was carrying there was ...” AO 26522 iii 8.

[19] U.GA LA? 2-bi za-ḥa-ad-da pirig-e ibid. 27¹¹.

[20] U.GA ta me ba-an-’è’, U.GA ta me ba-an-t[úm], má-an-na-mu ta me ... gír-ni nam-mi-in-gub AO 26552 iv 7ff. In this passage, perhaps in Emesal, it is not clear whether the sign is U.GA or simply UL.

The sign U.GA was temporarily in vogue in the Sumerian dialect of the Larsa royal inscriptions judging from:

[21] me-te é-kiš-nu-gál zag-ša₄ U.GA-ḥe u₉-na “the pride of the E., appearing higher than heaven” Rim-Sin 8:5.

[22] ^dindagara sánga U.GA-ḥé kur-ta ka du₈-ù dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄ “I, the sanga, who opens his mouth wider than all the gods, in heaven and in hell” UET 6 101:19 (see Steible, *Haia* 89f.).

7. The basic lexical passage for U.GA is Ea IV 35a-39 where, unfortunately, the Sumerian subcolumn is broken away¹²:

[23]	35a	[]	’U’.GA = MIN (= <i>i-ṣu</i>)
	36	[za-ḥa-an	U].GA = <i>za-ḥa-an</i>
	37	[ú-tu	U].GA = <i>ti-ik-tum</i>
	38	[	U].GA = <i>i-tir-tum</i>
	39	[ú-ta-aḥ	U].GA = <i>šá-mu-ú</i>

The restorations in lines 36, 37, and 39 come from Sb I 89,88 (with vars. ú - u d and ú), and 87 (with vars. u d - d a - a ḥ and ú - d i ḥ), respectively. For za ḥ a n, some copies of Sb have the logogram U.GA.ḪI, but since some copies have the sequence 89, 87, 88, and other copies omit ḪI (e.g., S₁ = DT 16 in CT 11 26), I believe that the ḪI comes from a spelling u t a ḥ - ḥ e (compare [22]) and should rather go with line 87 of the *MSL* 3 edition. Proto-Ea 482f. confirms the values of lines 36f. with za - ḥ a - a n and u d, and *MSL* 14 119:32f. gives ú - u d U.GA = *šamû* and *šipku*. Ea I 328 has u d ZÍZ = *šá* U.GA *ti-ik-tum* (with var. omitting *šá* U.GA), giving a new logogram for line 37, confirmed by Rec. Ea A 244f. Finally, Rec. Ea D 6’f. has [d]i - i m - n a U.GA = [...], which is inexplicably repeated¹³.

The explanation of za ḥ a n as coming from /u z/ + /ḥ i/, because of the logogram LAK 384.ḪI in [3] line 42 is attractive but apparently contradicted by the syllabic spelling ù - z i - l a ibid. that requires an otherwise unknown value /l a/ for ḪI (confirmed by [3] line 40). The ED value /u z/ and the post-Ur III value /u d/ are certainly related.

The meaning “heaven” is certain in [21] and [22] and likely in [20] and seems to be an OB innovation. This meaning will not be further discussed here. All other Akkadian translations of U.GA are considered “dairy products” in *CAD*. While milk was apparently a major ingredient of *iṣu* (read *kanṣu*, in *CAD* K 157b but see *MSL* 14 356) and *itirtu*, B (written i - t i - i r - d a or i - t e - e r - d a in Sumerian lexical

¹⁰ Perhaps i - t e has to be considered as a phonetic indicator for U.GA = i - t e - e r - d a, see [23] line 38 and remarks sub 7).

¹¹ Note the proximity of U.GA and za - ḥ a - d a.

¹² These entries have the sign name *geš-pu* [ga]-’gu-nu’-u, i.e., U.GA-gunû; the name is probably incorrect since the sign is always GA everywhere.

¹³ Note also: ^{zi-ga-rum}U.ŠA U.ŠA = *šamû* Antagal G 281.

and literary texts), there is no evidence for the presence of milk in *tiktu*, and *zahannu* other than the GA in the logogram but if, according to my interpretation, this GA is not original the argument loses its force. Mari texts, published after *diktu CAD* D 138b was written, show that *tiktu* is there a cereal preparation (cf. Birot, *ARMT* 9 pp. 282f., 354), and it is known from medical texts that it is also made from dates (*CAD* loco cit.). As for *zahannu*, translated “ein Gartenkraut” in *AHw* 1503a, it was the name of a type of soup or the major ingredient of one: ^{u7}z a - ħ a - a n = ŠU-nu Hg B to Hh XXIII-XXIV B 101 and *MSL* 11 152: 32ff. I would suggest that LAK 384/U.GA is a type of dish or food concoction whose known varieties are prepared with cereal, milk, or dates. The spelling ú d in the passage Ea I 328, quoted above, could be an indication that emmer wheat (z í z) was the characteristic ingredient of the variety of U.GA called ú t u. Milk was not always an ingredient since in [3] line 44 it needs to be mentioned explicitly, something that would not happen if LAK 384/U.GA always implied the presence of milk. The frequent presence of cereal in the U.GA dishes throws light on the puzzling question of how the same logogram could have come to designate a type of dish and the heavens at the same time: U.GA must have also been used to designate the cereal preparations known in Akkadian as *šipku* (for which see Birot, *ARMT* 9 279ft.), a supposition confirmed by *MSL* 14 119:33; since a homophonous *šipku* is part of the expression *šipik/šupuk šamê* “the foundations of heaven” the scribes thus extended the original meaning of LAK 384/U.GA to also designate the heavens. This explanation allows the formulation of two corollaries: 1) this extension of the meaning of the logogram could have taken place only among Akkadian-speaking scribes, and 2) the values ú t u and u t a ħ must be related.

8. In Ebla, and concretely in *MEE* 2, the most frequent use of LAK 384 is in the terms l ú LAK 384 (8 xi 3; 9 r. iv 1f.) and l u g a l LAK 384 (38 r. iv 2ff.; 42 iii 4ff.). The second term is found with l u g a l in the plural in text no. 42. Note *MEE* 1 840 r. v 4ff.: in UD PN l u g a l ^{sa}LAK 384, “when PN was the chief of the ...”. It is found also after names of objects (3 r. ix 5; 43 i 6). The sign LAK 384 can optionally be accompanied by the phonetic indicator s a; this indicator, however, seems obligatory whenever the classifier k i is added to the word. See, for instance, the tabulation of the forms occurring in TM.75.G.427 published by Pettinato in *Afo* 25 (1974-77) 26f. All occurrences of ^(sa)LAK 384^(ki) known to me seem compatible with the meaning of administrative center in the sense of “tesoreria” rather than “governatorato”. In other words, the designation would focus on the institution not as a center of political power but as a center for the control and distribution of goods, perhaps somewhat similar to the é - d u b - b a, or é - k i š i b - b a, of Ur III times.

Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages: Sumerian in Ebla*

1. *Literary Borrowings in Logographic Scripts*¹

1.1. After R. D. Biggs's conclusive demonstration of the presence of numerous Semitic names among the scribes of the Abu-Ṣalabikh tablets (*Or* 36, 55ff.; *OIP* 99, 43f.)², and especially after the Ebla discoveries, the first question one asks when facing an ED tablet is whether it is Sumerian or Akkadian/Semitic. Formulated this way, the question is deceptively simple. The answer is easy when the text contains sufficient syllabic material, but if the text is mostly logographic the answer is more complex. It would be useful to know what general rules prevail when languages borrow logographic scripts in order to clarify the situation in the cuneiform field. Unfortunately, there are not too many cases of adaptation of logographic scripts to languages from different families.

1.2. The best studied case is the adaptation of Chinese script to Japanese literature. The complexities of such adaptations can be illustrated, for instance, with an eighth-century Japanese poetry collection known as the *Man'yōshū*.³ In this collection we find (1) Chinese sentences read and understood as such (*kanbun*), with two different reading styles. (a) *Ondoku*. The characters are read in a Japanicized version of their original Chinese pronunciation with no insertions or deletions. (b) *Kundoku*. The characters are read in the order required by Japanese syntax, given the pronunciation of their Japanese lexical equivalent, and Japanese functional morphemes are inserted as needed. Any unnecessary Chinese functional elements

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1. Numerical references without further identification refer to VE. The term Standard Sumerian is used as a convenient designation of the language in Ur III and post-Ur III times. I wish to thank my colleagues Robert D. Biggs and Dennis G. Pardee, the first for carefully reading the manuscript and making valuable comments, the second for many constructive suggestions and references.

2. Semitic loanwords had of course been recognized much earlier, see, for instance, I. J. Gelb, *Genava* 8, 258ff. and A. Falkenstein, *ibid.*, 301ff.

3. This sketch is based on Ronald A. Lange, *The Phonology of Eighth-Century Japanese*, Tokyo, 1973.

are deleted. The written sequence of text elements is not changed, but diacritics (*kunten*) may be added to indicate the sequence in reading. Native Japanese poets could invert the process, creating a Japanese text and writing it down in Chinese. On the other hand, we also find (2) Japanese sentences using (a) Japanicized Chinese values in the function of syllabograms, but not specifically devised as such (*on-gana*), and (b) Chinese characters used to represent Japanese words (*kun-gana*), in a fashion similar to Sumerograms in Akkadian.

The lesson to be had from this side trip is that the language in which a text is written is not necessarily the language in which the same text is read. An Akkadian (or Semitic) speaker could thus, in theory, handle Sumerian in at least four different ways:

- (1) reading Sumerian as Sumerian,
- (2) reading Sumerian as Akkadian, in a sort of “simultaneous translation”,
- (3) writing Sumerian as Sumerian, and
- (4) writing Akkadian as Sumerian.

Note, moreover, that the presence of bound morphemes of a given language does not unequivocally identify this language as the one in which the text is read or even composed.

1.3. Civilized languages do not exist in a chemically pure, isolated form. Civilization implies contacts which are, at least in part, necessarily linguistic. The contacts can have a wide range of results, from the presence of a few guest words to the symbiosis manifested in a massive adoption of lexicon or morphology. The Man'yōshū example, a literary one, has been chosen on purpose. There are reasons to believe that what is true of spoken bilingualism –the better studied form– does not necessarily apply without modifications to written, literary bilingualism.

The autonomy of a language or dialect in a multilingual area is impossible to ascertain without knowing what is happening in this area. The verifiable links of Ebla to the South, Kiš and Mari, are largely terra incognita, linguistically speaking. Furthermore, knowledge of the socio-linguistic situation is essential for the interpretation of a case of bilingualism. This knowledge is most rudimentary in the Ebla case. Rather than attempting to solve the problem of multilingualism in Ebla, I will simply try to make a small contribution to its solution by giving an overview of the Ebla texts from the point of view of the Sumerologist.

2. Sources

The sources available for the study of Ebla Sumerian can be summarized as follows.

(1) First, we have a large group of traditional Sumerian word lists common to Ebla and to most Southern ED sites (Uruk, Fara, Abu-Šalabikh, Ur, etc.).

(2) Next, we have word lists that so far have been found only in Ebla, including: (a) the Ebla Vocabulary (abbreviated here as VE) published in *MEE* 4 –the most important text under consideration here– and related fragments; (b) various lists such as the bilingual animal list (*MEE* 4, 96 + 112, see 6.4.1), or Sumerian lists of parts of the body (*MEE* 3, 68 and 70); and (c) miscellaneous Sumerian exercise lists, difficult to separate at times from the ones listed sub (b), most of which can be considered as derivations from VE.

(3) Third, we have the so-called Ebla “Syllabary”, more precisely a sign list with sign names (*MEE* 3, 51-52, see Appendix)⁴, to which some twenty Sumerian glosses in VE can be added.

(4) We also have syllabic Sumerian texts of which a list of numbers (*MEE* 3,54), one copy of the so-called “Creation Hymn” (*OrAn* 19, 61ff.) 4, and some incantations (Pettinato, *OrAn* 18, 329ff.) have been published. [After this was written it became clear that *MEE* 3, 62 is a syllabic duplicate of Animal List A (Krecher), and *MEE* 3, 63 and 64 are syllabic duplicates of Word List D and Bird List, respectively (Civil)].

(5) A few connected Sumerian texts in standard orthography are known: some incantations (Pettinato, *OrAn* 18, 329ff.) and copies of the “Creation Hymn.”

(6) Finally, we must consider Sumerian loanwords in Eblaite. A distinction of practical significance has to be made between the sources purposely informative (i.e., prescriptive or formally didactic), such as SL or VE, and the ones that provide information accidentally, as it were, such as spelling variants and loanwords.

3. Writing System

3.1. The inventory of signs used in Ebla is in general the same as that of the already known ED texts. Some values have been established for the first time in Ebla, but they agree, whenever they can be verified, with the South Mesopotamian evidence, as in the case of the so-called MI.ŠITA sign (see Appendix ad 128). In the case of syllabograms the values are also known with few exceptions. The value /bu/ for the sign NI, for instance, was first detected in Ebla, but it turns out to have been used already in Abu-Šalabikh:

Abu-Šalabikh : g a - NI^{ki}

Ebla : g a - b ũ^{ki} (Pettinato, *Or* 47, 66:76).

The functional load of signs, especially in the case of syllabograms, however, can be quite different: the value ru₁₂ (EN), for instance, is known in the Ea tradition and in a few instances in OB literary texts (^da-EN-EN for ^da-r u-r u in *CT* 36, 47ff., for example), but no one would have suspected its use as the most frequent spelling of the syllable /ru/ in Ebla. The same can be said of u₉. What represents an innovation or what is a simple adaptation of values current elsewhere at the time is impossible to tell in the absence of syllabically written contemporary texts from, let us say, Mari or Kiš.

3.2. ED texts from Southern Mesopotamia at times use homophonous signs in a way quite different from the OB tradition: l u, for instance, can be used for l ú, and vice versa: l u-l u š u-g a r *WVDOG* 43, 29 vii 6 is written l ú-l ú š u-g a r in the dupl. A 33666, and *MBI* 1 xiv 3ff. writes a l-l ú and a n-g a-l ú for a l-l u and a n-g a-l u. In Ebla we have similarly: i l for í l: i l-i l = *du-uš-da-gi-um /tustaqqi' u/* 1379, (i l as verbal root is attested in Fara), but note í l in 1168f. é-d u r = *ga-ba-ru*₁₂ /*kapru*/ 316 is written normally é-d u r₅^(ki) in the following line (cf. Pettinato, *Ebla* 134 and *MEE* 2, p. 233); m u-m u in 1148 stands perhaps for KA×LI-KA×LI; and there are many other similar cases.

3.3. The syllabic spellings can make explicit bound morphemes that are normally left unexpressed in

4. The designation “Syllabary” is not adequate since polyphonic signs are defined only once and the “values” are provided with Semitic endings, as in later lexical lists, and should therefore be considered “sign names”.

ED orthography. In the gloss *n a b - d u - t u k u* to *n u - t u k u* in 1407, we can assume that *n a b -* represents *n u - u b -* (the *du* I consider a gloss to the following *h ú b / t u k u* to ensure the reading *t u (k)*). Note also *n u - d u - g ú - w i - i n* as a syllabic spelling of *n u - t u k u - (e n)* with a *w*-glide between the root vowel and the personal ending, but still without the vowel assimilation of OB *n u - t u k u - u n* (Pettinato *OrAn* 19, 63). This practice is attested elsewhere, see my remarks in *StOr* 46, 39 and *RA* 60, 12ff.

3.4. Phonetic indicators, known already in ED in Southern Mesopotamia, are also used in Ebla: $^{\circ}GL_4 \times GL_4 = sa-na$ 1323 “sandals,” Akk. *šēnu* (root *ś'n*); the reading /e s i r/ of $GL_4 \times GL_4$ and of the similar *LAK* 173 is based on *Aa* III/1:244 and *Ea* VIII 15, and well attested up to the Sargonic period (see P. Steinkeller, *Afo* 28, forthcoming.) The name of the snake-god Irhan is spelled $ir-ha$ MUŠ in 96:31, and see *MEE* 3, p. 71 ad 94 for *n i n - k i l i m*^{gi-lí}, paralleled by Urukagina 4-5 v 1: $^d n i n - k i l i m$ ^{gi4-lí-na}. Note also $geš mar-haš$ RU^{uruda} = *mar-haš-tum* 480a-c. A curious example of an abbreviated gloss is *NIN.KI= LIM*^{ha-lum} = *ha-ma-zi-lum* 0300, where the gloss gives the first and last sign of the word *ha-(ma/mun-zi)-lum* /*hamunšīru*/ “rat.”

4. Phonology

4.1. The main source for phonology is naturally *MEE* 3, 52, a sign list with Semiticized sign names added.⁵ The information it supplies fits surprisingly well with what we know from the *Ea* tradition from the OB period on. Out of 82 values preserved, 69 (= 84.2%) can be considered known or at least partially known, after adjusting for epenthetic vowels, applications of the rule *m*→*n* / $\neq$, and for local scribal habits such as the complete disregard for the voiced/voiceless contrast, use of *l*-signs for *r*-signs, and so on. The remaining 13 (= 15.8%) are new, many of them applying to signs that become obsolete by the end of the third millennium. This figure is reasonable if one considers the relatively large number of unusual values found in OB copies of ED texts (*UET* 7, 86, with dupl. U 30497; CBS 11319 +; *RA* 60, 5ff.; etc.). Of the known values, 24.6% show vocalic modifications which will not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the stability of the *Ea* tradition in regard to vowels disguises the extreme incertitude about the precise vocalization of Sumerian that becomes apparent as soon as additional evidence comes into the picture. [Further analysis has shown that the Sumerian vocalic system in Ebla may not be as different from the OB system as a superficial examination of the written evidence would seem to indicate, see discussion of the sign name *m u - š a - n a - u m* in the Appendix, and my remarks, to *MEE* 3, 63 and 64 in *OrAn* 21,16].

4.2. More significant is the added phonological detail found in 11.6% of the values. This new information, which for the most part is undetectable in later sources, reveals (a) nasalization of final vowels and (b) the presence of glides.

4.2.1. Several values show an apparent final *-n* where none would be expected judging from the *Ea* tradition: *t i - i š - d a - n ú m* SL 1 = /t i + (i) š t a n/ for OB *š i t a* (I cannot explain the initial element *t i -*); *b í - r í - n ú m* SL 32 = /b i r iⁿ/ for OB *b ú r (u)*; *g ú - d u - n ú m* SL 92 = /g u d uⁿ/ for OB *g u d u₄*; *g ú - r u₁₂ - n ú m* SL 100 = /k u - r u n/ for OB *g / k u r u₇*. Other possible cases are SL 6 and 89 (see Appendix). Unless this *-n* is an artifact of the Semiticization of the Sumerian forms, we can assume nasalization, even if this

5. Perhaps the gloss *i-šē-nu* to SAḪAR alone in ED Lu A 44 (*MEE* 3, 17: 44) has to be interpreted as /i š iⁿ/ and is thus a further instance of nasalization.

hypothesis rests only on the variant š i - t a - a n for š i t a in Proto-Ea 85. Note, however, that the polyphony of -LUM injects an element of doubt concerning this solution.

4.2.2. Besides the bilabial glide in SL 51 (see already Pettinato's remarks in *MEE* 3, p. 203 ad loc. for a possible scribal error in this line), perhaps in SL 22, and in the gloss VE 055 and 0161, there is evidence for a glide that I will transliterate here as ' .⁶ We know from the Ebla Vocabulary that the scribes use two sets of vowels: a, u, and ì for the simple vowel, and 'à, u₉, and i for the vowel preceded by an element that etymologically corresponds to the voiceless laryngeal fricative (*h*) or to the palatal glide (*j*) in Semitic.⁷ This glide appears in: n u - u₉ - m u - u m SL 12 = /n u ' u m/ for OB u m u n; g i - i - d u m SL 56 = /k i ' i d/ for OB k i d; u₉ - r u₁₂ - u m SL 57 = /' u r/ for OB ù r; s u - d u - u₉ - u m SL 60 = /s u d u '(u)/ or /s u d ' u(u)/, unknown in OB; m a - 'à - r u₁₂ - u m SL 74 = /m a ' a r/ for OB m a r, a m a r; t i - i - r u₁₂ - u m SL 75 = /t i ' i r/ for OB t i r; m a r - u₉ - u m SL 78 = /m a r '(u)/ for GUR₈, value related to / (a) m a r u / "storm".⁸ While some of us have suspected for a long time the importance of the palatal glide in Sumerian phonology, no indications seem to be found in OB and post-OB sources suggesting such an extensive presence of a glide in the vocalic nucleus of a morpheme. The glosses in VE again show the presence of this glide: KA.SAR (for KA×SAR) = m u - 'à, i.e., /m u ' a / 169; the spelling m a - m u (for */m a w u?/) in *MSL* XIV 137, 16:15, coupled with the fluctuation between the spellings m a₈ and m u₁₁ (Proto-Ea 317; Ea III 120; Sb I 272) points already to some peculiarity in the syllabic nucleus. The glide is found as the initial of the values ħ u r / u r₅ or ħ a r / à r of ĤAR in KA-ĤAR = z u - u₉ - u r 0151, /z u ' u r/ corresponding to conventional z ú - u r₅, and similarly KA-ĤAR-DU = z u - 'à - a r - š a 0152, /z u ' a r š a/ corresponding to z ú - ħ a r / à r - š a₄. It is not clear whether here the ' really represents the initial element since the glide is also used after words with vocalic ending as in š u - t a š u - DU = š u - d a 'à š u - t i - a 512a, /š u - t a ' š u - d u? - a/. A particularly interesting example of how the Ebla scribes handled glides in Sumerian can be seen in *OrAn* 19, 62:3⁹ n u - s í k a - a - g i n₇ "to the orphan (you are) like a father"¹⁰:

A1 and B:	nu-sík	UD.NI-gin ₇
C:	nu-sík	a-a-gin ₇
A2:	nu-si-ge	NI-NI-'à-gi-in.

In this line, a - a "father," with the well-attested phonological shape /a ja/ in OB, is represented syllabically by the spellings UD.NI and NI-NI-'à; the first represents an ED form of later NI.UD = j a₄, the second can be transliterated as j à - j à - 'a indicating a form */j a ja/ with morpheme-final ' as in the example from 512 above.

6. Please note that ' is used here as a convenient neutral representation and no conclusions about the phonological nature of this glide are implied. Nonetheless, I do not wish to reject the possibility that the laryngeal fricative and the palatal glide had coalesced into a voiceless glottal stop.

7. I wish to thank Simo Parpola for a lucid discussion of the subject during an Oriental Institute seminar in Spring 1982.

8. Spellings like m á - GUR₈ and m a r - GUR₈ have to be interpreted as ^{ma}GUR₈ and ^{mar}GUR₈; the value u r u₅ would thus be a late reinterpretation.

9. I am reluctant to follow either Pettinato's or Archi's interpretation of the "Creation Hymn". I consider the text a school exercise consisting mostly of personal names with l u g a l - (see *MEE* 3, 59 ii and 67 r. for a similar exercise) with literary quotations in lines 2-4.

10. For a parallel, see, e.g., ^du t u n u - s í k - k e₄ a - a - n i - g i n₇ BM 23631: 154 (courtesy S. N. Kramer, RAI 1982).

4.3. The treatment of the alveolar and alveopalatal consonants deserves special mention. The correspondences are as follows:

SL and VE	Akk.	Proto-Semitic	Proto-Ea
sa, si, su, sum ₆	š	š, ś	s
sa, šè/ší, šu, šúm	s, z	ḏ, ṭ	š
za, zi, zu/zú	s, š, z	s, š, z	z.

While the spellings in VE are not unexpected in view of the already known Sargonic syllabary, the evidence of SL necessitates a reevaluation of the basic syllabograms in Proto-Ea.

4.4. Initial /ḡ/ is rendered by m in SL 79 *mu-ša-na-um* /ḡu š na/, with epenthetic vowel, from ḡe š - n u₁₁, and by n in SL 46 *nu-rí-šúm* /ḡu r i š/ from ḡu r u š. For another possible case of m in SL 6, see Appendix. In one case (SL 15) the initial is written with the sign ḡe š-. In intervocalic position we have -ḡ-: *um-bí-sa-ga-im* /u m b i s a ḡ a/ SL 16 and *ne-gi-ru₁₂-um* /n e ḡ i r/ SL 28. In final position one cannot decide whether ḡ is represented by n or g because of the polyphony of LUM (= *núm* or *gúm*): *li-sa-núm* or *li-sa-gúm* /n i s a ḡ/ SL 10 and *ba-rí-núm* or *ba-rí-gúm* /p a r i ḡ/ SL 87 for p i r i ḡ. Note finally the variant a n - ḡ á to a - ḡ i₆ in Bird List 130 for an example of -n g- = ḡ. The representation of ḡ by m is of course the dominant one in OB syllabaries, while the use of g is the norm in post-OB texts, and n for ḡ is found in Boghazköy, for instance:

GIŠ.LAM^{lu-ug} *na-aš lam-ma-ku* (sign name) = *la-am-mu* KUB 3, 98;
in Ugarit:

ḡe š - d i b = *ni-iš-du-pu* (unpubl. Hh);

and, occasionally, in OB Sippar:

né-eš-pe-ša GIŠ.MA = *ti-tum* Proto-Diri Sippar iii 21',

ni-iš-nu (GIŠ.NU₁₁ = *nu-ú-rum*) *ibid.*, iv 3'.¹¹

5. Morphology

5.1. Little can be said about morphology because of the lack, so far, in Ebla of connected, non-administrative texts of demonstrable local origin. As observed by Pettinato, *MEE* 3, 53 v 12ff. has simple verbal paradigms, reminiscent of the lists of verbal forms in Hh I, for instance. The transitive verb *š ú m* has the following forms: *i n - n a - š ú m*, *ì - n a - š ú m*, *n u - ì - n a - š ú m*, *ḡ e - n a - š ú m*; the intransitive *t i l* has *ba - t i l*, *n u - t i l*, *i n - t i l*, *ḡ e - t i l*.¹² The presence of *ì - n a -* alongside *i n - n a -* in the paradigm of *š ú m* (the two forms are also attested in administrative texts, see Pettinato, *MEE* 3, p. 50 ad iii 2) raises the question of the existence in Ebla of contrasting forms similar to *ì - n a - š ú m* : *a n - n a - š ú m* in Nippur (A. Westenholz, *Early Cuneiform Texts from Jena*, p. 8). A cursory examination of the Ebla forms in context fails to provide a clear picture of any contrast. The Nippur forms differ from the ones attested in contemporary Lagaš and in post-Sargonic Sumerian and require a closer examination.

11. To be published in *MSL* XV. For a detailed study of ḡ, see J. Krecher, Das sumerische Phonem /ḡ/ (*Festschrift Matouš* 2 7ff.).

12. See *WDOG* 43, 41 vi 7ff., 42 ix 2ff., and 63 iv 19ff. for Fara examples of “paradigms”.

5.2. The verbs in VE are at times provided with a verbal prefix, and the resulting frozen forms are used in context apparently for all forms of the verb and, on occasion, even as nominal forms. In VE the two most common prefixes are *a l -* and *a -*. For example:

(a) *a -*: *a - z á ħ* = *a-ba-tum*, *a-bu_x(NI)-du* 610 “to run away,” Akk. *abātu* B; *g ù a - s i* = *na-ba-ħu-um*, and vars. 229, Akk. *nabāħu* “to bark,” Sum. *g ù - s i* “to bellow;” *n í g a - d a b₅* = *gi-a-tum* “(?)” 87;

(b) *a l - DU* = *’à-a-gu-um*, var. *a-a-gúm* 984 /*bajāqu*/ “to go” (cf. Pettinato, in Cagni, *LdE* 234 39);¹³ *a - n i g í n* = *du-lum*, *da-wu-lum* /*turru*/ 629 “to return;” *a l - d a b₅* = *ba-a-li₉-(a)* /*ba’āru*/, *a l - d a b₅ - d a b₅* = *du-ub-da-lu-um* /*tubta’*’(i)*ru*/ 989f. “to catch.”

Much less frequent are other vocalic prefixes:

(e) *ì -*: *ì - g u₇* = *a-gul-la* (a form of *akālu*) 1451; cf. *ì - z i* 1449;

(d) *e -*: for possible forms, see 550f.

(e) *a n -*: *b a r a n - d a g* = *wa-sa-li₉-um* /*wašāru*/ 1198 “to release,” Sum. *b a r — d a g* “to roam free;” *a n - ú s* = *a-ma-du-um* “to touch” 787, Akk. *emēdu* (this case influenced perhaps by the very common idiom *a n - e ú s - s a*?);

(f) *m u -*: *š u m u - LAK492* (= *t a k_x*); *š u m u - n i g í n* 508f.;

(g) *b a -*: *ba-kar* = *’à-ra-bu-um* 1027 “to escape,” cf. Akk. *nērubu* = Sum. *k a r*; *b a - š u b* = *na-da-um* 1443 “to fall;” the spelling *b a₄-* is attested in VE only for *š u b a₄- t i* 504.

Attested once or twice are:

(h) *ħ e -* 1299,¹⁴ *n u - m u - i n i m - m i š u n u - m u - d u₈* = *wu-u₉-la-tum* 0136, cf., perhaps, Akk. *e’iltum*; and *ħ e - m u - i n ħ e - m u - t ú m* (see Pettinato, *MEE* 2, p. 69 ad vi 3).

The verb *ġ ál* “to have” is found with several prefixes: *a - ġ ál* 624, *a n - ġ ál* 789 both = *i-ša-wu*, and *a n - ġ ál* = *ba-ša-um* 991. The prefix *a l -* precedes the nominal part of a compound verb in *a l - è n - t a r* and *a l - g í r - š u m / t a g* 986f., for *è n a l - t a r* and *g í r a l - š u m*, respectively; it is the same lack of morphological understanding that centuries later will result in forms like *m u - u n - s i - s á*, with *s i - s á* considered as a simple verbal root. The uncontracted form *n u - ì - n a - š ú m*, quoted above, 5.1, is another example of faulty morphological analysis paralleled by some OB grammatical texts from Nippur (unpubl.).

5.3. The grammatical process of reduplication, which plays such an important role in Sumerian grammar, is attested in VE in all its forms either alone or forming a pair with the simple form (in the following, N = nominal(ized) element, V = verbal root):

(a) NN: very frequent as a means of forming the plural in administrative texts; will not be discussed here.

(b) VV: e.g., *g a l - g a l* = *sa-ra-ru₁₂-um*, *sa-la-lum* 080; *sá s a g₇- s á s a g₇* (wr. DI.GAN) = *du-da-du-um* /*tuttaṭṭu*/ 829, “to strike with a stick,” root *nṭw*; for the writing, cf. *RA* 60, 5f.

(e) NVV: the most common form: *i g i - d u₈ - d u₈* = *ħu-ma-zu a-na-a* 712, root *ħmš*; cf. *i g i - d u b - d u b* = *ša i-na-šu ħu-mu-ša* OB Lu B iv 49; *g ù - d i m - d i m* = *ħu-ba-ra*, *ħu-ba-lum* 175, Akk. *ħabāru* A “to be noisy.”

(d) NNV: *t é š - t é š - g u₇* = *du-uš-da-gi-lum* /*tuštakkilu*/ 164; cf. also *t é š - t é š - IGI* 0421; *n a m - n a m - e n* = *du-da-li-gú-um* /*tumtalliku*/ 1089; *d i m - d i m - z a* = *da-da-me-sum₆* /*tantammizu*/ 1126.

13. Contrast with *a - s á* = *ħa-a-gúm*, *ħa-a-gú-um* 628, Akk. *ħāqu* A “to mix liquids”, where *a* is not a prefix.

14. Add the instances of *ħ e -* quoted in 5.1.

(e) NVNV: infrequent: $m u - s i g_4 - m u - s i g_4 = zu-du-ḥa$ 0212, root $ṣdh?$

(f) NNVV: UD-UD- $d a g - d a g = sa-ba-ba-tum$ 775 “dawn(?)” cf. Akk. *šabābu*.

The last three forms (NNV, NVNV, and NNVV) may seem a bit unusual. However, parallels can be found for all of them in ED and sometimes in Standard Sumerian as well. For example, $n í g - z i - p a - z i - p a = da-na-i-ši-du /tanahḥištu/$ 120, is $z i - p a - á g - p a - á g$ “all the living/breathing things” in Standard Sumerian, and the form $z i - p a - p a$ is attested in *TSS* 46 r. i 13 at the end of a text dealing with all kinds of animals; otherwise, NVNV reduplications such as $á - g u r_4 - á - g u r_4$ or $s u m_4 - l á - s u m_4 - l á$ are attested in Standard Sumerian, see, for instance, *JNES* 26, 206. The most startling forms NNV and NNVV are also found in ED: for $n a m - n a m - e n$ in Ebla compare $n a m - n a m - ḥ u ṣ$ in *OIP* 99, 326 i 11, and for $d i m - d i m - z a$, compare Standard $d u m - d a m - z a$; even the entry UD-UD- $d a g - d a g$ reappears elsewhere in ED in *OIP* 99, i 10.

5.4. The Eblaite translation of reduplicated forms in paired entries of the type simple/reduplicated can be:

(a) two inflected forms of the same root, the vast majority having *tu/aptarris* forms for the reduplicated entry (see B. Kienast’s paper in this volume, and Pettinato, in Cagni, *LdE* 252f.);

(b) two different, semantically related roots, e.g., $n í g - s a l = ra-gu /raqqu/$ “thin” and $n í g - s a l - s a l = iš-bí-lu /išbiru/$ “finely crushed” from *šebēru*, Sem. *tbr*, 76f.; $n í g - s i g = dab_6-ti-du$, $dab_5-da-du$, presumably */tapta’du/*, cf. Akk. *pādu*, and $n í g - s i g - s i g = ḥu-nu-ga-tum$, from the root *ḥnq*, 70f.; this pair is noteworthy for having a *taptarris* form translating the simple $n í g - s i g$; obviously it was felt that *ḥanāqu* was semantically “stronger” than *pādu*.

There are no clear examples of a pair being translated by two different, semantically unrelated roots; the pair $n í g - l u$ and $n í g - l u - l u$ 63f. are related, if Pettinato’s interpretation in Cagni, *LdE* 270 ad r. V 7-10 is correct, and form an Erimḥuš-like pair.

5.5. Few peculiarities can be pointed out in nominal composition. Although the number of $n í g$ -compounds in Standard Sumerian is quite high (see the lexical series $n í g - g a = makkūru$ in *MSL* XIII 90ff., for example) and therefore the presence of a long $n í g$ -section in VE is not at all surprising, there are $n í g$ -compounds in it that may point to an extended, desemanticized use of $n í g$: $n í g - g a = sa-sa-bù$ “milk” 82, Akk. *šizbu*, Assy. *zizibu*. Ebla and Abu-Šalabikh differ in the form of the word for “milk”:

Abu-Šalabikh	ur-bàn-da ga	zi gu ₇	<i>OIP</i> 99, 278
Ebla	ur-bānda	níg-ga zi gu ₇	TM 75.G.2657 (courtesy Pettinato),

with the Ebla literary text agreeing with VE. The term $n í g - ṣ u b u r = u_9-ba-ra-du-um /ḥubaratu/$ 91, corresponds to Akk. *ubāru*. The Akkadian word is applied to persons, but perhaps Eblaite also used it for things. The term $n í g - g i_6 = ir-ru_{12}$ “part of the intestines” 51 corresponds to Sum. ^(uzu) $s a - g i g = irru$ (*šalmu*) in Hh XV a 3 b = Hg D 56, but note $u r_5 n í g - g i_6$ (as part of the entrails of a goat) in Lugalbanda I 374.

The word $n i n$ is another element that forms compounds to an extent unknown in Standard Sumerian where it appears in $^d n i n - k i l i m$ “mongoose” and $^d n i n - n i n n a^{mušen}$ “a type of owl.” In Ebla it is used in:

(a) the names of a large number of small mammals corresponding, among others, not only to the animal names with *kilim* but also to some of those with *péš* in Standard Sumerian;

(b) the names of flies and similar insects (< $n i m$), for example, in $n i n^{za-bu_x(NI)} = za-ba-bù-um$ “fly” 0296; and, possibly,

(c) bird names: *la-ag-la-gúm* /*laqlaqqu*/, with Sumerian not preserved, in a row of *n i n*-compounds in 0303.

5.6. Much more will be gleaned from further examination of the VE entries. Does *n u - u š* = *lu-wu-um*, *a-wu-um* 1439, for instance, correspond to Sum. *n u - u š* (see Römer, *AOAT* 25, 371ff. for the latest discussion)? If so, the Semitic translations would have to be interpreted as counterparts of Akk. *lu*.

6. Lexicon

6.1. The Sumerian vocabulary of administrative texts is derived, as far as one can tell, from the common ED lexicon. For instance, of 16 textile terms used in the texts dealing with garments published in MEE 2, all –with the exception of the loanword *'à-da-um* and the compounds *g u - m u g* and *g u - s ú r*– are listed in one or more of the known South Mesopotamian ED lexical lists, while only 8 appear in VE:

	VE	WVDOG 43,64	Word List B	WVDOG 43,20 ¹⁵
aktum(SU.A)	596	(SU)	–	(SU)
dùl	1274	–	+	?
'à-da-um	–	–	–	–
gada	859	–	+	+
gíd	857	+	–	–
gu-mug	862	–	–	–
gu-súr	861	–	–	–
guzi	–	gù-zi	gu-zi	gù-zi
gu-zi-tum	–	gù-zi-tum	gu-zi-tum	–
ÍB	–	–	–	+
ÍB × <i>n</i>	–	+	–	+
SAL	–	+	+	+
tì	905	+	+	+
ì-lí	–	NI?	NI?	NI?
zára	1273	–	+	+
U+É	–	+	–	–

6.2. While the bulk of the Sumerian entries agree quite well with the common ED vocabulary, a close examination of their Semitic translations reveals some puzzling discrepancies. The same scribes that translate *š ú m*^{SAR} by *šūmu*, in *b u r š ú m - (g a z)*^{SAR} = *li-ma šu-mi* (MEE 3, 61 iv 6), and *g a - r a š*^{SAR} by *karašu*, in *z a g a - r a š*^{SAR} = *NA₄ ga-ra-šè-im* and *b u r^{li} g a r - a š*^{SAR} = *li-ma ga-ra-ša* (MEE 3, 61 ii 9, iii 8), translate both words by a, necessarily more generic, term /*haṣ(š)anu*/ in VE 1076 and 1079. This is not an isolated example. Similar cases are easy to come by in all parts of VE. There are several ways –not mutually exclusive– to attempt to explain this lack of fit, which will be referred to as “lexical shift” in the following paragraphs.

15. With duplicates WVDOG 43, 21 and 22, and OIP 99, 34.

One can suppose that this lexical shift is apparent: VE does not always give straight, direct translations but instead gives paraphrases, synonyms, or comments. The sense or translation of the logograms was learned from the beginning by the Semitic-speaking scribes and in many cases VE provides “explanatory” terms somewhat similar to the late commentaries of the type *ḪAR-gud*, for example. Every scribe was supposed to know what the meaning of *šú m^{SAR}* or *ga-raš^{SAR}* was; the text of VE indicates that these vegetables were members of the set of *ḫaš(š)anu* plants. An entry like *geš^Sù - su ḫ₅ = ù-rí-núm* “cedar” 1362 would mean not that *ù - su ḫ₅* was the term in Ebla for “cedar,” but that the tree *ù - su ḫ₅* was somehow similar to a cedar. Clear cases of explanatory entries can be seen in 640, 648 (source q), 728b, etc. I would not dare to assume, however, that all entries are explanatory. Many of them appear to be bona fide direct translations.

On the other hand, one can suppose that the lexical shift is real: the entries give direct translations and the lexical shift can be attributed to two factors. (1) Dialectal variation is a very strong possibility, given the large number of Western Semitic terms, but it is difficult to evaluate in the absence of contemporary evidence from the neighboring linguistic areas. (2) The second factor is diachronic variation. It is now clear that ED Sumerian underwent profound changes—at least as far as the use of logograms is concerned—just before the Ur III period. This change is more than diachronic; it has a strong dialectal component that becomes obvious when one compares the Sumerian texts of pre-Ur III Nippur with those of Girsu. Quite possibly there were extensive changes in the choice of logograms used to represent a given word. This explanation, somewhat easier to test than the preceding one, requires an analysis of the vocabulary that has not yet been done and perhaps will not always be possible.

These explanations assume that the data of VE are linguistically correct. It falls within the realm of the possible that the Ebla scribes—like their Boghazköy counterparts of centuries later who managed to cram four serious mistranslations in two sections six lines long (*MSL* XIII 141, 271-76)—were simply ignorant of the language. There are enough obvious mistakes in VE to make this explanation not too farfetched. Lest this explanation be considered too negative, yet another factor can explain the facts. The preceding analysis of the semantic or lexical shift presupposes the existence of a standard writing system in ED times. No matter how reasonable it may seem, this is nonetheless an untested supposition. What if the scribes of certain places considered themselves free to adapt a logographic system to local needs? It could very well be the case in Ebla.

6.3. A few examples will illustrate the various types of lexical equations found in VE. One can distinguish in a preliminary analysis the following categories:

1) Entries which show both Sumerian and Semitic in a form identical to the traditional one in OB and post-OB periods:

gù - dé = la-ba-um 204, Akk. *labû* “to howl, bleat;”

geš^Sba l = bi-a-gu 459, Akk. *pilakku* “spindle;”

ig i - z à g (LAK 159) = *ba-’à-lu-um* and vars. 701, Akk. *bêru* “to select,” root *bhr*.

u₄ - SAR - a k = sa-’à-lum and vars. 1135, Akk. *šêlu* “to sharpen,” root *šhl*.

2) Entries with minor modifications in the Sumerian spelling but with traditional translations:

š u - k i n - a k = ga-ma-zu-um 526, Akk. *kamāsu* “to bow down,” standard Sum. *š u - k i n - d a b₅* (see *JCS* 29, 184ff.) with change of auxiliary verb.

ú - ḫ á b = a-ša-ḫa-bù 278, Akk. *išḫappu* (OB *ašḫappu*) “rude man,” Sum. *i s - ḫ a b*, with replacement of *GIŠ* by the semantically close *ú*;

ig i - d u₈ - d u₈ = *hu-ma-zu a-na-a* 712, compared with ig i - d u b - d u b = *ša ināšu hummuša* OB LU B iv 49 “blind(?)”, with d u b replaced by d u₈, the two signs being quite possibly homophonous in this case;

e r í n - K I . G A R = *ù-ma-núm* 076, 140b, compared with (e r í n) K I . S U . L U . Ú B . G A R = *ummānu* “troops,” K I . G A R being a simplified form of K I . S U . L U . Ú B . G A R;

n i n d a - e š₂₂ (L A M × K U R) = *a-ga-lu bù-da-ma-tim* 32 (cf. 462 ^{geš}e š₂₂ = *bù-du-du*), Akk. **akal buṭumti* “terebinth(?) bread/pastry;” the term is accidentally unattested in the vocabularies or is obsolete, but otherwise perfectly normal;

d i m - d i m - z a = *da-da-me-sum*₆, */tantammizul* 1126, preceded by d i m - z a = *na-ma-su-um* 1125, cf. d u m - d a m - z a = *nazāmu* “to complain loudly” (*JCS* 20, 119ff.), compare A N . m u l - z a = *na-me-zu*, *na-me-su-um* 793a-b (with A N . m u l for reduplicated m u l - m u l) corresponding to Sum. m u l - m a - a l - z a (*JCS* 20, 120); Ebla thus has a verb *namāzu*¹⁶ corresponding to Akk. *nazāmu*.

3) Entries in which the Sumerian shows major modifications or is even unattested in standard lists, but is nevertheless understandable.

e d i n - D U . D U = *ra-ba-tum*, *tar-da-bí-tum* 1342’, Akk. *murtappidu* “roaming;”

^uU N K I N = *a-šu-bí-lum* 273, Akk. *azupīru* “a plant,” Sum. a z u k n a (Ú . K U R . R A);

S A G × N I . M E = *gi-si-tum* S A G 266 (vars.), Akk. *qištu qaqqadi* Hh XV 6ff. with quite different Sumerian logograms;

š u - N I = *ba-ša-šu-um* (vars.) 502, Akk. *pasāsu* “to erase,” Sum. šu-ūr.¹⁷

4) Entries in which the Sumerian form agrees with the traditional one, but the Semitic translation, while semantically close, is not traditional: g e m e - k a r - A K = *za-bí-tum*, *ša-ma-ak-tum* 1412a, Akk. *sabītu* “barmaid”¹⁸ and *šamaḥ/ktu* “beautiful one,” the first term can be said of a *ḥarimtu*, the second can be an euphemism for it.

m í - d u g₄ - g a = *la-a-mu-mu* 1208, Akk. *ra’āmu* (with byform *ramāmu*) “to love,” Sum. m í - d u g₄ - g a is normally “to treat kindly;”

é - s i₄ - a n = *sa-ma-du sa-rí-im* (var. *sa-ma-ti sa-rí-im*) 338, Sumerian is in all likelihood a modification of ú - s i₄ - a n, u s a n, “twilight” and Semitic corresponds to Akk. *sāmtu* “red” and *šāru* “wind, cardinal point;” cf. the terms for “twilight” in Proto-Izi I bil. B 6ff.

5) Finally, many entries where either Sumerian or Semitic, or both, resist unambiguous interpretation.

6.4. Since a complete lexical analysis of VE is far in the future, to obtain a quantitative picture of the extent of the different types of entries I selected all entries with zoological terms referring to wild animals other than birds and fish,¹⁹ i.e., the entries which are included, or could be included, in Hh XIV. It is quite possible that this lexical set has peculiar features of its own and thus is not completely representative of the general problems encountered in the rest of VE. The zoological terms, like the botanic ones, are

16. The third radical is uncertain because of the variant -zu/su-.

17. Another possibility, apparently in the mind of the editor of *MEE* 4 who transliterates the entry as š u - ì, is *pašāšu*, but in this case the sibilant correspondence would be irregular. The reading ì, furthermore, is unknown in a verbal root.

18. After the paper was written, L. Viganò pointed out to me that a better interpretation would be *za-ne-tum* “prostitute”, by comparison with Hebr. *znh/y*.

19. An exception has been made in the case of n i n - P É Š - D U, corresponding to rodent names in Akkadian, but apparently translated as bird names in the Ebla list.

notoriously labile, changing easily from dialect to dialect, but they have been chosen here because they form a well-defined, tractable set.

6.4.1. The ED lexical sources for wild animal names are:

1) *MEE* 4, 96 + 112, bilingual. Since no photos of these texts are available to me, the join has not been verified. I am confident, however, that the two pieces go together. If it could be proved that they cannot join, they would nevertheless be part of two copies of the same list.

2) *MEE* 3, 18-25, 75 and dupl. *OIP* 99, 27-28, Animal List B. The names of wild animals start with line 54.

3) *TSS* 46 (pl. 173, collated from photo), a Sumerian animal list with what appear to be brief comments.²⁰

4) Isolated entries in VE, some of which may have escaped undetected.²¹

6.4.2. From the Sumerian point of view the entries have been sorted into four major groups (the references to *MEE* 4, 96, 112 and 116 are given for the individual texts as published in *MEE* 4, pp. 108f. and 112f., respectively).

1) The first group includes known Sumerian terms provided with Semitic translations identical to the ones found in late lexical lists (minor differences in spelling are disregarded):

a z = *a-zú-um* 112 i 3'f., = *da-bù-um*, *da₅-bù* 780, Akk. *asu* B and *dabû* "bear."

g i - d u r . K U - a = *gi-du-ru₁₂-um* 96 viii 2'f., Akk. *kitturru*, a type of frog; although Sumerian has b í - z a - z a - g u - l a in Hh XIV 377, the form k i n - t u r is attested as a fish name; without a copy or photo it is not possible to tell if the shape of the sign KU allows a reading g i - ^{dur}DÚR - a.

g í r = *šu-ga-ga-bù-um* 96 vi 1 (continuing 112 vi 4'), Akk. *zuqaqīpu* "scorpion;" the term has been discussed in detail by Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1/5-6, 81f.

g í r - Ĥ U = *šu-ga-ga-bù-um bar-su-um* 96 vi 4f., Akk. (*zuqaqīpu*) *muttaprišu* "flying scorpion" with Sum. g í r - d a l - d a l (Hh XIV adds an incorrect - g a); I assume that in the Ebla form ĤU represents d a l "to fly" rather than the determinative m u š e n.

^{ir-ḥa}MUŠ = *ir-ḥa-núm* 96 vi 6f., Akk. *nirāḥu*, with metathesis; for Sum. i r ḥ a n, cf., for instance, *MSL* XIV 143, 22:14'.

m e - d a - g í r = *da-rí-NI šu-ga-ga-bí* 112 iv 1'f., identical with Hh XIV 371; m e - d a is the Ebla spelling for u m m e - d a, see 427, and -NI should be perhaps emended to - d ù.

n í g - B A D - n a = *ša-la-bù-um* 47, Akk. *šeleppû* "turtle," Animal List B 96, *MEE* 3,53 iv 22, *TSS* 46 vii 2 (without - n a); the regular Sumerian spelling is with KA×IM or, less frequently, GIŠGAL×IM (6N-T931).

p i r i g = *bar-ga-um* 96 v 3f., followed by *ab-ba-um*, Akk. *labbu* "lion;" cf. Sign List 87: p i r i g = *ba-rí-gúm*.

U Ĥ = *ga-ma-tum*, *ga-na-du-um* 1022, Akk. *kalmatu* "louse," etc.; Animal List B 115ff., and note *gal-ma-na* in *TSS* 46 ix 4.

2) The second group includes known Sumerian terms provided with Semitic translations different from the ones in late lexical lists but semantically close:

a l i m = *lí-a-núm* 713, = *ù-gi-lum* 1192; the first term is *liu* + *ānu*, for the second compare Hebr. 'egel "calf, steer;" Akk. has *ditānu*, *karšānû*, *kusarikku*, and *alimbû* for a l i m.

20. See, e.g., m u š - t i r ^da š n a n ḥ é - m a - z i - z i viii 15ff.

21. There is a group of animal names, for instance, in *MEE* 3, 53 iv 18ff.

alim.SAL = *lí-a-tum* 732, fem. of preceding entry.

anše-edin = *gú-da-núm* 112 i 1', a type of equid, Akk. *kūdanu*, which corresponds to Sum. ^{anše}gír-nun-na; the expected Akkadian is *sirrīmu*.

dàra-maš-dà = *za-ba-a-tum* 1191, Akk. *šabītu* with Sum. maš-dà; the form with dàra is known from literary and administrative ED texts and is translated *najalu* "roe deer" in the late lexical lists.

ka₅-a = *ba-ti-um* 1249, regularly Akk. *šēlebu* (with initial *t*- in Semitic).

kiš₆i₆ = *la-ma-núm* 96 v 9, Akk. *lamattu* (*lamantu*), Sem. *nml*, a synonym of the usual *kulbābu*.²²

kiš₆i₆-ĤU = *la-ma-núm bar-su-um* 112 v 1'f. combined with 96 v 11; cf. gír-ĤU, above.

níg-ki = *na-iš* [gār-ga-rí-im] 112 r. ii (restored from 116 v 4) = *da-ma-du gú-(um)* 42. In the first expression, *na-iš* represents a root *nḥš*, attested also in níg-zī-pa-zī-pa = *da-na-i-ši-du* 120 and 0268, with a meaning "to breathe" or the like, similar to Akk. *napāšu* (note that níg-ki is roughly a synonym of níg-zī-pa-a-n-pa-a-n); gār-ga-rí-im, despite the spelling, stands for *qaqqari(m)*, compare Hh XIV 403. The first element of the second expression means "totality" (cf. He. *tamam*, Ar. *tamma*),²³ but I have no suggestion for the element spelled *gú-(um)*.

nin-kilim = *ba-ra-tum* 96 iv 4' "rat," cf. Ar. *fa'r*, the usual Akk. translation is *sikkû* "mongoose".

péš = *gi-ba-sum*/*šúm* 872, also in 116 ii 3, for which cf. Ar. *qunfud* "hedgehog" and Hebr. *qippod* and *qippōz*;²⁴ the normal Akk. translation is *ḥumunšīru* "mouse, rat."

PIRIG×PA.LAGAB (LAK 258) = *zi-ga-gú-la-tum* 112 iv 3'f. "porcupine(?)," the Sumerian form is attested in Animal List B 62 and in Ur III (Genouillac *TD*, 2:4) but is unknown in late lexical lists.

3) In the third group, the Sumerian entry is unknown even if its elements may be etymologically known: in some cases the Semitic is a loanword from Sumerian.

ama-muš = *ì-ba-ù-um* 96 vi 8f., cf. Hebr. *'ef'eh* "viper."

búr-búr-[x]-(x) = *bù-ru₁₂-um* 96 vii 2'f., loanword from Sumerian; cf. perhaps búr-BALAG TSS 46 ix 5.

dī = *al-a-ak-[x]* 96 vii 6'f., a form of *alāku*?

gír-šeš = *ḥa-si-sum*₆ 96 vi 2f. appears in TSS 46 vii 13; cf. perhaps Ar. *ḥišaš* "vermin, insects."

ĤÚB-ĤÚB = *gú-du-gú-du-wu-um* 96 viii 4f., the Semitic form is a Sumerian loanword possibly from *gu₄-ud-gu₄-ud* "one that is always jumping" (note that ĤÚB-ĤÚB follows a term for "frog"); either ĤÚB has an unattested reading **gu d* or it is a synonymous root.

muš-zur = *a-za-ra-rí-tum*, *a-za-ra-ra-rí-tum* 741, corresponding (with prothetic *a-*) to Akk. *širirītu* (*šurāru*), a type of lizard, late Sum. e me-šID.

NE-suĥur-muš = *gú-li₉-lum* 96 vii 4f., *gú-li-lu-um* in 116 r. ii 4, Akk. *kulīlu* "dragonfly," late Sum. buru₅-íd-da.

22. This interpretation was first mentioned to me by Kilian Butz.

23. This suggestion is based on the similarity with the equation *še-SU+SU^{SAR}* = *da-da-ma-du wa-rí-gi* 698. The logogram *še-SU+SU^{SAR}* (and variants, some of which have ZU+ZU) closes the list of vegetables in *WVDOG* 43, 58 (with dupls. *WVDOG* 43, 67, *NTSS* 123, *IOP* 99, 23 + 24 (+) 412, 6N-T933, and CBS 7094 [RA 60, 9]). Note, incidentally, that NE-ZU+ZU^{SAR} also closes the list of animals TSS 46, just before níg-zī-pa-pa.

24. For the final *-d/-ḡ*, see Ch. Radin, *Mélanges Marcel Cohen* 296, and for the possibility of the two forms being simply a doublet (with the form with *-d* influenced by Aramaic), see E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background* 281f.

nin-kilim-du-du = *gi-lá-du-du* 112 iii 3'f., loanword from Sumerian with omission of the *nin* (quasi-determinative?).

NI-PÉŠ = *a-ra-bù-um* 873 and 116 ii 11, Akk. *arrabu* “jerboa(?)”, late Sum. *péš-ĝeš-ùr-ra*.

nin-PÉŠ-DU = *ga-dum* 112 ii 7'f., *ga?-da-um* in 116 i 9, possibly Akk. *qadû* “owl,” late Sum. *uru-hul-a*, and other logograms. No matter how surprising, a bird name is acceptable here as shown by the following entry which is preceded by *laqlaqqu* “stork” (96 iv l' with Sumerian broken).

nin-PÉŠ-DU = *ù-gu-um* 96 iv 2'f., *u₉-ga-um* in 116 i 9, possibly Akk. *ḥuqû*, late Sum. *šu-lú*.

nin-PÉŠ-hul = *si-ḥi-ra-um* 96 iv 5'f. and 116 ii 10, cf. *péš-hul* = *ḥulû* Hh XIV 197a.

SAG-GURUŠ = *sa-la-ga-um* 96 ii 6f., possibly *sa-na-ag-da-um* in 116 i 10, Sumerian in *TSŠ* 46 vi 4 (after dogs and *ku₅-da* and before *šáḥ-ĝeš-gi*); cf., perhaps, Akk. *zerqatu* “lynx,” with an irregular sibilant correspondence.

še-a-sa = *a-za-ma-mi-tum* 112 r. iii and 116 r. ii 5; from its place on the list it should be a very small animal, “mite” or the like. Tentatively, one could interpret the Semitic as */sammidu/*, from *samādu* “to mill flour,” with prothetic *a-*, and see in the word a term for some or all pests of flour, from beetles to worms.

TAK₄.ALAN.ME = *la-ma-núm* 112 ii 5'f., “carpenter ant(?)”, cf. Akk. *gurgurru* A 2 (an insect) and see *kiš₆*, above.

zé-gùn 96 v 7 with no translation; *zé-gùn* = *ga-li-du-um* 911 probably represents Akk. *kalītu* “kidney” and as such is listed in *MEE* 3, 70 iii 2' (like *MEE* 3, 68 a list of parts of the body).

4) In the fourth and final group, the Sumerian entry is a Semitic loanword:

en-bù = *u₉-bù-um* 96 v 5' and 116 r. ii 1, with both sides of the equation representing the same foreign(?) word; cf. possibly Ur III *ḥa-bu-um* (*CAD ḥabû* B).

mun-ti-núm = *mu-da-núm* 96 ii 2f., *mu-da-^{ne}núm* in 116 i 7, and perhaps to be restored in Animal List B 71, Akk. *mindanu* “tiger,” late Sum. *ur-šub₄* (ZI+ZILAGAB).

NIN-GÚ-ga-um = *[b]a?-al-ga-um* 112 ii 3'f.; the transliteration as it stands reflects a confusion between the similar signs AL and GÚ.

NIN^{hu-lu?}-um = [...] 96 iv 7', corresponds, if the restoration is correct, to Akk. *ḥulû* “a small rodent,” late Sum. *péš-hul* and *péš-sila-gaz*; cf. *nin-PÉŠ-hul*, above.

NIN^{hur-ba}-um = *hur-ba-um* 112 ii 1'f., Akk. *ḥurbabillu* “chameleon,” Ar. *ḥirbā'*, late Sum. *bar-gùn-gùn*.

nin-PÉŠ^{ḥa-lum} = *ḥa-ma-zi-lum* 112 iii 1'f., *ḥa-ma-zi-ru₁₂-um* 116 ii 6, *ḥa-mun-zi-lum* Animal List B 91, Akk. *ḥumušīru* “mouse;” *ḥa-lum* is an abbreviated gloss.

NIN^{za-ba-šum} = *za-ba-šum* 96 iii 2'f.

NIN^{za-bu_x}(NI) = *za-ba-bù-um* 96 iii 4'f., Akk. *zubbu*, *zumbu* “fly,” Sum. *nim*, written *nam* in *TSŠ* 46.

su-su₆ = *su-su-um* 96 ii 4f. (among large animals), perhaps Akk. *sīsû* “horse” (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 34f.) in which case one would expect the sibilant to be *z* (note however that it is a foreign word); *TSŠ* 46 iii 3' has *anše.zi*, possibly for *^{anše}zi-zi* (see *JCS* 20, 121ff.); no connection seems possible with *sūsū* “antelope,” in all likelihood an Egyptian word in Shalmaneser III's obelisk.

This list disregards half-preserved entries such as *al-x* in 96 vi 10 (for *al-lu₅?*), *KA-ma* = *K[A-...]* 112 i 5'f. (cf. *KA* = *būšu?*), *LA* = *GAB* = *[x]-ra-núm* 96 v 1f. (for *mīrānu?*), and [...] = *na-me-ru₁₂-um* 96 ii 1, *na-me-lum* 116 i 5, Akk. *nimru* “leopard.” Many names of wild animals known from ED lexical lists or

literary texts such as *a m - s i - ḫ a r - a n* or *b í - l a m* “elephant” are not found in the preserved Ebla school tablets.

6.4.3. In conclusion, out of 44 bilingual equations with animal names, the Sumerian form is known from late lexical lists in 19 cases (43%). Of these 19 cases, 11 show in their Semitic translation the lexical shift discussed in 6.2. and only 8 (18%) have the “normal” translation. The Sumerian is new, or at least unknown in traditional lexicography, in 16 cases (36%). The Sumerian of the remaining 9 entries (20%) has to be considered borrowed from Semitic. In most cases (6 out of 9), the entry consists of a gloss added to the base NIN. An impressionistic estimate seems to indicate that the number of Semitic loanwords in Sumerian in this zoological lexical set is much higher than in the rest of VE and other Ebla lexical lists.

6.5. To end on a practical note, I would like to stress the need for an exhaustive investigation of the Sumerian logogram and its occurrences in lexical and literary texts as well as of the various semantic possibilities before establishing the meaning of an Eblaite word. The “lexical shift” requires that special attention be given to the second point. As an example one could quote the proposal $\hat{g}e\check{s}.DIM_4 = \check{h}i-ma-sum_6$ “ansa” in *SEb* I/5-6, 7534; the element $DIM_4 = m u n u_4$ “malt” in the Sumerian strongly suggests that the root *hms̄* here refers to an implement used in some operation performed on grain (*CAD* H 60h *ḫamāšu* A 2) rather than to a “handle.” A further example is provided by the equation $t i_8^{mu\check{s}en} = a-bar-tum$ 545. Before rushing to establish a meaning “eagle,” it is necessary to take into account the occurrences of *s a g š u t i_8^{mu\check{s}en}* in *MDP* 14, 86 and *RTC* 221 vii 19’, for example, where the context requires “helmet with feathers.” Note that $t i_8^{mu\check{s}en}$ appears in *MEE* 3 45-46 r. ii 8 (dupl. *OIP* 99, 31) in a section with leather objects. A general meaning “feathers” fits well with the use of the root *’br* in Akkadian and Hebrew, confirmed by the gloss $\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota = \pi\tau\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ in Hesychius.

Appendix

The following are brief remarks on the “Ebla Sign List” (SL) concerning signs not identified in Pettinato’s edition in *MEE* 3, p. 200ff. Some points, such as a possible final nasalization, glides, and the representation of / $\hat{g}$ /, have been summarily discussed above (4.2), others, such as the use of epenthetic vowels (almost unavoidable in a system that shows a strong preference for CV syllabic signs), the vowel problem, or the differences in the use of sibilants in VE and SL, will be left for future discussions of SL. The numbers below correspond to the line numbers of SL in the *MEE* 3 edition.

1. *ti-iš-da-núm* / $(t) i \check{s} t a n /$ = *š i t a* Proto-Ea 85, Proto-Aa 85: 1, Ea II 33, etc. I have no explanation for the initial *t-* (the opinion attributed to me in *MEE* 3, 200 ad loc. is not mine and is based on some misunderstanding); for the cluster *-št-* compare the value *e š d a* of the homophonous *ŠITA.GIŠ* in Ea II 36, Diri II 257 (as textual var.), and of *ŠITA.GIŠ.KU* in Lu I 26. In general, the words which in OB or later have an *i - a* vocalization, begin with a sibilant, and have /*t*/ or /*l*/ as second consonant can safely be assumed to start with a cluster / $\check{s}t-$ /, / $\check{s}d-$ /, or / $\check{s}l-$ / (see my forthcoming “Sumerian Writing and Phonology” for a detailed discussion). The problem of the final *-n*, for which cf. the var. *š i - t a - a n* in Proto-Ea 85, is discussed above, 4.2.1.

4. Depending on the broken space on the tablet, a restoration [*en-ga-r*]*u₁₂-um*, or even [*a-bí-e*]*n-um*, would also be possible.

6. *me-ší-za-núm* / $\hat{g}e\check{s} - \check{s} i t a n /$ = ($\hat{g}e\check{s}$) *š i t a - n*. I propose this interpretation with some reservations. The final *-n* of this word survived into the OB period and later: gloss *š i - t a - n a* in Erimḫuš ii 54 and

complement -n a in context (e.g., 4R 27, no. 1: 8). For *me-š* = *ĝeš*, see comments to no. 79. The weakest point of my explanation is the assumption that -z- represents the cluster -št- (< **ĝeš-iš-ta-n*) or simply -t- (< **ĝeš-iš-ta-n*), a peculiarity for which I am unable to supply parallels.

12. *nu-u₉-[mu-um]* /nu'm/ = u m ú n. All late sources (there are no OB ones) agree on the form /u m u n/, but the form followed by vowel is /u m u m/ (already in OB) agreeing with Akk. *mummu*. Ebla shows the loss of initial u -, probably secondary, and m > n in the initial consonant presumably to escape a morpheme-structure condition of Sumerian that does not allow the coexistence of two voiced bilabials within a morpheme (i.e., b V b or m V m do not exist within the same morpheme in the language). Despite the Akkadian dictionaries, the word is probably not of Sumerian origin.

27. In text no. 51 the sign is LAGAB×LAK 175, a variant of the sign ancestor of *sa ng a₂₋₆*, to be transliterated preferably as *š a ng a_x* (Diri VI ii 25f.; the form with s - is from Sb). This sign is known in Ur III in the title *š a ng a_x dⁿen-líl-lá* (Owen, *NATN* 155 and unpubl. Nippur tablets); its form differs slightly from LAK 175: . Its rare occurrences in OB texts are often misinterpreted, see Steible, *Hāja*, ad *UET* 6, 101: 19.

36. According to an OB version of an ED text (*RA* 60,8:1'f.) *KU₇* had a value /g a m l/; is *ga-ga-lum* an error for *ga-ma-lum*, or a related form? Another, simpler, solution would be to consider the sign name as based on the divine name *dⁿKU₇* with the pronunciation *ku-ku-la* or *ka-ku-la* given in *An-anum* VI 203f. instead of *ku-uk-ku-da*, *ka-ak-ku-da* of *Ea* IV 188f. It remains to be seen, however, which spelling of these obscure deities' names can claim to be original.

39. *su-me-núm* /s u m e n/ = s ú m u n. The sign differs only in detail from *GUL* = *LAK* 389 which is also found without the initial ŠÚ; compare, for instance, *WVDOG* 43, 20 iii 4 with *OIP* 99, 34 ii 5', *dⁿin-súmun* in *OIP* 99, 327, and *OIP* 99, 282 r. iv 5', where *gul-gul* is written once with ŠÚ and once without. Note the older phonological form is /s u m u n/ rather than /s u n/: *Proto-Ea* 588, *VAS* 2,31:9 (syll.), etc.; /s u n/ is attested so far only in Sb II 337.

53. *bí-ba-la-ga-um* /mi(n)ba la g/ = minbulug (*URUDA*). Cf. *me-bulug* *Proto-Ea* 192a and *me-en-bu-lu-u-g* *Aa* III/5:12; for the initial b -, compare *MUŠ* = *bù-šúm* for *muš* in line 47.

58. Considering that the sign is *DARA₄* rather than *SÍG* (Mander, *ELLES* 391 C) perhaps one could assume *dè-rí-núm* /d e r iⁿ/ for *d a r a₄* with nasalization.

60. All the occurrences of *LAK* 672 and variants will now need to be carefully checked on the originals or photos to see where the distinction between them lies: one or two verticals inside, and presence or absence of the "barbels". In *OIP* 99, 283 ii 12, for instance, the sign of the present line is certainly used for *sub₅* in *ne mu-ni-sub₅* but the dupl. 231 has the form of line 61 in the very same passage and so does *VE* 849 for the same word: *ne-sub₅* = *ne-sa-gu-um* "to kiss".

61. The new value of this line is confirmed by *VE* 970 where it is translated by *da-mu* "blood" and thus replaces there the usual úš; the sign has there two horizontals inside and "barbels." In *OIP* 99, 256 iii 4 (Instructions of Šuruppak 329) the sign has one horizontal and corresponds to úš for the OB version. The form with one horizontal presumably has the value *su_hur/sumur* (*RA* 61,63ff.) in *NTSŠ* 168+ x 9: *má LAK* 672 *nu-gur₄-rá*, to be compared with *gešⁿma-gur₈-ra-ni* *LAK* 672 *ba-ra-an-si-ig* *Destruction of Agade* 92 (Falkenstein *ZA* 57, 55).

73. *uš-ti-núm* /(u)š d i n/ = š u d u n (or š u d u l) "yoke" confirmed by *OIP* 99,33 ix 8'f.: *gešⁿtaškarin š u d u n*, *gešⁿmeš ma-BU*, compared with dupl. *MEE* 4,34 iii 3, 6: *gešⁿNÁM* "UŠTIL", *gešⁿma-BU*; for *ma-BU*, probably to be read *ma-du-l₁₀* *JAOS* 88,13. The sign is found with

determinative $\hat{g}e\check{s}$ in *MEE* 2 (see p. 153) in texts dealing with textiles where a meaning “yoke” hardly fits. It is likely that “UŠTIL” stands in those texts for $\check{s}u-d u_7$ alternating with $\check{s}ITA_4$ (cf. *JAOS* 88,7), whose reading is more precisely $\check{s}u-t u-u l$ (Proto Ea 246), with the meaning “loom,” derived from a more general meaning “tool”. In the incantation passage *OrAn* 18,345 ii 2ff. the meaning “yoke” makes good sense and one can perhaps translate “Adarwan opens the yoke, Kamiš sets the eagles free;” note the association of “UŠTIL” with oxen in *OrAn* 18,349 r. 22. See also *UET* 2 Suppl. 8A i 5.

79. *mu-ša-na-um* $/\hat{g}u\check{s}-na/ = \hat{g}e\check{s}-nu_{11}$, is a well-known value of LAK 24. The Ebla form is curious with $/\hat{g}e\check{s}/ > / \hat{g}u\check{s}/$, presumably by vowel harmony with the following nu (compare $/\hat{g}u\check{s}ur/ < / \hat{g}e\check{s}-ur/$ in $\hat{g}e\check{s}-\grave{u}r$) that, however, is written na in this text.

82. The sign name of the sign SIG is to be transliterated simply as *si-gúm*; the value *gúm* has until now been curiously avoided by the editors of Ebla texts but is required in $\check{s}ir = i\check{s}-gúm$ VE 1279 and in many other passages of the Ebla lexical lists.

97. In *nu-ga-[t]i-mu* the *nu-* stands for $l\acute{u}-$, cf. ED Lu E 69, OB Lu A 356, etc.

128”. I assume that the sign of this line is simply a graphic variant of the ubiquitous $MI.\check{s}ITA$ sign. For a discussion see, besides Pettinato, *MEE* 2, p. 31 ad 196 and P. Mander, *OrAn* 19, 263f., my note in *Or* 51, 233 ff.

On Some Terms for “Bat” in Mesopotamia^{*}1. GAR.IB^{mušen}

The logogram GAR.IB.MUŠEN, occasionally read *ša* IB.MUŠEN or *ša 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 U₅, to be read *rikibtu* according to *KUB* 4 48 iii 11, 18, etc.¹. This expression has been variously translated as “‘rut de bouquetin’ ... une sorte de plante” by Fossey², 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^{mušen}, 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.

^{*} The present article was originally published in *AuOr* 2 (1984) pp. 2-9.

1. For references and a discussion of the passages without U₅ see 3.2.

2. Fossey read *rikibtu ša turāhi* by a confusion of DÁRA with DÀRA/DARA₄.

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, *OrAn* 17 171:126 and *MEE* 3 p. 114:126, after *su-din*^{mušen}, in the forms *su-din-^{mušen}LAGAR* (Fara) and *su-din-IB* (Ebla). In the Fara source, Pettinato (*OrAn* 17 171), like Salonen, *Vögel* 250, reads *su-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:

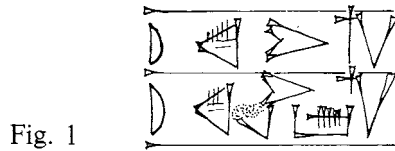


Fig. 1

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.

Other OB Recensions. *su-din*^{mušen}, *su-din-GAR*.*IB*^{mušen} *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*.*IB*^{mušen} *LTBA* 82 i 7 10³.

c) Peripheral Recensions. Ugarit: *IGI*.*IB*^{mušen}, *su-din*^{mušen}, *su-din-min-na*^{mušen} *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 = šu-ut-tin = [...], nu-ud *su-din* = nu-ud šu-ut-tin = *b[i-el K]I.MIN*, am *su-din* = am- mar *K[I.MIN]* = 'a'-[dam šu]-ut-tin-ni (collated from photo, courtesy H. G. Güterbock)⁴. 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)⁵; finally, C 39 has [x]-^{mušen}x = *ir-ka-bu* = [a]r-ga-bu, where only the final vertical of x is preserved so that a restoration [GAR.I]B is

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 šEN sign.

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 *a r - k a b* = GAR.IB^{mušen} = *ar-k[a-bu]*, in a bird section.

c) Canonical. Diri V 178 has [i] *r - k a - a b* = GAR.IB.^(mušer) = [...], 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 *ḪAR-gu d* (*AHW* 67a, *CAD* A/2 353a). Since this form is given in the right subcolumn of *ḪAR-gu d* and the OB sources all give *arkabu*, the latter form is preferable and *argabu* is to be considered a secondary variant⁶.

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): *še₁₀* ‘LAGAR’.IB^{mušen}; 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 3 lff.) reads: LAGAR.IB *ḫul-zu kaskal na-sa₉-e, mušen ḫul-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”⁷. 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^{mušen} (see 6). For Ni 4128, see 5.

3.2. Akkadian Texts.

The term *U₅/rikibtu* GAR.IB^{mušen} 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 Šaziga passages, see R. D. Biggs, *TCS* 2 25f. and Index s. v. GAR.IB is extremely rare without *U₅*; 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.DÀ* “scat of a gazelle”, where IB.GAR obviously stands for GAR.IB (see *CAD* Z 151a).

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*.

7. Compare *kaskal mu-un-sa₉ kaskal mu-un-sa₉-ba* “he reached the midpoint of the journey, when he had reached the midpoint of the journey (he became ill, etc.)” Lugalbanda and ‘Hurum’ 75.

4. Other Occurrences of LAGAR/GAR.IB.

EDLu 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 (n a m - g a - e š₈ - a k e l a m - m e - n e - k a m and n a m - g a - e š₈ - a k m á e l a m - k a - k a m) list a product GAR.IB after relatively large amounts of n a g a “amole”: 75 g u r of n a g a and 7 m a - n a of GAR.IB in *RTC* 20 i and l g u r and l m a - n a, respectively, in 21 i. There is still a homographic logogram ^{úg}n í g - d á r a “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 a r k a b^{mušen} with s u - d i n^{mušen}, and especially the combination s u - d i n - GAR/LAGAR.IB (2.1, 2 c), make Landsberger’s suggestion that a r k a b 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 a r k a b in contrast with the s u - d i n bat among 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 š e₁₀ a r k a b^{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 n a g a – 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 a r k a b bat” is a folk designation for guano is purely speculative⁸. The text FLP 145 (3.1) seems to imply that bats were considered edible. This point is confirmed by the hemerological text Ni 4128 (*ISCT* 2 94) i’ 3’: GAR.IB^{mušen} s u - d i n^{mušen} n a - a n - g u₇ - e m u š ’ l u ’ - l u i - g á l “he should not eat the a r k a b and the bat, he will get ‘numerous snakes(?))’”⁹.

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 a r k a b is of Semitic origin and related to *rakābu* is a question that remains unanswerable for the moment.

8. The fact that the term *rikibtu* 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.

9. Is m u š - l u - l u 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 ^{’q}al-lef usually translated by “bat”, is listed among the impure birds.

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 *MSL* 12 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 columns 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 *ar ka b*. The forms to be considered are displayed on the table in fig. 2.

	Uruk	A.-Šal.	Fara	Ebla	Girsu	Ur III	OB
ARKAB							
LAGAR							

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.ĀB.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-Šalābīkh one also finds ARKAB in *OIP* 99 82 r. ii' 9f. in the divine names ^de n-ARKAB-LAK 777, ^dn i n-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-Šalābīkh 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 GIDIM¹⁰. The form given here is abstracted from TÙR (=NUN.LAGAR).

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 [d i] 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 gín. The LAGAR form is taken from the many occurrences of é-níg-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: i gi - gu d - da^{mušen} and i gi - ge š ti n - na^{mušen} (lines 196ff.).

10. Contrary to Talon's statement that *VAS* 14 163 vi 1 is "la plus ancienne graphie connue" of GIDIM, the sign is known 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-[l]i-mu* (< l ú - g i d i m).

The Early History of HAR-ra: The Ebla Link^{*}

In the summer of 1725 B.C. –more precisely on the 8th day of the month of Abu– being the 24th year of king Samsuiluna¹, the scribe Ina-šamê-wāšû finished a tablet with 450 lines in ten columns that starts with HAR-ra and has HAR-ra as its title in the colophon². As far as I know, this tablet is at present the earliest attestation of the title of the encyclopedic compendium that is one of the great achievements of the Mesopotamian lexicographers. The text of this OB tablet follows extremely closely the canonical text of the first two tablets of HAR-ra, much more closely than other OB forerunners (e.g., AO 7796 published by Ch.-F. Jean in *RA* 33 (1936) 87 ff.), and, naturally, it is shorter: 450 lines against the 751 lines of the canonical text.

I am well aware that the use of HAR-ra in my title is open to criticism for various reasons. First, according to the lexical sources, a phonologically more accurate reading would be ur₅-ra. Second, the texts I am going to discuss could never have been designated as HAR-ra by the native scribes since it is only very late in the OB period, if not later, that the two tablets of HAR-ra proper³ were joined to the thematic lists that form the main body of the canonical series. However, the early lists under consideration here were compiled following, by and large, criteria that later on gave us the canonical series and its forerunners. Labels after all are conventional, and I see no objection to using the one chosen, as long as its limitations are clearly understood.

^{*} The present article was originally published in L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985. Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 ottobre 1985)*. Napoli 1987, pp. 131-158.

1. Not the 1st year as given by D. Arnaud, *RA* 69 (1975) 88, nor the 15th year as stated by me in *AS* 20 (1975) 127 (see also W. Hallo [and S. Lieberman] *JCS* 34 [1982] 86). The date reads: ^{itu}n e - n e - g a r u₄ 8 - k a m m u s a - a m - s u - i - l u - n a l u g a l - e b à d k i š^{ki} m u - u n - d ù - a.

2. The colophon reads š u - n i g i n 7 × 60 š u - š i 30 (over erasure) / m u - b i HAR - r a / i n - s a r I - n a - š a - m e - e - w a - š u (or - w u - s ú m).

3. The first two tablets of HAR-ra, as correctly pointed out by Landsberger as far back as 1931 (*MSL* 1 p. ii f.), did not originate in Nippur, where the predecessors of Ana ittišu were used instead (see M. T. Roth, *Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law*, Ph. D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1979). See M. Civil, *AS* 20 (1975) 125 ff. and W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 34 (1982) 85 ff. for some remarks on the history of HAR-ra.

Speakers of a written language faced with the problem of compiling a written inventory of the words in their languages have three choices, if they want to avoid chaos. They can organize the lists of words 1) according to their sound, 2) according to the shape of the written symbols, or 3) according to the meanings. The Mesopotamians used only the last two systems, the syllabary *tu-ta-ti* being the only instance of a rudimentary use of the first. In limiting this inquiry to thematic lists, it should be noted that such lists played a central role in ancient lexicography. To quote just two widely separated examples, we can take the Hermeneumata of the Pseudo-Dositheus used for centuries in one form or another for elementary teaching in classical schools –starting from at least the third century B.C.– and the Chinese book *Er-ya* (ca. 200 D.C.)⁴. In the Hermeneumata, in their more original form, we have ca. 1.200 entries divided into some 40 labeled sections. I will list only a few to give an idea of the contents: vegetables (34 lines), fish (41), birds (45), quadrupeds (περί τετράποδων, with turtles and frogs, but also scorpions and ants!) (51) snakes (17), and, later, golden objects (16 lines), silver objects (17), bronze objects (13), iron objects (42), pottery (10), skins (23). The Chinese example has 2.091 entries divided into 19 books or chapters. The first three deal with abstract words, the others are 4) kinship terms, 5) buildings, 6) pots and implements, 7) music, 8) the skies, 9) the earth, 10) land formations, 11) mountains, 12) waters, 13) herbs, 14) trees, 15) insects, 16) fish, 17) birds, 18) wild animals, and 19) domestic animals. A notable difference here is that while the Hermeneumata are made –at least originally– of everyday words for elementary teaching, the *Er-ya* seems more concerned in salvaging and explaining old, obsolete words. Comparing the extent of these compilations with the more than 7,900 lines of HAR-ra, one gets an idea of the accomplishments of the cuneiform scribes.

One could consider as archaic predecessors of HAR-ra all thematic lists first attested in the Uruk archaic tablets. The present discussion, however, will be limited to lists that combine *on the same tablet* thematic sections of subjects that are included in the late HAR-ra. There is a difference between most of the Uruk lists and the HAR-ra-like lists: the lists of trees, birds, first, and the like seem to be an inventory of all terms known at the time, regardless of their practical import, while the lists under discussion were compiled as practical repertoires of words needed in writing everyday documents and as a result represent an inventory of civilization rather than of nature. A characteristic common to all these lists is that the raw materials are preferably listed in their containers or in the form of manufactured objects rather than directly. See, for instance, the list of beds made of various woods in B 99 ff.

The main texts of this type presently known are⁵:

1) A(rcaic) H(AR-ra) A, about 393 lines:

Ebla:

MEE 3 45 +46

MEE 3 61 (Semitic version of the first 98 lines, see *MEE* 3 p. 247).

Abu Salabikh:

OIP 99 33 + 35 +225

OIP 99 30, 37, 226 (fragments).

4. The Chinese data are based on an unpublished comparative study by my student Ms. Zhi Yang.

5. List A will henceforth be quoted mostly according to column and line numbers of *MEE* 3 45 + 46, list B according to the edition in the *MSL* project.

Designated as “Lista di parole sumeriche B” by Pettinato in *MEE* 3 pp. 143ff”. The Ebla and Abu Salabikh sources are generally in very good agreement, with the exception of the metal section.

2) AH B, ca. 482 lines, originally may have been longer.

Fara:

Fara II 20 (photo), 21, and 22.

Abu Salabikh:

OIP 99 34.

Fara II 20 shows paleographic characteristics unlike any other Fara tablet I have seen. In addition to a peculiar ductus, each of its entries is preceded by a unusually deep round marker (the Abu Salabikh duplicate has as similar line markers round holes up to 20 mm. deep, see *OIP* 99 p. 81). The tablet, however, has the same find spot (XVh) that gave most of the lexical and literary texts, see H. P. Martin, *CRAI* 20, 176 f.

3) AH C, more than 260 lines.

Fara: *Fara* II 43.

I have not seen a photo of this tablet.

4) AH D, 149 lines.

Ebla: *MEE* 3 44.

Pettinato’s “Lista di parole sumeriche A” in *MEE* 3 135 ff.

5) Other frags. *OIP* 99 18, 20, 36; *Fara* II 68, 74; *OSP* 1 8; etc.

6) The Susa cylinders published by V. Scheil in *RA* 18 (1921) 79 ff., with duplicate *MDP* 27 55, etc., also belong to this genre.

Not all lists are attested everywhere:

	Fara	Abu-Salabikh	Ebla
A	–	+	+
B	+	+	–
C	+	–	–
D	–	–	+

Note that no Fara list is attested in Ebla and that Abu-Salabikh occupies an intermediate position, sharing one list with Fara and one with Ebla. Whether this is due to the randomness of archaeological discoveries or whether it is due to some significant factor remains to be seen. Note, however, that the list attested only in Ebla (D) ends with a list of toponyms that reflects a geographic horizon characteristic of

Southern Mesopotamia⁶. It is thus likely that the current list distribution is, at least in great part, accidental.

These lists present many differences in their organization. 1) The individual thematic sections have different entries in a different sequence, although some terms may be found in more than one list. 2) The sequence of sections is different. Lists A and B have a structure more clearly defined than C. Text D has to be considered borderline. It has some well-defined sections, e.g., metals or wood objects, but they are few, most of the text being a miscellaneous listing that includes verbal forms, professions, and abstract terms. It has been included here to show the range of variation found in these compilations more than as a sample of true HAR-ra style.

The following comparative table presents the major thematic sections of A and B. The total number of lines does not add up to the total length of the tablet because in some cases the boundaries between sections fall in places where the tablet is damaged or because of the presence of understandable entries.

A		B	
stones (z a)	65	stones (z a)	59
stones (b u r)	23	stones (b u r)	39
metals	66	furniture (n á)	29
garments	25	metals	82
oils, honey	9	garments	35
music	9	wool, caprovines	22
perfumes	11	more metals	9
wooden tools	21	oils, perfumes	8
equids	6	skins?	3
slaves	2	baskets	21
ropes	8	pots	22
skins	18	grain	23
weapons	17	grain products	26
boats	5+[x]	other foods	46
bitumen	2	ropes	5
containers, clay	32	mats, houses?	16
wool	3 + [x]	?	7
mats	3	millstones	6
varia	28	varia	27

The main differences in contents are:

furniture: A– D+

music: A+ B– (C+)

equids: A, caprovines: D, (C equids)

weapons-boats-bitumen: A+ B– (C weapons, bitumen)

6. This convinced Pettinato that this text is ‘chiaramente importato dalla Mesopotamia’ (*MEE* 3 p. 135).

grain and grain products: A– D+
 millstones: A– D+ (C+)
 mats-houses: A– D+

Despite the variable sequence of sections in A and D, one can detect, at least in the first half of the lists, an underlying sequence that may very well reflect a common archetype. An additional comparison with the Susa text confirms its likely existence.

A	AB	B	Susa
—	stones		—
	metals		metals
		furniture	—
	garments		garments
oils		wool	oils
music		animals	
		metals	
		oils	
	perfumes		perfumes
wood tools		baskets	food (fruits)
equids		grain	grain
	ropes		(break)

We are thus in a phase during the creation of the lexical lists of this type in which there is not yet a fixed, generally accepted text; a traditional sequence of sections is beginning to emerge, but omissions and insertions are still acceptable. Note that both lists end with a miscellaneous section containing no doubt additional items that were felt to be wanting in the main text. The archaic predecessors of HAR-ra are still in fieri, as it were. The points of divergence illustrate another feature –found also in late lexical texts– of the compilation of these lists. The transition from one section to another is often based on verbal, graphic, or conceptual clues and associations. Thus, after the garment section, A switches to oils –perhaps through a hypothetic *túg-ì-ak*– while B follows a different route passing from garments to wool and from there to wool-bearing animals. The transition from oils to music is a verbal one. The oils are listed in containers and the last one mentioned is the *emaraḥ* (Akk. *kutû*) “wooden bowl”, or stand for the same⁷, followed by *emaraḥ-balag* –a word whose precise meaning I do not know but which combines *emaraḥ* with the name of a musical instrument– and this evokes for the compiler the names of a series of musical instruments. A then returns to the main sequence (transition damaged in the sources). An example of conceptual transition is the bitumen section following the boat section in A. Another one is the equids –used as work animals– following the mention of agricultural tools (^{giš}*apin* and ^{giš}*gan-ùr*); the working animals in turn evoke the mention of slaves. In some cases the reasons behind the

7. Reading from Diri II 272 *e-m e-r a-a ḥ* ^{giš}. [UD.SAL.ḤÚB = *kutû*], restored by the Ugarit version II 168 *e-m[e-r a]-a ḥ* ^{giš}. UD.SAL.ḤÚB = *qu-tu-ú*. Compare *e m e₅* = SAL.ḤÚB and *r à* = UD. The Commentary to Aa V/4 published by E. von Weiher, *STU 2 54* –a tablet full of scribal errors– has (26) *ú-m a-a ḥ* SAL.ḤÚB = *e-nu-um* etc. (confusion of *e-m a-r a-a ḥ* and *ú-s u-u ḥ*), (27) *g a-r i m* ID SAL.ḤÚB = *ku-tu-ú* : *mut-ta-bil-t[um]* (confusion with ZUM).

sequence are not clear. For instance, the boat section follows the nets and bird traps which close the preceding weapons section.

The lists C and D, despite the inclusion of well-defined sections similar to the ones in A and B, must have had a different genesis. The variability of these lists sharply contrasts with the textual stability of the archaic lists whose form is almost immutable from the Uruk period to Ur III.

The claim that one can recognize vestiges of a common structure should not be understood as an indication that the lists are textually dependent from each other. As a matter of fact, the individual sections that deal with the same subject in the two versions are surprisingly different. In no case do two sections share one half of the entries or more; in most cases they share much less. The z a-section in A (57 lines preserved) and the corresponding section in B (53 lines preserved) share only 15 entries, i.e., 36% of A and 39% of B, respectively. The sections about metals in A (66 lines) and B (82 lines) have only 14 lines in common, i.e., 21% of the lines in A and 17% of the lines in B. In the garments section, A and B share 11 entries, 44% of the entries in A and 31% of the entries in B.

At times, one of these lists may be closer to independent vocabularies of the period than to other HAR-ra-like lists. A case in point is the musical section in A (*OIP* 99 33+ x 20 ff.) compared with ED Lu E (*MSL* 12 161f.):

	A		ED Lu E		C
x 20	emarah-balag	98	balag-di		
21	balag	99	[x]-x		
22	balag dilmun	100	x-x	ix 20	giš[]
23	balag ma-rí	101	lú á-lá	21	gišNI.[]
24	gi-di	102	lú gi-di	22	á-lá
25	GI×TAK ₄	103	lú GI×TAK ₄	x 1	ub _x (ÁB+ZAG)-tak ₄
26	búr-balag	104	lú búr-balag	2	li-li
27	GIŠ×TAK ₄	105	lú GIŠ×TAK ₄	3	(break)
28	ub _x -tak ₄	106	[lú ub _x -tak ₄ (?)]		
29	(broken)	107	lú šir		

Remarks. In C x 2 li-li stands for li-li-èš; ub_x (ÁB+ZAG) is the ancestor of ùb/u b₅.

A comparison of the metal sections with the list “Nagar”⁸ provides a quite different picture. The list has some 76 different entries⁹ of which A, with 66 entries (with some gaps) of metals, repeats only 14, while B, with 82 entries of metals, repeats 18. A comparative study of lexical subsets in different lexical lists would throw much-needed light on the history of early Mesopotamian lexicography and in the evolution of the writing of individual words.

8. Edited by Pettinato in *MEE* 3 77ff. The title NAGAR is something of a misnomer; the sign appears only in 14 lines –as against 34 lines for gír- and in most cases it has to be read bulug. “List of Metal Objects” would be a more accurate title.

9. The actual number of lines is 128, but a great number of them are doublets which differ only by the addition of AN.

How do the contents of these archaic HAR-ra-like lists compare with the terminology of the actual administrative texts? Pettinato (in Cagni, *LdE* 250 f.) detects in the late lexical texts a “sfasatura rispetto ai documenti storico-economici e religiosi contemporanei, tanto da dare l'impressione di non avere nessun elemento di contatto con loro”. He sees in this lack of fit a characteristic feature of the late lexical series, in contrast with the Ebla lexical texts in which there is a remarkable agreement. L. Cagni (*Bil. Ebla* 373) provides, in a well-designed study, the statistical justification for this agreement. At the same time he attempts to prove the lack of agreement typical of the late lexical series, comparing the entries of canonical HAR-ra III-VII with the lexicon of the Ur III administrative documents. Out of more than 2.000 lines of canonical HAR-ra, only 50 or so would be found in Ur III. He mentions the obvious objection that there is a time difference of some centuries but considers this difficulty “un'obiezione facilmente superabile in forza della persuasione che la nostra serie lessicale [cioè HAR-ra] rispecchia con tutta probabilità una tradizione scolastico-culturale sumera, che già da tempo si era affermata a Ur, Isin, Larsa, e altrove”. I would respectfully submit that, to obtain meaningful results, one has to fulfill strictly the requirement that the lexical series and administrative texts to be compared be *rigorously contemporary* and from the same locality. It is because Cagni observes these requirements that he obtains such a good fit (more than 59%) –I leave aside the compounds– in Ebla. But one cannot compare canonical HAR-ra with Ur III, nor even the XVIIIth century forerunners with the Ur III texts of four centuries before. If the synchrony requirement is observed, the OB texts give results similar to the ones obtained by Cagni for the Ebla texts. For instance, the field names (ca. 50) which appear in the OB Nippur contracts of the Samsuiluna period are listed in the Nippur forerunner to Hh XX with almost no exception. Very few terms in the OB Sumerian literary texts are completely unknown in the lexical lists of the period (including of course Proto-Izi and the like). For an earlier period, the s í g section in the Susa cylinder shows a 71% agreement with the Ur III economic texts.

If the relation of the early HAR-ra predecessors to economic texts is to be examined, the comparison has to be made with Early Dynastic and Early Sargonic texts. Going back to the garment lists (including now *Fara* II 64, but excluding the entries with g a d a), one can see that of these ED textile lexical entries the ED-Early Sargonic texts use 76% of them (71 % if Ebla is included), the Ur III texts 22%, the OB forerunners 12%, and canonical HAR-ra only 10%. A complete analysis would have to separate the ED and Sargonic texts from different periods and localities, identify the innovations, etc. The lack of economic texts dealing with a particular matter can make such an investigation impossible; there is no way, for instance, to verify if the section of musical instruments truly represents the terminology of the period. In any case, the evidence for lexical change up to the XVIIIth century B.C. is clear. The lexical revolutions between Sargonic times and Ur III and between Ur III and Hammurabi-Samsuiluna times are striking. It is only some time during the Isin-Larsa period or early times of the first Babylonian dynasty that the Sumerian vocabulary becomes fossilized, unchangeable forever. Until then we have a contrast between the traditional lexical lists, unchanged since Uruk times, and the constant change of everyday vocabulary. The old lists must have used in the schools until Ur III times, as shown by a few fragments from Nippur. To compensate for the increasing differences between the frozen, traditional vocabulary of the old lists and the vocabulary of the actual documents, and thus to satisfy the practical needs of scribal training, the teachers were forced to create –locally it seems– lists like the HAR-ra type lists under discussion. In this respect they fall into the category of “practical vocabularies”, a term used for the first time, I believe, by Father Scheil in 1921 when he published the cylinders from Susa. It must be around Ur III times that the

old traditional lists were finally discarded to be replaced by brand new ones, more representative of the current language of the texts. The new lists combined the monographic, less “practical” lists of Uruk times with the type of lists discussed here to give to HAR-ra its final form. This interpretation, based here on garment lists, must be tested with other lexical sets before being accepted as anything more than a hypothesis.

Finally, some remarks about the Semitic version of the first 99 lines of archaic HAR-ra version A (*MEE* 3 61), edited in the Appendix, may be of interest. It is a school exercise quite similar in aspect to the tablets which give the syllabic Sumerian versions of old lexical lists (*MEE* 3 62-64 and *ARET* 5 23, published by Krecher or myself)¹⁰. I submit that given a lexical list, the scribes could read it in Sumerian or they could read it in Semitic, along the lines mentioned at the beginning of my paper in the 1982 Convegno. *MEE* 3 61 is an example of an Eblaite/Old Akkadian reading; *MEE* 3 62 ff. are examples of a Sumerian reading. Thus the lists written in Sumerian did not represent the words of a *lingua franca* used by persons speaking different languages, but rather they were *litterae francae*, so to speak, that could be read in almost any language.

In conclusion, the amazingly long life of the Uruk lexical texts, whose uniformity maintained a homogeneous literary culture in Mesopotamia and surrounding areas –from Susa to Ebla– through many ethnic and political changes, was constantly menaced by lists arising from practical school needs. These lists finally eliminated or replaced the old traditional ones –around Ur III times– and were themselves replaced shortly afterwards by the Nippur¹¹ OB lexical tradition, which survived with surprisingly few changes until the end of the days of the cuneiform script.

Appendix

Word List B 1-99

The following is a provisional edition of the beginning of “Word List B”, namely the portion for which a Semitic version is available. It is a provisional edition because the available photos in *MEE* 3/A, while good, are at times insufficient, especially near the edges. The signs not verifiable on the photos are described in the following as n.v. (not visible/verifiable). Moreover, the many orthographical and linguistic difficulties, as well as the very specialized vocabulary, require a more sustained study than it is possible here. The lists A and B of the preceding paper are here designated AHA and AHB, respectively. See *MEE* 3 p. 241, for the identification of *MEE* 31 61.

The sources are:

ES = Ebla Sumerian version (*MEE* 3 45 + 46, 3/A pl. xvii-xix).

EB = Ebla Semitic version (*MEE* 3 61, 3/A pl. xxxiv).

AS = Abu-Salabikh Sumerian version (*OIP* 99 33 +).

10. J. Krecher, *OrAn* 22 (1983) 169ff.; M. Civil, *OrAn* 21 (1982) 1ff.; *ZA* 74 (1984) 161ff.; Th. J. H. Krispijn, *JEOL* 27 (1981/82) 47ff.

11. The attribution of the creation or compilation of the new lists to the Nippur scribes may very well be an illusion created by the very large number of school texts recovered there and which have enabled the reconstruction of the OB lexical corpus.

AS₁ = duplicating fragment of the preceding (*OIP* 99 37).

The pairing of the Sumerian entries with their translations cannot be verified in all instances. There is at least one line inversion in 36ff. and one omission in line 70 (besides line 1, see comment thereto). In places where a plausible agreement between Sumerian and its translation is not verifiable on lexical grounds, e.g., lines 57 ff., the line sequence provided by the tablets cannot, alone, guarantee the correctness of the reconstruction. The scribes seem to have committed some easily detectable mistakes. In ES, line 20, an otherwise well-attested logogram is given an unrecognizable form. All entries that one would expect to be identical in ES –that is the ones whose Sumerian appears in both the *z a* and *b u r* sections– are written differently: compare 52 and 72, 53 and 77, and 61 and 78; compare also 65 and 76. Some entries in EB have a scribal mark, a slanted wedge, whose function is unclear; in line 76 it could indicate an orthographic error, but what it is doing in line 21 is not clear (Pettinato transliterates it as a numeral).

Further examination of scribal habits in EB reveals some peculiarities that show once more the danger of taking the Ebla spellings at face value. The most noteworthy peculiarities are:

a) the *a*-endings, in most cases without plausible morphological justification, which replace the expected endings of: 1) the nominative in lines 3, 14?, 15, 39, 67, 75, 79, and 87 (in lines 75 and 79 with mimation), 2) of the genitive in lines 74 and 76, and 3) of the status constructus 88ff. (probably in a monosyllabic root with final double consonant)¹².

b) The zero-endings for 1) the nominative in lines 28, 40, 52, and 78, and 2) the genitive in lines 2, 38, and 83?

c) The *i*-endings for apparent nominatives in lines 19, 26?, and 31.

d) The omission of radical elements in *gú-ne* = /*kuninni*/ (85) and *gú-bí* = /*atkuppi*/ (94); the two words as written are homographs, illustrating the pervasive ambiguity of ED spellings.

Note the presence of *-tum*-endings in the Sumerian, lines 49 and 62. Since a reading *ib* is most unlikely, one has to assume that loanwords with this ending started to appear much earlier than generally assumed (see AHB 35 for another example).

Text

1	ES	i	1	[(...) za-gìn]	EB	i	—
2			2	ʾBU-xʾ [za-gìn]			1 <i>tí-ga-a</i>
3			3	gú za-gìn			2 NA ₄ (NI. UD) <i>gi-za-ad</i>
4			4	PAP.ERÍN za-gìn			3 <i>gu-ʾxʾ</i> [KUR]
5			5	SI.A za-gìn			4 KUR ʾxʾ-[]
6			6	dib za-gìn			5 [KUR]
7			7	lál za-gìn			6 ʾxʾ [KUR]

12. These *a*-endings are just an instance of a widespread phenomenon in Eblaite texts. Besides legitimate morphological reasons (see the paper of B. Kienast in this volume), it is clear that other non-morphological factors must be taken into account. It is possible 1) that *a* was considered as some sort of basic, unmarked vowel that could stand for *i* and *u*, and 2) that the accusative, instead of the nominative, was considered the “citation form” (cf. the form of early Akkadian loanwords in Sumerian). For the use of citation forms in Eblaite lexical texts, see my remarks in *JNES* 43 (1984) 284, note 6, end.

8		8	[x za-gìn]		7	[]
9		9	ʿSIʿ.SI za-gìn		8	KUR ʿxʿ [] bù [x]
10		10	níg-šú za-gìn		9	<i>gi-ba-ʿraʿ-ʿti</i> KUR
11		11	níg-sagšu za-gìn	ii	1	ŠÚ.NÍG. ʿSAGʿ KUR
12		12	ùr za-gìn		2	<i>gi-ʿx-xʿ</i> KUR
13		13	TÚM za-gìn		3	<i>a-[x (x) K]UR</i>
14		14	áʿ-si za-gìn		4	[x]- <i>la</i> KUR
15		15	šu-si za-gìn		5	HAR- <i>ga</i> KUR
16	ES	16	10 kam ₄ za-gìn		6	<i>gi-mu</i> 10
17	ES	17	5 kam ₄ za-gìn		7	<i>gi-mu</i> 5
	AS	i	16 [] za-gìn			
18	ES	18	é-ʿxʿ za-[gìn]		8	<i>a-zu-ga-at</i> KUR
	AS	17	[x-R]Uʿ za-gìn			
19	ES	19	geštu-lá-lá za-gìn		9	KUR.KUR NU ₁₁ <i>mu-uš-gal-lu-tum</i>
	AS	18	[ge]štu-lá-lá za-gìn			
20	ES	20	ù-NI za-gìn		10	<i>da-rí-mi-du</i> KUR
	AS	19	še-ù-suh ₄ za-gìn			
21	ES	21	TÚG za-gìn		11	TÚG KUR
	AS	20	TÚG za-gìn			
22	ES	22	TÚG-ʿxʿ za-gìn		12	<i>za-[x-x KUR]</i>
	AS	21	[x-TÚG] za-gìn			
23	ES	ii	1 ʿdarʿ za-gìn		13	KUR.KUR DAR
24		2	[] ʿza-gìnʿ	iii	1	KUR ša-NI
25		3	[] za-gìn]		2	EDIN.A.SU [KUR]
26		4	[] za-gìn]		3	KUR ʿxʿ-[x]- <i>im</i> [KU]R
27		5	[] za-gìn]		4	KUR.KUR ŠU ʿ(x)ʿ
28		6	[] za-gìn]		5	NU ₁₁ .PI- <i>at</i> KUR.KUR
29		7	[] za-gìn]		6	KIŠIB KUR
30		9	[] za-gìn]		7	ŠITA.GIŠ KUR
31		9	ʿxʿ [za-gìn]		8	<i>a-sa-a[l-t]i</i> KUR
32		10	gug _x .(GUL) za-gìn		9	ʿx-xʿ [KU]R
33		11	ŠIR za-gìn		10	AM[AR] KUR
34		12	ʿGIŠʿ za-gìnʿ		11	[]-ʿxʿ KUR
35		13	ʿsi-giʿ za-gìn		12	[]- <i>at</i> KUR
36		14	NIN.UŠ ^{mušen} za-gìn		13	[]-ʿxʿ KUR
37		15	bur za-gìn		15	B[URʿ KU]R
38		16	gú-lál kù-babbar			
			KÙ.GI za-gìn		14	N[A ₄].NA ₄ <i>gi-za-ad</i>
39		17	šennur za-gìn	iv	1	<i>ša-lu-ra</i> KUR
40		18	GIŠ.ŠITA.GIŠ za-gìn		2	<i>gi-sa-al</i> KUR
41		19	NÍG.PA za-gìn		3	[NÍG].PA KUR
42		20	esir za-gìn		4	ESİR KUR

43	ES		21	RÍG za-gìn	5	GIŠ.RÍG KUR
	AS	ii	14	ʾRÍGʾ [za-gìn]		
44	ES	iii	1	alal za-gìn	6	<i>a-lum</i> KUR
	AS		15	alal za-gìn		
45	E		2	bal za-gìn	7	GIŠ.BAL KUR
	AS		16	bal za-gìn		
46	AS		17	kirid za-gìn	8	KÉS KUR
47			18	pisan za-gìn	9	PISAN KUR
48			19	AN.KU za	v	1 <i>a-za-NI-x</i>
49			20	ÁB.ŠÀ-ÁB.ŠÀ-tum za		2 <i>ba-ba-ḥa-tun</i>
50			21	SI ₄ za		3 NA ₄ .NA ₄ SI ₄
51			22	A za		4 NA ₄ .NA ₄ A
52			23	[P]IRIG za		5 <i>ša-la-búr</i>
53			24	[N]I.GÍR za		6 <i>zi-zi-íb-tum</i>
54	ES		11	pirig-ʾ gùnʾ za		7 <i>bù-ru₁₂-gú-nu</i>
	AS		25	[p]irig-gùn za		
55	ES		12	nunuz-mušen za	8	TE.MUŠEN
	AS		26	[]-mušen za		
56	ES		13	ʾx-(x)ʾ za		9 NA ₄ .NA ₄ <i>zi-zi-ba-tum</i>
57			14	LÚ×X za	vi	1 <i>DI-me-a-tum</i>
58			15	KÉŠ za		2 <i>šè-ba-tum</i>
59			16	ʾMÜŠʾ za		3 <i>su-bù-lu</i>
60			17	šè-li za		4 <i>ù-ra-gu</i>
61			18	šu-sal za		5 <i>ša-ma-ša-lu</i>
62			19	NU ₁₁ -PI-tum za		6 NA ₄ .NA ₄ ŠITA.GIŠ <i>ḥu-du-uš-tum</i>
63			20	geštin za		7 NA ₄ [GEŠ]TIN
64			21	ni-izi za		8 NA ₄ <i>gú-da-rí-im</i>
65	ES	iv	1	ga-raš ^{SAR} za		9 NA ₄ <i>ga-ra-šè(TÚG)-im</i>
65a			2	DUB.X za	10	DUB KUR
66	AS	iii	12	ʾxʾ.NU ₁₁ za	11	ŠITA.GIŠ KUR
67			13	bur babbar	12	BUR <i>bí-za-a</i>
68			14	bur gi ₆	vii	1 BUR ...
69			15	bur sig ₁₇		2 BUR KÙ.GI
70			16	bur ʾAʾ.KID		—
71	AS		17	bur al-g[u]-peš ₇	3	BUR <i>ur-gú-ba-su</i>
	AS ₁	i	1ʾ	[bur] ʾalʾ-gu-ʾpeš ₇ ʾ		
72	AS		18	bur pirig gùn	4	BUR <i>gú-nu-gú-nu</i>
	AS ₁		2ʾ	bur pirig gùn		
73	AS		19	bur KU.E[SÍR]	5	BUR NE
	AS ₁		3ʾ	BUR KU.X		
74	AS		20	bur gun	6	BUR <i>ba-lá-a</i>
75	ES		12	BUR ^{lim}	7	BUR <i>li-im-am</i>

AS	21	bur BUR ^{lim}		
76 ES	13	li ga-raš *SAR	8	li-ma ga-ra-sa(É)
AS	22	bur ^{li} ga-raš ^{SAR}		
77 ES	14	[bur]	9	BUR zi-zi-(ib)-tum
AS	23	bur NI.GÍR		
78 ES	15	bur šu-sal	10	BUR šu-ša-al
AS	24	bur-šu-sal		
79 ES	16	bur KA-a-sud(BU)	11	BUR za-lu-ga-am
AS	25	bur KA.MUNU ₄ .MUNU ₄		
80 ES	17	bur húb-húb	12	BUR hu-hu-bù (KA)
AS	26	bur húb-húb		
81 ES	18	bur anše	13	BUR ANŠE
82	19	bur šembi (GUD×SIG ₇)	14	BUR ŠU [?] .NE (=šè-bi?)
83	20	bur NI.šu	viii	1 BUR da ₅ -da-šè ú-ma-an
84	21	bur NI.LÙ		2 BUR za-bí-ù
85	22	bur bugin		3 BUR gú-ne
86	vi	1 bur-zú-zú		4 BUR zu-zu-lu
87		2 bur LAK 390		5 BUR ti-sa-la
88		3 'BUR' [šum-gaz ^{SAR}]		6 li-ma šu-mi
89		4 [bur]		7 li-ma ba-rí
90		5 []		8 na-a-rí
91		6 []		9 na-a-šè-bí
92 AS	iv	11 nunuz-šu-šu		10 HAR mar-ga ...
93		12 nunuz-DIB.MUNU ₄ -šu-šu	ix	1 HAR na NE a ak mar NE SUD AN ŠÈ SUD
94		13 na ₄ (UD.NI) ad-kid		2 a-ba-an gú-bí
95		14 na ₄ šu		3 NA ₄ ŠU.2
96		15 kù-dím uruda		4 KÙ.DÍM
97 ES	v	14 'x x x'		5 maš-bar-zu-um
AS		16 UŠ×U		
98 ES		15 UMÚN×AN		6 zu-wu-um
AS		17 na ₄ simug		
99 ES		16 UMÚN×HA		7 a-ga-rí-núm
AS		18 UMÚN×GÍN		

Remarks

A) Section za - gìn (lines 1-47).

The word za - gìn is consistently written KUR.ZA in sources ES and AS, as is the rule in ED times (see R. D. Biggs, *RA* 60 [1966] 175f.), and KUR (or GIN) in EB. It must be considered a compound of za, 'stone' and gìn. Both Sum. gìn and Akk. *uqnû* reflect a common loan from an unknown language,

presumably with the meaning “blue”¹³. The omission of ZA in the Semitic source (EB) confirms that this sign is a determinative. Whether this can be taken as an indication that in the ED Sumerian texts *za*, as a determinative, was not pronounced cannot be ascertained. Syllabic texts from OB times (e.g., RA 70 136: 18 ff.) as well as the loanword *zaginnu* in Akkadian show that it was pronounced, at least in OB times and later.

1 f. The existence of the first line in ES is questionable. It is possible that the entry in line 2 is identical with AHB 3 BU.KÚR.PA.SAL *za-gìn*, and, if so, the space for the first case of ES may have formed with the second case a single entry too long to fit in one case. The Semitic form is identical with Akk. *tikku* “a piece of jewelry worn on or around the neck”.

3. “Necklace”, lit. “neck-stone”, cf. Sargonic *za-gù* in JCS 26 73 f., *gù-nunuz-tuku* (HÚB) *za* in AHB 4, and ^{na}*gù za-gìn = erimmatu* Hh XVI 113a (revised edition). EB has to be interpreted as */aban kišādil/*; the spelling *gi-za-ad* reappears in line 38 while VE 1030 gives *gù = gi-da-sum*₆ with metathesis (M. Krebernik, ZA 73 [1983] 37). NA₄ is written NI.UD in EB as in standard Sumerian rather than UD.NI, an extremely frequent writing in ED texts that is used by AS in lines 94ff. and by ES in v 18ff. and XIII 13 (not edited here); see also remarks on line 23¹⁴.

4ff. Transliteration of ES follows Pettinato for the signs *n.v.* on photo; note that in line 3 Pettinato saw two PAP signs.

6. Cf. *dib za-gìn-gin₇ rib-ba-mu-dè* “when I (Inanna) am outstanding like a lapis lazuli plaque” OIP 99 388 v 2 f.

10f. *níg-šú* must mean something like “covering” (*šú = katāmu*). *sagšu* “head covering, helmet” is translated *ga-ba-lum* in VE 263; it must be the same root **kaparu* “to cover” (cf. Ar. *kafara*) that appears here in line 10. Another occurrence of this root is probably *šà-dah^ug* “lined garment” (AHA in OIP 99 33 + vii 28; CRAI 26 68 ii 8) = *gi-bí-la-ti sa-dim* “covering, garment for the mountains” VE 1417¹⁵. The *-ra-* in EB is *n.v.*; could it be a *-la-?*¹⁶. The *níg-sagšu* of line 11 is also found without determinative or translation, in VE 37. Note the arrangement of signs, with ŠÚ and SAG separated by NÍG, in EB. The term *níg-sagšu* is well attested in Ebla administrative texts; see MEE 3 p. 98, ARET III p. 380 NÍG.ŠU₄.SAG. etc.

12. The traces in EB do not seem to favour a restoration *gi-^rsu-úr*, Akk. *giššuru* “beam”; cf. MUŠ *gi-su-ri* VE 0030 corresponding to *muš giš-ùr* Hh XIV 27, etc.

13. Cf., perhaps, *íb = ga-ba-ra*, Akk. *qablu* A “waist, belt” VE 867 or [*x*]² - *íb = su-*hu*-na-LUM* VE 0125 “...”.

13. Cf. Ugaritic *iqnu*, Hittite *ku(wa)nna-* (“gem” in general), Greek *χάραξ*. It is generally believed not to be Indo-European, see C. Buck, *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Indo-European Languages*, Chicago, 1949, 1057.

14. See my remark in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla* 81. In Krebernik, *BFE* 106, to UD.NI in source c corresponds *za* in source i; on this passage see remarks to lines 16f. Further examples of UD.NI: TSŠ 190 ii 2; 725; 820. The skepticism expressed in ARET II 142 UD.NI is thus unwarranted.

15. A different interpretation, “Hüft-Tuch, Menstruationsschutz”, has been proposed by K. Butz in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla* 126, another, “middle part of the year”, by M. Fales in Fronzaroli, *SLE* 186.

16. Roots written *g-b-l* still appear in VE 221, 517, 528, 867, and 974; in 538 it represents *kbr* “to be thick” (see Fronzaroli, *SLE* 124 f.), in 867 the root is *qbl* (designating a garment), etc.

14. The first sign in ES can be DA or Á; if it is Á, cf. á - s i = *ur-ba-tum*, *ù-rí-ba-tum* VE 548, possibly identical with Akk. *armatu* A (CAD A/1 291b s.v.) “a part of the door” (made of copper, perhaps “hinge”). It is not clear, however, how it could be made of stone¹⁷.

15. One would expect “finger-shaped”, i.e., long piece of lapis lazuli or “lapis lazuli ring”. For HAR-*ga* see also lines 92f. where HAR corresponds to š u. The -*ga*, if it is a phonetic complement, could point to a counterpart of Akk. *unqu* “ring”. If one reads *ar-ka* “long”, then cf. *z a - g ì n*^{za} *g í d - d a* “elongated piece of lapis lazuli” TCL 5 6044 v 3, etc.

16 f. “Ring (with a weight) of 5/10 (shekels)”, if *gi-mu* and *ka m₄* represent the **kammu* that underlies the reduplicated form *kamkammatu* “ring”. Note that in Ur during the Ur III period the weight of the *kamkammatu* is standardized at 5 shekels (references in CAD K 124 s.v.; Limet, Métal 215 s.v.; UET 9 494, 511, 538, 563); there is an isolated case of 6 shekels in Ur in UET 3 707 (alongside 5 shekel ones) and another in Tell Asmar (TA 1931 237:11). MEE 2 12 ii 6' lists a *kam₄-ma-a-tum* of gold of a weight of 9 shekels¹⁸. The item of this line must be a stone counterpart of the silver rings and coils discussed by M. A. Powell, *Fs. Matouš* 211f. (his discussion is philologically limited to HAR). In Krebernik, *BFE* 106 one can perhaps read *ka m₄! - ka m₄!*^{za} in i iii 1 with a translation NA₄(UD.NI) *gar-du* in c iv 1; I cannot, however, understand the passage¹⁹.

19. “Earrings”. Note the reduplication of KUR, presumably to indicate the plural (see also lines 23, 27, 28). The sign NU₁₁, with or without PI, has the meaning “ear”; see, for instance, Nagar 107 f.: PI = NU₁₁.PI, AN.PI = AN.NU₁₁.PI = *giz-zil_x*(MI)^{uruda20}. It is not clear whether the reading of the logogram is /*gešt u*/ or /*giz a l*/, both words being glossed *uznu* in the late lexical lists²¹. The syntactic connection in EB between NU₁₁ and the adjective or participle is not transparent. Because of the spelling with a double *l*

17. The discussion of this and related terms would take more space than is available here. Ur III references for á - s i include ITT 3/2 5594; UET 3 301, 304; A 2620; 6N-T418. The á - s i was fastened with the *ku š á - s i* (BIN 9 106:3 writes *ku š á - s i*); note that the revised version of the Forerunner Hh XI 120ff. is to be read *ku š á - s i*, *ku š á - s i - ga l*. It remains to be seen whether this *ku š á - s i* is identical with the *kuš á - s i* “whip” of Gudea St B iv 11 and Home of the Fish 88; perhaps a meaning “strap” could be applied both to the leather fastening the á - s i and to a whip. Such a meaning would fit in AHA xviii 14ff. *še - g ì n*, ^(giš)*e - r i n₄*, *HI, á - s i*, (break), a section dealing with the tanning of hides.

18. Although Aa I/6: 137 is categorical in its assignation of the value *d a l l a* to the equivalent of *kamkammatu*, DALLA and *kamkammatu* are to be considered two different things: while the second weights 5 shekels (see above), the first has a very variable weight – from 120 š e to 10 š e – significantly below the weight of the second. Note furthermore that the two are mentioned side by side in OB texts (CAD K 124 s.v. b). Obviously there has been some confusion between DALLA and ZUBI/*ka m₄* in the scribal tradition.

19. Krebernik reads *mu-gar-du*, but the *mu-* is not visible in the ARET V 8 edition.

20. For MI = /*z i l*/, see variant in Animal List B 31, the Ur III name *I-lí-šil*(MI)-*la-at*, and S^a 153.

21. The form *giz a l* (*giz z a l*) in standard Sumerian is used mostly in the compound *giz a l - a k* “to pay attention”, although it occasionally appears alone, perhaps as an archaic form, in the meaning ‘ear = intelligence’ alongside *gešt ú* (Šulgi B 19, Išme-Dagan A 15, Enki and the World Order 73) or even alone (Šuruppak Instructions 147 *giz a l k a l a m - m a - k e₄*). The signs ŠIR (LAK 23) and NU₁₁ (LAK 24) have to be carefully kept apart. The first has the readings *š i r* “testicle” and *a š₇*, used in the divine name *a š₇ - g i g i₄* (see R. D. Biggs, *JCS* 24 1f.); the second has the readings *n u₁₁*, *n u r_x* (in *é n - é* - LAK 24 = *é n - é - n u - r u* Fara II 55 ii 14; TŠŠ 168 ii' 3'; 269 iii' 20'), *d u_x* (*ú - d u = ú* - LAK 24 Bird List 32, and compare the value *d u* ‘*ri*’ in Aa VIII/4: 90), and /*giz a l*/ and/or /*gešt u*/, and it is a component of the logograms *b u r u₄* and *la g a š*. It seems, however, that LAK 23 and 24 shared a reading /*s i r*/ or the like: *s a r - ka* = NU₁₁-*tenú*-KA+X Nagar 105 f., compare the two values *s i - r u* and *s i - i r* in Aa VIII/4: 84 and 92. The reading *p i² - i l*, *ibid.* 89, remains unassigned.

the Semitic form is probably to be interpreted as *mušqallilūtu* and it is thus an instance of the quadriliteral root *šqll*. Cf., however, *l á - l á = ti-iš-da-gi-lum* VE 1184, see B. Kienast, Cagni, *Bil.Ebla* 247.

20. “Pine cone-shaped ornament”. The Sumerian of AS is clear and confirmed by VE 691 *š e - ù - s u h₅ = da-rí-ma-tum, da-rí-<x>-tum*, clearly recognizable as the counterpart of Akk. *terinnātu*. The term is attested in Sargonic, *OSP* 1 95: 6, and Ur III, *Babyloniaca* 8 pl. 9 36: 11; *MVN* 5 289: 8, as well as in the lexical lists (Hh III 83) and literary texts (Civil, *JNES* 23 2: 36; *Ugaritica* 5 513: 40). ES is incorrect and gives <š e> ù - x (NI or KAK?)²².

21. EB has a slanted wedge (scribal mark) before TÚG.

23. “Split pieces of lapis lazuli”. Compare the following literary texts:

<i>OIP</i> 99 278 iv’ 2’	a-gi ₆	nam-nam	UD.NI dar-dar	UD.NI dar	an-ta-è
<i>ARET</i> 5 20 ix 8	a-gi ₆ -a		NI. UD ar-ar	NI. UD d[a]-ra	an-[d]a-i
21 x 5	a-gi ₆ -a		UD.NI dar-dar	NI.UD da-ra	an-da-i

“There was a flood that split the stones, the split stones appeared”. Note the alternation of UD.NI and NI.UD.

24. EB n.v. on edge; visible traces suggest *šà* rather than *ša* as in Pettinato.

25. ^(kuš)EDIN.A.(SU) is the usual ED and Sargonic spelling for *ù m m u* (d) (A.EDIN.LÁ) “water skin”: AHA *OIP* 99 33 + x 26; *AHB* 440; *BIN* 8 267: 7, 280: 3, 7; *RTC* 221 r. 13, 17; *OAIC* 7: 11, 34: 14; etc.²³. Is it a specific variety rather than a “water skin-shaped piece of lapis lazuli”? Note, however, in Ur III [x ^{kuš}]A.EDIN.LÁ *k ù - b a b b a r* [k i - l á - b] i 8 1/3 *m a - n a* *TIM* 6 19 i’ 8’f. and also the existence of a stone called ^{na4}*z i - ù m m u* Forerunner Nippur Hh XVI 170 and Lugale 535. It can thus be a part of the water skin (stopper or “neck”?) made of stone or metal.

28. See discussion of line 62.

30. Attested as *šITA.GIŠ z a - g ì n* in *Zà-mì* hymns 226 (ed. R. Biggs, *OIP* 99, p. 52). Possibly “mace”, *šITA.GIŠ = ù-da₅-bù* (with var. **udu* (tablet GIGIR)-*bù*?) VE 458; this Semitic word could be related to *ú d u g = kakku* (Ea II 35; *Diri* n 255; *Or* 54 (1985) 35: 52) if the questionable variant /u d u b/ in Proto-Ea 429 (*MSL* XIV 48) turns out to be acceptable. Note the existence still of a word *utuppu* (of lapis lazuli) in El-Amarna (*VAB* 2 25 ii 2). See furthermore the discussion of line 40.

32. = *GUL - z a - g ì n* *AHB* 59. *GUL* must stand for *ZA.GUL = g u g* “carnelian” so frequently associated with *z a - g ì n* in the Ebla administrative texts where one finds either *GUL* or *ZA_x* (Elles 209 = *LAK* 384).*GUL: MEE* 2 16 r. i 5, 49 iv 2; *ARET* I 30 r. ix 6; *ARET* II 31 i 1, iii 1; etc.

36. “Lapis lazuli figurine of a *gammu*-bird”. Made of copper in *SAL.UŠ.É^{mušen} uruda* *AHB* 154, with the usual logogram. Here ES has form of the logogram often attested, mostly in personal names, in Ebla with *NIN* instead of *SAL* and without the *É* or *KE₄* at the end. Other occurrences: Bird List 2 (with syllabic variant *g a - i*), *FLP* 154:5 (*MEE* 3 p. 278); in Ur III texts a *DI* appears after the *UŠ, udu n i t a*

22. The translation “pine cone” is approximate and is not intended to provide a precise botanical identification of this coniferous tree. VE 1362 has ^{giš}*ù - s u h₄ = ù-rí-núm*, obviously related to Akk. *erēnu* (Nuzi *urīnu*).

23. Not attested in VE except for the compound ^{kuš}A.EDIN. *t u r = ħi-ba-tum* VE 632 “a small water container”, Akk. **ħābitu*, Syr. *ħābitā*, see *CAD* H 20b *ħābū*, probably a derivation from *ħabū* A “to draw water”, but its constant companion *a - g á - l á* “skin bag for flour” is attested in VE 601 *a - g á - l á = a-ru₁₂-gu-(um)*, Akk. *naruqu*.

SAL.UŠ.DI.É^{mušen} g i n₇ - d í m - m a “a ram acting like a g.-bird” 6N-T632 iv 15’ (lit. unpubl.). The Sumerian reading is g a m m u or g a m b i (ef. g a - i, above), references in *CAD K 535 kumû*.

38. Compare line 3, above.

39. “Lapis lazuli piece shaped like a *šennur*-fruit”; ^{giš}š e n n u r (KIB) = *šallûru* Hh III 126, etc. In Ur III Bab 8 pl. 9 36:25 = *MVN 5 289*.

In the Semitic word, a *š* in Ebla corresponds to a *š* in Akkadian, pointing to an underlying *š*²⁴.

40. = GUD.GIŠ z a *AHB 26*. Lit. “a lapis lazuli oar”, perhaps in the sense of small spoon? To the late logogram BI.GIŠ, read g i s a l, corresponds in ED what looks like GUD.GIŠ, mostly attested as an element of the compound a d d i r (*TSŠ 126 i 9, 124 iv’ 2’f., 292 r. 2, etc.*). A clear BI instead of GUD can be seen already in *CT 50 32 ii 3 PAD*. BI.GIŠ×SI - r a (Sargonic). The Ebla scribe of ES seems to have interpreted GUD as GIŠ+ŠITA and has separated the two elements. Identical with ^{giš}GUD.GIŠ = *gi-sa-lum* VE 1366. See *CAD G 99b gišallu*²⁵. Note that GUD.GIŠ is used in these tablets for both g i z a l “ear” and g i s a l “oar”. Finally, the possibility that the intended word is *kišallu* “astragal”, by ideogram substitution, should be mentioned because of the presence of a *kišallu uqnû* in the Qatna inventory (J. Bottéro, *RA 43* [1949] 156:85).

41. See VE 34, without translation. Probably “stick, scepter” (NÍG.PA = *haṭṭû*).

42. “Lapis lazuli sandal/shoe”. Identical to VE 1323, With translation *sa-na*, Akk. *šēnu* “sandal”. See my remark in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla 78 3.4*, and P. Steinkeller, *AfO 28* (1981/82) 141 f.

43. “Lapis lazuli comb”; ^{giš}RÍG = *mu-sa-tum* VE 1359, Akk. *muštu* (J. Krecher, in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla 151*, and M. Krebernik, *ZA 73* (1983) 44).

44. “(Drain)pipe of lapis lazuli”, Akk. *alallû* with vars. *alû, elû* “pipe, conduit”. The sign in ES is the ancestor of ŠID×A; see P. Steinkeller, *OrAn 20* (1981) 246.

45 f. The pair “spindle” (b a l) and “needle” (k i r i d) is well known in later literature, see Civil, *JNES 33 333 f.*, and Sjöberg, *ZA 65 224*²⁵.

B) Types of Stones and Stone Implements (lines 48-66).

49. Pettinato reads *ba-ba-ba-tum* in EB; the third sign is only partly visible on photo and looks to me like HA; collation needed. In any case ÁB+ŠÀ must have here a so far unattested value /b a/, /p a/, or /b a h/, /p a h/. If Pettinato’s reading is correct, compare s i g₇ - g i - z i = *ib-ib-ba-tum* VE 1204, *MEE 3 68 iii 6* (list of parts of the body), for which cf. Ug ‘p’p, He. ‘ap’ *appayim*, Akk. *pappāt īni* as well as Sum. s i g₇ - i g i (see *BiOr 40, 564*, note 1). The word would designate here the incrustated eye stones of Mesopotamian statuettes.

50. See SI₄.SI₄ in *ARET I 30 r. ix 5, x 1*, translated *ibid.* p. 302 by “corallo”. Other references *MEE 2*

24. The *šallûru* is hardly a “medlar” as suggested in *AHw 1149a s.v.* (presumably following R. C. Thompson, *DAB 305 fr.*) since the medlar is late and extremely rare in Mesopotamia (Towsend and Guest, *Flora of Iraq 2 119*); B. Landsberger, *MSL 3 123: 305* proposed “plum”. In any case, the fruit must have had some characteristic shape.

25. In the normal meaning “oar”, one finds ^{giš}GUD.GIŠ.GUD.GIŠ and ^{giš}GUD. GIŠ.2.GUD.GIŠ.2 in *AHA xv 13 f.*, in the boat section and preceded by ^{giš}g i - m ù š (HU), for g i - m u š “punting pole”; the form with m ù š is found in ED literary (m á - g u r₈ n u n SIG₇ d i r i, ^{giš}g i z a l [g] i?, ^{giš}g i - m u š ‘x’ *OIP 99 120 ii 3f.*) and administrative texts (^{giš}g i - m ù š g a l - g a l *UET 2 25:2, 230 r.*). Note still GUD.GIS and GUD.GIŠ - e d i n = *ma-ga-um* VE 1246.

49 iv 2. The reduplicated form in the administrative texts is in agreement with the form in EB, where the plural is indicated by reduplication of the determinative.

51. = AHB 37.

53. This entry reappears in the *bur* section, line 77, and its plural in line 56, with uncertain Sumerian. The Semitic is confirmed by SAL.GÍR = [zi-zi]-*ba-tum* VE 1159 where the Sumerian, gír-sal, would seem to point to a reading gír-zal for GÍR.NI. The apparent variant of line 77 in AHB 97: GÍR.NE *bur*, however, casts some doubt about the correctness of this easy solution. All these entries may correspond to ^{na4}zi-ib-bí-tum, ^{na4}zi-i-b-tum, ^{na4}zi-i-b-ba-tum of the Ugarit text of Hh XVI 331ff. and ^{na4}zi-i-b-tum Nippur Forerunner to Hh XVI 158 (not preserved in the canonical version) –but not to ZÍB-tum to be read háš-tum!– for which see CAD Z 104, *zibtu* A, but the absence of reduplication in the late form is difficult to explain. Any relation with *zú-zú-ba-tum* “(metal) plates”? See P. Fronzaroli, *SLE* 127.

54. = AHB 50. The word *bù-ru₁₂-gú-nu* is a loanword from Sum. *píri-g-gù-n*; see *MSL* XVI 363 and the note in *MSL* 10 28. The reading *uggunnû* (AHw 1403b) is therefore to be replaced by *piriggunû*; but see remarks to line 72.

55. “Stone bird eggs”. Note the use of TE for *nunuz* in EB; this variant was already known from AHB 158 where the source *Fara* II 20 vi 20 has *nunuz ga-nu₁₁*^{zabar 26}, while *OIP* 9934 v 4’ has TE. The ED scribes therefore considered the sign NUNUZ as a double TE. Note that *nunuz* is naturally a reduplicated form < *nu(z) - nu z*.

56. See comments to line 53.

57ff. Lines 57-63 are identical with AHB 11-18, but with a different sequence and two additional lines in AHB. I cannot propose at present a satisfactory interpretation of this group of entries. Lines 58-62 have been discussed by K. Butz in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla* 133 f. I believe that the entries are misaligned in his reconstruction. Line 57 also in *OIP* 99 254 r. IV 2.

58f. This pair cannot be the well-known *suḥ - kéš = tiqnu* “a stone ornament as necklace, etc.” (see A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna* 65 ad 23), since in this term *kéš* is a verbal predicate (*taqānu*). The possibility that MÙŠ stands for ZA.MÙŠ of later texts, representing the well-known ^{na4}š u b a, Akk. *šubû* “agate”, deserves consideration. Does EB need to be emended to *su-bu “lu”*? An interpretation of *su-bù-lu* as *šuplu* or the like does not fit the context.

60. Also in *MEE* 3 53 x 13 and *ARET* III 736 vi (1 DIB š è - l i). VE 1171 gives š è - l i = *su-gu-mu-mu*, meaning unknown unless it corresponds to Akk. *šugammumu* “to be silent, quiet”, but this meaning is not relevant to the present context. It could also be taken as /šugummu/ for which compare Akk. *šagammu* “upper hinge”, equally unsatisfactory. The whole matter remains unclear. The translation *ù-ra-gu* could represent a form of the roots *wraq* “to be green” or *’rk* “to be long”.

61. One would expect this entry to be identical with line 78 which has the normal loanword form in the Semitic column. The form here may be a phonological variant with vowel harmony and a bilabial(?) glide after š u, unless the form has been contaminated by an association with *mašālu* “mirror” since (n í g) - š u^{zabar} means “mirror”²⁷.

26. According to collation *nunuz* is certain.

27. This word is regularly written syllabically in Sargonic and Ur III texts; see CAD M/1 256b. Cf. still n í g - š u = *si-NE-tum* VE 0272.

62. = AHB 35 NU₁₁-*tum*. See remarks to line 19. The Sumerian must be a Semitic loanword, possibly a cognate of Akk. *uzuntu* “ring, in an implement”, or *sa-’ha’-wa-tum* of VE 388, with a similar meaning. For *ħuduššu* note, on the one hand, the passage ^{na4}l i = *ú-zu*, ^{na4}ħ u d u š (TU) = *ħu-du-šu* in Ugarit Hh XVI 296 f. (edition revised by D. Kennedy, cf. *MSL* 10 48); and, on the other hand, *ħu-du-šu qà-ab-li-ni* “the *ħ*. of our waists” *PRAK* C 472 i 12’. It seems thus to be some type of garment worn around the waist of a part thereof; cf. *mesir ħudušši* ‘leather belt of a *h*.’ in *CAD* H 224a *ħuduššu* A and M/2 110 *miserru* (*ħ*. is certainly not “a social status” here!). Provisionally one can suggest “stone ring on a belt or on a garment worn around the waist”, as an ornament (or as a buckle?). The present list includes no less than six entries (19, 28, 30, 62, 66) with NU₁₁ (with or without PI) and the related logogram (GIŠ).ŠITA.GIŠ (see line 40). One of them will probably turn out to be identical with the NU₁₁ *za* so frequent in the administrative texts (see *MEE* 2 p. 85; *ARET* I, p. 203 *šir-za*; etc. “decorazione, ornamento”), but the whole matter (including the relation with some instances of PI in later texts, e.g., *UET* 3 753) requires further investigation.

63. = AHB 10. Cf. ^{na4}z a - g ì n - ge š t i n = *karānāmû* Hh XVI 62, “wine-colored stone” or, perhaps, “grape-shaped stone”.

64. = AHB 68. *ni-i-zi-na-i-zi* Standard Sumerian for “censer”, Akk. *qutrinnu*. The Semitic translation has to be explained as *aban qutāri* “stone of fumigation”. Cf. also Hh XVI 114 and *MSL* 10 64:3’ The root *qtr* is attested in Ebla in *ga-du-ru₁₂* *u₉-ga-da-ra*, see P. Fronzaroli, *SEb* I 83.

65. Akk. *karašu* B “a green (lit. leek-colored) stone” *CAD* K 214 s.v., and compare Greek πράσινος “green” from πράσον “leek”. For the Ebla translations of *garāš^{SAR}*, see my remarks in Cagni, *Bil.Ebla* 86. See also line 76 for another occurrence of the word.

66. Note the equivalence here of *gizal* ((PI).NU₁₁) with *gisal* ((GIŠ).ŠITA.GIŠ = GUD.GIŠ) already attested in line 62. The omission of GIŠ before ŠITA here and in line 62 confirms the interpretation of the Ebla writing of GUD.GIŠ proposed above in the comments to line 40.

C) Section *bur* “bowls” (lines 67-89).

67-69. AS clearly has color designations (cf. Hh XVI 283 ff. and parallels), while EB seems to have “silver” for “black” (signs n.v. on photo) and “gold” for “yellow”. An alternation of KÚ.GI with “yellow” is attested elsewhere, e.g., *šim-bi-kù-sig₁₇* and *šim-bi-sig₇-sig₇* both *šipu* A “yellow cosmetic paste”, but *kù-babbār* for, ‘black’ is most unlikely and thus Pettinato’s reading of EB in line 68 requires confirmation. In line 67 *bí-za-a* represents *pešû* “white”.

71. The Sumerian is an archaic syllabic spelling for *algameš*, written *al-ga-mèš* in Presarg. Lagaš, *DP* 75 v 4, and in Ur III, e.g., Nikolsky II 87: 1; *UET* 3 751: 4; *TCL* 5 6044 ii 10; etc.; perhaps AHB 75 *ga-mèš bur* represents the same word. With the Semitic form *urgubasu* one can compare, besides He. *’elgabiš*, the Egyptian hapax *irḳbš*. It is obviously a non-Sumerian, non-Semitic word, unless the last three consonants represent the word attested in Akk. as *kapašu* “sea shell” or the like²⁸. For bowls of this stone, see Hh XVI 22.

28. The rendering of the last consonant, however, would appear to be wrong, but see A. L. Oppenheim, *Or* 32 408ff., especially his remark about *p e š₄*.

72. = AHB 72. If this line is identical to line 54, as expected, the Semitic translation is incorrect. In Ur III: 1 ^{na4}bur pirig-gùn *TCL* 2 5529: 13 (cf. also 12)²⁹.

73. The sign ESÍR is reasonably certain in AS and the peculiar sign in AS₁ (see copy in *OIP* 99) may represent a scribal cancellation.

74. Perhaps “bowl of/for tribute”. Because of Sum. g u n one could take *ba-lá-a* as a derivation from *abālu* similar in sense to *biltu*. However, how does one explain the final -a? Is the word a reflex of *palû*?

75. = AHB 62. This line gives a reading lim_x for BUR. The word is a counterpart of Akk. *lummu* (suggested already by Pettinato, *MEE* 3 p. 250) written ^{dug}lù m or ^{dug}ú tu l-tur “small soup bowl” in Standard Sumerian. For the vocalization with i, see li-i NI = *lummu* Comm. to Aa II/1:8 (*MSL* 14 268). The writing BUR^{lim} is well attested in ED, for instance, *OIP* 99 447 (^{lim}BUR A); 368 i’ 2’ (^{lim}BURGI.GI); *NTSŠ* 168 + v 2 (UD.GAL.NUN-text); *UET* 2 54:4’; DP 490 v 3 (1 LAGAB ^{na4} ^{lim}BUR); etc.

76. = AHB 95. ES is unclear, SAR seems to be written ŠE. EB has a scribal mark and *sa* is written É (graphic variant attested elsewhere in Ebla); see line 65 for another occurrence of the same word. The scribal mark could point to an orthographic error since the word should have been written with *ša* (compare line 65) rather than *sa*; compare Ar. *kurraṭ* and Aram. *karrāṭā*.

77. = AHB 72. See line 53 and compare x g ú LAGAB ^{na4} b u r’ š u - s a l *UET* 3 751: 5.

78. See line 61. Hh XVI 277.

79. = AHB 22 KA.MUNU₄.MUNU₄^{mušen} z a. AS gives the logogram in its common ED form while ES has KA.A (or MIN).BU³⁰; VE 0157, however, has the same form as in AS. The translation *za-a-lú-gú-um* (n.v. on *MEE* 4 pl. XXIX) given there agrees perfectly with the form given here by EB. The intended word is probably /*zar(r)uqum*/ “sprinkler”. Note, however, that the Semitic cognates. Ug. *ḏrq*, Ar. *ḏaraqa*, Aram. *deraqa*, show a voiced interdental³¹, and thus the expected Eblaite form should have been written with *ša-*. An implement of this name, made of metal and qualified by *ma h*, appears in 6N-T 1164: 2f. (translit. in *Or* 52 [1983] 234) and *BIN* 8 45 i 8. A relationship, beyond the logogram similarity, with ^{gis}MUNU₄.MUNU₄.A-HÚB = [*x-d*]u-ma-LUM VE 492, A.MUNU₄.MUNU₄.HÚB^{uruda} (var. MUNU₄.MUNU₄.A-GAN) AHA xv 4, and MUNU₄.MUNU₄.GAN^{mušen uruda} AHB 177 cannot at present be ascertained.

80. = AHB 73. Cf. Akk. *ḥupḥuppu*. The last sign in EB is incomplete: SAG for KA×GÁN-*tenû* (b ù).

81. Perhaps an abbreviation of one of the items in AHB 60f.: b u r ŠÀ-SAL.ANŠE (Hh XVI 295 with its HAR - g u d and cf. *OIP* 99 p. 81 ad 34) or b u r g ú - a n š e.

82. The word š e m b i (LAK 586 = LAK 656 = *Elles* 292, reading from Aa V/1: 200, S^b I 72) is a generic term for cosmetic pastes including, but not limited to, antimony. In the archaic list of jars and their contents it is classified as “white” (b a b b a r), “black” (MI). or “yellow/green” (GI) (*Fara* II 64 iv 4 ff. and dupl.); AHB 404ff. repeats the color designations³² and adds several other qualifications. Compare with

29. The suggestions in *MEE* 3 250 ad v. iii 4 are unhelpful: Ug. *knkn* is more than dubious (see G. del Olmo, *Mitos y Leyendas* 566 *knkny*), and the presumed Akk. *kugunnû* is an old misreading for *su-gu-nu-ú* (see *ARMT* 7 p. 160).

30. The BU has a very short tail to the right, and MUNU₄ may be meant.

31. See Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 77f.; list of occurrences of this phoneme in M. Krebernik, *ZA* 72 215.

32. In languages in which reduplication is a productive process, the color names tend to have reduplicated forms. This is the case for Sumerian, even if the scribal convention of writing the simple sign for the repeated one tends to mask this phenomenon. Thus b a b b a r < b a r₆ - b a r₆ “white” is written indifferently UD and UD. UD. Infrequent cases of MI. MI (e.g., *RTC* 19 iv 1) as well as syllabic spellings (see J. Krecher *HSAO* 98¹⁰ and *OrAn* 22 [1983] 183) show that the pronunciation of MI in the meaning

the present line: *bur šembi* ^{na4}*al-ga-mèš* “one bowl of a *lg ameš*-stone for cosmetic paste” *DP* 75 v 4. VE 941 = 0466 gives *šembi*-MI (var. ME) = ^a*x*-(NI)-*gu-um* (var. *ù-gu-um*), Akk. *eg/qû* “antimony paste”. The EB transliteration of line 82 is given according to Pettinato, n.v. on photo *MEE* 3/A pl. xxxiv; for a possible explanation, see comment to line 91.

83. Unexplained, even the word division is unclear.

84. Possibly “bowl for soaked beer mash”. The first sign is KAK or NI, not MUNU₄, but even so –and given the presence of LÛ– it is tempting to explain *za-bi-ù* as derived from a root identical with Akk. *šab/pû*, *šabiû* “to soak malt, mash”³³.

85f. This pair appears in AHB 70f. in the form *bur LAGAB×A*, *bur zi-zi*. It designates two well-known containers; the first is to be read *gunin* (or one of its many variants, see *PSD* B 172 *bugin*)³⁴, and *gû-ne* represents */kuninnul/*, the second is identical to Akk. *sussullu*. Instead of a syllabic spelling, standard Sumerian uses ^{gi}*bunin-tur* for the latter.

87. LAK 390 is attested, apparently in contrast with *a-n-ta* (var. *ta*), in Sumerian Word List E 7 f. 69 ff. (*MEE* 3 179 f.). Since the meaning “above” for *a-n-ta* seems assured in this context by the archaic Uruk variant *nim* (courtesy M. W. Green), it seems reasonable to assume that LAK 390 can mean “below”, with a still unknown reading. In AHB 43 there is a stone AN.LAK 390 *za*, and in AHA xvii 15 ff. LAK 390 is listed among clays and minerals: *baḥar*, *im-babbār*, LAK 390, *im-gùn*. A variant in AHA xiv 5 where Ebla has ^{kuš}LAK 390. *dugan* (GAN), while Abu-Salabikh (*OIP* 99 31 :3') has simply ^{kuš}GAN³⁵, suggests that LAK 390 either has a reading */dug/* or it is an alternative writing for *dugan* (interpreting then the Ebla form as ^{kuš}LAK 390^{dugan}). For *ti-sa-la* one could perhaps compare the obscure *tašlu* (of lapis lazuli) in VAS 12 199:49 (El-Amarna), or even the equally obscure *tašalu* in Wiseman, *Alalakh* 432:16. Pettinato (*MEE* 3 p. 250) suggests a possible relation with ^{dug}*ti-sar* in Forerunner Hh X 62, and he may very well be right. Note that *ti-sar* there has a var. *ti-sá*, attested in *UET* 3 783 and *ITT* 2 4536: 2.

88. “Bowl for crushing garlic”, i.e. mortar. Sumerian restored from AHB 90 *bur sum-gaz_x* (KUM). This item is known from the inscription on a Lagaš stone bowl (Doc. ép. pl. xlv, En. I 18). It could also be made of wood, e.g., ^{giš}*sum-gaz šà-kal* Jean ŠA xxi.

89. Without the Sumerian part of the entry, it is difficult to identify the Semitic form; perhaps *buru* (with a lexical variant *baru*), a cereal preparation attested at Mari, see *CAD* B 330b *burru*.

90. Probably corresponds to Akk. *narû*, Sum. *na-rú-a* “stele”; cf. *na-rú* = */mašartum/* VE 899 and note *na-rú* = NA₄.NA₄ = *zi-ga-na-tim* in VE 166a-b. The term is frequent in Ebla administrative texts.

91. It is possibly a loanword from Sumerian with initial *na*- “stone”. If so, it could be *na-šembi*, “palette to grind cosmetic pastes”, as in AHB 393 and the Semitic form would then be a loanword from Sumerian: *na-a-šè-bí* < *na-šembi*. If the uncertain ŠU.NE in line 82 were really *šè¹-bí*, it would be the same word.

“black” is */ku(k)u/* < *ku₁₀-ku₁₀* or */ki(k)ki/* < *gi₆-gi₆*. The term for “yellow/green” is written GI (= *si gi₁₇*) in ED (see *OrAn* 22 [1983] 4f.), but AHB 410 writes GI.GI revealing the reduplication, confirmed by the late standard spelling *si gi₇-si gi₇*.

33. Cf. *a-na bu-uq-li-im ša-bi-e* CT 43 8: 12, 15, to be added to *CAD*.

34. Add *ku-nú*, ED syllabic spelling in Al-Hiba: *BiOr* 40 [1983] 561.

35. VE 1016 ^{kuš}GAN = *du-ga-[nu]-um*, Akk. *tu(k)kannu* “leather pouch”.

92f. Two obviously related items presently ununderstandable. Line 92 (n.v. on photo) is transliterated HAR *mar-ga* NE SUD AN ŠÈ by Pettinato (*MEE* 3 p. 249 iv 10). Accepting this transliteration we obtain:

92 HAR : : *mar ga* NE SUD AN ŠÈ
 93 HAR : *na NE a ak* : *mar* NE SUD AN ŠÈ SUD

with the central portion in 93 presumably corresponding to the DIB.MUNU₄ of AS. Perhaps one could combine HAR-*ga* and HAR-*ak* as the same item (cf. line 15), or even read HAR^{mar}-*ga/ak*.

94. “Stone tool of the basket weaver”. In EB *gú-bí* stands for /*atkuppi*/ or the like.

95. “Stone ax”. Cf. ^{na4}š u - m ì n Hh XVI 350 fr., Akk. *šumin(n)u, makkasu*.

96. Compare k ù - d i m₄, with vars. k ù - ^{dím}d i m₄ and s a g - k ù - d í m, Nagar 57 (revised).

97. The morphology of the Semitic form is obscure. Von Soden, in Fronzaroli *SLE* 21⁵, considers it from a quadrilateral root of the š-class without further elucidation. Given the orthographic vagaries of the scribe the form does not need to be taken at face value, and no decision is possible without further comparative material. One would expect the name of an instrument from *parāsu* or *parāšu*, “cleaver” in the first case, “borer” in the second. The Sumerian logogram, penis + hole, seems to favor the latter. VE 1108 UŠ^{uruda} = *má-ba-la-zu-um* is probably the same word, without the troublesome š. On the other hand, VE 760 g í n - b a r = *ma-ba-ra-zu-um* (with syn. *ma-ha-zu-um*) would fit better *parāsu*.

98. For *sû* “hammerstone”, see CAD S 337 *sû* A. For a justification of this meaning, which goes against the proposals in *MSL* X 27 f. and M. Stol, *On Trees* 94ff., see the introduction to my edition of the “Song of the Millstone” (forthcoming).

99. “Crucible”. The word is well attested in Sumerian (with different logograms) and in Akkadian. The standard logogram AMA.ŠIM appears already in ED, e.g., *OIP* 99 327:1 ^dl a m a ^dn i n - s ú m u n a g a r i n m u - D U . D U . ES has an erasure (UD?) after the sign.

Addenda

49. If the reading with *-ha-* is the correct one, the word may be /*papparhatu*/ to be compared with the *papparhūtu*, made of lapis lazuli, in a MA inventory (*AfO* 18 304 ii 19, and see also *ARMT* XIII 17: 10). The value ù b of ÁB.ŠÀ cannot be used to explain the forms *ib-ib-ba-tum* and *ba-ba-ba-tum* because originally this value was assigned to ÁB×TAK₄ and ÁB+ZAG and only after Ur III did ÁB.ŠÀ merge with ÁB×TAK₄.

59. Identical with Mari *šubulu*, see the remarks of J. Bottéro in *ARMT* VII p. 321, 24.

60. Identical with Ur III u - r a - k u - u m, listed among precious stones and objects thereof, in *TCL* 5 6044 iv 21, v 4 (cf. G. Pettinato, *OrAn.* 21, 67), and Mari *urāku*, see J. Bottéro in *ARMT* VII p. 298, and H. Limet in Mari 4 515, 2.4.

62. Note still NU₁₁-t [u m] = [’]à-ba-sum₆ VE 402.

Of Reed Fences and Furrows^{*}

1. A rather unusual Ur III tablet from Girsu (BM 17759 in *CT* 7 42) describes the projected or executed work of building reed fences and adobe walls. The total length is considerable: 13.680 km of reed fences and 7,5 km of adobe walls. A man makes 3 or 4 m of the former and 3 or 6 m of the latter, depending on the type of wall. The text lists two types of adobe walls: the plain *i m - d u₈ - a*, and the *i m - d u₈ - a* qualified by *š u - DI-DI*, which requires only half the work of the first for a given unit of length.¹ The building of pisé walls is relatively well attested in Ur III documents.² According to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow, these walls were built around date palm gardens to delimit the properties of the various owners. In lines 144ff., Hoe explains: “I plant the garden far its owner. When I have worked all over the garden, and an adobe wall has enclosed its perimeter, and there is peace (between owners) ...” Ana ittišu IV iii 30, 40 concurs with this passage, repeating the second half of line 145. Much less is known about reed fences (*g i - d ù*). Except for minor allusions (for example, *NRVN* 253), the only Ur III texts dealing with reed fences seem to be BM 17759 (mentioned above), *ITT* 5 6856, and A 31907 (*HLC* pl. 115, 245). The first is a fragment of a large tablet with contents similar to BM 17759, the second

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1. The meaning of *i m - d u₈* is uncontroversial (OB texts prefer the writing *i m - d ù - a*: Lugal 297; Hoe and Plow 145; *PBS* 8/1 21:21; etc.), while the meaning of *š u - DI-DI* is unknown. *š u - DI-DI* = *šit-ru-[su]* Erimhuš I 6 (Akk. restored from Erimhuš Bogh A 6 which, however, reads *š u - s i - s á*) with unknown meaning. Scarce instances of *š u - DI* in context do not help: *TMH* NF 4 11:22; Ni 4369:24 (*ISET* 1 73); a Nintu hymn (Hallo 1989:241ff.) has the refrain *k u r - g a l^d e n - l í l - d a š u - DI - a*; [...] *š u m u - n i - i b - DI-DI* N 6891; and, perhaps, *UET* 6 147:3’.

2. Of special interest is Owen *NATN* 61 which gives for garden adobe walls a width of 25 to 32 cm and a height of 1 to 1,50 m. A man makes 9 *kuš³*, ca. 1,125 m³, of wall a day, corresponding to a length of 1 *n i n d a* in agreement with text (1) of Appendix. A similar daily output is recorded in BIN 5 258: 1ff. Other texts are: *TCL* 5 5674 vii 2 (cf. iii 24); *OLP* 1 40; *CTNMC* 24:3f.; *TuM* NF 1/2 171 r. 8’; *RTC* 402; *ITT* 3/2 5060; 6369: 7. In OB times, in the contract *PBS* 8/1 21, the renter has to build or maintain an adobe wall 2 m high around the leased garden. In Reisner *Telloh* 164⁴ *i m - DU₈ - ZUM* is something else, perhaps a type of tablet.

mentions two reed fences of a more modest length (from 825 to 1.100 m between the two), followed by field names.

2. This paper investigates what could have been the purpose of such fences. Some information can be gleaned from lexical and literary texts. The term *gi-dù*,³ used in Ur III times, is found in Hh IX, translated *kikkišu*, but the terms *gi-sig* (also translated by *kikkišu*) and *gi-níg-sig/si-ga* (*a-šà-ga*) are the ones used in OB times and later. Starting with the latest texts, we have the omen protasis “if a field is enclosed by a reed fence (GI.SIG) ...,” appropriately preceded by “if a field is enclosed by mud walls (IM.AK.A = *pitiqtu*) ...”.⁴ In Ana ittišu IV i 29 it is said, among the obligations of the renter of a field, that *gi-AL-a-šà-ga ba-ab-nigin-e* “he will enclose (the field) with a reed fence.” I suspect that the hapax *gi-AL* is a graphic corruption of *gi-si-ga*, or the like; other similar cases of confusion of signs are known in Ana ittišu. Although allusions in everyday life to reed fences in OB times are rare (possibly only *TCL* 18 155, a letter mentioning 24.060 GI.HI.A for garden reed fences), OB Sumerian literary texts often use images based on the lack of solidity of reed fences. The enemy country is crushed (*dúb* = *napāšu*, Šulgi B 326; Angim 118), the temples have been destroyed as easily as one destroys a reed fence (Ur Lament 123; Sumer and Ur Lament 330), or the troops are annihilated like a reed fence is broken apart (*si-il* = *salātu*, Sîn-iddinam’s letter to Utu 14 [Borger 1991, 70]).

3. The authorities in the Girsu texts mentioned above are always the sangas of temple estates; this fact and the Akkadian translation *kadāru* in Ana ittišu suggest that these fences were primarily used to delimit the extension of individual holdings. In the Farmer’s Instructions, however, there is a passage that, on a superficial reading, seems to suggest another purpose (without excluding, of course, the use as an indication of property). It may be translated as follows: “watch the wet spots of the field, you should have a ‘barrier’ (*ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku*), the wandering cattle should not trample them.” A study, several years old,⁵ of the idiom *ki-še-er-tuku* established its meaning as “to have a limit, a barrier,” suggesting en passant that the idiom could be based on something physical, namely a reed fence. This suggestion is bolstered by the latest revision of Hh IX (*MSL* hypertext files): there is a term *ku-še-er* or *ki-še-er* that means “reed fence”.⁶ I think, however, that the Farmer’s Instructions passage, like all other occurrences of this idiom, uses the term “reed fence” metaphorically, and thus the meaning is something like “(these waterlogged areas) should be off limits,” specifically to cattle. Judging from the reputation of flimsiness that reed fences had in OB literature, I think one can safely conclude that no reed fences were used to keep cattle out of waterlogged areas; if they were used at all, they would have served only to mark their limits as a reminder to the owners or caretakers of cattle.

3. A reading *gi-kak* or ^{gi}*kak* seems less likely. In some literary texts, *gi-dù*-(a) seems to mean “cage,” or “reed enclosure for birds”: *mu-NE.RU-lá^{mušen} ab-ta gi-dù-a ba-ra-àm-da-lu-ga-àm* “the m.-bird is one that cannot live in windows or reed enclosures” Nanše’s Birds iv 10; note also Heron and Turtle 61. In Nanše Hymn 88ff. and 158, “fences” is a possibility. See Hh IX 187ff.

4. Rm 2,306:10 (*CT* 39 6), completed and commented on by *RA* 13 29:29.

5. Civil 1966, 123.

6. See Civil 1994, 100, note 12, for a discussion.

4. There is some evidence for another possible use of reed fences connected, interestingly enough, with furrow spacing. It is well-known that barley was planted in furrows spaced an average of about 60 cm in Ur III, and 75 cm in Old-Babylonian times. The rationale for such a wide spacing is not immediately apparent. The barley plantlets in such conditions, for instance, tiller better than in more crowded situations, such as the ones resulting from seed broadcasting, but there is also a yield reduction. One could, however, obtain these benefits with a lesser furrow separation. The Mesopotamian farmers had a somewhat unexpected explanation. Line 47 of the Farmer's Instructions, right after advising that eight furrows should be made every six meters, remarks that "the barley of closer spaced furrows will lodge" (ab-sín dūr-dūr-ru-na še-bi gú a-ab-gíd). It is not uncommon for farmers to give a beneficial practice an inadequate justification: the good effects of the practice may be real, but the explanation may be folklore. The explanation offered by the Farmer's Instructions, however, rings true. Lodging (French *verse*, German *Getreideumlegen*, Spanish *encamado*) is when the culms of the barley plants are bent over or flattened to the ground. The causes (hardly ever a single one is in operation) are (1) inherent weakness of the stems, (2) lush growth that prevents adequate exposure of the lower parts of the plant to sunlight, (3) excessive weight of the grain, (4) various fungal diseases and insect infestations, and (5) atmospheric conditions (high winds, excessive rain, or hail). The effects of lodging are severe crop losses due to reduced grain yield and quality, vulnerability to cryptogamic infections, and, if the crop survives, difficulties at harvest time.

5. Traditional farming practices to prevent or reduce lodging center on two strategies (1) cutting the upper third of the plant, leaves and stems, and (2) planting in spaced rows.

(1) The first method frequently uses grazing by sheep or cattle, rather than direct cutting. With proper control, the crop losses can be kept below 10% and are offset by the benefits of reduced lodging risks; the farmer gets also a temporary fodder supply. This type of grazing is mentioned by Vergil (*Geo.* 1, 111-13) and Pliny (*NH* 18, 161), was used in ancient Mesopotamia (Civil 1994, 145), and, until recently, in modern Iraq (Poyck 1962, 52), where plants about two months old were grazed for a period of ten to twenty days.

(2) The second method aims at letting sunlight reach the lower parts of the plants and at preventing a sort of "domino effect." A small number of primarily affected plants may mechanically spread the lodging to large portions of a field that would otherwise remain unaffected. The traditional advice of the farmers in the Mediterranean regions (Anonymous 1908ff.) is, in particular, that: (1) rows should be well spaced,⁷ (2) they should not be seeded too densely along their axis, and (3) they should be oriented North-South, to provide sufficient insolation. All three points were practiced in ancient Mesopotamia: (1) the precise row spacing is given in the Farmer's Instructions and in the administrative texts. (2) The advice in Farmer's Instructions of dropping one gin of seed for every six meters of furrow can be construed in the sense of an effort to avoid too dense a planting. (3) The traditional names for the narrow sides of a plot are precisely North (m i r) and South (u₅, u₁₈-l u), showing that the furrows ran in this direction.⁸

7. I have come across an isolated study (Brinkman et al. 1980) claiming that a reduction of the row spacing from 15 to 5.7 cm reduces lodging by 8%. This result can probably be ascribed to varieties with high stem rigidity.

8. Thus lodging prevention rather than hydraulic considerations, as is often assumed, must have been the reason for the field orientation.

6. An additional measure to circumscribe lodging may be alluded to in the Debate between Summer and Winter. Summer is describing Winter as a clumsy, inexperienced farmer; line 181 reads: “if the spring barley lodges in the hollow of the furrows, no one provides it with fences” (še eštub a-tùr-ra gú hé-ni-in-gíd dub-ba-an ba-ra-ni-in-tuku). Reed fences, presumably lighter than the ones used to delimit fields, may have been an additional way to prevent the spreading of lodging. Such fences may have been effective, but undoubtedly expensive, although the reduction of crop losses must have offset, at least partially, the cost. I have found no parallels for such practice elsewhere, but it somehow fits the meticulous cultivation methods of ancient Mesopotamia, more akin sometimes to gardening than to conventional cereal agriculture.

7. What may have motivated the change from a preferred furrow spacing of 60 cm at the end of the third millennium to intervals of 75 cm a couple of centuries later? There are several possible explanations. One is that the type of barley cultivated became, for whatever reasons, more susceptible to lodging. The cultivated barley varieties may have become taller, for instance, or the stems more fragile. Or means may have been found to increase the soil fertility resulting in a more luxuriant growth. The structural factors that make barley culms prone to lodging are still poorly understood, although some empirical criteria, such as that short, thick culms are more resistant, are known. If the explanation lies in structural changes of the barley plants, there is no way for us to verify it, millennia later. However, an important factor that may precipitate lodging is the weather: winds and rain can unpredictably ruin a harvest. Did rainfall become more abundant during those centuries? I cannot provide an answer which would involve the study of many more factors, ranging as far as historical changes in the regime of the monsoons. It is worth pointing out, however, that variations in furrow spacing could conceivably be a function of climatic changes, or an indication of them.

Textual appendix

(1) BM 17759 (CT 7 42)

- ka íd é šáh-ta
 180 ninda gíd gi-dù 1/2 ninda 2 kùš-ta
 íd KA-ma-AN-šè
 660 ninda gíd im-du₈-a 1/2 ninda gíd-ta
 5 ka 4-ba-šè
 154 1/2 ninda gíd 1 ninda-ta
 im-du₈-a šu-DI-DI
 é-dur₅ KA-ma-AN-šè
 é-dur₅ KA-ma-AN-ta
 10 870 ninda gíd gi-dù 1/2 ninda-ta
 mur₇ a-šà ba-zi-ge á giš-gi-bi-šè
 mur₇ a-šà ba-zi-ge-ta
 570 ninda gíd gi-dù 1/2 ninda 2 kùš-ta
 íd bí-za-gi-li-li-šè
 15 420+30+[6 1/2 ninda gíd] im-du₈-[a] šu-DI-DI
 gú íd bí-za-gi-li-li

- 20 íd lú-dùg-ga-šè
 íd lú-dùg-ga-ta
 660 ninda gíd gi-dù 1/2 ninda 2 kùš-ta
 gú^{id}idigna-šè

 šu-nigín 660 ninda gíd im-du₈-a guruš 1-e 1/2 ninda gíd-ta
 šu-nigín 591 ninda gíd im-du₈-a šu-DI-DI guruš 1-e 1 ninda-ta
 šu -nigín 2280 ninda gíd gi-dù guruš 1-e 1/2 ninda 2 kùš-ta
 25 á-bi 5331 guruš u₄ 1-šè
 ka gi-dù gíd-da
 ka íd é-šáh-ta
 ≤x> [x] ≤pa₄[?] ≥ lú-dùg-ga
 a-šà igi-zi mu-ši-bar-ra-šè
 sanga^dšul-gi

The totals are correct, except for the work rate for the fences which is given uniformly as 1/2 n i n d a 2 k ù š per man day in line 23, while in line 10 ca. 38% of the total length is done at 3/4 of this rate. The total wages in line 24 are also computed assuming the uniform rate of line 23.

(2) ITT 5 6856

- i(?) 1542 ninda gíd
 im-du₈-a
 7 1/2 kùš-ta
 660 ninda gíd gi-dù
 5 1/2 ninda-ta
 á-bi 5432 guruš u₄ 1-šè
 a-šà kun
 1260 gi-dù 1/2 ninda-ta
 á-bi 2520 guruš u₄ 1-šè
 10 [a-š]à ar-ša-ti-a^dnin-dar-a
 (rest of col. lost)

ii Mostly broken; still mentions g i - d ù (1,430 n i n d a in line 6) and s a n g a^dn i n - d a r - a (line 5).

(3) A 31907 (= *HLC* pl. 115 245) collated

- iii 5 135 guruš
 gi-dù a-šà^dšul-gi-zi-kalam-ma
 60 erín gi-dù!
 80 erín pa₅ ba-al!
 a-šà^dba-ú-nin-si-sá
 10 80 erín guruš
 60 é-ta-é-a
 gi-dù a-šà^den-líl-lá!

This is a list of men for miscellaneous work, mostly on canals and levees; no wages or work amounts are given. From the man/day assignments in text (1), the 135 + 140 men must have built between 137.5 ninda = 825 m and 183.3 ninda = 1.100 m, depending on whether the man/day assignment was 6 or 8 ninda.

(4) Vergil Geo. 1:111-13 (Loeb ed.).

Quid qui, ne gravidis procumbat culmus aristas,
luxuriam segetum tenera depascit in herba,
cum primum sulcos aequant sata?

What will I say about the one who to prevent that the culms lie down due to the heavy heads, gives to graze the luxuriance of the crops while (still) fresh grass, as soon as the plantlets reach the level of the furrows?

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[It came to my attention after my paper had been read at the Rencontre. It includes some brief remarks on reed fences; his conclusions and the present article are happily in agreement.]

“Adamdun”, the Hippopotamus and the Crocodile*

1. In the 1967 revision of HAR-ra X (*MSL* 9, 192), lines 293-294 appear as:

- [a] 293 d u g . a - d a m - š a h = ŠU
 294 d u g . a - d a m - š a h = *ma*-[x]-*gu-u*

Von Soden, privately and in print,¹ suggested a reading a - d a m - d u n for the Sumerian, and *ma*-[*al*]-*gu-u* for the Akkadian of line 294. This proposal has found its way into the *adamdunû* of *AHW* (1542a, “Adamdun-Gefäß”), and *PSD* 1/1 58 s.v., the word being considered a derivation of the Ur III times toponym a - d a m - DUN (*RGTC* 2, 3-5; 11, 4). A recent revision of HAR-ra X,² shows a fatal shortcoming of this proposal: it disregards the variant -s a h/-š à h of S₁₁, found also in Nabnitu IV 102-3; Landsberger’s reading a - d a m - š a h should thus be maintained. Line 294 has now to be read, after collation of S₁₁:

- [b] 294 d u g . a - d a m - š a h = *sa!-a!-gú*,

The intended word is no doubt *sagû* C (*CAD* S, 27a). The first and only preserved, sign in source A is not a clear *ma*-[, and has been left as ‘x’-[] in the new revision.³

Other lexical entries germane to the discussion are:

- [c] d a m - š a h = *da-bu-ú*
 d í m - š a h = MIN⁴ (Hh XIV 156-57)

* The present article was originally published in *JCS* 50 (1998) pp. 11-14.

¹ Privately in a letter dated 6/19/77; in print in *ZA* 68 (1978) 38 n. 19.

² Available in the Sumerian Hypertext Project (file HH10.HW) and in W. Sallaberger *Der babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße* (Ghent: University of Ghent, 1996).

³ If there were a duplicate with a genuine *ma*-, restoration would then be the variant *ma*-[*ar-gu-ú*].

⁴ One ms. inserts 156a: SAL MIN = *da-bi-tu* “female”

For the Middle-Babylonian versions, cf. [...] = [d]a-bu-u Emar 4 no. 551:56'; Ugarit (unpubl.) has [(x)] d a m - š a h = [...]. The entries of canonical HAR-ra are repeated, again with the variant -š à h, in Nabnitu IV 102-3. The OB Nippur Forerunner to HAR-ra XIV, line 54 of the unpublished MSL ms., gives: d í m - š á h.

A bilingual OB proverb from Nippur (N 3395, in Lambert, *BWL* 272:6 and plate 71, collated)⁵ has:

[d] ðim-šáh mar-ha-si^{ki} = ma-ar-gi₄ pa-ra-aḥ-[šì]

among other exotic eastern animals: “the ‘donkey’ from Ansar, the *dimsah* from Marhaši, the Meluhha “cat,” the Eastern elephant, break the poplar trees as if they were leeks.”⁶

There is a mention of this animal in another OB proverb, translated and discussed below (4):

[e] ðim-šáh-gin₇ še₁₀-da KA-KA-na al-sìg
(CBS 2220:0 = Proverbs Coll. 8)

2. The word *dabû* in the preceding passages has been translated traditionally “bear,” with solid etymological reasons. Akkadian, however, uses preferably a native word *asû*, identical to Sum. a z. As for the unusual *margu* and *sagû*, a similar translation seems possible (see 6).⁷ The Sumerian column, however, points in a different direction. The word *dimsah*, or *damsah*⁸ is undoubtedly a Semitic loanword: compare Ar. *timsāh* “crocodile,” related in turn to Eg. *msh* (*t-msh*), which appears also as the foreign word *namsuhu* and, probably, *nimšahu* (< Egyptian *n-msh*), in Akkadian.⁹ If this is correct, how can one explain the translation *dabû* “bear”? Terms designating and describing animals known only from traveler’s accounts are likely to be confusing and imprecise. This results in colorful semantic evolutions, witness words like *camelopardalis*, with its history populated by a mixture of camels, giraffes, and leopards. In the present case, one can speculate that *dabû* in Hh XIV 156, and parallels, does not mean “bear,” but it is a loanword derived from the most common Egyptian word for hippopotamus: *db* or *dbj* (Erman-Grapow *Wörterbuch* 5, 433). A Mesopotamian scribe, unfamiliar with the two river animals, translated a foreign word meaning “crocodile” by an equally foreign word meaning “hippopotamus.”¹⁰ This *dabû*, originally

⁵ My collation (see also P. Steinkeller, *RA* 71 [1980] 9) gives for the Sumerian column:

5. di-bi-id an-ša₄-an^{ki}-na

6. ðim-šáh mar-ha-si^{ki}

7. ‘x-x-x’ me-luh-ha^{ki}

8. til-lu-ug sa₁₂-ti-um^{ki}

The “unexpected” value *ṭé* in line 15 has to be read *kam-* (*kam-ma-am*). The Sumerian of the tablet is in general quite peculiar.

⁶ The “Anšan donkey” (d i - b i - i d) is the camel, and the “Meluhha cat” may be something like a tiger. It is not clear whether the passage is just a comment on the strength of some exotic animals, or whether it has a historical background, with the animals standing figuratively, or perhaps better by some alliteration or pun, for their countries of origin, or for cities/provinces therein. Steinkeller, *RA* 71 (1980) 9, points out that the places mentioned seem to go from West to East.

⁷ See simply *CAD* s.vv.

⁸ The forms with /s/ are preferable to the ones with /š/ because “š a h” belongs to the values that have /š/ in Assyrian syllabaries, but /s/ elsewhere. The vocalization i - a (the older, cf. writing with d í m) is replaced with an - a (vowel assimilation).

⁹ Th. O. Lambdin, *JNES* 12 (1953) 284-85. The *t-* (given as *d-*) and the *n-* are Egyptian bound morphemes.

¹⁰ Anecdotically, the Hebrew-English Gesenius-Brown-Driver-Briggs (1907) 531 *liwathan*, in a no less bewildering choice, hesitates between “crocodile” and “whale.”

meant to be “hippopotamus,” happened to be homophonous with another *dabû*, infrequent in Akkadian and meaning “bear,” and was understood as such in a confused lexical tradition. The interpretation of *dabû* as “bear,” in Hh XIV in [a] and related passages dominated the late scholarly tradition.

3. The crocodile was not, at least in historical times, a member of the Mesopotamian fauna,¹¹ but its reputation, thanks to traveler’s accounts, and some visual representations, found its way to Mesopotamia. An Indus Valley seal was found in a Late Sargonic-Ur III context in Tell Asmar (Frankfort, *OIP* 72, pl. 61, no. 642). The crocodilian, (a gavial in this case) is pictured together with a rhinoceros and an elephant. The knowledge of the crocodile came in this instance from the east, agreeing in a sense with passage [d] above.¹² It could equally well have come also from Egypt, as it did in fact much later. A *cippus* of “Horus on the Crocodiles,” of Persian or early Ptolemaic date, was found in Nippur in the eleventh season. The lower part of the piece was broken off, but, when intact, it must have had a representation of crocodiles.¹³ Van Buren¹⁴ describes a Bes figurine “with his feet placed on the heads of two crocodiles...,” also from Nippur.¹⁵ In the eleventh century BC, the Egyptian pharaoh sent crocodiles (*namšuhû*) as gifts to the Assyrian kings (*Afo* 6, 21). Campbell Thompson is reported to have found “a crocodile tooth pendant” in Nineveh.¹⁶ A “crocodile skull in situ,” photographed in R. F. Starr, *Nuzi* 2 (1939) pl. 29D, turns out to belong to a large mammal, according to Dr. David S. Reese of the Field Museum of Natural History.¹⁷

4. In the proverb [e], a meaning “bear” is unlikely because there is a section in the same proverb collection dedicated to the bear under its regular name a z. It is not easy to decide there between crocodile and hippopotamus, but it is more likely that it refers to the latter because the proverb may be an allusion to “dunging,” a peculiar habit of *Hippopotamus amphibius*.¹⁸ Thus a possible translation of the proverb is: “The dung strikes his face, like a hippopotamus.” It is accepted that *H. amphibius* was present in Palestine and Syria until the first millennium BC; it was an important source of “ivory.”¹⁹

¹¹ B. Brentjes, “Krokodile in der altorientalischen Kultur,” *Natur und Museum* 97/1 (1967) 81-88, and, previously, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität* 11/6 (1962) 709-10. Among the various attempts to find a word meaning “crocodile” in Mesopotamian texts, one will simply ignore the forgettable controversy provoked by J.-M. Durand’s translation of *laḫmu* by “crocodile” (*MARI* 7 [1993] 379-80; *NABU* [1993] 101 [Cavigneaux], 117 [Durand], 118 [Guichard]; *NABU* [1994] 7 [Edzard]). On the other hand, the cases of k u š ú and KUD- d a, both Akk. *kušû*, are not yet completely closed (B. Landsberger, *MSL* 8/2 89-94; M. Cohen *JCS* 25 (1973) 203-10; W. Farber, *JCS* 26 (1974) 195-207. There is now an ED literary passage for k u š ú (M. Civil, *The Farmer’s Instructions: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual* [Barcelona: AUSA, 1994], 165).

¹² This does not mean that crocodiles came necessarily from Marhaši. The name of a foreign country in ancient documents often designates not the *point* from which something comes, but simply the *general direction*. Thus something coming to Mesopotamia from India through Iran, could be labeled “Persian.”

¹³ J. H. Johnson, *OIC* 22 (1975) 143-50.

¹⁴ *Clay Figurines*, *YOR* 16, no. 1027 (p. 211 and fig. 261).

¹⁵ The animals are not visible in any of the poor photos available. The proposed Kassite date, taken from Peters, *Nippur* 2, 128 (“Cossaeon grave on Hill V”) is, of course, much too early.

¹⁶ *Antiquity* 5 (1931) 428; reference courtesy of Dr. David S. Reese. I have been unable to find any further reference to this tooth in the published reports of the Nineveh excavations.

¹⁷ It is significant that the zoological report (*Nuzi* 1, 492- 93) does not list this skull among the animal remains.

¹⁸ “Hippopotamuses in water may display an interesting dunging activity that appears to be a sign of submission. A subordinate animal will swing around and defecate, dispersing the dung by tail flapping, in the face of an approaching dominant animal” (Grolier, *Encyclopedia* (1993) s.v.).

¹⁹ It is believed now that what was thought to be elephant ivory in Mesopotamia comes almost always from hippopotamus teeth (A Caubet and F. Poplin, *Le Centre de la ville, Ras Shamra- Ougarit* III, ed. M. Yon [Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les

5. The shape and function of the container in Hh X are unknown.²⁰ Its name has an initial a- like the toponym a-d a m-DUN: the initial vowel is attested also in Proto-Kagal 430 (*MSL* 13 79). It is important to underline that the toponym does not need by any means to mean “crocodile”; it can very well be a case of homophony, or near homophony. The toponym itself, and the controversies surrounding it, cannot be discussed here.²¹ The only evidence of any substance for a reading -d u n, is the unclear equation *a-da-an-tú* / *a-da-at-tum* = *e-lam-tum* in Malku I 222.

6. A final remark on *sagû* of line 294. The term seems to designate also a part of the *sammû*-lyre, or perhaps even an instrument similar to it:²²

[f] ^{[giš di-i]m-a-tar} DÌM {DÌM} addir = [*sa-g*] *u-ú mar-^r gu^r-[ú]*,²³

Hh VIIB 82 (ex 48), restored from HAR - g u d to VIIB 191, with the explanation *arkillaju* (see CAD M/1 278b *margu* A, and S 27a *sagu* C). The MB Emar recension (D. Amaud, *Emar* 6/4 no. 545:403'-404') has:

[g] 403'	dìm-ma-mar-kur-ra	<i>hal-ma-ad-ru</i>
404'	dìm-ma-mar-ha-a-ši	<i>pa-ra-su-u</i> ²⁴

Ugarit has only d ì m - m a [...], probably three times. The origin of the terms *margû* and *sagû* is unknown. They are explained by the term *arkillaju*, most likely related to Greek *arkillos* “bear (cub),” and *margû* could perhaps be compared with Greek *ark(t)os*. Note, however, that *arkillaju* is given also as an explanation of *alimbu* “bison” in HAR-g u d to VIIB 188. These words caused thus a considerable degree of confusion in scribal circles.

7. In conclusion, this note establishes a Sumerian term that originally meant “crocodile,” although it soon may have come to mean “hippopotamus”; it identifies *dabû* as a possible, ambiguous Akkadian word for “hippopotamus”; and, finally, casts serious doubts about the traditional reading of the toponym a-d a m-DUN and its traditional interpretation as *Hataltum*.

Civilisations, 1987] 292-97 [reference courtesy C. Suter]). But, how to understand now z ú a m - s i in the Ur III texts? Suggestions, none of them convincing, for Akkadian terms for hippopotamus by D. Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4, 294-95: *alap nāri* seems the most attractive but has iconographic problems (B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 143); the *nāhiru* has “teeth” but is a sea animal (a sea lion is, in my opinion, a distinct possibility); for an alternative explanation of *šinuntu*, see CAD S/3 55 s.v.

²⁰ The translation “libation vessel” in PSD 1/1, 58 comes from an unlikely restoration *ma-[aq]-qû-u* in line 294 of Hh X. A container possibly hippopotamus-shaped from the Aegean can be seen in L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus* (1877) pl. 8.

²¹ See the recent remarks of F. Vallat in *RGTC* 11, 4, and, for the role of the town (and/or province) towards the end of the third millennium see, besides *RGTC* 2, P. Michalowski, *ZA* 68 (1978) 38-43.

²² There were at least three entries for this word since S₉ has two MIN after a break; S₄ has the full text because it is the first line of the tablet.

²³ There is no room in subcolumn (1) for two d i - i m in the gloss, and HAR-g u d has only ^{giš} d ì m (ME)-a d d i r; the double DÌM in S₄ is thus a dittography. The sign following the initial DÌM in *BRM* 4 30 vi 2' is uncertain.

²⁴ In the presumed var. d ì m - m e- in *Emar* 6/4, ME is simply part of the sign DÌM; the only variant of interest is -k u r- for -k u r-.

Modal Prefixes*

Introductory Remarks

This is a sample chapter of a simple Sumerian grammar in the making. It is an adaptation for Sumerologists of a “Descriptive Outline” prepared for a linguistic audience. In its methods, it deviates in many aspects from the traditional grammars of Sumerian and has a definite functional-typological orientation: it is focused on general language functions as they are grammaticalized in the particular case of Sumerian, relying for discovery purposes on crosslinguistic generalizations about the functions. The functional-typological orientation, by asking the right questions, allows the solution of cases where the most refined and meticulous classification of forms fail to reveal the true nature of a phenomenon (yes, there are such cases, even in Sumerian). This grammar can be considered post-structural in the sense that, for the most part, it is not based on the presence or absence of individuated features, but it is based on *prototypical* forms or constructions. It attempts, furthermore, to carefully distinguish between the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of the language.

Language is a product of human behavior and its study aims at discovering regularities and patterns, without ever being able to formulate exceptionless rules. In other words, a grammar will be successful if its “rules” account for the great majority of instances of a particular phenomenon. In contrast with other disciplines, a counterexample *will not invalidate* a rule (“all grammatical rules leak”).

The version for Sumerologists, besides the usual “Previous Studies” paragraph** includes a *Linguistic Background* section briefly providing a theoretical basis as well as any convenient cross-

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** It contains a quick overview of the way Sumerologists have treated the modal prefixes from Lenormant to Attinger, and the pertinent bibliography. There is a good deal of confusion, interspersed with useful insights, in the treatment of these prefixes in the Sumerological literature. They are frequently designated by the uninformative term ‘preformatives’, and its forms are mislabeled: for instance, *ḫ e₂-* has been called “indice de l’inéluctable” (Lambert 1961), and *b a - r a -* has been called “vetitive” (despite its epistemic nature), and even designated by the peculiar term “negative affirmative” (Thomsen 1984:193), and so on. Practically everybody sooner or later correctly translates *ḫ e₂-* by ‘if’, a meaning not formally recognized in the grammars. And, of course, the prefix *ḫ e₂-* should *never* be translated ‘verily’, ‘fürwahr’, or the like.

linguistic information, so as to make possible a principled discussion and criticism. The orthographic, morphophonemic, and historical information about each grammatical element is provided in a separate section of the grammar, labeled “Lexicon of Bound Morphemes” (LBM), thus allowing the reader to concentrate better on the morphological and syntactic aspects. The LBM contains information about the various allomorphs of a grammatical term, their historical and dialectal distribution, usage peculiarities, bibliography, and so on.

The corresponding LBM entries, and most of the previous studies sections, have been omitted to keep the article within reasonable limits. In addition to the present paragraphs, the modal prefixes are naturally treated again in the syntax (not given here), where each function, e.g., the conditional, is discussed in all its grammaticalizations: clauses with *tukum-bi*, *u₄-da*, etc. are considered besides *h₂e₂*-clauses.

Modal Prefixes

The prefixes¹ of the first slot in the verbal chain have predominantly modal meanings and functions. A finite verb must obligatorily have one prefix of this class.

The phonological and morphemic status of these prefixes is not clear because of uncertainties about the phonological segmentation of the verbal finite forms. The vowels of these grammatical elements are generally subject to vowel harmony, suggesting that they are clitics; on the other hand, several of them are attested independently of any finite verbal form (e.g., *ga-na*, *na-na-m*, *h₂e₂-a*) and this could point to independent particles acting as preverbal auxiliaries.²

Some of these elements, furthermore, can function as predicates, notably *nu* and *h₂e₂*.

1. *Indicative* Ø-

The speaker makes a simple assertion or declaration, without expressing any personal attitudes or opinions. It is negated by *nu* - (2).

- [1] *lugal-e uru mu-un-gul*
The king has destroyed the town.
- [2] *dub mu-da-dim₂-en*
I make tablets. *cf D3:063*

1. A modal interpretation of an indicative form is possible, despite the absence of its grammaticalization, if it is required by the pragmatic context or by the literary genre; for instance, 10

1. In the most generalized linguistic terminology, the bound morphemes joined to a stem are called generically affixes. The prefixes and suffixes precede and follow the stem, respectively, while the term infix is reserved for elements inserted within the stem. The Sumerological practice differs: the term prefix designates the leftmost affix, the rest of pre-stem affixes are called infixes.

2. These particles may be the source of the modal prefixes (Yoshikawa 1989). For the progressive loss of autonomy of grammatical elements during grammaticization, see Bybee et al. 1994:110.

g i η₂ k u₃- b a b b a r i₃- l a₂- e ‘he will pay 10 shekels of silver’ is strongly deontic in a law code or in a contract.

2. *Negative Indicative* n u-

It is the negation of the assertive/indicative and as such is only marginally modal.

[1a] lugal-e uru nu-mu-un-gul
The king has not destroyed the town.

[2a] dub nu-e-da-dim₂-en
You do not make tablets. *D3:063*

This element can be found as predicate, with or without conjugation prefix. Semantically, it has to be considered the negative form of an implicit copula.

[3] a nu kaš nu
It is not water, it is not beer. *D1:40*

[4] lu₂-še lugal-ηu₁₀ in-nu
That man over there is not my king. *GA:070*

3. *Subjunctive-Optative* η e₂-

This label indicates the double function, deontic and epistemic, of this prefix.

1. The element η e₂ is attested as a nominal stem in the compounds n a m - η e₂ and η e₂-η a l₂ (both meaning ‘fulfilled needs’, ‘abundance’), the latter to be preferably analyzed as noun+verbal stem rather than modal prefix+verbal stem.

2. As shown by the following examples and because of the varied and ambiguous uses characteristic of the subjunctive, the label “subjunctive” would cover adequately all the functions of η e₂-, but since statistically the deontic meaning is much more frequent, the double label may be more descriptive.

3.1. In the *deontic* function of this prefix, the speaker (a) assigns or recognizes an obligation, ranging from commands and instructions to simple advice and exhortation, or (b) expresses desires and hopes about himself or other entities, and thus this form is used in prayers, blessings, curses, etc. The negative counterpart of this prefix is deontic n a- (4).

(a)
[5] na-de₅ ab-ba niη₂-kal-kal-la-am₃ gu₂-zu ηe₂-em-ši-ηal₂
The advice of old men is a very precious thing, please respect it. *ŠIn:O13*

[6] udu-bi u₂-gu₇-bi ηa-ma-sag₉-sag₉
You must make the fodder of these sheep (to be) the best for me. *EdC:38*

[7] 2 šu-si-ta-am₃ ^dašnan ηe₂-en-šub
The barley-seed should be dropped 2 fingers (deep). *FI:050*

(b)

[8] gi-du₃-a-zu sag₉ ħu-mu-ra-an-ġa₂-ġa₂May she make you your stylus very beautiful. *EdA:75*[9] gu₂ ^{niš}ma₂ gid₂-da id₂-da-zu u₂ gid₂-da ħe₂-em-mu₂May tall weeds grow on your river banks where boats used to be towed. *Ag:264*

1. See the imperative for another way of issuing commands. The direct expression of the speaker's will/intentions uses the cohortative g a-(6).

2. Even connected to other clauses, deontic ħ e₂- may preserve its modal independence:

tukum-bi kur-ra i-ni-in-ku₄-ku₄-de₃ ^dutu ħe₂-me-da-an-zuIf you have to go into the mountains, you should inform the Sun (god). *GH:009*

3.2. In its *epistemic* function, this prefix indicates that the predicate with ħ e₂- depends in one way or another from some condition expressed by an adjoining clause. The negative counterpart of epistemic ħ e₂- is b a - r a - (5).

1. This function is thus eminently *contextual* and the ħ e₂-clauses may very well have to be considered subordinated, hence the label “subjunctive”.³ In any case the other clause will be called here “main”.

2. The common translations ‘verily’, ‘fürwahr’, etc. are very misleading and should be avoided.

In connection with other events or states, the ħ e₂-clause may precede or follow the main clause.

(a) *Before* a clause in the indicative or, occasionally, with other modals, the ħ e₂-clause indicates a situation that enables or somehow conditions the following main clause. In most of these cases, the ħ e₂-clause can be considered simply a conditional.

[10] a-ra₂ ħe₂-bi₂-šid zag-bi-še₃ nu-e-zuIf the multiplication table has to be recited, you do not know it completely. *D1:057*[11] nar za-pa-aṅ ħe₂-en-dug₃ e-ne-am₃ nar-am₃If a musician can make (his) voice pleasant, he is really a musician. *P2:57*[12] u₂-gu ħe₂-ni-ib-de₂ ki-bi ga-mu-na-ab-gi₄If it gets lost, I will replace it for him. *Ax:7*

If the second clause has also ħ e₂-, the condition is counterfactual:

[13] lu₂-še lugal-ġu₁₀ ħe₂-me-asag-ki ħuš-a-ni ħe₂-me-a

If the man over there were myking,

his forehead would be terrifying. *GA:07If*.

In this example, the ħ e₂-prefix of the second clause indicates that the situation is contrary to fact; despite the morphological identity, the syntactic-semantic function of the two predicates is different.⁴

3. The verbal forms with modal prefixes prefer a neutral, unmarked conjugation prefix rather than the stronger ones (m u-, b a-, i m m a-); this should be considered an indication of the subordinated nature of the modal clauses.

(b) A h e_2 -clause may come *after* a clause describing a state or event that by its existence or by its degree makes the state or event of the following h e_2 -clause possible. The appropriate translation of the h e_2 -form will be in many of these cases ‘can’, ‘be able’, or the like.

(1) After a copulative clause:

- [14] $^{\text{d}}$ nanše-me-en mušen hu-mu-da-ab-du₈
I am Nanše (and thus) I can set the birds free.
- [15] dub-sar gal-zu $^{\text{d}}$ nidaba-ka-me-en ... ḡestu₂-ga šu hu-mu-ni-du₇-am₃
Because I am the wise scribe of Nidaba ... I am accomplished in intelligence. *ŠA:19f*.

The constant use of the h e_2 -prefix in the hymn A of Šulgi is due to having almost all of its predicates conditioned by the *m e - e n*-clauses of the initial lines (and by *i₃- m e - e n - n a - k e₄- e š* of line 27). Because of his personality and qualities, Šulgi is capable of accomplishing all the exploits described in the text. A similar explanation applies to the h e_2 -clauses describing the accomplishments of the titular in the royal inscriptions: the h e_2 -forms describe events or states enabled by the mention of the king’s name, usually followed by epithets such as ‘powerful male’, ‘king of Ur’, and the like.

(2) The following passage illustrates h e_2 -clauses depending on the degree of intensity of the preceding predicate:

- [16] munus dam-a-ni nu-un-na-kal-la lu₂-kur₂-ra-ka-ni h e_2 -en-zu-am₃ dam-a-ni h e_2 -en-gaz
A woman who disliked her husband so much that she informed his enemy and had her husband killed. *3N-T426:39*

In some stereotyped cases, the first clause may be implied:

- [17] gi-gun₄-na-zu an-ne₂ h e_2 -em-us₂
Your *giguna*-construction (is so high that) can/could touch heaven. *EWO:207*

After a clause with an overt indication of causality:

- [18] ka-na-aḡ₂-ḡu₁₀ eḡ₃-gig-ga ba-ma-al-la-ke₄-eš
ab₂ amar-ra-gin₇-nam ki šu h e_2 -em-mi-ak-an ...
uru₂-ḡa₂ du-lum gīg ba-ma-al-la-ke₄-eš
mušen an-na-gin₇ a₂-dub₂ h e_2 -im-ši-ak
Because things so bad have been happening in my land,
I curled up on the ground like a cow with calf, ...
Because so painful an oppression has taken place in my town,
I took flight like the birds in the sky. *LUr: 102-06*

4. Compare the analysis in Black 1995.

(4) Indicating the consequences of an event:

- [19] ^{giš}banšur- η u₁₀ ninda kum₂ ninda te-en-e si um-ma-ni-sa₂ ...
^dšul-gi-re e₂-gal dug₃-ga-na η izbun η a-ba-ni-ib-be₂
 After I set up my table right, with warm and cold foods, ...
 Šulgi can have a banquet in his pleasant palace. *GG:180ff.*

After an oath or solemn statement, the η e₂-forms should be considered epistemic rather than deontic.

- [20] za-e ad-da- η u₁₀ η e₂-me-en bi₂-in-dug₄
 He said: 'you will be my father'. *L2:127*

Note also u_{r5} η e₂-en-na-nam (and variants)⁵ 'it will be/it is so!', in a oath-like formula, preceded often by a mention of the Sun god. A similar expression, but without u_{r5}, is used by the narrator to introduce names:

- [21] 1-kam-ma maš₂-gu-la mu-ni η e₂-en na-nam
 The name of the first one will be 'Big-goat'. *EEm:214*

An equivalent, more idiomatic translation would be 'let's call him ...'.

3.3. A series of two or more coordinated η e₂-clauses indicates the disjunction of a set of possibilities.

- [22] lu₂-bi lugal η e₂-a en η e₂-a ensi₂ η e₂-a
 Whether this person is a king, a "lord", or a governor ... *UNLC 9:12*

- [23] η e₂-gu₇-e η e₂-na η -na η
 Whether he eats or he drinks. *Dim:36*

In a disjunctive construction, the most frequently used form is η e₂-a. In contrast with nu- (2), η e₂- is not provided with any conjugation prefix but must be considered nevertheless as containing an implicit copula.

4. Negative Subjunctive-Optative (Deontic) na-

There are two graphemically identical na-prefixes. The one discussed here is the negative of deontic η e₂-. For the other, see 7. Deontic na- indicates negative advice:

5. The morphological analysis of this form is not completely clear.

- [24] tug₂ tan₄-tan₄-na-zu na-an-mu₄-mu₄-un
Do not wear your cleanest clothes. *GE:185*
- [25] anše-edin-na na-ab-sa₁₀-sa₁₀
Do not buy a wild donkey. *ŠIn:053*
- [26] ur na-an-gi₆-ge ur na-an-babbar-re
It should not be a black dog, nor it should be a white dog. *ELA:457*

Or wishes that something should not happen:

- [27] ʰe₂-sig₃-ge a₂-ni na-an-kuš₂-u₃
If someone strikes (with this ax), may his arm not get tired! *Ax:5*
- [28] a₂-ḡu₁₀ ga-sud-sud a₂-ḡu₁₀ na-an-gig-ge
I want to extend the reach of my arms, may my arms not hurt! *L2:170*

5. Negative Subjunctive (Epistemic) b a - r a -

It is the negative counterpart of epistemic ʰe₂- and appears in similar constructions, following a conditioning main clause.

(1) After a copulative clause:

- [29] lugal-me-en ni₂ bara-ba-da-te su ba-ra-ba-da-zi
I am king (and consequently) I cannot be scared, I cannot have goose flesh. *ŠA:070*

(2) After an overt mark of causality:

- [30] ḡa₂-e al-me-en-na-ta ḡiš-gi-še₃ gi il₂-i-de₃ kiḡ-gi₄-a ba-ra-ši-in-gi₄
Because of the way I am, I could not send you to work to the reed thickets to carry reeds.
EdB:074

(3) Indicating the consequences of an event:

- [31] id₂-ba uš₂ ma-ra-an-de₂ uḡ-bi ba-ra-naḡ-naḡ
He poured out blood into its rivers, (so that) its people cannot drink. *InB:045*

(4) In an oath or solemn statement:

- [32] lul ba-ra-na ʰe₂-ge-en
(By the gods), it cannot be a lie, it has to be true. *ŠB:319*
- [33] mu-lugal ur-lum-ma-ra lu₂ ba-ra-ba-du₃
In the name of the king, no one can be detained for U. *ITT 4 7001:3ff.*

Note that in promissory oaths and the like, the oath taker does not attest to his already presumed inner disposition (deontic modality) but to how things are going to be objectively (epistemic modality).

6. Cohortative *ga-*

This prefix signifies that the speaker has arrived at a decision regarding his will and intentions, and therefore it can be used only with 1st person forms, singular or plural.

- [34] kur-ra *ga-am*₃-ku₄ mu-*ḡu*₁₀ *ga-am*₃-*ḡar*
I want to go into the mountains, I want to establish my reputation. *GH:005*
- [35] ki-tuš-zu *ga-ra-ab-pad*₃
I have decided to find out your residence. *UK C:17*
- [36] lu₂-gu-la a₂ l-e *ga-na-gam-me-en-de*₃-en
We want to curb the powerful one with a united effort (lit. with a single arm). *ŠIn:254*
- [37] e-ne *ga-ba-ab-tum*₂-mu-un-de₃-en
We want to bring him. *ID:343*

The verbal aspect is completive, with counted exceptions (e.g., *ga-ab-šid-de*₃-en ‘I have decided to tell’ *DI:008*), in the singular form, but incompletive in the plural. Presumably, when the speaker uses *ga-* he has already reached a decision, but when the decision includes several persons, the speaker cannot be sure that the decision of all of them is final.

1. However, since the 1p. pl. suffix is understandably obligatory, and the verbal stem will be often reduplicated not by aspect considerations, but because of the plurality of subject/agent, the “completiveness” of these forms could very well be secondary.

Preceded by an interrogative, *ga-* results in a *consultive/deliberative* construction:

- [38] en kul-aba^{ki}₄-ra a-na *ga-an-na-ab-be*₂
What I am going to tell the lord of Kulaba? *EEm: 21*
- [39] egir dub-me-ka a-na-am₃ *ga-ab-sar-en-de*₃-en
What are we going to write on the reverse of our tablets? *D3:001*

The *ga-*prefix forms frozen nominalized verbal forms: (a) *ga-ra-ab-sum*₂ ‘a promise to give’ (lit. ‘I want to give you’), and (b) *ga-ab-V* and *ga-an-V*, used as nomina agentis for transitive and intransitive verbs, respectively. The *ga-*forms are at times preceded by the particle *ga-na*, possibly partly identical with the prefix, but unrelated to the imperative *ḡa₂-nu*:

- [40] *ḡa₂-nu ga-na ga-ab-di-di-en-de*₃-en
Come here, come on, we want to have a fight! *DI:001*.

1. This particle can be found also before an imperative: *ga-na ḡi₄-ma-ni-ib* ‘come on, answer me!’ *EdB:017*.

7. Marker of Reported Speech *na-*

This is a prefix apparently identical in writing with the negative subjunctive-optative (4, and see LBM s.v., for a possible difference in phonological shapes) but with an obviously positive epistemic function. It is assumed here that it is a marker for *reported speech* marking a statement as either belonging to traditional orally-transmitted knowledge or simply being a report of someone else's words. It is used: (1) in the opening passages of mythical and epic tales, and in crucial points of the text, (2) in the introduction to certain types of direct speech such as *silim-še₃ na-e* (before self-congratulatory speeches), and (3) in the formulaic opening lines of a letter, introducing the verbatim report of what the sender has told the messenger.

- [41] *en-e ni₂-ul-e pa na-an-ga-am₃-mi-in-e₃*
The Lord has made public once more an everlasting thing. *AI:001*

What will be told in the following text is transmitted as part of mythological lore. The connective *-i n g a-* contributes to place the tale in the context, familiar to the audience, of all the divine feats of Enlil.

- [42] *en-e kur lu₂ ti-la-še₃ ṇeštu₂-ga-ni na-an-gub*
The Lord directed his attention to the mountains of living men. *GH:001*

The paragraphs in *Enki and the World Order* where the attributes and domain of each deity are described, end with the refrain:

- [43] *^den-ki-ke₄ zag-ba nam-mi-in-gub*
Enki put him/her in charge of this. *EWO pass.*

Besides the opening formula of letters: *N₁-ra u₃-na-du g₄ N₂ na-a b-b e₂-a* 'after you address *N₁* (the addressee): this is what *N₂* (the sender) says', other formulaic introductions to direct speech have the *na*-prefix:

- [44] *i₃-ne-eš₂ lu₂ lu₂-u₃-ra a-na na-an-du g₄*
lu₂-lu₂-u₃-ra a-nana-an-daḥ
At that moment, what did one man say to the other?
What did one man repeat to the other? *AA: 165f.*

Occasionally, one can find instances of affirmative *na*-prefix whose exact function is not completely clear. Possibly they are desemanticized uses inserted for rhetorical effect.

There is a related form *na-nam* (and variations) used to introduce something 'as everybody knows', 'as we have been told'.

1. There are many cross-linguistic parallels for the linguistic function of "reported speech". In some languages there is a form 'to indicate that what is being said is part of a myth or history – that is what

everyone in the society knows' (Palmer 1986:74). It is used in traditional passages from religious texts in Hidatsa, Hixkaryana, and Sherpa (Givón 1984:301).

2. This prefix should not be considered strictly a "quotative". The quotative function corresponds to the irregular frozen verbal form e-še 'he/they said' at the end of a paragraph (compare Latin *ait*).

8. Prefix ša-

This prefix is certainly affirmative and epistemic, but its semantics are difficult to ascertain. Its distribution is extremely peculiar and strongly influenced, it seems, by stylistic, and possibly historical, factors. For instance, of the 237 instances in the corpus about one-third is accounted for by four compositions: (1) *Instructions of Šuruppak*, (2) the *Temple Hymns*, (3) the *Hymn to Enlil*, and (4) *Enki and the World Order*. In (1), in 41% of 35 cases the ša-prefix appears in the frame $n a-C_1 \text{ ša}-C_2$, so that the clause with the ša-prefix gives the consequences of not following the (negative) advice of the preceding clause. Curiously this frame is circumscribed, with a single exception, to the first 70 lines of the text. There are two ša-clauses following a $h e_2$ -form, presumably open to an interpretation similar to the one for the $n a$ -clauses. The rest, 54% of the cases and all after line 71, would seem to be independent clauses. In (2), a composition with exceedingly few finite verbal forms, out of a total of 23 (refrain excluded) there are 10 with ša-. No definite patterns can be discerned in (3). Most of the references in (4) are concentrated in lines 101-15. Forms with ša- seem to be frequent in refrains, as in the *Keš Hymn* and the *Hymn to Hendursaga*. Excepting compositions with two or three isolated cases, the rest of occurrences are in royal hymns. And even there the distribution is irregular: out of ca. 250 lines preserved of seven hymns of king Šu-Suen, all the occurrences, with two exceptions, are in hymn B. A tendency to formulism can be seen in often repeated forms such as $\text{ši}-i m-m a-s u_8-s u_8-g e-e \text{ š}$ 'they stood'. With the present evidence, one may assume that this archaic prefix, one of whose original functions may perhaps still be seen in the first part of *Instructions of Šuruppak*, lost its original meaning and survived as a desemanticized rhetorical device to give a solemn tone or an archaic flavor to a passage.

Typical examples from *Instructions of Šuruppak*:

- [45] $\text{dur}_3^{\text{ur}_3} \text{ gu}_3\text{-di na-ab-sa}_{10}\text{-sa}_{10} \text{ erin}_2\text{-zu ša-ra-ab-si-il}$
Do not buy a braying donkey, it will scatter your troup. *ŠIn:014*
- [46] $\text{geme}_2\text{-zu-ur}_2 \text{ ŋi}\text{š}_3 \text{ na-an-du}_3 \text{ zu-ur}_5 \text{ šu-mu-ri-in-sa}_4$
Do not copulate with your own slave, she will break you to pieces. *ŠIn:054*

The passage *Enki and the World Order* 101-15, describing a mythical nautical parade, with all the verbs with the prefix ša-, is an illustration of its "rhetorical" use.

9. Prefix of Anteriority u_3 -

The speaker uses this prefix to assign a temporal sequence to two or more events in the construction: $u_3 C_1 C_2$ 'after C_1, C_2 '. It is used (1) to stress the sequence of events in narratives, and (2) to indicate successive steps of a procedure in medical texts and magic rites. Structurally, but not semantically, it shares the same slot as the modal prefixes, but can hardly be considered modal.

1. Its characterization as imperative, traditionally given by some authors, follows from a misinterpretation of the differences between the Sumerian and Akkadian ways of issuing orders and giving instructions.

10. Other Prefixes

(1) An apparent modal prefix *ra-* is attested in Ur III letters and in *UK C:61*. It is possibly an irregular writing of *ba-ra-*; see LBM s.v.

(2) Some grammatical studies include *i-ri-* among the modal prefixes. It is a stereotyped writing for *a-ar/a_{r2}* ‘praise’ with vocalic assimilation, mostly before the connective *-in ga-*, and is limited to the lexical item *m_{i2}* (*zi*) *a_{r2}-du g₄/e* ‘to praise’.⁶

(3) Another presumed modal prefix is *nu-uš*; it is to be considered a rhetorical interrogative (presumably < **nu-š e₃*), meaning something like ‘why not?’.⁷

(4) Although not proposed so far as a possible modal prefix, a form *e-ne* (or perhaps *e-ne-ba*), preceding some finite verbs has the same (unfounded) claims that *nu-uš* to be considered modal. It seems more likely, however, that it is an exclamation (‘how!’ or the like), occupying the same slot as the interrogatives, and perhaps even related to them. Curiously, it has a special affinity for the conjugation prefix *ba-*.

1. Some examples: *uru^{ki} ku₃-ga-am₃ e-ne ba-am₃-me-en-ze₂-en* ‘it is a clean town, and how you (like to often(?)) say it!’⁸ *Enh:001*; *CT 58 4 i 6*’; *ku₃ dⁱna-na e_{r2} e-ne ba-šeš₄-šeš₄* ‘Holy Inana, how you are crying!’ *GE:089* (note the position of *e-ne*, after *e_{r2}* and before *ba-*). See Krecher 1966:100.

Except for (1), the rest are better eliminated from the category of modal prefixes.

11. Mood and Aspect

For the interaction between mood and the completive/incompletive aspects of the verbal stem, see 3.1.1.1 of the Sumerian grammar in the making.

1. The statement that a modal prefix ‘has different meanings dependent on the aspect of the verb’ (Thomsen 1984:204, based on Edzard 1971:213 and Yoshikawa 1968) is incorrect. It is modality that in a great measure governs the aspect of the verb. Thus, for instance, deontic modals naturally tend to have incompletive aspect, one can hardly ask someone to do something already completed or in the past. The interrelation between mood and aspect/tense can be complex. See Palmer 1986:209.

6. The two instances of *iri-/ere-* in Pre-Sargonic are to be analyzed as: vocalic prefix +*r a* (ablative) +locative-terminative infix.

7. This element appears already in the Ebla Vocabulary: *nu-uš = a-wu-um, lu-wu-um* (VE 1439).

8. Hardly to be explained as an instance of *e-ne-du g₄*, because of forms such as *i-lu e-ne ba-am₃-me CT 58 9 ii 15*’, and the like.

12. Linguistic Background

(1) Modality (*modality* is the semantic term, while *mood* is the grammatical term) is a grammatical category expressing the opinions and attitude of the speaker (see below). It is a rather vague category (compared to a clear-cut one such as number or gender) since it involves an interpretation of the subjective attitudes of the speaker, and can be easily misinterpreted by a listener/reader, especially if it is a distant one, as in the case of ancient texts. “There is always the danger that the interpretation is highly subjective, so that we are presented more with the views of the investigator than facts about language” (Palmer 1986:8). Because the speaker has the choice of expressing his opinions or leaving them unsaid, a systematic classification of forms is often very difficult. Modality relates semantically to the whole sentence (and to the discourse) and can be grammaticalized in the verb or elsewhere in the clause. Sumerian grammaticalizes modality mainly with the modal prefixes of the verb, but it can also use particles; compare the conditional affix *ḫe₂-* with the conditional particles *tukum-bi* or *u₄-da*. In general, in one language, one and the same linguistic function can be expressed by various grammatical means.

(2) The most useful classification of modality is provided by two categories: (a) deontic, and (b) epistemic (see, e.g., Heine 1995:17; Palmer 1986).

(a) *Deontic* (or *root*, or *agent-oriented*) modality expresses the necessity or possibility of an act, i.e., expresses the will of the speaker about himself or others. It includes the following notional (*not* syntactic!) categories: “imperative/jussive” (go!), “compulsive” (he has to go), “obligative” (he ought to go), “advisory” (he should go), “precative” (go, please), “hortative” (let us go), “permissive” (you may go), “promissive” (I will go), “optative” realizable (may he be), “desiderative” unrealizable (would he were), plus the corresponding negations: “prohibitive” (don’t go!), etc.

(b) *Epistemic* modality expresses the knowledge, beliefs, and opinions of the speaker about his world. It includes the following notional categories: “assertive” (he is), “dubitative” (he may be), “potential” (he can), “necessitative” (he must be), “conditional” (if he is), “concesional” (although he is), “apodictive” (he must be); other categories refer to how the speaker has obtained the knowledge, e.g., “quotative” (he says/they say).

The two types are not mutually exclusive in the sense that in many languages both meanings are formulated by means of the same expression. The modality of a sentence may be purely epistemic or purely deontic, or a mixture of the two in varying degrees. In other words, it is not a yes/no categorical classification but a ‘prototypical’ one. In many languages the formulation will be ambiguous, as shown by the modal verb in these English examples:

It must be around five o’clock (epistemic)
You must be home before midnight (deontic)

or in German where:

epistemic *können* = *mögen*, but deontic *können* = *dürfen*.

(3) Historically, the epistemic senses develop later than, and out of, the deontic senses (Bybee et. al. 1994:195). The various (epistemic) meanings tend to coalesce in a somewhat colorless subjunctive that progressively becomes semantically empty.

(4) Modality is closely interrelated with other verbal categories. Thus some authors propose that Tense+Aspect+Modality be studied together (under the acronym TAM).

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On Bows and Arrows*

For Jacob Klein

For a society often involved in war –about thirty percent of the year dates of Ur III, for instance, commemorate military events– it is surprising that the huge administrative archives of the last three centuries of the third millennium B.C. contain almost nothing about army organization and supplies. It is a pleasure to offer this edition of an unusual Sargonic tablet, with a list of bows, arrows and quivers, to Jacob Klein who has worked with so much enthusiasm on the reconstruction of Sumerian texts, above all on the hymns of Šulgi, the king who loved bows and arrows so much.¹

The tablet A 2736, located in the collections of the Oriental Institute, but separated from the bulk of the rest of the Adab texts, escaped the attention of the editor of the Adab Sargonic archives.² However, its paleographic characteristics, the mention of the governor of Adab and other onomastic parallels, leave no doubt that the tablet comes from the University of Chicago excavations at Bismaya (1904-1905);³ this fact is implied by the Oriental Institute card catalog, without however giving an accession date.

01 4 ^{gi}ba-n[a] ʾ1 é-marʾ-[uru₅]
 60 kak ba-na
 šu-[...]-li
 2 ^{gi}[ba]-na [x é-mar-uru₅]
 05 22 kak
 LUGAL-ra NI-ʾxʾ-[(x)]
 1 ^{gi}[ba]-na 30 kak
 énsi [a]dab^{ki}

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1. My colleagues Ben Foster and Manuel Molina were kind enough to read the manuscript. Unfortunately, the prosopographic information provided by the latter could not be incorporated on time.

2. Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab* (The Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations: Changchun, 1989), henceforth *SI*.

3. On the Adab excavations, see Yang Zhi, *JAC* 3 (1988) 1-21.

- 10 3 ^{giš}ba-na [1]5? kak
 ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ
 2 ^{giš}ba-na 3 é-mar-uru₅
 11 kak
 ur-zu šagina
 2 ^{giš}ba-na 3 é-mar-uru₅
 15 60 kak
 gi-nu-mu-si
 2 ^{giš}ba-na 1 é-mar-uru₅
 šum-^dma-ma
 1 ^{giš}ba-na 1 é-[m]ar-uru₅
 20 30 kak
 lugal-sag₉ dumu mes-zi
 40 kak HI-p[ù]
 60 kak da-da šabra
 4 ^{giš}ba-na ur-^dšára šabra
 25 1 ^{giš}ba-na 60 kak
^dutu-sag₉ šagina
 [x] ^{giš}ba-na ur-zu lú-^{giš}gigir
 [šu-nigin] 10×2+1+[2] ^{giš}ba-na
 [šu-nigin x] 'é'-mar-uru₅
 30 šu-nigin 60×'6'+[10×4]+3 kak ba-na
 máš-da-ri-[a]

This is a late Sargonic tablet with a simple inventory-style list of a number of bows (^{giš}ba-na), quivers (é-mar-uru₅) and arrows (kak-ba-na, or simply kak) with the names of the donors (the governor and other dignitaries), the totals, and the subscript máš-da-ri-a indicating the purpose of the listed materials. W. Sallaberger has shown that máš-da-ri-a is not a religious offering but something presented to the king and/or his family.⁴ In the present case, the occasion (possibly a royal visit or a contribution to a military campaign) and the ultimate destination of these weapons are subject to speculation. In tabular form, the contents of the tablet are as follows:

Individuals	Bows	Quivers	Arrows
Šu-[...]-li	4	1	60
LUGAL-ra-NI-x	2	[x]	22
governor	1	0	30
ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ	3	0	15
Ur-zu, general	2	3	11
Gi-nu-mu-si	2	1	60
Šum- ^d Ma-ma	2	0	15
Lugal-sag ₉	1	1	30

4. W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III - Zeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 160-70. See also G. Selz, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 251-74.

HI-pu	0	0	40
Da-da, supervisor	0	0	60
Ur- ^d Šára, supervisor	4	0	0
^d Utu-sag ₉ , general	1	0	60
Ur-zu, charioteer	[1]	0	0
Totals	23	6+	403

Although the persons in the list do not really belong to the main archive edited in *SIA*, a rather restricted and well-delimited archive, some names are nevertheless found in other documents from Adab, or at least in contemporary documents from elsewhere.⁵ Restore perhaps Šu-[me]-li (*Nik* 2 14 ii 2, but written with -li), or Šu-[TE]-li in line 3. LUGAL-ra (line 6) is a well-known personality (B. Kienast and K. Volk, *FAOS* 19 [1995], 88); it is unclear if this is the name here, and the rest of the line is an office designation, or if the name is something else, *L u g a l - r a - i - ' s a g₉, for instance. The scribe seems to use non-standard writings for some personal names; thus the peculiar Gi-nu-mu-si (line 16) would seem to be a pronunciation writing of the relatively unusual PN Ki-na-mu-še (e.g., A 2889:6 [Ur III Drehem]); compare Ki-na-še in F. Pomponio, *La prosopografia dei testi presargonici di Fara* (Rome: Università degli Studi “La Sapienza,” 1987) 136. L u g a l - s a g₉ is said to be son of Me-z-z-i in line 21; this could be an alternative writing for Me-z-i, an important functionary in the Adab epistolary (*SIA* p. 438 s.v.). Šeš-šeš is mentioned a couple of times (*SIA* 640 iii 3; 660 ii 2), but is a relatively common name, at least outside of Adab. In the archive, the šabras, like the énsi, usually are not named but designated by their office, so it is not surprising that the names in lines 23-24 do not appear on the tablets. As for the “generals” they may have been in some sense outsiders.

The names of the weapons require a few comments, necessarily very brief. The name of the bow is normally written in Sumerian texts⁶ with the logogram PAN which has the readings:

pa-a n Antagal C:247.

pa-n a Aa 8/4:083; S^b 1:288;⁷ Diri Nippur 197; CBS 11319+ iv 26; in kak pa-n a *RTC* 221 iv 1,222 iv 11.

The reading with /p/ is the only one attested. The syllabic writing ba-na, that seems to be found only in A 2736 and *SET* 294,⁸ cannot be adduced as an argument for /b/ since it must be considered a case

5. The references are from the texts in Yang Zhi, *SIA*, which are the ones preserved in the Oriental Institute; a large number of Adab texts in the Istanbul Archeological Museum remains unpublished.

6. One can find occasional writings, based on a scribal bilingual wordplay, with (GiŠ).TIR (Akk. *qištu* “forest”) instead of (GiŠ).PAN (Akk. *qaštu*), lexically in Diri Nippur 196, and in context in ^{gis}tir hé-e-lá = *q[á-aš-t]am i-ši* A 29975 = 2N-T343:6, and especially in Gudea Cyl. B xiv 4: ^{gis}pa-na tir mes-gin₇, with probably an underlying (Akkadian!?) word play **qaštu kīma qišti*.... For the use of GiŠ.PANA in Ebla, see later in the text. The equation ge-e GILIM = *qaštu* Aa 3/1:237 refers in all likelihood to “arc” as a shape (perhaps even in architecture, where the arc is otherwise referred to as ^{gis}tir). For the “bow” as a geometrical figure (GÁN *panakkī*), see E. Robson, *Mesopotamian Mathematics 2100-1600 B.C.* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 45-47. I leave aside the question of ^{gis}il-lar = *tilpānu* = *qaštu*, discussed by B. Groneberg, *RA* 81 (1987) 115-24; 82 (1988) 71-73 (where the entries lú-ma-a-n-du-um [before lú-pa-na] OB Lu D 295 and ma-a-n-du-um Proto-Lu 106-108, and literary references, are overlooked); for il-lar as a geometrical figure, see Robson 48.

7. Now preserved in BM 64370, joined to source E of S^b.

of graphic underdifferentiation of stops, the rule in Pre-Ur III Sumerian texts. The history of Mesopotamia archery requires a study, made difficult by the complete absence (quite unlike the case of Egypt) of archeological remains, except naturally for the ubiquitous arrow tips and the somewhat imprecise, and infrequent, visual representations in cylinder seals and reliefs.⁹ Suffice it to say that when the bow appears in the texts it has already a long prehistory behind it.¹⁰ The oldest lists of weapons include the bow and associated implements:¹¹

(1) AHA 283-294:

283	e-mè	leather implements for battle (armor)
284	e.zi-eš	a leather piece of armor
285	é-mah	?
286	si-gud	battering ram
287	e-šu ₄	sling?
288	^{giš} pan	bow
289	mar-uru ₅	quiver
290	^{giš} ti	arrow
291	im-dug	(clay) sling pellet
292	^{kuš} NU ₁₁ .BUR ^{mušen}	shield
293	^{giš} silig	war axe
294	^{giš} tukul	mace (and generic term for weapons)

(2) AHB

21:04	pan
21:05	ti
21:06	šita
21:07	eme-SAL.UŠ-ga
21:08	^{giš} silig

8. And in the profession name b a - n a - d í m (Nik 2 35 iii 1'; 44:11; B. Foster, *Or* 51 [1982] 325), but p a n - d í m in EDLu E 37. The sens of "bowyer," at least in pre-Ur III times is reasonably assured *pace* Römer, *Festschrift Borger* 312. But see still g í r - p a - n a Gudea Cyl. A 18:07. *ITT* 2 5728: 12 m a - n a u r u d u - a n - n a p a - n a is unclear.

9. D. Collon, "Hunting and Shooting," *AnSt* 33 (1983) 51-56. A couple of years ago I saw in the antiquities market a stone plaque with a list of captives and their geographical origins, written with signs paleographically very close to the archaic Uruk forms, on one side, and on the other, a representation, of excellent facture, of two warriors standing, one of them holds a biconvex bow on the right hand, and a bunch of arrows on the left; no traces of a quiver.

10. A good overview in E. McEwen, R. Miller, and C. Bergman, "Early Bow Design and Construction" *Scientific American* (June 1991) 76-82; R. Miller, E. McEwen, and C. Bergman, "Experimental Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Archery," *World Archeology* 18 (1986) 178-95. Although centered in a different geographic area, J. D. Clark, J. L. Phillips, and P. S. Staley, "Interpretations of Prehistoric Technology from Ancient Egyptian and Other Sources. Part 1: Ancient Egyptian Bows and Arrows and their Relevance for African Prehistory," *Paléorient* 2 (1974) 323-88, provides a wealth of typological information.

11. For these lists and the abbreviations used, see M. Civil, "The Early History of Ħar-ra: the Ebla Link" in *Ebla 1975-1985*, ed. L. Cagni (1987), 131-58. The list AHB is now completed by an unpublished source MS 2340, to which G. Pettinato, *L'uomo cominciò a scrivere* (Milano: Electa, 1997), no. 2 can be joined. ED literary references to weapons can be found in the Zami-hymns 52-58 (*OIP* 99, 47).

21:09 zi-eš
(break)

(3) AHC

170 pan
171 ti
172 šita
173 ^{giš}silig
174 é-^rx'-DU.DU
175 é-SAL
176 é-pan

Commentary (mostly on AHA)

283. The word e in ED texts is a rather general term for pieces or strips of leather with different forms and uses (see, e.g., *ECTJ* 154, 179). The fact that in the following line (and in other passages of these lists) it can be optionally omitted, suggests that it must be considered a determinative or classifier. The word disappears in the later lexical tradition, surviving only in the term e₆ (see simply CAD E 1a *eau*) “a strip of leather used as a hinge.” The entry here means “leather implements for combat,” although it may have had a more concrete meaning.

284. = AHB 21:09. Vars. zi-iš-sa, and zi-iš-áš (faulty); e only in one source (therefore determinative). Survived in Sargonic texts as zi-sa (*STT* 7:4, 12, 15; *ITT* 2 5723, 4430, unclear). The word must have designated a leather part of armor or helmet. It has nothing to do with the ^{giš}k a k - s i - e š (= 3) with variant kak-si-2 in N. Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1997), 164:559.

285. Written é-máh in AHC 70-71 (before i g i - t a b);¹² if there is any connection with ^{giš}g u d - m a h = *ašibu* Hh 7A 88 then it must be related to the item in the following line.

286. Can be written also si-g u d - d i l, and si-GUD×DIL. See the discussion by Steinkeller, *NABU* 1987 no. 14.

287. Written e - š u₄ in Ebla sources, but apparently d u [g u d] in Abu Salabikh.

291. Var. i m - t a k₄. The writing i m - d u g is found elsewhere, e.g., *SLA* no. 977:1 (600 i m - d u g); Šulgi B 36 (with var. d u - u g); Šulgi D 185 (“sling pellets like pounding stones”).

292. One source has a half-broken sign (looks like TAB) instead of m u š e n. The first sign is, of course, NU₁₁ (LAK 24) and not ŠIR (LAK 23), and the same happens with the logogram for the town of Lagaš. The term is to be read b u r u₄ (normally “crow”) and corresponds to the later g u r (u)₂₁ (E.ĪB.ù r); note that for the bird name there is a variant reading g u - r u etymologically preferable (*Afo* 25 [1974-1977] 25 and *JNES* 32 [1973] 60), and that for the shield the initial b - is also attested, see M. Civil *JNES* 32 (1973) 60 [1.17].¹³ For the meaning, see B. Eichler *JAOS* 103 (1983) 95-102.¹⁴ I strongly suspect,

12. See ^{kuš}g u r₂₁ i g i - t a b u g n i m - m a Lipit-Eštar A 77.

13. See also the var. ^{kuš}e - b u - ù r in Lugalbanda II 320 (C. Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, 250 ad 320; J. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 128). Note, on the other hand, that Diri Nippur 9:40 gives for the logogram the reading k u - r u, VAT 9523 ii' 3'' gives g u - r u, and

however, given the evidence of the lexical lists that recognize many types of this device, that *g u r u₂₁* is a generic term for “shield” and includes, but is not restricted to, the siege shield.

293. Var. *GIŠGAL*×*URUDA* for *GIŠGAL*×*IGI*, very common in ED texts (M. Lambert, *OrAn* 13 [1977] 2, note 4; P. Steinkeller *RA* 74 (1980) 6, note 7).

The quiver¹⁵ is found often in all kinds of texts and does not present difficulties, except for its name that raises some minor problems due to its quasi-homophony with *ma-r-u₅* “storm.” It has often an initial *é-*, and note the variant *a-ma-r u < é-ma-r-u₅* in, e.g., Lahar and Ašnan 101; Ur-Namma A 88; etc. For details, see B. Eichler, *Hallo AV* 90-94, and Römer, *Borger Festschrift* 807-10.

It is uncertain whether *kak-ba-na* is used here strictly for “arrow tip,” or if it is used metonymically for the whole arrow (*ti*). Somehow it seems more likely that the offering would consist of complete arrows, the tips mounted on the shaft and with the fletching on, rather than arrow tips alone. In the Isin text *BIN* 9 415, the sense of “arrow” is inescapable: 6 *ḡi* *ḡiṣ-ḡi-da*, *esír-é-a-bi* 8 *sil* ..., *ḡiṣ* *kak-pa-na ba-an-gar* “6 lance shafts, their bitumen is 8 *silà*, were made into arrows.” The term is current in lexical lists (Hh VII A 52 [Akkadian possibly incorrectly restored in *MSL* 6, 87], N. Veldhuis *Elementary Education at Nippur* 164:557) and in the literature (*Šulgi* B 83, 98; Ur-Namma A 88; etc.), see also *RTC* 221 iv 1, 222 iv 11. It would seem that *kak-ti* is simply a less-used, or later, synonym.

Another tablet probably from the same Adab archive and with similar contents, but with no personal names and only the remark *níg-gál-la* “available goods, supplies,” is *SET* 294, published among texts from the Ur III period.¹⁶

1	38 <i>uruda</i>	<i>kak-si-<sá?></i>
2	39 <i>uruda</i>	<i>kak zabar</i>
3	10 <i>uruda</i>	<i>za-mi-rí-tum zabar</i>
4	7 <i>uruda</i>	<i>za-mi-rí-tum ZU</i>
5	1 <i>uruda</i>	<i>kak-si</i>
6	47 <i>ḡiṣ</i>	<i>ba-na</i>

there is a variant *g u r₇* for it in the letter from Puzur-Šulgi to Šulgi A3:47 (F. Ali, *Sumerian Letters*, 44 A 3:47). Nik 1 281 writes *e-ùr* (G. Seltz, *FAOS* 15/1, 508, with a translation “Schild, Setztartsche”).

14. The discussion of the writing in Seltz, *FAOS* 15/1, 100, note 38, is not convincing. Note especially that *E* is a fossilized ancient determinative (see above). It is somewhat doubtful that *ùr* is a phonological indicator, judging from the Nippur Forerunner to Hh 11, line 90, that writes (correctly?) *KUŠ_E.ÍB-ùr-ra*.

15. For the construction of leather quivers, see B. Williams, *University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition* vol. 9 (1991), 77-117. The quivers discussed therein are of a much later date, but the discussion is nevertheless extremely informative.

16. The editors found the tablet somewhat puzzling and for reasons unknown suggest, tentatively but incorrectly, that it came from Warka. Their edition requires collation, but the tablet, at the time part of a lot of fifty-one tablets in the Public Library of St. Paul, MN, is now in unknown hands. This collection was sold years ago in Japan judging from an auction catalogue with photos. One of the obverse of *SET* 294 (with an asking price of 500.000 yen) is good enough to recognize the Sargonic paleography but insufficient for collation. Undoubtedly, the tablets came originally from Banks (probably sold before 1915) and *SET* 294 must thus be a “misplaced” piece from the University of Chicago excavations at Bismaya, directed by Banks himself. Note that (1) *níg-gál-la* on the reverse is correctly translated as “stock, supplies” and is not a personal name as incorrectly suggested in H. Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 504 s.v., (2) the *-um* in line 9 is perhaps *ur u₅ da*, and (3) I don’t know what to do with the sign transliterated *ZU* in line 4.

- 7 35 é-mar-uru₅
 8 25 ^{giš}ba-na UM
 9 ní-gál-la

Indirect mentions of bows, made of š e - d u₁₀-wood, are found in Pre-Sargonic Girsu (*DP* 418, 419, *TSA* 29, *VAS* 14 57). For the Sargonic period there are a couple of texts from Susa (*MDP* 14 no. 85-86 = Scheil *RT* 35 [1913] 26-35) with military supplies, and a group of Girsu texts listing presents(?) to the royal family includes some bows (B. Foster *JANES* 12 [1980] 29-42), plus some isolated tablets, e.g., *STT* 7, *ITT* 2 4430, 5723. In the Ebla texts there are apparent allusions to the bow, e.g., in *ARET* 6 x 3 (silver for the “šIR”.ZA of a GIŠ.PANA).¹⁷ The most frequent use of GIŠ.PANA is, however, as a logogram for *qištu* “gift, present.”¹⁸ In the Ur III period, the archive of DI.KU₅-mi-ar¹⁹ contains many references to weapons. The Isin leatherworks archive has some references to the construction of bows, to glue (*BIN* 9 121, 122, 124), and to old leather pouches recycled for bow parts (*BIN* 9 415). The correspondence of king Lipit-Eštar (F. Ali, *Sumerian Letters* [*U. of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Thesis*], 1964: 76-79), mentions an army composed of two thousand lancers, one thousand archers, and two thousand soldiers armed with double axes. Despite the scarcity of administrative and literary sources (partly compensated by more complete lexical material) much could be said about Mesopotamian archery. A study on the subject is sorely needed.²⁰

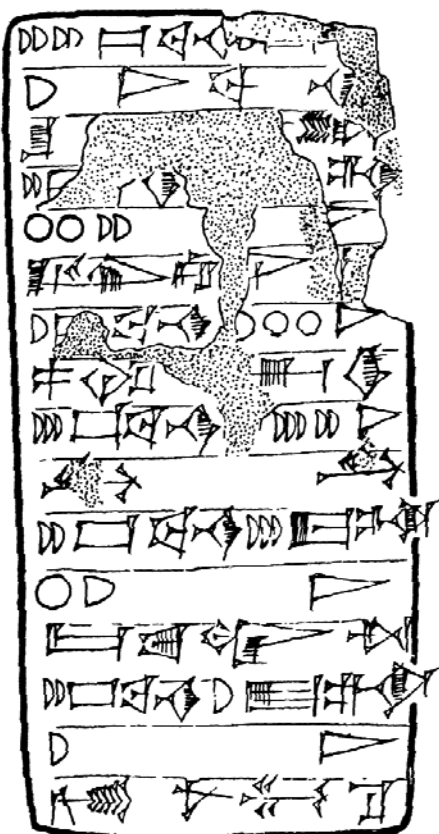
17. It would seem that NU₁₁(!)-ZA is an ornament made of lapis lazuli, judging from an Ebla vocabulary, see the author in L. Cagni, ed., *Ebla 1975-1985*, 143:33. If so, *ARET* 6 x 3 would refer not to a bow but to a “gift”; see following note.

18. Bows were sent sometimes as gifts in Mesopotamia, e.g., *TRU* 384 where the governor of Adamsah sends a bow. In Ebla, however, the meaning in most cases is clearly “gift” (GIŠ.PAN = *qištu*). For references, see simply the index of *ARET* 1 sub GIŠ.PAN, where it is still translated “arco”.

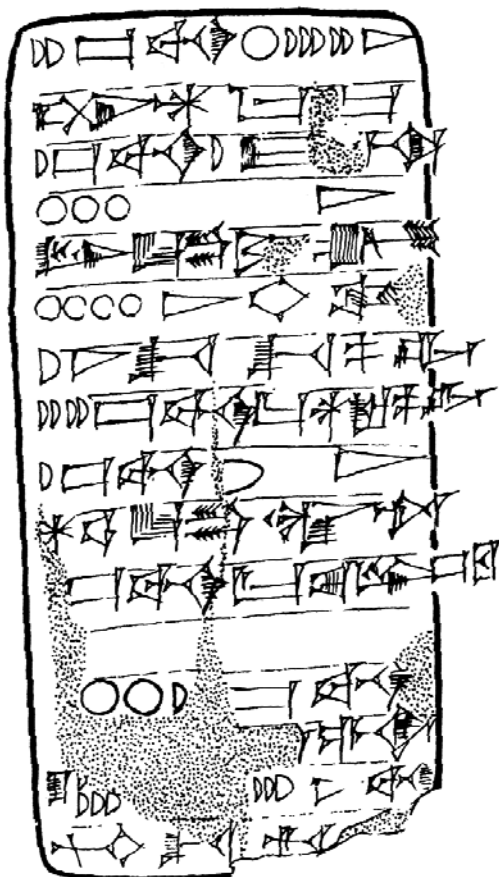
19. *TIM* 6 33-43; *AUCT* 1 437, 696; 2 133, 178, 384; *TCL* 2 5488, 5565; *RA* 8 184; *CSTJR* 372.

20. What is, e.g., the d a-NAGAR (see *SLA*, 179-80) of an arrow (*MDP* 14 86), made with 5 gin of silver? Or the ^{túg}š e - e r - t i ^{giš}p a n (*UET* 3 788), strips of cloth used perhaps to make the fletching, or, more reasonably, to bind the tip to the shaft since they weigh from 6.6 to 5.5 gin and thus could contribute to make the fore shaft of the arrow heavier? Is there a special term for the chisel arrow tips found archeologically, and seen in a Djemdet Nasr period stele (*UVB* 5 pl. 12-13, see especially the detail pl. 13 a)? How long did such tips survive in historical times? The distinction between p a n (self-bow, which can be doubly convex!) and i l l a r (composite bow, in all likelihood) still presents some problems. What is the difference between *uḫḫu* and *šiltaḫu*? The activities of DI.KU₅-mi-š a r, in charge of army supplies, and of very active bowyers, such as Ibni-Adad and Ahanšibu, in the Ur III archives need study. There are also anecdotic occasions such as *TRU* 350 r. 1 where the archer Šelha receives two sheep for the ceremonies attendant to his induction as a gala. And so on. [See now Ch. Zuttermann, “The Bow in the Ancient Near East, a Re-evaluation of Archery from the Late Second Millennium to the End of the Achaemenid Empire,” *Iranica Antiqua* 38 (2003) 119-65.]

obv.



rev.



A 2736

be₅/pe-en-zé-er = *biššūru*^{*}

This is a study of a little known Sumerian word, its meaning, its origin, and its secondary semantic extensions. It is intended to honor, however inadequately, a scholar, who without being a Sumerologist, has been, behind the scenes as it were, one of the creative forces behind the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*.¹

1. *Lexical Sources*

1.1. The basic passage is Old Babylonian Proto-Lu 379-82 (*MSL* 12 46):

- [1] 379 gal₄-la
 380 gal₄-la
 381 sík-gal₄-la
 382 be₅-en-zé-er²

A comparison with [4] and [5] shows how closely lexical texts depend on the traditional literary works.

1.2. NW recension. The Emar version of Lu (Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4 no. 602:368'-72' [Msk 74121 vii 8'ff.]) gives:

- [2] 368' gal^{al}gal₄ ú-ru

^{*} The present article was originally published in A.K. Guinan et al. (eds.), *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, CM 31, Leiden/Boston 2006, pp. 55-61.

1. J. Westenholz, G. Rubio, and C. Woods read a draft and provided valuable suggestions. C. Wunsch collated some texts in the British Museum. I am grateful to them all.

2. Two sources have incorrectly - e n, against six with - e r. The transliteration with b- is meant to reflect the etymology, but since the word has crossed linguistic borders, this is an arbitrary, unprovable decision.

369'	^{gal} gal ₄	<i>bi-iš-šu-ru</i>
370'	sík-gal ₄ -la	<i>su-uḫ-šu : iz-bu</i>
371'	bì-in-zi-ir	<i>li-pí-is-si₂₀-tu₄ : ṭá-an-na-bu</i>
372'	sík-na-BI	<i>ḫa-an-du-tù</i>

The word *suḫšu* in line 370' is apparently a lexical hapax, in need of confirmation in view of the peculiar spellings in the Emar lexical texts;³ the “Western” Semitic gloss *iz-bu* is susceptible of several readings and interpretations. In line 371', *li-pí-is-si₂₀-tu₄* stands for *lipiššatu*, given as synonym of *biššūru* in Hg B IV 22 (*MSL* 9 34); *ṭá-an-na-bu* means simply ‘something filthy’ and is not to be considered properly an anatomical term. Line 372' is found only in Emar, its Akkadian, however, is known as a synonym of *biššūru*, see below (3). The parallel Ugarit sources (unpubl.) are unilingual and offer the following variants: 368'f.: g a l₄-l a; 371': b e₅-e n -z é -e r; 372' is omitted. These lines from Proto-Lu and MB Lu are not preserved, or were not included, in canonical Lu, unless K 9893(!) in *MSL* 9 25 turns out to be part of canonical Lu.⁴ As a rule the lexical list Ugu-mu (*MSL* 9 51-73) does not include specifically female body parts.

1.3. In the series of Sumerian words for *lipiššatu* (as part of the animal body) in Hh 15:210-14⁵ b e₅-e n -z é -e r is missing among the terms after *išaru* and *išku* and before z a -r a -a ḫ = *laql[acqu]* and ^{diš}t é š = *ḫa[nduttu]*. It is equally missing in Hg B IV 22 (*MSL* 9 34). In the small fragment K 9893 (*MSL* 9 25, collated from photo)⁶ the Sumerian subcolumn is missing, and in Rm 963:6'-8' (*MSL* 9 25, collated by C. Wunsch) the Sumerian is [p a] - p a ḫ as in Hh 15:212. It would seem thus that the word b e₅-e n -z é -e r disappeared from the later lexical tradition.

1.4. The Akkadianized form is found in:

[3]	i-zi = <i>be₅-en-zu-rum</i>	Proto-Izi 1:369 (<i>MSL</i> 13 29)
	i-iz ⁷ = <i>be₅-en-z[u]r-r[u]</i>	Izi 5:82 (<i>MSL</i> 13 163)

For a discussion, see [5] below.

2. Literary Texts

[4]	gal ₄ -la tur sík gal ₄ -la gíd-gíd be ₅ -zé-er HAR	Two Women B:149f.
	A small vulva, very long pubic hairs, a ... b.	

3. If the form is genuine and has to be taken as a derivation from *saḫāšu*, “to catch in a net,” according to *CAD* S 54b s.v., it could reflect perhaps a connection between “pubic hair” and “net” or “web,” see below (4).

4. Reedited in the Appendix.

5. *MSL* 9 12 completed by *MSL* SS 1 49 no. 34 and pl. viii.

6. Given incorrectly as K 9983 in *MSL* 9.

7. Var. i - z i (*MSL* 9 163).

[5] [sík gal₄]-la si₄-si₄ be₅-en-zé-er bu-ud-bar⁸ 'x' [...] Two Women A D:25
 Reddish pubic hairs, a lame(?) *b.*, [...].

[6] ú dam-mu na-ma-ab-í-l-i⁹
 be₅-en-zé-er-mu ugun la-ba-ak-e
 My husband does not need to bring me grass, Proverb 14.43
 my *b.* will not be decorated. (Alster, *SP* 1 220)¹⁰

The first two passages are part of derogatory, insulting descriptions of the female body. The implications of the proverb are not clear. Here *ú* is better understood as “plants, grass” used as a “decoration” of a bed, rather than “food” or “firewood.” Cf. the topos *giš-ná ú za-gìn barà-ga*, “a bed strewn with green grass” Ur-Namma A 159, Temple Hymns 210, Enmerkar and Enmuškešdana 81, cf. Lament Sumer and Ur 443. The implications of *ugun* — a *k*, whether in a metaphorical sense or not,¹¹ are unclear: they can range from readiness of the woman (no need to woo her) to refusal (whatever the husband does, she will not be willing). Other interpretations are still possible.

3. Meaning

It is obvious that *be₅-en-zé-er* designates the female sex organ or part thereof. It is a loan from Semitic, attested only in Akk. *biššūru* and Ar. *baẓr* or *bunẓur* (with many variants),¹² “clitoris,” see already H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen, eine lexikalisch-etymologische Studie* (Annales academiae scientiarum Fennicae B/7/1; Helsinki: Suomalaisen tiedeakatemia kustantama, 1911) 101f. “weibliche Scham,” and now the comparative dictionaries: D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* 2 (Paris: Mouton, 1976) 61b; V. E. Orel and O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (HdO 1/18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995) 70 no. 279; A. Militarev and L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (AOAT 278/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000) 35 no. 37. As often happens with loanwords, when the native competing word is preserved, a semantic readjustment of the resulting doublet takes place, cf. cases such as *kaskal* and *ḥar-ra-a-n* or *gír* and *ba-da-ra* in Sumerian. Thus it is not apparent in what respect the more frequent term *gal₄-la* and *be₅-en-zé-er* differ. Leaving aside euphemistic or derogative Sumerian designations, such as *za-ra-a-ḥ* = *laqlaqqu* Hh

8. See *PSD* B 169a s.v. Additional passages are: *bu-ud-bar ma-ad igi KU BU-a*, *bu-ud-bar ḥul-dím-ma túg ní-zu šu-è* P 1.113-4 (see Alster, *SP* 1 26, completed by an unpubl. text, courtesy D. Owen); *bu-ud-bar [...]* *é íb-ši* - [...] *Edubba* D 74, and *bu-ud-bar-ra mùš-bi ki nu-ág* Ribatum 7 (unpubl.). The Akkadian translation is the obscure *ḥaršu* A, see also *muḥarrišu*.

9. 3 N-T 930h+, not used by Alster, has nothing after -i.

10. The translations *be₅-en-zé-er* “leather worker(?)” (Alster, *SP* 432) and “ein Funktionär” (*AHw* 854 s.v. *penzur(r)u(m)*) assume that because the entry is found in Proto-Lu it has to designate a person or trade. Jacobsen, apud E. Gordon, “Sumerian Proverbs and their Cultural Significance” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1955) 549 proposed “my spinning-girl does not do (multicolor) work.”

11. I would not go as far as proposing a restoration [*ugun*]-a *k*-a = *iḥuzu ša DAM* in Nabnītu 3:271 (*MSL* 16 67); such a restoration would provide a much more direct sexual sense.

12. There are reflexes of this word in Mehri, though the consonant correspondence is irregular: *beẓ^{er}*, *b^{er}’oow^{er}* “slit, vulva” (slang), T.M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987) 62; Harsusi *bešelēt*, “clitoris.” T.M. Johnstone, *Harsusi Lexicon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) 20 is probably related (refs. courtesy G. Rubio).

15:215, “crane” (and at the same time an unpleasant skin condition, cf. also Akk. *gurištu*), or *m u r ú b* = *š u ḫ ḫ u* “opening” (explained in the commentary *CT* 41 30:17 as *ū ri š a* SAL and listed by one copy of Hh 15 [*MSL* 9 6:24a] by attraction after *pū*), the most common competing Akkadian terms, quasi-synonymous with *biššūru*, are *ūru*, *lipiššatu*, and *ḫanduttu*; see K 9893 and Rm 963, quoted above (1.3). The most frequent term seems to be *ūru*, if only because Assyriologists usually prefer to read the logogram SAL.(LA) this way, though often without clear reasons. Unfortunately, the other three terms are infrequent enough so that a closer semantic determination (labia, clitoris, vagina, vulva) is not possible.¹³ It is not even clear whether the terminology of the time would have distinguished all these anatomical parts. If the reasoning in the following paragraph (4) is correct, a meaning that includes the pubic hair is required. In dealing with sexual terms one has to keep in mind two things: first, they tend to be vague, imprecise, and riddled with metaphors;¹⁴ and second, their use is markedly a function of the social dimension. Unfortunately, at a remove from the distant past, it is almost impossible to decide what was vulgar, “obscene,” or not to be said in “polite” company. However, since the literary texts quoted above belong to the popular genres of dialogues and proverbs, it is likely that they had an intended shocking effect, and thus *b e 5 - e n - z é - e r* could very well be a “vulgar” synonym of *g a l 4 - l a*.

4. Additional Meanings

A second meaning of *b e 5 - e n - z é - e r*, with the determinative *ú* (possibly incorporated into the Akkadian form), is “spiderweb.” The main lexical passage is Hh 14:334f. (*MSL* 8/2 36), immediately before “spider”:¹⁵

[7]	334	ú-sur-sur	(ú).pi-in-zi-ir
	335	úKA ^{zu} -sur	MIN

The Akkadian of line 334 has numerous variants (see *MSL* 8/1 36), all without the ending *-u*. The root *sur* has here the common meaning “to spin.”¹⁶ The Mesopotamian scribes obviously had difficulties classifying cobwebs in the natural order of things. The assigned placement next to spiders in Hh 14 is quite logical, but the scribal tradition included it also among plants in the OB forerunners and in the NW recension of Hh 17. The term is not preserved in the canonical recension and possibly was not included in it, since it is missing in its traditional place in the older sources, inserted after *m u n z e r* by phonological attraction. For monolingual forerunners, see *MSL* 10 120:14 and 124 3b:4. The corrupt Ugarit text (no sources from Emar are available) shows that the scribes hardly understood the passage (cf. *MSL* 10 108 ad 33f.).

13. The meaning “womb” appears to be a good translation of *rēmu*, note however that the passage W. G. Lambert, *JSS* 4 (1959) 10b 5, 7 (quoted *CAD* L 199a s.v. *lipiššatu*) speaks of “a rag to wipe” the *rēmu*; if the passage is to be taken literally *rēmu* can hardly be there an internal organ.

14. For an example of a good study of the sexual vocabulary of a particular language, see J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1982) esp. 80-109.

15. See B. Landsberger, *Fauna* 135 ff. pointing to the right interpretation.

16. J. Scurlock, “*pizzer* or *upinišir*: Creepy Medicine,” *NABU* 1995/110 translates it “spitting,” is this a typo for “spinning?”

- [8] 33 ^úpi-in-sir^{ir} (var. ^úpi-in-zé-er) *aš-tu* (var. UL.KU *aš-tum*)
 34 ^úš^{ic}-in-sir^{ir} *da-di-lu* (var. *ša-mu-ut-tum*)

The term appears in Uruanna with numerous pharmaceutical synonyms, which do not need to be discussed here, and it refers to a medication used mostly for skin lesions (references in J. Scurlock, “Creepy Medicine”).¹⁷ The use of cobwebs to treat skin wounds and the like is widespread in the history of ethnomedicine. Unless one assumes two separate, but homophonous or quasi-homophonous words, an assumption with no etymological basis at present, the only solution is to postulate a semantic extension from “pubic hair” to “spider web.” If this solution is correct, a further extension from spiderweb to a weblike structure offers no problem. This structure could be made of red mats (Hh 8:303-5, revised edition):

- [9] 303 ^{gi}kid-níg-nigin-na *nalmû*
 304 ^{gi}kid-á-ùr-ra MIN
 305 ^{gi}kid-á-ùr-ra *kīt bunzirri*

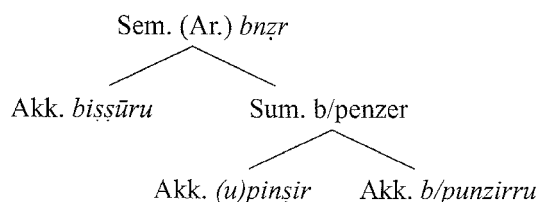
It could also be made of leather strips (Hh 11:144, revised edition):

- [10] ^{kuš}kin-tur *bu-un-zī^l-ir^l-ri^l*

The synonym *nalmû* (not in the dictionaries) in [9] suggests that the *bunzirru* was used to make enclosures, and thus it may designate a trap (see below, 5) rather than a “fowler’s blind” as suggested by CAD B 322a s.v. However, the following passage (Erimhuš 5:125, MSL 17 72) could be adduced to support the latter:

- [11] igi-tab *bu-un-zir-ri*

A point of major interest in [9]-[11] is the reborrowing of b e₅- e n - z é - e r into Akkadian as *bunzirru*. The relationship of the words just discussed can be resumed as follows:



17. Her translation “cantharides” (Spanish fly) I find unsupported.

4. *Residual Forms*

The passages quoted sub [3] could be related to a meaning “enclosure” [9]-[11], since *i-z i* (var. *i z-z i*) means “wall” (*CAD I/J* 34b s.v. *igāru*) besides wave.” *AHW* 854 s.v. *pe(n)zuru(m)* cites *PI-zi-rí-um* from *UET* 3 676; the word appears also in *UET* 3 477 without *-um*. It is a small item (nine of them weigh one shekel) of gold jewelry. The word remains obscure in form and meaning, and a connection with *be₅-en-zé-er* is most unlikely.

5. *Other Words Ending in -nzer*

There are a number of other words ending in *-nzer*, the better known being: *ḥumunzer*, *ḥenzer*, *munzer*, *ganzer*, and *ki manzer*. The first two are unproblematic borrowings from Semitic meaning “mouse” (or a similar rodent), and “piglet,” respectively. The latter means also “child,” a reasonable semantic extension, and is used as a personal name in Old Akkadian. For *munzer*, a plant, possibly licorice,¹⁸ and for *ganzer* “flame” there is no obvious etymology. The last one, written *ki ma-a-n-zé-er* and meaning “slippery place,” could perhaps be analyzed as a Sumerian phrase: “a place (which) is slippery for me.” All, except perhaps the last one, must be thus considered foreign words.

In conclusion, these notes may clarify what images may have been in the mind of someone who heard the words of the *ša-z i-ga* incantation: *ašbāku ina bunzirri ša šihāti bu’ura aj aḥti* “I am sitting on a ‘spider web’ of delights, may I miss no prey” (*TCS* 2 33:12f.).

Appendix

The fragment K 9893 (quoted as K 9983 in *MSL* 9 25, transliterated here from photo and collated by C. Wunsch) could perhaps be a fragment of *lú = ša*, roughly parallel to the Emar text:

col. i’	1’	[...]	<i>ú-rum</i>
	2’	[...]	<i>ú-rum</i>
	3’	[...]	<i>ḥa-an-du-tum</i>
	4’	[...]	MIN
	5’	[...]	[<i>l</i>]i-bi-š-šá-tum
	6’	[...]	[MIN]
col ii	1’	l _x [...]	[...]
	2’	ME [x]	[...]
	3’	su-[x]	[...]
	4’	nam-[x-(x)]	[...]
	5’	UD-[x]	[...]
	6’	UD-[...]	[...]

18. M. Civil, “Feeding Dumuzi’s Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration,” in *Studies Reiner* 46.

Rm 963:5'-7' is somewhat related, though it employs different logograms. It is an unidentified fragment (collated also by C. Wunsch), possibly Antagal, which is similarly quoted in *MSL* 9 25 and gives the following:

1' [...]	ʿxʿ šá [...]
2' [...]	MIN šá [...]
3' [...]	<i>up</i> -[<i>pu</i>]
4' [...]	<i>kar</i> -[<i>ru</i>]
4' [...]-ʿxʿ	<i>ma-a</i> [šʿ-x]
5' [(x) m]ug	<i>bi-iš-š</i> [<i>u-ru</i>]
6' [pa]-paḥ	<i>li-biš</i> -[š <i>a-tu</i>]
7' [...]-ʿxʿ-ba	<i>ḥa-an</i> -[<i>du-tu</i>]
8' [sub]urʿ-lá	<i>húl</i> -[...]
9' [túg]ib-lá	<i>ni</i> -[<i>bit-tu</i>]
10' [(x)-n]amʿ-darà	<i>mi</i> -[<i>sir-ru</i>]

Early Semitic Loanwords in Sumerian^{*}

The existence of two successive layers of loanwords (hereafter LW) of Semitic origin in Sumerian has been recognized for a very long time. The first and older one has the ending -a, the second the ending -u m. A third, and presumably still older, layer of endingless forms, such as *silim*, has been of course recognized,¹ but the words belonging to it have so far not been systematically collected and analyzed. The present article is a first attempt to examine, at least partially, this lexical subset. Its existence and importance are not surprising, given the close symbiosis of Sumerians and Semites in southern Mesopotamia since the beginning of historical times. I am pleased to offer this article as a modest homage to my friend and colleague Robert D. Biggs, who presented the earliest convincing evidence for the presence of Semites among the Mesopotamian scribes.²

1. This article is a partial result of an investigation aimed at detecting regularities in the phonological shape of the entries of the Sumerian lexicon³ and the possible relationship of those shapes with semantic sets as well as with historical factors in the formation of the lexicon. The historical aspect will be limited here to the identification of possible Semitic etymologies.⁴ To keep the investigation within reasonable

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1. See, for instance, the contributions of D. O. Edzard, I. J. Gelb, and A. Falkenstein in "Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien," *Genava* 8 (1960): 301-14, 341-71.

2. See his pioneering article "Semitic Names in the Fara Period," *JCS* 36 (1967): 55-66 and especially his monumental work *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*, OIP 99 (Chicago, 1974), pp. 34-35. Some of the points discussed in this paper, and related matters, have already been presented by me at the 204th (Madison, Wisconsin, 1994) and 206th (Philadelphia, 1996) Annual Meetings of the American Oriental Society, and at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Leiden in 2002. I thank my colleagues Gonzalo Rubio and Leonid Kogan for their suggestions and corrections. Of course, all errors are mine. The financial aid of the Institut Català de Recerca i d'Estudis Avançats (Barcelona) is gratefully acknowledged.

3. The term "lexicon" is taken here as the inventory of the *lexical* (as opposed to *grammatical*) morphemes of a language, but the label "lexical phonology" is avoided because of its associations with particular linguistic schools.

4. This is not to deny that there cannot be other sources, besides the uncontrollable, unknown languages of the area. Indo-European, for instance, may have provided a certain number of words, such as *m a ḥ* "large, great" (competing with *g a l*); cf. Skt.

limits, it will be arbitrarily circumscribed to a graphically and phonologically defined lexical subset of words that fulfill the following conditions:

a) the word must have the form $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3$;⁵

b) $V_1 = V_2$;

c) $-V_2C_3$ should not be $-um$, unless it can be proved that this m is part of the radical; otherwise there are no restrictions in the choice of the consonants (including duplicated consonants and clusters);

d) the word, as far as it can be ascertained, should not be the result of a reduplication process nor a (homovocalic) compound of two monosyllabic roots.

The provisional exclusion of heterovocalic CVCVC-forms, such as $ḥašḥur$ “apple” or $ḥazin$ “ax,” as well as of items of the form VCVC, such as $asal$ “poplar” (Arabic *atal* ‘*tl*, Heb. *ešal*, Egypt. *jzsr*.(*t*) “tamarisk”) or $udun$ “oven” (Akk. *a/utūnu*, Arabic ‘*attūn*, Ge‘ez ‘*eton*), whose etymology may involve at times initial Semitic “laryngeals,”⁶ is due purely to economy of space. Homovocalic variants of words regularly attested as heterovocalic are also omitted, such as $ḥubur$, variant of $ḥe(n)bur$ “reed shoot”; $ḥulup$, variant of $ḥalup$ “a kind of tree”; and so on. A further exclusion eliminates Akkadian words given in some syllabaries in the construct state, such as $UR = ka-la-ab$ in Proto-Ea 648. Condition d) requires (1) that the word not be a transparent compound such as $ḡušur$ “beam” < $ḡe/iš$ “piece of wood” + $ūr$ “roof,” with vowel assimilation, or $nīs(s)ig$ “vegetable” < $nīḡ$ “thing” + sig_7 “green,” or the result of vowel harmony: $za-pa-ág$ “shout” < zi “breath” + $pa-ág$ “to emit(?)”; (2) nor should it be an opaque compound (in practice, no confirmation of this fact will be possible in most cases) such as $šidim$ “mason,” conceivably from $ši(g)_4$ “brickwork” + $dīm$ “to build”; (3) unambiguous reduplicated forms must also be eliminated: $babbār$ “white” < $bār + bār$, $nunus$ “eggs” < $*nus + nus$, etc. The rationale behind the choice of CVCVC-forms, besides keeping the length of this article within reasonable limits, is that longer lexical items provide a wider, safer base of comparison and the risk of operating with chance similarities is thus minimized. There are no doubt shorter LWs, but the phonological correspondences will be more solidly established first with the help of the longer ones, so that the results of the study of the $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3$ -forms, as defined above, will be but a first step toward an examination of the whole lexicon.

2. It is not easy to determine the monosyllabic or polysyllabic nature of a Sumerian word. Apparently monosyllabic entries dominate the Sumerian lexicon. Of the 200 most frequent verbal stems, only about 8 percent are graphically bisyllabic; the rest are monosyllabic. Statistics about nominal stems give similar results: samples from literary texts show 79-82 percent of monosyllabic roots, 10-15 percent of bisyllabic, 7-8 percent of CVCVC-forms. Due to the nature of cuneiform syllabic writing and to various scribal habits, however, the graphic syllabification may not exactly match the phonological one. Syllabic writing cannot directly represent a word-initial or word final consonantic cluster without the insertion of an epenthetic vowel or the (graphic) elision of one of the consonants, usually the first. At all times, the scribes alternate very frequently, and freely(?), between CVC and CVCV definitions. Thus $ḡi-i-r$ “foot”

mah-, Gk. μέγας, IE **meg(h)-*; see also the discussion of $d/ta-raḥ$ below. To date, published attempts to identify Indo-European words have been rather unfortunate; see G. Rubio, “On the Alleged ‘Pre-Sumerian Substratum’,” *JCS* 51 (1999): 9-11.

5. C in this paper includes consonantal clusters.

6. Other processes may be involved, as in $ušum$ “(mythical) snake” < $*wušum$ < $bušum$ ($MUŠ = bû - šúm$, in Ebla); cf. Akk. *bašmu*, Ugar. *bṭn*, Arabic *baṭan*.

alternating with *ŋi-ri* may in principle represent /*ŋir*/, /*ŋri*/, or /*ŋiri*/; *ka-la-ak* “strong” can be /*kalk*/, /*klak*/, or /*kalak*/; and so on. Furthermore, in these cases, as well as in apparently bisyllabic words of the form VCV, such as *igi*, *aga*, *ugu*, etc., the scribe could have used a final vowel to indicate some property of the consonant or of the preceding, not contiguous, vowel, as in the English spellings of the type *ate*, *same*, etc.⁷ The sonority hierarchy of the syllable makes it quite likely that in a sequence stop + liquid a vowel in between is a merely graphic epenthesis.⁸ Furthermore, a CV graphic syllable can correspond in fact to a CVC syllable, due to the scribal conventions that may delete the graphic representation of syllable-final consonants. Thus one has spellings, such as *du-si* (/tupsik/) “basket for dirt,” written alternatively *tu-up-ši-ik* (Hh. V-VII 194 Emar) (Akk. *tupšikku*), with cluster simplification and nonrepresentation of the final consonant. A Sumerian LW in Akkadian, if available, can disambiguate between CVC and CVCV-forms. In the first case, the LW will end in *-CCu*, in the second with a long vowel *-û*.

3. All the preceding considerations suggesting that the writing CVCVC could occasionally represent a phonologically monosyllabic word do not really affect the outcome of the present investigation. The triconsonantic structure remains in all cases intact and can thus always be compared with a presumed Semitic original. Once a credible relationship between a Sumerian word and a Semitic counterpart has been established, the problem of the direction of the borrowing should be tackled. Given the lack of information about the early stages of Akkadian and the uncertainties about archaic Semitic, the whole resting on a background of unknown linguistic entities, clear answers often will be impossible. Even if it can be established that two words are cognates, the direction of a borrowing often cannot be ascertained. The possibilities are many. A word (1) may have entered the Sumerian lexicon from what one could call Proto-Akkadian, in which case the word may or may not have survived into the historical stages of Akkadian, (2) it may have been borrowed from a Semitic language other than Akkadian, or (3) Sumerian and Semitic/Akkadian may both stem from a common, unknown source. In the opposite direction, (4) a Sumerian word may have been borrowed by a Semitic language. For instance, the name of the *šutu*-garment may be a derivation of the root *str* “to cover, to hide,” well attested in Semitic but not in Akkadian (except perhaps in Old Assyrian *šitru*). The words *zú-lum* and *suluppu* “date,” like other terms related to the date palm, both come in all likelihood from an unknown language spoken in the Gulf area, according to botanists the location of the origin of the date palm. The other Semitic languages have a

7. Note that *igi* gives the LWs *igu* and *igû* in Akkadian, failing to provide an answer. The long form, however, may be due to the fact that sign names tend to end in a long vowel. Cf., on the other hand, the formation of the so-called *marû*-forms of the Sumerian verb by the addition of the suffix *-e*, which may simply signal a change in the stem vowel. Finally, and as a corollary, traditionally accepted CVCV-forms may be in fact CVC: *dum* u “son” could very well be /*dum*/. The syllabaries give equal chances to both forms, and the frequent parallelism *dum* // *dum(u)* could, perhaps, be an indication that the short form is preferable. Note, however, the Emesal spelling *du₅-mu* (that could nonetheless be taken as an indication of an Emesal reading */*du ŋ*/) and the Greek transcription *δωμο* in S. M. Maul, “Neues zu den ‘Graeco-Babyloniaca,’” *ZA* 81 (1991): 92:7.

8. This phenomenon is not limited to obstruent + liquids. An epenthetic vowel may be present in words of the form *C₁iC₂a(C₃)*, where *C₁* is a sibilant and *C₂* a stop or a lateral. Examples include *šita* “mace,” *šitan* “small ditch,” *sila* “street,” *silâ* “measure,” *sipa* d “shepherd,” and many others. The hypothesis that phonologically they are /*šta*/, /*sla*/, /*spa* t/, etc., is extremely likely. Equally likely is the assumption that the syllabary definitions of the word for “bread” (*nî-in-da*, *in-da*, *nî-da*, *i-da*, and *î-da*) are attempts to represent /*nda*/ or /*nta*/. Note that such phenomena do not need to be purely graphic; Spanish *cruz* “cross,” for instance, gives *ruz* in Chol Mayan and *kurus* in Tzotzil Mayan.

different word for the date: Arabic *tamr*, *tummūr*, and parallels.⁹ Backborrowings are also possible: Arabic *bunzur* (and vars.) “female sex organ,” a common Semitic term, became b/penzer in Sumerian but seems to have reentered Akkadian as (u)pinzer “cobweb” and *bunzirru* “hunting blind.” One case where the direction of borrowing is clear is Akk. *us/zqāru* “crescent moon”: Sumerian shares saḥar (with var. s/šakar) “moon” with Semitic (*šahr*) and adds u₄ to the form u₄-sakar. The Akkadian initial *u-* and the *-q-* show that the term was borrowed from Semitic through Sumerian.

4. From the examination of the list of CVCVC-words in the Appendix (see below), one can draw the conclusion that a sizable number of them have a Semitic etymology, creating the presumption that the words of unknown origin in the same list may very well be in their majority, if not Semitic, at least foreign. As for more specific details about the form of the LWs from Semitic, as well as about the borrowing process, one can draw here only very provisional conclusions, since the evidence has been restricted, in an arbitrary way, to a particular homovocalic form. Additional evidence, from long, heterovocalic forms, as well as from shorter words,¹⁰ will be required for safer, more general, conclusions. One can, nevertheless, already formulate a few conclusions.

4.1. Writing and Phonology

It must be remembered that the writing system is markedly underdifferentiating, as easily seen in (2) below and in the well-known case of stops and sibilants (not examined here).

(1) Many of the words in the list are always, or at least very frequently, written syllabically in texts with standard orthography and in the vocabularies.

(2) [H]-signs, very frequent in the list, correspond to a wide range of Semitic sounds: ʾ, ʿ, ḥ, h, ġ. In some cases, however, the Semitic consonant is omitted altogether.¹¹ In any case, the opinion that Akkadian lost these sounds due to Sumerian influence is in need of revision.

(3) [H] alternates with [R] in Sumerian apparently only in words of Semitic origin (besides šuḥruš “root,” šuḥruš “to set on fire,” note ḥrus “angry,” Akk. *ezzu*), pointing to a fricative uvular pronunciation of the rhotic,¹² contrasting with the “flap” pronunciation suggested by the common graphic alternation <r/d>.

(4) Alternations between [L] and [R] are frequent (including metathesis), as well as between [N] and [L]; there are also some infrequent alternations between [D] and [S].

(5) Alternations between /b u/ and /g u/ are shown to be an internal phenomenon of Sumerian; words with etymological /b/ have variants with /g/.

(6) [S] would correspond exceptionally to /s/ in saḥar and *salam.

9. Cf. also Arabic *tamar* “fruit” and the name of the date palm: Sum. nimbār, Akk. (*giš*)-šimmar.

10. It is likely, however, that the number of Semitic LWs is much higher among the CVCVC- and VCVC-words than among shorter ones, due to the high frequency of triconsonantism in Semitic stems.

11. Resulting in a VCVC-word; for instance, a-ga-am “doorkeeper’s helper”; cf. Arabic ‘a‘gama “to close the door,” Soqotri ‘egom “barrer, obstruer”; see W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques* (Paris, 1938) (hereafter [LS]), p. 297.

12. But in what language, Sumerian or Semitic? Note that in the first example Sum. h/r corresponds to Sem. -r- (*šrš*); in the second it corresponds to -ḥ- (*ḥq*) and in the last to -z- (*zz*).

(7) The typological issue of the excessive number of u-vowels in Sumerian is evident in the list (a = 33,8 percent, i = 26,7 percent, but u = 39,4 percent). It cannot be discussed here other than to say that it can already be detected in the Ebla Sign List: ù - s u - r u₁₂ - (u m) for e - s í r “sandal” (96), ù - r u₁₂ - š (ú m) for e r e š “lady” (30), ù - š u - w u - (u m) for a n š e “donkey” (85), and so on. It may be due to a variety of reasons ranging from the presence of an undetected (and undetectable) additional back vowel to a possible use of /u/ as a “neutral” vowel in citation forms.

4.2. Morphology

(1) Verbal roots are mostly conjugated according to the regular rules of Sumerian: they are provided with normal verbal affixes and subject to reduplication.

(2) There are, however, a number of cases that use a periphrastic conjugation with the auxiliaries a k, d u g₄/e, or d ù.

(3) Plural/totality is at times indicated by reduplication.

(4) The assimilated verbal stems with initial šu- (mostly causative š-forms) are reanalyzed as native compound verbs with š u; the remaining part can then be given the status of independent stem. Note also some nouns with initial /š a/ interpreted as š à -.

4.3. Lexicon

(1) A borrowing process often results in “doublets”:¹³ the new, foreign word does not eliminate a semantically close native one that is retained, but whose meaning may be readjusted, taking on a more specialized (or conversely more generic) sense: k a s k a l and ḥ a r - r a - a n “road, caravan”; ḡ í r and b a - d a - r a “knife, sword”; m e and ḡ a r z a “legal/religious duties” (both Akk. *paršu*, Arabic *farḍ*),¹⁴ a g a r and a š a g/k “cultivated field”; and so on.

(2) A group of words sharing a concrete phonological pattern may belong to the same semantic field. The best-known example is the pattern C₁aC₂in, which includes almost exclusively terms related to cereal culture and brewing. The pattern C₁aC₂ur designates trees (ḥ a š ḡ u r “apple tree,” ḥ a l u p “a type of oak,” etc.) and is, perhaps, of “Caucasic” origin. In the present list one can easily detect the well-known pattern C₁aC₂aC₃ in words common to Semitic designating professions. Conversely, the members of one borrowed semantic field may have no common phonological pattern. The names of equids in Sumerian would seem to be all foreign, but they show no common pattern. No phonological structure, for instance, is common to two borrowed words related to land tenure: t e m e n “reserved plot in a field” (hence “perimeter of a sacred area”) and a g a r “agricultural field,” presumably related to τέμενος and ἄγρος respectively. The linguistic origin of the semantic fields has a historical and cultural significance. Provisionally, it is worth pointing out the apparent southern origin of the names of some containers and, curiously, of some anatomical terms.

5. The time of entry of these LWs into the Sumerian lexicon cannot be determined with any satisfactory degree of accuracy. Nor is there any evidence that they arrived all at once within a limited

13. U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague, 1963), pp. 55-56.

14. The close semantic resemblance between the Sumero-Akkadian and the Arabic terms would seem worthy of close study.

period of time. The majority are words of extremely low frequency, or even *hapax legomena*, and the kind of texts in which they would be expected are practically nonexistent before the eighteenth century B.C. Note, however, cases such as šu-dug-ùr, already in Early Dynastic lists. An indication of an early date would be the morphological adaptation, reflected in the normal verbal affixes and reduplication, and the reanalysis of verbs with šu- as compound verbs. Both could take place only, it would seem, at a period when Sumerian was very much a living language. It is possible, however, that at some relatively late time LWs were introduced as a sort of literary fashion. This would apply, for instance, to periphrastic forms with dù (instead of the expected du_g/e or a k), such as ga-ba-al-dù or sikil-dù-a, typical forms in Old Babylonian Edubba texts.

6. In conclusion, there are a number of Semitic lexical borrowings in Sumerian, many of them apparently coming directly from a language other than Akkadian, even when they also appear in historical Akkadian. Their number is moderate, far from the number of Arabic words in Spanish, or French words in Middle English, and clearly lower than the number of borrowings from Sumerian into Akkadian but, nevertheless, significant and consonant with the coexistence of Sumerian- and Semitic-speaking populations that must have taken place from the dawn of history. Every presumed LW requires a detailed study of its individual history, something for future investigation by others. The purpose of this article is just to establish the existence of this phenomenon, as a starting point for further investigation.

*Appendix: Checklist of CVCVC-Words in Sumerian*¹⁵

This appendix includes most of the homovocalic CVCVC-words of the Sumerian lexicon (a few possibly *lexicalized* reduplications, for example, kinkin or gigin, and some borderline cases have been included). Discussion and nonessential references have been kept to a minimum. To justify in detail a single entry would often require an article-length study. The headword in the individual entries is given in transcription, followed by the essential evidence from the syllabaries and other graphic data and an English gloss. The Akkadian translation and Semitic parallels then follow. If the Akkadian translation is not etymologically compatible with the headword, it is separated by a semicolon. If the Semitic relationship of a word is apparently well established on the basis of a single language, no effort has been made to include all the information about the distribution of this word within the Semitic family (e.g., in Ugar., Aram., etc.). Morphological information (Morph.) about inflected forms, if attested, some literary passages (Lit.), and occasional comments may be added at the end. The entries have been kept as brief as possible; as a rule, information about the sources that can be found easily in the syllabaries and customary dictionaries is not given. The entries are grouped in three sublists, according to their vowel, *e* and *i* being grouped together (except in words where they are consistently attested as different, as in geštīn “vine, wine”). Personal and geographical names are excluded from the list.

15. No references are given for the lexemes found in the more usual dictionaries, such as L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, rev. ed. (Leiden and New York, 1994); E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Edinburgh, 1863); H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Ithaca, New York, 1961). Abbreviations for lexical references: [DRS] = D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (Paris, 1970-99); [LGz] = W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987); [SED] = A. Militarev and L. Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary I: Anatomy of Man and Animals*, AOAT 278/1 (Münster, 2000).

CaCaC

001. *b a l a ṅ* (BALAG: *b a - l a - á ṅ*, *b a - l a - a g*, *b u - l u - u n*, *b u - l u - u g*) “a musical instrument” Akk. *balangu*. Most likely onomatopoeic.
002. *b a n d a r* (syll. *b a - d a r*; 𒂗A-*tenû*: *b a - a n - d a r*) “dagger” (or the like) Akk. *patru*. Var. of *b a - d a - r a*, but cf. Akk. *patarru* (back loan?).
003. *b a r a ḥ* (syll. *b a - r a - a ḥ*) “brawl?” PSD B 19b s.v.; possibly a form of the verb *r a - a ḥ*. Cf. *g a b a - r a - a ḥ* “rebellion.”
004. *b/p a r a k* (*b a r á - g -*) “to filter (oil)”; Akk. *ḫalāṣu*. Morph. *b a r á - a k*. Cf. Sem. *f/prq* “to separate.” See *p a r a k n*.
005. *d a b a n* (syll. *d a - b a - a n*, *d a - b a n*; KU₇: *d a - b a - a n*) “a leather part of the horse harness”; Akk. *šardappu*.
006. *d a k a n* (syll. *d a - g a - n -*; *d a g - g a - n -*, *d a - g a n*; KI.GIŠGAL: *d a - k a - a n*) (1) “part of a building, private room(?)” Akk. *dakkannu*. Cf. perhaps Arabic *dukkān*, Soqōṭri *dekkān* “store, shop” [(questionable) LS 127]; (2) “ligament”; Akk. *riksu* “ligament, sinew”; (3) “totality”; Akk. *kullatu* A.
007. *d/t a r a ḥ* (DARÀ, DARA₄: *d a - r a - a ḥ*, *d u - r a - a ḥ*) “ibex” Akk. *turāḫu* (not common Sem.). Cf. perhaps Gk. *δορκάς*.¹⁶
008. *g a b a l* (syll. *g a - b a - a l*) “quarrel” Akk., Sem. *qbl* “battle”; Akk. *gerû* “to fight” (mostly in a lawsuit). Morph. *g a - b a - a l* — *d ù / d u g / a k*.
009. *g a n a m* (LAGAB×GUD+GUD and vars.: *g a - n a m*) “sheep” Arabic *ḡanam* “sheep” (collective); Akk. *immertu*, *laḫru* “ewe.”
010. *g a r a ṣ* (GÁ×HÚB: *g a - r a - a ṣ*) “?”; Akk. *tibnu* “straw,” lexical *hapax*.
011. *g a ṣ a m / n* (NUN.ME.TAG: *g a - ṣ á - a m*) “artisan, expert”; Akk. *mudû* “expert” and syn.
012. *g a ṣ a n*, Emesal form of *n i n*.
013. *ḫ a l a m* (syll. *ḫ a - l a m*, Emesal /*g e l e ṅ*/, *ḫ e - l e - e ṅ*) “to destroy”; Akk. *ḫalāqu*. Cf. Heb., Ugar. *hlm* “to hit.”
014. *ḫ a r r a n* (syll. *ḫ a r - r a - a n*) “road” Akk. *ḫarrānu*, Soqōṭri *’orim* (better *’orim*), Mehri *ḫōrem* “road” are unlikely cognates.
015. *k a l a k* (syll. *k a - l a - a k - k -*, *k a - l a - k -*; KAL: *k a - a l* complement -*g -*) “strong”; Akk. *dannu*.
016. *k a l / n a m* (syll. *k a - n a - m -*, *k a - n a - ṅ -*, *g e - n e - m* - Ebla; UN: *k a - n a m*, *k a - l a m*, *k a l a - m a*; Emesal *k a - n a - á ṅ*) “homeland”; Akk. *mātu*. Despite the traditional transliteration with -*l -*, the form with -*n -* is lexically better attested. Perhaps a compound *k i + X*.
017. *k a m a r* (syll. *k a - m a r*, *k i - m a r* Pre-Sar.; NI: *g a - m a r*) “a fish trap” Akk. *kamāru* A. A compound of *k i*, in view of the Pre-Sar. var. *k i - m a r*.
018. *k a n k a n* (KÁ: *k a - a n - k a - a n*, *a - g a - a n*, *a - k a - a n*, *a - k a*, *k a - a*) “gate”; Akk. *bābu*. Perhaps a redupl. of /*(a) k a n*/. The form *a k a n* is the better attested against traditional transliteration *k á*.

16. Note, however, the widespread opinion that the original Indo-European form was closer to the *ιρκοϛ* of Hesiod (and the *ιρκεϛ* of Hesychius) because of sporadic Greek spellings with initial *ζ* (*ζορϛ*) and common Celtic **york-*; see, for example, P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (Paris, 1968-80), p. 293.

019. *ka par* (syll. *ga-ab-bar*, *gáb-ra*; PA.DAG.KISIM₅×KAK: [ka]-bar/pár) “a shepherd” Akk. *kaparru*. The spelling *gáb-ra*, which looks like an active participle of the type *ga-b-R*, is based on folk etymology and is not the source of the Akkadian form.
020. *ka pas* (syll. *ka-pa-z-*) “sea snail” Akk. *kapāšu*, from *kapāšu* “to curl”; Sem. *qps* in *AHw*.
021. *k/ga ran* (syll. *ga-ra-an*) “a bunch of fruits” Akk. *karānu* “grapes”; also *inbu*. See also *giri n*.
022. *kara š A* (KI.KAL.IDIM: *ka-ra-áš*, *ga-ra-áš*) “army camp” Akk. *karašu A*. Could be a compound *ki + X*.
023. *kara š B* (wr. as in *ga ra š A*) “disaster” Akk. *karašû*, Arabic *karraṭa*, with chronological and semantic problems.
024. *kara š C* (syll. *ga-ra š*) “leek” Akk. *karašu B*, Arabic *kurraṭ*. Cf. Gk. *πράσον*.
025. *karam* (GÁ×UD: *ka-ra-am*) “ruin” Akk. *karmu*.
026. *katam* (syll. *ga-dam*) “cover” Akk. *katammu*.
027. *la ban* (EZEN×LA: *la-ba-an*) “a sheep disease”; Akk. *pismu*. See also *libin* and *lubun*.
028. *la bar* (syll. *la-bar* Emesal), (1) “servant”; Akk. *ardu*, (2) “cantor”; Akk. *kalû*, (3) “minister”; Akk. *sukkallu*. Could be main dialect written *NU-bar* = *la₉-bar*. Like *libir*, *la bar* has a wide range of meanings in need of clarification.
029. *la gab* (LAGAB: *la-ga-ab*) “block”; Akk. *upqu* and related terms.
030. *la gar A* (SAL.ME: *la-ga-ar*, *lu-ku-ur*) “a religious/social class of women”; Akk. *nadītu*.
031. *la gar B* (syll. *nu-gú-l-* Ebla; LAGAR: *na-ga-al*, *la-gal*, *la-ga-ar*) “a kind of priest” Akk. *lagarru*.
032. *la gar C* syn. of *la bar* (3).
033. *la ḥan* (syll. *la-ḥa-da-m-* Ebla, *la-ḥa-an*) “jug” Akk. *laḥannu* “a type of bottle.” Cf. *λεκάνη* (*AHw*)?
034. *la ḥar* (syll. *na-ḥi-r-* Ebla; LAGAB×GUD and vars.: *la-ḥar*, *la-aḥ-rù*) “ewe” Akk. *laḥru*, Sem. *rhl* (metathesis).
035. *la ḥtan* (NUNUZ.ĀB×LA/SILĀ and vars.: *la ḥ-ta-an*) “a jar for brewing” Akk. *laḥtanu*. The lex. texts make a careful distinction between *la ḥan* and *la ḥtan*; the relation between the two is unclear.
036. *la ra ḥ* (syll. *la-ra-a ḥ*) “narrowness, distress”; Akk. *pušqu*.
037. *ma dal* (BU: *ma-da-al*, *mu-du-ul*, *ma-ad-la*, *mu-ud-la*, *ma-al-la*, *mu-ul-la*) “a pole to carry loads”; Akk. *maššû*, *makkû* “a pole.”
038. *ma kka š* (AŠ, DIŠ: *ma-a-k-ka š*, *ma-ka-áš*) “scream”; Akk. *ikkillu*.
039. *ma la ḥ* (syll. *má-la ḥ₅*) “boatman” Akk. *malāḥu*. A native compound or popular etymology?
040. *ma sap* (syll. *gi-ma-sá-a b*) “a type of basket” Akk. *masabbu/masappu*, Soqotri *msefi*, Amharic *masob* [*LS* 289].
041. *ma sar* (syll. *ma-sa-ar*, *ma-sa-r-*, *ma-sar*) “pile, large amount(?)” Lit. *ša du-lum-ma ma-sa-re dug₄*, *ma-sa-ar lugud dé-a dug₄*, *Edubba D 235-36*; (offerings) *ma-sa-re-e š im-mi-in-tù m*, *Enlil Hymn 92*. Cf. *zar* “stack of sheaves,” Akk. *s/zarru*.
042. *ma škan* (syll. *ma š-gán*) “place, settlement” Akk. *maškanu*, Arabic *maskan*.
043. *na gar* (syll. *na-ga-l-* Ebla; NAGAR: *na-ga-a r*) “carpenter” Akk. *naggāru*, Sem. *nqr* “to drill, to hew out.” Cf. *ma-a-n-ga-ra* “chisel.”

044. *naṇaḥ* (syll. *na-gá-aḥ*) “stupid”; Akk. *nu’û*. Cf. perhaps Arabic *ḥağğā*, Soqotri *nohog* “jouer, s’amuser.”¹⁷
045. *nanaṁ* (ŠA×NE: *na-nam, ni-ni-im*) “jealousy”; redupl.? Akk. *qinû*.
046. *paḥal* (syll. *pa-ḥal*) “thigh” Akk. *paḥallu*, Arabic *fahl* “male,” Syr. *pahalta* “testicles,” Soqotri *fāḥal* “penis” [SED no. 210]. Other Akk. mngs. secondary (e.g., *zittu* “portion,” false graphic etymology).
047. *paḥar* (syll. *ba-ḥa-r* - Ebla; DUG.SILÀ.BUR, BAḤÁR: *ba-ḥa-ar, pa-ḥa-ar*) “potter” Akk. *paḥāru*.
048. *palak* (syll. *ba-la-g-, ma-la-g-* Ebla; BAL: *ba-la*) “spindle” Akk. *pilaququ*, Heb. *pelek*.
049. *papaḥ* (syll. *pa-pa-aḥ*) “inner room” Akk. *papāḥu*. Redupl.?
050. *papal* (syll. *pa-pa-al*) “shoot, tendril” Akk. *papallu*. Redupl.?
051. *parak n.* (BARÁ: *ba-ra, pa-ra-a k*) (1) “curtain of separation” (around the area reserved to the king and royal family or to a deity in a temple), fig. “royal person, royal abode” Akk. *parakku*, Sem. *f/prq* “to separate,” Akk. *parāqu* (but cf. also *parāku* “to put an obstacle on the way”),¹⁸ (2) “a package made with sackcloth”; Akk. *bašamu, saququ*.
052. *parak v.* (DAG: *ba-ra, ba-ar, pa-ár*, complement -g-) “to spread out (a net, a bedspread, etc.)”; Akk. *šuparruru*.
053. *paraš* (syll. *ba-ra-aš*) “to fly.” Cf. Akk. *naprušu*. Morph. *ba-da-ab-ra-aš, mu-e-ši-ba-ra-aš*.
054. *sabad* (GÁ×SIG₇: *sa-bad*) “battle” or “middle part?”¹⁹ Akk. *qablu*. Var. /s ad/ with slightly different signs.
055. *s/šabar* (syll. *si-in-bar, síg-bar, ši-bar*; ŠEG₉.BAR: *sa-bar, še-en-bar*) “wild ram” Akk. *s/šapparu*, Heb. *šōpar*.
056. *saṇṇar* (syll. *sag-gar*) in *sag-gar—ak* “to spin”; Akk. *ṭamû*.
057. *saḥab* (syll. *sà-ḥé-ab, zé-ḥe-b-*; ŠU.DIŠ, ŠU.DI.EŠ: *su-ḥu-ub*) “bolt.” Cf. Arabic *saḥaba* “to pull out,” “to draw”; Akk. *mēdelu*.
058. *saḥar* (SAḤAR: *sa-ḥa-ar*) “sand” Arabic *ṣaḥārā* “desert,” *aṣḥar* “of the color of the desert sand”; Akk. *šēru* “steppeland,”²⁰ *eperu* “soil, loose earth.”
059. *saḥ/kar* (SAR: *sa-kar, šá-kar*, var. *sa-ḥar*) (1) in *u₄-sakar* “crescent moon” Akk. *usq/kāru*, South Arabic and Sem. *šahr* “moon”; (2) “a vessel” Akk. *šaḥarratu*.
060. **salam* “statue, figure,” assuming an interpretation *sa₇-alam* or *sa⁷alam*, Akk. *šalmu*; otherwise *bunnannû*, etc.
061. *samak* (URUDA×U, UM/DUB, and vars.; *sa-ma-ak, su-mu-uk*) “mole, wart”; Akk. *šullu, umṣatu*.

17. Perhaps derived from a gentilic, compare *nu’û/nuwā’um* “Anatolian native” in Old Assyrian texts. Note Soqotri *mangainah, manqaynah* “fou” (from *gnḥ*, derived from *n-gnn* “être, devenir fou”). The change *gnn* > *gnḥ*, however, is specifically Soqotri.

18. Cf. Heb. *parōket* “dividing curtain in the temple” and Arabic *frk/k/q* “l’énorme enceinte de toile qui dans les pays musulmans entoure la vaste tente du souverain,” R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), p. 1:1.

19. Lex. *hapax*, cannot be decided to which of the two *qablu* homonyms it belongs.

20. [SED no. 284] would separate, against *AHw* and *CAD*, *šēru* “back” from *šēru* “desert,” the latter belonging originally to the root *šhr*.

062. *saman* (ÉŠ.SUD.NUN.ÉŠ.TU and vars.: *sa-ma-an*, *su-mu-un*) “leading rope” Akk. *šummannu*, Arabic *zimām* “rein, halter.”
063. *sandan* (GAL.NI: *sa-an-ta-na*, *šá-an-da-an*) “chief gardner” Akk. *šandanakku*. A genitive compound (*sa g + X*) as shown by the Akk. form.
064. *šagan* (U.GAN: *sa-ka-an*, *sa-ma-an*, *šá-gan*) “a vessel”; Akk. *šikkatu* A.
065. *šajar* (KA×GAR: *ša-gá-ar*; Emesal *šà-mar*) “hunger” Soqotri *šáqar*, *šágar*, with Kushitic parallels; Akk. *bubūtu* A and syns.
066. *šakal* (syll. *šà-ka-l*) “a tree” Akk. *šakkullu*.
067. *šamaḥ* (syll. *šà-ma-ḥ*) “large intestine” Akk. *šammāḥu*, *šamaḥḥu* (also *irru kabru*), Ge‘ez *semāh/h/h* “spleen” [SED no. 247].
068. *šarag* (syll. *ša-ra-g-*, *-š-ra-g-*; SAR-*g-*) “to dry up, to shrink”; Akk. *ubbulu*, *muṭṭū*. Morph. *ba-da-an-ša-ra*, *mu-(un)-ša-ra-ge*, *nam-ba-ša-ra-ge-en*, *nu-ša-ra-ge*.
069. *šaraḥ* (syll. *šà-ra-a-ḥ*) (1) “to knead (clay),” (2) “to double a reed plaiting” Arabic *sara‘a* “to braid, plait”; Akk. (1) *pasālu*, *pisiltu*, (2) *ešēpu* “to twine.”²¹
070. *šaran* (DAG.KISIM₅×Ú+GÍR: *ša-ra-an*, *šá-ri-in*, *šu-ri-in*) “an insect”; Akk. *šaršaru* and vars.
071. *šatam* (syll. *šà-ta-m*) “a functionary” Akk. *šatammu*.
072. *taḥab* (syll. *ta-ḥab*, *ta-ḥáb*) “to soak”(?). Morph. *ta-ḥab*, *ta-ta-ḥab* = *tuḥḥudu* (*ša šamni*) “to soak with fat,” *im-ta-ḥab* = *rušumtu* “excessively wet clay, morass.”
073. *taḥar* (syll. *ta-ḥa-ar*) “distended (belly)(?)”; Akk. *šemru*. Cf. Arabic *ṭaḥīr* “coliques, contorsions dans le ventre” (A. de Biberstein-Kazimirsky, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1860], p. 60).
074. *tamkar* (syll. *da-m-gà-r*) “merchant” Akk. *tamkāru*. Cf. Heb. *makar*, etc.
075. *zabar* (UD.KA.BAR: *za-ba-ar*) “bronze” Akk. *siparru*.
076. *zagar* (syll. *za-gà-r*) “tower” Akk. *zaqāru* “to be high, pointed.” Cf. *ziqqurratum*, also Akk. *dimtu*.
077. *zaḥal* (syll. *za-ḥa-a-l*) “to disappear” Arabic *zaḥala* “to go away.” In *za-ḥa-a-l*—*a-k*; Akk. *ḥalāqu* “to disappear.”
078. *zaḥam* (syll. *za-ḥa-a-m*, *za-ḥa-a-n*) “a mineral”(?); Akk. unknown. Lit. *kù-babbār-zu níg-za-ḥa-a-m* (var. *-an*)-*šè ḥé-sa₁₀-sa₁₀* Agade 243; the context requires the name of a mineral or metal of a value between that of silver and that of copper. As a verb: *za-ḥa-a-m-ma-mu-dè* Inanna-Abzu col. ii 19 (broken context). Cf. perhaps Arabic *saḥ/ḥam* “black.” One could propose manganese oxide (“kohl”) for the noun and “to make up (the eyes)” for the verb.
079. *zaḥan* (U.GA: *za-ḥa-a-n*) (1) “a cereal concoction” Akk. *zaḥannu*, also *diktu*, (2) “a saucer”(?). Cf. perhaps Arabic, Jibbali *ṣaḥn*, Soqotri *ṣaḥen*.
080. *zaḥaš* (syll. *za-ḥa-á-š*) “leg”; Akk. *purīdu* “leg,” also *pušqu* “narrowness, difficulty.”
081. *zalg/k* (UD: *za-la-a-g*) “clean, shiny, bright”; Akk. *ebbu* and syns. Cf. *zlg/k* [DRS 733, 742].

21. The translation *ša libbi ešpu*, in Hh. VIII 310 (revised) and parallels, shows that it was understood as a compound: *šà + ra-a-ḥ*.

082. *z a l a ḥ* (syll. *z a - l a - a ḥ*) “to slip through an opening (said of a draft, a ghost)” Arabic *zala‘a* “to slide along, to slip”; Akk. *zâqu*. Morph. *m u - u n - z a - l a - a ḥ - (ḥ e) - e - n e*, *n a m - b a - z a - l a - ḥ e - e n*.
083. *z a l a m* (syll. *z a - l a m*) in *z a - l a m - g a r* “tents.” Cf. perhaps Arabic *zlām* “members of a clan/tribe”?
084. *z a p a ḥ* (syll. *š u - p a ḥ* Early Dynastic; MAŠ: *z i - p a - a ḥ*; ŠU.BAD: *z a - p a - a ḥ*) “span” Heb. *ṭph*, Amharic *ṭeffi* “palm of the hand,” Sem. *ṭph*; Akk. *ūtu*.
085. *z a r a ḥ A* (syll. *z a - r a - a ḥ*, and KI.SAG.SAL for [2]) (1) “female genitals” (or a disease thereof); cf. perhaps Soqotri *zirho* “saleté”; Akk. *laqlaqqu*, (2) “a bird name”; Akk. *igirû* “heron”(?) and *laqlaqqu* “stork.”
086. *z a r a ḥ B* (SAG.PA.LAGAB: *z a - r a - a ḥ*, also LU.KI.KAK, KU.KI.SAG) “grief”; Akk. *nissatu*. Cf. perhaps Akk. and Arabic *ṣrḥ*, if the grief is expressed with sounds.

CiCiC/CeCeC

087. *b/p e n z e r* (syll. *p e - e n - z é - e r*, *b e₅ - e n - z é - e r*, *b i - i n - z i - i r*) “the female sex organ, or part thereof” Akk. *biššūru*, Arabic *baṣr*, *bunzur*, with vars. [SED no. 37]; Sum. also “cobweb,” by semantic extension.
088. *b i r i g* (syll. *b i - r i - i g*) “to sneer at”; Akk. *ganāšu*.
089. *d i k b i r* (KI.NE.AN.MÜŠ: *d i - i k - b i - i r*) “?”; Akk. *ašur pindi* and vars. Perhaps < *X+ *kibir*, since the Akk. term seems to have something to do with fire or coal.
090. *d i l i m A* (*d i - l i - N E* Ebla; LIŠ: *d i - l i - i m*) “shallow dish, bowl, spoon, skull” Akk. *tilimtu* but more frequently *itquru*, *itqurtu*. It is possible, in view of the distribution of the different forms, and despite their different Akkadian translations, that *d i l i m* = *itquru*, *s i l i m* (KAL) = *ḥub/pšašû*, and *ti-lim-(da)* = *karpatu*, represent one and the same word.²² Cf. also *li m_x* (BUR) “bowl” Akk. *lummu*. Var. *s i l i m*/*s i l i m* in Dialogue 1:35.
091. *d i l i m B* (LAGAB×IM: *d i - l i - i m*, and vars.) “oven.” Part of a group of vars. of *š u - r i n* “oven” with *r > l* and final *-m/n* (JCS 25 [1973]: 173); influenced by *d i l i m A*?
092. *d i l i p A* (KA×ŠID: *d i - l i - i b*) “woman”; Akk. *amīltu*. In a series of metonymic terms for woman. Cf. perhaps the following entry.
093. *d i l i p B* (ŠID, SAG×ŠID: *d i - l i - i b*) “head of hair”; Akk. *uruhḥu*.
094. *d i ṇ i r* (syll. *t i - ḥ i - i r* Susa, *t i - i n - k i - r* Bogh.; AN: *d i - g i - i r*, *d i - m i - i r*, *d i - i n - g i r*, *d i - m e - e r*, *d i - m i - i r*; *d i m - m e - e r* Emesal) “deity”; Akk. *ilu*.
095. *d i n i k A* (syll. *d i - n i - g -*; KI.NE: *d i - n i - i g*) “crucible, brazier”; Akk. *kūru B*.
096. *d i n i k B* (LÚ.(ME).EN, LÚ.LAGAB: *d i - n i - i g*) “important person”; Akk. *šapšu*.
097. *d i r i k* (syll. *d i - r i - k -*; SLA: *d i - r i*, complement *-g-*) “to be more, to surpass”; Akk. (w)*atāru*.
098. *g i b i l* (NE-šeššig: *g i - b i - i l*) “new”; Akk. *edēšu*, *eššu*.
099. *g / k i b i r* (ŠÚ.AŠ: *k i - b i - i r*, *g i - b i - i l*, *g i₄ - b i - i r*) “firewood” Akk. *kibirru*; also *qilūtu*.

22. For the consonantic alternation, cf. *d/s/tal* = *rapāšu*.

100. gidim (gé-dím) “an ax” Sem. *gdm, Akk. (Mari) *qudūmu*; otherwise, Akk. *agū*, *titennu*. The relationship with aga/àga = *gur-di-mu* (Emar), *gur-du-mu-um* (Ebla),²³ and cognates (Aram., Tigre, etc.) is not completely clear.
101. g/kid/tim (syll. gi-dim, ki-ti-im, -ga-t[i]-m- Ebla) “ghost of a dead person”; Akk. *eṭemmu*. The form with k- is the better attested. The Akkadian word is probably related, but it is not clear how, perhaps kit/dim < ki + idim. For another case of the loss of initial k-, see kešeg.
102. gígir (LAGAB×U and vars.: gi-gi-ir) “wagon”; Akk. *narkabtu*. Redupl.
103. gili^mb (GL₄×GL₄: gi-li-im, ki-li-im, gi-ib) “to put crosswise, to obstruct”; Akk. *parāku*, *egēru*, etc.
104. ṇilip (KA×LI: gá-li, gi-li, me-li, mi-li, mi-ri, mi-li-b- UET 6 354:3; me-li Hh. XV 31b; gi-ri VAT 9523 ii' 8'; KA×RU: mi-li-ib; KA×NÍG+ŠÀ+A: me-li; KA×Ú: me-li) “melodious voice.” Cf. Akk. *ḫalālu* B “to pipe, wheeze,” Ge'ez *ḫ'ellat*, Heb. *ḫālīl* “flute”), also Akk. *ma'latu*, *mallatu*, *nemlū* “throat, or part thereof.” There could be two words, one */ṇili/ or */ṇilli/, root *ṇll, the other /ṇilip/.
105. girim (syll. gi-ri-m-; A.ḪA.KUD.DU; PÉŠ: gi₄-li-in, ki-li-im, and vars.) “?”; see M. Krebernik, *Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (Hildesheim, 1984), pp. 233ff.
106. girin A (gi-ri-in, gi-rin; LAGAB: gi-ri-im, gi-ri-in, gi-ri₄-in) “flower” Akk. *girimmu*, *girinnu* (from Sum.); also *illuru*, *inbu* and syn. In Sumerian contexts, the meaning is “flower” rather than “fruit.” The word belongs to an apparent Ablaut set with *gurun* “fruit” and *garan* “a bunch of fruits.”
107. giriš (BIR: gi-ri-iš) “butterfly” Arabic *faraša*; Akk. *kuršiptu*.
108. ṇiskim (IGI.DUB: giš-gi-im, giš-ki-im, i-is-ki-im; Emesal mu-uš-ki-im) “sign, signal” Akk. *giskimmu*; usually *ittu* A. A compound of ṇiṣ.
109. ḫibis (syll. ḫi-pi-is; TUR.DIŠ: ḫi-bi-is; AL×UŠ: ḫi-bi-is) (1) “?”; Akk. *ruššū* A “to act in contempt(?)”; (2) *aplu* “son,” and cf. ḫibis-kar = *mēlulu* “to play.” There are a number of textual problems in the lexical sources, and in the various Akk. translations, concerning this word.
110. ḫilip A (NAGA: ḫi-li-ib, ḫé-li-ib) “to thrive, flourish” Akk. *elēpu*, Soqotri *olif* “pousser (feuilles)” [LS 311]; Akk. also *šamāḫū* “to flourish” and *nāḫū* “to (be) calm.”
111. ḫilip B (IGI.KUR: ḫi-li-ib) “netherworld.”
112. ḫenzer n. (IGI.DIM: ḫe-en-zèr, ḫe-e[n-z]e-ru) “small, infant.”
113. ḫenzer v. (syll. ḫe-en-zé-er) in šu-ḫe-ḫe-en-zé-er “to extend, to open wide”; Akk. *muššū*.
114. ḫirin A (LAK 175: ḫi-ri-in) “spikenard”; Akk. *lardu*.
115. ḫirin B (KI.KAL: ḫu-rí-in, ḫe/ḫé-rí-in, ḫu-ra-nu) “a weed”; Akk. *arantu*, *sassatu*. Akk. *ḫirinnu* (CAD), *ḫerīnu* (CAD) are not attested. Perhaps heterovocalic: /ḫurin/.
116. ḫirin C (KU₇: ḫi-ri-in) “waterskin” Akk. *ḫirinnu*, as a foreign word in Malku; also *zim/nbuḫaru* Ea IV 194. The usual Akk. term is *nādu*.

23. G. Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue Eblaita*, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3, *Quaderni di semitistica* 17 (Florence, 1990), p. 138, no. 477.

117. *kikkin* (ĤAR: ki-in-ki-in, ki-ik-ki-in) “millstone”; Akk. *erû*. Possibly onomatopoeic redupl. < kin-kin.
118. *kilib* (LAGAB, LAGAB.LAGAB: ki-li-ib, ki-lib, ki-líb) “totality”; Akk. *napharu*.
119. *kilim* (PÉŠ: gi-li-im, ki-li-im) “animal”; Akk. *nammaštu*.
120. *kirid* (KÉŠ: ki-ri-id, ki-ri-is) “pin, needle” Akk. *kirissu*.
121. *kisim* A (syll. ki-si-im; KISIM₅: ki-si-im) “coagulated milk” Akk. *kisimmu*. Cf. *kasāmu* “to cut.”
122. *kisim* B (DAG.KISIM₅×SI: ki-si-im) “sheepfold”; Akk. *tarbašu*.
123. *kisim* C (DAG.KISIM₅×Ú+GÍR: ki-si-im) “an insect”; Akk. *šīhu*.
124. *kišib* (syll. ki-li-ib; DUB: ke-še-e-b, ki-ši-i-b) “seal, sealed document”; Akk. *kunukku*.
125. *kešeg* (syll. ke-še-e-g; GÍR, Ú.GÍR: ki-ši) “a thorny plant” Akk. *ašāgu*, Arabic *šōk*.
126. *kešer* (syll. ke-še-e-r; GÍR.BAR) in ke-še-e-r nu-tu ku “to have no limit” Arabic *kaṭara* “to be too much”; Akk. *kišda la išû*.
127. *kezer* (syll. ke-zé-e-r) in ke-zé-e-r—ak “to wear a chignon (or the like)”²⁴ Akk. *kezēru*, and cf. *kašāru* “to tie together, to knot,” Heb. *qšr*, Aram. *qtr*, Geʿez *qʷašara*.
128. *libin* (EZEN×LI: li-bi-in) “a disease of ovines”; Akk. *irdu*. See also *laban* and *lubun*.
129. *libir* (IGL.ŠÈ: li-bi-ir) “old” Akk. *labīru*.
130. *libir*; Emesal form of *nimṣir*, *sukkal*, etc.
131. *libiš* (ÁB.ŠĀ: li-bi-š; λεφεσ) “heart, courage”; Akk. *libbu*. The lex. attestations of this word are very late. Perhaps < *libbu* + *iš*.
132. *lidim* (AL×DÍM: li-dim) “?”; Akk. *rašû*. Probably a corrupt lex. entry (Aa VII/4:27).
133. *ligim/n* (IGL.TUR.TUR: li-gi-in, li-gi-ma) “offspring, offshoot” Akk. *ligimû*, also *ziqpu*, *niplu*, etc. The var. *li-gi-ma* and the Akk. form suggest a word with final vowel.
134. *ligin* (li-gi-in, li-gi₄-in) “a type of tablet” Akk. *lignnu*.
135. *lilis* (syll. li-li-is) “a musical instrument” Akk. *lilissu*. An onomatopoeic redupl. < *lis-lis.
136. *nigin* (U.UD.KID: ni-gi-in) (1) “fetus,” (2) “inner room of a temple”; Akk. (1) *kūbu*, (2) *kummu*. There is no evidence for the nature of the middle consonant.
137. *niṣin* A (LAGAB, LAGAB.LAGAB: ni-mi-en, ni-me-in, ni-ge-en, ni-gi-in, ni-in-ni) “to encircle, to go around”; Akk. *lamû*, *paḥāru*, etc. Possibly a redupl. form.
138. *niṣin* B (LÁL×LAGAB: ni-mi-en, ni-gi-in, na-an-ga, na-a-g-gi) “district” Akk. *nagû*. Derived from *niṣin* A, differs from it only graphically.
139. *niṣir* (GÍN-gunû: ni-mi-ir, ní-gi-ir, nim-gír, ne-gi-r(u₁₂- Ebla) “town crier, herald” Akk. *nāgiru*.
140. *piriṣ* (syll. ba-rí-g-Ebla; PIRIG: pi-ri-ig) “lion” (poetic); Akk. *labbu*, *nēšu*.
141. *sikil* A (syll. -s-ki-il, -š-ki-il; EL: si-ki-il, si-ke-el) “clean, pristine, virgin”; Akk. *ellu*, etc.
142. *sikil* B (as above) in *sikil-dù-a* “(acting) silly, stupid” Akk. *saklu* “simple person,” Syr. *skl* “(to be) foolish.” In Akk. lex. only, *magrû* “insulting.”

24. One must consider *kezēru* a sort of doublet of *kašāru*. For the type of hairdo involved, see J. Börker-Klähn, “Haartrachten,” *RLA* 4, pp. 1-12, and A. Spycket, “La coiffure féminine en Mésopotamie,” *RA* 48 (1954): 131 ff., 161 ff.

143. silik A (GIŠGAL×IGI: si-li-ig, ši-li-ig; si-la-g - Ebla) “stopped, ended”(??); Akk. several translations, mostly unclear.
144. silik B (TAG×UD/GUD/KU: si-li-g) “fist”; Akk. *upnu*.
145. silim (DI: si-li-im) “peace, good health” Akk. *šulmu*, Sem. *šlm*.
146. simik. See samak.
147. šibir (U.EN×GĀN-tenû: si-bi-ir, ši-bir) “crooked staff” Akk. *šibirru*. The form with initial š- is better attested.
148. šidim (DÍM: ši-di-im, ši-te-em, ši-ti-im) “bricklayer”; Akk. *itinnu*. Perhaps a compound of something like *sig₄/šeg₁₂-dím.
149. šikin (syll. ši-kin; DUG, SÍG.LAM: ši-ki-in) “a type of clay pot” Akk. *šikinnu*.
150. šinik (GAD.NAGA: ši-ni-ig, še-ni-ig) “tamarisk”; Akk. *bīnu*.
151. tibir (syll. šu-búr; TAG, TAG×ŠU/UD/GUD/KU: ti-bi-ir; DUB.NAGAR: tibir; šibir) “fist”; Akk. *upnu* “fist,” *šisītu* “wrist.” Cf. perhaps Sem. *tbr* “to break.”
152. tikil (syll. ti-ki-il, -t-ki-il) “to protrude(?)” (said of eyes, stomach); Akk. (*libbu*) *ebtu*, *eddu*. Morph. igi-ti-ti-ki-il, šà-at-ki-il.
153. temen (TE: te-me-en) “perimeter, marked-off area” Akk. *temennu*, Gk. τέμενος.
154. zibin (DAG.KISIM₅×TAK₄, DAG.KISIM₅×Ú+GÍR: zi-bi-in) “caterpillar”; Akk. *nappillu*.
155. zeber (syll. giš.gud-zé-bé-er [M. Sigrist, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary* (Philadelphia, 1990), no. 248]) “a tool”; if this tool is the same as umbin-gud (despite the inversion of components), zeber could be a reflex of Akk. *šupru* “fingernail,” Sem. **tupr* [*SED* no. 285].

CuCuC

156. buluṅ A (PAP.PAP: bu-lu-un, bu-lu-u-g) “to grow, to raise (a child)”; Akk. *rabû*, *rubbû*.
157. buluṅ B (BALAG: bu-lu-un) (1) “a musical instrument” Akk. *balaggu*, var. of *balag*; (2) “to boast, give oneself importance”; Akk. *kubburu*.
158. buluḥ (HAL: bu-lu-úḥ) “to vomit”; Akk. *arû* B “to vomit,” also *ašû* “?”, *ḥāšu* B “to worry.” The latter equation indicates some confusion with *puluḥ* “to fear.” Onomatopoeic.
159. burut (U: bu-ru, complemented -d) “hole, to pierce” Arabic *farata* (C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* [Edinburgh, 1895], p. 609).
160. d/tubul A (syll. du-bu-ul, var. du-gu-l-) “to mix ingredients” (soup, beer, river waters, dough, etc.) abstracted from šu-du-bu-ul (Akk. *šutābulu*, Sem. *wbl*), taken as šu+du-bu-ul.
161. dubul B (ŠU.BU: du-bu-ul) “to flourish, to be exuberant”; Akk. *elēpu*.
162. dubur (ḪI×U/ŠE: du-bu-ur) “the base of the sky” (mythical). Cf. Arabic *dub(u)r* “backside, buttocks,” Akk. *išdu* “root” [*SED* no. 46].
163. dugud/t (syll. -d-gu-ud; DUGUD: du-gu-ud, du-ku-ud) “heavy”; Akk. *kabtu*.
164. durun (ŠU.LAGAB: du-ru-un) var. of šu-rin “oven.”
165. guduk (syll. gú-du-g-; ḪI×NUN.ME: gu-du, complemented -g) “a religious occupation”; Akk. *pašīšu*.
166. gurd/t (NUN.KI: gu-ru-ud, gu-ru-da, ku-ru-ud; LÚ.KI: gu-ru-ud) “to drop”; Akk. *nadû*.

167. *g u r u m* (IGI.ERIM, IGI.GAR and vars.: *b u - r u*, *g ú - r u*, [*x*] - *r u - u m*, *k u - r u m*) “inspection”; Akk. *piqittu*. Morph. *g u r ú m - a k*.
168. *g/k u r u m* (syll. *g u - r u - u m*) “pile” Akk. *karāmu* B “to pile up.”
169. *g u r u n* (GURUN and vars.: *g u - r u - u n*) “fruit.” See *g a r a n*.
170. *g u r u š* (syll. *g u r₅ - r u - u š*; TAG: *g u - r u - u š*) “to tear to pieces” Akk. *qarāšu*, Arabic *qaraša*. Mostly in *g u r₅ - r u - u š* — *b ú r* “to bare the teeth, to bite” (said of wild animals); Akk. *gā'u*. Morph. *g u r₅ - r u - u š* — *d u g₄/e*, *g ú - g u r₅ - r u - u š* (redupl.).
171. *g u š u r* (syll. *g u - š u - r*) “to compensate” Akk. *kašāru* C. Morph. *ḥ a - m u - n a - a b - g u - š u - r e* (Ur III).
172. *ḡ u r u š* (syll. *m u - r í - š* - Ebla; KAL: *g u - r u - u š*, *m u - r u - u š*, *g i - r i - <x>*; cf. ARAD×KUR: *k i - r a - a š*) “(able) man”; Akk. *eḡlu*. A compound < *ḡ i r - u š or the like?
173. *ḥ u b u d* (syll. *ḥ u - b u - u s*; KA.ŠU.GÁL: *ḥ u - b u - u d*) “to present oneself to a deity” Sem. *bd* “to serve” (often with religious overtones), Akk. *labān appi*, *šukēnu*.²⁵
174. *ḥ u b u r* (NUNUZ.ÁB×BI: *ḥ u - b u r*) “a brewing vat” Akk. *hubūru*.
175. *ḥ u b u š* (syll. *ḥ u - b u - u š*) (1) “to chop” (necks, limbs, malt) Akk. *ḥabāšu* “to chop up,” Aram. *ḥbs*; (2) “to do something with rugs or felt” Arabic *hibs* “blanket,” Heb. *hefeš* “material for saddles.” Morph. *a l - ḥ u - b u - u š*, *b a - ḥ u - ḥ u - b u - u š*; periphrastic *ḥ u - b u - u š* — *d u g₄*.
176. *ḥ u d u š* (syll. *ḥ u - d u - s* - Ebla; TU: *ḥ u - d u - u š*) “leather armor”(?) Akk. *ḥuduššu*.
177. *ḥ u l u ḥ* (syll. *ḥ u - l u ḥ*) “to fear”; Akk. *galātu* and syn. Morph. *b í - i n - ḥ u - l u ḥ*, *n a m - b í - í b - ḥ u - l u ḥ - e*, etc. Perhaps related to Arabic *wahila* “to be frightened,” *wahal* “terror,” with metathesis.
178. *ḥ u l u m* (DAG.KISIM₅×LUM/ḤA: *ḥ u - l u m*) “fishnet”(?) Akk. unknown.
179. *ḥ u m u ḥ* (LAGAB×U+A: *ḥ u - m u - ú ḥ*) “swamp, flooded land”; Akk. *miḥṣu*. The vars. */u m a ḥ/*, */a m a ḥ/* are better attested, so that it is probably a compound **a - m a ḥ*.
180. *ḥ u t u l A* (syll. *ḥ u - t u - u l*) “to shovel, to pile up” (clay, dirt, malt) Akk. *ḥutūlu* “piled up clay” and *ḥadālu* B(!) “to shovel.”
181. *ḥ u t u l B* (syll. *ḥ u - t u - u l*) “to flare the nostrils” (said of a horse). Lit.: [*a n*] *š e - k u r - r a k i r₄* *ḥ u - t u - u l - ḥ u - t u - u l - e*, *i - b í g ù n - n u - g ù n - n u - e* “a horse with flaring nostrils, with sparkling eyes” (CT 15 18:27 f.).
182. *ḥ u t u l C* (syll. *ḥ u - t u - u l*) “to wrap up, to bandage” Akk. *ḥadālu* A(!), Arabic *ḥatala*, Heb. *ḥtl*; Akk. also *ḥatū ša murši* “to bandage a wound/a diseased spot.”
183. *k u r u m* (PAD: *k u - r u - u m*) “share, portion” Akk. *kurummatu*.
184. *k u r u n* (DIN, DUG, etc.: *k u - r u - u n*, *k u - r u - u m*) “wine” Akk. *karānu*, *kurunnu*.
185. *k u r u š t* (KU₇: *g u - r u - u š*, *k u - r u - u š*, *g u - r u - u š - d a*, *g u - r u - u š - t a*) “person in charge of fattening animals”; Akk. *mārū*.
186. *k u š l u g* (KI.NE: *k u - u š - l u - u g*) “?”; Akk. *netmertu*. Possibly a compound < **k i + s/š u l u g*.
187. *k u š u m A* (U.PIRIG: *k u - š u - u m*, *k u - š u*, *k i - š i*) “to advance creeping, or fearfully(?)” (said of an animal); Akk. *šāqu* A, *nāqu* B, *lāpu*, with unclear mngs.

25. The gloss “ZLUD” in Erimhuš V 170 (CAD B s.v. *balāšu* lex. section) has to be read *ḥ u¹ - b u¹ - u d*. Akk. *balāšu* includes two verbs: a) “to present oneself to a deity,” as above, and b) “to look at” (perhaps a by-form of *palāsu*). How the gloss *ḥ u b u d* could be applied to the discontinuous lexeme KA.ŠU.GÁL is an interesting question.

188. kušum B (BI.LUL: ku-š u-u m, ku-z u-u m) “to tremble”(?) ; Akk. *nāqu* B, *šāqu* A. Also syn. of kušum A.
189. kušum C (ZUM: ku-š u-u m) “?” ; Akk. *marru* “bitter” (unclear).
190. lubun (EZEN×LU: lu-b u-u n) “a disease of ovines” ; Akk. *hingu*. See also laban and libin.
191. lugut A (syll. -l-ku-d-; LAGAB: lu-g u-u d, lu-g ú-u d, lu-g u₄-u d; LUM.GAR+LUM.GAR: lu-g u-u d) “short” ; Akk. *katû*, *kurû*, etc. Perhaps /l(u)g u d’/ with shortforms gu₄, gu_{d8}, and ku_{d8}.
192. lugut B (BAD.UD: lu-g u-u d) “(whitish) suppuration” ; Akk. *šarku*.
193. lugut C (LAGAR×ŠE.SUM: lu-g u-u d) “threshing floor” ; Akk. *raḥīšu*, *maškanu*.
194. munsub A (ŠIK.(LAM).SUHUR: mu-un-su-u b, mu-un-š u-u b, mu-un-z u-u b) “hair” Mehri Harsusi *mensōb*, Soqotri *ménsub* “pubic hair” ; Akk. *šārtu* [*SED* no. 239].
195. munsub B (syll. en-š a-b- Ebla; (PA).GÚ×NUN: mu-un-su-u b, mu-s u-u b) “shepherd” ; Akk. *rē’û*.
196. munus (SAL: mu-n u-u s, mu-n u-u š; Emesal nu-n u s) “woman, female” ; Akk. *sinništu*.
197. murub A (SAL.(LA), SAL.LAGAR: mu-ru-u b) “female sex organ” ; Akk. *ûru* and related or metaphoric meanings: *amiltu* “woman,” *šuhhu* “buttocks,” *pû* “mouth,” *kalû* “a priest.” Also EN.ME.LAGAB: mu-ru-u b “a priestess” ; Akk. *ēnu* of Nisaba.
198. murub B (MURUB₄: mu-ru-u b) “center part, waist” ; Akk. *qablu*.
199. muru^mb (SAL.UŠ.DAM: mu-ru-u b; SAL.UD.EDIN: mu-ru m) “brother-in-law” ; Akk. *emu rabû*.
200. muruš (syll. mu-ru-u š) “buttocks” ; Akk. *šuhhu*, *išsu*. Possibly scribal error for murub?
201. nuṭun (syll. nu-g ú-n- Ebla, ni-g i-n-, ní-g i-n-; NUMUN: nu-m u-u n) “seed” ; Akk. *zēru*.
202. numdun (KA×NUN: nu-u m-d u-u m, nun-d u-u n; Emesal š u-u m-d u-u m) “lips” ; Akk. *šaptu*.
203. numun (ZI+ZILAGAB and vars.: nu-m u-u n; Emesal š u-m u-u n) “a type of rush or sedge” ; Akk. *elpetu*, etc.
204. puluḥ (syll. bu-l u-ú ḥ, bu-l u ḥ) “(to) fear” Akk. *pulḥu*, *palāḥu*, Sem. **frh*. Morph. i-i m-bu-l u-ú ḥ, i m-bu-l u-ú ḥ, i n-bu-l u-ḥ (a), bu-bu-l u ḥ.²⁶
205. puluk (syll. -b-l u-uk, bu-l u-k-; NAGAR: bu-l u-u g) (1) “chisel” Arabic *falaqa* “to split,” (2) “boundary marker” ; both Akk. *pulukku*.
206. pusuš (syll. pu-s u-u š) “?” in pu-s u-u š — a k Akk. *puššušu*.
207. putuk (syll. pu-d u/t u-u k) “to destroy (the enemy)” Akk. *patāqu*, Arabic *fataqa*. In pu-d u/t u-u k — a k/z a “to destroy, to kill” ; Akk. probably *ubbutu*.²⁷
208. subur A (ŠUBUR: su-bur) “wagon.” Cf. perhaps Arabic *safara* II, Ge‘ez “to travel,” Akk. *šapāru* “to send on a journey.” Perhaps Akk. *saparru* B, consistently written with *s-* and with a different logogram.

26. Arabic *falaḥa* (AHw 812) does not fit semantically.

27. It would seem that in P. Michalowski, “An Old Babylonian Literary Fragment concerning the Kassites,” *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 41 (1981): 388:11-13, the gloss *ka-mar-šu-nu* to pu-t u-u k — a k in line 11 is misplaced: it would belong to t u₁₀- t u₁₀- b i — a k with gloss *da-ab-da-šu-nu* in line 13 and vice versa.

209. *subur* B (syll. *su-bu-r-*; ŠUBUR: *su-bur*, *su-bar*, *su-bir*₄, *šu-bur*) “servant” (derived from the gentilic “Subarian”). Form with *š-* only in the late source S^b.
210. *s/šuhur* n. A (syll. *šu-ḥu-r-* Ebla, *-š-ḥu-r-*; SUḪUR: *su-ḥu-ur*, *sú-mu-ur*) (1) “hair” Akk. *šārtu* “hair,” Sem. *s/š’r*; (2) “crown of a tree” Arabic *šaḡar*, Soqotri *śohor* “tree”; (3) “tent” (made from goat hair) Akk. *ša/uḥūru* “a building” (originally “tent”); cf. *šārtu* “goat hair.”
211. *suḥur* n. B (as in A) “carp”; Akk. *purādu*. Cf. perhaps Arabic *šu’ūr* “a saltwater fish.”²⁸
212. *suḥur* n. C (SUḪUR: *su-ḥu-ur*, etc.) “goadstick”; Akk. *mekkū*, *mēgigu*.
213. *suḥur* v. (SUḪUR: *su-ḥu-ur*) (1) “to trim or comb the hair,” (2) “to make smaller” (Akk. *ṣuḥḥuru*), (3) “to goad, to scratch”; Akk. *qamāmu* (1), *nukkuru* (2), *ekēku* (3). See *z/suḥur* [254].
214. *suḥuš* “root.” See *suruš*.
215. *sukuš* (MÜŠ: *su-ku-uš*) “crest of a bird, head ornament”; Akk. *šipru*.
216. *sukut* (GALAM: *su-ku-ud*, *šu-ku-ud*) “tall, high”; Akk. *mēlū* “elevation.”
217. *s/zulug/k* A (syll. *su-lu-ug*; *-s-lu-ug*; LUL: *zu-lu-ug*, *za-la-ag*) “(to be) brilliant, shiny”; Akk. *namāru*, *namru*. A syn. of *zalaḡ/k*. Also in *su-lu-ug-lá* (var. LUL-lá) = *nappāḥu* “metalworker.”
218. *suluk* B (LUL: *su-lu-ug*) “a clay pot”; Akk. *šakanmu*.
219. *sulun* (syll. *sú-lu-un*) “to overwhelm”; perhaps, with metathesis, Akk. *rašānu*, “to roar(?),” Arabic *raṣuna* “to be firm, strong.” Morph. *sú-sú-lu-un*, *sù-sù-lu-un* Akk. *ruṣṣunu*. Cf. LUL *su-lu-un* = *le-x-u*.
220. *sumuk* A (syll. *su-mu-ug*, *zu-mu-ug*) (a) “to fear, to terrify,” (b) “to be angry”; Akk. *adāru*, *palāḥu*; late mng. “eclipse” (for its psychological effects). Morph. *su—mu-g-mu-g*.
221. *sumuk* B (URUDA×U and vars.: *su-mu-ug*, *šu-mu-ug*) “a skin mark”; Akk. *šullu*. See *samak*.
222. *sumun* A (BAD: *su-mu-un*, *šu-mu-un*, *su-un*, *su-gi-in*) “old, worn out; old remainders” Akk. *sumkinnu*, also *labīru* “ancient.”
223. *sumun* B (syll. *su-me-n-* Ebla, *su-mu-n-*; GUL: *su-mu-un*, *sú-mu-un*) “wild cow”; Akk. *rimtu*.
224. *sumur* (syll. *su-mu-r-*; SAG-*gunū*: *su-mu-ur*, *su-ur*, *šu-ur*) “angry”; Akk. *ezzu*.
225. *suruš* (DU-*gunū*: *su-ḥu-uš*, *su-ru-uš*) “root” Akk. Sem. *šuršu*; Akk. also *išdu*. See *šuruš*.
226. *šubul* (syll. *šu-bu-ul*) uncertain, in *ga šu nu-bu-ul* “milk that does not ‘rise’”; Akk. *eldu*.
227. *šubur* (syll. *šu-búr*) “to break off” (a piece of bread) Akk. *šebēru* “to break” (pots, bones, etc.), Sem. *ṭbr*. Cf. *šu-búr-búr* with Akk. *qarāšu* “to carve, make bread into loaves.” Morph. *šu ḥé-im-da-an-búr-re*.
228. *šudul/n* (syll. *uš-ti-n-* Ebla; ŠU.UR-*šeššig* and vars.: *šu-du-un*, *šu-du-ul*) “yoke”;²⁹ Akk. *nīru*.
229. *šugur* A (syll. *šu-gur*₅) “a basket for fruits” Akk. *šug(u)rū* (note long final vowel) and var. (Landsberger *Date Palm*, pp. 37-38).
230. *šugur* B (syll. *šu-gur*) “bracelet”; Akk. *unqu*. Compound of *šu* + *gur*.

28. *Letherinus nebulosis* according to C. Bailey, *A Culture of Desert Survival* (New Haven, 2004), p. 79.

29. The original meaning is “tool, utensil” in general, related to *šu-du*₇, *ši-ta*₄, etc.; later specialized as “loom,” “yoke,” “tools for a trade,” etc.

231. šuḥup (ŠÚ.MUL: šu-ḥu-u b) “shoe” Akk. *s/šuhuppu*.
232. šuḥuz (syll. šu-ḥu-u z, šu-ḥu z, šu-ru-u š) “to set on fire,” etc. Akk. *aḥāzu* Š, Sem. *’ḥd*. Reanalyzed as šu + ḥu-u z: (izi) šu-ḥu-u z, šu-ḥu z — a k, abstracting a root: ḥu-u z. Morph. šu ḥu-u z-, šu-ḥu-za-ab, šu bí-in-ḥu-u z, šu mi-ni-ib-ḥu-u z, šu bí-in-ḥu-ḥu-u z.
233. šukur A (IGI.KAK: šu-k u-ur, šu-g u r) “tip (of an arrow, etc.), stake, spear” Akk. *šukurru*.
234. šukur B (PAD: šu-k u-ur) “something made of reeds” (hut? fence?) Akk. *šukurû*.
235. šuluḥ (syll. šu-lu ḥ, šú-lu ḥ) “to dredge (canals), to clean (ritually)” Akk. *šuluḥḥu* (a religious rite).³⁰
236. šurug A (syll. šu-ru-u g, šu-ru-u b) “water hole” Arabic *šarī’a* “water hole,” Ethiopic *šarg*. Lit. ^{giš}Ú.GÍR a-a šu-ru-(u g)-ga (var. šu-ru-u b) ^{giš}šukur a-a ub₄-ba “brambles inside the water holes, pointed stakes in the water of the wells,” Dumuzi’s Dream 120.
237. šurug B (syll. šu-ru-u g, šur-ru-u g) “a weaving of palm leaves” Arabic *šarīḡa* “sack made of palm leaves,” Ethiopic *sarga*, Mehri *šarawg* “to stitch up,” Heb. *šrg*, Aram. Syr. *s^erag* “tresser”; Akk. *zinû* in KA×BAD/ME-šur-ru-u g. Lit. ^{giš}KA×ME-šur-ru-u g - ^{giš}KA×ME-šur-ru-u g-bi ^{giš}níg ^{giš}nimbar-bi na-nam, Inana and Šukalletuda 79.
238. šurum (LAGAB×GUD/GUD+GUD: šu-ru-u m, šu-ru-u n, šu-ri-im) a) “bedding place for animals,” b) “dung”; Akk. a) *rubšu*, b) *piqqannu* and syns.
239. šuruš “root.” See suruš.
240. šusub (syll. šu-su-u b) “to wipe, to polish, to scrape” Akk. *esēpu* Š, Sem. *’sp*; Akk. also *qatāpu* “to pick” (pomegranates). Reanalyzed as šu + su-u b, giving su-u b, written also sub₆. Morph. šu ḥé-eb-su-u b-be, šu u-me-ni-su-u b-su-u b. As a noun: (1) ^{túg}šu-su-u b Akk. *šusuppu* “wiping rag, towel,” (2) šu-su-u b “scrapings”; Akk. *šukkultu*.
241. šušur (sign ŠL 365: šu-šur) “grate of a furnace(?)” Akk. *šuššuru*.
242. šutbul in šutubul (syll. šu-du-bu-ul, šu-tu-bu-úr) “to mix ingredients (at least one of them a liquid)” Akk. *šutābulu*, also *marāsu* “to stir into a liquid,” *še-e-ja-um* (mng. uncert.). Morph. šu im-tu-bu-ur (var. mi-ni-). See d/tubul.
243. šutuk (PAD: šu-tuk) “reed hut” Akk. *šutukku*.
244. šutum (GI.NA.AB.DU₇/TUM: šu-tu-u m) “storehouse” Akk. *šutummu*.
245. šutur (syll. šu-du₈-ù r. tú g Early Dynastic; MAḤ: šu-tur) “a garment” Akk. *šutūru*, Arabic *sutra* “tunic,” *satara* “to cover.”
246. tugul (NAGAR.ZA-*tenû*: tu-gu-ul/gul) “hump, humpback”; Akk. *asqubbūtu* “hump,” *gilšu* “hip, flank.”³¹
247. tukul (KU: tu-ku-ul) “mace, weapon” *zugullum* (/sukullu/) Ebla; Akk. *kakku*. Conti, *Il sillabario*, p. 142, no. 495, interprets *zugullum* as /šukūrum/ related to Arabic *šaḡara* “battere col bastone.”
248. tukun (ŠU.NÍG.TUR.LÁ: tu-ku-u n) “moment, instant”; Akk. *surri*.

30. “Hand washing” is a popular etymology, already attested in Ebla (Conti, *Il sillabario*, p. 172, no. 626); originally the word had nothing to do with hand washing.

31. No form *tuḥul seems to be attested; despite the discussion in *MSL* 9 20, all the forms there are clearly Middle Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian GUL-signs.

249. tukur A (KA×ŠE: tu - ku - ur) “to chew”; Akk. *kasāsu* A.
 250. tukur B (LAGAB: tu - ku - ur) “heavy, important”; Akk. *kabtu*.³²
 251. z u b / g u d (ḪA-*tenû*: z u - b u - d -, z u - g u - u d) (1) “a mace”; Akk. *patarru* (reading of logogram is uncert.), (2) “an animal” Akk. *zubuttu*. See also b a n d a r.
 252. z u b u r (sign ŠL 364: z a - b a r, z u - b u r) (mng. uncert.) Akk. *zabaru*.
 253. z / s u ḫ u l (syll. z u - ḫ u - u l) “?” (said of face, neck, hands) Akk. *saḫālu* “to pierce” does not fit semantically, unless it has a figurative mng. Lex. i g i z u - ḫ u - u l = *pa-nu sà-aḫ-ru-[tum]*, š u z u - ḫ u - u l = *qá-tum sà-ḫi-il-t[um]*. Lit. [g] ú z u - ḫ u - u l - a - n i - t a d ù - d ù - à m; š u - n i a b - z u - ḫ u - u l (“a z u ḫ u l hand cannot write well”).³³
 254. z / s u ḫ u r (syll. z u / s ú - ḫ u - r -) “?”; see s u ḫ u r v. (2) [213]; (silver) ^{unuda} ḫ u - b u - u m z u - ḫ u - r e - d è (Ur III).
 255. z u k u m (ZI+ZILLAGAB: z u - k u - u m) “to step on, to trample”; Akk. *kabāsu*.
 256. z u l u g. See s / z u l u g / k.
 257. z u l u ^m b (syll. z ú - l u m) “date” Akk. *suluppu*.

32. Probably “full” form of g / k u r₄.

33. Arabic *ḡahala* “to be negligent” would fit the construction with š u “hand” but hardly with i g i or g ú.

The Forerunners of *Marû* and *Ħamtu* in Old Babylonian*

The tablet presented here offers, besides other interesting lexical information, what seems to be the oldest attestation of the scribes' awareness of the existence in Sumerian of binary verbal stems, better known as the grammatical categories *marû* and *ĥamtu*. The publication of this text seems a fitting homage to the memory of the author of the "Introduction to the Chicago Grammatical Texts" (*MSL* 4 1*-50*) and of other substantial studies on the Sumerian verbal system.¹

1. *The Text*

BM 23330 (= 97-5-15, 8) is a lenticular tablet (Ø = 80 mm) with the flat side divided into five columns by vertical lines; the two leftmost columns have Sumerian entries and their Akkadian translation; column three (not copied here) has four Sumerian entries, and the rest of the column is blank; the two rightmost columns are uninscribed. The convex side is also uninscribed.² The writing is Old Babylonian and the tablet probably comes from Babylon or Sippar.

cols. i-ii

1	kas ₄	<i>la-sà-mu</i>	"to run"
	kas ₄ -dug ₄ -ga	2	<i>ditto</i>
	[k]as ₄ -kar	3	<i>ditto</i>

* The present article was originally published in Tzvi Abusch (ed.), *Riches hidden in secret places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, Winona Lake 2002, pp. 63-71.

1. Notably, "About the Sumerian Verb," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 25, 1965* (AS 16; Chicago, 1965), 71-102; "Very Ancient Texts: Babylonian Grammatical Text," in *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*, ed. Dell Hymes (Bloomington, Ind., 1974), 41-62; "The Sumerian Verbal Core," *ZA* 78 (1988) 161-220.

2. See Fig. 1. The tablet is published here by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. A very similar, slightly larger (Ø = 85 mm), lenticular tablet is BM 23331, published in Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* (AuOr Suppl. 5; Barcelona, 1994), 205-6.

5	[k]as ₄ -kar	<i>ne-ru-bu</i>	“to run away”
	ti-rí-ga	2	<i>ditto</i>
	lú-gan-dùg	<i>gít-ma-lu</i>	“perfect”
	a- ^{im} DU-ma	<i>mu-u {MIN} še-qú-tum</i>	“running(?) water”
	<i>mu-u ZA-bu</i>		“to draw(?) water”
10	ġál-lu	<i>bé-e-šum</i>	“to open”
	u ^{sum} DIŠ	<i>iš-te-en</i>	“one”
	a-sa ₁₀ -sa ₁₀	<i>mu-u ZA-bu</i>	“to draw water”
	a-si-a	2	<i>ditto</i>
	a-SAR-a	3	<i>ditto</i>
15	a bí-in-dug ₄	<i>LAGAB ZA-bu</i>	“to water” (short form)
	a bí-in-e	<i>GÍD ZA-bu</i>	“to water” (long form)
	a- ^r KA [?] -ma	<i>me-e ši-ip-tim</i>	“magic water”
	a- ^r x-x ^r	2	<i>ditto</i>
	a- ^r x-x ^r	3	<i>ditto</i>
Col. iii	a- ^r na-de ₅ ^r	4	<i>ditto</i>
	a-ġúb-ba		“blessed water”
	a-kù-ga		“pure water”
	a-šen-na		<i>ditto</i>
	a-UD-UD-ga		<i>ditto</i>

2. General Remarks

The tablet has several erasures: between KAS₄ and KAR in lines 3 and 4, in the empty spaces on the right of lines 2 and 3 in col. ii. In line 6, ĤI and BU are written over an erased sign, and LAGAB in line 14 is written over an erased BU.

The text can be considered acrographic, except for lines 5-10. It is probably an *ad hoc* compilation and like some other exceptional lexical texts³ has entries in which there is no morphological congruence between the Sumerian and the Akkadian forms, thus giving *lexical* equations, not *morphological* ones.

3. See my remark in *JNES* 43 (1984) 284 n. 6, end. P. Attinger's observation, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne* (Fribourg, 1993), 566¹⁵⁷⁵, needs nuancing.

Lines 14f., for instance, have to be understood: “given the Sumerian form a b í - i n - d u g₄/e, the corresponding Akkadian *lexeme* is *ZA-bu*.”⁴ The scribe makes no attempt to adjust the morphology of the Akkadian to that of the Sumerian entry. Similarly, in line 9, the Sumerian has an imperative, but the Akkadian counterpart is an infinitive.

1-5. All the entries translated *lasāmu* were previously known (see simply *CAD* L, 104f. s.v.). The translation *nērubu* in 4f. is introduced because of the logogram KAR shared by both words.⁵ However, the equation with t i - r í - g a, attracted by line 4, is new and requires comment; see section 3.

6. The logogram GAN for *gitmālu* was already known. The Sumerian can be understood as GAN^{be} (in which case, the reading g a n suggested in *CAD* G, 110b would have to be changed to ḫ é) or as g a n - d ù g, a verbal noun of the type g a n - V.⁶

7ff. These lines are all entries with initial A, with the exception of lines 9 and 10. Six of the A-entries are translated by an ambiguous *ZA-bu* and are discussed in section 4. The Akkadian of line 7 is unclear: an incorrect(?) form derived from *šaqû* B, or perhaps from *šâqu* A.⁷

9. The Sumerian entry is known as the imperative of “to open (a door).” The semantic similarity of *bēšu* and *petû* is closer than the translations in the dictionaries (*CAD* B, 214a; *AHW* 123b, s.v.) would lead one to suspect.⁸ An imperative is here translated by an infinitive (*lexemic* translation; see above).

10. Identical to Aa VIII/2:203.

3. ti-rí-ga / ti-rí-da

The lexical equation in line 5 is new. The Sumerian t i - r í - g a seems to be found so far only in Proverb 3.5⁹ and in a bird’s name. Both instances, however, hint at a possible connection between t i - r í - g a and t i - r í - d a, a better documented word, if problematic in meaning.

The textual matrix of the proverb, which is needed to clarify a critical variation, is as follows (the sigla are those of Falkowitz):

[1]	e-ri-ib-gu7-e	ti-rí	UM-me-en
A	e + + + e + +	ig al	+ + -
B	e + + + e + +	gal	+ + -
C	a + + ! en + +	gal	+ - +
D	e + + + en + +	ig al	+ + o
E	o o o o en + +	ga al	. + +
F	+ + + + en + +	ga al	+ + +
H	o o o o o o o o		+ + +

4. Civil, *JNES* 43 (1984) 284.

5. See Sjöberg *ZA* 65 (1975-76) 188.

6. The skepticism of P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart, 1976), 82²⁴¹, is correct only insofar as it applies to finite, conjugated forms with the modal prefix g a-. The nominalized forms follow other rules; see, for instance, g a n - d a b₅ = *šabtu* “captive” (intransitive/passive), g a - a n - t u š = *waššābu* “resident” (UET 7, 93:37f.).

7. Cf. Civil, “Lexicography,” *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday, June 7, 1974* [AS 20; Chicago, 1975], 135f.

8. See also Civil, *Farmer’s Instructions*, 94.

9. R. Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 147f.

A	e-ri-ib-naĝ-e	ti-rí	UM-me-en
B	e + + + a-e	++ ig	al + + -
C	a + + + e	++ x	+ - +
D	e + + + en	++ ig	al + + +
E	o o o o en	++ ga	al + + +
F	e + + ! e-en	++ ga	al + + +
H	e o o o e-en	++ ga	al + + +
	dumu- ĝu ₁₀ - me-en	diĝir-zu	kúr-ra-àm
A	dumu + + + + +	+ + + -	
B	dumu + . o + + + + -		
C	diĝir + + + + +	+ + + -	
D	[du]mu + + + + +	+ + + àm	
E	o o o o o + + + +	àm	
F	dumu + + + + +	+ + + AN	
H	dumu + + + + +	+ + + àm	

The textual variation -ig al- : -ga al- : gal (<-(i)g + a l-) is understandable only if one reads ig, instead of reading ĝál with Falkowitz; a variant gal : ĝál does not seem likely in Nippur texts of OB times. The apparent verbal root UM is a clue to the lexical identity with ti-rí-da; see below.

The bird's name, mostly written en-ti-rí-ga/gu₇ with many variants, including al-ti-rí-gu₇ (*MSL* 8/2, 144 ad 302),¹⁰ appears as ti-rí-da in *Nanše and the Birds* (*HAV* 22 iv 11): ti-rí-da^{mušen} ĝiš-gi-a ti-rí-da ba-e-sa₄, “the *t*.-bird calls *tirida* in the reed thickets.”

The word ti-rí-da, with a by-form ti-rí, is an old one and appears in an Early Dynastic mythical tale:

[2] Á LUGAL ti-rí-da šu-UM/ŠU.ÁG, *ARET* 5 6 i 6, and *OIP* 99 326+ i 6f. (written da-ti-rí with var. ŠU.ÁG);

[3] GABA-*tenû* en ti-rí-da-a^dEN.KI a-bí UG.TUR, *ARET* 5 6 xiii 1f.

The OB lexical texts give:

[4] lú ti-rí-da-nu-UM = *ša mu-ús-ku la tē-ḫu-šu*, OB Lu A 130 (B iv 23)

[5] lú ti-rí-da-[x] = [. . .], lú ti-rí-da nu-tuku = *ša ʾmuʾ-su-ku la i-ba-aš-šu*, OB Lu D 71f.

These entries are all associated with kešer(GİR.BAR) nu-tuku = *ša kišdam la isû*, as in [7].

In context:

10. Hg C to Hh XVIII 14 is now complete and reads al-ti-.

[6] *egir ní-zuḥ*-(ka) *ti-rí-da nu-U*[M], CBS 7801:5 (Proverbs Collection 16), with dupl. Ni 9752 rev. vii 8'.¹¹

[7] [dum]u⁷ *nibru*^{ki} *ti-rí kešer*(GIR.BAR) *nu-tuku*, [x] 'x'-ga *uru*^{ki}-na *ad-da ma-da unu*^{ki}-ga, AN-à m text, *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 (1963) 80:3.¹²

[8] *mùš -me ti-rí tuku-a*, Edubba, D 81.

[9] [. . .] '(traces)' *ti-rí-da nu-[(x?)]*, *UET* 6/3 *257:13u.

[10] [(x) x x t]i-rí-da *nu-UM m[u-...]*, N 3572 iii 18' (Išme-Dagan text).¹³

[11] *ti-ri-da diġir-ra nu-me-a*, *CT* 44 34:7'; in an incantation, with duplicates: *di-rí-da diġir-ra nu-me-a*, *CT* 58 79:11; *te-ri-ta diġir nu-me-(a)*, Tell-Haddad (*ZA* 85 [1995] 22 MA:12)

[12] *en-da ti-rí ba[rá...]*, 6N-T546:10' (end of an incantation, Ur III).

The first question for clarification concerns the unusual verb UM: with the prefixes a l- in [1] and m u- in a variant of [6], UM is clearly a verbal root. Since in [4] it is translated *tehû*, the reading must be *dêḥi/e*, according to Proto-Aa 185:1: *dê-ḥi UM = tè-ḥu-tum*; confirmed by Aa III/5:16 (with the sign DUB), cf. still *CT* 41 26:18 with *te-ḥu-ú*. [see Addendum]

Accepting that at least in some cases *ti-rí-da* = *ti-rí-ga*, and that it is a loanword from Semitic, the most likely source is *teriktu* B, "a reed fence."¹⁴ The alternation d/g is not unheard of in Sumerian, but definitely very rare. Rather than attempt to combine the features of /d/ and /g/ into a hypothetical phoneme, one can assume that the alternation represents a consonant cluster. The closest parallel is the name of the measure **litku*, also a Semitic loanword¹⁵ and written *li(d)da* or *lí-ga*.¹⁶ Thus, Semitic **tirik/qtu* could have given rise to both *ti-rí-da* and *ti-rí-ga* in Sumerian. That the Akkadian translation of *ti-rí-d/ga* is something other than *tirik/qtu* constitutes no objection. Something similar happens with *kešer-tuku*, which apparently is semantically close to *ti-rí-d/ga* (from [4], [5], and [7]). I would propose (a) that *mus(u)ku* is, in fact, a variant of *(m)usukku*, and (b) that the latter is not a borrowing from Sumerian but rather a Semitic loanword from the same root as Akk. *esēḥu*, *esēk/qu*.¹⁷ This is not the place for a full phonological and semantic discussion of /ú-zuḥ/ : /ú-zuḡ/.¹⁸

Pending the discovery of more informative contexts, it seems reasonable for now to take *ti-rí-g/d a* as "barrier" or "fence" (note that depending on one's perspective, one can look at a fence from both sides with quite different results) and to translate the affirmative phrases as "to confine," physically or

11. CBS 7805 has m u-U[M]; Ni 9752 has n u-UM, adds -k a, and -d a¹ is written, or copied, ZU.

12. See Civil, *JCS* 20 (1966) 119; the quotation was misplaced by the printer (it should have been on p. 123) and misinterpreted by the author.

13. For the latest discussion, see S. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 20ff.

14. g i.A.LAGAB = *limîtu*, *teriktu*, Hh VIII 119f. (revised).

15. The word appears later in Akkadian as *litiktu*.

16. The latter writing was reinterpreted with the assignation of an *ad hoc* value /lit/ to the sign NI.

17. The preferable reading is with s, not z: Ea III 78; Diri IV 49 (one source -z u-, one -s u-); Proto-Kagal (*MSL* 13, 66:4). The initial m- of *musukku* is probably due to a contamination with the root *msk* "to be bad"; as an added bonus, this etymology explains the variants /u z u k/ : /u z u ḡ/ in Sumerian.

18. A quite complete list of references, some in need of updating, is provided by H. Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 8; Rome, 1978), 149-59.

socially (hence the connection with *musukku*), “to make/be an outcast,” and the negative ones as “to be out of bounds/control.” The meaning *nērubu*, “to escape,” “to run away” of BM 23330 is thus compatible with the other instances of *t i - r i - i d / g a*, assuming that the entry is incomplete in the sense that this meaning is based on the use of *t i - r i - i d / g a* as a predicate of a verb not explicitly given by the lexical entry.

One can now translate:

[1] “You are an outcast, (but) I will feed you; you are an outcast, (but) I will give you drink; you are my son, (even if) your god is against you.”

[6] “Behind a thief, (there is always) an outcast/outlaw.”

[8] “One who has the looks of an outlaw.”

The broken contexts [9] and [10] are probably similar to [7]: “the sons(?) of Nippur, uncontrolled fugitives.” From the final lines (38-40) of this text, it appears that Nippurites had been deported to Uruk and its dependencies, and then set free to go back to Nippur.¹⁹

[11] seems to be related to proverb [1], and can be translated (text of C and D): “He had water poured in the open libation pipe, at the grave, he not being an outcast of (his) god.”²⁰

I will not venture a translation of [2] and [3]; suffice it to say that “king/lord of the ethical barriers/taboos” is not inconceivable, and that *su-UM* could include the verb *d é ħ i* discussed above.²¹

4. The verb *ZA-bu*

The Akkadian *ZA-bu* in lines 8 and 11-15 can stand for several verbs (with their translations in *CAD*, s.vv.): (1) *sabû*, “to draw beer,” (2) *sâb/pu*, “to draw water,” (3) *šab/pû*, “to soak,” and (4) *zâbu* “to ooze, dissolve.”²² It is possible that not all entries in the present tablet belong to the same verb and that the ambiguity created by not inserting *-a-* or *-û* is intentional on the part of the scribe who had several possibilities in mind. Sum. *s a₁₀* and *s i* of lines 11 and 12 are both attested for (1) and (2) (for references, see simply the lexical sections of the pertinent entries in *CAD*). The mention of water suggests the choice of (2) for 11-13, but in 14 and 15 the meaning can hardly be anything but (3).

5. The Two Verbal Stems

It is well known that grammatical texts and lexical lists know two terms, *ĥamtu* and *marû*, to designate related verbal stems. Their analysis has given rise to a considerable literature.²³ So far, all

19. The formula of Irdanene’s third year depicts a similar situation; given the uncertainties of the text, it is not impossible that, despite the mention of *AN-à m* in the opening line, the final lines should refer to Irdanene’s reign.

20. A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995) 29, proposes “sans que le *terita* fût un dieu,” disregarding the genitive. The following, parallel line (cf. *ZA* 85 [1995] 22) is not understandable; if the variant *TAK₄* of Tell Haddad (MA 12) is genuine and means something like “rejected,” it would be a meaningful parallel to the line with *t i - r i - d a*.

21. For a wider context, see simply M. Krebernik, *QdS* 18 (1992) 72ff., with comments, *ibid.* 142. It is not completely excluded that one has to read in these passages *t i d a - r i*, “everlasting life,” or even *- d a t i - r i*, as in [11].

22. The translations in *AHW* 1082b are similar, but the heading is *šapû*.

23. The literature up to 1984 can be found in M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen, 1984), 123. In the same year, J. Black’s monograph, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 12; Rome, 1984)

attestations have been post-Old Babylonian. There can hardly be any doubt that the logograms LAGAB²⁴ and BU, which in the present OB tablet accompany *du*_g and *e*, respectively, are designations of the two suppletive stems. Their obvious translations are “short” and “long,” with the readings *lu-gu* and *gi*, respectively. Compare the scribal use of these terms in the sign names *sagittu* (< *sa-gi*) and *salguttu* (< *sa-l(u)gu*),²⁵ of SA “the long SA” and DI “the short SA,” respectively. It is likely that the terms refer to the morphological shape of the stems but not necessarily to alternations in vowel quantity; rather, “long” seems to refer to the addition of the affix -e, reduplication, and other possible changes.²⁶ Affixation and reduplication result in “longer” forms, phonologically and morphologically, by the addition or repetition of a morpheme. It may not be quite clear at first glance how *du* and *ĝen*, and *du*_g and *e* could differ in “length,” but there is a plausible explanation for such cases. Assuming that the short/long stem alternation applied across the board, according to some basic, simple rules (see above), these rules would be well known to native speakers, and thus there would have been no need in the “regular” cases to make explicit this morphological process in lexical and grammatical lists. Only in stem suppletion or alternation and in other exceptional cases, where it is likely that the “length” contrast did not literally apply, did the scribes add a notation identifying the stem. In other words, in suppletive stems, the contrast is merely *functional*, while in the rest of the stems it had a phonological and morphemic basis. Thus, *du*_g is “short” not because of any phonological feature, but because it behaves morphosyntactically like a regular “short” stem.

As a corollary, the alternation short/long does not apply, as sometimes claimed, to the Akkadian verb, which has a more complex system of oppositions.²⁷ And, finally, the long form, corresponding to the incomplete/present, seems to have been the *marked* one.²⁸

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the *ĥamṭu/marû* problem, but I would like to conclude by noting that the long/short contrast is not contradicted by the notorious letter UET 5 78:8-11 (see MSL 4, 21*, and Black, *Sumerian Grammar* [Rome, 1984], 103f.). Landsberger’s translation “I intend to go to Esnunna; (but) I do not know whether I shall move slowly (and arrive late) or move quickly (and

presented extensive summaries and criticism of previous studies and opinions on the subject. While some of Black’s conclusions may be questionable, his historical presentation of the question is the most complete available. For more recent bibliography, see Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique*, 185 §119. Add the important article of J. Krecher, “Die *marû*- Kategorie des sumerischen Verbums,” in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (AOAT 240; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 141-200.

24. Written over an erased BU; the scribe probably anticipated the BU of the following line.

25. See my remarks in *OrAn* 21 (1982) 10 on the possible phonological shape(s) of this word.

26. Krecher, *AOAT* 240, 147, proposes a phonological interpretation similar to the one given here. In the “regular” verbs, the contrast between “short” and “long” was possibly more complex than a simple /CVC/ versus /CV-Ce/. The addition of the affix -e modifies the syllabic structure of the stem, leaving the nuclear vowel of the first syllable open to changes. Cross-linguistic parallels show that oppositions of this sort in verbal stems are very frequently marked by subtle changes in tone, vowel or consonant quality, etc.

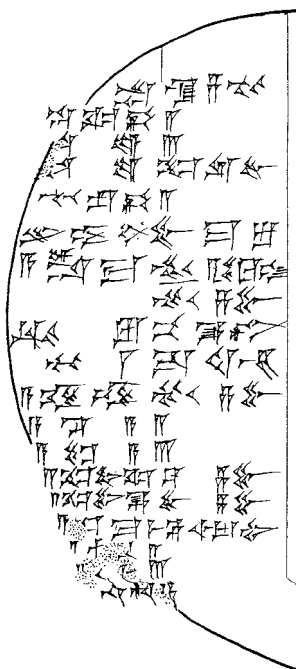
27. Cf. W. G. Lambert’s remarks in *ZA* 81 (1991) 7-9.

28. This implies taking the shorter stem as the basic one, from which the longer is formed by affixation. Note, however, that an alternative analysis which considers the shorter form to be secondary, and to have been formed by truncation of a longer, basic one, is traditional in the analysis of some languages; see, e. g., R. W. Langacker, *An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar* (Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar 1; Arlington, Tex., 1977), 130.

arrive soon),” can be faithfully paraphrased “I do not know (yet) whether I will take the long road or the short road.”

Addendum

The reading of UM as *teḥe*, proposed above, is confirmed by a textual variant in an OB letter, purported to be a copy of an Ur III letter of Amar-Suen to the king, presumably Šulgi (sources: A = Ni 3083 ii! 2'-9'2 [*ISCT* 2 115]; B = N 2901; C = Ralph 16 [copy Pinches]). Line 8 reads in A: a-šà-bi gú íd-da-šè 5 danna nu-UM, while C has: a-šà-bi gú íd-da-šè 4 danna-bi nu-te-ḥe (-te-eḥ is not completely excluded). It is possible that, given the difficulty at times of keeping apart DUB and UM, a closer examination of some Sumerian literary passages would detect further instances of the verb *teḥe*. Perhaps Gudea Cyl. B iv 24 is one of these cases. The town is waiting, in the middle of the night and with the utmost silence, for the arrival of Ninurta. His arrival is described in a single, difficult line: lu ga l-bi mu-UM gá-e, which could be translated “the master (of the new temple) approaches (shouting) ‘it’s me!’ ” The logogram UM in some dream tablets (A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 290ff.; *Iraq* 31 [1969] 157) can now be taken as representing *teḥû* in its sexual sense.



BM 23330

A Sumerian Connective Particle and Its Possible Semitic Counterparts*

1. The Sumerian conjunction $\dot{u}$ ¹ is, according to conventional wisdom, a loan from early Semitic **wa* and/or **fa*. It appears for the first time in an archaic tablet from Tell Abu Salabikh (ca. 2600 B.C.) in the phrase *za-gìn ù kù-babbar* “lapis lazuli and silver.” The text (*OIP* 99 326+342 and p. 32), however, is likely to be a translation from a Semitic original, represented by a Semitic version (*ARET* 5 6) found in Ebla. Although the Semitic origin of Sumerian $\dot{u}$ belongs to the kind the things for which there is never strict proof, several considerations make it likely that the common opinion is acceptable. Historically, many languages have borrowed particles from a neighbor (e.g., Mithun 1988:351-57). Suffice it to mention the borrowing of Spanish particles, often in a large scale, by many Mexican and South American Indian languages. As for the borrowing of a conjunctive particle, the latest Sumerian grammar (Edzard 2003:27) enumerates several cross-linguistic parallels: Turkish *ve* from Arabic *wa*, Finnish *ja* from Old German *jah*, Basque *eta* from Latin *et*, and so on. The precise reasons for such borrowings are not too well-known, but it is likely that they may be prompted by the poverty of connective particles in a given language, compensated by the fact that “grammatical gaps tend to get filled thorough borrowing” (Harris and Campbell 1995:128). This is clearly the situation in Sumerian where simple juxtaposition is the rule. There are, to be sure, native strategies to express *conjunction*, based on comitative and possessive affixes:

- [1.1] N_1 N_2 -bi (neuter 3s possessive/demonstrative): *tur mah-bi* ‘young and old’
 N_1 N_2 -da (comitative): *áb amar-da* ‘cows and calves’ (lit. with’)
 N_1 N_2 -bi-da (possessive+comitative) ^{id}*idigna* ^{id}*buranun-bi-da*
 ‘the rivers Tigris and Euphrates’

An infrequent strategy inserts a pluralizer affix:

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1. This article is intended to provide the Semitists with basic information about a particular function of the Sumerian connective $\dot{u}$ that may be relevant for a study of the prehistory of the preverbal *waw* in Hebrew, and similar, if less known, Semitic phenomena. It is not intended as a full treatment of preverbal $\dot{u}$ - for Sumerologists.

- [1.2] N₁ N₂-e-ne-bi-da (pluralizer+possessive+comitative): ^{md}E n-k i-t a-lú ^{md}E n-k i-h é-g á l-e-ne-bi-da
 ‘Mr. Enkitalu and Mr. Enkihegal’ (the two of them)

Sumerian has also a conjunctive nga-, of unknown origin, symmetrical and reversible, but used only between predicates. *Disjunction* may be expressed with co-ordinated subjunctive-optative clauses:

- [1.3] N₁ hé-a N₂ hé-a ... N_n hé-a (hé-a = optative ‘let it be’): lugal hé-a en hé-a ensí hé-a sang a hé-a
 ‘a king, or a high priest, or a governor, or an estate administrator’

To express an *adversative* relation, there are no other means than the undifferentiated ù, except perhaps for unrecoverable prosodic ones. Some examples of the uses of the particle:

- [1.4.1] conjunctive: ní g-tuk u ù n a m-uk ú-ra ‘wealth *and* poverty’
 [1.4.2] disjunctive: g á-e ù z a-e ‘*either* you *or* me’
 [1.4.3] adversative: ù z a-e uru-š è nu-k u₄-k u₄-m e-e n (you pretend to be a lady), ‘*but* you are not even admitted in town’
 [1.4.4] emphatic adversative conjunction (‘not only ... but also’): ù ní g-tuk u-t a-à m ù n a m-d u m u-lú-t a-à m ‘*not only* for reasons of wealth, *but also* for reasons of family nobility’
 [1.4.5] to introduce a new subject in a letter (paragraph divider)

All these strategies, in any case, are used very sparingly, and thus it is no surprise that Sumerian would be receptive to the borrowing of a coordinating particle from a neighboring Semitic language.

2. So far, there is nothing here surprising or especially remarkable. What is unusual, however, are other functions of ù. There are 368 instances of ù in the basic corpus used for this investigation (the literary compositions in the XVIIIth century Nippur catalogue, plus the Gudea cylinder A, ca. 2100 B.C.).²

Of those instances, only 19% have simple connecting functions as exemplified in [1.4], the rest, or 81%, are proclitics proposed to finite verbal forms. The main thrust of this paper will be to examine the use of ù as a verbal proclitic in Sumerian, so that the results can be used to inquire whether it is a reflex of some latent feature of Proto-, or Early, Semitic (or even perhaps Afroasiatic), or, on the contrary, if it is the result of some internal morphosyntactic process within the Sumerian language itself, so that any morphological or syntactic similarity with Semitic would be due to chance, or to some infrequent cross-linguistic tendencies. It should be noted here that Akkadian does not show any trace of a verbal proclitic *u* (so that any borrowing would be from some Semitic language other than Akkadian proper), but has a connective verbal clitic *-ma*, used after predicates, which was borrowed sporadically into the Sumerian of the XIX-XVIIIth centuries (Karashashi 2006).

2. This is the corpus used for statistics, about 120 additional passages have been used as needed.

First, some remarks on the phonology of what is transliterated here as preverbal *ù-*. If the particle is of Semitic origin, the initial glide of **wa* seems to have disappeared with a concomitant change *a > u*. A phonological shape */wa/* in Sumerian, however, is not absolutely excluded, given our insufficient data on the phonology of Sumerian. There are no traces of any influence on a following consonant. The graphemics and morphophonemics are simple, and their chronology is irrelevant in the present context.³

- [2.1.1] *ù > V /_ba-, bí-: ù-ba-an-dab₅ > a-ba-an-dab₅, ù-bí-ús > i-bí-ús*
 [2.1.2] *ù-im-ma > um-ma-: ù-im-ma-ni-in-dé-dé > um-ma-ni-in-dé-dé*
 [2.1.3] *ù-VC > (ù)-uC: ù-al-gaz > ul-gaz, ù-V-b-sì-ke > ub-sì-ke, ù-V-n-gen > un-gen*

3. As for the function of *ù-* as a verbal clitic, it converts a regular declarative clause into a temporal clause of anteriority subordinated to the following main clause, or rather, we should perhaps say, *combined* with it.⁴ How to label this function, will be discussed later on. The particle *ù-*, which alone marks originally a simple coordination ‘and’, when connecting two predicates representing successive events is interpreted as asymmetrical and becomes a mark of temporal subordination: ‘*C₁ and then C₂*’. A possible path in the grammaticization of *ù-* from a connective particle to a mark of dependency would be the following [3.1]: two clauses, originally in asyndetic relation (*a*), are connected with the particle *ù* (*b*); when the construction receives an asymmetrical interpretation ‘and then’, the independent particle is considered a clitic at the end of the first clause (*c*), and, since Sumerian has a strict SOV syntax, it becomes *de facto* a verbal enclitic. This stage is uncontroversial and a large number of cross-linguistics parallels can be adduced (Cristofaro 2003:20; Haiman 1985:198-203). Then the *ù*, now a clause enclitic, becomes a verbal proclitic (*d*), i.e., moves to the front of the verbal form where it falls into the same slot as the preverbal modals.

[3.1]	(a) <i>C₁ C₂</i>	juxtaposition
	(b) <i>C₁ ù C₂</i>	insertion of connective particle
	(c) <i>C₁-ù C₂</i>	cliticization ⁵
	(d) <i>C₁ = S O V-ù > S O ù-V</i>	clitic movement

The reasons for the last step, much more infrequent typologically, are far from clear. Bybee et al. 1990, have studied the ordering of morphemes in a word; according to this study, only 18% of the SOV

3. In the Sumerian scribal practice, one can detect two opposed tendencies in the representation of morphophonemic variants: an innovating one, visible in Gudea and Ur III times, that tends to make explicit the phonological variants, another one, in the Old Babylonian period, keeps the underdifferentiated traditional writings. Each case has its own history, and thus *i-b í-* does not survive the end of the third millennium, but *a-b a-* does, although alternating with *ù-b a-*. Similarly, *h a-m u-* is the rule until the end of Ur III, against the tendencies of the period, while *h u-m u-* is the rule in OB, and so on.

4. Some problems have been raised recently concerning the classification and terminology of connected clauses (Croft 2001, ch. 9). For practical reasons I will keep here the traditional terms.

5. Compare Turkish: Mehmet gel-*dí-ø* ve git-ti-*ø* > Mehmet gel-*ip* git-ti-*ø* ‘Mehmet came and went’.

languages tend to have preposed affixation, so that the case of Sumerian warrants further inquiry:⁶ for instance, could the form $\dot{u}$ +verb have been borrowed *en bloc* as an established pattern? Note that the verbal connective *nga-* is also preposed to the predicate I will not consider here seriously the possibility that the source of Sumerian preverbal $\dot{u}$ - is the Akkadian subordination marker *-u*.

4. The preverbal $\dot{u}$ - appears in two kinds of contexts: (1) preposed to narrative or declarative main clauses, and (2) in prescriptive texts with an ultimately deontic sense. In the first case, it can be something that happened in the past, present or customary, or in the future. The main clause C_2 will have the verb in the perfective aspect in the first case (with very rare exceptions), and in the imperfective in the second.

4.1. Narrative or declarative: the $\dot{u}$ -clause (C_1) describes a situation prior to the main event (C_2). Note that the number of $\dot{u}$ -clauses in the combined sentences is not limited to one; there is sometimes a long chain of them; in which case, the multiple $\dot{u}$ -clauses rather than being co-ordinated, form a cascade of successive events.⁷

4.1.1. C_2 in the past.

[4.1.1] $\mu\dot{s}en-e\ g\ddot{u}d-bi-\dot{s}\dot{e} sig_{14} un-gi_4$
 $\dot{a}mar-bi\ g\ddot{u}d-bi-ta\ inim\ nu-um-ma-ni-ib-gi_4$
After the bird had called to its nest
 its fledglings did not answer back from their nest. *Lugalbanda* 2:070-71.

[4.1.2] $en-me-er-k\acute{a}r\ dumu^d\ utu-ke_4$
 $^{gi\dot{s}}sinig-bi\ un-sig\ ^{gi\dot{s}}bunin-\dot{s}\dot{e} un-d\acute{i}m$
 $gi-sumun\ ki\ k\ddot{u}-ga\ \acute{u}r-ba\ mi-ni-bu\ \acute{s}u\ im-ma-an-ti$
 Enmerkar, the son of the Sun god,
after he cut down a tamarisk, *after* he carved it into a water-trough,
 pulled out by its roots an old reed in a clean place, grabbed it (as a fishing rod).
Lugalbanda 2:401-03.

These passages come from an adventure tale. Instances of $\dot{u}$ -forms in strictly historical narratives, are very rare.⁸

6. Sumerologists, for some strange reason, do not seem to ever have asked themselves about the possible phonological segmentation and analytic structure of the so-called “verbal chain”: it is really a series of prefixes, or it is rather a series of suffixes, appended to some preverb or preverbs?

7. I translate C_1 with “after” plus past, to stress the sequentiality, a translation “and then,” or even simply “and,” would also be correct in most cases.

8. This is not due purely to stylistic reasons, but rather to the nature of the historical narrative itself, and raises some interesting theoretical questions, for which see Comrie 1985:27, 61-63. Example [4.1.2] is in fact part of the description of a magic ritual.

4.2. In the present, as something customary:

- [4.2.1] šà-tùr-zu ganba-ka lú ù-bí-in-túm
^{túg}níg-dará ní-za gú-za ù-bí-in-lá
^{u₈}mu-šè še ^{giš}ba-an-e si-ma-ab lú lú-ù in-na-ab-e
After someone brings your “belly” to the market place,
after he ties up, with your consent, a loin-cloth around your neck,
 one man says to another: “fill me up the measure of grain (as a price) for my ewe.”
The Ewe and the Grain 176-78.

This is part of a description of what usually happens in a market place.⁹ Similar to customary events are timeless statements such as wisdom advice, proverbs, and such:

- [4.2.2] gud-mah-e kun-bi lú a-ba-an-dab₅
 lú id-dè ba-ra-an-bal-e
After a man has grabbed the tail of a big bull,
 he will not be able to cross a river. *Wisdom of Šuruppak* 194-95.¹⁰

4.3. The main clause describes a potential event in the future:

- [4.3.1] [[lú [é a-ba-sumun ù-un-dù] mu-sar-ra-bi ... nu-ub-kúr-re-a] igi ^dnanna-ka hé-en-sag₉]
 The one who, *after* the house had become old and he has repaired it, will not
 alter the present commemorative inscription, may he enjoy good health in the
 presence of the Moon-god.
Amar-Suen 12:32-39.

This example shows a ù-clause embedded in a nominalized relative clause.¹¹

4.4. Prescriptive contexts (deontic use). One or more ù-clauses enumerate successive steps in a process. The main clause is in the imperfective (with future function), or in the optative-subjunctive. The main prescriptive uses are the following:

4.4.1. Instructions for the preparation of a medicinal compound. The main clause, with the verb in the imperfective indicative, tells how to administer the compound.

- [4.4.1] ^{giš}hašhur-hád ^úgiš munzer_x ù-gaz sur₁₁-šum-ma kaš ù-dé ì-giš ì-bí-šeš₄ níg ab-lá-e
After you crush dried apples and licorice, *after* you pour beer lees (on this), *after*
 you rub oil on (the diseased spot), you will tie up a poultice.
Ur III prescription (RA 54 [1960] 61 62-68).

9. “Belly” is a pejorative metonymy for a fat ewe, and “loin-cloth” is a dirty word and a subject of jokes in Sumerian literature.

10. I.e., the man that grabs the tail, instead of the horns, of a bull, is a coward and thus incapable of fording the cattle (considered elsewhere a dangerous activity).

11. Another good example: [[a la n-bi [u₄-ul-lí-a-aš ù-mu-un-dím-ma] ... [ki-a-nag-ba um-mi-gub-bé]] me-te-aš hé-em-ši-gál], “After these statues, previously made as eternal memorial, had been installed in the place of libations, let them be there a fitting decoration” *Lugale* 476-78.

At the end of prophylactic incantations, there is often a ritual to ward off some evil. The successive steps of the magic procedure are given by ù-clauses, the same construction seen in the medical texts. The main clause is normally in the optative-subjunctive describing the intended effect of the ritual, but can be occasionally an indicative with future interpretation.

- [4.4.2] ^{síg} SAL.áš-gàr ^{giš} nu-zu-ka ù-ma-ni-nu gaba ki-sikil-lá-ke₄ ù-mi-tag é gál-tak₄-a nu-mu-ši-kéš-a
 After spinning goat hair of a female kid that has not yet copulated, *after* touching with it the breasts of a young girl, the “open house” will not close. *Incantation* (AUAM 73.1425).

An identical construction can be found in the formulation of other procedural rules:

- [4.4.3] ^{níg} kur₇-ak-dè ù-ba-ab-til, lú a-a-ke₄ ^{dug} dab₅-ba-ab lú im ^{dug}-zu ù-bí-in-dug₄ ^{dug} ab-dab₅-bé-ne, íd šè-uru-ka-ta àm-mi-ib-si-si-ne
 After ending the inspection (of the exercise tablets), *after* the 'water-man' has said: “take the jar, your jar! idiot,” they (the pupils) will take the jars (and) fill them from the canal in the center of town. *Rules of the School* (Ed R) C 8-10

And in the formulation of penalties:

- [4.4.4] ^{giš} dub-dím-ta ^{giš} tukul 60-àm ù-ba-ab-ra-ah, ^{uruda} šir-šir gir-na ù-ub-si-ke, é an-nigin-ma é-
 dub-ba-a-ta itu 2-àm nu-ub-ta-è
 (The guilty pupil) *after* being struck sixty times with a tablet-shaping board, *after* putting his feet in chains, he will be locked in the house and will not leave school for two months. *Dialogue* 3:183-85.

Note the presence here of the originally Semitic *-ma* next to ù-clauses.

4.5. The ù-clause introduces direct speech. This construction is limited to the verb ^{dug} with dative ‘to say to someone’, ‘to address’, (and the associated verbs ^{dah} ‘to repeat’ and ^{peš} ‘to say for the third time’). In the opening formula of letters the main clause has the verb ^{na-ab-bé-a} ‘this is what he says’, followed by a *verbatim* reproduction of the message.¹² Otherwise, the main clause is elliptic, the verb is omitted and only the direct quotation is left.

- [4.5.1] lugal-mu ù-na-a-dug₄
 ^mArád-mu arád-zu na-ab-bé-a
 After you address my king,
 (you will say) “this is what Aradmu, your servant, says:” *Ur III royal correspondence*.

12. For the non-assyriologist readers: Sumerian letters are formulated as messages to be read to the addressee by the letter bearer, or from a tablet by his secretary or the like.

The message follows immediately. Simple letters, such as business requests for delivery, omit most of the time the *na-a-b-bé-a* formula, while literary letters may add *ù-na-a-da-h* and *ù-na-a-peš*, ‘after you repeat a second time’ and ‘a third time’, respectively. The corresponding Akkadian formula is:

- [4.5.2] *ana* PN₁ (addressee) *qibi-ma* (imperative + *-ma*) *umma* PN₂-*ma* (sender + *-ma*):
Say to PN₁, thus (speaks) PN₂ (the message follows).

The correspondence between the two languages is *functional*, not a translation morpheme by morpheme. The difference reflects different strategies in imparting instructions: Sumerian uses two approaches: a) the optative-subjunctive, (or the imperfective as a deontic future), on the one hand, and b) the imperative on the other (note that Sumerian has otherwise a well-developed imperative system). Akkadian uses the imperative in all cases.

5. As shown by these examples, the connected clauses preserve their own morphology intact (no serial verbs). Subjects and objects do not need to be the same in C₁ and C₂, although very frequently they are identical by context requirements. There are no examples of C₁ with negative forms, or with modal proclitics for that matter, for obvious reasons. The verb of C₂, the main clause, can be perfective or imperfective, and have a variety of modal prefixes, including negative ones, and can even be an imperative:

- [5.1] ... *ù-bí-ak túg-gur-ra-ab*
after having made ... till with the *tuggur*. *Farmer's Instructions* 31

The verb of C₁ is practically always a perfective, although there are exceptional instances of imperfectives, in the following example C₁ has the *-d-* modal infix denoting subject-centered obligation:

- [5.2] *é lú-AN kaš-dé-a-ka ù-du-dè-en*
egir lú kaš-dé-a-ka ba-an-ku₄-re-en
After *you had to go* to a house of a man who gives a beer party,
you go after the “beer party-man.” *Dialogue* 1:104-05.

6. It should be noted here that Sumerian has a competing strategy, studied in Gragg 1973, to form anterior adverbial clauses, it is based on native grammatical resources: a nominalized sentence followed by the ablative postposition *-ta* (with a phonological variant *-ra*). Curiously, there are a few examples of clauses with both the *ù-* clitic and the nominalization with *-ta*. Most of them make reference to concrete points of time (evening, midday, twilight, number of days or nights)¹³:

- [6.1] *u₄-dè u₄-te-en-e um-ma-te-a-ta* (var. *-ra*)
After the day approached the evening ...

13. Some examples in Gragg 1973:132. The passage *Tree and Reed* 208 makes reference to early morning “after dew has appeared.”

This is a stereotyped formula to introduce events that take place at the end of the day. In isolated cases, the added ablative infix could have a causative nuance, unless it is simply a redundant stylistic device of the scribe.¹⁴

- [6.2] geštin níg-dùg ù-mu-un-nag-eš-a-ta
 kaš níg-dùg ù-mu-un-dùg-ge-eš-a-ta
 a-gàr-a-gàr-ra du₁₄ mi-ni-in-mú-mú-ne
Because/after they had been drinking good wine,
because/after they had been enjoying good beer,
 they start(ed) quarreling in the fields. *The Ewe and the Grain*: 067-68.

The Sumerian verb expresses an aspectual distinction between an imperfective and a perfective (the so-called *marû* and *hamtu* forms, respectively) and, in general, tense distinctions are not grammaticized. The ù-clause, however, is understandably in the perfective and the clitic ù- becomes *de facto* a tense mark indicating a *relative* tense, i.e., taking as a reference point not the moment of speech, but the time of realization of the main clause. As a result, one may have a verbal form that is morphologically a perfective (as a relative tense), but pragmatically may have at the same time a present-imperfective connotation (with reference to the moment of speech). In other words, an anterior verbal form includes a time reference, even if a relative one, and therefore may have a sort of disruptive effect on a pure aspectual system.

7. Finally, some considerations about an appropriate label to designate the grammatical function of the ù-clitic. The search for a good label will help to dispell some misconceptions found in some Sumerian grammars where the ù-clauses have received, in addition to “prospective”, the most varied labels: an “imperative,” a “mild imperative,” a “suppositif,” an “optative,” a “conditional,” etc.¹⁵ The ù-clauses, as shown by the examples given, code no more and no less than simple anteriority. The rest, when correctly understood, is nothing but interpretations based pragmatically on the context, or on a reconstructed situation. This is true of the procedural contexts, as we have seen, so that the term “imperative” is inappropriate. The deontic orientation, if present, comes from the main clause, not from the proclitic ù-. The term “conditional,” see most recently Kaneva 2000:524-30, is based also on a (questionable, I believe) pragmatic interpretation of some legal contexts. It is true that sometimes *post hoc* can be interpreted correctly as *propter hoc*, but this does not mean that *post* and *propter* are the same thing. To avoid quarreling about labels, we must remember that there is such a thing as *homonymy* of syntactic constructions: the same meaning is mapped into different forms (Haiman 1985). Many structures can be used to express sequentiality or condition, depending on context and pragmatics. In the case of Sumerian ù-, the label “prospective” is the generally accepted one in Sumerian grammar since Falkenstein 1949-50 2:223, who describes correctly the function of the clitic. He remarked that the ù-forms correspond to the

14. In *Plow and Hoe* 083, the immediate main clause in 084 is in turn an adverbial subordinate of the main clause in 085: [[a-gàr-ta a-um-ta-kud-a-ta], ki-dur₅ kin-gá ba-gál-la-ta], ^{gi}apin igi-zu-šè a-šà-ga gá-e ma-a-n-e₁₁-dè]. The redundant -ta of 084 may have been inserted by parallelism with 085.

15. Sollberger 1952:168 calls it a “suppositif” (with incorrect interpretation); according to Thomsen 1984:208-11 it “denotes prospective or a condition”; Edzard 2003:121-23 speaks both of a “prospective” that “sometimes comes close to a conditional clause,” and of a “polite imperative.” Older opinions listed in Sollberger 1952:168.

futurum exactum of Latin, and proposed the term “Prospektiv (Präformativ),” introduced by his teacher Landsberger, possibly inspired by the terminology of the Egyptologists. However, the term is not a current one in linguistics, and neither in English nor in German corresponds too well to what these forms mean. The best we can do, it seems, is to call them “temporal forms of anteriority.”

8. In conclusion, I have dealt, perhaps for too long, on a Sumerian construction possibly based on a borrowing from Semitic, that presents some striking similarities with Semitic constructions, the most remarkable being of course the preverbal *waw* in Hebrew. The morphological structure is the same, the disruptive effects on the aspectual system are similar, and so on, even if this *waw* took syntactically a life of its own (Smith 1991; Givón 1977). Since a direct contact is impossible, we have to ask: do we have here distinct manifestations of a prehistoric tendency present in some undocumented branch of Semitic (or even perhaps in Afroasiatic if we take Egyptian *jw* into consideration, Loprieno 1980), or are the similarities due to an accidental convergence resulting from some cross-linguistically more or less attested tendency? The answer, if there is one, will come from a careful reexamination of the clause-connecting functions of Semitic **wa*. Without forgetting, of course, the rules of thumb proposed in Givón 1991:301: “(a) Explain externally, i.e. by contact, only what has no reasonable internal explanation; and (b) Explain by contact only changes that are counter-intuitive, i.e. go against the more common diachronic drift.”

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Sumerian Compound Verbs: Class II*

This paper proposes that the chapter on compound verbs in a Sumerian grammar has to distinguish at least three types or classes of compound verbs. The term compound verb will be understood here in its traditional sense: the close association of a verbal base and an incorporated element that can be of a nominal or adpositional nature. This association implies a new lexical item and/or changes in the valence of the verb. The proposed classification is based on the kind of elements added to the base.

1. The first class is the well-known type studied in Karahashi (2000; 2004), and includes the compounds formed by a nominal element and a verbal base:¹

	S-e	NP-e	NP-ø	
<i>valence pattern:</i>	subject	oblique object	direct object	(<i>grammatical relations</i>)
	agent	theme	instrument	(<i>semantic roles</i>)

The instrument/direct object is in the majority of cases the name of a body part, or of a material instrument (e. g., compounds with *g i š*), with a residue of verbs with a nominal element of unknown meaning (e. g., *è n — t a r* “to ask,” “to investigate,” *n e — s u — u b* “to kiss”).² This class will not be further discussed here.

A second one includes the compounds of *particle* + verbal base, where particle designates the so-called dimensional affixes/infixes (henceforth DI), and will constitute the main subject of the present inquiry. This type of compound is well-known in linguistics and is the object of study of three main circles: the classicists, the grammarians of English and Germanic, and the linguists working on the

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1. This arbitrary notation is inspired in Haspelmath-Müller-Bardey 2004.

possibly n a — d e₅ “to cut down a tree” includes

description and typology of exotic languages. The latter group has introduced the concept of *applicatives*, said of the morphemes incorporated to the verb that modify the valence pattern. Since the study of Sumerian is more in a situation similar to fieldwork rather than in a theoretical elaboration stage, the term applicative will rarely be used in what follows.

There is a third class of compound verbs, somewhat peripheral, formed by a *periphrastic* construction with a verb meaning “to make” (a k, d u g₄/e³, d ù, z a), with a nominal, or nominalized, element (often a loanword), syntactically the direct object: e. g., i n i m — d u g₄ “to say,” ḥ a - a b - l u m — a k “to oppress,” g a - b a - a l — d ù “to fight,” etc. It will not retain our attention here either, and the paper will concentrate on the second class.

This is not a very original paper. The basic idea of taking the Sumerian verbs with the so-called “dimensional” infixes (DI) as a combination verbal base + adposition is not new: it was already proposed, under the label *Wurzelerweiterung*, by Delitzsch 1914 (who explicitly compared the process to the Greek and Latin preverbs). Gragg 1973 provides the syntactic and lexical foundations for this interpretation, but refrains from formulating the ultimate conclusions. The recent exhaustive work of Balke 2006, even if limited to the nominal adpositions, makes much easier the study of these compounds. The present paper has the modest goal of proving that this particle/adposition association with the verb is a true compounding process, of examining some of its properties, and claiming as a conclusion that its formal and explicit treatment should be part of any Sumerian grammar.

2. The consequences of this compounding process are:

(a) The creation of a new lexical item (this follows from the definition itself of a compound, Comrie 1985). The semantic difference is induced by the incorporation of the adposition, and can go from a subtle, perhaps untranslatable, semantic nuance to very significant changes in meaning.⁴

(b) A readjustment of the argument structure, a change of the valence pattern of the verbal base. For instance, an intransitive verb when coupled with a particle/applicative may increase its valence and become transitive.

(c) The added DI may give a modal or an aspectual orientation to the verb, in which case there may be no strict creation of a new lexical entry.

Some methodological remarks are in order. Without dwelling on the better known obstacles to the writing of an adequate Sumerian grammar, such as lack of informants, insufficient phonological information, unavailable paraphrases, etc., there are a couple of methodological considerations relevant to the analysis of the particle + verbal base compounds.

(a) First, the lack of information on the phonological and morphological segmentation of the so-called “verbal chain.” The traditional view is that everything preceding the verbal base is a series of prefixes, or proclitics, (the distinction between affix and clitic is of no immediate relevance here) dependent on a verbal base as its head. But there is another possibility: is there a *preverb*⁵ in the sense that the affixes, or clitics, are dependent of a head formed by a modal element plus a so-called conjugation prefix (with a voice-like function)? If the answer is affirmative, the affixes would be in fact suffixes, and

3. The author is of the opinion that the basic meaning of d u g₄/e in this construction is not “to say” but “to do”.

4. Spears 1993 provides a very good repertoire of such forms in English and of their semantic variation.

5. In a sense somewhat different from the one encountered in the grammars of classical languages.

there would be a phonological and morphological break just before the verbal base (P = pronominal element of the series: $\emptyset$, e, n/b; # = pause/break):

modal + (conjunctive) + voice $\pm$ DAT $\pm$ P $\pm$ COM $\pm$ P $\pm$ {ABL/ALL} $\pm$ {LOC1/LOC2} + P # Base + etc.

While the acceptance of this hypothesis would have important theoretical consequences for the morphology, it does not affect too seriously the following analysis, so it will not be further discussed here.⁶ The second point, however, has direct relevance to the problem.

(b) If, anticipating the conclusions, one accepts the functional similarity between the Sumerian compound verbs of class II, i. e., the ones formed by DI + verbal base, and certain forms in other languages, namely the preverbs in classical Greek, and the so-called multi-word lexical verbs in English,⁷ one faces a very complex situation. The combinations particle + verbal base are true compounds that have extremely idiomatic meanings whose interpretation requires a knowledge of the context and of the communicative situation; here, the lack of Sumerian informants is a crucial obstacle. These compounds tend also to be ambiguous in the sense that true compounds tend to fade into free combinations, or collocations, where verb and particle keep their original meanings. They can even be both (Biber et al. 2002:123). It is often difficult to decide whether a given English construction is an intransitive phrasal verb (shut up, come on) or a free combination (come back, go in). Classical Greek, e. g., provides similar examples.⁸

3. Not all so-called Sumerian dimensional affixes (DI) are created equal, they all share some morphological properties and can be considered a morphological class, but functionally there are four subclasses, with quite different behavior: dative, comitative, directionals, and locatives (the last two subclasses with two members each). In the corpus used for the present inquiry there are more than 3400 instances of DIs:

Table 1. Number of DIs in the corpus

1	dative	967	28.4%
2	comitative	415	12.2%
3a	allative	185	5.5%
3b	ablative	219	6.4%
4a	locative 1	859	25.2%
4b	locative 2	757	22.3%

6. The pronominal infixes (series: $-\emptyset$ -, $-e$ -, $-n$ -, $-b$ -) are found after a conjugation prefix (voice) where it can be doubtful whether they are dependent from this prefix or from a following DI; e. g. $b\ a - e - d\ a$ -, or $b\ a - a\ n - d\ a$ -. They are different in any case from the pronominals immediately preceding the verbal base.

7. In what follows, the parallels will be taken mostly from these two languages, but Latin and German would do equally well, if not better. For Greek, see Brunel 1939 and Humbert 1972.

8. I will refrain from quoting constructions from African or Australian languages, and the like. They provide theoretical linguistics with nice examples of chemically pure contrasts that make good blackboard illustrations, but in many cases sidestep background complexities, often unknown. Contrast the mature and nuanced discussions in Humbert 1972, for instance.

The frequency of COM is seriously inflated by its written confusion with the ABL (see below). After briefly considering types 1 and 4, the discussion will be limited to examples of classes 2 and 3, because of their interest and because of time limitations.

Suffice it to say that the dative signals mainly an extra valence, the presence of an indirect object (with a role of beneficiary, destination, etc.) as a verb argument, but there are also cases of the so-called “dative of interest,” not dependent on the valence pattern of the verb. Less known are a few rare functions, one of which will be seen presently. DI of class 4 (locatives) are extremely frequent: LOC1 besides its obvious peripheral, adverbial function, can be a syntactic marker of anaphoric interclausal connection (something similar to French *y* in *j’y vais* or *pensez-y*). None of these make a compound verb. LOC2 signals ditransitivity and is a real applicative, its high frequency is due to its use in class I compound verbs, and similar constructions. It has been treated in Karahashi 2000, and will not be discussed here. This leaves the DIs of classes 2 and 3, the comitative and the locatives, respectively.

4. The comitative is a complex case. Some studies of cases, e. g., Blake 2001, Butt 2006, pay little attention to the comitative (a couple of pages in Blake, nothing in Butt), but Schlesinger 1995 devotes a long chapter to it (he considers comitatives most of the instrumentals, etc.), and there are even full studies devoted to it, e. g., Stolz 1993. In fact is a very frequent adposition in many languages: just count in the dictionaries the compounds of *con-* in Latin, and of *συν-* in Greek; even the English Collegiate Webster has more than 31 columns of mostly learned, non-native English words starting with *con-* (not counting the variant *com-*). Sumerian is more sober in its use of the comitative (see statistics), but presents graphic and phonological complications that affect its identification. It can be often confused (as a nominal postposition as well as a DI) with the ABL *-ta-* which in turn has a morphophonemic alternant *-ra-*, graphically identical with the 2s DAT. There are even cases where one cannot decide whether a verbal form has basically *-da-* or *-ta-*:

Table 2. Finite forms of the verb g á - l a — d a g with -d a/t a-

Sources with:	t a	d a
g á - l a b a - r a - b a - t a - d a g - g e LUr 143	1	0
g á - l a n u - u m - d a - d a g - g e LA 182	0	1
g á - l a n u - m u - u n - d a - d a g - g e - e n LA 140	1	1*
g á - l a n u - m u - u n - t a - d a g - g e Nu 115	1	0
g á - l a n u - u m - t a - d a g - g e LSU 390	2	0
g á - l a š i - m e - d a - d a g - g e ŠIn 127	0	1

The verb *g á - l a — d a g* “to neglect” puts its complement (the neglected object) in the ALL or LOC2 case.⁹ One may even wonder if COM and ABL had coalesced, at least partially, in OB Sumerian. The close similarity of instrumental and comitative roles could have been a contributing factor. One of the general features of COM (*with*-phrases) in English and other languages is precisely INSTR(ument), alongside ACCOMP(animent), and MANN(er) (Schlesinger 1995:61).

9. The semantic parallel *m ù š / m u š — t ú m* “to stop” does not take any DI and so it does not help.

The feature ACCOMP of -da- signals a symmetrical relation between two or more coordinated arguments. In principle all predicates that can take more than one subject or object can take the COM in this sense, with very few restrictions. It is not associated with particular lexical entries, except in the cases of reciprocal verbs, and the like. It may form a compound verb, or it may be a simple adverbial construction.

- [1] kiš₈-gin₇ ki-in-dar-ra ba-an-di-ni-ib-ku₄-re-eš-àm
 “(the Anunas) went, like ants, into the crevices of the earth”
Lugalbanda 2:83.

Abilitative. It is a well-known function, already isolated by the native grammatical sources where pronoun + da is translated by Akk. *le’û* “to be able to” (*NBGT* 1, 399–402). It is a modal meaning, and thus it does not form a compound verb. For details, see Gragg 1973:54.

Transitivizer. The DI -da- can enable an intransitive predicate to take a direct object. For instance, the intransitive gál “to be somewhere” contrasts with the transitive da - gál, “to have, to provide”:

- [2] uruda gín^{giš} apin dí^m nu-ù-da-gál
 “you do not provide the adze that builds plows”
Silver and Copper C:28.
- [3] a-na-zu mu-da-gál
 “what do you have/provide?”
Ewe and Grain 91.
- [4] al ak-dè gin-na al-šub hē-da-gál
 “having to go to work with a hoe, you have (instead) a mallet”
Dialogue 3:65.

Note that the translation “to provide” interprets da - gál as a sort of causative. The transitivizing function of -da- can be seen also with other verbs such as ku₄ “to enter” or ge n/d u/r e₇ “to go/come.” Examples of these verbs show the grammaticalization path of the transitivizer.

- [5] tum-ma-al^{ki} gi^{gi} pisan ninda ama^d nin-líl-lá-kam
 é-gi₆ tum-ma-al^{ki} ninda sá-dug₄-ga-ta (for -da!)
 ur-sag^d nin-urta^d en-líl-ra mu-na-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
 máš-gi₆ nisag en-na-ta
 kù^d nin-in-si-na^d en-líl-ra mu-na-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
 “The Tummal is the bread basket of Mother Ninlil,
 the Lady of the Tummal with the bread of the regular supplies
 goes-into-with (= brings in) it to Enlil’s warrior Ninurta.
 With (the message of) the dream and the first offerings,
 Holy Ninisina goes-into-with (brings) them to Enlil”
Song of the Hoe 38–42.

[6] PN₁ PN₂ níg-šu-tag-ga PN₃ dumu lugal-ka-da é^dšará im-da-a-re-éš

“PN₁ and PN₂ went to Š’s temple with the offerings of PN₃, the princess”

JNES 63 (2004):209 (Ur III).

From constructions with the adposition in the nominals and in the verb, the language passed to constructions with no adposition in the nominals, but keeping the DI in the verb:

NP-Post + DI-V → NP-∅ + DI-V

Postpositions and DI are semantically, and at least in part phonologically identical, so there is a sort of concord. Concords imply a certain degree of redundancy and therefore tend to be unstable, leading in this case to the deletion of the nominal adposition. The two constructions still coexist in Ur III and OB times, showing a current, incomplete grammaticalization process. The transitivizing COM would be a good example of applicative.

The OB native grammarians were aware of the transitivizing function of COM: in the paradigm of *gar* in OBG 6, the affixed -da- is systematically translated by the Akkadian accusative suffix. Now, in OB Sumerian literary texts, *gar* does not take the COM: out of a sample of 291 occurrences of the verb *gar* in a limited corpus, there are only 6 instances of COM (2%), all of them easily explained by reasons other than the presence of a direct object: there are ACCOMP forms, combined with collocations like *ér-re gar*, or *du₆-da gar*, and so on. Lexical entries such as *da-ri = našû ša almatti* “to support a widow” (Nabnitu 16:145),¹⁰ or the section *an-da-gál* in *Izi A 3:7’–15’*, confirm that the native scribes were aware of the phenomenon.

5. The directional cases

5.1. The ablative

As already indicated, there are at times problems of identification. ABL is often written with the sign DA, but still more often it can be written with the sign RA (Gragg 1973:93 for the DI; Balke 2006, for the nominal post- position). Roughly, pre-Ur III and Gudea write the verbal affix as -ta- (with exceptions, for instance, *u₄ 2 u₄ 3 nu-ma-da-ab-zal* Cyl A 23:2, and spellings of the -da-ra-ta- type). In Ur III documents -ra- is clearly dominant, again with exceptions: for instance, one, or more, Drehem scribes write *ba-ta-zal*, instead of the ubiquitous *ba-ra-zal*, from Šulgi 40 to Šulgi 46. In OB times the, already mentioned, alternation of TA and DA is quite frequent. Pseudo-ablatives include the copulative written -bi-ta, instead of -bi-da in Old Sumerian.

The very frequent compound *gù — dé* means “to address,” “to call,” the destinatory of the call is in the DAT (if a person), or LOC2 (if a non-person), the information contents of the call (if any) is not specified. With the addition of ABL the verb becomes a new lexical entry meaning “to recite” or “to read” (i. e., “to recite from a tablet”); a new argument (the thing that is being recited or read) is added and marked for LOC2; the “audience” in Dialogue 1:61, below, has the ALL.

10. Compare the treatment of *da-ri* in Selz 1995.

- [7] ad-da-mu im-šu-mu in-na-ra-dé-a
 “my father, I read my “hand tablet” to him”
Edubba A:10.
- [8] níg im-sar-re gù nu-ub-ta-dé-e
 “no one can read what he has written”
Dialogue 1:134.
- [9] šu nu-sag₉ nu-sag₉ ki nam-dub-sar-ra-šè gù nu-ra-dé-e
 “a hand(writing) not nice at all, no one can read it out in class”
Dialogue 1:61.

In the following passage, g ù — t a - d é is probably to be analyzed as: -n i - r i- < *-n a+t a+LOC 2:

- [10] dub-sar h́é-DU šu-ni h́é-ib-dab₅-bé nar h́é-DU gù hu-mu-un-ni-ri-dé
 “if a scribe comes, let him put his hand to work, if a musician comes, let him₁ recite to him₂”
Šulgi B 312–313.¹¹

Apparently not commented so far, is the use of -t a- in a sense obviously related to the instrumental meaning of the nominal postposition -t a. It is found in constructions of the type “to do something with something.” The evolution of the argument patterns is:

PN-t a	PN-∅	V	→	PN-∅	PN-∅	t a-V
<i>instrument</i>	<i>theme</i>	<i>predicate</i>		<i>instrument</i>	<i>theme</i>	<i>predicate</i>

E. g., leather pieces + (mouth of) jar (of contents) + b a - r a - k é š “to close (and tie) up”:

- [11] 1 kuš udu ú-hab ka dug ì-nun ba-ra-kéš
 “the opening(s) of jars of clarified butter were closed up with one brown sheep hide”
MVN 16, 768 (Ur III).
- [12] 20 kuš sila₄ ka dug mun-gazi bal-a-ka ba-ra-kéš
 “the openings of jars transferring spices were closed up with 20 lamb hides”
UTI 3, 1724 (Ur III).

Similarly, reed bundles-∅ + animal(s)-∅ + b a - r a - š e g₆ “to cook”:

- [13] 120 sa-gi gud 3 ba-ra-šeg₆
 50 sa-gi udu niga 10 ba-ra-šeg₆
 “3 oxen were cooked with 120 reed bundles
 10 fat sheep were cooked with 50 reed bundles”
Whittier 1:5 (Ur III).

11. Note the ambiguity of the logogram DU that can be read also g u b.

This construction is typical of Ur III accounts (it makes easier the listing and manipulation of numerical data), but is also found elsewhere:

- [14] ^den-ki-ke₄ im abzu-a ba-al-gu₇ ba-da-an-dím
 “Enki made up a turtle out of /with clay of the Abzu”
 Ninurta and the Turtle 36.

5.2. Finally, the verb ù — k u - k u / k u₄ - k u₄ “to sleep” is appropriate to examine the behavior of the ALL (or Terminative) as a DI. This verb, always with a negative in its finite forms, because of a linguistic taboo, has often the ALL. The reason for the sleeplessness, if imputable to a person is in the DAT, a curious and infrequent meaning of this case:

- [15] á mu-e-a-ak šu-bi na-de₅-ge ù ba-ra-ra-ku-ku-un
 “you depilate (yourself), cleaning those hands, I cannot sleep because of you”
Dialogue 5:5.
- [16] dam mu-lu du₅-mu mu-lu dag-gi₄-a ti-la ù nu-mu-un-na-ku-ku-ù-ne
 “the wife of a gentleman and the gentelman’s sons living in the ward cannot sleep because of her”
Dialogue 5:114.

It can also be in the ALL if it is a non-person, but without a cross-referencing DI (peripheral adverbial):

- [17] gá-e mu-zu-šè gi₆-an-bará-ba ù dùg nu-mu-da-ku₄-ku₄-un
 “for your sake, I cannot sleep day or night”
Edubba B:121.
- [18] ^dnin-gal kalam-ma-ni-šè ù nu-ku-ku-ne
 “Ningal does not sleep for the sake of her country”
Ur Lament 81.

There are, however, a number of passages with the ALL infix that do not include the reason:

- [19] lú tur gibil-bi é-dù-gin₇ igi-ni ù dùg-ga nu-ši-ku₄-ku₄
 “like a young man building a house for the first time, his eyes cannot go to sleep”
Gudea Cyl A 19:23.
- [20] ki-sikil tur dag-gi₄-a ti-la ù nu-mu-un-ši-ku-ku
 “the young girls living in the ward cannot go to sleep”
Dialogue 5:130; similarly in 157.

In such cases, the ALL infix has an *ingressive* meaning, it refers to the entry into a state or process: “to fall sleep, to go to sleep.” In the preceding passages the subject is prevented from starting out the action described by the predicate. The modification of the meaning of the verbal base is here aspectual.

Strictly speaking, this addition of -š i- does not create a compound verb. Somewhat similar is the opposite situation, i. e., the reference to the end point of a process, what one can call completive meaning.¹² The infix -t a- with some verbs, for instance verbs of cutting, such as k u d' and ḥ a š, or of destruction, such as g u l or ḥ a - l a m, can be shown to express this completive aspect: “to cut off” rather than simply “to cut,” and “to annihilate,” “to destroy completely” rather than simply “to destroy.” For morphophonemic, or merely graphic, reasons, the ABL in such cases is often written -d a- and this has led to the erroneous idea that such verbs take the COM. Due to alternative ways of looking at the boundaries (A and B) of the event or state, there is an ambiguity that can lead to a switch of the affixes:

<i>perspective</i>	A	<i>process</i>	B
<i>internal</i>	← t a	š è/š i →	
<i>external</i>	š è/š i →		← t a

This is why in the case of ḫ š i - k u - k u the ALL with a terminative sense marks the onset of a state, and in the case of -t a-, the ABL marks the end of a change as, for instance, in t a - g u l. Such constructions are thus aspectual, not verbal compounds.

In conclusion, forms incorporating particles (or DI, or applicatives) to verbal bases can be true compound verbs, but also can be modal markers, or simply signal the presence of peripheral adverbial phrases in the sentence. To keep apart these various functions is not an easy task, and there is much to be done in a careful analysis of the semantics and pragmatics of Sumerian predicates with the ambition of finding out some day in Sumerian texts subtle differences of the order of Engl. *to find* vs. *to find out*. To end on a practical note, when parsing Sumerian sentences we will be well advised to follow this rule of thumb: “scan from right to left rather than from left to right.”

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12. Not to be confused with the completive theme of the verb.

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II.1

The Home of the Fish: A New Sumerian Literary Composition^{*}

This curious composition,¹ translated here for the first time, has a certain number of unusual features not found elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature. The poem is a monologue by a deity, in all probability Nanše² (see commentary on line 153) who, as “mother of the fish,” has built a new house for them, and invites all of them to come and spend the night there, where they will find a comfortable place of rest and will be safe and secure from all the animals which usually prey on them. It is always difficult to place works of Mesopotamian literature in the categories devised by classical rhetoricians. The anthropomorphic descriptions place our composition close to the fable, but it cannot be considered as such, because the classical definition of a fable always includes some kind of action, and no action at all is involved in our text. In some other respects we may consider our poem as lyrical: it is based on the author’s sentiments evoked by the multiple aspects of aquatic life, and on the emotional appeal of a “sweet home.” Other secondary themes interwoven with this are the “naming of the fish” – to be compared perhaps with Adam naming all living creatures in the Garden of Eden or, more probably, it is simply a display of erudition – and the attempt to explain how water birds prey on fish, in spite of the fact that both of them are under Nanše’s protection.

^{*} The present article was originally published in *Iraq* 23 (1961) pp. 154-175.

1. This composition was known in the é - d u b - b a s “My fish, a built house,” i.e. the *incipit* of the poem which is found in the literary Catalogues Philadelphia 16 and Louvre 48(!) (S. N. Kramer, *BASOR* 88 [1942] 10-19, where the former reading ḥ a - m u - é - n i must be corrected in k u a - m u é - d u).

The *abbreviations* used in this article are the usual in the assyriological literature. P = (Sumerian) Proverbs (cited according to Dr. E. I. Gordon’s reconstructions). For the abbreviations F and N see note 9. References to unpublished (or partly published) Sumerian compositions are cited according to the provisional reconstructions in the University Museum.

My sincere thanks are due to Drs. Kramer and Jacobsen for their help and suggestions in the preparation of the article; to Prof. C. J. Gadd for his copies of the Ur tablets (texts *CDE*) which he will publish in the forthcoming volume of *UET*; and to Mrs. M. Çiğ for the copy of a fragment from Istanbul (text *G*).

2. Although a reading ^dn a z i (cf. already Kramer’s suggestion in *BASOR* Supl. St. I, 30⁷²) has been used by B. Landsberger (*MSL* VIII Introd. p. 13), we keep the reading n a n š e, since no published evidence supports the new reading (cf. the reservations of E. Sollberger in *BiOr* 16 [1959] 114).

A somewhat similar composition, but dealing only with birds, is represented by HAV 22 and a few additional fragments, but too little of it can be reconstructed for the present, so that we might draw any closer parallels or conclusions.

The text has been reconstructed with the help of the following tablets and fragments:

A	BM 54612	CT 42, 38	= 1-24, 71-101.
B	CBS 8734 + Ni 9668 ⁴	STVC93 ³ S. N. Kramer's copy	= 1-20, 35-52.
C	U 16879K	C. J. Gadd's copy	= 2-36.
D	LL (×37)	"	= 31-(51), 76-117, 137-153.
E	U 16879E	"	= 67-83.
F	Ni 2409	BE XXXI 49 (not collated)	= 79-84, 103-109.
G	Ni 4399	M. Čiž's copy	= lacuna after line 117.

See Plate LXVI for texts Ni 9668(B) and Ni 4399(G).

This literary piece existed already in Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian times, since all the above mentioned tablets were written during these periods; nothing else can be said about the precise date of composition of our poem.

Text

- 1 kua-mu é-dù []
- 2 kua-mu é ma-ra-an-du ara[h ma-ra-dù]
- 3 é-a kisa¹-diri-ga amaš-gíd-da ma-r[a-dù]
- 4 šà-bi na-NE túg ma-ta-mu⁴ ki-šà-húl-le a¹ sil⁶ ma-ra-[x]
- 5 é gu-ḥa-la-gu-ḥa-la-zu na¹-an-na-te ú-ú-ta m[u-x-x-(x)]
- 6 é-e¹ níg-kú ì-gál² níg-kú sag-gá-ba
- 7 é-e¹ níg-kú ì-gál² níg-kú silim-ma-ba
- 8 é-ki-kaš-dé-a-zu¹ num nu-mu-un-gíd-gíd-gíd
- 9 mu-ur⁵-da-zu inim-gar¹ gír-kúr nu-gál-la
- 10 zag-du⁸ ^{gi8}si-gar¹-bi² zì-dub-dub-bu níg-na-e gar-ra
- 11 é-e¹ ir-bi tir-šim-^{gi8}erin-na-gin_x ir-si-bi ba-ur²₅
- 12 é-e kaš mu-un-gál¹ kaš-sig²₅-ga mu-un-gál³
- 13 didaimgaga ninda-ku₇-ku₇-da-bi¹ gi-gar-re-eš mu-un-gál
- 14 zu-a-zu ḥé-im-du¹
- 15 kal-la-zu ḥé-im-du¹
- 16 ad-da-pa₄-bíl-ga-zu ḥé-im-du¹
- 17 dumu-šeš-gal-zu dumu-šeš-bàn-da-zu ḥé-im-du
- 18 du₁₃-du₁₃-lá-zu gal-gal-zu¹ ḥé-im-du
- 19 dam-zu dumu-zu ḥé-im-du

3. Collation of STVC93: line 1', signs 5-6: 'a - s i l₆'; line 8', sign 2: š e š, not m u. Rev. line 4' sign 7: - e.

4. The first line of the copy is the first line on the tablet, according to a collation by Mrs. H. Kizilyay.

- 20 ku-li-zu du₁₀-ús-sa-zu h́é-im-du
 21 muru₅-ušbar¹¹-zu h́é-im-du
 22 ildú bar-nam-ga-ku₄-ra-zu-uš h́é-im-du
 23 da-a-zu-nam-meš nam-mu-ni-in-ʿtak₄-tak₄ʿ¹
 24 ku₄-ra-ma-ni-ib dumu-ki-ág-mu
 25 ku₄-ra-ma-ni-ib dumu-šag₅-ga-mu
 26 u₄ nam-zal-e gi₆¹ nam-sá-e
 27 ʿid₄ʿ-ba² nam-ba-ni-ib-ku₄-ku₄
 28 u₄ me¹-e¹-zal-la-a-gin_x gi₆ me-e-sá-a-gin_x
 29 ku₄-ra ba-ni-ḥun-gá ki-gar ma-ra-ab-du₇
 30 ša-ba dúr-gar-ʿke₄ʿ² si ma-ra-ab-sá-e
 31 kua-mu lú-ná-a¹ ba-ra-ab-zi-zi
 32 lú-tuš-a¹ du₁₇ ba-ra-mú-mú
 33 ku₄-ra-ma-ni-ib¹ dumu ki-ág-mu²
 34 ku₄-ra-ma-ni-ib¹ dumu-šag₅-ga-mu
 35 íd-mun-na-gin_x pa₅¹ na-an-zu-zu¹
 36 IŠ-gar-íd-da-gin_x¹ zi-zi na-an-zu-zu-ù
 37 a-zal-le-gin_x SA₄-zu na-an-ba-lá-e¹
 38 id₄¹ ù-ba-ni-in-ku₄-ku₄² SA₄-zu na-an-ba-lá-e
 39 na-an-ga-ba-e-da-du¹-e igi-zu di-mu-uš-šè²
 40. [x-gi]_{n_x} ki-ur₅-kú-zu-šè na-an-ga-ba-e-da-du-e igi-zu di-mu-uš-šè¹
 41 ur-gin_x ki-si-im-si-im-ag-zu-šè na-an-ga-ba-e-da-du-e igi-zu di-mu-uš-šè
 42 ʿxʿ-[(x)]-ʿxʿ.DI-gin_x ki-gub-zu-šè¹ na-an-ga-ba-e-da-du-e igi-zu di-mu-uš-šè
 43 gud-gin_x tùr-zu-šè udu-gin_x amaš-[zu-šè] na-an-ga-ba-e-da-du-e igi-zu di-mu-uš-šè¹
 44 á-še gud-gin_x tùr-zu-šè ʿxʿ-[]¹
 45 ku₄-ra-ma-ni^dsu[en h́é-en-da-ḥúl-ḥúl]¹
 46 á-še udu-gin_x amaš-z[u-šè]
 47 ku₄-ra-ma-ni^ddumu-zi-d[è h́é-en-da-ḥúl-ḥúl]
 48 gud-gin_x tùr-zu-šè sag íl-[la-zu-dè]
 49 en-^daš-ím-babbar^dsuen [h́é-en-da-ḥúl-ḥúl]
 50 udu-gin_x amaš-a sag [íl-la-zu-dè]
 51 ^ddumu-zi lú-sipa-[da h́é-en-da-ḥúl-ḥúl]
 52 nam-ba-an-da ʿxʿ[]

Lacuna of about 14 lines

- 67 kua x¹-ba-ba zag nam dag² gi-g[i]
 68 kua-mu kua-ḥe-a h́é-ga-me-da-an-ku₄-ku₄¹
 69 su¹²₆-šag₅-šag₅ ú-làl KA-K[A]¹
 70 kua-mu suḥur-gal^{kua}-mu h́é-ga-me-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
 71 gi-ub-zal kú ka-šè ì-[x(x)]
 72 kua-mu suḥur-tur<^{kua}-mu>h́é-ga-me-da-[an-ku₄ -ku₄]
 73 numdun-gal¹ gi-zi nag-gá

- 74 ھا-la šár-šár []¹
75 kú-kú-da-bi []
76 kua-mu GUD^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-[an-ku₄-ku₄]¹
77 ^{giš}gi-muš-gi₆ a-ša-ga-a²-ri-a
78 šáh-ama-gan¹ gú-íd-da-ka² NÍG-silag-gá kar-kar-re³
79 kua-mu gú¹-bí^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
80 kun-si gàm-si¹ kua ú-ta² DU.DU
81 kua-mu ŠE+SUĤUR-gal^{kua1}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
82 kua šu_x(=KA×ŠU)-ba¹ dumu-ír-pàd²-da-gin_x
83 kua-mu ŠE+SUĤUR-SUM^{kua}-mu¹ hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
84 sag-dù^{giš} al-la¹ zú^{giš} ga-zum²
85 gír-pad-du-bi¹ ù-suh₅²-an-na
86 mu-dùn-na-bi¹ ^{kuš}a-edin-LÁ^d dumu-zi-da
87 kuš-níg-kú-a kin-šè nu-gá-gá¹
88 kun-sal-la-bi^{kuš} á-si-šu-peš-dè-ne¹
89 kua šu-ḥúb-ḥúb kuš ní-ba kú-kú
90 šà-ga-ni KA-ba nu-gál-la
91 kua gaba-ri á-úr dab₅-ba
92 kuš-dala_x-a kak-šè bal-bal-a-bi
93 níg-gig¹ èš-urú sá-dug₄ nu-gá-gá
94 kua-mu mu-ra¹ ^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄
95 gír-kú-a¹ a-lù-lù gur-ra²
96 kua NI-gur₅-a igi-du₈-dè dab₅-ba¹
97 kua-mu kin^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-da-[an-ku₄-ku₄]
98 sag-du^{na4} kikkin-šu¹ sag-gá-šè 'x'
99 LUM-LUM-LUM-NE¹ bar dim dù-dù-NE
100 kua ú x[(x)] nu-kú-e al-ĤU[R x x x (x)]¹
101 kua-mu peš¹-gíd-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-[da-an-ku₄-ku₄]
102 ša-nigin za-pa-ág-bi gú bal-N[E]
103 kua-mu peš¹ ^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-(da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
104 [k]ua? durun-na sì-ga kua še-ir-tab-ba è zu-zu
105 kua dùg-ga ì-gál¹ níg-gig-ga
106 kua-mu [g]ur₇¹ ^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-(da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
107 kua a-kud dù zé me-zé-bi gar-ra
108 kua-mu a-gar₆-gar₆^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-mu-e-(da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
109 dumu-dam-gâr¹-ra NI GA IM a-mu
110 kua-mu sag-^rga^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-(mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
111 dumu-mar-tu bar-ta túm-túm-mu
112 kua-mu tùr[?].ĤAR^{?kua}-<mu> hé-en-ga-(mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
113 kua ú-kú nu-kú-a a pú K[A x (x)]
114 kua-mu a-zag-ga^{kua}-mu hé-en-ga-(mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
115 kuš-dugud gâr-ru bal []

- 116 kua-mu mu[š^{kua}-mu h́e-en-ga-(mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)]
 117 ur-s[ag?]

Lacuna of approximately 20 lines, partly filled by text G.

Text G

- G 1' [x D]U.DU AMA pi-en-du [x x (x)]
 2' [kua]-mu GÍR.Ú^{kua}-mu h́e-(en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
 3' tur-tur a-bar-ra túm-túm-mu
 4' kua-mu SAL-SAL^{kua}-mu h́e-(en-ga-mu-e-da-an-ku₄-ku₄)
 5' igi-muš KA-péš-AD[?] KI-A KI-A har-ra
 6' [xxxx] zi-da šà[?] ná-ná
 7' [a]b sì-ga

Lacuna

- 137 ambar-íd-da gù-gù-gul-bi dè-dè
 138 kua-mu akan-ni^{mušen}-mu šu-šè ba-e-lá-e
 139 'a' sa-sa-lá sa-pàr ma-ra-nigin
 140 kua-mu ubur-'ri^{mušen}-mu šu-šè ba-e-lá-e
 141 gír níg-zi-zi zú gír₁₀-gír₁₀-ra
 142 a-bar-bar-ta KAS₄ im sar-sar-re
 143 'kua-mu' ANŠE.BAR^{mušen}-mu šu-šè ba-e-lá-e
 144 'x'-a šu nu-tag-tag-ge
 145 'x'-mušen-a gír-kua-a
 146 [kua-m]u KI.IB^{mušen}-mu šu-šè ba-e-lá-e
 147 [nig-ú]r-limmú ambar gír₅-gír₅ dib[?]
 148 [kua]-mu kud-da-mu šu-šè ba-e-lá-e
 149 [šu-š]è nu-mu-e-lá-e gír-šè nu-mu-e-NE-NE
 150 [kua]-mu u₄-zal-zal-l[a] za-e ugu-mu-uš gá-nu
 151 [u₄-z]al-zal-[(la)] za-e ugu-mu-<uš> gá-nu
 152 [g]a-ša-an-lú-šu-peš_x-da
 153 [^dnanše] za-ra h́e-en-da-húl

Notes

3. ¹A: é - a k i s a l^{1?}; B: é k i s a l; C: 'é - x' - e (x apparently = GÁ).
 4. ¹So B; A: p ú s i [l₆. This line in B after line 11.
 5. ¹So A; B: l a - b a - 'x' - [.
 6. ¹So B; A om. - e. ²So B; A: g á l for ì - g á l.
 7. See notes to line 6.
 8. ¹So B; A om. - z u.

9. ¹So A; B adds -šè after -zu and reads du₆-da [...]. for inim-gar.
10. ¹So A; B: om. giš. ²So A; B: -zu for -bi.
11. ¹So A; B: -mu for -e. ²Order of lines in B: 12, 13, 11, 4.
12. ¹A: gál^{1?}. ²So C; A sig for sigs. ³So A; C: šub for gál.
13. ¹So A (KAŠ.Ú.SA.ZÍZ.AN.NA); B: KAŠ.ZÍZ.AN ku₇-ku₇-da-bi; C: KAŠ.Ú^{1?}.SA^{1?}.ZÍZ^{1?}.AN ku₇-ku₇-dam.
14. ¹So A; B: ḫé-im-[-; C: ḫu-mu-un-ši-du-un.
15. See note to line 14.
16. ¹B and C insert before this line: dumu-ku-li-zu nam-mu-un-ib-tak₄-tak₄.a' (C); nam-mu-un-[- (B). Order of lines in B: 18, 16, 17, 20, x (traces of an unidentified line); C om. lines 16-23.
18. ¹So A; B: gu-la-tur-ra-zu ḫé-[- .
21. ¹Text: ÚR, to be emended in ÚR×NUN.
23. ¹Restoration according to the text of B and C in note to lin 16. In A follows a line: 'dumu-ku-li-zu' [, cf. note 1 to line 16.
- 31 and 32. ¹So D; C adds -mu.
33. ¹So C; D om. -ib. ²So C; D adds -a- after -ág.
34. ¹See note 1 to line 33.
35. ¹So D; C na-ba-al-[- for na-an-zu-zu; B unclear.
36. ¹So B and D; C om. -da-.
37. ¹B om. this line.
38. ¹D: u₄. 'x' (erased?) ^dNANNA'. ²So B; D: é²-šè² nam-NE-ni-íb-ku₄-ku₄; there does not seem to be enough room in B for the second half of the line.
39. ¹So B; D (here and in the ff. lines) dū for du. ²So D; B: (here and in the ff. lines) igi-zu DI[.
40. ¹D interchanges lines 40 and 41.
42. ¹So D; B:]-da²-šè gub-ba-z[u.
43. ¹So B; beginning with this line D has a shorter text: [gu_d]-gin_x tūr-ra-ku₄-ra-zu-šè [na-an-ga-ba]-e-da-dū-e igi-zu di-[mu-uš-šè] / kua-mu ^daš-ím-babbar-re ḫé-[e]n-da-ḫú₁-ḫ[ú₁] / udu-gin_x amaš-a-ku₄-ra-zu-šè. [k]ua-mu ^ddumu-zi lú¹-sip-a-da ḫé-e n¹-da¹-ḫ[ú₁]-ḫú₁.
44. ¹B repeats again: na-an-ga-ba-e-... etc.; we suppress the line because it breaks the symmetry of the text.
45. ¹Restored according to the text in note to line 43.
67. ¹x perhaps = DU-šeššig.
68. ¹See note to line 76.
69. ¹We must expect kú rather than KA (collated).
73. ¹So A; E: KA-gal-x (= gal over an erased tur?).
74. ¹Lines 74-75 om. by E.
76. ¹So A and later F (lines 79 and ff.); D abbreviated: ḫé-en-ga; E: ḫé-ga-me-da-an-ku₄-ku₄.
77. ¹So E; A and D om. giš. ²So A; E om. -a-.
78. ¹So A; D: UM×ME-tu; E: šáh-má-gan-lá. ²So A; D: ru²-gú for da-ka; E: -šé for -ka, with an illegible gloss over šè and níg. ³So A; E adds te-gá at the end.
79. ¹So A; E (and D?): kun.

80. ¹So A and D; E: k u n - s i g à m - k u n - s a; F: copy unclear. ³So A; D: k u a - p a - r u - u š - NE; E: g i š for ú.
81. ¹D om. k u a.
82. ¹So A; D: k u a K A × ' x ' x; E: k u a N Í G - K A × ' A ' - g a - d u m u - g i n x; F: k u a K A × ' x ' - b i. ²So F; A, D and E om. one IGI.
83. ¹So A and F; D: s a l for SUM; E: erroneously g i for k u a - m u.
84. ¹So A and F; D: - e for - l a. ²A adds z u after z u m (gloss?).
85. ¹So D; A: - n i for - b i. ²So D; B: i - for ù -; note that both copies have T Û G rather than KU.
86. ¹So A; D: k u š - m u r u b a - b a - b i.
87. ¹D interchanges lines 87 and 88.
88. ¹So A; D: š u - p e š x (=H A) - e - n e, and om. lines 89-93.
94. ¹So A; D: m u r for m u - r a.
95. ¹So A; D: om. - a. ²So A; D:  g u r.
96. ¹D om. this line.
97. ¹So A; D adds - e.
99. ¹So A; D: LUM.NIM.NIM.NE.
100. ¹This line om. by D.
101. ¹A: p e [š]; D: H A.
103. ¹Text restored from F:]- m u H A ^{kua} - m [u; D has a blank space after the first k u a - m u, omitting H A/p e š.
105. ¹So D; F adds - l a.

Translation

- 1 My fish, a built house []
- 2 My fish, I have built a house for you, a granar[y I have built for you],
- 3 In the house, an extra court (and) a large sheepfold I [have built] for you,
- 4 In its midst, a ... I covered with a garment for you, in this place of happiness, water of joy I [...] for you.
- 5
- 6 In the house, there is food, food of the best quality,
- 7 In the house, there is food, food in good condition.
- 8 The files cannot be chased away from your house, which is a drinking place.
- 9 *Your renown* (is) an acclaim which cannot be spoiled.
- 10 The threshold and the bolt, the ritual flour, the censer, are in place,
- 11 The scent of the house, is like the fragrance of a cedar forest.
- 12 In the house, there is beer, there is good beer,
- 13 There are sweet beer and honied cakes, (stretching) as far as the reed-fence.
- 14 Let your acquaintances come,
- 15 Let your dear ones come,
- 16 Let your father (and) ancestor come,
- 17 Let the sons of your elder brother (and) the sons of your younger brother come,
- 18 Let your little ones (and) your big ones come,

- 19 Let your wife (and) your children come,
20 Let your companions (and) friends come,
21. Let your brother-in-law (and) your father-in-law come,
22 Let the crowd, alongside of your entrance, come,
23 Do not leave your neighbors (outside), not even one of them.
24 Enter, my beloved son,
25 Enter, my goodly son;
26 The day will pass, the night is coming,
27 'The moonlight' ... will enter (the house);
28 When the day has passed, when the night has come,
29 The one who enters will repose; a place I have prepared for you,
30 In its midst, I appoint a seat for you,
31 My fish, my sleeping ones will never be disturbed,
32 My residents will never start any quarrel.
33 Enter, my beloved son,
34 Enter, my goodly son.
35 Like a brackish canal, which no (longer) has any ditches,
36 Like the river silt, which cannot be moved away,
37 Like flowing water, your bed will be spread,
38 After the moonlight has entered (the house), your bed will be spread;
39 You come too, (cast) your eyes at the shelter,
40 Like a [...], you come too to your bedding ground, (cast) your eyes at the shelter,
41 Like a dog, you come too to your sniffing place, (cast) your eyes at my shelter,
42 Lik[e ...], you come too, to your ... standing place, (cast) your eyes at the shelter,
43 You come too, like an ox, to your stall, like a sheep, [to your] sheepfold, (cast) your eyes at the shelter.
44 If you indeed, like an ox, to your stall [],
45 Enter, Si[n will rejoice with you];
46 If you indeed, like a sheep, to your sheepfold [],
47 Enter, Dumuzi [will rejoice with you].
48 [When you] raise (your) head like an ox to your stall,
49 The lord Ašimbabbar, (namely) Sin [will rejoice with you],
50 [When you] raise (your) head like an ox to the sheepfold,
51 Dumuzi, the shepherd, [will rejoice with you].

(*Lacuna*)

- 67 The fish who
68 May all kinds of fishes also enter with you, oh my fish,
69 The one who (has) nice "beards," eats the sweet plants,
70 My s u ḫ u r - g a l -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
71 The one who eats the "inside"-reeds, to the mouth(?) [. . .],

- 72 My s u ħ u r - t u r -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
73 The one who (has) big lips, sucks the z i -reeds,
74 [.]
75 His food [.]
76 My g u d -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
77 A black punting-pole, engendered in the fields,
78 A farrowing sow, who in the river banks takes away the dough,
79 My g ú - b í -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
80 The one who (has) a horned tail, a horned back, goes out from the plants,
81 My ŠE+SUĤUR- g a l -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
82 The fish who in his *muttering* (is) like a crying child,
83 My ŠE+SUĤUR.SUM-fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish;
84 The head, a hoe, the teeth, a comb,
85 His bones, the branches of a fir-tree;
86 The skin of his stomach(?), the water-skin of Dumuzi;
87 A “dehaired” skin, which does not need processing;
88 His slender tail, the whip of the fishermen;
89 A jumping fish, the skin is naturally “smoothed,”
90 His entrails are not in his nose;
91 A fish who seizes the adversary by arms and legs,
92 The sting serves as a nail;
93 He is taboo, he is not placed as an offering in the city shrines,
94 My m u r -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
95 The fish whose “feet” *churn* the troubled waters,
96 A fish who seizes with a glance(?),
97 My k i n -fish, may he also [enter] with you, oh my fish.
98 The head, a hand-mill, to the head [...]
99
100 A fish who does not eat the ...[...] -plants, ... [...]
101 My p e š - g í d -fish, may he also [enter with] you, oh my fish.
102 The noise of his entrails ... [...]
103 My p e š -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
104 [The fi]sh who, a fish who knows how to escape the fences (of a fish-trap),
105 A *rebellious* fish, an abomination,
106 My [g]u r₇ -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
107 The fish who makes breaches, venom is placed in his jaw,
108 My a - g a r₆ - g a r₆ -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
109 The merchants him,
110 My sag-^ˁga^ˁ -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
111 The nomads fetch him away,
112 My t ù r[?] - ĤAR[?] -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
113 The fish who does not eat the edible plants, ... [...],

- 114 My a - z a g - g a -fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
115 The heavy skin [...],
116 My m u š-fish, [may he also enter with you], oh my fish.

(*Lacuna*)

- G 2' My GÍR.Ú-fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
3' The children bring him in ...,
4' My SAL-SAL-fish, may he also enter with you, oh my fish.
5' The one who (has) eyes of a snake, mouth of a ... mouse, ... s in river banks,

(*Lacuna*)

- 137 The one who in the marshes (and) rivers utters his sinister cry,
138 My a k a n -bird, will catch you, oh my fish.
139 The one who in the waters where the nets are stretched, circles the nets (looking) for you,
140 My u b u r -bird, will catch you, oh my fish.
141 The one who (has) tall legs, the laughing one,
142 Who comes from far away waters, writes in the mud,
143 My ANŠE.BAR-bird, will catch you, oh my fish.
144 The one [...] who is not adorned,
145 (Has) the [...] of a bird, the feet of a fish,
146 My KLIB-bird, will catch you, oh my fish.
147 The one who seizes the quadru[peds] running about the marshes,
148 My k u d -*crocodile*, will catch you, oh my fish.
149 (But) you will not be seized by (their) claws, you will not be destroyed by (their) feet.
150 Oh my [fish], time is pressing, come to me,
151 [Time] is pressing, come to me.
152 The queen of the fishermen,
153 [Nanše], will rejoice with you.

Commentary

This long monologue can be divided as follows:

- 1-13. Description of the newly built house for the fish.
- 14-23. Invitation to all relatives and friends of the fish to come to the house.
- 24-51. Invitation to the fish to spend the night in the house.
- 67-117. and Fragment G. Description and names of the incoming fish.
- 137-148. Description and names of the birds and animals which prey on fish.
- 149-153. Conclusion: the house gives safety to the fish, thus rejoicing Nanše.

The lines 1-13 describe the house built and made ready for the fish, including large quantities of the best food and drink. Everything is ready for the house warming.

Line 1. The second half of the line might be restored [(x) ma-ra-y], the verb being šu—du₇, si—sá, ki—gar, or the like; a repetition of the first half of the line, although less likely, is also possible.

2. For a-ra-h see *PBS* V 106 iv 10'-12' (Diri V):

[a-ra]-a-h É.UŠ.GÍD.DA = a-ra-aḥ-ḥu, na-áš-pa-ku

[aš-lu-u-g] É.UŠ.GÍD.DA = aš-lu-uk-ka-tum

The general meaning is “granary, warehouse.” Context references are: *TRS* 70 rev. 3 (cf. Jacobsen, *ZA* NF 18, 108³²) and *P* 3.69. The -n- of ma-ra-a-n-dù seems superfluous; a third person as a subject is not likely in the present context.

4. na-NE can be, of course, na-i zi = *qutrinnu* “incense,” but this hardly fits the following túg—mu₄.

5. The expression ḥa-la—te-(gá) Akk. *zitta leqû* is found with the meaning “take a share” (*A.i.III* iv 8-9, cf. *CAD* s. v. *elātu* A), and gu could be taken as “thread,” in our case “thread dividing the land portions,” but a translation “the house does not approach, or take, the threads dividing your shares” is difficult to understand. The infix -na- in the verbal form na-a-n-na-te is probably a mistake. For ū-ū one could think of kùš-kùš (Akk. *rāṭu*) “trench, gutter.”

8. This line has been translated according to the equation gíd = *nasāḥu* (ref. in *ŠL* 371, 24). The somewhat repulsive image indicates the excellency of the food-stuff; cf. *Gilgameš* XI 162.

9. The translation of this line is very uncertain. We understand mu-ur₅-da as the “heard name” (ur₅-da = *šemû*) i.e. “renown, fame”; for in im-gar cf. *CAD* s. v. *egirrû*: “utterances of approval and admiration ...”; and for gîr-kúr cf. Gordon *Sumerian Proverbs* 178²⁹ (*P* 2.1): garza-bi gîr ba-da-kúr, and *PBS* X²⁴ i rev. i 10-11 (*Nippur Lament*): dí-m-ma-bi gîr íb-ta-a-n-kúr; cf. also the lexical references for gîr-kúr—gál of *CAD* s. v. *etēqu* A.

10. i.e. everything is ready for the ritual inauguration of the house. The suffix -e in níg-na-e is unexpected,⁵ since the Akk. LW *niqnakku* suggests a genitival composition for níg-na; in addition to this orthographic irregularity, the meaning of the suffix -e in this context is obscure.

13. For di-daimgaga Akk. *alappanu* “sweet beer” and *dišiptuḥḥu* “a type of beer made of emmer-wheat” see *CAD* s. v. *dišiptuḥḥu*. For gi-gar-re-eš cf. perhaps NÍG = *ipšu* and gi.NÍG-si-ga = *ipšu* “reed fence” (*Hh* IX 308), although á III-6: 27 seems to give the reading [ni-i-g].

14-23. Invitation to all fish, relatives and friends, to enter the house.

14. zu-a and kal-la (Akk. (w)*aqrum*) are often found in parallel; e.g. : zu-a kal-la-ni Akk. *aq-ru mu-du-šú* (Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 5 [Akkadian in *CT* XV 41: 5, where the order of the Akkadian equivalents are interchanged]); zu-a kal-la-mu gîr-kúr mu-da-a-n-DU (*Nintiugga* Letter 14 [collated], cf. Van Dijk, *Sagesse*, 14-15).

16. See now D. O. Edzard “Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien” (*Genava* 8 [1960]) 254 ff., for the exact meaning of pa-bíl-ga (“grand father” as well as “paternal uncle”).

5. Unless the sign turns out to be kù.

21. For mur_5 see Falkenstein *NSGU* II p. 31 and III, Index; Inanna's Descent, 352 and Dumuzi's Death 164: $\text{ut}_4 \text{mur}_5\text{-mu-me-en gá-e mí-ús-sá-zu-me-en. ušbar} = \text{UR} \times \text{NUN}$ (ref. in *CAD* s.v. *emu*).

22. Lit.: "at the side ($\text{bar} - \text{š} \dot{\text{e}}$) of your entrance" i.e. the spectators looking at the fish entering the house. $\text{nám-ga-a-n-ku}_4\text{-ra} = \text{ir}'\text{-ri-bu-tu}$ "status of one who enters a house(hold)" A.i. III iv 17-19. The reading ku_4 of the sign TU with the meaning *erēbu*, according to á VII/4, as published by Goetze in *JCS* 13 (1959), 121; reading already suggested by Landsberger in *MSL* V, 50 ad 4.

23. nám-meš could also be perhaps translated "no matter who they are."

26. See also line 28. $\text{u}_4 - \text{za}_1$ along with $\text{gi}_6 - \text{sá}$ is found also in *PBS* XII 52 i 7 ff. (collated):

$\text{mí-ús-sá-me}_4 \text{me-zal-la-gin}_x$
 $\text{mí-ús-sá-me gi}_6 \text{me}^6\text{-sá-a-gin}_x$
 $\text{id}_4 \text{é-ba mi-ni-ku}_4\text{-ra-gin}_x$
 $*\text{mul}^7 \text{é-ba mi-ni-TUR-TUR-lá-gin}_x$
 ig-ta sag-kul
 $[\text{k}]i\text{-sikil-ra si-il-le-en.}$

27. The restoration $\text{ITU}^{\text{d}}\text{'NANNA'}$ in the beginning of the line fits well the context (cf. the passage mentioned in the preceding line); the following sign ba/zu is difficult to explain, it is perhaps to be corrected to $\langle \text{é} \rangle - \text{ba}$.

28. Cf. line 26.

32. du_{17} (=NE) instead of the more common du_{14} (=LÚ×NE); cf. also *SRT* 80, 2 (Falkenstein, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 [1950], 114).

35-37. These three literary comparisons seem to stress the quiet and peace of the sleeping place offered to the fish; the place will be (line 35) as quiet as an abandoned canal, which because of its brackish waters is useless for irrigation, its sleeping waters are not disturbed by the opening of small ditches and, according to the variant text, nobody digs it any longer to keep it in use. For the still waters as a literary image cf.: *kīma mē būri lu taqnāta kīma mē jarḥi lu nēḥāta* (Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Relig. Texts* 2, 8 rev. iv 7). Like the river sediments (line 36) which rest on the bottom, the place will be undisturbed. For saḥar-gar-íd-da see *RA* 54 (1960), 67; the expression saḥar-zí-zí is found elsewhere: *Lugal-e* 84 (*LKA* 9 ii 26), 326 and for zí-zí-zu cf. Enlil Hymn 139 (Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* I, 77). Although in line 37 we have a clearly written SA_4 (HU+NÁ) the context demands a simple NÁ. For a graphic confusion between both signs compare *Gud Cyl. A* iv 19 with v 16; this confusion even found its way into the lexical lists: *UM* 29-13-512: 7-10 (unpublished fragment of Proto-Diri):

$\text{HU}^{\text{še-e}} \text{NÁ} = \text{na-bu-ú-um}$
 $= \text{ra-ba-šum}$
 $= \text{šu-PI-um}$
 $= \text{i-tu-lum}$

The SA_4 in the end of *SEM* I ii 31 must be also taken as NÁ (Prof. Jacobsen's reference).

6. Text: me me gi_6 , mistake for $\text{-me gi}_6 \text{me-}$ (cf. line 4).

7. Text: id_4 , corrected according to line 6 of the same text.

39. Text B gives clearly *igi-zu* instead of the apparent *ù* of D, thus excluding a reading *ù-sá*. This second half of the line –an exclamative clause with ellipsis of the verb– must be translated in the light of the lexical equation: *dī-mu-uš ú.GIŠ.MI* = *dim-mu-šá-tum* (Diri IV 31) “reed shelter” (Dr. Jacobsen’s suggestion).

40. A name of a domestic animal is expected in the lacuna of the beginning of the line. “Bedding ground” translates *ur₅-kú* (cf. *ḪAR^{ur-gu}KÚ* = *nar-ba-a-šu* TCL VI 35 rev. i 27 [Erimḫuš]).

41. The translation “to sniff” for *si-im* –a *g* is based on the passage Nabn. A 83 ff. (and CT 16, 43: 215) mentioned in CAD s.v. *eṣēnu* Cf.: ‘x-y’ *sag-ús-sa si-im-si-im al-ag-e* (“The Scribe and his Son” 155) and: *ur^{ki}-ma ur-bi út-bād-da si-im-si-im nu-mu-un-aĝ-e* (“Ur Lament. B” III 53). The passage P 2. 109 (Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* p. 257): *ur si-im-si-im é-a é-a ku₄-ku₄*, is also more understandable assuming this meaning, “to sniff,” rather than “begging(?)” proposed by Gordon.

42. The text is probably corrupt.

44. For *á-še* (Akk. *lūman*, *inimma*, *anumma*) see Falkenstein, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 (1950), 129-130.

67ff. The pattern of the composition has changed in the preceeding lacuna. From here on the speaker invites the fish to enter calling them by their individual names. A short description of two or three lines –for an exception see line 84 and ff.– precedes the mention of each fish. It is not clear if Nanše gives the name to each fish for the first time, thus making the passage somewhat similar to Gen. ii 19-20, nor if the names are based on some popular “etymology” contained in the descriptions. The fact that in line 68 we have the expression *ku a-ḫe-a* “all kinds of fish” and then follow the best known and more often mentioned fish: *suḫur*, *gud*, *gú-bí*, etc. (cf. the beginning of *Hh XVIII*), suggests that we have here the very beginning of this “descriptive” section. Since most of the zoological identifications are, for obvious reasons, far from certain, we keep the native names in the translation.

67. This line, preserved only in one poorly written tablet, remains unintelligible to us.

70. There are three closely related signs for fish names:

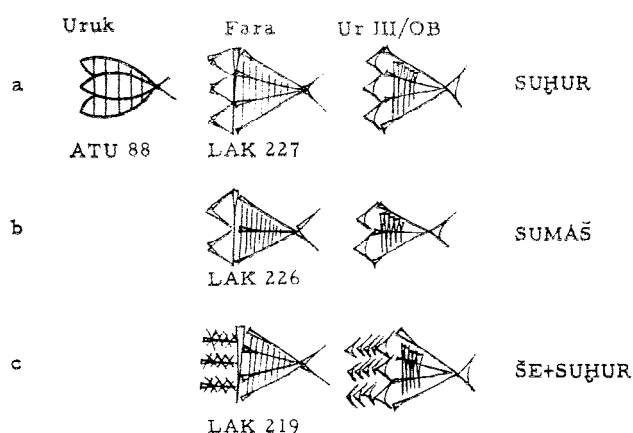


FIG. 1

The sign of our line is a (ATU 88, LAK 227, Schneider 598). Proto-ea 813-814 gives for a and b the readings s u ḥ u r and s u m a š, respectively.⁸ It is also certain that a and d designate two different kinds of fish, in the economic documents (e.g. RTC 36: 2 compared with line 6), in the fish-lists⁹ (F 2 and 23; N 1 ff. and 6), as well as in our text (see lines 81 and ff.). We do not have any lexical evidence for the reading of sign c, which we transliterate as ŠE+SUḪUR.¹⁰

As for s u ḥ u r (Akk. *puradu*, 𒍪 XVIII 3), in the Sumerian literary texts, it is the most commonly mentioned fish, as a typical dweller of the marshes, we also find it often in the economic texts, brought sometimes by fishermen of the g ú - e d i n - n a (some references in Deimel, *Or* 21 [1926] 75). One could suggest for s u ḥ u r an identification with a species of *Barbus* (“barbel”)—a fish with two barbels on each side of the mouth—because of the mention of the “beards” in the preceding line. If this identification is correct, the adjective gal is well applied to *Barbus seich*. (Arab. *gatan*); very large individuals of this species are found in Mesopotamia, with a length of from four to six feet and weight well above 140 lb.¹¹ For the association of the s u ḥ u r -fish with the ú - l à l -plants, cf.: é - m u ‘x’ [s u ḥ] u r - m á š - b i ú - l à l s u₆ i m - š i - s ù - e “Enki and the World Order” 96, and: s u ḥ u r^{kua} ú - l à l e - n e m u - u n - n a - è “Eridu Hymn” 78, etc.

71-72. g i - u b - z a l = *qān tubūqtī*, 𒍪 IX 313 “the reed of inside(?)”. Cf. “Disputation between the Heron and the Tuttle” 14: g i - u b - z a l u r u - b i - t a n a m - d a - d i n a m - n i r - d ù g - g a - à m . g i - u b - z a l g i - š u - p e š - d è k u a - e p a d - p a d - d u n í - z u ḥ u - m u - e - š i - d a b₅ “Dispute between the Reed and the Tree,” B 15. The fish s u ḥ u r - t u r might be a smaller species of barbel.

73-76. g i - z i = *kīsu*, 𒍪 VIII 6, appears associated with the g u d -fish in “Eridu Hymn” 79 (parallel: “Enki and the World Order” 97) : g u d - d u^{kua} g i - z i d u₁₃ - d u₁₃ - l á k u n m u - n a - s ù - e . The g u d -fish (written also g u d - d u and g u₄ - u d and probably k u₄ - d a in the phonetic text VS II 3 i 5) is the “carp,” Akk. *qersuppu* (cf. Landsberger, *JNES* VIII 282¹⁴),¹² and it is found along with the s u ḥ u r in river and swamps: ... g u d^{kua} k u a - a m b a r - k a m (DP 325); cf. also BE 13436 rev. 10, cited by Falkenstein, *Afo* XVI 62.

77-79. The ^{gis} g i - m u š (Akk. *gimuššu* and *parīsu*, 𒍪 IV 407-408) is compared to a snake in “Eridu Hymn” 86.¹³ For a translation “punting pole,” as against “oar” (Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* 102), see CAD s.v. *gišallu*. The comparison of the g ú - b í or k u n - b í fish with a “black punting pole” proves that the

8. *MSL* III 215-216; note that the difference between Proto-ea 813 (s u ḥ u r) and 814 (s u m a š) consists of 3 and 2 “Winkelhaken” respectively at the beginning of the sign. The omission of the “Winkelhaken” in *MSL* III at the end l. c. (814) must be accidental, since this wedge is found in all the other occurrences of the sign SUMAŠ (cf. also the late form in K 8276, 3 [CT 11, 28]).

9. The fish-lists are among the oldest lexical texts (cf. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, 44²). The first complete fish-list (abbreviated here F) can be reconstructed from Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara* II Nrs. 9-11 and *UET* II 234, this list is cited according to M. Civil’s reconstruction. The “Forerunner” to 𒍪 XVIII from Nippur is abbreviated as N and is quoted also from M. Civil’s provisional MS. (the unplaced fragments and aberrant lists are quoted according to Museum numbers).

10. Not to be confused with 𒍪+SUḪUR which appears in the F and N lists as a group different from ŠE+SUḪUR.

11. *Journal of the Bombay Natural Hist. Soc.* 36, 308-309; 27, 176-177.

12. A reading e š t u b is also attested for g u d^{kua}; perhaps another rendering of the same foreign word represented by Akk. *arsuppu*, according to Von Soden (*AHW* s.v.).

13. Other literary references for ^{gis} g i - m u š are: P 3. 179 and parallels (texts in W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 274) and ^{gis} m á - m a ḥ - à m ^{gis} g i s a l m u - u n - s i - g e [... ^{gis} g i - m] u š m u - u n - s i - g e, Letters Collec, A I 6’-7’.

meaning “eel” suggested a long time ago (Landsberger, *Fauna* 46) is correct. The second half of line 77 refers either to the fact that the eel –because of the special configuration of its gills– is able to move for some time out of the water across the ground, or to the ancient belief that the eel was born from the dirt of the fields (see the passages of classical authors quoted by d’Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes* 59). Although the literal meaning of line 77 is clear enough, it is difficult for us to understand, since it describes a concrete situation in everyday life in the marshland which is unknown to us. Perhaps the dough was left overnight outside of the huts and sometimes the pigs –and supposedly the eels– ate it.

80-81. See above (line 69 and ff.) for the sign transcribed ŠE+SUḪUR; the fish of this name is rather common in the economic documents, it is caught either in fresh water (VS XIV 134) or in the sea (Nik. 269, UET III 1297, 2, 18, etc.). “Horned tail, horned back (lit. edge)”¹⁴ describes probably the form of the caudal and dorsal fins of the fish.

82-83. The name of the fish mentioned in line 83 is unattested elsewhere. For line 82 compare the difficult proverb P 6. 26 (Collection. 6 deals almost exclusively with birds and fish):

ér-pàd-gin_x gi-ba-ta
 šu_x (=KA×ŠU)-za (var.: -z u)
 ga bí-ib-tud_x (=PA+UZU)-[d]è-en

The comparison d u m u - é r - p à d - d a - g i n_x is found also in “Man and his God” 71.

84-94. This exceptionally long description of the mur(a)-fish suggests its identification with a *Batoidea* (rayfish): the reference to the use of its skin (line 87) points very likely to a selachian fish; the flattened body “like a hoe” (line 84), the whip-like tail (line 88), and above all the mention of the sting (line 92) give converging evidence for an identification with a *Batoidea*, probably of gen. *Trygon* (resp. *Dasyatis*) or “sting-ray.” Some confusion with other different fish, and the addition of a few fabulous elements are not to be excluded from our description; we cannot expect more exactitude from our Sumerian writer than we find in Theophrastus or Pliny. ^{gis}al (line 84) is the Sumerian name for different types of agricultural tools, from the hoe to the pickaxe (Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 23 [1926] 31); some of these hoes (see for instance: Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery* (UE II) pl. 230: U 11494 and U 12697) have a striking resemblance with a rayfish. The pectoral fins of a ray, with their superimposed layers of long and thin parallel cartilages, are well comparable to the needles of a coniferous tree (see Fig. 2). For ^{gis}ù - s u ḫ₅ see *RA* 54 (1960) 70.¹⁵ The organ of the body designated by d ù n (Akk. *takāltu*) could be the “stomach” as well as the “bladder”;¹⁶ its similarity with the “waterskin of Dumuzi” (cf. “Inanna and Bilulu” 110, 121 [Jacobsen, *JNES* XII, 176-177]) does not leave any doubt about its bag-shaped form. The m u - in the beginning of the line is difficult to explain; is it an emesal form for g i š? k u š - n í g - k ú - a is a technical expression in the preparation and tanning of skins and hides. The two parallel forms k u š - (a) - n í g - k ú - a and k u š - (a) - e / í - r í - n a - k ú - a are

14. g à m is the edge (of a knife or another cutting tool); we assume tentatively that it designates here the dorsal line of the fish, i.e. the point of insertion of the dorsal fin. Cf.: á VIII/I (CT XII 10 ii 20-22):

g a - a m GÀM = *ši-ik-ru šá GÍR* “edge of a knife”
 = *gam-lum* “hooked or curved wooden piece with cutting edges”

15. We prefer to translate ^{gis}ù - š u ḫ₅ - a n - n a as “branches of a fir-tree” rather than a “tall fir-tree,” because of the 𒍪 III 86.

16. See for more references and discussion: M. Civil, “Une nouvelle prescription médicale sumérienne” *RA* 55 (1961), 91-94.

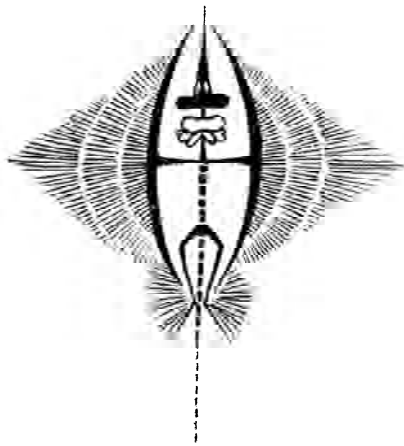


FIG. 2

probably two alternative ways of “dehairing” the skins. We assume that we have here a reference to the apparently scaleless skin of the selachian fish; the meaning of the line is thus: “the skin is (already) dehaired, it is not worked” i.e. does not need to be submitted to the *kú*-a process. The only reference for ^{kuš}á-si (Forerunner to *Ĥĥ* XI 122, not preserved in the main text) known to us is Gudea statue B iv 10-11: *u s a n₃ l a - b a - s i g* ^{kuš}á-si *l a - b a - s i g*, which is clear enough to secure the meaning “whip.” Note the variant *p e š / Ĥ A* (cf. already Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, 100). The translation “jumping fish” (line 89) is based on *š u - Ĥ Ū B - Ĥ Ū B = s a - a - r u* (CT 18, 46 rev. i 57 [Erimḫuš II]). At least two translations are possible for the second half of line 89: “eating its own flesh (i.e. relatives, fish of the same species)” or, as we did, in agreement with the first half of line 87; in this case however our passage seems to make *double emploi* with line 87.

Line 90 describes an anatomical peculiarity of the *m u r*(a)-fish, perhaps the fact that its mouth is recessed on the ventral face, rather than placed in front of the head, which is occupied by a large rostral cartilage and “empty” of entrails. Line 92 can be translated “the sting serves as a nail” or, taking -šè as an equivalent of -g i n_x: “the sting goes across (i.e. pierces) like a nail”; cf. *arma ut telum perforat* (Pliny *NH* ix 155, speaking of the *trygon*, sting-ray). We have preferred the reading *d a l a_x* rather than *š u k u r* for *IGI.DÜ*, because of the complement -a.

95-97. The *k i n*-fish is mentioned as a sea fish (VS XIV 25) in the fish lists and economic documents (ref.: *Or* 21 [1926] 74; *BIN* VIII 364); no identification has been possible yet. “Feet” are here probably the fins of the fish (cf. line 145).

98-101. The *p e š - g í d*-fish is unknown in the economic documents, but found in the lexical lists (Forerunner to *Ĥĥ* XVIII 10, 27); if the “hand mill” ([^{ma4}ĤAR]-š u = (*e - r u - ū*) *q a - t i* *Ĥĥ* XVI D iii 16) had the form of a saddle-quern, one could think of an identification of this fish with the hammer-headed shark (*Sphyrnis*). Cf. line 99 for the pertinent equations:

ḥ u m - ḥ u m — d ū - d ū = b a r - t i M I N¹ (= *e - p e š*) “rebel”

ḥ u m - ḥ u m — d ū - d ū = „ n e - e r - t i “murderer”

of ZA IX, 161: 30-31.

102-103. The zoological identity of the fish mentioned here is unknown; it is found in large quantities in the economic documents (ref.: *Or* 21 [1926] 77). The translation of *š à - n i g i n* (line 102) is based on the Akk. equivalent *tirānu* (*Ĥĥ* XV 110) “intestines.”

104-106. The *g u r₇*-fish is known from the lists (F 37; N: N5867 i'2) but not found elsewhere. “Fence” is probably here the reed-wall of a fish trap; the basis for a translation “fence” is:

š e - i r - t a b - b a = *l i - m i - t u* “fence”

= *p a - r i - i k - t u* “fence”

= *k u - r u - u l - l u* “fence” *I z i D i* 36-38

and: ^{giš}*š e - i r - t a b - b a = q a - a n l i - [m i t - t i]* “reed-fence” *Ĥĥ* IX 325

Literary contexts with *še-ir-tab-ba* are: *še-ir-tab-ba en-nu-un ba-ra-bí-ag* (Šulgi Hymn I 64) and *dam nu-un-tuk še-ir-tab-ba mu-un-ná* (Šuruppak Instr. 2, 48). The translation “rebellious” is a possibility based on *Ḫi-gar=bâru* II “to revolt” (*AHw* s.v.).

107-108. The name of the fish is written clearly as *a-NUN-tenû- NUN-tenû* (cf. *ga-ar NUN* = [] BM.38178, 4' (*CT* 12, 30) (Ea V). It could be the same as *NUN-tenû=agargar* (Proto-ea 396; *S_b* II 129); if this is the case, however, the word must have a more specific meaning than “Fischbestand des Meeres” given for the corresponding Akk. LW *agargarû* in *AHw* (s.v.).¹⁷ We take *a-kud* as Akk. *butuqtu* “a breach on a dike” (*AHw*); for *me-zé=isu* “jaw” see *CAD* s.v. and note that the place of *zé* in *Ḫ_h* XV 16 suggests for this word, in addition to the specific “gall,” a more general meaning of “bodily secretion” (including saliva); in our present context the sense is “(venomous) saliva” in all probability.

109-110. The name of the fish in line 110 is unknown to us (cf. perhaps *sag-kúr*, *UET* III 1306; 1310); the text of the second part of line 109 is probably corrupt.

111-112. Reading of the fish name unclear. For *bar-ta túm* a meaning like “to fetch away” (i.e. the nomads used to take with them the fish for trade or to consume it later) seems possible because of the similar expressions *bar-ta du/gin* “to go away” (Falkenstein, *LSS* I, 65) and *bar-ta gub* “to stay away” (Ur Lament. 254, 374).

113-114. The *a-zag-ga* fish (cf. Forerunner to *Ḫ_h* XVIII 57: *a-zag-‘x’*) is perhaps the same as *a-za-GUR₈* of *DP* 318, 2 (cf. the value *gar_x* of *GUR* in Proto-ea 389a); according to the *DP* text just mentioned it is a small sea fish.

115-116. The “snake”-fish is found in the list F 63, as well as in the economic documents (e.g. *BIN* VIII 364, 19); many fish (for instance most of the species of the sub-order *Blennioidea*) can be called with good reason “snake-fish.”

G 1'-2'. The *GÍR.Ú*-fish (written also *GÍR.GÍŠ*; *BIN* VIII 364, 21; *DP* 295 ii3, etc. and *GÍŠ.GÍR*: F 29a), literally “thorny-fish,” is a sea species according to the economic documents; *pi-en-du* is probably the Akk. word *pēndū*, “mole or coloured spot on the skin.”

3'-4'. The name of the *SAL-SAL*-fish is attested in F 99 and N (CBS 3842+N 3755, 9') and in the economic documents (e.g. *UET* III 1301). For the still unclear *ki-a ḪAR* see Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* I, 54; in our line 5', however, the repetition *KI.A KI.A* suggests that we have here the word for “river banks,” to be read *peš_x* according to new unpublished lexical material (Landsberger).

137 ff. In the lacuna which precedes line 137 the pattern of the text has changed again. Now the water birds, which in some way belong to Nanše, as proved by the end of the composition *HAV* 22, and the crocodile(?), included here as an aquatic reptile, are described as fish enemies. Their threat makes still more pressing the need of the fish to enter the house for protection. The descriptions of the birds are too vague for an exact determination of their zoological identity. The first two birds, the *akān* (line 138) and the *ubur* (line 140) –both written with the sign *DAG.KISIM₅×GA*– are otherwise unknown. “Will catch you”, lit., “you will be hanging from (their) claws.”

141-143. “Tall” translates *níg-zi-zi*, doubtless a reference to the long legs typical of wading birds like the ibis, crane, etc.; “laughing” describes the cry of this bird, compare the Akk. bird name *šajāhu* (sum.

17. Cf.: *kua-a-ab-ba ù agargar* *UET* III, 1294.

gìr-gi-lum).¹⁸ The ANŠE.BAR, a migrating bird according to line 142, is unknown from other sources. “Writes in the mud” compares the footprints of the bird on the shore to the signs written on a cuneiform tablet.

144-146. The expression “feet of a fish” is very likely an allusion to the feet with the digits joined by a web of the palmate birds, compared here to the fins of a fish. The KI.IB-bird is found in “Lugalbanda and Enmerkar” 158-159: lu gal-b à n - d a ... KI.IB^{mušen} - KI.IB^{mušen} - e n g u r - r a s u g b u - i - g i n_x i n i m - m a [m u - n a] - n i - i b - g i₄ - g i₄. It is not certain if the reading eššeb for KI.IB (cf. lexical section of CAD s.v. *ḥudātu* A) is to be used also in the name of this bird.

147-148. ku d - d a has been tentatively identified with the crocodile by Landsberger (*Fauna* 18); in any case, and if the restoration at the beginning of line 147 is correct, the ku d - d a is an animal big enough to attack the “quadrupeds” in the swampy regions.¹⁹

149-153. Conclusion: if the fish come to the house they will be safe of all these preying animals, and Nanše, mother of the fish and queen of the fishermen, will be full of joy. The translation of the second half of line 149 assumes that gír — NE-NE is a graphic variant of gír — z á ḥ = *saḥāpu*.

153. The restoration of the name of Nanše in the first half of the line is based on HAV 22 iv:

12' [za-e] kua-mušen-ki-ág-gá-me-en ...

15' [kù]-ama-nanše

16' [zag]-mí-zu dùg-ga-àm

“[You] are the one who loves fish and birds ... oh, [holy] mother Nanše, your [pra]ise is good!”; and on the fact that the speaker addresses the fish as “my sons” in our composition. We have however in “Enki and the World Order,” 280-281 a very badly preserved passage (collated) which mentions also a “fish-loving deity”:

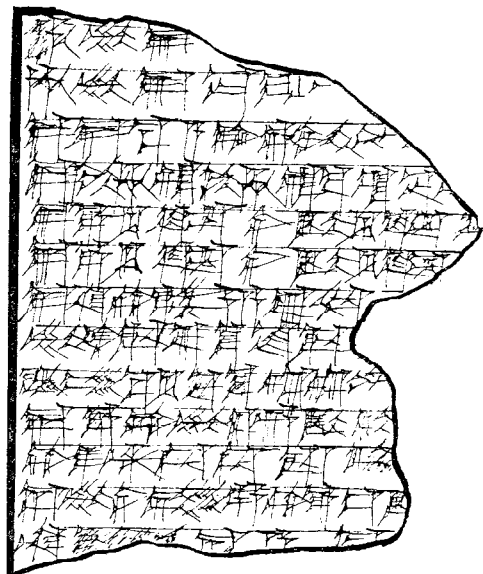
^rx y á - m a ḥ' d u m u -EZEN×X^{ki} - a

^{dr}ÁB[?] - š à /MURUB₄ l ú (lu gal also possible) k u a - e k i - á g - g á

Nanše is not to be considered here because of the epithets and because she is mentioned later in the passage beginning with line 306. On the other hand the lines 277-279 point to a hunting and fishing activity which gives to the expression “to love the fish” a quite different meaning.

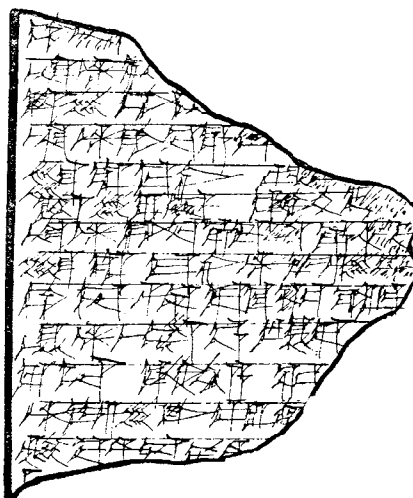
18. Cf. CAD s.v. *gamgammu* where *ṣajāḥu* is wrongly applied to the gām-gām bird; the equation of Ḥg D 236 is only valid for the gír-gi-lum.

19. SRT 23, 17: u r ú - z u k u d - d a - g i n_x š u ḥ é - í b - [í] can be explained either by (lú)-ku d - d a (Akk. *ḥummurum* or the like) as Falkenstein does (WO I [1947] 48) or by ku d - d a = *kušu*, in which case we have a better parallelism with the following line: u r - NIM - g i n_x g í r - z u - š è ḥ é - n á. In this last interpretation however it is difficult to understand the verb š u — í l (the last sign is not certain) applied to such an animal.



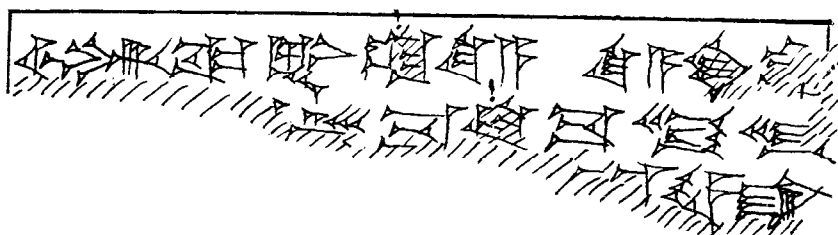
Ni 9668

Obv.



Rev.

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II.2

Prescriptions médicales sumériennes^{*1}

Le groupe de textes médicaux numériquement le plus important est constitué par des collections de prescriptions. La plupart de ces textes nous ont été conservés sur des tablettes d'époque assyrienne ou néo-babylonienne; pour les temps précédents nous n'avions jusqu'ici que quelques pièces des époques babylonienne ancienne et cassite et le groupe, déjà plus important, de Boghazköy². La tablette sumérienne CBS 14221, étudiée dans cet article³ nous permet de remonter de plusieurs siècles dans l'histoire des textes médicaux ; elle constitue à l'heure actuelle, le plus ancien témoin littéraire des connaissances thérapeutiques en Mésopotamie, et dans toute l'histoire de l'humanité.

CBS 14221 est une tablette à six colonnes, mesurant 150 × 97 mm, qui provient de Nippur. Le revers est très bien conservé, à l'exception de quelques signes cassés. Sur la face, très détériorée on ne peut lire (ou reconstruire) qu'à peine deux tiers du texte. L'écriture, claire et soignée, suggère, du point de vue paléographique, comme date pour la tablette l'époque d'Ur III ou une date quelque peu avant cette dynastie.

Le texte est essentiellement une collection d'ordonnances médicales. Bien qu'il soit rédigé en sumérien et qu'il offre certaines particularités de détail, ses lignes générales s'accordent bien avec la structure des prescriptions akkadiennes, dont il est, en quelque sorte, un précurseur. Il ignore les

* The present article was originally published in *RA* 54 (1960) pp. 57-72.

1. Abréviations spéciales utilisées dans cet article : *Fara II* = Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara II : Schultexte aus Fara* (*WVDOG* 43) ; *KADP* = Köcher, *Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde* ; *SP* = Edmund I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs : Glimpses of Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (1959).

2. Pour l'époque babylonienne ancienne, on peut citer : HS 1883 (inédit cité par von Soden dans *Or* 24, 136-7), de Nippur ; pour l'époque cassite, voir par ex. : *PBS I/2* 11. On trouvera les textes de Boghazköy dans *KUB IV* 20 ; 49-59 et 54-55 ; *KUB XXXVII* 1-35.

3. Léon Legrain reconnut le premier le caractère médical de la tablette, voir Nippur Old Drugstore (*UMB*, 1940, 25-27 ; des notes basées sur la traduction de Legrain dans Theodor P. Haas, *American Journal of Pharmacy*, déc. 1947). Samuel Noah Kramer et Martin Levey ont donné un résumé, basé sur une nouvelle traduction, dans *ILN*, Febr. 26, 1955, 370-1. Voir aussi Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, 56-60 ; *M & B Pharmacological Bulletin*, vol. 7, n° 10 (oct. 1958), 114-117, etc. L'auteur remercie le Dr Kramer qui a bien voulu, au cours d'échanges de vues très fréquents, l'aider dans la préparation de cet article.

interpolations de type magique qu'on trouve souvent dans les collections postérieures, et en ce sens il constitue un remarquable exemple de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler les traitements « empirico-rationnels » de la médecine mésopotamienne. Dans les prescriptions rédigées en akkadien, on peut distinguer trois parties principales :

- 1) Un préambule très court, avec indication de l'état pathologique envisagé ;
- 2) Liste des matières pharmaceutiques à employer ;
- 3) Préparation et application du remède.

Les deux dernières parties se retrouvent très clairement dans le texte sumérien. La première, au contraire, y est difficile à reconnaître : le début de la tablette, où l'on pouvait s'attendre à trouver quelque indication à ce sujet, est très mal conservé⁴. D'autre part, ni la matière médicale ni la forme de traitement ne sont assez spécifiques pour nous aider à préciser quelle est la maladie envisagée.

Les prescriptions sont classées d'après la forme d'application. On a ainsi trois groupes : 1) Cataplasmes (NÍG—l à), avec huit prescriptions ; 2) Potions, avec trois prescriptions, et 3) Un troisième type qui comprend des lavements avec une infusion chaude et une action (TUR₅-TUR₅)⁵, avec quatre prescriptions. Les traitements externes y sont en majorité : douze sur quinze. Le formulaire et les particularités de chaque groupe sont étudiés dans des sections spéciales du commentaire. Plusieurs points restent évidemment obscurs et beaucoup d'interprétations sont douteuses. Aux difficultés propres aux textes pharmaceutiques anciens –identification des drogues surtout– s'ajoutent, dans notre cas, les incertitudes des textes en sumérien ancien et le fait que notre tablette est, pour le moment, unique en son genre.

Transcription

1. [e-r]i-na- ^{giš} [x] x nun(?)	15. mun
2. e-[rí]-na- ^{giš} x	16. x [x x]
3. sag-du x x URU×GÁN- <i>tenû</i> (?)	17. x [x x]
4. x x x ^{mušen}	18. x [x]
5. sag-d[u(?)-x]-na	19. KU(?) x HUR(?) [x x]
6. x x x	20. x x
7. G[ìR] x x uš[um]gal	21. dili-a (?) -[ka]m(?)
8. dili-a(?) -[kam(?)]	22. síg(?) x-šè(?) x x ab-x
9. síg-[x x x]	23. x x x
10. síg-[x x x]	24. l[ú x x]
11. l[GI(?)] x x x	25. igi-x (x) -šè(?) x x
12. si-[x x]	26. ga-ta ù-ni-luḥ
13. x [x x]	27. [x] x ^ù a-gug _x
14. x [x x] x [x]	28. [x (x) mu]rgu dúr

4. Pour d'autres passages qui peuvent contenir une mention de maladie ou de parties malades à traiter, voir le commentaire II. 22 et suiv. et 100-101.

5. Il est difficile de préciser le sens de ce verbe ; cf. plus loin, p. 69, n. 3.

1.2	28. [x (x) mu]rgu dúr	1.7	69. [sur ₁₁ -šu]m-ma-geštin ù-ḫád
	29. [x x] ù(?)-[x]		70. ^{giš} li
	30. [ià]-giš [ì-bí]-šeš ₄		71. ^{giš} šennur
	31. NÍG ab]-lá-[e]		72. ù-gaz
	32. [x x x x (x x)]		73. kaš ù-dé
	33. numun-x-x-si		74. ià-[giš ì-b]í-šeš ₄
	34. ^{giš} x x		75. [NÍG ab-l]á-e
	35. ù-gaz		76. [e]-rí-na- ^{giš} [x]
	36. sur ₁₁ -šum-ma-kaš(?) [ù-dé]		77. [x x] x [x]
	37. ià-giš ì-bí-šeš ₄		78. ià-[gar-ra]-íd-d[a] ù-ḫád
1.3	38. [NÍG ab-lá-e]	1.8	79. ù-gaz
	39. [x x] x x x		80. kaš ù-dé
	40. [x x] x x		81. ià-giš [ì-bí-še]š ₄
	41. [x] x		82. NÍG ab-[lá-e]
	42. [ù]-gaz		83. ^{šim} si- ^ˈ x ^ˈ
	43. x(x) ù-dé		84. kaš-sag ù-dé
	44. [ià]-giš ì-bí-šeš ₄		85. izi ù-ta-ab- ^ˈ x ^ˈ
	45. [NÍG a]b-lá-e		86. a-bi ià-gar-r[a]-íd-da
	46. ^ú a-na-AŠ.DU		87. ù-TUR ₅
	47. [p]a- ^{giš} kiš _x		88. lú al-nag-nag
1.4	48. numun- ^ú du ₈ - ^ˈ x+BUR ^ˈ	2.2	89. ^{giš} ḫašḫur-UD
	49. [x x x] ^{giš} [x x]		90. e-rí-na- ^ú giš-nanna
	50. [x x] ^{giš} [x]x		91. ù-gaz
	51. [ù-g]az		92. kaš-e ù-TUR ₅
	52. bar(?)-[x x] x [x]		93. lú al-nag-nag
	53. x x x		94. numun-NÍG-nagar ^{sar}
	54. kaš-a ù-dé		95. ^{im} mar-gù-zi
	55. ià-giš ì-[bí-še]š ₄		96. ^ú ḫa-šu-an-um
	56. NÍG ab-lá-e		97. ù-gaz
	57. saḫar-gar-íd-da		98. kaš-e ù-TUR ₅
1.5	58. [x] x ù-gaz	2.3	99. lú al-nag-nag
	59. a-ta ù-LAG		100. lú-ba šu-gir- ^ˈ na ^ˈ
	60. ià-esír ì-bí-šeš ₄		101. ^ú a-gug _x ab-dù-dù
	61. [NÍG] ab-lá-e		102. bar-níg-bún-na
	62. [^{giš} ḫ]ašḫur-UD		103. naga-si ^{sar}
	63. ^ú giš-nanna		104. mun
	64. ù-gaz		105. gazi
	65. sur ₁₁ -šum-ma-kaš		106. ù-ḪAL dili-šè téš-e ù-LAG
	66. ù-dé		107. kaš-sig ₅
	67. ià-giš ì-bí-šeš ₄		108. a-še ₈ ù-ni-tu _x
1.6	68. [NÍG a]b-lá-e	3.1	109. dù-a-bi an-sù-bé

Prescription 1.7 (69-75). Après avoir broyé de la [li]e de vin que tu auras fait sécher, du pin (et) des prunes, après y avoir versé de la bière (et) [avoir] frotté (l'endroit malade) avec de l'hui[le, un cataplasme tu] lieras.

Prescription 1.8 (76-82). Après avoir broyé des [ra]cines de [...], du [...], du bi[tume du fleu]ve que tu auras fait sécher, après y avoir versé de la bière (et) [avoir frott]é (l'endroit malade) avec de l'huile, un cataplasme tu [lieras].

Prescription 2.1 (83-88). Après avoir versé de la bière forte sur de l'essence de si-'x', avoir fait chauffer au feu, (et) avoir mis ce liquide dans de l'huile de bitume de la rivière, l'homme (malade) boira.

Prescription 2.2 (89-93). Après avoir broyé des poires (?) (et) des racines de la plante du « manna » (et les) avoir mis dans la bière, l'homme (malade) boira.

Prescription 2.3 (94-99). Après avoir broyé de la semence de NÍG-n a g a r, du m a r - g ù - z i (et) du thym (et les) avoir mis dans de la bière, l'homme (malade) boira.

Lignes 100-101. Dans les mains (et) pieds de cet homme (malade) des joncs tu...

Prescription 3.1 (102-114). Après avoir passé par le tamis (et) avoir malaxé ensemble, conjointement de l'écaille de tortue, du n a g a - s i, du sel (et) de la moutarde, et après avoir lavé (l'endroit malade) avec de la bière de qualité (et ?) de l'eau chaude, tu frictionneras avec le tout ; et après avoir frictionné et frotté avec de l'huile, du sapin que tu auras broyé, tu mettras (?).

Prescription 3.2 (115-126). Après avoir versé de l'eau sur un serpent d'eau que tu auras fait sécher (et) broyé, de la plante AMA- m a š -UM-KASKAL, des racines de faux caroubier, du n a g a broyé, de la poudre des grains de la térébenthine de sapin (et) de la fiente de (chauve-souris) x-IB, après avoir fait chauffer, avec ce liquide tu laveras (l'endroit malade) ; et après avoir lavé avec le liquide (et) frotté avec de l'huile, du ... tu mettras (?).

Prescription 3.3 (127-138). Après avoir versé de l'eau sur du poil de ... de vache que tu auras fait sécher (et) broyé, des rameaux de faux caroubier, de la plante m[u]l, des racines de « bois de mer » des figes sèches (et) du sel TUM, après avoir fait chauffer, avec ce liquide tu laveras (l'endroit malade) ; et après avoir lavé avec le liquide, de la cendre (?) de joncs tu mettras (?).

Prescription 3.4 (139-145). (Deux lignes cassées) [...], le [...] que tu auras extrait du saule (?), la poudre d'un vase GÍR-BI, la lie de vin, la plante NÍG.MI, la plante a - r í - n a, racines et tronc, (ses) cendres tu mettras (?).

Commentaire

Le contenu de notre texte peut être divisé de la façon suivante⁷ :

A) 1-21 : Listes (?) de *materia medica*.

B) 22-82 : Premier groupe de prescriptions (cataplasmes).

22-31 :	Prescription	1.1.	57-61 :	Prescription	1.5.
32-38 :	id.	1.2.	62-68 :	id.	1.6.

7. On trouve une double ligne de séparation à la fin du premier (82) et du deuxième (99) groupe de prescriptions, mais pas à la fin de notre première section (21), ce qui pourrait mettre en doute la justesse de notre division –on ne saurait pourtant attribuer trop d'importance à ce fait, puisqu'on a des lignes doubles après les lignes 88 et 126, qui ne correspondent plus à une division thématique, telle qu'elle a été adoptée ici.

39-45	id.	1.3.	69-75 :	id.	1.7.
46-56 :	id.	1.4.	76-82 :	id.	1.8.
C) 83-99 :	Deuxième groupe de prescriptions (potions).				
83-88 :	Prescription	2.1.	94-99 :	Prescription	2.3.
89-93 :	id.	2.2.			
D) Troisième groupe de prescriptions (type incertain).					
100-101 :	Préambule (?)		127-138 :	Prescription	3.3.
102-114 :	Prescription	3.1.	139-145 :	id.	3.4.
115-126 :	id.	3.2.			

A) Listes (?) De « *materia medica* » (lignes 1-21). - Le mauvais état du commencement de la tablette ne permet pas une analyse suivie de cette portion du texte. Ce qui reste semble néanmoins suffisant pour pouvoir affirmer : que le texte ne commençait par rien de comparable à la formule *šumma amēlu...*, qui se trouve habituellement au début des prescriptions akkadiennes, que cette première section du texte ne peut se réduire à aucun des formulaires étudiés plus loin, et qu'il n'y a même pas de forme verbale dans ces lignes; on est amené à supposer, avec toutes les réserves, qu'on a ici deux listes de produits médicaux, avec l'expression obscure *d i l i - a - k a m* à la fin de chacune (lignes 8 et 21). On ne saurait dire quel est le rapport de ces listes avec ce qui suit ; remarquer que la matière médicale citée ici ne semble pas se retrouver dans les ordonnances bien conservées dans le reste du texte. Dans ces listes, noter en détail :

1-2. Le sens de « racine » (*šuršu*) pour *e - r i - n a* est bien attesté ; on retrouve le mot dans les lignes 76, 90, 117, 131 et 145 (dans les trois derniers passages la deuxième syllabe est écrite avec le signe MUŠ×MUŠ=*ri(n)*⁸).

3. Probablement une tête d'animal utilisée comme matière médicale, voir par ex. : *CT XXIII 35,38*; *KAR 192 ii 49* ; *BE XXXI 56 rev. 40* ; etc. Le mot *s a g - d u* se retrouve, peut-être, au commencement de la ligne 5.

4. Un nom d'oiseau, probablement.

5. Voir commentaire l. 3.

7. Sur la possibilité que le mot *u š u g a l* ait désigné un être réel, à une certaine époque, voir le texte de Fara (*Fara II 20 rev. iv 8*), cité dans Landsberger, *Fauna 57*. On n'a pas trouvé de restitution satisfaisante pour les deuxième et troisième signes de cette ligne.

9-10. *s i g* peut désigner ici soit la toison d'un animal utilisée comme remède, soit un toupillon servant à l'application de substances thérapeutiques (ce qui est désigné usuellement par *s i g - š i d* dans les textes médicaux postérieurs, par ex. : *KAR 194 iv 15-28*).

12. *s i - [x-x]* ; pas de restitution satisfaisante, le sens « cornes de [...] » semble peu probable.

15. La ligne n'avait qu'un seul signe, placé au centre ; pour la restitution, probable d'après les traces, voir l. 104.

B) Premier groupe de prescriptions (lignes 22-82). - Les ordonnances de ce type –à l'exception de la première (voir plus loin le commentaire correspondant)– suivent dans l'essentiel le formulaire :

8. Spécialement sur ce signe MUŠ×MUŠ et sur quelques questions touchant *erina*, une note de l'auteur sera publiée prochainement dans *JCS*.

<i>X, Y, etc.</i> ù-gaz	Après avoir broyé (les substances) X, Y, etc.,
Z ù-dé	après y avoir versé du (liquide) Z,
ià-giš i-bí-šeš ⁹	après avoir frotté (l'endroit malade) avec de l'huile,
NÍG ab-lá-e	un cataplasme tu lieras.

Pour des altérations de moindre importance à ce formulaire-type, voir le commentaire aux prescriptions 1.4 et 1.5. « Après avoir... » rend la nuance de « Prospektiv » ou *futurum perfectum* du préformatif ù-, utilisé dans tous les types de prescriptions de notre texte pour exprimer les étapes préparatoires de l'action principale, action dont le verbe est toujours au présent-futur avec -e ou avec reduplication¹⁰. NÍG est peut-être à lire n i n d a¹¹ et peut représenter le « pain » formé par le mélange de substances broyées avec le liquide, c'est-à-dire, le « cataplasme »¹².

Prescription 1.1 (lignes 22-31). Si la restitution des lignes 30-31 est correcte, il s'agirait ici d'un traitement du même type que dans les prescriptions suivantes, mais avec des étapes préparatoires tout à fait différentes, puisque rien dans les lignes 22-29 ne s'accorde avec le formulaire du groupe. Certains indices : le l [ú-x-x] de la ligne 24, la mention de ^ua-gug_x (ligne 27) qui semble être l'objet direct du verbe cassé de la ligne 29, et les noms de parties du corps m u r g u et d ú r (ligne 28), font penser qu'on avait ici, peut-être, une indication de la maladie ou des parties malades à traiter (comparer avec les lignes 100-101), mais la mauvaise conservation du texte rend toute conclusion très problématique.

22. Pour s í g, voir *supra*, ll. 9-10. Il n'est pas impossible que a b - soit ici un préfixe verbal ; le signe après a b - pourrait être - d ù.

25. Une restitution igi-^ut u - š è (cp. *AMT* 13, 4, 4 ; 90, 1 iii 18, etc.), au début de la ligne, semble difficilement possible.

26. Pour - t a instrumental avec des verbes qui signifient « nettoyer, purifier », voir par ex. : *Gud. cyl.B* iv 10-12 ; d'autres cas de t a dans notre texte ll. 59 et 85.

27. ^ua-gu gug_x (= ^ua-ZI ZI) n'est probablement qu'une graphie ancienne de la plante ^u(a)-ZI ZI+LAGAB¹³, on a choisi comme lecture g u g_x à cause de la graphie phonétique a - k ù - g a de ce dernier groupe de signes¹⁴ Pour l'identification de cette plante –il s'agit d'une sorte de joncs utilisés pour tisser

9. i - b í - < ù - b í -, cp. Falkenstein, *AnOr* XXVIII, § 46 et p. 225³.

10. Avec - e : a b - l á - e (formulaire 1) et a n - s ù - b é (ligne 109) et avec reduplication : a l - n a g - n a g (formulaire 2), a b - d ù - d ù (ligne 101), a n - t u_x - t u_x et a n - TUR₅ - TUR₅ (formulaire 3). Remarquer que tous les préfixes sont en a -, mais on n'a su trouver quelle raison a présidé le choix entre a b -, a l - et a n -. Pour les préfixes en a -, voir dernièrement Falkenstein, *AfO* 18, 95, 5 a ; on y ajoutera les références de *BIN* VIII, p. 55 et suiv. Noter aussi que dans les collections de proverbes préparées par E. I. Gordon (*SP*), les préfixes en a - sont relativement fréquents.

11. Il est possible qu'on aie affaire simplement à un verbe n í g — l á avec le sens de « lier ». Pour NÍG.LÁ, dans les textes médicaux akkadiens, voir Labat, *RA* 53, 2⁶.

12. Toutefois la pâte pour les cataplasmes semble avoir eu, au moins dans des époques postérieures, une consistance plus claire ; cp. l'expression *kima rabiki tarbak* « préparer une soupe (épaisse) » (Landsberger. *MSL* II 110 et Köcher, *AfO* 16, 53 ad 6), fréquente dans les prescriptions akkadiennes de cataplasmes.

13. Le signe ZI ZI+LAGAB semble être inconnu avant Ur III ; dans les textes plus anciens, on a ZI ZI+A (substitué à Ur III par A+ZI ZI) et, moins fréquemment, ZI ZI + š È.

14. Dans *VS* X 202, 9 et *ArOr* XVII, pl. iv 32 ; voir les remarques de Nougayrol (*ArOr* XVII 223).

des paniers et pour lier¹⁵ – et pour ses usages médicaux, voir *DAB* 3 ss. Voir aussi le commentaire 11. 101 et 138.

28. m u r g u (=SIG₄) a comme équivalents acceptables pour notre contexte (en plus de *pu-ú-du šá* LÚ « épaule ») : *e-ši-rum* « dos », *e-še-en-še-rum* « épine dorsale » et *ar-ka-tum* « derrière » (à V/1 84-87 [Tu 37]) ; pour d ú r « dos, fesses », voir *MSL* II 150, 7 ss. La fonction grammaticale de ces mots n'est pas claire, on s'attendrait plutôt à un locatif.

30-31. La reconstruction de ces lignes est loin d'être sûre.

Prescription 1.2 (lignes 32-38).

33. Le signe qui suit n u m u n ne semble être ni g i š ni ú.

36. s u r₁₁-š u m -m a¹⁶, dit du vin (lignes 69 et 142) et de la bière (ligne 65), doit être akk. *š/suršumme* « sédiment », « lie du vin ou de la bière », substance liquide mais susceptible de sécher (cp. ligne 69)¹⁷, qu'on trouve assez souvent dans les textes médicaux akkadiens (voir Oppenheim. *JAOS* Supl. X, n. 44).

Prescription 1.3 (lignes 39-45).

41. Le signe x est probablement *LAK* 175, avec un clou vertical à la fin¹⁸.

43. x(x) doit désigner un liquide, mais une reconstruction a été impossible.

Prescription 1.4 (lignes 46-54).

46. Le nom de plante ^ua - n a-AŠ.DU (lire peut-être : a - n a - d i š - š a₄), à ma connaissance n'est pas attesté ailleurs et son identification a été impossible.

47. ^{giš}GÍR (= k i s i_x) n'est probablement qu'une graphie ancienne de ^{giš}Ú.GÍR¹⁹, nom de plante pour lequel on a comme lectures et équivalents akkadiens (Diri II 236-7 [*MAOG* III/3, p. 10])²⁰ ;

at-tu (var. :a d) = ^{giš}Ú.GÍR = *ed-de-tú* (gen. *Lycium*)

kiši/ša = ^{giš}Ú.GÍR = *a-ša-gu* (*Prosopis stephaniana*)

Dans les textes médicaux akkadiens il semble préférable de choisir la deuxième de ces deux plantes épineuses, pour des raisons grammaticales (cp. *CAD* s. v. *eddetu*). Dans notre tablette, on utilise le p a « feuilles et/ou fleurs »²¹ du ^{giš}k i š i_x (= GÍR) ici et dans la prescription 3.1, et la racine dans la prescription 3.2. (pour son utilisation dans les textes médicaux postérieurs, voir *DAB* 182-3).

15. Voir Oppenheim, *AOS* XXXII 107, et *CAD* s. v. *elpetu*.

16. On peut lire ici le signe KU, soit sur₁₁ (cp. s u - u r KU=šá š a - s u r šá-as-su-rum, *CT* XXXV 3, 27[ea I]), soit t u r₇/d ú r (cp. t u - ' u r KU=šá š á-tùr šá-as-su-rum *YBT* I 53, 127 [duplicat du même passage d'ea I] et pour d ú r : KU^{du-ur} = *b/pu-qut/tar-tum* « sédiment de la bière » ou quelque chose d'analogue [*JAOS*, Supl. X, p. 26 iv 17]). Pour l'alternative D/S, voir Poebel : *GSG*, § 70.

17. Cp. aussi *sur-šum-mi tu-bal* « tu feras sécher du *suršumme* » (*BE* XXXI, 56, 22).

18. Voir des références dans Schneider, *Or* 4, 128 ss. et *AnOr* XII 288-93.

19. Cp. ^{giš}GÍR variante de ^{giš}Ú.GÍR dans *Lament. Ur* 273 (Kramer, *AS* XII, n. 357) et les anciennes graphies des listes d'oiseaux : b u r u₅-GÍR^{mušen} (*Fara* II 58 xi 10-11), b u r u₅-^uGÍR (*ITT* V 9251 ii 4', duplicat de la liste de Fara) et b u r u₅-^{giš}GÍR (*ibid.* 5' ; cp. aussi *SLT* 73 ii 10) qui doivent correspondre à b u r u₅-^{giš}Ú.GÍR, forme normale dans les listes postérieures (cp. *CT* XIV 4, 15).

20. Voir aussi *Hh* III 432, 439 et 440.

21. L'équivalent akkadien de p a est probablement *ḥašhallatu* « fleurs et/ou feuilles » (*CAD* s. v. *ḥašhallatu*), dans les textes médicaux.

48. Le nom de plante du₈-[x+B]UR se trouve aussi dans K. 4354 i 4', où, d'après une collation communiquée aimablement par le Dr Wiseman, il est écrit ^uGABA-ÁŠ(?) + BUR²² ; pour la lecture du₈, cp. KADP 22 ii 29 : ^uGABA^{du}-BUR. Dans ces deux passages (série Uruanna), on a comme équivalent : ^uzi-má-l a h₄, plante qui, d'après DAB 36-8, peut être le *Atriplex halimus* L.

52-53. Ces lignes s'écartent du formulaire, mais il est impossible de reconstruire le développement ajouté ; les traces semblent exclure toute forme verbale en ù-.

54. La traduction « bière diluée (avec de l'eau) » pour k a š-A.SÙ est conjecturale ; il désigne peut-être la même chose que le terme k a š-A.SÙ (cp. CAD s. v. *hîqu*).

Prescription 1.5 (lignes 57-61). Cette ordonnance présente certaines particularités : elle utilise exclusivement, semble-t-il, des produits minéraux, et la pâte pour le cataplasme se prépare avec de l'eau (a-t a ù-LAG).

57. SBH, n° 50, rev. 12-3 (complété par JRAS, 1927, 535) donne l'équation : s a h a r-g a r-i d-d a = šá-pí-ik na-a-ri²³ ; si l'on prend la racine š.p.k. dans le sens de « (en)tasser » (qui semble nécessaire ici, puisqu'il s'agit d'une substance qui est broyée), šapik nâri peut désigner la vase ou sédiment que laisse le fleuve après sa crue.

58. Le deuxième signe peut être [h] ú b et une restitution [ù-h] ú b (avec le sens de *kamâru* « étaler, presser ») donnerait un sens acceptable, mais le ù- est paléographiquement difficile ; une autre reconstruction possible serait [^{gis}N]IM (*bâltu* « caprier »).

60. i à -e s í r est l'huile minérale ou pétrole brut (DAC 43 ; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology I*, 14 ss. ; Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge*, 146, 9).

Prescription 1.6 (lignes 62-68).

62. Il est possible de lire, au début de la ligne, (^{gis}M)A (= pèš) ou [^{gis}M]A-gunû (= h a š h u r), comme dans les lignes 132 et 89 respectivement ; dans le cas présent, h a š h u r semble plus probable, d'après les traces. ^{gis} h a š h u r-UD = *ka-me-eš-šá-ru* et *sip-pi-ru* (Hh III 34 et 47) ; le premier est probablement le poirier et le deuxième une variété de pommier (DAB 303 et ss., usages thérapeutiques, *ibid.*). ^{gis}p è š - h á d sont les « figes sèches » (cp. ligne 132).

63. Notre traduction suppose que ^ug i š - n a n n a, qui n'est pas attesté ailleurs, est en fait l'équivalent de ^uki-(d) n a n n a²⁴ = *su-pa-lu* et *a-šu-ši-im-tú* (DAB 268-79) et que R. C. Thompson traduit par « manna ». En tout cas cette plante, ou un produit dérivé d'elle, était utilisée comme agent édulcorant, d'après le proverbe (Gordon : SP 3.131) :

a n - n a - d ù g - g a m u n (!) h é - e b - k ú - e
n u - u n - n a - d ù g - g a ^uki-(d) n a n n a h é - e b - k ú - e.

« Si c'est (trop) doux pour lui, qu'il mange du sel,
Si ce n'est pas (assez) doux pour lui, qu'il mange du « manna ». »

22. Rectifier ainsi les copies de K. 4354 dans II R 43, 2, où il y a un ŠÚ à demi effacé devant BUR, et celle de CT XIV 18, qui n'a rien entre GABA et BUR.

23. Cp. aussi dans un contexte difficile : ^dn a z i - i r s a h a r - g a r - i d - d a - g i n x k i m u - u n - n a - a b - ú s, *Hymne à Nanše* 16 (cité d'après le ms. du Dr Kramer).

24. Le déterminatif divin manque dans CT VI [11-13] B 27 b ; voir aussi le passage VS X 197 ii 9'.

Dans notre texte, il ne s'agit pas uniquement de l'exsudation végétale, mais aussi de la plante qui la produit (cp. la mention de « racines de ^ùg i š - n a n n a », l. 90).

Prescription 1.7 (lignes 69-75).

69. Pour s u r₁₁-š u m - m a, voir le commentaire l. 36.

70. ^{giš}li = *burāsu* « pin » (*DAB* 258 ss.) ou « genévrier », une des plantes le plus utilisées dans la pharmacopée et les rituels akkadiens.

71. ^{giš}š e - e n - n u - u r = KIB = *šal-lu-rum* S^b A 305 et *Voc. Chicago* 201, voir aussi *Hh* III, 126 ; arbre identifié au néflier (*Mespilus germanica* L.) dans *DAB* 305-6 et au prunier par Landsberger (*MSL* III 123 ad 305).

Prescription 1.8 (lignes 76-82).

76. Pour e - r í - n a, voir commentaire ll. 1-2.

78. Le produit i à - g[a r - r a]-í d - d [a], qui se retrouve à la ligue 86, n'est pas cité ailleurs. Il semble s'agir d'une substance huileuse qui a quelque relation avec la rivière ; cela suggère une possible identification avec les substances bitumineuses décrites dans *DAC* 41-3, et qui se présentaient sous une forme semi-liquide ou solide, ce qui explique la présence ici du verbe *h á d* « sécher ».

C) Deuxieme type de prescriptions (lignes 83-99). Ce formulaire, pour préparer des infusions à boire, est valable pour les prescriptions 2.2 et 2.3 et, partiellement, aussi pour 2.1 :

<i>X, Y, etc.</i> ù - g a z	Après avoir broyé (les substances) X, Y, etc.,
k a š - e ù - TUR ₅ ²⁵	après (les) avoir mis dans de la bière,
l ú a l - n a g - n a g	l'homme (malade) boira (cette infusion)

Prescription 2.1 (lignes 83-88).

83. Il n'a pas été possible de compléter et identifier ce nom de plante ; il s'agit, en tout cas, d'une gomme ou résine qui n'est soluble que dans un liquide alcoolique (k a š - s a g, ligne 84) et à chaud (ligne 85).

85. Bien que, d'après le contexte, le sens « chauffer au feu » semble raisonnablement sur, il a été impossible d'identifier le signe x, en partie cassé.

86. Voir, pour i à - g a r - r [a]-í d - d a, le commentaire l. 78.

Prescription 2.2 (lignes 89-93).

89. Voir commentaire l. 62.

90. Pour e - r í - n á et ^ùg i š - n a n n a, voir commentaire ll. 1-2 et 63, respectivement.

Prescription 2.3' (lignes 94-99).

94. La plante NÍG-n a g a r^{ar} reste sans identifier. La semence de cette plante figure dans une liste stéréotypée de graines de plantes potagères dans des textes d'Ur III²⁶, entre l u - (ú b)^{sar} et ú-RIM^{sar} ; on retrouve le nom de la plante et de sa semence dans *CT* VI [13] C 1-2 b²⁷ (précurseur de *Hh* XVII) et dans les textes plus tardifs la seule référence est, peut-être, ^ùn a g a r-NÍG = ^ùnu-ú[r(?)]-x]. (*KADP* 29 ii 2', parallèle à *KADP* 28 ii 34).

25. La lecture de TUR₅ avec le sens *erēbu* est probablement ku₄ ou kur_x (Landsberger, *MSL* V 50 ad 4).

26. *RTC* 307 iv ; *ITT* II/1 892 iv et *ITT* V 6857 iii'. Cp. aussi le vocabulaire publié par Scheil, *RA* 18, 59 iv 29 ss. (où naturellement il faut lire n u m u n (1) à la place de m u). On a une plante n a g a r^{sar} à Fara (*Fara* II 58 iv 7) qui correspond, peut-être, à NÍG- n a g a r^{sar}.

27. Le signe NAGAR y est copié comme SAL+KUR

95. Cette graphie de la plante écrite normalement ^{(giš/ú)šim}mar-gu-zum, n'est attestée qu'ici²⁸ ; les lexiques donnent les équivalences : 1) *Hh* III 119 : ^{šim}mar-gu-zum = ŠU ; 2) Série Uruanna : ^{úšim}mar-gu-zum = ^úsa-mu-se-e-ri, ^úgiš^šhašhur-a-bi ut-lis = ^úmar-gu-zum ra-bi. (*KADP* 11 i 21-22 et *CT* XIV 40 [82-5-22, 576 i 2-3]) ; ^{úšim}mar-gu-zum = ^úba-ri-ra-tú (*CT* XIV 40 l. c. i 8 et K. 8846, 16' et K. 8249, 3' [*CT* XIV 31]). Cette plante, relativement peu utilisée dans les textes médicaux (*DAB* 364), est identifiée par Ebeling (*Parfümrezepte* 5-6) avec le « safran bâtard », tandis que Thompson y voit une sorte de myrrhe (*DAB* 360 ss.).

96. Pour ^úha-šu-a-n-u-m, écrit ^úha-š-i-a-n-ú-m à l'époque d'Ur III (cp. *CAD* s. v. *hašānu*), voir *DAB* 74 ; il s'agit probablement d'une sorte de thym.

D) Troisième groupe de prescriptions (lignes 100-45).

Préambule (?) (lignes 100-01). Par son contenu, ces lignes n'appartiennent à aucun des formulaires identifiés dans la tablette ; on peut signaler seulement quelques points de contact avec les lignes 27 et ss. : mention de parties du corps et de la plante ^úa-gug_x. Si la lecture et la division de mots donnés sont correctes, l'objet direct du verbe d'ù-d'ù semble être ^úa-gug_x ; le sens de d'ù-d'ù dans le présent contexte est difficile à préciser, il s'agit, peut-être, de « placer dans une disposition particulière » des joncs sur un endroit malade. Un traitement analogue se trouve possiblement dans le mot *himû*, qui désigne un faisceau de joncs placé sur une morsure de serpent (pour empêcher l'enflure ?), cp. *CAD* s. v. *himû* A.

Prescriptions (lignes 102-45). Cette partie finale contient quatre prescriptions d'un type plus compliqué et qui sont aussi moins homogènes, de façon qu'on ne peut donner un formulaire commun valable pour toutes, mais le schéma suivant s'accorde, à quelques exceptions près, avec les ordonnances 3.2 et 3.3 et, au moins partiellement, aussi avec 3.1, qui a de nombreux développements particuliers :

<i>X, Y, etc.</i> a ù-dé	Après avoir versé de l'eau sur (les substances) <i>X, Y, etc.</i> ,
ù-še ₆	après avoir fait chauffer,
a-bi an-tu _x -tu _x ²⁹	avec cette eau tu laveras ;
a ù-ni-tu _x	et après avoir lavé avec de l'eau,
ià-giš ù-ni-šeš ₄	et après avoir frictionné avec de l'huile,
Z an-TUR ₅ -TUR ₅	du Z tu mettras (?).

On voit qu'il s'agit dans l'essentiel de préparer une infusion chaude (la préparation est différente dans 3.1, voir commentaire ll. 106-10), de laver ou baigner la partie malade avec l'infusion, de frotter avec de l'huile (onction omise dans 3.3) et, à la fin, d'un traitement difficile à préciser, indiqué par le verbe TUR₅ et qu'on a traduit, avec toutes les réserves ; par « mettre (un remède) dans (un endroit malade) »³⁰. Pour

28. Autres graphies : ^{šim}mar-ku-zi (*ITT* V 7124) et ^úmar-gu-za (*KAR* 202 iii 44, dupl. *CT* XXIII 38, 26) ; pour ^{(giš/ú)šim}mar-gu-zum voir : *TCL* X 71 iv 16 ; *Hh* III 119 ; *KADP* 11 i 21-22 ; *KAR* 203 i 5 (dupl. K. 259, 15 [*CT* XIV 23]), etc.

29. Le signe transcrit tu_x est écrit NAGA×ŠU, la forme de ŠU étant l'archaïque, c'est-à-dire 1 clou final tête en bas. Il ne fait aucun doute d'après le contexte que nous avons ici une forme ancienne de ŠU+NAGA (= tu₅). Les signes à ŠU = KID) inscrit seront étudiés plus tard dans une note séparée ; remarquer seulement, pour le moment, que NAGA×ŠU est peut-être à restituer dans *Fara II* 7 vi 5, dans un groupe de signes composés de cette façon.

30. Il est bien possible que TUR₅ soit ici un *terminus technicus* du praticien sumérien, avec un sens précis qui nous échappe. Dans les deux dernières prescriptions (surtout dans 3.4), on serait tenté de traduire « mettre dans le feu » (pour faire une fumigation) ; voir les commentaires ll. 138 et 145.

les substances (désignées par Z dans le formulaire ci-dessus), utilisées pour ce traitement TUR₅, voir le commentaire à chaque prescription.

Prescription 3.1 (lignes 102-114).

102. *bar-níg-bún-na* est l'« écaille de tortue »³¹; pour *níg-bún-na* = « tortue » voir Landsberger, *Fauna* 118-9³², Thompson avait proposé autrefois (*JRAS* 1929, 804³) « crabe »³³.

103. *na ga-si*^{sar} désigne une plante qui était utilisée, réduite en cendres, comme source de matières alcalines³⁴; nous n'avons pas d'éléments pour dire quelle est, parmi les nombreuses plantes qui peuvent servir à cet usage (voir liste dans *DAB* 33²), celle qui correspond à *na ga-si*³⁵.

105. *gazi/a* est un condiment, récemment identifié par Landsberger avec la « moutarde » (*AfO* XVIII 337-8, avec des références exhaustives). Cp. le proverbe (Gordon, *SP* 1.55) :

ukú ḥa-ba-ug₇ nam-ba-da-ti-i
ninda i-pàd mun nu-pàd mun i-pàd ninda nu-pàd
uzu i-pàd gazi nu-pàd gazi i-pàd uzu nu-pàd.

« Le pauvre qu'il meure, (il est préférable) qu'il ne soit pas en vie!

(quand) il a du pain il n'a pas de sel, (quand) il a du sel il n'a pas de pain.

(quand) il a de la viande il n'a pas de moutarde, (quand) il a de la moutarde il n'a pas de viande. »

Les usages médicaux du *gazi* étaient très nombreux (*DAB* 194-6).

106. ḪAL = *ša-ḥa-lum* (*CT* XII 4 i 19 [á II/ 6 a]), « passer au crible »³⁶ Le *aš/dili-šè* suivant est difficile : il semble être une expression adverbiale, avec un sens voisin du *téš-e* qui suit, mais avec une nuance malaisée à préciser.³⁷

107-8. On suppose dans la traduction que la relation entre *kaš-sig₅* et le verbe *tu_x* est la même qu'entre ce verbe et *a-še₆*, autrement la fonction grammaticale de *kaš-sig₅* serait inexplicable.

109-10. *dù-a-bi* se rapporte à tous les produits cités aux lignes 102-5 et préparés à la ligne 106. La racine verbale *sub* « frictionner, frotter (en lavant) » est écrite *sù-b* (é) dans notre texte, mais la graphie normale est *su-ub*. On a plusieurs exemples du pair de verbes *a-tu₅* et *su-ub* dans des rituels de purification (Falkenstein, *ZA* 45, 37-9) et qui correspondent à *a—tu_x* et *su-b* (é) de notre texte.

31. On trouve parfois, avec le même sens, *šika-níg-bún-na* : Kuechler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin* 36 (K. 71 b iv 17), Voc. pratique d'Assur [*AfO* XVIII 332] 407, *AMT* 94, 2 ii 9. Pour *bar* = *quliptu*, voir *JRAS*, 1937, 417¹.

32. Le *níg-bún-na* est mentionné plusieurs fois dans le texte littéraire : *PBS* V 15. Des *omina* tardifs dans K. 14024 + Sm. 1405 (*CT* XLI, 15) 2'-3'.

33. Cp. *CAD sub ḥašbu* (3 e), où il faut lire LA.NÍG.BÚN.NA.ḪA à la place de LA.BÚN.NA.ḪA. Pour une opinion qui voit aussi la tortue dans *al-lu₅*, voir Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, p. 89 ad 619.

34. Pour l'utilisation de cette plante comme condiment, voir Oppenheim, *AOS* XXXII 5-6.

35. Si l'on accepte que *si* - (é) appliqué à une plante signifie « germinated, sprouted » (cp. Oppenheim, *o. c.*, p. 6 et n. 14), on n'a plus de raison spéciale pour choisir la *Salicornia fruticosa* L. (*DAB* 32 ss.).

36. Mieux que « filtrer », puisqu'il s'agit de solides secs.

37. Pour *aš/dili-šè*, voir la date de Šulgi (*AnOr* XIII, p. 22, 43 B *a-e* ; ajouter une nouvelle variante de Çiğ-Kizilyay-Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte*, I 410). Pour des expressions avec le sens de « conjointement, etc. » voir *A. i.* VI i 62-ii 6.

112. Le ^{giš}ù-KU (= *ašuhū Hh* III 74-91) est probablement le « sapin » (*DAB* 262 ss.) ; exploité à l'époque de Gudéa et Ur III comme bois de construction, il n'est utilisé, à ma connaissance, qu'une seule fois dans les textes médicaux (*KAR* 208, 15).

Prescription 3.2 (lignes 115-126).

115. m u š - a, « serpent d'eau » cp. Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 4.

116. Le seul parallèle, approximatif, pour la plante de cette ligne est ^úAMA-KASKAL^{sar}, dans l'incantation *VS* X 190, 4³⁸.

117. Voir commentaire l. 47.

118. Le n a g a - g a z est un produit broyé tiré de la plante citée à la ligne 103, ou d'une plante analogue, riche en matières alcalines.

119. La traduction « poudre de grains de la térébenthine de sapin » est assez douteuse. La forme š e - g a m - g a m³⁹ z i, ne se retrouve pas ailleurs, mais il semble bien qu'il faut rattacher g a m - g a m à ^{šim}g a m - g a m, le produit le plus utilisé, après le *burāšu*, dans les textes médicaux postérieurs (*DAB* 264-5).

120. « Fiente⁴⁰ de (chauve-souris) x-IB », cette traduction suppose que le x-IB^{mušen} correspond au GAR.IB^{mušen} (probablement une variété de s u - d i n « chauve-souris »), dont on utilise le u₅ (= *rikibtu*)⁴¹ et la peau dans la pharmacopée et la magie postérieures⁴².

126. On a laissé š à - k i sans traduction, puisque le sens qui semble évident de « intérieur de la terre » apparemment ne convient pas ici.

Prescription 3.3 (lignes 127-138).

127. L'expression de cette ligne est à comparer à celle de *Fara II* 81 ii 3 *LAK* 627 ga áb (*LAK* 672 en toute probabilité = MUNSUB⁴³). Le sens anatomique exact de cette partie de la vache reste douteux ; il

38. *CT* VI [12] *B* 42 *b* est, peut-être, à restituer ^úAMA.[KASKAL^{sar}] A. Il y a une plante m a š.AMA^{sar} dans les textes de *Fara* (*Fara* II 58 v 2).

39. Pour le š e, cp., peut-être, š e - ù - KU = *terinnatu* « pomme de sapin » ou plus exactement « grains de la pomme de sapin » et š e - l i « grains de la pomme de pin » (*DAB* 261). Bien qu'il soit possible de lire g ú r - g ú r *MSL* V 102, l. 112) et penser que l'équivalent akkadien *kukru* est un emprunt au sumérien, la présence fréquente du complément - m a dans les textes présargoniques (par ex. : *VS* XIV 123 i 3 et iii 1 ; Genouillac, *TSA* 6) et d'Ur III (Reisner, *TU* 131 iii 3' ; 122 v 9) semble demander une lecture g a m - g a m.

40. Pour le š e₁₀, cp. š e - e KU = *zu-ú* (*MSL* II 151, 24). Pour des fientes d'oiseaux dans la pharmacopée postérieure, voir par ex. : AO 11447, 12 et 18 (*RA* 53, 10-11) et la note de Labat : *ibid.* 5¹⁰.

41. La lecture *ri-kib-ti* est donnée par *KUB* IV 48 iii 11 et 18 (*MAOG* I/1 52). On pourrait se demander si le *rikibtu* du GAR.IB^{mušen} des prescriptions akkadiennes dont le sens est inconnu (voir quelques opinions dans la note de Labat, *RA* 53, 7⁶), ne désignerait pas la même chose que le š e₁₀ de notre texte ; dans cette supposition et si l'interprétation de GAR.IB^{mušen} comme une variété de chauve-souris est correcte (voir note suivante), il s'agirait des excréments des colonies de chauves-souris, qui ont un contenu très élevé de matières azotées, et qui couvrent le sol en abondance dans les caves et lieux de refuge de ces animaux ; de nos jours, ils sont exploités dans quelques régions comme fertilisant agricole de choix. Noter, finalement, que des textes économiques mentionnent un produit GAR.IB, mesuré en m a - n a, entre n a g a et ^{šim}k u r - g i - RIM (*RTC* 20, 2 ; 21, 2).

42. Les listes d'oiseaux désignent, en effet, deux sortes de s u - d i n : le simple et un autre désigné par s u - d i n - *LAK* 297-IB^{mušen} à l'époque de *Fara* (*Fara* II 58 xi 21) et plus tard par s u - d i n -GAR-IB^{mušen} (*CT* VI [14] D 53 c), où GAR semble substituer à *LAK* 297 (noter que la forme de ce signe dans *LAK* et dans le passage de *Fara II* 58, cité là, ne correspondent pas tout à fait). Le *Vorläufer* de Tell Harmal (photo dans S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, fig. 9), v 12, semble donner s u - d i n -GAR-IB^{mušen}. Dans notre texte, le signe qui précède IB est assez endommagé, mais il peut bien correspondre à *LAK* 297.

semble y avoir une contradiction entre le sens de « poil » de *m u n s u b* et le sens fondamental de « l'intérieur du corps » de *šà*.

129. Voir commentaire l. 47.

130. Pour *ú m [u] l* comparer *ú m u l - l a* de *CT VI* [11-13] B 49-50 b, et aussi, peut-être, *ú m u l - m u l = ú s u₆-ù z* (*KADP* 12 iv 16 et 30 b, 2'; 22 iii 5' semble donner une équation différente) ; ces deux plantes « étoiles » et « barbe de chèvre » (!) sont pour le reste inconnues.

131. Pour *e - r i_x - n a*, voir commentaire ll. 1-2. *g i š - a b* est pour *g i š - a - a b - b a* « bois de mer »⁴⁴, bois probablement exotique dont l'équivalent (emprunt ?) akkadien est *ku-ša-ab-ku* (*Hh* III 154 et *Voc. emesal* II 130) ; l'identification précise est encore à trouver.

132. Voir commentaire l. 62.

133. Le TUM est une qualification de sens inconnu qui se rapporte à *m u n* « sel ».

138. Pour *NE-ú a - g u g_x* (cp. commentaire l. 27), on peut hésiter entre « feu de joncs » et « cendre de joncs »⁴⁵ ; on a préféré le sens de « cendre » dans cette ligne parce que : 1) On n'indique pas le nom de plantes ou produits qui doivent servir à la fumigation ; et 2) On n'a pas de mention du « feu » dans les prescriptions 3.1 et 3.2, où le traitement désigné par *TUR₅* doit être le même qu'ici (voir pourtant le commentaire l. 145).

Prescription 3.4 (lignes 139-145). La raison pour classer cette ordonnance dans le troisième type, est uniquement la présence de la forme verbale *a n - TUR₅ - TUR₅*. Pour le reste, le texte s'écarte complètement du formulaire donné plus haut.

140. Le dernier signe, seul conservé, est apparemment *ŠE + GIŠ × ŠU* ; et est probablement une forme particulière de TIR.

141. La traduction de cette ligne est conjecturale et présente plusieurs points difficiles : on n'a pas trouvé de restitution satisfaisante pour le début de la ligne, où le contexte demande un produit du *giš A.TU.GAB.<LIŠ>* (à lire *a - s / š a l*, d'après *Diri* II 241 [*MAOG* III/3 10, 228], « saule » [*DAB* 292-6] ou « mûrier » (*AOS* XXXII 55)⁴⁶ ; la phrase relative n'a pas de parallèle dans le reste de la tablette⁴⁷ ; et, finalement, la traduction de *SAḪAR* est très incertaine. On a traduit « poudre » (?) et il faut comprendre,

43. Pour la forme du signe dans des textes postérieurs et sa lecture, voir Landsberger : *MSL* III 215. Noter que dans le cylindre archaïque d'Enlil (Barton, *MBI* 1) V 8' : *NE MUNSUB - m e et xi 8* : *NE m u - n i - MU(N)SUB* (en parallèle avec *g i š m u - n i - d u g₄*) supposent une valeur *s u b_x*, qui n'est pas attestée dans les syllabaires, mais qui est facilement explicable : *s u b < (u) s u b < (m) u (n) s u b*. Pour le verbe composé *NE—s u b*, voir S. N. Kramer : *BASOR Supl. Studies* 1, p. 25 et note 51 et *AS* X 26-28.

44. La graphie courante a Ur III est *g i š - a b - b a* (*ŠL* 128, 16 ; ajouter *UET* III 430, 660, 752 et 828, etc.). Le sens de « vieux bois », (*ZDMG* 69, 503) ne semble pas convenir ici, puisqu'on parle de la racine.

45. On trouve le sens « feu de jons » dans les expressions fréquentes dans les incantations : *i z i - ú a - g u g₄ t e - e n - t e - e n - n a - g i n_x* (K. 1390, inédit cité par Erica Reiner (*JNES* 15, 148) ou : *i z i - ú a - k u - g i n_x n i - b a ḫ é - t e - e* (Nougayrol, *ArOr* XVII 214, 32) ; autres références dans Falkenstein, *Haupttypen* 632. Pour le sens « cendre de joncs » voir par ex. : *NE-ú A (?) . ZI . ZI + LAGAB TUR^{ar}* (= *tuṣaḫḫar*) *KAR* 194, 38) et *NE-ú ZI . ZI + LA [GAB(!) RA] D* (= *ta-zak*) (*ibid.*, rev. 22).

46. On trouvera du matériel nouveau pour une description du *a s / š a l* dans Gurney-Finkelstein, *Sultantepe Tablets* I 93, 18-34 (série *Ú GAR-šú*).

47. D'après le parallélisme avec la structure des autres prescriptions à *m - t a - DU - a* devrait être, semble-t-il, une forme avec *ù - (<ù - i m - t a - DU - a ; u < a*, par irifluence du *- t a -*, peut-être) ; toutefois, il n'est pas impossible que ce soit une forme à préfixe à *m -* (à *m -* alterne souvent avec *a n -*, cp. par ex. : *SP* 1.16, 1.32, 2.89) qui serait à ajouter à la liste de formes en *a -* de la n. 4.

peut-être, « poudre qui se trouve dans un vase GİR.BI »⁴⁸. On ne voit pas non plus pourquoi le scribe a mis, sur la même ligne, deux produits qui, apparemment, n'ont aucun rapport.

142. Voir commentaire l. 36.

143. La lecture et l'identité de la plante NÍG.MI sont inconnues. Remarquer qu'en lisant š á - m i, on obtient une coïncidence, peut-être purement fortuite, avec l'expression *šammu šá-mi*, que l'on trouve dans certaines listes de plantes médicinales et qu'on traduit usuellement par « drogue, remède »⁴⁹. Dans cette ligne, le contexte semble demander pourtant une plante spécifique, plutôt qu'une expression aussi générale.

144. ^úa - r í - n a, semble être un nom de plante (ou racine de plante) spécifique, plutôt qu'une simple variante phonétique de e - r í / r i_x - n a « racine » (cp. commentaire 11. 1-2). Pour ^úa - r í - n a, on peut penser aux équivalents akkadiens *sinbiltum* (« racine de nard », *MSL* I 224) et [x (x)]-ra-tum (voir *CAD* s. v. *hūratu* et la remarque de *MSL* V 137 ad 495) de *Hh* III 494-5.

145. Les mots e - r í_x (- n a) ù giš « racines et tronc » se réfèrent possiblement à des parties des plantes citées dans les lignes précédentes. On a traduit NE « cendre » à cause du parallélisme avec les autres prescriptions (cp. commentaire l. 138), mais il faut avouer : qu'une traduction « mettre dans le feu » (pour faire une fumigation) serait beaucoup plus naturelle dans le contexte présent.

48. Le vase GİR.BI, de forme et d'usage inconnus, est cité dans le « Vorläufer » de *Hh* X, 39 (cité avec la permission du Dr Landsberger) et se retrouve, peut-être, dans *ITT* V 6862 rev. ii'9'.

49. Cette expression se trouve surtout dans une liste pharmaceutique, dont chaque ligne a la forme: ^úX = ^ú š á - m i Y « la plante X (est) un remède pour (la maladie) Y » (quelques fragments de cette liste dans *CT* XIV 36).



CBS 14221 (CDLI P269190)

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II.3

Une nouvelle prescription médicale sumérienne*

La tablette HS 1359 qui vient de Nippur et se trouve actuellement à la Collection Hilprecht à Jéna et qui a été publiée jadis par le P. A. Pohl (*TMHC* NF I/II 359), contient la prescription médicale suivante, qui avait passé jusqu'ici inaperçue :

1	bar-níg!-bún-na
2	u-ul-bíl
3	ù-kum
4	ì-giš ka ù-š[eš ₄]
5	lú-guruš?] al-su-ub-b[é]
6	ù-su-ub
7	kaš-sìg al-su-ub-bé
8	kaš-sìg ù-su-ub
9	a al-tu _y -tu _y (=A.TU ₅)
10	a ù-tu _y
11	<u>giš^{giš}ù-sub₅ ù-kum ab-si-ge</u>
12	lú dùn ù nu gig šub-ba-kam

«²Après avoir calciné³ et broyé¹ de l'écaille de tortue, ⁴après avoir frotté l'ouverture (de la partie malade) avec de l'huile, ⁵tu frictionneras le jeune(?) homme; ⁶après avoir frictionné, ⁷tu frictionneras (encore) avec de la bière de bonne qualité; ⁸après avoir frictionné avec de la bière de bonne qualité, ⁹tu laveras avec de l'eau; ¹⁰après avoir lavé avec de l'eau, ¹¹avec du sapin que tu auras broyé, tu rempliras.

«¹²C'est pour quelqu'un atteint d'une maladie du DUN et du NU. »

La tablette HS 1359 a été écrite, d'après des critères paléographiques, pendant la troisième dynastie d'Ur (2158-2008 a. C. environ). La prescription qu'elle contient a plusieurs points de ressemblance avec

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l'ordonnance 3.1 de CBS 14221¹ qui date de la même époque. Dans le nouveau texte on frictionne, après avoir appliqué de l'huile, successivement avec de l'écaille de tortue, calcinée et broyée² et de la bière. Enfin, après avoir lavé avec de l'eau, on termine en « remplissant » avec de la sciure de bois les parties malades. Celles-ci, bien que mentionnées clairement à la dernière ligne du texte, ne peuvent pas être identifiées avec certitude; notre connaissance des termes anatomiques sumériens n'est pas encore assez précise. Les parties malades avaient une « ouverture » (ligne 4) et pouvaient être « remplies » avec de la sciure. Le nom de la première, DÙN (ak. *takāltu*), s'applique normalement à l'estomac, mais il peut désigner aussi tout autre organe en forme de « poche » ou « bourse »³. Le deuxième nom, NU (ak. *lipištu*), sert à désigner, dans le sens figuré, une relation de paternité; il est donc normal de penser ici à une partie des organes sexuels masculins (voir plus loin commentaire à la ligne 12).

La pharmacopée égyptienne connaît des usages de l'écaille de tortue tels qu'on les rencontre dans la présente prescription et dans *PMS* 3.1. Voir par ex. : Eb 539⁴:

« Un autre (remède) pour éliminer les supurations *ʿzgi.t* qui se trouvent dans l'ouverture d'une blessure :

Oeuf d'autruche	1
De l'écaille de tortue, calcinée	1
De la résine de l'arbre <i>im</i> ₃	1

« On fait une onction avec cela. »

La structure grammaticale des prescriptions étudiées dans *PMS* et de la nouvelle est la même (*PMS*, p. 56); l'utilisation des formes verbales en ù - pour indiquer la succession des actions, est encore plus marquée dans le nouveau texte⁵. Les deux textes s'accordent aussi pour l'usage exclusif de préfixes verbaux en a -.

Commentaire

1. Pour níg-bún-na voir *PMS* 69-70 ad 102; ajouter la référence: bur-níg-bún *RTC* 20, 10. L'identification de níg-bún-na avec une, ou plusieurs des espèces des chéloniens, ne peut plus faire aucun doute⁶, d'après ce passage de la *Dispute du héron et de la tortue*, 85 et suiv.⁷:

u₄-bi-a níg-bún-na lú-du₁₄-mú-mú-a-ke₄
lú-ḫar-ra-an-gig-ga-ke₄

1. M. Civil : « Prescriptions médicales sumériennes » *RA* 54 [1960], 57-72 (abrégé en *PMS* dans la suite).

2. L'écaille de tortue se compose principalement de kératine pour l'épiderme et surtout de [Ca₃(PO₄)₂]₃.Ca(OH)₂ pour la partie osseuse, ce qui donne, après combustion, du CaO et des phosphates.

3. Cf.: k u š.[d ù n] = *ta-kal-[tum]* « poche, étui en cuir », Hh XI, 246.

4. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, IV/1, p. 208; voir aussi Eb 710 (*ibid.*, p. 303).

5. Cet ù n'est probablement que la particule copulative; elle est utilisée dans plusieurs langues comme un moyen d'exprimer des relations temporelles entre formes verbales (cf. par ex. le ʾ hébreu).

6. *CAD* s. v. *ḫašbu* A traduit encore « crab ».

7. *PBS* V 15, 1-rev. 17, complété par des duplicata inédits.

lú igi-ni-ta igi-muš-a-ke₄
ka-ni-ta ka-muš-a-ke₄
eme-ni-ta eme-muš-a-ke₄
gug-a-ni gug-ur-tur-ra-ke₄
šu-sal-sal-la-ni me-ri-sal-sal-la
nig-bún-na sig₄-umun-na-ke₄
^{giš}al-gin_x im-ma u₄ zal-la-RI

« Alors la tortue, amie de la dispute (et) mauvaise marcheuse, ses yeux, des yeux de serpent⁸, sa bouche, une bouche de serpent, sa langue, une langue de serpent, ses dents⁹, les dents d'un chiot ; les pattes ... (litt. les mains ..., les pieds ...) ; la tortue, une brique de fourneau, comme une pioche, elle passe la journée dans la boue, etc. »

2. ù-ul-bíl < ù-al-bíl. Pour d'autres références voir Falkenstein, *JAOS* 72 (1952), 44 et *Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden* II, 392. Le préfixe verbal al- est ici un peu inattendu. Pour bíl « brûler, calciner » cp. : bi-il GIBIL = qá-lu-ú S_b II, 12.

3. k u m (ak. *ḥašālu*) est utilisé dans ce texte à la place du g a z de CBS 14221.

5. Si le signe qui suit lú est bien KAL il a une forme quelque peu irrégulière.

7-8. sig probablement pour sig₅; s à g (pour s a g) est aussi possible, mais sig semble préférable à cause de PMS 3.1, 107 et des fréquentes variantes graphiques de sig₅¹⁰.

9-10. t u_y = A.ŠU.NAGA, c.-à-d. t u₅ précédé d'un A supplémentaire. La forme t u_x décrite dans PMS 69² se trouve aussi dans TMHC NF I/II, 35, 6 : g e m e₂ a - t u_x - a (tablette datée de Ibbi-Sin 2).

11. Pour ^{giš}ù-suḥ₅ (écrit ú-KU) voir PMS 70 ad 112. L'usage du verbe si-(g) « remplir » dans cette ligne prouve que le sens de TUR₅-TUR₅ dans le troisième groupe de prescriptions de PMS est bien « faire entrer », « mettre dans ».

12. d ù n (ak. *takāltu*) est d'une part une partie du foie (Goetze, *YOS* X, p. 7; Nougayrol, *RA* 44 [1950] 3) et d'autre part un organe indépendant du corps humain et animal; Goetze (*l.c.*) a proposé « pancréas », ce qui probablement n'est pas correct. En effet un passage de « La maison du poisson » 86 (CT 42, 38 rev. 16): m u - d ù n - n a - b i (var.: k u š - m u r u b₄ - b a) ^{kuš}a - e d i n - L Á - d u m u - z i - d a prouve que d ù n en anatomie conserve le sens fondamental de « petit sac, poche », qui ne convient en aucun cas au pancréas. La traduction « estomac » proposée déjà par Holma, *Körperteile*, 91-94, n'est pas à rejeter complètement¹¹. Dans notre texte toutefois cette traduction est difficilement applicable.

Pour NU nous avons : n u - ú NU = li-pi-iš-tum Voc. Proto-ea C 18. Cf. SBH X, ii, 20, CT 30, 12, 14; CT 31, 26, rev. 11 (dupl. KAR 150); AMT 16, 1, 16 (comme ingrédient d'un remède), etc.¹². Voir pour d'autres références et pour le sens dérivé de « relation de paternité » MSL I, 146-147, où Landsberger propose le sens de « scrotum »; noter que ce sens serait aussi bon pour d ù n, dans notre texte. Faut-il prendre n u dans notre prescription comme un synonyme de ŠIR = iškū?

8. Lit. « qui, quant à ses yeux; (a) des yeux de serpent ».

9. g u - u g : (NA₄) GUG = ši-in-nu Diri III 84.

10. Cf. le texte tardif SBH, n° 14, 26-27 : n u - m u - u n - n a - a b - s i g - g a = ul da-mi-iq-šú.

11. On peut penser aussi à « vessie ».

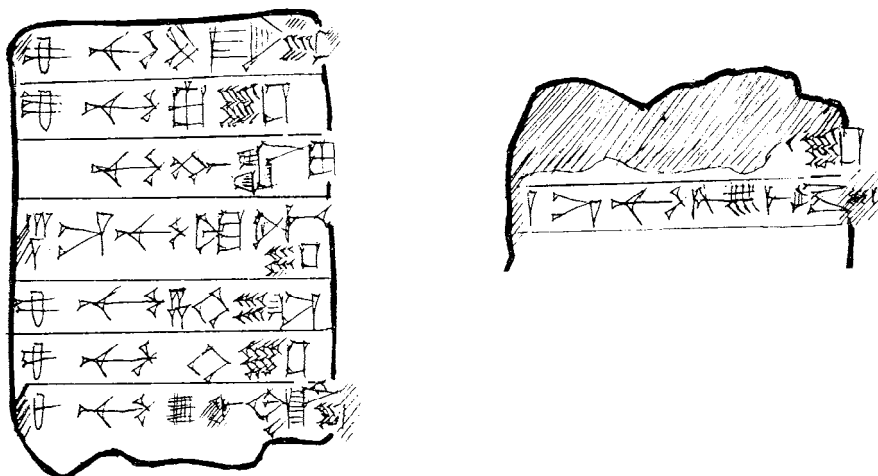
12. Le passage sumérien SRT 4, 129 (cf. Van Dijk, *Sagesse*, 63 et *Sumerische Götterlieder*, II, 153), n'est pas clair.

Il faut signaler finalement que le n° 358 de *TMHC* NF I/II est probablement une liste de produits médicaux, et que le n° 357 contient aussi des instructions pour préparer un mélange, par ex. : lignes 1-3 :

1	in-nin	
2	uḥ-uš ù-da-ḥe	après avoir mélangé ... avec ...
3	igi-gi ₆ -a ù-gar	après (l')avoir placé sur l'oeil « noir »
4	ba-ÁŠ	il sera oint(?) ¹³

Toutefois le texte ne m'est pas clair, et même le but thérapeutique est douteux.

Addenda a PMS



N 407

La prononciation níg dans níg-nagar^{SAR} (*PMS* 61 ad 94) est prouvée maintenant par la graphie nin-nagar^{SAR} de N 407, 4 (voir copie). Tous les déterminatifs SAR dans *PMS* doivent être écrits avec majuscules; la prononciation de SAR « légume » est probablement níssa (cp. ní-is-sa SAR = [ar-qu] BM 38885, 6 [CT XII, 31] d'après la restauration de Goetze, *JCS* 13 [1959] 126 et note 35).

13. Ligne 2 : cf. uḥ - š è — a k Gud. cyl. B iii 13; ligne 3: ÁŠ est, peut-être, pour a š/e š, *pa'āšu* ; cf. *Nik*, II, 301, 3.

II.4

A Hymn to the Beer Goddess and a Drinking Song^{*}

In addition to the list of technical terms about beer and brewing in ancient Mesopotamia, collected in the 23rd tablet of the series 𒀠𒊕𒊕𒊕𒊕 = *hubullu*, published by Professor Oppenheim some years ago (*JAOS Suppl.* 10, Dec. 1950),** and the occasional information scattered in letters and economic documents,¹ we have, among the surviving Sumerian literary compositions, two short poems dealing with brewing and drinking. The first is a hymn praising Ninkasi, the beer goddess, the mysterious power which produces the fermentation and changes plain grain and water into the liquid which “makes the liver happy, fills the heart with joy.” The various steps of the brewing process are described in the hymn in a poetic, but clearly recognizable, way. The second is the only Sumerian drinking song so far discovered. Although they are quite different in form and content and even seem to imply slightly different brewing techniques,² the two compositions³ are always found together on the tablets so far discovered. The tablets are:

A = AO 5385 (*TRS* 20) = 1-79

B = Ni 5469 iii 24'-iv 34' (copied by H. Kizilyay) = 1-13; 35-68

O = VAT 6705 (*VAS* 10 156) = 6-31; 38-61.

* The present article was originally published in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago 1964, pp. 67-89.

** Abbreviations are those of *CAD*, with the following additions: Ant: Lexical series a n t a g a l = *šaqû*; ELA: S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*; FH: Forerunner to 𒀠𒊕𒊕𒊕𒊕 = *hubullu*; P: Proto, before the name of a lexical series; P: Proverb, followed by number of collection; SKT: C. Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*; SP: E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*; Ugu: Lexical series u g u . m u .

1. Van Dijk published in *Sumer* 13 Pl. 23A the OB Akkadian fragment IM 51650A, which contains instructions for the manufacture of beer; a similar text is the unpublished IM 52196. Both, unfortunately, are in a fragmentary condition, and very little can be gleaned from them.

2. Note especially that different types of fermenting and collector vats seem to be used.

3. The only attempt at a translation of *SRT* 20 and *VAS* 10 156 is, as far I know, the rather unsuccessful one of Witzel, *AnOr* 15 25 ff. Some allusions to the Ninkasi hymn are found in S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) p. 111.

In A follows a short *ba l - ba l - e* to Inanna totally unrelated to the preceding compositions. B is a collective tablet with other hymns and lyrical songs.⁴ C contains only our poems. One interesting feature of the latter tablet is the insertion of variant readings, in the form of glosses, a rudimentary form of textual criticism, by which the scribe tried to harmonize conflicting traditions. These variants are given in the textual notes under the siglum C'.

The first composition, Hymn to Ninkasi, consists of twelve four-line strophes with the following pattern:

	A
	B
^d nin-ka-si	A
	B

Interestingly enough, the individual lines seem to follow a uniform metric pattern, but our ignorance of Sumerian phonetics, and still more of its poetic licenses, makes it impossible to verify that supposition. The second composition has a freer construction, with the rhythmic repetitions and parallelisms typical of Sumerian poetry. The “Drinking Song” can be divided in three main parts:

1. Lines 49-57. Enumeration of vats and pots of every type and description used in brewing or serving beer. All of them are ready for the party.

2. Lines 58-68 (line 69 could also belong to this part). Toast to an unnamed individual, apparently a woman, by a group of likewise unidentified persons. Unless lines 64ff. are only a literary image, the occasion for the drinking party is related in one way or another to the construction of a building.

3. Lines 69-77. Answer by the person to whom the toast has been addressed. The speaker is probably a woman because of the mention of the woman's garment ^{tug}NAM.NIN, and because of the repetition in different dialect of the concluding line (see commentary to lines 78-79). The language of lines 69-77 cannot provide a linguistic criterion for the determination of the sex of the speaker because there are no words for which the Emesal form could regularly be expected.⁵ The only suggestion we dare to offer for the identification of the woman is that she could very well be an unnamed *sabītu*, since the poem certainly dates from a period when the profession of tavern-keeper was normally reserved to women. In conclusion, it is quite possible that we have before us a poem celebrating the inauguration of a tavern or *éš - da m - m* kept by a lady.

Reluctantly, the native words for the various types of vessels have been left untranslated, either because of insufficient information about a particular type of receptacle, or because no English words could translate the Sumerian terms exactly, and one would have to resort to awkward circumlocutions. In any case, the flavor and appeal of the original have been irremediably lost. Less apparent, but perhaps more important, is the difficulty in translating words expressing emotions or states of mind (*gu₄, me - si - ga, ul - ti - a*). See the pertinent commentary for the justification of the translations.⁶

4. Some of them are published by S. N. Kramer in his study of the Sumerian love songs, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107/6 485ff.

5. Isolated Emesal forms, in addition to line 79, are the var. *mu - un* in line 13, and *em* in line 61.

6. The words *u₃* and *ša* as organs of emotions and mental acts have been simply translated by “liver” and “heart.” Cf. the old, but still valid, study of E. Dhorme. *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, 109ff., 128 ff.

The purpose of this article is only to make available this source for the study of the ancient brewing techniques. A concise poem of an evidently lyrical nature is not the best starting point for a technological investigation, and the analysis of the practices of the ancient brewers is too complex an undertaking to be attempted here.

a-zal-le ù-tu-da [x]^ˈx^ˈ [x (x)]
^dnin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke₄ mí-zi-dè-[eš dug₄-ga]
^dnin-ka-si a-zal-le ù-tu-da ^ˈx^ˈ [x x (x)]
^dnin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke₄ mí-zi-dè-eš dug₄-ga

5 uru¹-zu lál-ḥur-re² ki ús-sa
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu¹-ra-an-du₇-du₇
^dnin-ka-si uru¹-zu lál-ḥur-re ki² ús-sa
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu¹-ra-an-du₇-du₇

a-a-zu ^den-ki en-^dnu-dím-mud-e¹
 10 ama-zu ^dnin-ti nin-abzu-a
^dnin-ka-si a-a-zu ^den-ki en-^dnu-dím-mud-e
 ama-zu ^dnin-ti nin-abzu-a

si níg-sila_x¹ ^{giš}mar-maḥ-a² du₈-a-zu³
 šim-lál¹-ta ub₄-ba bappir₂ ḥe-ḥe-a
 15 ^dnin-ka-si si níg-sila_x¹ ^{giš}mar-maḥ-a² du₈-a-zu³
 šim-lál¹-ta ub₄-ba bappir₂ ḥe-ḥe-a

bappir₂ udun-maḥ-e¹ du₈-a-zu
 zar-gú-nida-àm¹ si sá-sá-àm²
^dnin-ka-si bappir₂ udun-maḥ-e du₈-a-zu¹
 20 zar-gú-nida-àm si sá-sá-àm

munu₃ saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu
 ur-me-me nam¹ gam-gam-ma-àm
^dnin-ka-si munu₃ saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu¹
 ur-me-me nam gam-gam-ma-àm

25 sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu¹
 i-zi zi-zi¹-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam
^dnin-ka-si sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu
 i-zi zi-zi¹-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam

titab ^{gi}kid-maḥ-a bara₃-ga-zu
 30 šà-šed₈ AN dab-ba-a¹

^dnin-ka-si titab ^{gi}kid-maḥ-a bara₃-ga-zu
ša-šed₈ AN dab-ba-a

^{kaš}dida-gal šu-tab-ba gál-la-zu
lál geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a
35 ^dnin-ka-si ^{kaš}dida-gal šu-tab-ba¹ gál-la-zu
lál geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a

[NÍG
[^{kaš}dida dug-šè mi-ni-in-x-x]
[^dnin-ka-si NÍG 'x']
40 ^{kaš}dida dug-šè [m]i-ni-in-'x-x'

^{dug}níg-dúr-bùr-e gù-nun-di-dam
laḥtan-maḥ-a mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm
^dnin-ka-si ^{dug}níg-dúr-bùr-e gù-nun-di-dam
laḥtan-maḥ-a¹ mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm

45 ^{kaš}si-im-^{dug}laḥtan-na¹ dé-a-zu²
^{id}idigna ^dburanun-na sag si-ga-àm¹
^dnin-ka-si ^{kaš}si-im-^{dug}laḥtan-na¹ dé-a-zu²
^{id}idigna ^{id}buranun-na sag si-ga-àm¹

^{gi}gakkul-e ^{gi}gakkul-e
50 ^{gi}gakkul-e ^{dug}lam-sá-re
^{gi}gakkul-e níg ur₅ šag₅-šag₅-ge
^{dug}lam-sá-re¹ níg šà ḥúl-ḥúl-e
^{dug}u-gur¹-bal níg é-a me-te-bi
^{dug}ša-gub-bé níg ^{kaš}si-si-ge
55 ^{dug}am-am DU.DU-^{dug}lam-sá-ra-ke₄
^{gi}bunin-^ubúr ^{gi}ba-an-du₈¹ 'x-x'-ke₄
dug-sig₅ dag-dug-e¹ sa-gi₄-a
ša-dingir-za ḥu-mu-ra-ab-ḥun-e
igi-^{gi}gakkul-àm igi-me na-nam
60 šà-^{gi}gakkul-àm šà-me na-nam
èm šà-zu gur₄-gur₄-ru ní-bi-a
ša-me-a gur₄-gur₄-ru ní-bi-a¹
ur₅-me bí-šag₅ šà-me bí-ḥúl
sig₄-nam-tar-ra a dé-zu¹
65 silim-ma ḥé-gál-e ki ús-sa-zu¹

- ^dnin-ka-si za-da ħu-mu-u₈¹-da-an-ti
 kaš geštin ħu-mu-ra-an¹-bal-bal-e
 gurun_x-lāl-e gù-nun ħa-ra-ni-ib-bé
^gi¹bunin-^úbúr-a kaš-ku₇-ku₇-dam
 70 sagi lú-tur-ra lunga bí-in-DU-en
 a-nigin₂-e nigin-na-mu-dè
 gur₄-gur₄-re-gá gur₄-gur₄-re-gá-mu-dè
 kaš-nag-e me-e sì-ga-mu-dè
 gurun_x-nag-a ul-ti-a-mu-dè
 75 šà-^hú¹l-la ur₅-šag₅-ga-mu-dè
 šà-gá šà-^hú¹l-la gál-la-bi
 ur₅-šag₅^{túg}pala₃-a ša-mu₄-ra-mu-dè
 šà-^dinanna ki-bi ba-ab-gi₄
 šà-ga-ša-an-an-na-ke₄ ki-bi ba-ab-gi₄

[bal-bal-e(?)-^dnin-k]a-si-kam

Textual Notes

5. ¹A: u r u; B: u r u₂; cf. line 7, note 1, for C. ²A: -r e; B: -e (but -r e in line 7).
6. ¹A: š u m a-; B: š a m u- (but cf. line 8); C: š u m u-.
7. ¹A: u r u; B: u r u₂; C: u r u^{ki}. ²In A there is an erasure between k i and ú s.
8. ¹A: š u m a-; BC: š u m u-.
9. ¹BC interchange the order of lines 9/10 and 11/12.
13. ¹A: m u - u n - s i l a_x (ŠID); C: n í g-LAGAB; C': n í g¹-s i l a_x¹ (collated by F. Köcher). ²A: -a; C: -e.
³A: i - i n - d u₈; C: d u₈ - a - z [u].
14. C' adds a - t a, after š i m.
15. Reading n í g - s i l a_x according to C' in line 13; for the rest of the line same var. as above.
17. ¹AC': -a; C: -e.
18. ¹A: -à m; C: -a; C': -e. ²A: -àm; C om.
19. ¹A om. lines 19-20.
22. ¹A: n a m₄ (TÚG) [collated]; C: n a m.
23. ¹A om. lines 23-24.
25. ¹C' on edge: t i t a b g i (see commentary).
26. ¹A: z i - z i -; C: z i - i - z i.
28. ¹var. as in 26¹.
30. ¹A: -a; C: -à m.
35. ¹A: -t a b¹- b a¹.
37. ¹Strophes 37-40 and 41-44 only in BC; A om.
44. ¹C: -a; B om.
45. ¹A: - n a; C: -a; B unclear. ²AC: d é - a - z u; B: d]é - a - z a; C': m i - n i - i n -.

46. ¹AC: -à m; B: -a; C': -z a[?] (cf. note 2 to line 47).
 47. ¹= 45¹. ²B: d]é - a - z a; C: - d é - a; C': - z a (unless it belongs to the preceding line). ³A om. 47-48.
 48. ¹B: -a; C: -à m. Dividing line after line 48 only in C.
 52. ¹C: -e; C': -r e.
 53. ¹C: u - g u r - b a l; C': SIG₇- b a l.
 55. ¹BC: ^{dug}, A om.
 56. ¹AB: - d u₈; C: - d u.
 57. ¹A: a - LAGAB / GIŠ; B: a - GIŠ; C: DAG-BI- e; C': a -+b a (for GIŠ? [not collated]).
 62. ¹Line according to A; B:] NIGIN₂.NE [...] NE.BI.
 63. ¹A: - a - d é - z u, with undeciphered gloss underneath; B:] GIŠ.NI (both signs probably a miscopy) - a - z a.
 65. ¹A: - z u; B: - z a.
 66. ¹A: - u₈-; B: - e -.
 67. ¹A: - a n -; B om.

Subscription only in C, left edge; on the upper third of the same edge the sign ZA, or 4 (meaning?).

- 1 Borne *by* the flowing water [...],
 Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag,
 Ninkasi, borne *by* the flowing water [...]
 Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag.
- 5 Having founded your town on “wax,”
 She finished its great walls for you,
 Ninkasi, having founded your town on “wax,”
 She finished its great walls for you.
- Your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,
 10 Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.
 Ninkasi, your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,
 Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.
- You are the one who handles dough (and)... with a big shovel,
 Mixing, in a pit, the b a p p i r with sweet aromatics.
 15 Ninkasi, you are the one who handles dough (and) ... with a big shovel,
 Mixing, in a pit, the b a p p i r with sweet aromatics.
- You are the one who bakes the b a p p i r in the big oven,
 Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.
 Ninkasi, you are the one who bakes the b a p p i r in the big oven,
 20 Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.

You are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,
The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.
Ninkasi, you are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,
The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.

25 You are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
The waves rise, the waves fall.
Ninkasi, you are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
The waves rise, the waves fall.

30 You are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
Coolness overcomes
Ninkasi, you are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
Coolness overcomes

35 You are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,
Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.
Ninkasi, you are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,
Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.

40 [...]

[You ... the sweetwort to the vessel].

Ninkasi, [...],

[You ...] the sweetwort to the vessel.

The fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.
Ninkasi, the fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.

45 You are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.
Ninkasi, you are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

50 The *g a k k u l* vat, the *g a k k u l* vat,
The *g a k k u l* vat, the *l a m - s á - r e* vat,
The *g a k k u l* vat, which makes the liver happy,
The *l a m - s á - r e* vat, which rejoices the heart,
The *u g u r - b a l* jar, a fitting thing in the house,

- The šà - g u b jar, which is filled with beer,
 55 The a m - a m jar, which carries (the beer of) the l a m - s á - r e vat,
 The ... reed buckets and the reed pails of ...,
 The beautiful vessels, are ready on (their) *pot stands*!
 May the heart of your god be well disposed towards you!
 Let the eye of the g a k k u l vat be our eye,
 60 Let the heart of the g a k k u l vat be our heart!
 What makes your heart feel wonderful,
 Makes (also) our heart feel wonderful.
 Our liver is happy, our heart is joyful.
 You poured a libation over the brick of destiny,
 65 You placed the foundations in peace (and) prosperity,
 May Ninkasi live together with you!
 Let her pour for you beer (and) wine,
 Let (the pouring) of the sweet *liquor* resound pleasantly for you!
 In the ... reed buckets there is sweet beer,
 70 I will make cupbearers, boys, (and) brewers stand by,
 While I turn around the abundance of beer,
 While I feel wonderful, I feel wonderful,
 Drinking beer, in a blissful mood,
 Drinking *liquor*, feeling exhilarated,
 75 With joy in the heart (and) a happy liver—
 While my heart full of joy,
 (And) (my) happy liver I cover with a garment fit for a queen!

The heart of Inanna is happy again,
 The heart of the queen of heaven is happy again!

1. Cf. a - s a - l a ʿù - t u - d a, in broken context, in *VAS* 2 37: 11.

5-8. We have no evidence to identify Ninkasi's town. There is late evidence for the existence of a city named LĀL.ÚR^{ki}, connected with Adad, ^dIM EN LĀL.ÚR^{ki} in Craig, *ABRT* 57: 22, but the grammatical construction of lines 5/7 shows that lāl-ḫur is the object of the verb ki-ús and not in apposition to uru-zu.

lāl-ḫur, Akk. *iškuru* (*CAD* 7 251 f.), is a type of wax different from ga b - lāl, in spite of the fact that both have the same Akk. equivalent; lāl-ḫur is not attested after Ur III outside of the lexical texts and Sumerian literary passages. A significant reference is *UET* 3 1498 i 1, where this wax is used in the shop of the dibira, together with ivory and precious woods. Other references from the same period are *UET* 3 567:1-3 and *ITT* 4 7059: 1. In the former, twelve shekels of lāl-ḫur are used for two unidentified

silver objects,⁷ in the latter, ten mana of the same material are listed among garments, perfume, and i n - d a ḥ - š u - u m.⁸ A derived meaning has to be assumed for the following passages:

gá-e mušen-ša₆-ga gal-zu-me-en

kin-ša₆-ga ugun-tag-ga-mu-šè

lâl-ḥur-kù-zu kin la-ba-an-si-ga

“I am (the bird speaks) a beautiful and very intelligent bird,

Beautiful work (has been done) in my embellishment,

(But) your ... has not been worked!”

(*Contest between the Bird and the Fish* 72-74).

é^d-en-ki-ke₄ lâl-ḥur-kù kur₇-ak

“Inspecting the ... in the temple of Enki”

(*Eridu Hymn* 38).

These two passages clearly require a meaning like “material from which an object is made,”⁹ a meaning that can be easily derived from “modeling wax.” In our context, unparalleled in the literary texts, “founded on lâl - ḥ u r” is an image to express the noble quality of the ground on which the city is built.

The subject of š u m u - r a - a n - d u₇ - d u₇ in lines 6/8 is Ninḥursag.

9-12. ^dn i n - t i is here an epithet of Enki’s wife, and different from the ^dn i n - t i, the n i n - i t i - e, born of Enki and Ninḥursag (*BASOR* SS 1 20:265-66, 277) and sister of Ninkasi, whose birth is described also in the same passage (259- 60).

The following strophes contain an enumeration of the most important activities of Ninkasi, the Brewer. The question might be raised, whether the hymn describes successive steps in the preparation of beer, or just isolated aspects in an arbitrary order. Since the strophe 13-16 obviously starts with an early stage of the process, and the last lines of the composition (strophe 45-48) describe the pouring of the finished product, it must be assumed that by and large successive steps are described, although in some cases parallel, or even alternate, ways of processing the grain may be intended. We must not forget, however, that the composition has no didactic purpose, and that some operations are not even mentioned in this short and concise poem. To help the understanding of the text, a brief and schematic relation of what we know about the raw materials and intermediate products of the old Mesopotamian brewing process will be given here:¹⁰

The various materials and intermediate products are dealt with in the text in the following order:

7. For wax (GAB.LÂL) used by the *gurgurru* (DIBIRA) to cast objects with the cire-perdue technique see *VAS* 8 103, quoted by *CAD* 5 137. In *UET* 3 567 the use of wax for a mold is excluded because that technique cannot be applied to silver.

8. Cf., for the present, Gelb, *MAD* 3 47 ’_xMTḤŠ.

9. The meaning “mold,” in the sense of “form,” is not excluded (see n. 7). The same lâl - ḥ u r appears in the divine name ^dlâl - ḥ u r - g a l - z u *ŠL* 109, 13.

10. For additional information on particular terms and expressions, even when no explicit reference is given, the reader is referred to Oppenheim’s study already mentioned. Bibliography on Mesopotamian brewing can be found in Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, n. 8. The study by B. Landsberger and K. Balkan announced there was published in *Belleten* 14 243ff. Some remarks by H. Lewy are in *Or* 28 118².

	Ninkasi Hymn	Hh XXIII
bappir ₂	13-20	iii 8-14
munu ₃	21-24	iv 3-24
sún	25-28	iii 15-25
titab	29-32	iii 27-iv 2
dida	33-40	[]
fermentation and pouring	41-48	_____

1) bappir₂ is a cooked mixture of (fermented?) dough and aromatic herbs. In some cases it could be shaped into cakes and counted by number, but usually was measured by volume. It is uncertain whether malted cereal was used in its preparation. This question has probably to be answered negatively.

2) munu₃ (DIM₄, also written munu₄ [DIM₄+ŠE]) is the cereal which, after germination, will become greenmalt.

These two are the basic indispensable ingredients of the beer, as shown by the so-called beer “recipes” from Presargonic Lagaš,¹¹ as well as by later references (Oppenheim, *Beer*, n. 35).

3) sún is a crushed greenmalt infusion (mash), before decoction.

4) titab is the cooked mash. It is not clear if the crushed greenmalt could be roasted without previous watering, or if all titab had to pass first the sún stage.¹²

5) dida is the sweetwort, i.e., an infusion of the mash with lukewarm water, with the addition of substances rich in sugar. See commentary to lines 33 ff., for the justification of this interpretation which differs from the one commonly accepted.

One of the many points which remain unclear is how and when the bappir and the greenmalt, presumably in form of titab, were mixed together. The mixture of bappir and greenmalt is mentioned in the passage *KUB* 17 10 ii 23 (translated by Goetze, *MVAG* 32/1 73): “like the greenmalt and the bappir are intimately joined together” That, when mixed, the greenmalt was in form of titab, is suggested by a brief description of the brewing process in the Contest between Laḫar and Ašnan 117-19:

bappir₂ udun-na munus ù-ba-ni-du₈

titab udun-na ù-ba-ni-dù

^dnin-ka-si-ke₄ ma-ab-šár-sár-re

“After the woman has baked the bappir in the oven,

After the titab has been prepared in the oven,

Ninkasi mixes them for me.”

11. Discussed by Hrozný, *Das Getreide*, 152 ff. See also Deimel, *Or* 32 (1928) 60ff.

12. That the basic ingredient of titab is malted cereal was already recognized by Oppenheim; *op. cit.*, 18. We cannot follow him, however, in his interpretation of the BARA₂ of the logogram as *ḫalāšu*. The original logogram for titab is LÜ.MUNU₃ in Fara (Deimel, *Fara* 2 20 vi 10; 43 ix 11; etc.), in the Presargonic and Ur III texts, as well as in part of the OB texts (*MSL* 7 29 [Forerunner texts not collated]). This LÜ could be an indication—nothing is however more dangerous than to analyze the components of a logogram with semantic intentions—that titab was “malt stirred (in water).”

13-20. *Preparation of the bappir*. The meaning of *si* (line 13) and its relation with the following word are uncertain. A likely meaning for *si* is “sprouts,” either of germinated grain, or of the aromatic herbs mentioned in the following line. There is no other evidence, however, to assume that malted cereal was used in the preparation of the *bappir* and, furthermore, in that case we would expect the *si* after *níg-sila_x*. More probably, the *si* is identical with the difficult ^(ninda)*si-gal* (parallel to ^(ninda)*gúg-gal*) of Gud. Cyl. A xxviii 6 and *VAS* 10 214:15'. It is uncertain whether there is any connection with the *bappir* *SLA* of the Forerunner *SLT* 12 iii 12 (dupl. *SLT* 16 and *OECT* 4 154) and *bappir-sig₅-SLA* of *ITT* 2/2 892 i 7'. After *si*, the texts give:

A	<i>mu-un-šID</i>
C	<i>níg-LAGAB</i>
C'	<i>níg-šID</i> (collated by F. Köcher)

the intended word is thus in all probability *níg-sila_x* “dough.” For the reading *sila_g* for *šID* in this meaning see Ea VII 198-99 (*JCS* 13 129). The var. *LAGAB* remains unexplained. The first element *mu-un-* in A must represent the emesal form of *níg*, cf. *mu-un-ga=níg-ga* in *MSL* 4 31:34, proving thus that we must read *níg-sila_x* and not *ninda-sila_x*. For *níg-sila_x* “dough,” we have the following passages in literary texts: ^{giš}*bunin-níg-sila_x-gá-zu níg-kud la-ba-ab-ak-[e]* *Ḫendursagga* Hymn 33 (also 123", 126"); ^{giš}*bunin-níg-sila_x-gá nu-luḫ-ḫa é gi₈-ù-na-ka bí-dib-ba* *UM* 55-21-438:15'-16'; *zé-da tur-tur-bi níg-sila_x i-bí-kú* Contest between Silver and Copper C 78, this last passage to be compared with *Iraq* 23 160:78; *ninda-gúg-du₈ šà-níg-sila_x-gá in-nu-ù* “a baked cake is not (to be found) in the middle of the dough” Gordon, *SP* 1.52.¹³

For ^{giš}*mar* as a tool of the brewer, see *Ḫḫ* VII B 18-20. Since the baking of the *bappir* is described in the strophe 17-20, it is perhaps better to take *du₈* not as *epū* “to bake,” but as “to shovel” or the like.

The aromatic herbs used for the *bappir* are unknown. For later periods, see B. Landsberger, *Afo* 18 337.¹⁴

The kiln for the *bappir* (lin 17/19) is listed in *Ḫḫ* X 359, alongside the one reserved to cook the mash (*titab*). For the reading of *NUNUZ* as *nida* see *Ḫḫ* XXIV 130-33, quoted in *CAD* 5 127 sub *gubūtu*. Since *gú-nida* is usually preceded by *gig* (Contest between Winter and Summer 77) or *zíz* (*RTC* 69:1; 70 v 1; Nikolski 63 v. 6; etc.) it is hardly, at least originally, a particular species. The translation *gubūtu* (*CAD* loc. cit.) and the passage *gú-nida ellag_x(BIR) un_x(BAD)-na ga-mu-ra-túm* Van Dijk, *Sagesse* 69: 139, where the epithet *ellag_x* is to be explained by *lú-še-ellag_x-ak = mu-qá-li-pu-ú* *OBLu* A 201, support a translation “hulled grain.” The grain for the *bappir* was thus without husks, while for the *titab* the husks were kept, since their presence in the mash is a desirable feature because it helps the filtering.

21-24. *Soaking and germination of the greenmalt*. For *munu₃* see above p. 76. “(Slightly) covered with earth,” according to *saḫar-gar-ra = kut-tu-mu* *Ant* VIII 186, is preferable to an explanation based

13. Our translation differs from the one given by Gordon, loc. cit.; his interpretation of *níg-šID* is hardly acceptable.

14. The use of *ka-si-ia* as a mere flavoring agent is, however, subject to serious doubts. In one of the texts quoted there, from Ungnad, *NRV* 76ff., the *ka-si-ia* accounts for more than 20 per cent of the total material by volume (*VAB* 3 40).

on IŠ-gar = ša-pi-[ik íD] Igituḫ X 287, usually written IŠ-gar-íd-da, for which see *RA* 54 67. The covering of the grain with a thin layer of earth had the purpose of helping the germination, keeping the grain moist. For a-si-ga¹⁵ in relation with greenmalt cf. ELA 363: munu₃ a-si-ga-na a-šà mu-ni- [...] “[covered?] the fields with his watered greenmalt” (cf. also ELA 327). The germination of the grain was supervised by the ^{lu}MUNU_{3/4}.MÚ.(MÚ), Sum. reading ‘a’-ma-an (*MSL* 2 70 ad 479c), Akk. *bāqilu* (references from economic texts in *ŠL* 60 43). The need to keep the grain within the right range of temperatures, lest the germination not start, is mentioned in the Contest between Silver and Copper B 3: 26 munu₃-mú en-te-en ní nu-te-te ... “the sprouting grain does not need to be kept cool in winter”

Line 22/24 shows that dogs were used to keep people away and protect the germinating grain from being trampled. Of the meanings of ur-me-me:

a) = ka-lab ^dšá-maš Hh XIV 87

b) = sa-ma-nu Prac. Voc. Assur 431

e) = šar šar-r[i] Lu I 41 b

the first (cf. E. D. Van Buren, *AfO* 11 14 ff.) is to be preferred because of the use of the verb gam, said typically of the watch dog, for example: ur-gir_x máš gam-gam nu-ub-zu *BASOR SS* 1 10:16 “the dog which watches the kids was not (yet) known.” Cf. also ur gam-gam (var. ur gam-ma from CBS 13924 + UM 29-15-355) = [ka-na-nu šá] UR.GIR_x Nabnitu XXII 5. Other examples of the verb gam with the meaning “to curb, to restrain,” usually with an animal as the object, are: am-sa₅ am-kur-ra lú-gešpu₂-gin_x im-ma-DU.DU lú-lirum-ma-gin_x im-ma-ši-gam “the brown wild ox, the wild ox of the mountains, like a strong man he carried it away, like a fighter he restrained it” Lugalbanda and Hurrum 356; amar-e im-ta-è amar-e ba-an-gam “he left the calf free, (but) he kept it watched” P 5.36:4 (Gordon, *JCS* 12 18).

For the following nam/nam₄ the meaning seems assured by nam TÚG = ru-bu-ú *MSL* 2 129: 8; although Ea I 166 gives na-a-m TÚG = té-e-mu, and an unpublished forerunner to á-A (MAH 15850 + viii 37') gives TÚG (reading nam₄) = ši-im-tum, this last meaning being verified by nam₄-tar, for nam-tar, writing attested in an unpublished Ur III literary text.

The need to protect the germinating greenmalt lying on the ground from careless trampling gave origin to the phrase am-si munu₃-sig₇-sig₇ al-dag-ge “the elephant tramples the sprouting greenmalt” Dialogue 1:17, to describe a clumsy person. Also, in a broken context, in Lugalbanda and Hurrum 302: [... m]unu₃ am-si kár-kár. Other enemies of the greenmalt were the birds (*BASOR SS* 1 10: 19-20, completed by U 7754, to be published in *UET* 6): nu-mu-un-su munu₃ ùr-ra ba-ra₃-ga-ba mušen-an-na munu₃-bi na-an-kú-e “when a widow had spread greenmalt on the roof, the birds of the sky did not eat that malt.” But this spread malt could refer, in this particular case, equally well to the cooling of the cooked mash. See commentary to lines 29-32.

25-28. *Preparation of the mash: infusion of greenmalt.* The var. titab gi of C' must be interpreted as an indication that some MSS. interchanged the strophes 25-28 and 29-32. In both A and C the first sign

15. The Akk. term is *raṭābu* and, occasionally, *šabū* *CT* 43 8:12, 15 (cf. also munu₄-a-di-a [for -dē-a] = ši-bu-tum Hh XXIII iv 4). Whether there is any difference in the use of these terms, that is, whether they were used both for the watering of the grain before germination and for the infusion of the germinated grain when making the mash, is a question which still needs investigation.

could also be read GIR₄, but the context of lines 26/28 requires s ú n (< s u m u n (u) PEa 588). This word is extremely rare in the texts, the infusion s ú n, Akk. *narṭabu* (Hh XXIII iii 15; S^b II 337), being only an intermediate product: d u g - s ú n, Akk. *karpāt muraṭṭibi* Hh X 74 (but cf. DUG *ner-ṭa-bi* in KAR 382 r. 45), is mentioned in RTC 307 vii 18' and ITT 2/2 892 vii 18'; [x] s ú n DU ITT loc. cit. i 5'.

For line 26/28 cf. i - i z z i - g a = (a-gu-ú) *te-bu-u*, i - i z g á - g á = (a-gu-ú) *šá-ka-nu* Izi V 86-87.

29-32. *Cooling of the cooked mash*. Since it is desirable to keep rather low temperatures during the decoction of the mash, once the mash had reached the right point, it was taken out of the oven and spread on reed mats to cool off. As a sample of the elliptical style of our poet, it should be noted that the decoction itself of the mash is merely implied. The oven where this operation was carried out was called u d u n - t i t a b Hh X 360; cf. also the passage from the Laḥar-Ašnan Contest quoted on p. 76. The reed mat on which the mash was cooled is well known ^{gi}k i d - t i t a b = *ki-tú ti-ta-pu* Hh VIII 338. It must be assumed here that maḥ in the present case is merely an adjective (compare ^{gis}m a r - m a ḥ. [13/15], u d u n - m a ḥ. [17/19], and l a ḥ t a n - m a ḥ. [42/44]), in other words we do not deal with the special type of reed mat ^{gi}KID.MAḤ (= m u r u x) discussed by Goetze, JCS 2 176 ff. (cf. also MSL 7 25). The Ur III text TCL 5 6036 xiii 30-35 gives detailed information about the materials used in the manufacture of a reed mat for the t i t a b:

3 ^{gi}k i d - t i t a b (LÙ.MUNU₃)-ba esir₂ su-ba
 ki-lá-bi 1/2 sar
 gi-bi 18 sa
 peš-bi 1 1/2 murgu
 esir₂-bi 29 sila
 á-bi u₄-4

The size of one mat was therefore about 54 sq. feet. In the Contest between the Reed and the Tree 89-90, the miserable end of the reed implements is thus described:

^{gi}m u r u x (KID.MAḤ) n a m - s u m u n - b a k a - g i r₄-ra [...]

^{gi}k i d - t i t a b l ú š u - g u r - r a š e - i r - t a b - b a [...]

“The large reed mats, when they get old, [are thrown] to the mouth of the kiln,

The reed mats for the mash, which one used to roll up (carefully), [are now used for] fences.”

The reading b a r a₃ (g) for DAG with the meaning “to spread” is proved by a number of lexical entries and literary passages:

a. ^{pa-ár}DAG = *še-ṭu-ú*, followed by p a r - d u g₄-g a = *šu-par-ru-ru*, Erimḫus V 160-61. Reading ba-ra in MSL 2 138 Text f 6: [b a]-ra DAG = *šu-pa-ru-ru-um* (thus, not *-rum*), same equation in S^b II 235. Cf. finally, Izi Bogh. A 298ff.: DAG = *ša-ta-du* (probably an error for *šatū*), = *me-iš-tu-u*, = *me-el-tu-u*.

b. CT 15 18:38: ^{túg}e m - b a r a₃-g a - n a u r b a - e - n á, with unpublished phonetic duplicate CBS 145: 5': è m - b a - r a - g a - n a u r₄ b é - n u; Keš Hymn 50: é a n - š è u t u - g i n_x è - a k i - š è i d₄-g i n_x b a r a₃-g a, with var. - b a - r a - g a. See, for more references, Falkenstein, *AnOr* 28 24.

The Akkadian term is *šeṭū*, used in a literary image frequent in the Assyrian royal inscriptions: [k]ī buqli erre šaṭṭū šalamtu “the corpses are spread out like parched malt” Bauer, *Asb.* 77 d 8; also Borger, *Esarh.* 56:70, and TCL 3: 134, 226. We must mention also the Akkadian proverb (Lambert, *BWL* 246: 23-24, and 250): bu-uq-li na-’-pi meš-ṭú-ú ul uḥ-ḥur-šú “for cooked greenmalt, spreading cannot be delayed.”

Line 30/32 is extremely difficult. It is evident that it alludes, in one way or another, to the cooling of the mash, but the translation of AN is better left undecided for the moment. It is unlikely that it represents a

verbal prefix. Although a *n* - is well attested (see *RA* 54 56³), the parallelism with other lines, all of which have prefixless forms, excludes this interpretation. It is possible to take AN as *din gir* and translate: “the coolness (of the mash) captivates the gods,” but such a translation is not supported by any parallel passage and sounds like too daring an image for the simple Sumerian poetry. The word *an* can designate also the upper part of the stalks with the heads of grain (*antum ša še'im*) or without them (*hāmū*, etc.), but such a meaning is out of place in this context.

33-40. *Preparation of the wort*. In the assumption that the brewing operations are described in an approximately successive order, it seems natural to take ^{kaš}*dida* as a still unfermented product, in all probability the (sweet)wort. This translation is not completely free of objections, but it apparently agrees well with what we know about *dida*. The “mixture” implied by the Akkadian translation *billatu* (PDiri 425; Diri V 228; S^b I 67a) is clearly explained in line 34/36. The addition of sweeteners is well known in the history of brewing. The addition of honey, for instance, to the barley beer is mentioned by Pytheas in Strabo IV 201. Substances rich in sugar, added before fermentation, increase the alcoholic content of the final product. The usual translation of *dida* and *billatu* as “second-quality beer, inferior beer” is based solely on the logogram *ÚS.SA*. It must be noted, furthermore, that *billatu*, in later times, is very often qualified as *damiqtu*, an ill-fitting qualification for an inferior type of beer. The *dida* was drunk as such, unfermented, on some occasions: *dida-nag lál-zú-lum-ma-dùg-da šár-ra ... igi-giš banšur-ra-ka si ba-ni-in-sá-sá-e-eš* “they duly presented in front of the table ... *dida* mixed with good date honey” Lugalbanda and Hurrum 94ff.

The meaning of *šu-ta-b-ba* is uncertain. Of the lexical references available,¹⁶ none seems to fit the context. It is quite possible, and perhaps preferable, to translate simply “with both hands.” For the use of the hands in brewing, see the remarks of B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, *Belleten* 14 245 C end.

Sumerian *sur* (transitive) means simply “to perform an action from which a liquid product results,” without indicating concretely the action by means of which the liquid is obtained. Compare: *ga—sur* “to milk” Nies, *UDT* 59: 85; Deimel, *Fara* 2 26 x 5; *i—sur* “to make oil,” *geštin—sur* “to press grapes,” *a—sur* “to urinate” (*dug-a-sur-ra = karpāt šīnāti* H_h X 339; cf. also *giš—sur* Gordon, *SP* 2.59). *kaš-sur* represents the last and essential stage of fermentation and filtering, and stands, by synecdoche, for the whole of the beer-making process: *káš-bi é-gal-la e-sur DP* 169 iv 4; *káš-bi é-munus-ka ba-sur DP* 170 ii 6 ff. For the Akkadian equivalent *mazû*, see Landsberger and Balkan, *loc. cit.*

Lines 37-40 are too poorly preserved to identify the action described; they presumably deal with putting the *dida* into the vat in order to start the fermentation. If a reading *hun-gá* is admissible (the traces in the copy are unreliable), it could refer to letting the mixture stand for a few days in the vat to complete the fermentation.

16.	1. (ta-ab)TAB	=	šá ŠU.TAB ‘x’ []
		=	šá ŠU.TAB.LÁ <i>ha-nu-’x’</i> -[y]
		=	šá ŠU.TAB <i>ub-bu-r</i> [u?]
	2. <i>šu-ta-b-ba</i>	=	<i>e-se-pu</i> Erimhuš IV 157
	3. <i>šu-ta-b</i>	=	(<i>ke-pu-u</i>) šá GİR Nabnitu XXII 125
	4. <i>šu-ta-b</i>	=	<i>um-ša-tu</i> K. 207 i 27 (List of diseases)

41-44. *Filtering of the beer.* The ^{du}g n í g - d ú r - b ù r (reading from gloss in Hh X 123) is a special type of fermenting vat with a draining hole at the bottom, as recognized already by Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 246⁵⁸. Examples of large vessels with a hole at the bottom are D.556. 540a (Delougaz, *OIP* 63 Pl. 195) and D.555.510b (*ibid.*, Pl. 194), types attested at least until the Agade period. The n í g - d ú r - b ù r is rarely attested in the texts, presumably because it could be included under a more generic designation such as g a k k u l (both translated in Akkadian by *namzītu*). Cf. ^{du}g d ú r - b ù r CBS 7269: 14 (unpubl. Presargonic lexical list of clay objects), and, perhaps, ^{du}g d ú r . PÚ, listed among other brewing vessels, in *RTC* 307 viii 7' and *ITT* 2/2 892 viii 3'. Like other vats, the n í g - d ú r - b ù r needed a stand as shown by a ritual from later times *KAR* 184 obv. 7ff.¹⁷ where three sticks (*sil-ti*) of cedarwood are used to support an unfired NÍG.DÚR.BÙR vat. The beer vats are always represented on such stands (for instance *UE* 2 pl. 194, 33, and passim in the representations of drinking scenes).

The “pleasant sound” (g ù - n u n — d i) refers to the dripping of the beer being filtered through the hole at the bottom, and falling into the collector vat, the l a ḥ t a n.

The inscribed LA of NUNUZ+ÁB×LA, i.e., l a ḥ t a n (*MSL* 2 93 C 6; S^b II 298; Diri V 245), is clearly seen in text C. The reading l a ḥ t a n is, furthermore, confirmed by the phonetic complement - n a in line 45/47, so that no confusion with the m ù d (=NUNUZ+ÁB×BI) vat, or with related signs such as NUNUZ+ÁB×TITAB (*ŠL* 394 c'), is possible. l a ḥ t a n (Frank, *SKT* 38 r. 2 [after *namzītu*]; *YOS* 2 152:40, 43, 44; *KAR* 376 r. 26) is explained in Hg to Hh X (*MSL* 7 109: 65) as *namḥaru* (cf. the etymology of receptacle, recipient) and, as clearly shown by our passage, is the collector vat, where the beer drops after filtration.

45-48. *Pouring of the beer.* The adjective s i - i m can be translated by “fragrant,” cf. i r - s i - i m and s i - i m — a k (*Iraq* 23 168 f.), but in the present context it is better taken as a syllabic writing for s i m “to sift” and, when said of liquids, “to filter”: s i - i m = *ša-ḥa-lum* OBGT XV 12; but usually written NAM, with gloss s i - i m (Ant III 225-26; Nabnitu I 94), Akk. *napû*, *šahālu*. For line 46/48, cf. s a g - s i = *na-āš-pa-an-tu* “flood” Kagal B 235.

49. The g a k k u l (also in lines 59-60) is a fermenting vat, attested with both g i and d u g as determinatives:

1) ^{du}g a k k u l = *kakkullum*, *namzītum* Diri V 259-60; Hh X 211-12; S^b II 165-66; A VIII/2 132-33.

2) ^{gi}g a k k u l Fh VIII-IX 107-09 (see *MSL* 7 48 for the main text), Akk. equivalents not preserved, but presumably the same as above. Special types: ^{gi}g a k k u l - a - b - a (var. - a - a b - b a) and ^{gi}g a k k u l - k a š (var. - DİŠ-k a š) Fh *loc. cit.* (also ^{gi}g a k k u l = *kakkullu*, *nazītu* Hh VII A 108-09).

3) g a k k u l = *īnu ša* KAŠ, k a š g a k k u l - a - a b d ù = *šikara īna nadī* (where g a k k u l - a - a b represents the same item listed in Fh VIII-IX 108) Nabnitu I 185-86. This lexical passage will be discussed later.

g a k k u l is written either as U+DIM, U+DIM×ŠE, or U+DIM-*gunû*, without any difference in meaning. All the texts of the Ninkasi hymn write U+DIM.¹⁸

17. = Ebeling *TuL* no. 21 (as corrected by von Soden, *ZA* 43 273).

18. In Presargonic and, occasionally, in Ur III texts, it is written also DIM×ŠE, without the preceding U, to be read g a k k u l_x: Nikolski I 264 ii 2; *DP* 507 ii 7 (DIM×ŠE- l a, note the phonetic indicator!), followed in both cases by l a m - r e; ^{gi}g a k k u l_x (DIM×ŠE)- a b - b a *UET* 3 862.

The *gakkul*-vat was normally of clay, exceptionally of metal: *gír-né gakkul-zabar-ra*¹⁹ *im-ma-a-n-šú-šú* (*SEM* 98 ii 18' and dupl.), see also Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 247⁶³. As for the *gakkul* listed among the reed objects, it was either made of wickerwork coated with bitumen (Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 28f.) like the *bugin* "trough," or an earthen container protected, like a demijohn, by a reed wrapping (Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 156), permanently, or at least for transportation. Compare, perhaps, the seal impression *UE* 2, pl. 194, 23.

From *KAR* 94:26 f. (quoted in *CAD* 6 225 sub *huhāru*) we learn that the *gakkul* was a rather paunchy vessel with a narrow opening. It had an opening called the "eye," as shown by our line 59. Since the term for a normal top opening in a pot is "mouth" (*ka*), cf. *KAR* 94, *loc. cit.*, we might assume that the *gakkul*-vat had also a draining hole at the bottom like the *dugnig-dúr-bùr* (see discussion above), although the possibility that the normal opening on top was called in this particular case "eye" to stress its reduced size, cannot be dismissed. The presence of an "eye" in the *gakkul* explains the equations of Nabnitu given above. The first one plays on the double meaning of *īnu* "eye/source" and describes the fermenting vat as the "source" from which the beer flows. The second equation means simply "beer dropped through the 'eye' (of the vat)."²⁰ It must be noted that both entries are in favor of the presence of a second opening at the bottom of the vat.

The *gakkul* is listed with the *duglam-sá-re*, as one of the two basic tools of Ninkasi in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 17: [*dugak*] *kul-a-ni* (var. adds -*ta*) *na⁴za-gìn-dur₅-ru* (var. om. -*ru*): *nam-zi-is-sa uq-nu-u eb-bi*. The other references (*CT* 4, 8a, 8, 21, 22; *CT* 17, 35:78-79; *SBH* no. 4:64-65) all stress the fact that this type of vat was kept carefully closed, and has become thus a literary image of mystery and secrecy.

The same word *gakkul* designates also a part of the human eye, the eyeball in all probability: *gakkul-igi-mu = ka-ku-u[l-ti i-ni-ia]* Ugu 66 and B 2.²¹ The pupil is thus compared to the opening of the vat, and the flowing of tears from the eye was also a factor in the choice of this term. The texts mentioning the *šer'ān īni*, corroborate also the meaning "eyeball," the translation "variculae of the conjunctiva" (Oppenheim, *Or* 31 28) is preferable to "artéριοles de l'iris" (Labat, *TDP* 53: 14), the first being much more apparent and apt to strike the observer.

Finally, in *UM* 29-16-85: 24-26

giškirix-mu hi-iz^{SAR}-ām a im-mi-dug₄
hi-iz^{SAR} gakkul-ām-ma_x (KA×SAR) im-mi-dug₄
hi-iz^{SAR}-bi ù-mu-un-e hē-kú-e

"In my garden, I watered the lettuce,
 Of the lettuce, I crushed the *gakkul*.
 Let the lord eat that lettuce!"

19. Var., from *UM* 29-13-7, adds determinative: *gi⁸gakkul-zabar-ra*.

20. These equations are quoted in *CAD* 7 151 *īnu* 2d. The entries from Nabnitu I 181-84 quoted there obviously mean "spring," not "bubble," and they belong to the following section 2e.

21. Cf. *GEŠTIN.UD.A kak-kul-ti iGI^{II}-šú PBS* 10/4 12 iii 1. More references in *AHW* 423.

Cf. the parallel:

síg-mu ḥi-iz^{SAR}-àm im-[ma-an-dug₄]

ḥi-iz-gakkul^{SAR}-àm im-[ma-an-dug₄]

(Kramer, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 107 [1963] 508. no. 8:1-2),

and suḥur gakkul *PBS* 12 52 iii 5, 7.

The choicest part of the lettuce is obviously meant, and in spite of the existence of a term “heart of the lettuce” (libiṣ-ḥi-iz^{SAR}, see *CAD* 7 325 *janzu*), we must admit a parallel, perhaps merely poetic, term “eye of the lettuce.” An interpretation of the passage above as a proof that lettuce was crushed and fermented in a vat, in a process similar to the preparation of sauerkraut, is not supported by the grammar.

The ^{dug}la m-sá-re is also a brewing vat which seems to play, in relation to the gakkul vat, the same role that the laḥtan has in relation to the ní g-dúr-bùr (cf. above commentary to lines 41-44). It is mentioned already in the oldest texts, but disappears, except for the lexical lists, in the early OB period, except for a doubtful reference in Frank *SKT* 38 r. 3.²² The exact form of the word is difficult to establish because of variations in writing:

la m-re Deimel, *Fara* 2 43 ix 15, without determinative but with other brewing vessels: dug-titab, dug-ninda-munu₃ (*ibid.* 11, 12); Nikolski I 264 ii 3, also without determinative but again among brewing vessels; *RTC* 307 viii 6'; *ITT* 2/1 892 viii 2'; *ITT* 5 6862 i' 11', ii' 7', etc. All the latter references have the determinative dug, except

^{gis}la m-re: *DP* 507 ii 8; 490 iv 3 (^{gis}la m-re-káš); *VAT* 4632 iii 3 (*Or* 12 198).

^{dug}la m-sá-(r), with -ra in our hymn line 55, or with -re, our lines 50 and 52, and *SRT* 1v 1 (and dupl.):

^{dug}šà-gub ^{dug}la m-sá-re du-bu-ul-da-ba-al mu-un-da-ab-za.

^{dug}la m-si-sá Erimḥuš VI 26, Akk. *lamsisû*; to be restored also in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 18.

^{dug}(e)lla g_x (BIR)-si-sá Ḥḫ X 28 and the corresponding Ḥg 69.²³

It is certainly a foreign word, like practically all the technical terms of the Mesopotamian brewer. The only way to account for all the different writings is to assume an original *lamsre or *lams(a)re, the central consonantal cluster not being expressed in the older writings, and also a change r > s, certainly old because it is found already in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar.

53. The var. of C shows that the reading of SIG₇ as a name of a clay pot is to be read u g u r₍₂₎. This reading is already known from Ea I 271: pap-u-gur (var. pa-ap-ú-kur) PAP.SIG₇ = šá *PAP (text AN). SIG₇ ú-ga-ru. The u g u r-bal pot is listed in Ḥḫ X 248 (with Ḥg 73), preceded by SIG₇-gíd and SIG₇-igí, but is not mentioned elsewhere, unless ^{dug}gàr-bal in Nikolski I 264 ii 1 represents the same word, which is very probable.

54. ^{dug}šà-gub = šU-bu, preceding ^{dug}e lla g_x-si-sá, in Ḥḫ X 27; in *RTC* 307 viii 5' and *ITT* 2/2 892 viii 1' it precedes also ^{dug}la m-re. The only literary reference is *SRT* 1v 1, quoted above.

55. The a m-a m is also a typical container of the tavern keeper. In the other occurrences, all lexical, the word is written ^{dug}a m-ma-am, Akk. *ammammu* Ḥḫ X 218 and Ḥg 67, where it is explained by *namḥar ša sâbî*; Erimḥuš VI 22; also made of reeds: ^{gi}a m-ma-am FḤ VIII-IX 105, and ^{na4}a m-ma-

22. Text: ^{dug}la m-i r-u š'. Frank's copy is basically correct and confirmed by a recent collation by E. Laroche.

23. The final consonant of la m is a normal m in PEa 917; the only indication of a final ḡ for LAM is the value lu-u g in Diri II Bogh. 222a.

a m - z a - g ì n = ŠU-[nu] Hh XVI 78 shows that it also could be made of stone. The form of the receptable is unknown and, to judge from our line, it was used to carry the beer taken from the l a m - s á - r e vat.

56. The ^{gi}b u n i n (LAGAB×A, according to text C, but A.LAGAB×A¹ in line 69, according to text A) is a reed container coated with bitumen, used for liquids as well as solids (see for the b u n i n where the dough was kneaded the references quoted in the commentary to lines 13-20). The lexical references are collected and discussed by B. Landsberger in *MSL* 7 46.²⁴ The ^{gi}b u n i n for beer is mentioned in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 21-22:

SILA.ŠU.DU₈ ka š di-di-da-ni gin-na nu-kúš-ù
^dnin-ka-si ^{gi}bunin zag-ga-[ni-šè im-mi-in-lá]
 “The cupbearer who does not get tired distributing her beer,
 Ninkasi, carries the b u n i n at her side.”

And in Dialogue 5: 85:

é-kaš-gál-la ^{gi}bunin-bi-im²⁵
 [bi-it ši-ka-ru] i-ba-aš-šu-ú ku¹-ni-na¹ (text ‘tu’)-ša
 “Of the house where there is beer, you are its b u n i n.”

Cf. also ^{gi}b u n i n - NUNUZ+ÁB×TITAB DP 75 vii 2; VAT 4632 iv 4 ff. (*Or* 12 199).

The ^ub ú r is a plant product used as binding or matting in the manufacture of reed objects. Since the evidence for this word is somewhat confusing, the references will be given in some detail:

1. Ur III economic texts.

a. b ú r (without ú): RTC 307 vi 15’: 3 g ú 15 2/3 m a - n a b ú r (after e s i r₂, n a g a, i m - b a b b a r, and before KA×SA, p e š -SIG₄, etc.); ITT 2/2 892 vi 14’ (parallel text); Reisner, *Telloh* 113 v. 9’: 3 g ú 40 m a - n a b ú r (follow KA×SA and pieces of wood).

b. ^ub ú r: TCL 5 6036 xvii 3: š u - n i g i n 16 m a - n a ^ub ú r (cf. already iii 34); this total is specified in col. ix 17, 22, and 11. The ^ub ú r is used there in the manufacture of sieves (^{gi}m a - a n - s i m); UET 3 1265 ii 7’-8’ (cf. already 2’-4’) 5 g ú 35 m a - n a ^uSAL+KU, 2 g ú 36 2/3 m a - n a ^ub ú r (among materials for the basket weavers). In this context ^uSAL+KU, i.e., n i n₉, stands for ^un i n n i₅(TIR.TIR), as will become clear from the passages 2 a-b, below.

2. Lexical texts.

a. FH VIII-IX 56: ^{gi}p i s a n - ^ub ú r¹ (collated), followed by ^{gi}p i s a n - ^un i n n i₅.

b. In the main text of Hh we find ^uGÍR in the places where ^ub ú r is expected: 1’. Hh IX B b 6-7:

^{gi}p i s a n - *Ú. *GÍR = š á u m - š a - [t u m] (see note, *MSL* 7 41)
^{gi}p i s a n - ^un i n n i₅ = š á á š - [l u]

24. The distinction between LAGAB×A and LAGAB×GAR seems to be late and perhaps artificial; the older texts have always LAGAB×A.

25. Var.: B: ^{gi}LAGAB×A - b i - m e - e n; NOPR ^{gi}A.LAGAB×A - b i - i m; Q: b u¹ - n i n¹ - b i - i m.

2'. Hh IX 128-29:

^{gi}ma-sá-ab-ú^{ú-kur}GÍR = šá *um-ša-tum*
^{gi}ma-sá-ab-úⁿⁱ⁻ⁱⁿi₅ = šá *áš-lu*

The gloss ú-kur is due to an already confused tradition, and is not a sufficient reason to introduce a reading kur for either GÍR or BÚR. The constant mention of *umšatu* and *ášlu* together justifies the assumption, above 1 b, that ni₉ stands in the text from Ur for ni₅ (note the gloss ni-in).

3'. Hh X 172-72a:

^{dug}kír-ú^úGÍR = šá *um-ša-tú*
 = *nam-šar-tu* (cf. also Hg to X 76)

In the numerous texts available for this passage the sign GÍR is clearly written. This type of *kirru* jar was protected (cf. *namšartu*) by wickerwork.

c. A VIII/2: 199: bu-úr BÚR = *um-ša-tu*. This passage is so far the only witness for an expected, but as yet unattested, equation ^ubúr = *umšatu*. The XVII tablet of Hh has preserved only ^uGUG₄ = *um-ša-tum* (line 6).

For *umšatu* see Thompson, *DAB* 9. The proposed identification with gen. *Rumex* (Sorrel), although etymologically suggestive, is in disagreement with the use of the plant in basketry.

The exact function of the ^ubúr as a material for the bunin cannot be determined. The expression reappears again in line 69.

The ^{gi}ba-an-du₈ is, like the bunin, a reed container to carry liquids, as shown by the Akk. translations *naḥbû* and *madlû* in Hh X 223ff. The writing with -du instead of -du₈ in text C is in agreement with FH VIII-IX 96 ff.

At this point it is worth noting, because of its technological interest, the fact that most of the receptacles used in brewing and serving beer could be made of bitumen-coated basketwork or of wood (cf. ^{gi}lām-re), instead of clay.

57. The texts differ in the second complex of this line: dag-dug-e in C can be explained as “on the pot stands.” Although a meaning **šubat karpātī* is not expressly attested for that expression, note dag = *šubtu* MSL 2 138 f. 4; Erimḥuš II 322; etc. The other texts have a giš which can be interpreted as “the drink (and all) the implements.” For a possible a-nigi₂ in A, see line 71. For sa-gi₄-a see OBGT XV r. 3-4, and CAD 4 307 *ersû*.

59. For the “eye” of the gakkul-vat, see commentary to line 49.

61. “To feel wonderful” is an approximate translation of gur₄, lit. “to be, to feel big.” This word (*kabru*, *rabû*, *kabtu* A I/2:2 ff.; Ea I 23 ff.) not only refers to mere physical size (“big, thick”), but also to social rank and prestige (“honored, important”),²⁶ and especially to the consciousness of one’s own superiority (“feeling of importance, pride”): ^dašnan-e nam-gur₄-ra-na šà im-mi-in-dab “Ašnan felt hurt in her pride” Laḥar-Ašnan Contest 168; en-te-en á-điri ní na-an-ab-gur₄-re-en “Winter, do not feel so proud about (your) superior strength!” Winter and Summer Contest 265; điri-šè ní-zu na-ab-gur₄-re-en “do not feel excessively proud about yourself!” Dialogue 2:34. Note the presence of both šà and ní in our passage, stressing the subjective meaning.

26. Cf. in-nin šà-gur₄-ra CBS 13982: 1, phon. in-nin šà-ku-ra, Akk. *ir-ni-na ra-bi-tam¹ li-ib-bi* (phon. and Akk. from Van Dijk, *Sumer* 13 pl. 1:1-2).

64-65. These two lines suggest that the occasion for the drinking party described in the poem could well have been the start of the construction of a building. For *si-g₄-na-m-tar-ra* see Gud. Cyl. A i 15; v 7; *CT* 36 26:12; *SLTN* 102:3.

68. “Liquor” must be taken here in the general meaning of alcoholic beverage; a closer rendering has not been attempted because of the uncertainty of the composition of the *gu-ru*_x (DIN).²⁷ It is certainly not wine, as suggested by Poebel, *ZA* 39, 146ff., because *kurunnu* and *karānu* are listed side by side as two different things: *KAR* 10 r. 20; *BA* 3 339 ff. ii 8; Thompson, *Esarh.* 12 vi 37, 52; etc. It is listed, furthermore, in the beer section of *Hh* XXIII ii 4 ff. In some cases, at least, it was made from sesame: *ku-ru-un-še-gi-š-i* = *ku-ru-un-nu* *Hh* XXIV 89.²⁸

70. Reading *sa-gi* for *SILA.SU.DU₈* according to Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 191⁵⁹. For (lú). *šIM* the reading *lunga* has been arbitrarily chosen from the manifold variants of this foreign word: *lu-um-gi*, *lu-un-ga*, *nu-un-gi*, *ni-in-gi*-(in): references in *MSL* 3 101 ad 67c, 103 ad 76 (with addition to this line in *MSL* 4 205 ff.). The final -n in Gadd, *Second Lamentation for Ur* 62:11 *é-lunga-na káš nu-un-gál munu₃ nu-un-gál*; but vocalic ending in *RTC* 56 vii 6 *lú-BI×GAR-ke₄-ne*.

71. The reading *a-nigin₂* is somewhat uncertain. We assume here that it is *a-nigin₂* = *amirānu* “pool,” cf. *ku₆ a-nigin₂-na lu-ga-gin_x* “like fish living in a pool” Sumer and Akkad Lament 401. In the present context it designates, in a poetic exaggeration, the large amount of beer available for drinking.

72. For *gu-ru₄* see comments to lines 61-62.

73. The expression *me-e si-ga* is not paralleled elsewhere, but the *me* is evidently the same as in *me-gar*, *me-gá-gá* = *qālu* Nabnitu A 169 ff. Izi E 36, as well as in *níg-me-gar* = *rīšātu* GrVoc III C 10, = *qālu* Nabnitu A 173, and in *mu₅* (*šIM*)²⁹-*me-gar* = *rīšātu* Erimḫus IV 137; cf. Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 20 (*CT* 15 41): *kaš al-tuš-a-ni mu₅-me-gar ina ši-kar uš-ša-bu r[i-šá-a-ti]*, in parallelism with *níg-kiri₃-zal ta-ši-l[a-ti]* (ibid.19). The parallelism with *ul-ti-a* in our line 74, on the one hand, and the meaning *qālu* as well as the frequent association of *níg-me-gar* with *u₆-di* (Falkenstein, *SGL* 175), on the other, suggest a mixture of joy and silent admiration.

74. For *ul-ti-a* see *CAD* 6 8, *ḥabāšu* A.

77. The -ra- after *mu₄* is difficult to explain. The verb *túg-r* and the possibility of -r- being a mere element to eliminate the hiatus will be discussed in the writer’s forthcoming book, *Sumerian Literary Contests*.³⁰

27. Reading *gu-ru_x* from PEa 200, elsewhere *ku-ru₂*. The imprecision of the meaning of *gu-ru_x* is apparent in the lexical passages:

DIN = *ka-ra-nu*

ši-ka-ru

ku-ru-nu

MAH 15850+ ix 52’ (Forerunner to á:A); same equations in Diri V 233 ff.; PDiri 426 f. (without *karānu*); and A V/1: 129ff.

28. Thompson, *Gilg.* XI 72 (Pl. 46) *si-ri-[šu KU.RU.]JUN.NU.Ì.GIŠ u^{giš}karānu* “beer, sesame wine, and (grape) wine.”

29. Reading *mu₅* from A V/1: 183 ff.: *mu-u₅ d šIM = ri-šá-a-tum, e-bi-rum, qu-ú-lu* (following the same equations with the reading *a-si-l-l* for *šIM*); value *mu₅* also in Rec. Ea F10’; cf. *mud-me-mar-ra* *CT* 42 15:25 f.

30. The root of *mu₄* = *labāšu* is **m u r*. Cf., e.g., a) *mu₄-mu₄-ra-zu-dè* = *lab-šá-ku-ú SBH* no. 43:24; cf. also *ibid.*, no. 69:14-15; b) *bar-mu...um-ma-da-an-mu₄-re* Laḥar-Ašnan 111; c) *túg-ma-ru-um àm-mu₄-re-e š Türk. Arkeoloji Dergisi* 8/2 pl ii 5’.

78-79. “Queen of heaven” translates *ga-ša-an-na* which is nothing but the Emesal form of ^d*inanna*. The fact that the two lines differ only in dialect shows that they must be attributed to different speakers: line 78 presumably to the speakers of section 58 ff. and line 79 to the female speaker of section 70 ff. The expression *ša ki-bi gi₄*, lit. “to restore the heart,” meaning “to be (again) in the usual good mood and disposition,” is often found in the conclusions of letters: *dingir-mu lú-kúr-zu nu-me-en ša-zu ki-bi ha-ma-ab¹-gi₄-gi₄* *TMH NF 3 56:10* (and dupl.);³¹ *ša-d^dšulgi-lugal-gá ki-bi ha-ma-gi₄-gi₄* Letter Collection B 1 end; and it is a standard expression at the end of the *ér-ša-hun-gá* prayers; see, for instance, *CT 44 14:31'*: *ša-dingir-mu ki-bi ha-ma-gi₄-gi₄*.

31. Page 20 of the Introduction to *TMH NF 3* to be corrected accordingly. Var. om. - a b - in the verbal form.

II.5

The “Message of Lú-dingir-ra to his Mother” and a Group of Akkado-Hittite “Proverbs”*

The fragment Bo 4209 + 4710 (KUB IV 97),¹ which has been presented by its translators² as part of a collection of proverbs, now turns out to be Sumerian literary composition. This text (*inc.* lú - k a š₄ - e - l u g a l - l a ḥ a r - r a - a n - n a g i n - n a), which can be entitled: “Message of Lú-dingir-ra to his Mother,” purports to be an address of Lú-dingir-ra³ to a royal courier asking him to go to Nippur and bring to Lú-dingir-ra’s mother, Šāt-Ištar, a letter of greetings. “If you do not know my mother,” Lú-dingir-ra says to the courier, “I shall give you some signs” by which to recognize her. Five such “signs” consisting of poetic descriptions of the charms and beauty of the mother are given. The Boğazköy fragment preserves the Akkadian translation, and a few signs of the Hittite version, of most of the third sign (lines 34-40). As for the Sumerian text, it is completely preserved, although a lack of uniformity in the manuscript tradition and the uncertain reading of some poorly preserved signs, sometimes makes the translation difficult. The pertinent pieces are:

- A = AO 6330 (*TRS* 39, with collations by S. N. Kramer [unpublished] and J. J. Van Dijk [TCLB II pl. xi])
- B = LB 2112 (*TCLB* II 5)
- C = BM 17117 (*CT* 42, 46), collated from photo.
- D = CBS 1554 (see copy)⁴

* The present article was originally published in *JNES* 23 (1964) pp. 1-11.

1. Copied again in *BWL* pl. 72; Bo 4209 alone in *KUV* IV 9.

2. 2 E. Ebeling, *MAOG* IV 22-25 and W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 279; see also for lines 7-8: B. Meissner, *MAOG* I² 39-40 and B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8, 257 nt. 48; and finally E. I. Gordon, *BiOr* 17, 138.

3. See E. I. Gordon, *BiOr* 17, 140 nt. 144 for a possible identification of Lú-dingir-ra.

4. 4 From the so-called Khabaza II collection; interestingly enough BM 17117 (= text C), bought from a dealer in 1892, *might* join CBS 1554 (E. Sollberger’s communication). For another inter-museum join in the Khabaza collections see *VS* II p. x *ad* 12; cf. also *BE* VI¹ 5.

The grammar and orthography point to a rather late date for the composition of this little poem; the colophon of A gives the reign of Samsu-iluna as a limit *ante quem*.

Transliteration

- 1 lú-kaš₄-e-lugal-la ḥar-ra-an-na gin-na
- 2 nibru^{ki}-šè¹ sag-ga²-gin_x inim-bi dug₄-ga-ab
- 3 kaskal-sù-da-e¹ gin-na
- 4 ama-mu ù DU-da¹ ù ku-ku-ba²
- 5 ama₅-a-ni¹ ka-gìr al-gì-ba-ab
- 6 lù-DU-kaskal-e¹ silim-ma-mu èn² nu-tar-tar-re
- 7 ù-na-a-dug₄-silim-ma¹ šu-ni-šè² gar-i³
- 8 ama-mu ḥùl-ḥùl-la-àm¹ še-ir-ka-an mi-ri-in-dug₄-ga
- 9 tukun-bi¹ ama-mu nu-e²-zu gizkim ga-mu-ra-ab-sum
- 10 mu-bi ša-at¹-ištār inim²-bi-ta te-e-mu
- 11 alan múš-a me-dím bar šu-ta gar-ra¹
- 12 dingir-šag₅¹-ga-dag-gi₄-a-ka-ni²
- 13 u₄-tur-ra-ni-ta¹ nam-ma²-ni tar-re³
- 14 gír-ni-te-àm¹ é-ušbar-ra-ni² sî-sá mu-un-ak³
- 15 dingir-nin-a-ni-šè du₉-na-šè¹ gub-ba
- 16 ki-^dinanna-ke₄¹ kin-kin mu-un-zu²
- 17 inim-lugal-la-ke₄¹ inim-bi li-bi-gu-ul-e²
- 18 šu-dim₄-ma-àm¹ níg-bi² mu-un-šár-šár
- 19 ki-ág mi-dug₄-ga zi-šà-gál-la-àm
- 20 sila₄ i-dùg-ga¹ lál i-nun zal-le²-šà-ga-ke₄
- 21 gizkim-ama-mu-2-kam-ma ga-mu¹-ra-ab-sum
- 22 ama-mu sù-du¹-ág-gin_x an-úr-ra₂ lu-lim-ḥur-sag-gá
- 23 mul-á-gú-zi-ga¹ u₄-sa₉-dagal-la-ke₄²
- 24 ^{na4}gug-kal-la ^{na4}du₈-ši-a-mar-ḥa-ši^{ki1}
- 25 gil-sa šeš-lugal ḥi-li du₈-du₈-a¹
- 26 ^{na4}kišib-nír-a ^dutu-gin_x hé-du₇-a¹
- 27 ḥar¹-an-na šu-gur-an-ta²-sur-ra
- 28 guškin kù-babbar zalag-ga¹
- 29 [níg]-zi-gál¹ níg-zi-pa-an^{ág2}-pa-an^{ág2}
- 30 ^dlama ^{na4}giš-nu_x(SIR)-gal ki-gal¹ ^{na4}za-gìn-na² gub-ba-àm³
- 31 dīm-ma-ti¹-la ḥi-li šu-gìr gùr-ru-a²
- 32 gizkim-ama-mu-3-kam-ma ga-mu¹-ra-ab-sum
- 33 ama-mu IM-šèg-an-na¹ a-numun-sag-gá-ke₄
- 34 buru_x(EN×GÁN-*tenû*) hé¹-nun še-gu-nu mú-a²
- [] x x []-tum []
- 35 ^{giš}kiri_x(SAR) la-la¹ i-si-iš lá-lá-e²

- [*ki-ra*]-a *la-a-li- e* [*š*]a! a-[*x x*] a *ša ši ma*-[*lu-ú*]
-
- 36 ^{giš}ù-suh₅ a-dé-a ^{giš}še-ù-suh₅¹ šu tag-ga²
^{giš}U.TÚG *še-eq-qá-tum ša te-ri-in-na-ta zu*-[*u-na-at*]
-
- 37 gurun-zag-mu-a¹ nì-tu-ḥu-um² nisag-gá³
in-bu pa-an ša-at-ti mu-ut-ḥu-mu nì-is-sà-n[*i*]
-
- 38 pa₅-šita₄¹ mú-sar-re a-ḥi-li-a² túm-a
ra-a-tum ša a-na mu-[*u*]š-ša-a-ri me-e ku-uz-bá ub-bá-[*lu*]
-
- 39 zú-lum-dilmun-na ku₇-ku₇ zú-lum sag¹ kin-kin-e²
as-sà-an-nu-ú du-[*uš-šu-pu*] *ša i-na is*?[] *še-ti-e-´ú*
-
- 40 gizkim-ama-mu-4-kam-ma ga-mu¹-ra-ab-sum
it-tum AMA-i[*a*] *ma*[]
-
- 41 ama-mu ezen siskur-re¹ asilal-lá si-a²
 42 ezen¹-á²-ki-tum igi-du₈-bi₈ ḥuš-a
 43 lu-lu-gu¹-na dumu-munus²-lugal-la³ i-lu-ḥé-gál-la-kam⁴
 44 ki-e-ne-di¹ ḥúl-ḥúl-le² gar-ra³
 45 ki-ág šà-ki-ág la-la¹ nu-gi₄-gi₄-da²
 46 KA-DU-a¹ lú-nam²-ra ama-ni-šè gur-ra-àm³
 47 gizkim-ama-mu-5-kam-ma ga-mu¹-ra-ab-sum
 48 ama-mu ^{giš}gišimmar ir-si-im¹ dūg-dūg²-ga
 49 gígir^{sim}li ^{giš}mar-šum-^{giš}taškarin
 50 zikum_x(Zì.UD)[?]-dūg-ga i-gu-la ak-a
 51 ga-ra-an ḥé-me-DU¹ gú me-er-me-er-re-da²
 52 sagan¹-nunuz-ga-nu_x^{mušen} i-sag¹ šà-bi diri³
 53 gizkim a-ra-dug₄-ga-mu igi-dalla-bi gub-za
 54 ^mlú-dingir-ra dumu-ki-ág-zu silim-ma e-ne-ra dug₄-na^{1.2}

Translation

- 1 Royal courier, start on (your) way,
 2 As a *special envoy*, give this message to Nippur,
 3 Start the long journey!
 4 No matter if my mother *is up* or if she is *sleeping*,
 5 Take the straight path to her dwelling.
 6 Messenger, without inspecting my greetings,
 7 Put into her hands the letter of greeting.
 8 My mother is a very cheerful person, she is covered with ornaments.

- 9 If you do not know my mother, I shall give you some signs:
10 The name is Šāt-Ištar, go to (her) with these instructions.
11 (Her) body, face (and) limbs are *smooth*.
12 The gracious goddess of her (city) quarter,
13 Since her childhood, had decreed her fate.
14 She went directly (and) *with reverence* to the house of her father-in-law.
15 She stands humbly before the goddess, her lady,
16 Knows how to look after Inanna's place,
17 Does not disobey the orders of (her) lord,
18 She is energetic (and) makes her affairs prosper.
19 Is loving, gentle (and) lively.
20 (She is) a lamb, good cream (and) sweet butter flow from her.
21 I shall give you a second sign about my mother:
22 My mother is like a bright light on the horizon, a doe in the mountains,
23 A morning star (shining even) at noon.
24 A precious carnelian-stone, a topaz from Marḥaši.
25 A treasure for the brother of the king, full of charm.
26 A seal of n í r-stone, an ornament like a sun,
27 A tin bracelet, a ring of antasurra,
28 Bright gold (and) silver–
29 (But) she is alive, a breathing thing.
30 (She is) an alabaster statuette, placed on a pedestal of lapis-lazuli–
31 A living figurine, (her) members are full of charm.
32 I shall give you a third sign about my mother:
33 My mother is a heavenly rain, water for the best seeds,
34 A bountiful harvest, which grows a second crop:
35 A garden of delight, full of joy,
36 An irrigated fir-tree, covered with fir-cones:
37 An early fruit, the yield of the first month;
38 A canal which brings luxuriant waters to the irrigation ditches
39 A sweet Dilmun date, sought in its *prime*.
40 I shall give you a fourth sign about my mother:
41 My mother fills songs (and) prayers with joy,
42 Her glance is *sparkling* in the Akitum-festival.
43 ..., a princess, a song of abundance.
44 She brings joy to the dancing places,
45 A lover, a loving heart of inexhaustible delight,
46 Food for the *captive*, who returns to his mother.
47 I shall give you a fifth sign about my mother:
48 My mother is a palm-tree, with a very sweet smell.
49 A chariot of pine-wood, a litter of box-wood.
50 A good ... giving perfumed oil.

- 51 A bunch of fruits, *a garland growing luxuriantly*.
52 A phial of ostrich shell, overflowing with perfumed oil.
53 When you stand in her radiant presence, (thanks to) the signs I gave you,
54 Say to her: “your beloved son Lú-dingir-ra greets you!”

1. *gin-na* in the present line, as well as in line 3, can be a participle or an imperative; the parallelism with lines 2 and 5 makes the translation as an imperative preferable.

2. It is assumed that *sag-ga* < *sag-gi₄-a*, and that A must be emended in < *sag-gi₄-a*. The meaning of *sag-gi₄-a* is somewhat difficult to ascertain:

(a) “to close, to block”, attested in such expressions as *sila-sag-gi₄-a* = *pehû*, *la ašû*, “blind alley” (Izi D 21-22), or *e-sír-sag-gi₄-a* = [*sû*] *qu pehû*, “dead end street” (Ant F 165); cf. SD 4.72-73 *gašam ki-ku₁₀-ku₁₀-ga u₄ gá-gá sila-sag-gi₄-a sila ba-gá-gá*, “the wise man is the one who brings light to the dark places, he finds a way in the blind alleys.”

(b) an equation **sag-gi₄* = *hâšû* A, “to rush, to be in a hurry,” is probably to be restored from *sag-ki* = *hâšû* H₁ II 294 and from CT 16,45: 122-24 (both passages probably corrupted).

(c) with *er₁n₂*, *sag-gi₄-a* (also written sometimes *sa-gi₄-a* Proto-Lú 804) means: “workers, or troops, with special instructions or training, or selected for special purposes.”⁵ This seems to be the meaning which better fits our context.

(d) Bird-Fish Disp. 112 has a gloss *šar-ḫi-’iš’ ip-pa-ra!-aš* to *dal-le-bi* (var. *ri-bi*) *sag im-gi₄* in text E (= CT 42, 47, collated by W. G. Lambert); this passage is inconclusive: *šarḫiš* could be based in the variant *ri-bi* (for *rib-bi*) and then we would have the otherwise unattested equation *sag-gi₄* = *prš*, or we have there an inversion between verb and adverb in the translation, i.e. *dal-le-bi* is translated by a verbal form and the root *sag-gi₄* is translated by an adverb and corresponds to the root *šrh*. The other occurrences of *sag-gi₄* in literary texts unfortunately do not help to clarify its meaning: *zag-nam-ti-la sag im-gi₄* HŠ II 180; *ur₅-ra kalag-ga-bi sag im-gi₄ giš^{giš} tukul-e giš la-ba-ab-kin* (or *tuku*?) Le 62.

4. This line, as it stands, seems hopelessly corrupted: the translation follows text B in spite of its difficulties and assumes that *du-da* > *du-du-a*; the *-ba* at the end is difficult to explain, if we read *da b* the opposition *du/ku* is lost. For *ù ... ù* cf. Poebel, *GSG* § 411; Gud st B vii 49ff. and LU 249.

5. The *al* before *gi* probably has to be explained as a prefix element kept exceptionally before the verbal root in an imperative; cf. perhaps forms like *lú-al-√-a* with the value of a simple participle or verbal adjective (OB Lú A 39 ff.).

6. *lú-du-kaskal-e*, “traveler, courier,” apparently a synonym of *kas₄* (note that the oldest form of *KAS₄* is precisely *DU×KASKAL*): *lú-du-kaskal šu tak₄-ma-ab*, “select a messenger for me!” Monkey letter 10; and, speaking of places of rest built along the road (HŠ A 31-34):

ki-bi lú-zu-a ḫé-im-mi-tuš
sig-ta igi-nim-ta gin-e
á-šed₈-bi-šè ní ḫé-ib-ši-te-en-te

5. Cf. also perhaps the difficult *lú-sag-gi₄-a* = *zaqtu* OBLú A 376.

nita-ḥar-ra-an-na du-kaskal-e
gi₆ ba-an-di-[di]

“Let the friendly people stop here,
The ones who come from down-country (as well as) from up-country,
Let them relax in its coolness (of the house),
The caravaner, the courier, spend (there) the night.”

For a somewhat divergent interpretation see ZA 50, 67 and 81.

7. The substantivized form ù-na-(a)-du_g-(ga) appears as a loan-word in Ak. *unedukku*; Sumerian literary contexts: dub i-sar dím-ma nu-ub-da-an-ku₄-ku₄ ù-na-a-du_g i-sar ki-se_g-bar a-ra-ab-tu_ku, “If he writes a tablet, he does not understand the meaning, if he writes a letter, it is a dirty mess (lit. a boar’s place),” SD 3.19-20; lugal ù-na-du_g šu mu-e-ta_ku, “you, king, send specially a letter,” Let Colec. A 5: 4.

11. I cannot give, for the present, a satisfactory translation of bar šu-ta gar-ra; the tentative translation, “smooth (to the touch?),” is inspired in the equation bar-gar-ra = ḥamšu, “hairless,” which in turn must be related to bar-šu-gál.

14. -ni-te-, for ní-te-?

18. šu-dim₄ here is not gešpu₂ (for which cf. Landsberger, *WZKM* 56, 115-16), but *sanqu* in the sense of “one who keeps tight control, energetic” (the reading dim₄ is assured by the complement -ma and AO 5400 i 21 [*MSL* II 143]); cf. agrig-šu-dim₄-ma sa-KU kala-ga-me-en P 3.59 (Ak. translation in *BWL* 257 v 8-10: *abarakku sanqu ishān dannātu anāku*; the translation given by *CAD* s. *ishu* is preferable to the one given in *BWL* l. c.).

20. ní-g-bi is perhaps to be emended in ní-g-*ga; or the -bi is for -ni (cf. for similar cases lines 10, 42, and 53).

21-31. *Second sign*, consisting of comparisons taken mostly from precious stones and metals, but, it is pointed out in lines 29 and 31, in spite of all these inanimate images, Lú-dingir-ra’s mother is very much alive.

22. I am planning to publish soon a detailed study on sù-(du)-ág (*elmešu*) and only some of the conclusions will now be given here:

(a) sù-(du/ud)-ág⁶ and sù-ga_n of Ur III texts (once su-ga_n in *ITT* V 6763: 1) are both two different renderings of the same (foreign) word.

(b) sù-ga_n is not attested as a component of an alloy; it is used in rather small quantities to plate or inlay⁷ metal objects: mirrors (Reisner *TU* 124 viii 3, 12), hubs of chariot wheels (*ibid.*), small copper pieces (*UET* III 752 rev. ii), spear points (*UET* III 494: 4-5), doors of a temple (*UET* III 683: 1’-3’), etc.

(c) sù-(du/ud)-ág appears in post Ur III literary texts:⁸ (1) in enumerations of precious stones (Tree-Reed Disp.3; ELA 41, for the construction of a temple; ŠS Col. B xii 29, for the decoration of a

6. See A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 52, 304-7, where all the orthographic variants are listed.

7. gar = *uḥḫuzu*, cf. *Ḫḫ* IV 104 ff. and *ITT* 5, 6763: 1-2 1/2 ma-na su-ga_n urudu_h a-zi-^d nin-gír-su-ka ba-a-gar.

boat), or metals (ELA 484; SRT 11: 23 [ZA NF 19, 107] for the decoration of the door of a gate). The presence of the sù-(d u/u d)-ág among the precious stones can be easily explained by its decorative function. (2) In a figurative sense, as a substantive with the meaning “bright light,” and as an epithet of gods “shining, brilliant.” It is never mentioned in economic texts, but it appears once, among metals, in OB mathematical text (*MCT* pl. 18: 28) which shows that the sù-(d u/u d)-ág could be worked in *ruqqu*, “(metal) sheets,” or the like.⁹

(d) I would suggest tentatively a meaning “electrum”¹⁰ for sù(d)-gan and sù-(d u/u d)-ág. Its place in *Ĥĥ* XI 304 closing the list of metals and opening the one of dyes and paints fits well with such a meaning. The determinative NA₄ in some late occurrences could be explained by the frequent use of electrum for collier beads. A change of meaning, or a loss of concrete meaning, in later periods, is quite possible; it must be noted at this point that with the evolution of gold metallurgy the use of electrum became progressively more rare, and this evolution is reflected in the words for electrum in some languages, cf. for instance the semantic changes of Egyptian *ḏm*¹¹ or Greek ἤλεκτρος/ον. This seems to have been also the fate of sù-(d u/u d)-ág and *elmešu*.

25. The sign šeš is somewhat uncertain, but there does not seem to be another alternative; lu gal is assumed to be a genitive.

27. The translations of ĥar as “bracelet” and šu-gur as “(finger) ring” stem from the fact that a ĥar weighs from 5 to 10 shekels (Ur III references in Limet, *Le travail du métal*, 211-12) and can be worn not only around the wrist (ĥar-šu) but also around the ankles (ĥar-gir, cf. *Ĥĥ* XII 111 ff. and parallels), while the šu-gur weighs only about one shekel (Limet, *o. c.* 228). A šu-gur of antasurra is mentioned also, for magical purposes, in IV R 26 No. 7: 8-9. The other only use for the antasurra, so far attested in Sumerian texts, is for a votive ax: na₄-bi (of the ax) an-ta-sur-ra-àm gaba-ri nu-tuku (Ax of Nergal 9). The other references are simple enumerations of stones, mostly in incantations and rituals: IV R 18 No. 3 rev. iv 6; *PBS* 12, 6: 8; cf. also *CT* 17, 39: 48-50.

29. On zi—pa-a nág, “to breathe, to exhale,” see a forthcoming article by the writer in *RA*.

30. ^dlama has to be taken in the sense of “statue, figurine (of a good genius)”: ^dLAMA-tu m_x(EGIR) guškin UET III 686: 1.¹² For ki-gal see D. O. Edzard, *Afo* 19: 18-19.

32-39 *Third sign*, with literary images taken mostly from plants and agriculture.

33. Cf., for the second half of the line, u₄ še ka-sal-(la)-ab-sín-na-ka a-ab-si-a a-numun-sag-gá-ke₄ du₄-ga-ab FA 67.

34. še-gu-nu = *še’um arkūm* Falkenstein, *ZA* 44, 6² and Landsberger, *JNES* 8, 280 ff.

8. For other references see Falkenstein, *l.c.*, as well as *CAD* s. *elmešu*.

9. *MCT* 138-9 and A. D. Kilmer, *Or* 29, 292³, the number preceding *ruqqu* is misinterpreted in *CAD* s. *elmešu* as the number of objects, while it must be taken as a mathematical “coefficient.”

10. Note that most of the gold objects from Ur—with an average contents of silver as high as 26.9 per cent (cf. *UE* II 294)—ought to be considered electrum according to the accepted definition of electrum, “alloys as well as native argentiferous gold are with 20 to 50 per cent of silver,” but they were considered as guškin by the Sumerians; in our discussion “electrum” is restricted to alloys with a silver contents higher than the Ur pieces mentioned above.

11. J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies on Ancient Egyptian Minerals* 44-50.

12. *La-ma-ša* in UET III 1000: 3 is a proper name, not a figurine (*MAD* III 162).

35. i-si-iš lá = *malû šiḫātī* IV R 27: 23a; the variant asil(al) (= EZEN×A) once more corroborates Landsberger's remarks in *ZA* 40, 298-99. In the present case however I am unable to read the Akkadian equivalent of i-si-iš (or asilal).

37 See *JNES* 8, 251 as well as *BWL* 279 ad 7-8 for *pan šatti*; the equation za g-mu-a = *pan šatti* is new. nì-tu-ḥu-u-m is a word attested in different forms:

(a) nì-sa-ḥa: in literary texts: ^{giš}kiri_x-gin_x nì-sa-ḥa (var. ḥa_x = PEŠ) šu ḥu-mu-ra-ni-ib-tag Ak. [... *l*]i-za-in-ki, "let it (the mountain) be covered with fruits like a garden" Le 382; ^{giš}ḥašḥur ù-mu-bulug₃-gá nì-sa-ḥa an-è nì-sa-ḥa-bi é-dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-ka me-te-aš im-mi-ib-gál, "after I took care of the apple-trees, the fruits appear, those fruits are fit for the temples of the great gods," Al-Apin Disp. 150-151; in Pre-Sargonic economic texts: *DP* 225 xiv 4 and *RTC* 61 xiv 8 (including zú-lum, ḥašḥur and *LAK* 490), *DP* 422 iii 1 (including zú-lum, geštin, and ḥašḥur), *DP* 55 iv 4, vi 3. Not attested, as far as I know, in Ur III.

(b) nì-du₈-ḥum (with a variant nì-du₈-ḥu¹-um in *TRS* 31): gurun-nì-du₈-ḥum-pú-^{giš}kiri_x-pú-^{giš}kiri_x-a sá-du_g-gal-gal-mu-šè, "the fruits, the product of the orchards, (are) for my great meals," Bird-Fish Disp. 79.

(c) nì-tu-ḥu-u-m (with var. ú-^{giš}kiri_x and giš-ú-SAR) in our present context. All these contexts, as well as *LTBA* II 2: 243, secure the meaning "fruits, product (of the orchards)," perhaps also with a nuance "early, prime fruits." The forms above must be obviously connected with Ak. *muthummu* discussed by Meissner, *MAOG* I² 39-40. Since no satisfactory Semitic etymology can be found for *muthummu* and the Sumerian forms are evidently loan-words –(a) representing a loan older than (b,c) but with an unusually long survival¹³– and the phonetic alternants n/m and s/d/t are also irregular, we must assume that both the Sumerian and the Akkadian represent loan-words from a third unknown language.

39 Cf. ^{giš}gišimmar-dilmun^{ki} = *as-nu-u* Hh III 285, now transliterated in Greek as γισιμαρ δ[ι]λιον = *ασανω* (Sollberger, *Iraq* 24, 66 A 4 :285).

40. The *ma* in the Akkadian hardly can be the end of [4-KAM]-MA, because it is the first sign of the second half-line, where we expect only the translation of ga-mu-ra-a b-su-m.

40-46 Fourth sign

43. The first complex is unintelligible; it could be, of course, a proper name (cf. *PBS* 11¹ 53, 43-45, for names with a first element ^(d)lu-lu) but it is hard to see how it could fit in the context.

44. For ki-e-ne-di and K1.E.NE.D1.INANNA, see Landsberger, *WZKM* 56, 123-4. Note the interesting e-šen (< ešemen) in: e-šen (var. K1.E.NE.D1.INANNA) gu-du-dar-a a-da-min mu-na-e *SRT* 1 ii 30 (and dupl.).

45. For la-la nu-gi₄ see Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen* I 174.

46. The meaning of the first part of the line is unclear. The first complex KA.DU can represent ka-gub as well as KA-túm: the first means, as a noun, "food" (Ak. *naptaru*)¹⁴: 6 gud-niga 20 udu-niga níg ka-gub-šè, "six fat oxen and twenty fat sheep as food," Let. of Aradmu to Šulgi 20; cf.

13. Cf. its use as an ideogram in Assyrian texts: T. Bauer, *Assurbanipal* 3 x 105.

14. In *SBH* No. 54² rev. 14-15 (as cited in *CAD* s. *iptirū*); *ipteru* is a mistake for *iptennu* and has nothing to do with *iptirū*, as suggested in *CAD* l.c. The passage from *SBH* has thus to be translated: "I am a table for the foreigners, I am food for the country."

also the reference from *SBH* discussed in note; and, as a compound verb, “to eat” (Ak. *patānu*), *m u n u s - e ú-lál-àm ka bí-in-gub šà-gal ba-ni-in-gar*, “the woman ate ú. (and) became pregnant” (UM 29-15-367 i 5-6, incant.); other references, proving the reading *gub*, are Gud. cyl A xix 26 and Ukg. cone B x 17. *KA-tú m* is attested with uncertain meaning in *TRS* 19: 22.

47-52 Fifth sign

50. The signs at the beginning of this line could be read *z i k u m_x* (Zì.UD) in B, the only text available at this point (for the flour *z i k u m_x* see *CAD* s. *isqūqu*), but we expect rather the name of the substance which produces the *ì-gu-la* (Ak. *igulū*) or of a recipient in which this oil is kept.

51. It is assumed that *ḥ é - m e - d u* is for *ḥ é - i m - d u*, for which cf. *ḥ é - i m - d u - m u s i i m - s á - s á - e ḥ é - i m - d u - s í g - m u ḥ i - i z^{SAR} - m ú š a g₅ - š a g₅ - g a - à m ŠS Love Song C 7-8* (passage describing the hairdress of the lover), *ḥ é - i m - d u* “diadem” or “garland”; cf. perhaps *ḥindu D* (*CAD* 5 p. 156).

52. For phials made of ostrich-shell cf. *Hh* X 110 and *RTC* 229 iii 2’, as well as *UE* II p. 283 and pl. 156. For the reading *n u_x(SIR)* cf. the unpublished medical text from Assur quoted by Köcher (*Afo* 18, 130): *n] u n u z - g á - n a^{mušen} 15*.

53. *-bi* seems to be for *-ni* (cf. above line 20). *gub-za* is a form of the so-called “pronominal conjugation” (< *gub-zu-a*).

54 It is also possible to translate: “your beloved son L.D. is in good health” (*si i m - m a*).

Textual notes

Line

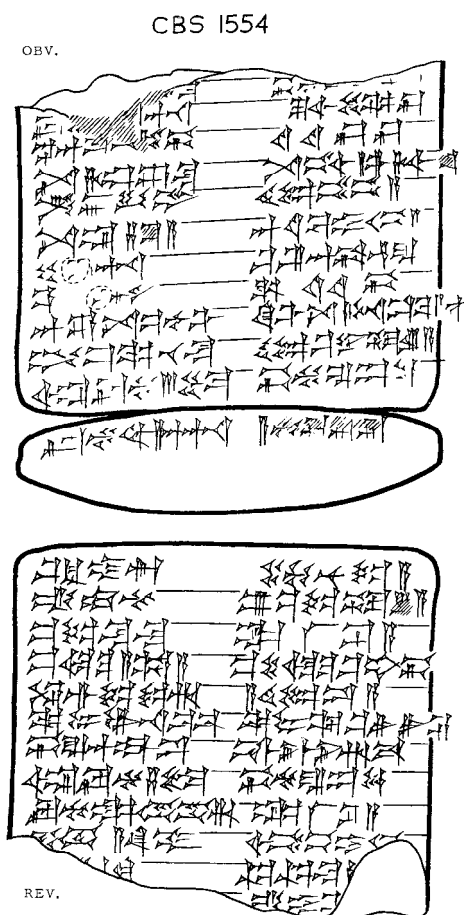
2. ¹B: -š è; A om. ²A: *g i₄ - a -*; B: *s a g - g a -*.
3. ¹A: -du^r i[?] - z u x^r; B: - d a - e.
4. ¹A: *a m a - m u¹⁷* DU - á g (mistake for - d è); B: *ú DU - d a*. ²A: *ú - n u - m u -*; B: *ù k u - b a*.
5. ¹A: - s a g - g i₄ - a; B: - a - n i.
6. ¹A: *k a s k a l - e*; B: *ḥ a r - r a - a n - n a*. ²A: *s i l i m - m a¹ - m u l¹⁷* (copy *g á l*) è n; B: *e n*.
7. ¹B: + m u; A om. ²A: - š è; B om. ³A: *m u -*; B: *g a r - i*.
8. ¹A: - l e; B: - l a - à m; C: - l a.
9. ¹C: *t u k u n¹ - b i¹* (copy E. DA. MU). ²AB: *n u -*; C: *n u - e -*.
10. ¹A: *š i¹ - m a¹ - a t*; BC: *š a - a t*. ²AB: *i n i m*; C: *SAL* (miscopy?).
11. ¹AC: - a; B: - à m. ²A: - t a *g á l - r a^{sic}*; B: - t a *g a r - r a*; C: - m u / g u *g a r - r a*.
12. ¹A: - š a g₅ -; BC: - s i g₇ - . ²A: - a - n i; BC: - a - k a - n i.
13. ¹AC: - t a; B: - š è. ²AB: - m a -; C: - a - . ³AB: - r e; C: - r a - à m.
14. ¹A: *n i - t e*; B: *n i - t e - à m*; C: *n i - t e*. ²A: - r a - k a m; B: - r a - n i. C: - k a - n i. ³A: *s i m u - n a - a b - s á*; B: *s i - s á m u - u n - a k*; C: *s i - s á b i - i [n -*.
15. ¹AB: - š è; C: - t a. ²A: *du₉ - n a - š è*; BC: *du₉ - e - e š*.

15. *GÁ.NU_x*, for *GA.NU_x*, is the normal writing in the Assyrian royal inscriptions.

16. ¹A: -ta; B: -ke₄. ²A(C): kin-kin mu-un-zu; B: e zu za e.
17. ¹A: gù-dé-lugal; B: inim-lugal-la-ke₄; C:]-lugal-la-ke₄. ²A: li-bí-IM-in-gul-en; B: li-bi-gu-ul-e; C: la-b[a-.
18. ¹B: -àm; A om. ²A: -bi; B: -^ʾda^ʾ.
20. ¹A: -ga; B om. ²BC: za-l-le; A probably om.
21. ¹BD: -mu-; A om.
22. ¹B: -du-; A om. ²AD: an-na; B: an-úr-ra.
23. ¹BD: -ga; A om. ²AB: u₄-sa-g-da-gal-la-ke₄ (B om. -ke₄); D: UD.UD gá-gá.
24. ¹D: ^{ki}; AB om.
25. ¹Line as in D; A: gil ^{na4}gug-àm ḥúḷ ḥé-du₈-a; B: ^ʾx^ʾ-gi₄-du gug ^{na4}nír ḥé-du₇-a.
26. ¹This line in D; AB om. (cf. note to preceding line).
27. ¹So A; D has an erased sign; there does not seem to be enough room in B for two signs. ²AD: -ta-; B: -da-. ³Order of lines as in A; BD: 28; 27.
28. ¹A: + giš before guškin; D om. ²A: UD-la-ga-kam; B: za-la-ga-kam; D: za-la-ga.
29. ¹A: GIŠ.PÚ-^ʾx^ʾ-ni; B:]-zi-gál. ²A: níg¹-pa-an^{ag}-pa-an^{ag}; B: zi-BÚR^ʾ-kam-kam.
30. ¹A: -la; BD om. ²C: ^{na4}; AB om. BC: na; A om. ³D: -àm; AB om.
31. ¹AB: -ti-; D: -KA-til-. ²A: UL-zu-ú ul-gùr-ra¹; B: ul maš níg-úr-re; D: ḥi-li šu-gìr gùr-ru-a.
32. ¹BD: -mu-; A om.
33. ¹AD: -an-na; B:]-^ʾx^ʾ-á-ba; ²AB: -un¹-.
34. ¹A: ḥe-; D: hé-. ²A: gur₅-gú-^ʾx^ʾ-an-na; B: še^{1?} ba til la gu^ʾ -nu^ʾ diri; D: še-gu-nu mú-a.
35. ¹AB: -me-a; D: -la-la. ²AB: i-si-iš lá-lá-e (B om. -e); D: asilal-lá si-a.
36. ¹A: ^{giš}li; B: li; D: ^{giš}še-ù-su ḥ₅. ²This line in A after line 39.
37. ¹A: -a; B: -àm; D om. ²A: giš.Ú.SAR; B: nì-tu-ḥu-u-m; D: ú.giš.SAR. ³This line in D after line 34.
38. ¹A: pa₅; B: x (BA or KU); D: pa₅- šita₃. ²A: -a; BD om.
39. ¹A: ag₅-ga; B: sa-g; D: šu^ʾ-sa-g. ²B: -mu; D: -e; A om.
40. ¹BD: -mu-; A om.
41. ¹A: -zu; BD: -re. ²A: a-si-il-lá sá-a; B: asilal si-a; D: asilal-lá si-a.
42. ¹A: ezen; BD: siskur. ²AD: a-; B: á-. ³A: igi-du₈-a-zu ḥuš-a; B: igi-du₈-^ʾù^ʾ-dè ḥuš-a; D: igi-du₈-big hé-d[u₇].
43. ¹A: lu-li-gú-; B: lu-lu-gu-. ²A: munus; B om. ³B: -la; A om. ⁴A: -kam; B om.
44. ¹A: -dè; BD: -di. ²A: -e; B: -le; C: -la. ³D seems to add an extra line: [...] gurun ḥé-gá[l ...].
45. ¹A: la-la; B: ^ʾla^ʾ. ²A: -KA; B: -da.
46. ¹B: -a; A om. ²A: -ne-ra; B: -nam-r[a]. ³B: -àm; A om.
47. ¹BC: -mu-; A om.
48. ¹BC: ir-si-im; A: ir¹-^ʾšàm^{1?}. ²A om. one dūg.
49. ¹B: ^{giš}; C om.
51. ¹B: ^ʾim^ʾ-da-a; D: ḥé-me-DU. ²B: me-er-me-ra¹-da; D: me-er-me-er-re-da. This line in D after 39.

52. ¹C: + a ma - mu^{dug} at the beginning of the line; B om. ²B: sag; C: -šim. ³C adds two extra lines: 52a munus-šag₅-ga ^dlama-tuku-a mu-‘x’ [...] 52b munus ^da-ru-ru arḫuš mu-ra-an-sum [...] ù-tu [...].
54. ¹C adds a line: ù-m[u-...]. Subscription in B: šu-nigin₂ 53 mu-bi.itu-apin-du₈-a u₄-26-kam mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ḫur-sag-gal kur-mar-tu. (Samsuiluna 26).

[Prof. Jean Nougayrol announced in a paper read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* on May 10, 1963, the discovery by Cl. F.-A. Schaeffer in Ras Shamra of a tablet with the text of the composition discussed in the preceding article. This unusual tablet (25.421) contains four versions of the poem in normally written Sumerian, phonetic Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite, respectively. It will be published by Nougayrol in *Ugaritica* V. Nougayrol also recognized independently that *KUB* IV 97 belongs to that same composition.]



II.6

New Sumerian Law Fragments^{*}

Shortly after the publication of the Hammurabi stele in 1902, the opinion that it was to a large extent a compilation of older sources was widely accepted by scholars and seriously studied by Koschaker in 1914-17.¹ He was limited, however, to internal criticism alone. Definitive answers, he added, could be given only “wenn glückliche Funde uns noch weitere Originale sumerischer Gesetze beschere[n].” This desideratum has now largely been fulfilled, but the older sources available are still very imperfectly preserved. We have only about 40% of Lipitištar’s laws and an undetermined but certainly very small proportion of Urnammu’s laws. Any new finds are thus welcome, no matter how small, and it is a pleasure to offer the following material as a humble contribution in honor of the editor and commentator of *Ana ittišū*.

All the texts here published are from the collections of the University Museum in Philadelphia,² and they contain completely new material, or substantially new additions, on the following subjects:

1. Lipitištar’s Laws³

CL § 28 = CH § 148	Remarriage in case of disability of the wife.
§ 30	Marriage with a prostitute against a court order.
§ 31 = § 165	Gifts to a son.
§ 33	Slandering of an unmarried woman.

2. UM 55-21-71

ii 2’ ff. = CH §§ 242-43	Rental of oxen.

^{*} The present article was originally published in R.D. Biggs and J.A. Brinkman (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 12, 1965*, AS 16. Chicago 1965, pp. 1-12.

The abbreviations are as *CAD*, with the following additions: CH = Hammurabi Laws; CL = Lipitištar Laws; *GSG* = A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerische Grammatik*; *SGL* = *Sumerische Götterlieder*.

1. *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis* (Leipzig, 1917).

2. I wish to express my gratitude to its curator, Professor Samuel N. Kramer, for his generosity in making the pieces available.

3. For a general concordance between CH and CL see F. R. Steele in *AJA* LII 450 (cf. following note).

8'ff.

Succession in default of male heirs.

iii 2'ff. = §§ 209-10, 213

Assault on a pregnant woman.

3. Various texts about damage to rented oxen (see list on §3).

1. *Additions to Lipitistar's Laws: New Texts*

I = N 1791* (Pl. I), small fragment which joins the upper part of UM VI 29-16-55 + 29-16-249 = text B of Steele's edition,⁴ which forms with texts C and G and with N 3058 (= H, published in *ArOr* XVIII, Pls. 8-9) the large tablet (abbreviated hereafter as B+) with the full text of CL.

J = CBS 2158 (Pls. I-II), a badly preserved portion of a three-column tablet, which originally contained the last quarter of CL, including the epilogue. The contents of the preserved part are as follows:

ii = B+	xvi 29-49
iii =	xvii 32-50
iv =	xvii 58-xviii 13
v =	xix 3-17

K = N 3320* (Pl. II), a small fragment of the reverse of a tablet with at least two columns:

i' = B+	xvii 58a-xviii 6
ii' =	xix 2-9

For UM 55-21-71, which may also belong to CL, see §2 below.

The sections to which substantial additions are made are given in full; for the others, only the variants are listed. The numbering of lines and paragraphs follows Steele's edition.

xvi	30	J has -k a m, instead of - k a of F.
	40	B+ and J have ì -; F has i n - (cf. Falkenstein in <i>Or</i> XIX 109).
xvii	27	tukun-bi
	28	lú-ù
	29	dam-nitalam-a-ni
	30	igi-ni ba-ab-gi ₄
	31	ù šu ba-an-lá-lá
	32	é-ta nu-ub-ta-è-e ⁵
	33-34	dam-a-ni dam-2-kam-ma ⁶
	35	ba-an-du ₁₂ -du ₁₂ ⁷

4. *Ibid.* pp. 425 ff.; reprinted in the series "Museum Monographs" of the University of Pennsylvania. Our sigla for the published texts are the same as those used by Steele.

5. I: -e; F om.

6. F: g a l a m - n [a(?)]; I: 2-k a m - m a.

7. F: d u₁₂ -a; I: - d u₁₂ - d u₁₂.

36	dam-egir-ra-ke ₄ ⁸
37	dam-nitalam
38	in-íl-íl-e ⁹

§ 28. “If a man’s first wife has *lost her sight* or has become a paralytic, she shall not leave the house; (if) her husband takes a second wife, the later wife shall support the first wife.” Variant: “he shall support the later wife (and) the first wife.”

In spite of Steele’s remark (*AJA* LII 448) that no parallel exists in CH for CL § 28, there is at first sight a striking resemblance between CL § 28 and CH § 148, which will become more apparent after a re-examination of lines 30-31. In CH § 148, a man is authorized to take a second wife, without divorcing the first one, if the first has become sick with *lahbum*. She may stay in the house and shall be supported by her husband. The conclusion of CL § 28 is similar. Therefore, the difficult lines 30-31 must be understood in the sense that something –presumably a disease, as in CH– prevents the wife, without culpability on her part, from fulfilling her marital and household duties properly. Of the two verbs in lines 30-31, *ig i — g i₄* and *š u — l á*, the second one is well attested in the sense of “to be(come) paralyzed,” literally, “to hang clown limp, a member of the body”; cf. *l ú - š u - l á - a = uš₄-šú-lum* (OB Lu part 7: 6) and the lexical references for *š u — l á = ešēlu* given in *CAD* IV 341. As for *ig i — g i₄*, no helpful references are known,¹⁰ and the translation “to lose the sight” is based on the context, which requires, according to the proposed interpretation, a disability severe enough to render the wife useless, and on the fact that, although there are many terms meaning “blind” a Sumerian expression for “to become blind” has not yet been found. While CH, as well as the Ur III ditilla quoted below, gives only names for the disease(s), CL describes the effects. Since Sum. *ù* can have a conjunctive as well as a disjunctive value (*GSG* § 417), it is uncertain whether two unconnected disabilities are meant, regardless of their cause, or whether a specific disease whose main effects were loss of sight and paralysis is intended. In the latter case one could think of leprosy, which includes as two of its most characteristic results blindness and loss, total or partial, of hands and feet.¹¹ Instead of the difficult *dam-galam-n[a(?)]*¹² of text F, the new source I gives a straightforward *dam-2-kam-ma* (cf. CH § 148: *ana šanītim aḫāzim*). Unless of course it is a simple paleographic error for *2-kam*, *galam* in the present context can hardly mean anything but “skillful,” in the sense of someone able to carry out his duties properly, that is, “able-bodied,” in contradistinction to

8. I: -ke₄; F om.

9. I: -e; F om.

10. Cf. *ig i — g i₄* = MIN (= *sa-ḫa-rum*) *šá i’-nim* (Nabnitu X 207). One could think: of *g i₄* = *peḫū*, “to close an opening,” although *peḫū*, when used with parts of the body, is said only of the mouth (Izbu III 38; *AMT* 90, 27), the ears (Malku IV 14; *KAR*, No. 473 rev. 27 [figurative]), and the anus (Izbu III 75). The semantic ranges of *g i₄* and *peḫū* do not, of course, necessarily overlap.

11. If we assume that the *same* disease –traditionally recognized as giving the husband the right to take a second wife– is meant in all three sources, these give the impression of an attempt to avoid a tabooed word for leprosy, or whatever the disease turns out to be, since the ditilla gives only the mythical etiology (*á - z á g — s i g*), CL describes only the effects, and CH probably uses the word *lahbum* as an euphemism. The sense of *lahbum* still needs clarification and cannot be discussed here, but there is no doubt that it is applied often in the medical texts to conditions which do not fit the description in CL and are insufficient to explain the incapacity of the woman.

12. The last sign in F remains uncertain.

the handicapped wife. Otherwise, the word *g a l a m* is never used of persons in Sumerian literature, where it qualifies only: *m e*, *i n i m*, *š à* (for references see Falkenstein in *ZA* XLIX 138 and Van Dijk, *SGL* II 122), and *n a m - š u b* (*CT* XVI, Pl. 28, line 52).¹³ The variant - *k e₄* in line 36 changes the meaning of the final disposition of the law. According to F, the subject is still *l ú - ù*, “he will support the later wife (*and*) the first wife,” in agreement with CH § 148. According to the new variant, the later wife becomes the subject and she has to take care of the needs of the disabled woman. The practical application of CL § 28 and CH § 148 is illustrated by a much older source: *ITT* III 2, No. 6550 (= Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 6), an Ur III ditilla in which a wife stricken by a disease (*á - z á g b a - a n - s [ì g] - a*) asks her husband to marry a second wife and adds [*ù g*]*á - e š e - b a s í g - b a ḥ a - d a b*, “and let me receive an allotment for food and clothing” (see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* II 9 f.).

xvii 47 in-na-ab-tab(!)-e-ne

Here we read -*t a b*-, instead of -*b a*-, according to photograph of B and in agreement with §§ 160-61 (*uštašannâma*).

xvii 50 tukun-bi
 51 guruš-dam-du₁₂
 52 kar-kid-dè t i l l a₂-a
 53 in-du₁₂-àm
 54 kar-kid-bi-ir
 55 nu-un-ši-gur-ru-da
 56 di-kud-e-ne in-na-an-eš
 57 egir-bi-ta dam-nitalam-a-ni
 58 ba-an-tak₄ kù-dam-tak₄-a-ni
 58a ‘ù-na’-[l á]
 59 kar-kid-bi
 60 nu-un-du₁₂-[du₁₂]

§ 30. “If a married man joined a prostitute from the street and the judges have told him not to go back to the prostitute, (if) after that he divorces his wife, when he has paid the divorce money, he shall not marry that prostitute.”

The new lines give the formerly missing conclusion of § 30. A married man has become attached to a public woman. A court order restraining him from seeing her again (for *g u r* in the sense of “to go back to a woman” see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 23: 8) has been given, presumably after complaint by the wife. The law establishes then that not even after divorcing his wife will he be able to marry the prostitute. The restoration *k ù - [d a m] - t a k₄ - [a - n i]* was suggested by M. San Nicolò in *Or* XIX 116 (cf. also Falkenstein in *Or* XIX 110). The verb is [*l á*] in all probability; cf. *ù 1/2 m a - n a k ù - d a m - t a k₄*-

13. In *i g i - g a l a m* (Falkenstein in *ZA* XLIX 112, line 1) the reading *m e* given by text B (= *VAS* X, No. 145 [not pointed out by the editor]) i.e. probably preferable to *i g i* of text A (collated by E. Sollberger).

ni-ra ì-lá-e (BE VI 2, No. 40: 11), kù-dam-tak₄ 1/3 ma-na-àm al-lá-e al-tag-tag kù-dam-tak₄-a 1/3 ma-na-àm gá-e ba-ra-du₈ (Dialogue 5:190 ff.).

xviii	1	tukun-bi
	2	ad-da-ti-la
	3	dumu igi-na ¹⁴ ša ₆ -ga
	4	níg-ba in-na-an-ba
	5	kišib in-na-an- ^r sar ^r
	6	egir-ad-da-ba ¹⁵ -úš-a-ta
	7	ibila-e-ne
	8	é-ad-da ì-ba-e-ne
	9	ḥa-la-ba(!)-a nu-un-ba-e-ne
	10	inim-ad-da-ne-ne
	11	A.A ¹⁶ nu-un-NE-ne

§ 31. “If a father, while living, has presented a gift to a favorite son and written him a sealed document, after the father has died, the heirs shall divide the estate of the father (but) they shall not divide the (already) given share. They shall not ... their father’s word.”

This paragraph, now complete, is a forerunner of CH § 165, with the differences –after emendation of Steele’s reading in line 9– that the son is called simply *dumu* in CL but *DUMU.NITA* in CH, that the gift is described in more detail in CH, and that there is no equivalent in CH for the last two lines of CL. In both sources the existence of a written and sealed document is an indispensable condition for the son to keep the gift after his father’s death. The readings *kišib* and *sar* are preferable to *du* and *sum* according to CH § 165: *kunukkam išturšum*. The correction of *ḥa-la-é-a* to *ḥa-la-ba-a* is based on a photograph of B+. The reading *-ba-e-* of the verb of line 9 is based on Steele’s copy but is not clearly supported by the photograph, which seems to have *gá-gá*. In spite of the new variant in line 11, no satisfactory translation of it is yet possible. A likely restoration in text J would be *ḤA.[A ...]*, that is, *záh*, with a translation “they shall not make the (written) word of their father disappear,” but a form **záh-du₁₁/e* is otherwise unattested.

xviii	32	[]- ^r x ^r -ne
	33	[t]ukun-bi
	34	dumu-munus-lú
	35	é-nu-gi ₄ -a giš ì-zu
	36	lú b[a-a]b-du ₁₁
	37	^r giš ^r nu-un-zu-a
	38	un-ge-en
	39	10 gín kù-babbar ì-lá-e

14. J: -na; K: -nu (error). Cf. CH § 165: *ša inšū mahru*.

15. K: -ba-; B+ (and J?) om.

16. B+: A.A; J: *ḤA* [].

§ 33. “If a man has said that a freeman’s daughter who is not yet married has had sexual intercourse once it has been proved that she has not had sexual intercourse, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.”

The case of the slandering of an unmarried girl is not considered in the extant law sources; which seem concerned with protecting the honor of married women only. For “unmarried” the text uses not the ordinary term *d a m - n u - d u₁₂* but the hapax. *é - n u - g i₄ - a*, the negative of the well-known expression *é - g i₄ - a*, “daughter-in-law,” Akk. *kallatu*. In an unpublished inscription of Šusin we have a comparable case: *d u m u - m u n u s - a - n i s i - m a - n ú m^{ki} - e ʾ n a m - é - g i₄ - a - b i - š è [. . .] - s u m*, “he (Šusin) gave his daughter in marriage (lit. ‘as a bride’) in Simanum” (Šusin Collection B iii 26 ff., to be published by the writer).

- xix 2-4 For the traces, see copies of J v (Pl. II) and K ii’ (Pl. III).
 9 J: -l á - t a; B+ omits -l á -.
 13 J: -i m - m i - g i₄; B+ omits -i m -.
 16 J: - i m - m i - a k; B+ omits -i m -.

2. The Tablet UM 55-21-71

UM 55-21-71* (Pl. III) is part of the reverse of a three-column tablet excavated in Nippur during the 1949/50 campaign, with the field number 2NT 440.

There is no positive proof that UM 55-21-71 belongs to CL. Some considerations, however, suggest that it may be taken provisionally as part of CL. The first and only completely preserved line of column vi in B+ reads *n í g - g a - é - a d - d a*, and, although it is clear from the traces in the following line that it does not duplicate ii 14 of UM 55-21-71, nevertheless it can very well be part of a section dealing with rights of succession, as does the lower part of column ii in the new tablet. The obverse of B+ is practically gone, and there is ample room for the text of our tablet. Column ii of UM 55-21-71 would thus be placed toward the end of column v of B+ and column iii somewhere in column vi of B+. The fact that CL deals with oxen again at the very end imposes no objection to this arrangement, if one takes the paragraphs about rented oxen (discussed on pp. 6-8) as an appendix to CL, added perhaps only in a later recension.

- col. ii 2’ *tukun-[bi]*
 gud-áb-úr-ra lú [in-ḥun]
 mu-2-àm addi[r-šè]
 5’ *8 še gur in-na-ág-ág*
 gud-áb-sag-murub₄ addir-[šè]
 6 še gur in-na-ág-ág
 tukun-bi lú ba-úš
 dumu-nita nu-un-du₁₂
 10’ *dumu-munus dam nu-un-du₁₂-a*
 ibila-a-ni ʾ x -[(x)- ku₄-(ku₄)]
 tukun-[bi lú ba-úš]
 dumu-munus-a-ni []
 níg-ga-é-ad-da-na [()]

		nin ₉ -bàn-da murgu _x -é- ^ˈ a ^ˈ -[]
		(rest broken)
col. iii	2'	tuku[n-bi x-r]e
		dumu-munus-l[ú-ka i-ni-in]-ra
		níg-šà-[ga]-na
	5'	šu mu-u[n-da-an-lá]
		1/2 ma-na [kù-babbar i-lá]-e
		tukun-b[i ba]-úš
		nita-bi i-[gaz]-e
		tukun-bi [x]-re
	10'	^ˈ geme ₂ '-lú-ka i-ni-in-ra
		níg-šà-ga-na
		šu mu-un-da-an-lá
		5 gín kù-[babbar i-là]-e
		tukun-[bi]
	15'	SAG PA []

ii 2'-7'. "If a man has hired oxen (to be yoked) in the rear (of the team), he shall pay as rent for two years 8 g u r of grain; (if he has hired) oxen (to be yoked) in front, he shall pay as rent 6 g u r of grain."

ii 8'-11'. "If a man died (and) he had no sons, (his) unmarried daughter(s) [shall become] his heir(s)."

ii 12' ff. "If [a man died], his daughter [...] the estate of her father [...], the younger sister, after in the house [...]" (rest broken).

ii 2'-5'. "If a [...] has beaten the daughter of a free man and she has suffered a miscarriage, he shall pay one-half mina of silver."

iii 7'-8'. "If she died, that man shall be [put to death]."

iii 9'-13'. "If a ... has beaten the slave-girl of a free man and she has suffered a miscarriage, he shall pay five shekels of silver."

ii 2'-7'. This double paragraph is almost an exact forerunner of CH §§ 242-43. The major difference is that the rent is given for two years in our text, as against one year in CH, but the yearly rates are nonetheless identical. Dossin, in his study of the CH passage in *RA* XXX 97ff., was the first to put the interpretation of the qualifications of the oxen given in these paragraphs on the right track. His over-all interpretation is correct except for minor points: in the third line of CH § 242 the reading is not GUD.DA.ÛR.RA. but GUD.Á.ÛR.RA, as suspected by Scheil (*MDP IV* 106, n. 2) in the *editio princeps* of CH and confirmed by Hh XIII 286 (now completed by a new join to S₅ [courtesy of O. R. Gurney]: g u d . á . ù r . r a = *a-lap ar-ku*, and Nippur forerunner to Hh XIII 175. As for the group MURUB₄.SAG, it must be understood, as shown by the composition of the logogram, as oxen yoked in the front *or* middle position (in six-oxen teams), that is, in any position other than immediately in front of the plow. Hh XIII 289 (completed as above) now gives g u d . m u r u b₄ . s a g . g á = [*q*]ab-lu-ú. Finally, the comparison of the terms in CH

GUD.Á.ÛR.RA

GUD.ÁB.MURUB₄.SAG

with those in the new text UM 55-21-71

gud-áb-ùr-ra

gud-áb-sag-murub₄

shows that gud-áb here is not *mīru*, as suggested by Dossin (“jeune bovidé”), but simply gud-áb-(ḥi-a), the collective for “cattle,” regardless of sex (cf. Landsberger, *MSL* VIII 1, p. 61). The writing A.PA.BI.GIŠ.PAD.SI.A for addir is standard in the later lexical texts: Diri III 163 ff.; Hh IV 348b, 352ff.; Hh VIIIB 48; Lu IV 231; Nabnitu I 209; J 26; M 174; An-tagal F 48; Ai. VI ii 55ff. Only Proto-Diri 214a-b (*JCS* VII 29, col. vi 8’) gives the abbreviated A.PAD.SI.A.¹⁷ This word, attested since the Fara period,¹⁸ is rather infrequent in Sumerian contexts, where it is found mostly in the term má-addir, “ferryboat” (A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, p. 24) and derivatives.¹⁹ The meaning “wages” is certain in addir-ra-ni mu-na-ab-sum-mu-ne guruš-ra dam dumu-ni á mu-un-da-an-è, “they (the foremen) pay the worker his wages, (and) he is able to take care of his family” (Contest between the Hoe and the Plow 139 f. [variants not given]).

ii 8’-11’. This paragraph states explicitly what was already known from Gudea’s statement (quoted below) and legal texts such as Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 209 (Ur III), and RA XIV 152 (Enlilbani), namely that in default of male offspring the daughter(s) could take the place of the heirs (see discussion by Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* I 110 f.). A reading dumu-nita in line 9’ is preferred to the equally possible ibila because of Gudea Stele B vii 44 f. (cf. also Cyl. B xvii 8 ff.), é dumu-nita nu-du₁₂ dumu-munus-bi ì-bi-la-ba mi-ni-ku₄, where the difference in spelling points to a difference in reading. The restoration [k₄] is based on this Gudea passage as well as on ibila-na ba-ni-ku₄ (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 204: 32); in our passage, however, we do not have the expected locative.

ii 12’ff. The passage is too broken for translation. It deals presumably with the succession rights among daughters when the eldest is married. The fourth sign in line 15’ is . The paleographic distinction between this sign and the true LUM, generally recognized years ago (e.g. by Thureau-Dangin in RA X 94, n. 1; Allotte de la Fuÿe in RA XVI 8), has often been forgotten in more recent publications. A detailed discussion and the proof for a reading murg_x will be given by Landsberger in *MSL* IX.

The laws in column iii are close forerunners of CH §§ 209, 210, and 213. The most important differences are that our text, as far as it is preserved, ignores the *muškenu*-class of CH, that the fines are higher than in CH, and that it is the man himself, not his daughter, who is put to death in the event of the girl’s death. YOS I, No. 28, deals only with the miscarriage suffered by the daughter of a free man but makes a distinction as to whether it is due to an involuntary push (zag—ús) or to an intentional blow

17. Older writings: PAD.SI.A.BI.GIŠ—a k (R. Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d’Istanbul*, No. 292 rev.); PAD.BI.SI+GIŠ (Ent. 16 iii 9; Ukg. 4-5 x 10; Ukg. 6 ii 5 [quoted after Sollberger, *Corpus*], cf. T. Jacobsen in Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, p. 462); k ù - m á - PAD.SI.A.PA.BI+GIŠ(!) (*Or.* Nos. 47-49, No. 221).

18. Jestin, *op. cit.* No. 292 (see preceding note).

19. Ent. 16 iii 19; Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Nos. 1.89 and 1.187. In the Enlil and Ninlil myth (S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 43 ff.) Enlil approaches the lu-má-addir-ra (lines 127, 131). In *Sumer* XIII, Pl. 2, lines 3 f., read perhaps [A].PAD.SI.A bal (with gloss ‘a d’-[d i - i r]) : ti-tu-rum iš-da-ḥu-um; cf. addir = titurru in SBH, No. 7: 18 f.: addir-ḥul-ma-al-la e-zé nu-bal-a : ti-tur-ru lim-nu šá še-e-nu la ú-šib-bi-ru, “a bad bridge (a better translation would be ‘ford’) which does not let the sheep cross.”

(sìg). Less close parallels can be found in the Assyrian Laws A §§ 50ff. I am unable to give a satisfactory restoration for the end of lines 2' and 9'. The context requires the subject of the verb *ra*, and thus the last sign must be *-re* in spite of some uncertainty on the tablet. A reading *'tur'-re* would fit very well the traces of the first sign in line 9', but not the context since there is no reason why the law should be restricted to "young boys." For the verb *ra* with a locative, instead of the usual accusative, cf. for example *kur-ra bar-uš-ta ba-ni-ib-ra* (Lugale 245).

The meaning "to suffer a miscarriage" for *šu—lá* (with locative) is unique, but it is certain from the context. The use of this verb must be based on some peculiar physiological concepts of the time. *YOS* I, No. 28, uses *a—šub*, CH uses *nadû*, and the Assyrian Laws use *nadû* and *šalā'u*. The accident, as described in the Mesopotamian laws, is exceedingly rare in the practice of legal medicine. It seems that the more unusual and farfetched a legal case is, the fuller treatment it receives at the hands of the legislator, preoccupied above all in showing off the perspicacity of his legal mind.

3. Laws about Rented Oxen

CH §§ 244-49 and CL §§ 34-37 have regulations fixing the penalties for injuries or losses suffered by rented oxen. In *YOS* I, No. 28, §§ 8-9 deal with similar cases, although the text does not say explicitly that the oxen are hired. Finally, *KAV*, No. 8, published in *MSL* I 68 f. as an appendix to Ai. IV; opens with clauses about the same matter.²⁰ The following new fragments can now be added to the already known material:

A = N 5119 (Pl. III) = I 1'-6' and III 6'-11'

B = 3NT 903, 139 (Pl. IV) = II 1'-7'

C = N 963 (Pl. IV) = III 1'-13'

A poses a special problem. The shape of the fragment suggests a two-column, or even a three-column, tablet. If the first and fourth (or sixth) columns both deal with rented oxen, we ought to assume that the entire tablet was devoted to that subject; however, such a long section –with at least twenty paragraphs, and perhaps more, on rented oxen– is unlikely. A was, therefore, some uncommon type of school tablet, perhaps with repetition of the same text on obverse and reverse. B is too small a fragment to allow us to draw any conclusions, but it is probably an exercise tablet. C is certainly not a collection of laws. It is included here only because the law collections, as shown above, have identical paragraphs and because of the light it can shed on the protohistory of *ĜĜ* I-II and *Ana ittišu*. The obverse of C starts with "model contracts"; note the mention of personal names: [^d*e*]*n-lil-ba-ni* (lines 4, 5, 12) and *AN-šu-ba-ni* (line 3). The tablet is a collection –for scribal instruction– of sample contracts, concretely the kind of documents likely to be needed in connection with land tenure and farming activities. The inclusion of the clauses about oxen, which explain in detail such concise formulas as *ana inī qannī šuprī u sibbatī izzaz* (*PBS* VIII 2, No. 196: 11), is perfectly normal in such a context.

20. In *KAV*, No. 8:1f. (*MSL* I 68) read *tukun-bi á-gá-la-dag-ga-ta : šum-ma i-na me-g[u-ti ...]* instead of *a-mál-la ka-la-ga-ta*; cf. *gál-la-dag = egû* (Nabnitu X 136).

The three following sections cannot be arranged satisfactorily in successive order without new evidence, especially because of the uncertainty of the real order of the obverse and reverse of A. There can be some overlapping in the imperfectly preserved passages, since II 5-8 could be the same as III 1-4 and I 6 could be identical with II 1 etc.

I	1'	ṽ-[lá-e]
	2'	tuk[un-bi gud]
	3'	si-bi íb-t[a-an-kud]
	4'	igi-3-gál-šám-m[a-kam]
	5'	ì-lá-e
	6'	[tu]ku[n-bi]
II	1'	tuk[un-bi]
	2'	gud igi-bi [in-ḫul]
	3'	šu-ri-šám-[ma-kam]
	4'	ì-l[á-e]
	5'	tuk[un-bi]
	6'	gud <x>-bi []
	7'	igi-4-[gál-šám-ma-kam]
III	8'	[ì-lá-e]
	1'	tu[kun-bi gud]
	2'	PA [(x)-bi]
	3'	igi-4-g[ál-šám-ma-kam]
	4'	ì-lá-[e]
	5'	tukun-[bi]
	6'	íd-da bal-da [g]ud ²¹ ba-úš
	7'	šám-[t]il-la-bi-šè
	8'	ì-l[a]-e
	9'	tukun-bi gud
	10'	^{giš} šudun-mar ²² -gíd-da-bi
	11'	ur-maḫ-e ba-an-gaz
	12'	nu-ub-[]
	13'	u ₄ -da []

I 2'-5'. "If (a man) has [broken] the horns of the ox, he shall pay one-third of its price."

II 1'-4'. "If (a man) has [damaged] the eyes of the ox, he shall pay one-half of its price."

II 5'-8'. "If (a man) has [...] the ... of the ox, he shall pay one-fourth of its price."

III 1'-4'. "If (a man) has [...] the [...] of the ox, he shall pay one-fourth of its price."

III 5'-8'. "If the ox has been killed when crossing a river, he shall pay its full price."

21. A: g u d; C om.

22. C: -m a r-; A om. by mistake.

III 9'. "If a lion has killed the ox (while it was under) the yoke of a wagon, he shall not [...], when [...] (rest broken).

I 2'-5' is identical with CL § 36 (from which the verbal form has been restored) but with a higher penalty: one-third of the price of the ox instead of one-fourth as in CL. The case is not considered in CH but is included in the clause from *PBS* VIII 2, No. 196, quoted above, and in a similar clause in Böhl, *Leiden Coll.* II, No. 771: 12.

II 1'-4' is identical with CL § 35 and CH § 247 as well as with the appendix to Ai. IV 7-10; in all cases the penalty is the same. The restoration [i n - ḥ u l] is from CL § 35.

II 5'-8'. The parallelism with the other paragraphs suggests an emendation in line 6': g u d <x>- b i. A possible candidate for x, judging from the penalty, is k u n, for which one pays one-fourth of the price according to § 37, or one of the items listed alongside the tail in CH § 248, with the minimum penalty. Cf. also III 1'-4'.

III 1'-4'. Line 2' remains undeciphered. A not very important part of the body of the ox is expected, since the penalty is only one-fourth of the total price. The sign PA is clear on the tablet, and SA is excluded. One could think of restoring PA.[IB, that is, š a b, because of the line g u d š a b (with var. š a - a b) k u d - k u d ^{giš}š u d u n n á - n á (Dialogue 1: 67, identical with P 5.21; see E. I. Gordon in *JCS* XII 14f.), and taking š a b as equal to *qablū*, *qablātan* (Diri V 73a-74), but textually s a - a b is preferable to š a b in the passage just quoted. The term s a - a b is hardly a part of the body, since it is not found in the lists of s a's of the forerunner of Hh XV 87 ff. and Ugumu 153 ff.; it is better to consider it as ^(kuš)š a - a b; cf. forerunner to Hh XI 118 (with new var. from unpubl. dupl. N 5497: ^(kuš)s a - a [b]), an unidentified part of the harness of oxen, written s á - p a in pre-Sargonic (*DP*, No. 492 i 7, iii 5; Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, No. 31 ii 1; etc.) and Ur III texts (Oppenheim, *AOS* XXXII E 19) and s a - á b in *STVC*, No. 75 ii 11. The meaning of Dialogue 1: 67 is thus "even when this piece of the harness is broken, the ox continues to lie under the yoke," and the phrase was used to describe proverbial stupidity.

III 5'-8'. This paragraph has no known parallels in the legal sources. Far the Ur III administrative texts, cf. for example *RA* XIX 44, No. 641:23: official "going to (supervise) the crossing of the river by the cattle" (g u d í d - d è b a l - e - d è g i n - n a). The tablet *YOS* IV, No. 294, deals with a legal case in which barley had been paid for a herd of donkeys to cross the river (a n š e í d - d è b a l - a); the animals drowned (a - a ì - ú š), and restitution has to be made. The complications of the case, due to the fact that the paid barley had already been spent, are not clear because the end of the text is broken.

III 9' ff. The case of the ox killed by a lion is foreseen by CH § 244 and *YOS* I, No. 28, § 8.

The end of the article is not preserved in our text, but the negative form of the verb in line 12 makes it probable that the solution was similar to that of CH, namely that the man who hired the ox had nothing to pay and the loss was *ana bēlišu*. *YOS* I, No. 28, says on the contrary that if a lion kills an ox "an equivalent for its (with incorrect suffix -n i-) life shall be provided." The cases, however, seem slightly different. *YOS* I, No. 28, presumes negligence on the part of the man who hired the ox, which is described as a "wandering ox," while CH seems to presume due care, since the following paragraph covers the death of the ox by neglect, whatever the cause may be. In our text –if the assumption that its conclusion was similar to CH § 244 is correct– it seems that as long as the oxen are yoked to the wagon, reasonable care is presumed, and the hirer is not liable for the loss of the animals. If they were killed by a lion, it was a case of *force majeure*. Note, however, that the beginning of our line 13' (u₄-d a [...]) suggests that the paragraph included the consideration of special circumstances, unfortunately not preserved.

The following table gives all the sources available about damages to hired oxen, and a comparison of the penalties (given in the second sub-column as the price of an ox or a fraction thereof). One innovation of CH is that the cases are grouped according to penalties.

-	CH		CL		New Texts		YOS I, No. 28		KAV, No. 8	
Ox killed by a lion	§244	0			III 9' ff.	0?	8	1		
Ox killed by crossing a river					III 5'-8'	1				
Ox killed by neglect or striking	245								Cf. 1-6*	
Ox lost							9	1		
Lesions:										
legs	246	1								
<i>labānu</i>	246	1								
eyes	247	1/2	§35	1/2	II 1'-4'	1/2			7-10	1/2
skin	248	1/5								
tail	248	1/5	37	1/4	II 5'-8'?	1/4				
<i>šašallu</i>	248	1/5	34**	1/3						
horns			36	1/4	I 2'-5'	1/3				
bones									1-6	1

* See n. 20.

** In CL §34 read perhaps s a - s a l t u k u l - a (- t a expected), "with a stick," i.e., a goad.

Plate I

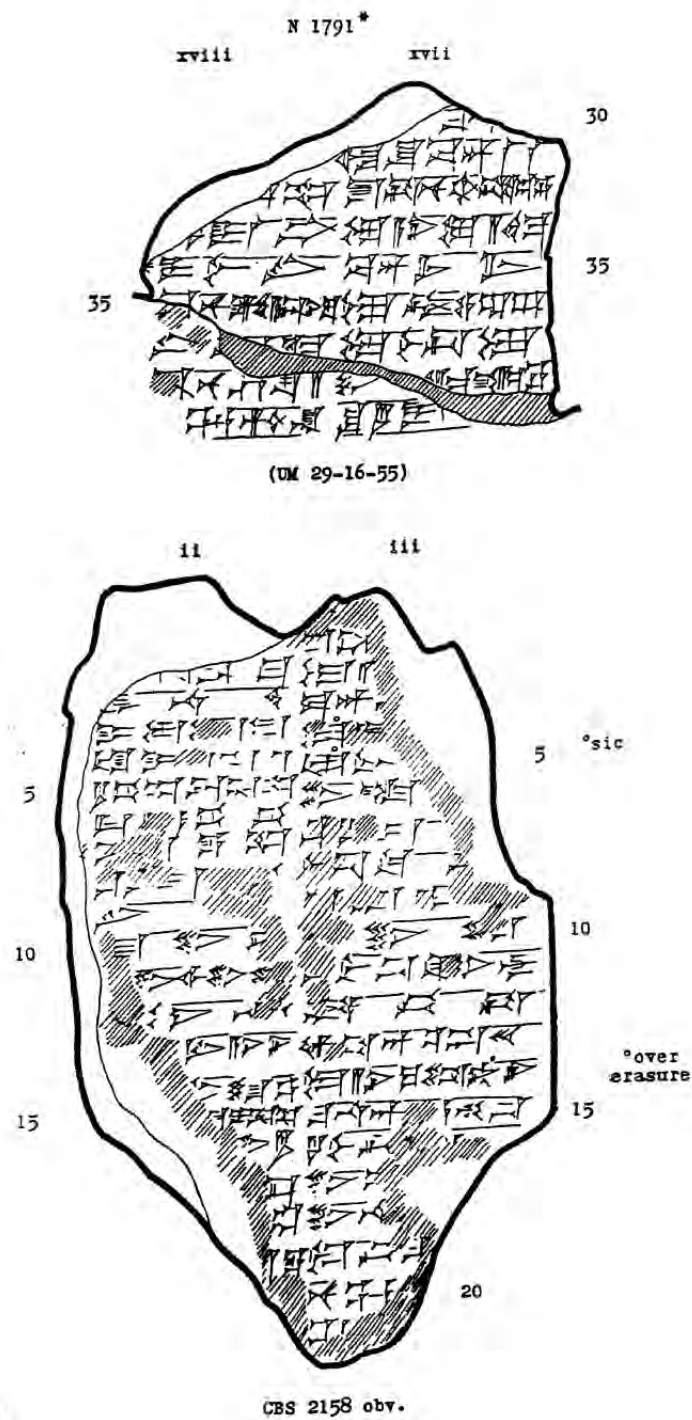
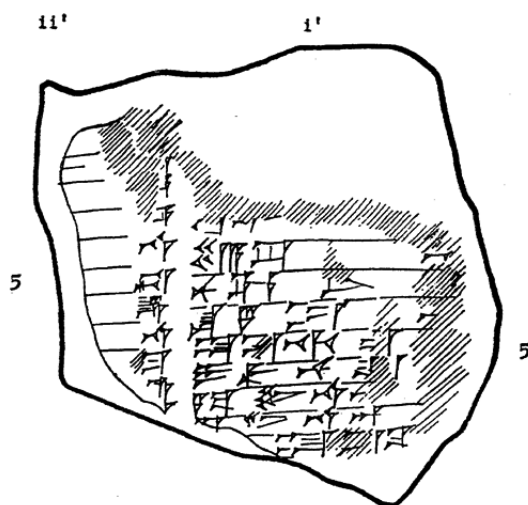


Plate II



CBS 2158 rev.



N 3320* rev.

Plate III

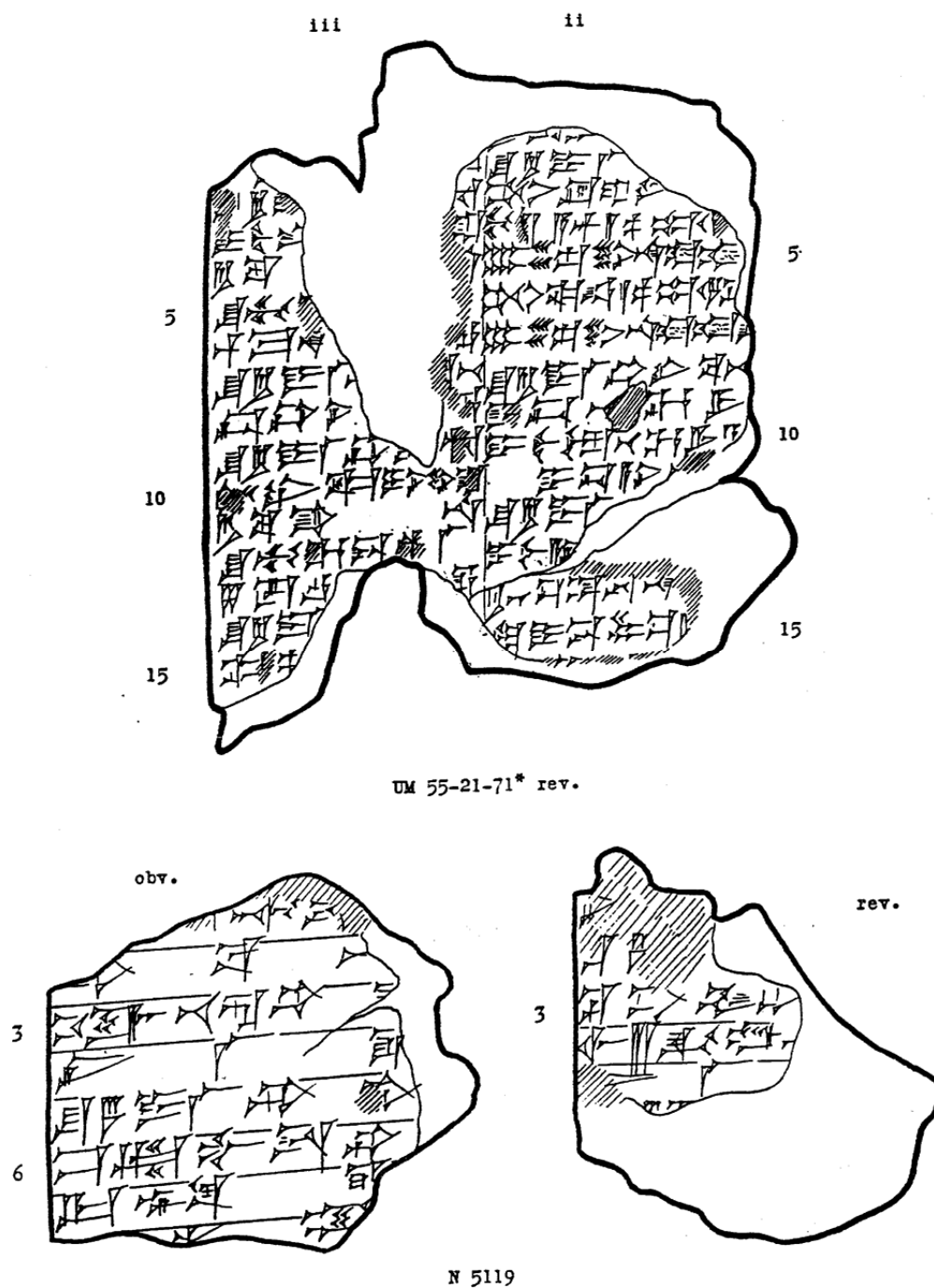
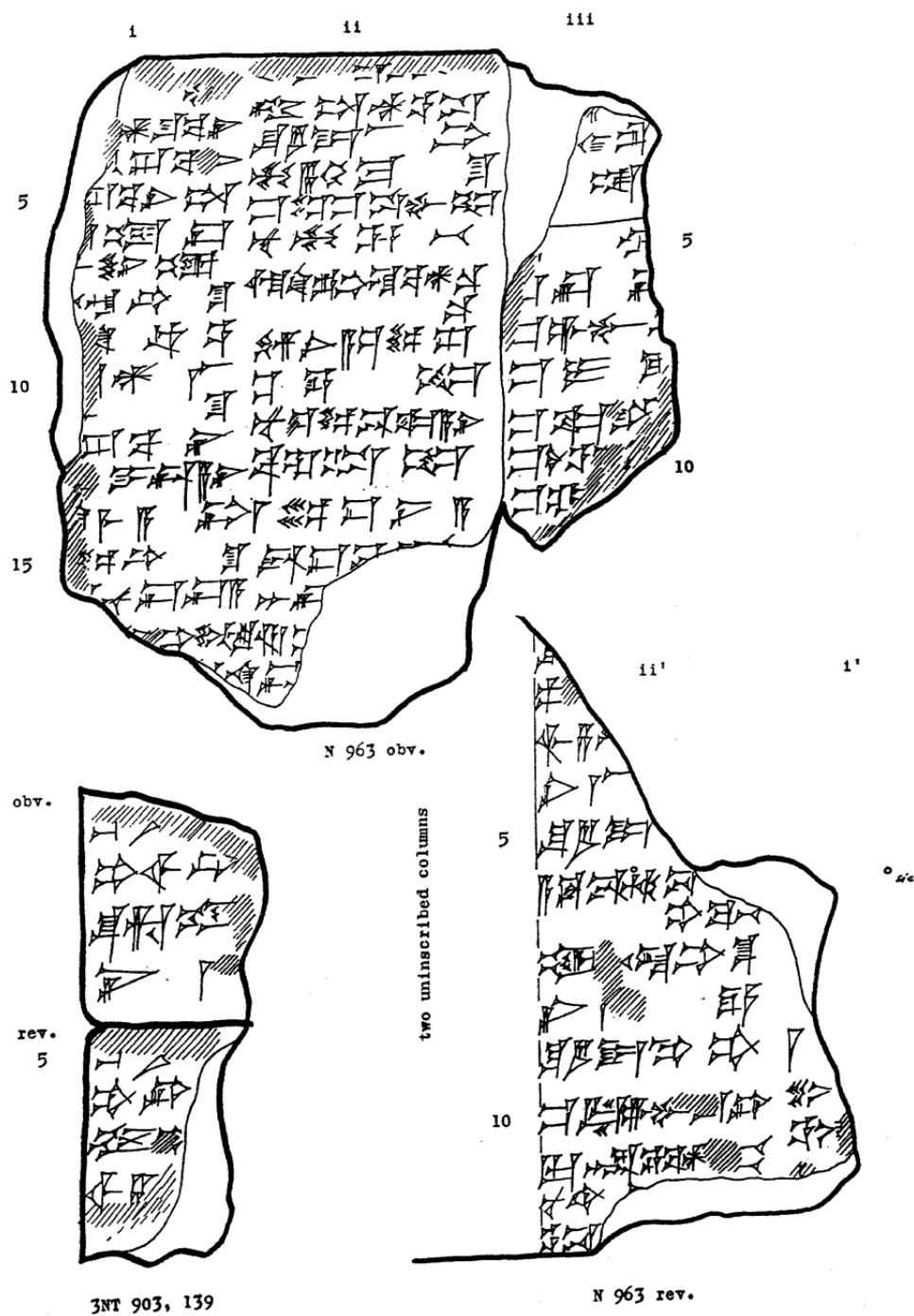


Plate IV



II.7

Šū-Sîn's Historical Inscriptions: Collection B*

D. O. Edzard published *AfO* 19 (1960) 1ff. a large tablet with a collection of commemorative inscriptions dating from the reign of Šū-Sîn, which will be designated henceforth as “Collection A.” The existence of another tablet (Ni 9662), our text F, published also by Edzard (*AfO* 19 28 ff.), with similar inscriptions, but which could not be part of the large tablet of Collection A (HS 2009), raised the question of a possible second collection of royal inscriptions. The question is now to be answered in the affirmative and the present article contains the materials which have been identified as part of the new collection, designated as “Collection B.”

UM 29-15-566+, the main source for Collection B, shares with HS 2009 the arrangement in narrow columns of short lines, but could not possibly be the missing part of HS 2009. The shape of the tablet, rounded edges in HS 2009 versus squared edge in UM 29-15-566+, the fact that almost seven columns are partially preserved in the latter and the contents of Collection A could not possibly be fitted into Collection B, the paleography (e.g., the sign AN is star-shaped in HS 2009, formed by two horizontals and a vertical in UM 29-15-566+), all speak against considering HS 2009 and UM 29-15-566+ as parts of the same tablet, and the existence of two collections is thus definitely established.

Sources

- A UM 29-15-566+ UM 29-16-611 + N 3152 + N 3180 + N 4240 + N 4241 + N 5144 + Ni 43941¹
The text (p. 25ff) has been copied from the original, except for Ni 4394, available through a copy by S. N. Kramer.

* The present article was originally published in *JCS* 21 (1967) pp. 24-38.

1. The old catalogue of the collections of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia has the following entry: “CBS 19766. Large fr. of a large fr. (*sic*) unbaked clay tablet, inscr. cols., brown. Gimil-Sin.” This tablet is now lost, like the following one, CBS 19767, with the Temple Hymns (transliteration given by H. Zimmern, *ZA* 39 245ff.; an old copy will be published by Å. Sjöberg in *TCS* 3). It is possible that the tablet was misplaced and broken, and its parts later catalogued in the UM and N sections of the collection, and the major portion of text A could thus be identical with CBS 19766; but it is likewise possible that CBS 19766, unless it is identical with HS 2009, was the missing right part of the Jena tablet.

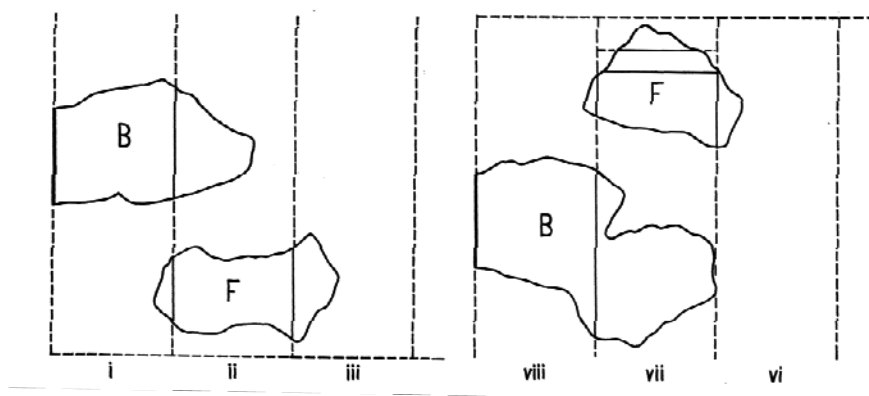
- B Ni 9654 (p. 27, copied by S. N. Kramer)
 C Ni 9656 (*AfO* 19 pl. 4)
 D Ni 13221* (p. 27, copied by Muazzez Çiğ)
 E *UET* 8 34
 F Ni 9662 (*AfO* 19 pl. 4)

All texts are from Nippur, except text E which was found in Ur.

Reconstruction of the Text

The text of Collection B is presented here as a reconstruction of tablet A. The fact that the tablet has been put together from so many small fragments does not make easy the estimation of the exact shape and size of the original. It appears that the tablet had seven columns on each side, with about forty-eight short lines per column, and the overall size must have been about 180 mm. (height) by 156 mm. (width). It is hardly likely that the number of columns could reach eight, although the columns on the right side (obverse) tend to be narrower than on the left. The duplicates of text A, except for D and E, have a longer and more conventional line division, and therefore no exact line numbers can be assigned to the portions of the text preserved only in sources B, O, and F. Nevertheless, to make comparison easier, the text of these sources has been arbitrarily cut into short lines, easily recognizable in the reconstruction because the corresponding line numbers are in parentheses.

From the first two columns of text B it appears that the length of a column in B is approximately equivalent to 113 (short) lines of A. According to the hypothesis that F is part of the same tablet as B, and considering that B has to be at least a six-column tablet since there is no room in source A for the reverse of B, we arrive at the reconstruction indicated in the figure below.



The tablet B + F had thus all the text of source A, ending with the colophon of F r. ii' 4'f., plus an additional inscription starting at B + F vii 6 (= F r. ii' 6'), continued, after a short break, by B r. i', and ending shortly after the traces preserved in F r. iii', since the rest of B r. ii' is blank.

If the first column of E has been correctly placed, E must have started somewhere near the beginning of column iii of source A, since the length of a column in E appears to be equivalent to about 63 lines of A. If E is not a school extract (cf. remarks to col. iv), then the first two columns of A had an inscription independent of the one about Simanum. It is possible that the latter had an independent existence and was later incorporated into other inscriptions, after a prologue (columns i-ii of A).

The rev. of C remains unplaced.

col. i			
	1-24	<i>missing</i>	
	25	[]-lá	
	26	[]-ni	
	27	[]x'-a-ba	
	28	[] šen-šen-na	(28-29) [. . .] attacking in combat,
	29	[x x]x' du ₇ -du ₇	
	30	[x]x' nam-ur-sag-šè	(30-31) [. . .] born to be a warrior,
	31	[t]u-da	
	32	x' ^{gis} tukul ti mar-uru ₅	(32-33) presented with a [...], a mace,
	33	[s]ag-šè RIG ₇ -a	arrows (and) quiver.
	34	[m]ud ₅ -me-gar al-dul ₄ -la	(34-36) The one endowed with
	35	[du]mu-gal ^d sin-na	astounding qualities, the first daughter
	36	[m]e 50 šu-du ₈	of Sin, holding the fifty <i>me</i> 's,
	37	kù'- ^d inanna-ke ₄	(37-39) the holy Inanna, for Šū-Sîn,
	38	^d šu- ^d sin	her beloved ... man.
	39	x' nita ki-ág-gá-ni-ir	
C			
2'	40	kur gú-erim ₂ -gál	(40-42) The enemy country which in
	41	nu-še-ga-na	disobedience to him, (engages) in
3'	42	mè ġis-ġis-šè-lá-a-kam	battle (and) hostilities,
B i	C		
1'	4'	43 a-ma-ru ulu _x (GIŠGAL)-maḥ	(43-45) in order to sweep over its
		44 zi-ga-gin _x	population, like a huge onrushing
		45 un-ba ùr-ùr-dè	stormy flood,
2'	5'	46 á-tuku ḥul-gál	(46-48) in order to smite its powerful
		47 erim ₂ -DU-bi-ne	ones, mischievous (and) inimical,
		48 [t]u ₁₀ -tu ₁₀ -bé ak-dè	
		col. ii	
B	C		
3'	6'	(1) sag-ġi ₆ zi-gál	(1-3) in order to destroy the memory of
		(2) mu-tuku-ba	its famous black-headed people,
		(3) mu-bi ḥa-lam-e-dè	

4'	7'	(4)	ḥur-sag-gal-gal	(4-6) in order to subdue its great far-reaching mountain ranges,
		(5)	á-sù-du-bi	
		(6)	gú ki-šè gá-gá-dè	
5'	8'	(7)	^d inanna ^d en-líl-le	(7-13) Inanna (and) Enlil came in to the help of Šū-Sin, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters.
6'		(8)	^d šu- ^d sin	
		(9)	lugal kalag-ga	
		(10)	lugal-uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma	
		(11)	lugal-an-ub-da-4-ba-ra	
7'	9'	(12)	á-daḥ-a-na	(14-16) The two of them descended from above(?) to his right (and) left.
		(13)	mu-na-ni-in-ku ₄ -ku ₄	
8'	10'	(14)	mìn-na-ne-ne	The king -[Šū]-Sîn [...]
		(15)	zi-da-gùb-bu-na	
		(16)	^r an-ta mu-e ₁₁ -dè [?]	
11'		(17)	lugal-[^d šu]- ^d si[n]	(20-22) the pure E-kur [...]
		(18)	[]	
		(19)	[]	
12'		(20)	é-kur za-gìn	By order(?) of Enl[il ...]
		(21)	[]	
		(22)	[]	
13'		(23)	^r inim [?] - ^d en-l[il-lá-ta]	(19-21) His [...] overwhelms the disobedient king (and) the rebel land;
	Col iii	1-18	<i>destroyed</i>	
D		19	[x] ^r x x ^r -ni	
1'		20	lugal inim tak ₄	(22-23) his orders make the foreign country tremble;
2'		21	ki-bal-a ùr-ùr	
3'		22	á-ág-gá-ni	
4'		23	kur tuk ₄ -tuk ₄ -e	(24-25) his strength is outstanding.
5'		24	kalag-ga-ni	
6'		25	sag-bi-šè è-a	
7'		26	dumu-munus a-ni	(26-29) His daughter was given as a bride to Simanum.
8'		27	si-ma-núm ^{ki} -e	
9'		28	^r nam ^r -é-gi ₄ -a-bi-šè	
10'		29	[]-sum	(30-37) [Simanum, Ḥabura, and the surrounding districts, rebelled against the king, they chased his daughter away from her residence]
		30	[si-ma-nú]m ^{ki}	
		31	[ḥa-bu-r]a ^{ki}	
		32	[ù ma-da-m]a-da-bi	
		33	[lugal-da gú-er]im ₂	
		34	[ba-an-da-ab-]gál	
		35	[dumu-munus-a]-ni	
		36	[é-ki-tuš-a-ni]-ta	
		37	[ság im-ta]-eš	

38	[	]	x'	
39	[si-ma-núm ^{ki}]			(39) [Simanum]
40	[ḥa-bu-ra ^{ki}]			(40) [Ḥabura]
41-43	<i>destroyed</i>			
44	[	]	x'	
45	[	]	eš	
46	[	]	ke ₄	
47	[	]	x'-ta	
48	[	]	ba	
Col. iv				
E				
1'	[x] pà [	]		
2'	[š]ul [?] - ^d utu [	]		(2') The hero Utu [
3'	dumu-munus-a-[ni]			(3') [His] daughter.
4'	si-ma-núm ^{ki}			(4'-10') Simanum, Ḥabura, and the
5'	ḥa-bu-ra ^{ki}			surrounding districts, rebelled against
6'	ù ma-da-ma-da-bi			the king: they chased his daughter
7'	lugal-da gú-erim ₂ -gál ba-an-da-ab-gál			away from her residence.
8'	dumu-munus-a-ni			
9'	é-ki-tuš-a-ni-ta			
10'	[s]ág im-ta-eš-àm			
11'	^d šu- ^d sin lugal-kalag-ga			(11') Šū-Sîn, the mighty king,
12'	[lu]gal-uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma			(12') the king of Ur,
B ii				
1'	(14)	ḥur [	]	
2'	(15)	am TAR [	]	
	(16)	x' [	]	
3'	(17)	dùg-tuku-bi x' x'		(17) Their strong ones '...'
	18	[	]	x'
4'	19	nam-lú-u _x -ba		(19-20) Taught their men submission.
	20	saḥar im-mi- ^r zu'		
5'	21	si-ma-núm ^{ki}		(21-25) He smote the heads of
		ḥa-bu-ra ^{ki}		Simanum, Ḥabura, and the
		ù ma-da-ma-da-bi		surrounding districts.
		sag-du-bi		
		tibir ₂ im-mi-ra		
6'	26	dumu-munus-a-ni		(26-28) He returned his daughter to
	27	é-ki-tuš-a-ni-a		her residence.
	28	im-ma-ši-in-gi ₄		
	29	si-ma-núm ^{ki}		(29-33) He assigned to his service
	30	ḥa-bu-ra ^{ki}		Simanum, Ḥabura, and the
	31	ù ma-da-ma-da-bi		surrounding districts.

	32	nam-arad-da-ni-šè	
	33	sag-šè mu-ni-rig ₇	
	34	sag-erim ₂ -gál	(34-41) He settled the enemy people, his booty, (namely) Simanum, for Enlil (and) Ninlil, on the frontier of Nippur, (and) built for them [a town].
	35	nam-ra-aš-ak-ni	
	36	^d en-líl ^d nin-líl-r[a]	
	37	ki-sur-r[a]	
	38	nibru ^{ki} -ka	
	39	si-ma-nú[m ^{ki}]	
	40	ki m[u-ne]-gar	
	41	[mu-n]e-dù	
	42	[t]a-mu-dè	
	43	[x-t]a-an-gub	
F			
1'	44	uru ^{ki} -ba	(44-46) The god of their town was Šū-Sîn.
	45	^d šu- ^d sin	
	46	dingir-bi-im	
	47	u ₄ -nam-tar-ra-ta	(47- v 6) Since the days of decreeing the fates,
	48	lugal-na-me	
F	Col. v		
3'	(1)	sag-nam-ra-aš-ak-ni-ta	no king had established a town for Enlil and Ninlil on the frontier of Nippur, with the people he had captured;
4'	(2)	^d en-líl ^d nin-líl-ra	
	(3)	ki-sur-ra	
	(4)	nibru ^{ki} -ka	
	(5)	uru ^{ki}	
	(6)	ki nu-ne-gar	
5'	(7)	^d šu- ^d sin	(7-11) (but) Šū-Sîn, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, [established] Simanum ...
	(8)	lugal-kalag-ga	
	(9)	lugal-uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma	
	(10)	lugal-an-ub-da-4-ba-ke ₄	
6'	(11)	si-ma-núm ^{ki}	
E	(12-8)	<i>destroyed</i>	
2'	(19)	^d en-líl[l ^d nin-líl-ra]	(19-23) [for] Enli[l and Ninlil] on the fron[tier] of Nipp[ur] established Simanum.
3'	20	ki-su[r-ra]	
	21	ni[bru ^{ki} -ka]	
4'	22	si-ma-nú[m ^{ki}]	(24-28) Since that time, the <i>Martu</i> , a ravaging people, with the instincts of a beast, like wolves, [. . .] the stalls.
	23	ki mu-ne-[gar]	
5'	24	u ₄ -bi-t[a]	
5'-6'	25	mar-tu lú-ḫa-lam-m[a]	
7'	26	dím-ma-ur-ra-gin _x	
8'	27	ur-bar-ra-gin _x	
	28	tùr 'x'[x]'x'	

29	lú [še nu-]zu	(29) A people who does not know
30	lú []-ga	grain,
31	[] silim-ma	
32	[]-da	
33	ʾbara ₂ ʾ[]-ke ₄	
34	ʾmuʾ-[un]-sì-sì	
35-39	<i>destroyed</i>	
40	u ₄ uru ^{ki} []	(40-41) Then the towns [...]
41	an-ta nam-m[i]	
42	ḥur-sag-gal-ga[l]	(42-45) The big mountains were
43	ḥu-ri-in-g[in _x]	subdued as if by an eagle;
44	gú ki-[šè]	
45	ba-an-da-ab-[gar]	
46	uru ^{ki} á-dam	(46-48) the towns, the population
47	ki gar-gar-ra-b[i]	(and) their settlements, were turned
48	du ₆ -du ₆ -du mi-ni-[gar]	into ruins.
Col. vi		
1-15	<i>destroyed</i>	
16	é []	
17	ság []	
18	mar-tu []	(18-19) The <i>Martu</i> []
19	ti-id-nu []	Tidnum []
20	NI a-ma-[]	
21	im-ma-da-[]	
22	lugal []	(22-24) The king [... attacked] in
23	mè-šen-šen-[na]	battles ...
24	im-[ma-du ₇ -du ₇]	
25-39	<i>destroyed</i>	
40	ʾx xʾ[]	
41	x-šè mi DU DIʾ	
42	ub-da-an-na-ke ₄	
43	[x]ʾxʾ URU in-ne-eš	
44-48	<i>destroyed</i>	
(F obv. iii' must be placed somewhere in col. vi.)		
Col. vii-viii <i>not preserved</i>		
(except for some traces of col. viii)		
Col ix		
1-4	<i>destroyed</i>	
5	ʾšu-du ₇ UN ki-gar-raʾ-niʾʾ	(5-6) ʾWho perfects his settled
6	na-rù-a-maḥ	peopleʾ. A lofty stele
7-10	<i>illegible traces</i>	
11	[lugal]-na-me	(11-12) No [king] built [for him];
12	nu-m[u-na]-an-dím	

Col x	13	^d šu- ^d sin	(13-16) (but) Šū-Sîn, the mighty king, the king of Ur, the king of the [four] quarters ...
	14	lugal-kalag-g[a]	
	15	lugal-uri ₂ ^{ki} -m[a]	
	16	lugal-an-ub-d[a-4-ba]	
	17	‘x x’[]	
		<i>rest of column destroyed</i>	
	1-2	<i>destroyed</i>	
	3	^d [nin-líl]	(3-5) [For Ninlil] the queen of the gods, his queen,
	4	nin-dingir-re-n[e]	
	5	nin-a-ni-i[r]	
	6	šu- ^d si[n]	(6-10) Šū-Sîn, the beloved of Enlil, the king chosen by the heart of Enlil,
	7	ki-‘ág’	
	8	^d en-líl-[lá]	
	9	lugal- ^d en-líl-[le]	
	10	ša-ga-na p[à-da]	
	11	‘sipa’-kalam-ma	(11-12) the shepherd of the land, the king of the four quarters,
	12	lugal-an-ub-da-4-ba-ke ₄	
	13	u ₄ ^d en-líl-le	(13-18) When Enlil, from the horizon to the zenith, from south to north, had traveled through heaven and earth, hurrying ...
	14	an-úr-ta	
	15	an-pa-aš	
	16	[si]g-ta igi-nim-šè	
	17	an-ki nigin ₂ -na	
	18	‘x’ sag si []	
Col. xi		<i>rest of column destroyed</i> (except for traces of lines 28-30)	
	1	[n]am-gál húl-[x]	(1-3) rejoicing in the greatness, with his beloved queen Ninlil.
	2	nin ki-ág-gá-[ni]	
	3	^d nin-líl-da	(4-10) The great má-gur ₈ -boat (is) fit for the largest rivers; the quay of AB is the quay of Ninlil; its bright crown is the ... Tummal of Ninlil.
	4	má-gur ₈ -maḥ	
	5	íd-maḥ-e hé-du ₇	
	6	kar-AB-e	
	7	kar- ^d nin-líl-lá-kam	
	8	men-dalla-bi	
	9	‘x’ KU tum-ma-al ^{ki}	(11-16) The..., its king, Enlil, (and) its queen, Ninlil, made shine forth,
	10	[^d]nin-líl-lá-kam	
	11	‘x x’[x]‘x’-ka	
	12	lugal-[b]i	
	13	^d en-líl-[lá-ke ₄]	
	14	nin-[bi]	
	15	^d nin-l[íl-lá-ke ₄]	
	16	pa-bi mu-u[n-è-eš]	

	17	giš. 'x' é []	
	18	'íd' []	
	19-22	<i>destroyed</i>	
	23	'x' []	
	24	AN []	
	25	kin-gal []	(25-26) [Did] a great work [...].
	26	mi-ni-in-[]	
	27	^{na4} nír-sag-kal	(27-30) He decorated perfectly with
	28	^{na4} gug-gi-rin	precious (and) selected ní r-stone, red
	29	^{na4} za-gìn-sù-ág-gá	carnelian, (and) bright lapis-lazuli.
	30	šu-gal ba-ni-in-du ₇	
	31	^{giš} gizzal _x (BI.GIŠ)	(31) The oars,
	32	^{giš} gi-m[uš]	(32) the punting poles,
	33	^{gišr} zi' -[gan]	(33) the rud[der],
	34	'giš' [šu-kár]	(34) the [equipment],
		<i>rest of column destroyed</i>	
		<i>(F r. i' has probably to be placed here)</i>	
Col. xii	1-3	<i>destroyed</i>	
	4	túl-dagal [x x x]	(4-6) He placed the m á - g u r ₈ -boat
	5	^{giš} má-gur ₈ [x x x]	[... in] the wide basin [...].
	6	im-ma-ni-i[n-š]i-gál	
	7	^{giš} gi-tum-ma-al ^{ki}	(7-11) Toward the canebrake of
	8	^d en-líl-lá-šè	Enlil's Tummal, toward Ninlil's place
	9	ki-ša-ḫúl-la- ^d nin-líl-'lá'-šè	of joy, Enlil, together with Ninlil,
	10	^d en-líl ^d nin-líl-da	sailed.
	11	mu-di-ni-in-u ₅	
	12	šir-kù nam-šub	12-13 (He had sacred songs (and)
	13	mu-na-an-tuku	incantations sung to him.
	14	nar é-balag ní-g-dùg-ge	(14-15) For him, he placed
	15	si mu-na-ab-sá	appropriately singers in the pleasing
	16	íd-bi	"house of the lyre".
	17	íd nin mu-túm	(16-18) The canal was called the canal
	18	zal-le mu p[à-d]a	n i n - m u - t ú m - z a l - l e.
	19	un-e 'x x'[x]	(19) The people...
	20-21	<i>destroyed</i>	
	22	[]-bi	
	23	[] al-e	
	24	[] šu]-ti-a-ta	
	25	[^d]nin-líl	
	26	[x (x)]-gal-gal-la-ra	
	27	[x]-ma-ni kù-kù-ga-àm	

	28	[x] ba-an-daḥ	
	29	ˁx x xˁ gal-gal-la-àm	
	30	[im-mi]-ni-in-tab-tab	
	31	[]-maḥ-àm	
Col. xiii	1-3	<i>destroyed</i>	
	4	nam-ti-la-ni-šè	(4-5) offered to them for his own life.
	5	ˁaˁ mu-ne-ru	
	6	má-gur ₈ ur ₅ -gin _x dib-ba	(6-11) No king had ever made a má - gu _{r8} -boat sailing so (well), for Enlil
	7	u ₄ -na-me	(and) Ninlil,
	8	lugal-na-me	
	9	^d en-líl	
	10	^d nin-líl-ra	
	11	ˁnuˁ-[mu-ne]-dím	
	12	^d šu- ^d sin	(12-16) (but) Šū-Sîn, the mighty king,
	13	[lu]gal-kalag-ga	the king of Ur, the king of the four
	14	lugal-uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma	quarters,
	15	[lu]gal-an-ub-da-	
	16	4-ba-ke ₄	
	17	[^d e]n-líl	(17-20) to Enlil, his [king], (and) to
	18	[lugal]-a-ni-ir	Ninlil, his [queen] ...
	19	[^d ni]n-líl	
	20	[nin-a-n]i-ir	
		<i>rest of column destroyed</i>	
Col. xiv			
	1	^{giš} [gizzal _x]	(1-10) (the one who) breaks the [oars],
	2	^{giš} gi-m[uš]	the punting poles, the rudder, the
	3	^{giš} zi-gan	equipment, the things I have made,
	4	^{giš} šu-kár	(and) puts them in (his) storehouse,
	5	níg-dím-dím-ma-mu	(or) places them in a forbidden place,
	6	íb-zi-[i]r-zi-ri-a	
	7	é-níg-ga-ra	
	8	ì-íb-ku ₄ -ku ₄	
	9	azak-ka	
	10	[k]iˁ-gar im-ma-ni-íb-g[ar]	
	11	[m]á-gur ₈ -ma[h]	
	12	ˁxˁ-ke ₄	
	13	[x x]ˁxˁ-ke ₄ -ˁxˁ	
	14	[] du ₈ -a	
		<i>(Traces of line 15 and 20-21, rest destroyed in A)</i>	
		<i>According to the reconstruction proposed for B + F the end of the col.</i>	

	xiv would be represented by F r. ii' 1'-
	5':
2'	[^d ni]n-urta ur-sa[g-gal ^d en-líl-lá]
3'	[maš]kim-bi h[é-a]
4'	[m]u-sar-ra ^{giš} alan ^{!?} mu-sar-ra
	š[à é] (or m[á-gur ₈])
5'	[^d]en-líl ^d nin-líl- ^r ka'-kam

Remarks

i 34. For mu d₅(ŠIM) - me - gar “astonishment” (and, as in our passage, the qualities that produce it) see Civil, *Studies Oppenheim* 88: Krecher, *ZA* 58 59; kar ^{giš}má-ús-bi mu d₅-me-gar-ra (*ZA* 57 52:37). The similar term ní g - me - gar is associated with dul in the locution ní g - me - gar tú g - gin_x dul *BE* 31 25 r. 8; Šurpu V-VI 15 f.; for this use of dul cf. for instance šà-hú l tú g - gin_x dul Lugalbanda and Hurrum 198 (*TuMNF* III 10:194, and dupl.).

36. The 50 me's are mentioned in Gud cyl. A x 6; *STVC* 34 iv 3: *RA* 7 107 ii 2: etc. Other possibilities, mainly names of weapons (Falkenstein, *SGL* I 118), do not fit well the context, and are hardly compatible with the traces of the first sign.

39. Possibly something is missing after this line; as it is, the sentence ends without a finite verb.

41. The antecedent of - n a is presumed here to be Šū-Sîn, but could also be Inanna.

42. The - k a m at the end of the line marks the first member (lines 40-42) of an inverted genitive, followed by - a m, and whose second member is to be found in the objects of the clauses of lines i 43-ii (6). These clauses are, in a somewhat involved syntactic construction, subordinates in - d è of the main clause in ii (7-13).

ii (2) For mu - t u k u “to be famous” (cf. Akk. *šuma išû*), cf. Coll. A ii' 39; mu - ma h t u k u - t u k u - d è “in order to become famous” *UET* 1 134:15' (Kudurmabuk); l u g a l - m u - t u k u - b i - n e ^{giš}š u d u n - n a k a - g i r - z a ù - m u - e - t ú m - t ú m “when all their famous kings carry the yoke in your path” (i. e. follow your rule) *UET* 8 61, end of a letter of Iddin-Dagan to Sin-illat which completes the third letter of “Letters Collection B” to be published by Fadhil Ali; l u g a l - m u - t u k u b a - u g ₅ - g e - e š - a “the famous kings who have died” (Ur-Nammu text, courtesy S. N. Kramer); ù l ú - u _x s a g - z i - g á l m u - n i s a ₄ h é - a l ú - b i m u n a - a n - t u k u - t u k u *UET* 1 294: 32 ff. (for the first part cf. Sumer 11 pl. 16:20 f. and 4R 29 no. 1:43 f.).

(23). The ends of line in F i are probably to be placed around ii 38.

iii 20. “disobedient”, litt. disregarding the instructions; cf. Akk. *ezēbu* with objects like *tērtu* or *awatu*.

26. The presence of a daughter of Šū-Sîn, whose name remains unknown (see remarks to iii 2' [text E]), in Simanum is a new incident in Ur III history, and turns out to be the reason, or the pretext, for the campaign against Simanum. Other examples of political marriages during the Ur III period are the marriage of a daughter of Apil-kin of Mari to a son of Ur-Nammu (Civil, *RA* 56 213), of a royal princess to the governor of Anšan in Šulgi 30, and of another princess to the governor of Zabšali in Ibbi-Sîn 5. See B. Kienast, *JCS* 19 54⁴⁰ for some late parallels.

The mention of Simanum and Ḫabura together gives at last a clue for the location, unknown until now, of Simanum. Ḫabura is mentioned in some early second millennium texts (references in Falkner, *AfO* 18 7 sub Buralum; add the Shemshara itinerary in Laessøe, *Det Første Assyriske Imperium* 86:55 ff.), but only once, as far as I know, in Ur III (Fish, *CSTJR* 168:5, ḫ a - b u - r a^{lki}, collated). Goetze suggests for Ḫabura a location on the Chābūr, North of °Arbān (*JCS* 7 66 f.) and J. Levy places it near Tell Kōkab (*Or* 21 260). Interestingly enough, the Ur III text just mentioned connects Ḫabura with Mardaman, probably the Māpōn of Ptolemy and the present Mardin (J. Levy, *Mélanges Lévy* 298; Goetze, *JNES* 12 220⁵⁵). The evidence available today thus suggests for Ḫabura-Simanum a location in the north-western area; note the description of the enemy as ḫ u r - s a g - g a l - g a l “the great mountain ranges” (Collec. A ii (4), v 42) which would seem to place the center of the opposition to the king of Ur in the mountain range immediately north of Mardin. There is a Samānum, immediately to the N. of Terqa, in the Mari sources (ref. *ARM* 15 133 s. v.), but its identification with Simanum seems doubtful. Cf. still *i-na šī-ma-na-ḫe* *ARM* 1 124:7 (von Soden *Or* 21 83) = place name + Hurrian ending-ḫe? In any case, Simanum, whose population has typically Hurrian names (Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians 113f.), must not be confused with Šimana, an eastern place mentioned in the messenger texts with Susa, Adamdun and Anšan (Arnold, *ABTR* 13; Lau, *OBTR* 127; *RA* 19 43 no. 98; *RTC* 347; etc.).

30 ff. These lines have been restored from text E which contains a repetition of this paragraph and has been placed at the beginning of col. iv, where there is just enough room for it, but without attempting to assign to it any line numbers corresponding to A. Note that -e š in line 37 and E 10’ is not for è (*UET* 8 p. 7) but for e in the *marû* form of s á g — d i/d u g₄/e “to disperse, to scare away, to stampede”.

iv. For text E see note to iii 30 ff. It is unlikely that line 2’ contains the name of the princess; restore perhaps [m u]-p à-[d a] [š] u l^d u t u -[k a] “named by the hero Utu”, as in Lugalzaggesi *SAKI* 154 i 19 f.; the presence of Utu in the Šū-Sîn inscription is however rather unexpected, but in collec. A ii 26’ there is a possible parallel if one reads: l u g a l m u - p à - d a^{d*} u t u - k e₄, instead of the difficult a n - k i - k e₄ (Edzard, *AfO* 19 6); there is of course the possibility of reading a n - * n a - k e₄ (cf. Seux, *Epithètes royales* 433). A prince of the royal family, incidentally, does bear the name l ú -^d u t u (*Or* 47-49 502:15). Syntactically, line 3 is difficult to explain unless a verb has been omitted between lines 3 and 4. Is text E a carelessly written exercise tablet with only extracts of the inscription?

19f. Free idiomatic translation; the verb appears to be z u but it is not certain. One would expect a verb meaning “to cover” or “to heap on top of”.

36ff. The deportation and settlement of the population of Simanum to the neighborhood of Nippur is confirmed by the rosters Pohl, *TuM* NF 1-2 300 to 304, dated to days 12, 19, 20, 21, and 26 of the 6th month of Šū-Sîn’s 8th year, which list among other workers e r i n₂ s i - m a - n ú m^{ki} engaged in agricultural work and receiving one-half of the regular wages: á ½ (303: 6, 11, 16, 21). A collection of *ditilla* of the 6th year of Šū-Sîn (*ITT* 3/2 6545 = Falkenstein, *NSGU* no. 190) deals with problems caused by the somewhat unusual legal status of these deportees (cf. Falkenstein, *NSGU* I 83).

v 24. Here starts a section reaching at least as far as vi 24, describing the attacks by the Martu. It is not clear whether the passage is intended to introduce the mention of the building of the *Murîq-tidnim*-wall (were the Simanum deportees used to build it?); in any case a passage about the wall would have been rather short since col. ix has already the end of the n a - r ú - a - m a ḫ section. Note that in v 42 the Martu are apparently described as ḫ u r - s a g - g a l - g a l; for the Martu coming from the mountains, see

now Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* 236 ff. For literary descriptions of the Martu, see op. cit. 89 ff.

26. For *dím-ma* (text E seems to have *du-ma*) followed by the name of an animal, compare *dím-ma* ^{ugu}KU-bi “with the brains of a monkey” Dialogue 1:76; 2:102; *za-e dí-m-ma-zu dí-m-ma* ^{ugu}KU-bi *galga-zu galga-ur-gir-ra-ka* NBC 7805:29 f. (similar to Dialogue 5). cf. SIG⁷.ALAN ^{ugu}KU-bi ZA 57 58:158.

ix. After the end of the *lu gal-na-me*-formula, towards the end of the column, started the inscription about the construction of the *má-gur₈*.

xii 16 ff. Compare *STVC* 60 r. 23' f. = 99 ii' 4 ff.

33 ff. Restored from xiv 1 ff.

xiii 20. After the end of the *lu gal-na-me*-formula come the closing curses. Šū-Sîn does not boast about being the first to build a *má-gur₈* for Ninlil, only that his boat sails (litt. “crosses”) like no other. In effect, Šulgi in his 8th year built also a boat for Ninlil, commemorated in a year formula and in the hymn *STVC* 60 (with dupl. *STVC* 99). This hymn, which structurally belongs to the same genre as the hymn to Išme-Dagan's chariot studied by the writer in *JAOS* 1968, constitutes a good parallel to the present inscription.

xiv 1. Restored from xii 31 ff.

5 ff. Cf. *ni-im-^{di}-im-ma-mu ib-te-ri-ia e-ni-i[m-g]á-ra e-ni-im-ku-ku-ti-a : ša i-pu-šu ú-pa-sa-su [a-n]a É.NÍG.GA¹ ú-še-ri-bu-šu* Sumer 11 pl. 16:9f. (collated from photo); compare *UET* 1 100:21 f. and *níg-dím-dím-ma* ^{gis}*gigir-bi-ka íb-zi-ir-re-a : bu-un-na-(an)-ni-e nar-kab-ti šu-a-ti ú-pa-as-sa-su-ma* 4R 12 r. 21 f.

9 f. *a za k(KÜ.AN)-ka* is assumed here to be a place rather than the abstract term for “taboo” or the like, by analogy with *ina bīt asakki nakāmu* or *šūrubu* in the Assyrian curses (ref. *CAD* 1/2 s. *asakku* B).

For the end of the col. see F r. ii' edited by Edzard, *AfO* 19 28f. where however I would still read ^{gis}*a la n* “a wooden statue” (the copy has a good *a la n*) in line 4'. If ^{gis}*n á* is correct (*AfO* 19 32) we would have the interesting detail that there was a couch in Ninlil's boat, for ritual purposes. In view of the contents of the inscription one could wonder whether the end of line 4' is not to be read *m[á-gur₈]* rather than *š[à-é]*. There seems to be no reason, furthermore, to eliminate the second *mu-sar-ra*; a translation “inscription on the inscribed statue (or bed) ...” seems possible.

* * *

Additional Inscription

(F r. ii' 6' and iii'; B r. i')

The beginning of this inscription has been studied by Edzard, *AfO* 19 29ff. It contains only the dedication to Enlil and Ninlil and the royal titles. There is no indication whatsoever of the reason and purpose of the inscription, which after a short break was continued (if the hypothesis that B and F are parts of the same tablet is correct) by a passage listing the peripheral regions of the Ur III empire:

B r. i'

- 1' GÁ 'x x' [] P[U]
 2' 'ma'-ḥa-z[u^{ki}]
 3' pu-u[š-]
 4' 'x'[x x x] da aš[?] gi[?] KU 'x'[(x)]
 5' e[b-l]a^{ki} ma-ri^{ki} tu-tu-ul^{ki} ma-'x'[(x)]
 6' ur-gi₄-i^{ki}š mu-'x'-gi₄-i^{ki}š EZEN (x X[?]).NI-^dIM^[ki]
 7' 'x-x'-la^{ki} a-bar-nu-um^{ki}
 8' ù kur^{giš} erin-kud ma-da-ma-d[a-bi]
 9' kur šubur-ra gaba-gaba a-ab-[ba] igi-nim-ma 'x'[x]
 10' ù má-gan^{ki} ma-da-[ma-da-bi] kur 'x'[]
 11' bal-a-ri a-[ab-ba]

No full toponym can be restored with complete confidence in lines 1'-4'; Puš (F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 51 69 f.) had a governor during Ur III and was situated in Southern Mesopotamia; probably some other name must be restored in line 3'.

The geographical names in the rest of the passage appear to be grouped in sections closed by a last member preceded by ù, and followed by ma - d a - m a - d a - b i.

5'-8'. Northwestern towns: "Ebla, Mari, Tutul of ..., Urgiš, Mu ... giš, EZEN(x X[?])-ni-^dIM^[ki], ... la, Abarnum, and the country where the cedars are cut with all their provinces." The first three place names are typically grouped together in Ur III economic texts, passages collected by Sollberger, *AfO* 19 120 ff. Since there is no room for ma - d a - m a - d a - b i after Tutul (and furthermore it would not fit the pattern), it is to be assumed that either it is a qualification of Tutul (the sign is ma or KU, followed by at least one sign more which is not ki), or a fourth place name. In the first case we would have a proof for the existence of more than one Tutul (for this question see W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 79; A. Goetze, *ibid.* 118 f.). Urgiš has been identified with 'Amūdā, at the northern edge of the upper Chābūr valley, near the present Turkish border (W. J. van Liere, *Anuales archéologiques de la Syrie* 7 91ff.), and an old Hurrian center; for the relation between Mukiš, written here mu - 'x' - gi₄ - i^{ki}š and Aleppo, see I. J. Gelb, *AJSL* 55 81 ff. A well-known northern city whose name includes Adad is Apk/qum-Adad (Tell Būmārija) N. W. of Mosul (Falkner, *AfO* 18 4 f.; Hallo, *JCS* 18 73); how it could be written EZEN.NI-^dIM, however, remains unexplained, so that the equation is nothing but a vague possibility. Abarnum could be, according to Gelb (*ibid.* 56 f.), Çermük.

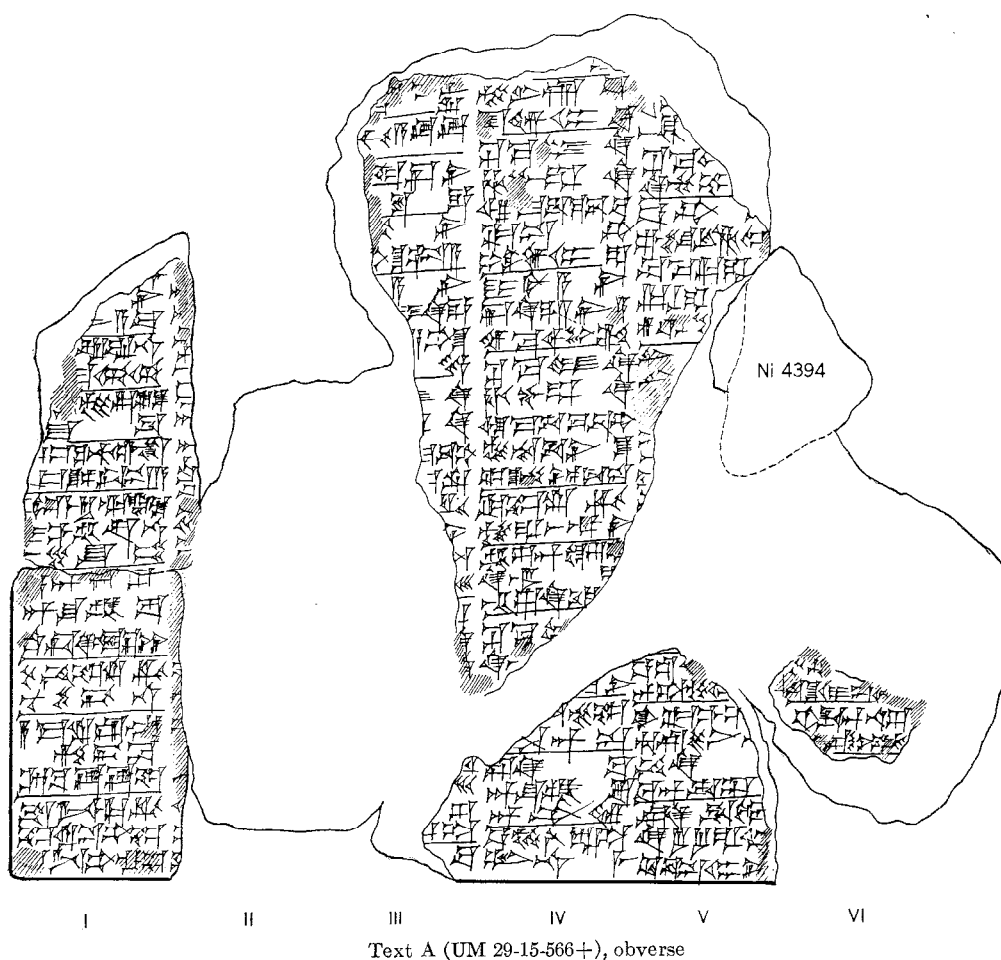
9'-10'. This group gives the farthest regions on the North and Southwest: "The country of Subur on the shores of the upper lakes, and Magan, with all their provinces, the country..." It must be remembered that (a) - a b - b a can also be translated by "lake" since, at least in Sumerian sources, it does not necessarily imply salt water. The traces at the end of line 10' do not seem to favor the, otherwise very natural, reading k u r - d i [l m u n]. The last line, "the other side of the sea..." can refer to Magan, but can be also the beginning of a new paragraph. The inscription ended, not more than thirty lines later, with some traces preserved in F r. iii'.

* * *

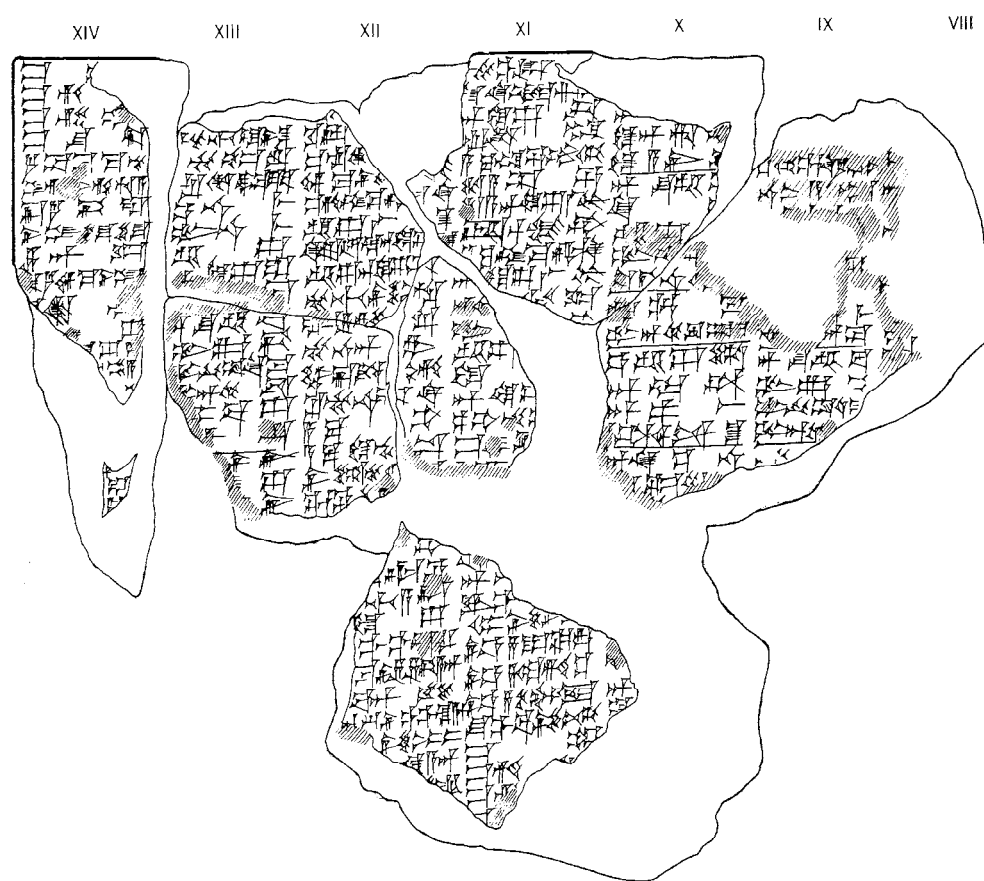
Addition to Collection A

N 6264 is a small fragment with part of lines ii' 32-34 and iii' 23-29 of collection A. The first sign in ii' 32 is š u. The following line reads clearly b u - u l-, in spite of Edzard's reserves (*AfO* 19 16). In iii' 23 add -k e₄ at the end of the line (misprint in *AfO* 19 7), and the brackets in the two following lines can now be eliminated. N 6264 ended, apparently, with coll. A iv' 16 or 18.

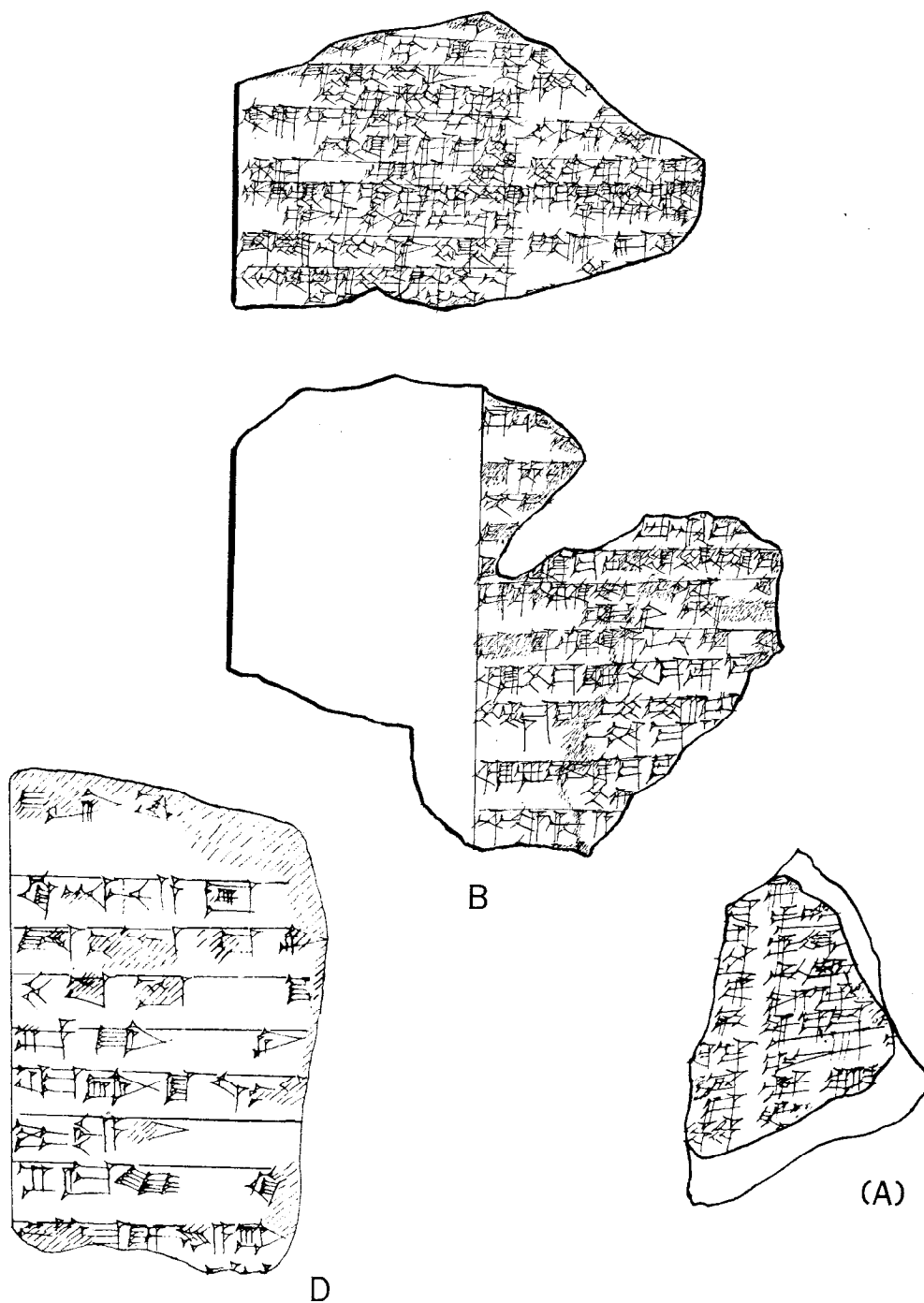
[The relationship between texts B and F suggested above is doubtful according to Mrs. Muazzez Çiğ (letter of Dec. 12, 1967). If B had only two columns, I do not see where it could be placed in collection B, and thus it must be assumed that B rev. is an independent inscription. Feb.12, 1968].



Text A (UM 29-15-566+), obverse



Text A (UM 29-15-566+), reverse



Ni 4394 (part of tablet A), Ni 9654 (text B) and ¹Ni 13221 (text D)

II.8

Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot^{*1}

The chariot, both as a cultic implement used in processions and as an element in mythological tales, such as Ninurta's *Angin dimma*, has a traditional place in Sumerian religion. The bridge between the real chariot and the mythical one is the model chariot, which may be an humble clay object or a piece of jewelry, kept in a sacred place. In some of the passages quoted below it is not possible to decide whether they refer to the actual vehicle or to its model.

The oldest sacred chariot on record² is probably the one of Ningirsu, which was an object of special veneration on Gudea's part³ and whose coach house had been built before by Entemena⁴ and again by Urukagina.⁵ The archives of the Lagaš dynasty often mention food at offerings to the sacred chariots or at the "chariot's place" (*ki-gi-gir*),⁶ as well as on occasion of the vehicles' comings and goings,⁷ which can be processions or simply trips of the sovereign. Chariots of various deities such as Bau,⁸ Sataran,⁹

* The present article was originally published in *JAOS* 88 (1968) 3-14.

1. Abbreviations are those of *CAD*, supplemented by R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I. Presargonic Lagaš inscriptions are quoted according to Sollberger's Corpus. Additional abbreviations: Ag = *Curse of Agade*, Falkenstein, *ZA* 57 43ff. BF = Bird-Fish Debate (in SDD). FI = Farmer's Instructions (according to my own ms.). SDD = M. Civil, Sumerian Debates and Dialogues (to be published as Texts from Cuneiform Sources V). UK = Silver-Copper Debate (in SDD). Numerical references preceded by an asterisk and enclosed in brackets refer to the critical signs copied at the end of the article. Thanks are due to Professor Samuel Noah Kramer for his kind permission to publish CBS 6136 and for an excellent photo of the tablet. Detailed information about the terminology of the chariot and its parts will be found in A. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien* (AASF 72/3) to which the reader is referred for the technical terms not explicitly discussed in this article.

2. Archeological representations are of course much older. Some notes, now partly outdated, on "Prozessionswagen der babylonischen Götter" were published by A. Salonen in *StOr* 13/2.

3. Cyl A vi 17ff.; vii 13ff.; xxviii 15; B ix 15; xiii 18f.; xvi 15.

4. Ent 22 i 6, 9.

5. Ukg 10 ii 3.

6. DP 43 i 1f.; 53 ix 22; *RTC* 47 v 7.

7. DP 53 i 13f.; xi 2ff. [from Nina to Lagaš]; 197 i 6ff.; Nikolski 23 i 6ff.; *TSA* 1 xii 12ff.; *RTC* 47 i 5.

8. *HSS* 4 3 ii 10; ix 9; 52: 3.

9. *ITT* 2/2 3569: 3.

Ningirsu,¹⁰ and Ninlil, are known from the times of the Ur III dynasty. The construction of the last one gave the name to a still unplaced year of Ur-Nammu or Šulgi.¹¹ Offerings continue to be made to the chariots,¹² particularly on the 6th or 7th day of the month, when they are presented mostly sheep.¹³ The Isin kings followed the tradition, and Enlil's chariot is mentioned in the 16th and 19th years of Išbi-Era.¹⁴ It is in this context that the hymn published here must be placed. In this new hymn, Išme-Dagan is introduced as the builder of a chariot (^{gis}g i g i r - m a ḥ)¹⁵ for Enlil, and the ensuing blessings for the king, which include his mystical cohabitation with Inanna, are described. Very few year-formulae of Išme-Dagan have been recovered, but it is likely that this event was commemorated in a now lost date, since the construction of a ^{gis}m a r - š u m for Ninlil did deserve a special commemoration,¹⁶ and chariots are thus celebrated elsewhere.¹⁷ Noteworthy is the long inscription of a Cassite king, probably Kadašman-Enlil II,¹⁸ to perpetuate the memory of a ^{gis}g i g i r - m a ḥ for Enlil built during his reign.

Sources. CBS 6137 is a four column tablet with large, but often carelessly written, signs. On the obverse the right column is 20% narrower than the left one; the difference in width is less pronounced on the reverse. My reconstruction assumes, taking into account the high number of indented lines, a total length of 96 lines. If this estimate turns out to be erroneous it will be almost certainly by excess.

No duplicates of CBS 6137 have as yet been identified.

Literary type and contents. According to its subscription, the text is a tigi for Enlil, composed in the usual way of a s a - g i d - d a (of about 64 lines) and a s a - g a r - r a (of some 31 lines). This literary genre and the s a - notations have been studied by Falkenstein in *ZA* 49 95ff., 101ff.; see also W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 23 241.

The first part (s a - g i d - d a) is an address to the chariot itself, praising individually each one of its parts with an appropriate laudatory phrase based on the shape or function of the part. The second part (s a - g a r - r a) shifts from the physical description to a symbolic mythical level and describes a procession or festival with Enlil riding his chariot, surrounded by Ninurta and the Anunnas. Agricultural implements are somehow included in the festival.¹⁹ At the end, there is a prayer of Ninurta to Enlil in favor of the royal wheelwright, who, as a reward for the construction of the chariot, will become the mystical spouse of Inanna.

10. *HSS* 4 52: 1; *RTC* 308 r. 2.

11. Sollberger, *AfO* 17 15 (= Šulgi 3); F. R. Kraus *Or* 20 397 (= Ur-Nammu d).

12. *TCL* 2 5501 ii 20; Jones-Snyder, *SET* 142: 3; *ITT* 2/1 833 (p. 30 "au puits"); 2/2 3100: 1; 3/2 6546.

13. *Or* 47ff. 357: 3f.; 372: 3f., 14; 378: 4f.; *Or* 18 pl. xiv 38: 2ff.; *StOr* 9 20: 3ff.; *AnOr* 1 135: 3ff.; Boson, *Tavolette* 162: 3f.; 202: 4f.; 345: 2ff.; etc. As Prof. W. W. Hallo kindly points out to me, these texts refer to an aspect of the lunar cultic activities and it is likely that g i g i r is here short for u₄-s a k a r_x (SAR) ^{gis}g i g i r "chariot's crescent," a part of the wheel discussed by Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge* 116f., and a very apt designation for the moon crescent itself, rather than a cultic chariot.

14. *BIN* 9 198: 11; 429: 14.

15. ^{gis}g i g i r - m a ḥ is, according to H_h V 8, a specific name for Enlil's chariot, found also in 4R 12: 23, r. 9.

16. *UET* 1 219 = *RA* 33 26 no. 50, 51; for Išme-Dagan's year-names see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* 76³⁷².

17. *UCP* 10/1 51 no. 13, 14, 52 no. 23; *Sumer* 5 81 no. 31.

18. F. el-Wailly, *Sumer* 10 52; Seux, *RA* 59 13.

19. The passage contains a clear allusion to the Hoe-Plow Debate, see discussion in SDD.

The hymn belongs thus to Römer's type A II a (*SKI* 5ff.), and has a close parallel in a long text which describes how Lipit-Ištar built a plow to be used in a festival inaugurating the agricultural season.²⁰

Due to limitations in space, the edition of this hymn is not accompanied by the usual philological and lexical commentary, but some technical terms of special interest are discussed in a lexical appendix. The general vocabulary of this royal hymn is rather well known thanks to Römer's *SKI* and the anterior studies of Falkenstein, where the interested reader will find information about the more usual words of the Sumerian hymnology.

Text

- giš^{giš}gigir-maḥ^den-líl en-gestu₂-ga²¹ a-a-dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄
 é-kur èš-maḥ-a-na dí-m-me-za bí-in-du₄
 d^diš-me-^dda-gan sipa-gal-zu mu-dùg sa₄-a-me-en
 šà-ama-sa₇ ù-tu mas-su-kalam-ma-ka
 5 me-kù-sikil-zu pa-è-ak-dè á-bi mu-un-da-an-ág
 šu mu-ra-túm gá-la nu-mu-e-ta-dag-ge
 [] x²²-na mi-ni-in-sa₇-ge-en
 [] x²³-ta ba-an-gub-bé-en
 [] x x²⁴-ma-2-bi ní-g u₆-di gál-me-en
 10 giš^{giš}su-kár-zu dalla-maḥ im-è^{giš}tír-^{šim}giš^{giš}erin-na-gin_x
 giš^{giš}ma-gíd-zu²⁵ a-gàr ab-sín gál-tak₄-a hē-gál še-gu-un
 [su]-din-zu dun²⁶pan²⁶-zu
 x²⁷-an-ki²⁷ gú téš lá-a-me-en
 [giš]erin₂-zu-ta^{giš}rab-maḥ-zu nu-è erim₂ šu-ri-ri-me-en
 15 [giš]kak-s]a²⁸-lá-zu sa-pàr-šè ná-a [] x²⁸-lá-a-me-en
 [] x²⁹-záḥ
 17-27 broken
 x³⁰ []

20. *STCV* 75 and 79, plus four unpublished duplicates, one of them an OB bilingual. Edited in SDD as an appendix to the Hoe-Plow Debate.

21. There is a half-preserved sign [*1], which is certainly not - k e₄ after - g a, but it may very well belong to the first line of col. ii.

22. [*2].

23. [*3].

24. [*4].

25. Gloss [*5] under giš^{giš}ma - g í d, perhaps 'ni'-ir-ki!, but if so, hardly fits the word it glosses (see lexical notes), and furthermore two at least of the other glosses seem to be Sumerian.

26. Although s í r would make sense, cf. d u n g u - s í r = *erpetu šapītu* *CT* 16 19: 33'f.; the sign [*6] is almost certainly p a n.

27. [*7]-a n - k i (over erasure) preferable, but - a n - n a is also possible.

28. [*8].

29. [*9].

30. See note 21.

- sag-ki-[zu] a³¹x³¹[]
 30 á-šita₄-z[u] ħi-li d[u₈]
 giš³²KAK-a-za³² kár³³x³³[] a-gi₆ sur-sur
 é-su-lum-ma-zu usan₈ b[ar-uš-bi]³⁴ anše zi-zi-i³⁵
 giš³⁶DUB-zu³⁶ sa-šú-³⁷uš³⁷-gal-[x] erim₂-DU nu-[]
 gaba-gál-zu me-maĥ nam-³⁷x³⁷ gal-bi kin-kin
 35 ^dKI.KAL-zu ur-s[ag (x)] téš-ba du₇-du₇
 gáb-íl-zu gud-áb-da-k[e₄] níg-dugud íl-íl
 šà-sù-zu guruš dun-d[un] gú-da lá-[]
 da-da-zu ki [] téš-a []
 ġir-gub-zu [] ³⁸x³⁸[]
 40 ³⁹gis.x³⁹ [-zu]
 41-61 *broken*
 62 u₄-b[a]
 lugal-a-ni ⁴⁰x⁴⁰[]
 kù-babbar guškin n[a₄]
 65 sa-ġid-[da-àm]
 kéš⁴¹-gal-ni šu-du₇ [] ġir-ni gub-gu[b]
 ama-^dnin-líl nitada[m-ma-ni] gú-da mu-ni-[in-lá]
^dnin-urta ur-sag []
^da-nun-na k[i] egir-ra-a-ni dù[g]
 70 giš⁴²ġigir nim-ġin_x ġír-ġír-re [gù-dé]-ur₅-šā₄-bi⁴² dùg-ga-à[m]
 dùr^{ur}-a-ni erin₂-na lá-a []
^den-líl giš⁴³ġigir-zu maĥ-a-ni []-zalag-ga-ni na-UD-[UD]
 ġizkim-ti ⁴³x⁴³ [] ^dnin-[] ħar-ra-a[n]
 ki-ur₅-šā₅-g[e]
 76 lugal []
 76-80 *broken*

31. [*10].

32. Gloss z a - r a underneath giš³²KAK.

33. [*11].

34. Restoration based on Angin 99 (quoted in the lexical notes s u b é - s u - l u m - m a), and on the constant association of the u s a n₂ with b a r - u š: e. g. *DP* 492; *BE* 30 8 iii pass.; *Gud cyl A* xiii 18; *SRT* 14: 9; *STVC* 115 ii 5'.

35. Gloss [*12] i - z i - z i - [(x)], doubtful, under z i - z i - i.

36. Gloss i under giš (see lexical notes sub giš³⁶DUB).

37. [*13].

38. [*14].

39. [*15].

40. [*16].

41. The sign is certainly KÉŠ, not EZEN.

42. Reconstruction based on Hh V 13: giš⁴²ġigir-gù-dé-ur₅-šā₄ = *MIN* (*narkabtu*) ^dNinurta; also on Angin II 24': giš⁴²ġigir-zu gù-dé-ur₅-šā₄-bi: *nar-kab-ta-ka ana ri-gim ra-me-me-šá*.

43. [*17].

- 81 *unidentifiable traces*⁴⁴
 [x x x] ʿx⁴⁵ giš⁴⁶ su-kár gán-[x]
 [x x] um-ta-è-a-àm⁴⁶
 [giš⁴⁷ a]l-e giš⁴⁸ apin-e ʿgiš nam'-erin₂ a-da-mìn ḥa-mu-ra-an-e
 85 lugal-e inim-^den-líl-lá-šè gizzal ba-si-in-ak
^dnin-urta-ke₄ giš⁴⁹ apin-kù-ge si nam-mi-in-sá ʿgán'-zi na-uru₄^{ru}
 gur₇-du₆-gur₇-maš-^den-líl-lá-ke₄
 gú-gur-gur-ru-dè numun-zi na-mu-gar
 ʿsul⁴⁷ ur-sag é-kur-za-gìn-na sag-íl-la mu-un-ku₄
 90 en-^dn[in-urt]a-ke₄ ^den-líl-ra sizku[r m]u-na-ab-bé
^diš-me-^dda-gan ʿsipa' šu-du₇ x x⁴⁸ gír-za sì-ga-ra
 lugal giš⁴⁹ gígir-ra ma-ra-an-dím-ma-ra igi-zi bar-mu-un-šè
^dinanna dumu-gal-ki-ág-zu nitadam-šè sum-mu-an
 u₄-ul-šè gú-da ḥa-mu-ri-in-lá
 95 ḥi-li ní-g-ku₇-ku₇-da ú⁴⁹-kù
 nam-ti-diri-na u₄ ḥa-ba-ni-in-sù-du
 sa-gar-ra-àm
 tigi-^den-l[íl-l]á-kam

Translation

- Oh lofty chariot, Enlil, the lord of intelligence, the father of the gods,
 Spoke about your construction, in the Ekur, his sublime shrine.
 You have been given an auspicious name by Išme-Dagan-the –all-wise shepherd,
 Born of a beautiful womb, the leader of the country–
 5. He gave orders so that your holy and pure *me* could become famous.
 He applied (his) hand to you(r construction, and) has not stopped since.
 In his [...] he has made you beautiful,
 You have been placed with [...] by him.
 [...] the two [...],⁵⁰ you are a sight to behold.
 10. Your furnishings are outstanding, like the cedar forest.
 Your pole, a field with open furrows, abundance of late grain.
 Your *sudin*, a cloud, your bow (?) [...], (with which) you join heaven and earth.
 From your yoke, your huge stock, there is no escape, you clamp down the evildoer,

44. [*18].

45. [*19].

46. This line could be indented and part of line 82.

47. [*20].

48. [*21].

49. There is an erased sign between ú r and k ù; for ú r - k ù cf. *UET* 6/1 11: 2; *CT* 42 4 ii 6f.; *TuM* NF 3 25 r. 14ff.; *SRT* 1 v 31f.

50. Perhaps u m b i n is to be restored in this line.

15. Your [rope-fastened] pegs are laid like a net, you ... [...]
(lacuna)
[Your] front [...]
30. Your furnishings, [... fu]ll of charm [...].
Your axle, ... [...] pours a flood.
Your rope-box, [its] whip [and goad] rouse up the donkeys.
Your pole pin, a large net [...] does not [release] the evildoer.
Your front guard, the sublime *me* of [...] greatly seeks.
35. Your platform, warriors [...] fighting together.
Your side beams, an ox and a cow carrying a heavy load.
Your cross beams ... [...] embracing [...]
Your side board ... [...] together [...]
Your foot board, [...]
(lacuna)
62. The[n ...]
His king, ... [...]
Silver, gold, (precious) sto[nes ...]
65. (s a - g í d - d a)
(Enlil) completed his great harnessing, he stepped in [...]
He emb[raced] Ninlil, the Mother, [his] wife. Ninurta, the Hero, [... in front]
The Anunnas ..., after him [...]
70. The chariot shines like lightning, its bellowing [noise] is a pleasure.
[...] his donkeys harnessed to the yoke.
Enlil, his mighty chariot, his shining [...], is bright.
The secret sign [... of] Nin[...], the trip [...]
The place which rejoices the liver [...]
75. The King [...]
(lacuna)
82. [...] the field implements [...]
Which came out fom [...]
Let the hoe (and) the plow, the implements of the working people, have a contest before you.
85. The King paid attention to Enlil's instructions,
Ninurta put the holy plow in good order, and plows the fertile field.
So that the silos and granaries of Enlil
May be piled high, he drops the fertile seed.
The youthful Hero proudly enters the resplendent Ekur.
90. The lord Ninurta offers a prayer to Enlil:
"Towards Išme-Dagan, the accomplished shepherd ..., who has performed (this) service for you,
Towards the King who has built you the chariot, cast a pious glance!
Give to him, as spouse, Inanna your beloved eldest daughter,
Let them embrace forever!
95. Delight, sweetness, holy limbs,

May last a long time in his abundant life.”

(*s a - g a r - r a*)

It is a *tigi* of Enlil.

Lexical Notes

á-š i t a₄ (30) “implements”

Written also á-š u - d u₇ in Ag 93 and EWO 321 (see below); this writing is to be explained by ŠITA₄ = š u t u l Proto-ea 246, although á-ŠITA₄ has vocalic ending in context as well as in the gloss *ašte* (Nabnitu IV 328; Antagal F 177). Akk.: *hiših̄tu* (lex. ref. CAD 6 204a s. v.), *takaltu* (Antagal III 191; Hh V 192, 193 [á-s i t a₄-UM]; and *ūturtu* (Hh VI 10).

Parts of the plow: ^{giš} a p i n - z u á - š i t a₄ - b i ḥ a - r a - a b - k é š “have the implements of your plow put together” FI 15 (the late version differs: ^{giš} š u d u n - z u t ū n - d í m - z u [...] : *ni-ir-ka i-na ta-ka-[al-ti-ka ...]*; agricultural implements in general: WZJ 9 237: 321 (text A [checked] has á-š i t a₄; H and I have á-š u - d u₇); parts of the loom: g i š á - š u - d u₇ - a t ú g - g a d a u n a₄ - e s i HSS 4 6 viii 1f; UET 3 1504 x 29; of a litter: á-š u - d u₇ - a ^{giš} m a - a - a l - t u m BIN 9 453: 4; insignia of kingship: á-š i t a₄ (var. á-š u - d u₇ - a) - n a m - l u g a l - l a - k a - n a i m - m a - r a - a n - b a - b a Ag 93; varia: UET 3 322; 745 r. 3’.

Cf. š u - d u₇ with the meaning “fully equipped” said, e. g. of wagons (BIN: 8 127: 1) or plows (Hh V 117), as well as š i t a₄ = *šuklulu* S_b II 234. In Angin 53: á b - d a b - a - n i ŠITA₄ b í - i n - l á, the late version II 2’ reads ^{giš} š u d u n instead of ŠITA₄. In *á (text GÀR)-š i t a₄: *puzra* CT 16 42: 14f. the text must in all probability be emended to *á - ú r. Note also á - š i t a₄ = *qarnu* MSL 6 7, note to line 27a.

d a (38) “side(board)”

^{giš} d a - d a - (a) - g i g i r = *marḥaṣu* Hh V 37, MSL 6 8, revised (from texts S₉ and BM 64377 [unpubl.]; ST must read d a¹ - d a - g i g i r [from photo] and the entry ^{giš} S A L - l a - d a g a l - g i g i r must be eliminated). Fore. MSL 6 38: 9 has ^{giš} t a - t a (var. d a l - d [a l]) - m a r - g i d - d a. The sides could be made of, or covered with, goat and sheep skins: BIN 9 192: 5; 193: 9.

For ^{giš} d a “board” cf. e. g. RA 16 19 i 8 (2 cubits), 20 ix 14 (10 cubits); TU 121 iii 3 (6 cubits); etc. The translation “Abflussrohr” AHW 611, an etymological speculation, is unacceptable.

^{giš} d ù - a (31) “axle.”

^{giš} K A K^{da} - a - g i g i r = *qarnu*, *zarû*, *manzazu* Hh V 26, 28, 30a(!), MSL 6 7, revised and confirmed by BM 64377 (unpubl.); additional ref. in CAD 21 70a *zarû* A. A reading *z a r a_x*, as given by the gloss, is also possible, cf. fore. MSL 6 37: 33; RTC 239 ii 3’; BIN 8 127 (quoted sub ^u K I . K A L): etc. *k a k - z a - r a* UET 3 Index 186 (copy in one of the passages, 348:1, has - a - r a, which appears also in ITT 3/2 6542: 2, but probably - *z a - is intended in both cases) is perhaps to be read *k a k^{za-ra}*⁵¹ and there is still the possibility that the late gloss *d a* ought to be dismissed as incorrect. For *d a* - a < *d ù* - a, cf. Hh XI 134; Izi C i 15; etc.

51. This possibility is not contradicted by the existence of the genitive compound *k a k - z a - r a* - (a k).

^{gis}DUB (33) “pole pin”(?)

Obviously connected with Hh V 68ff. (in line 70 the text of ST: šID-kak-šà-ga, is preferable in view of Angin 60 quoted below). The only way to explain the gloss i in our text is to consider it as a phonetic var. of the NA₄ (= i₄) of the source N of Hh V, and that should be taken as an indication that the reading is kišib (“seal”), not as a phonetic gloss of the sign DUB itself.⁵²

^{gis}DUB alone does not seem to occur with this meaning, but we have DUB-kak^{urudu} DP 481 i 3; ITT 1 1275 (p. 17); and DUB-kak-bar-ra DP 481 ii 1 (identical with Hh V 68) followed by e-ni-lá; níg-urudu-kalag-ga DUB-kak-šà-ga-kabí-in-lá Angin 60, the late version (CT 15 42 K 4864 +) has ^{gis}šID- [...].

The association with “seal” on the one hand and with pegs (kak) on the other, suggests a cotter or key to keep the pegs or dowels in place; our line 33 seems to confirm that the function of the ^{gis}DUB was to keep things in place. The same meaning fits also ^{gis}šID-umbin-mar-gíd-da = kanasarru Hh V 99, very likely “pole pin.”

It is uncertain whether DUB-sa-kak^{zabar} TU 126 ii 2 is related with these terms; DUB^{guškin} in RA 17 212 is certainly something else.

é-su-lum-ma (32) “a box to keep the whips and goading stick.”

^{gis}é-zú-lum-gigir = laḥarušku Hh V 17; ^{gis}é-zú-lum-ma = laḥaruššu : Hh VII A 64; ^{kuš}é-zú-l[u-m-ma] = laḥaruška Hh IX 102 (revised text in MSL IX, now preceded by bīt kabābi and bīt ulluli); laḥaruška = bīt qanē Malku II 200; cf. also ^{gis}su-lu-mar-gigir (var. su-l[u-m]) fore. MSL 6 36: 20; ^{gis}su-mar-gigir in the Ras Shamra forerunner, ibid. 36: 9 is the same word. The derivation from *é-zú-lim-mu suggested in RA 21 142 and MSL 6 6 (on the strength of Hh VII A 161: ^{gis}al-zú-a-ba) is unwarranted, since the older texts write consistently su-lum; and there is no reason to assume any connection between a type of hoe and the present implement; cf. also the writing su-lu-mar, above; also šul-lum-mar WVD OG 43 42 iii II.

The meaning of é-su-lum-ma is clear from: ^{kuš}usan₂ bar-uš é-su-lum-ma-kabí-in-sù “he (Ninurta) put away in the e. the whip and the goad” Angin 99. The passage kù ab-gaz-za-mu kù ba-ab-si-il-lá-mu zú-lum-mar-ra ‘x’ : šá ‘la’-ḥa-ru-uš-ki pi-ti “my silver broken into pieces, my silver given in trust, which could break open (?) the z.” SBH 19 r. 1 raises the question of the relationship between é-su/zú-lum-ma and su/zú-lum-mar. The last expression is a verbal compound as shown by the form su-lum nu-mu-un-mar in UET 6/2 286: 3 (below).

^{gis}illar-gin_x edin-ki-nu-zu-gá nam-ba-e-dè-šub-bu-dè-en

mu-in-na-šeš-mu-ne-ka nam-ba-an-ku₄-ku₄-dè-en

su-lum-mar-du₁₀-sa-mu-ne-ka kir₄ nam-ba-an-ku₄-ku₄-dè-en

“Do not let me be thrown, like a throwing stick, into the steppe, a place unknown to me,

Do not let me enter the ... of straw of my brothers,

Do not let me put the nose into the s. of my friends”

52. There is a possibility, nevertheless, that DUB (= kišib) could be read metonymically, or should we say metagraphically, *n a/i, since na₄ alone can mean also “seal,” cf. CAD A/1 61a abnu 10 a. The writings n a₄, z á, and i (a)₄, of course, are simply different attempts to render a sound non-existent in the Akkadian phonemic system.

These lines of the end of Lugalbanda's prayer to Utu (Lugalbanda and Hurrum 166ff.) are commented, as it were, by two recently published proverbs:

in-nu in-ga ² -dab	I gathered (?) straw,
in ma-an-dug ₄ (for *k ú ²)	He fed (?) me (more) straw. ⁵³
su-lum nu-mu-un-mar	I was not tethered,
su-lum-mar ma-an-dab	He held me with a s.

UET 6/2 286

nam-tar-mu ga-am-dug ₄	I want to tell my fate:
su-lum-mar-àm	It is a s.
a-rá-mu ga-àm-dug ₄	I want to tell my ways:
kir ₄ -lú ba-an-šeš-e	It bothers (lit. makes feel bitter) one's nose.

UET 6/2 292

Note the parallelism straw/su-lum in the Lugalbanda passage and the first proverb; these sentences represent a popular way to say “to live a donkey's life.”

The only passage from lexical sources which might be of some help is Nabnitu XXI 209; zú-lum^{lum}=[ma]r¹=*ḥarāšu ša imēri*; for the usual interpretation of this entry see *CAD* 6 95a *ḥarāšu* A,⁵⁴ the second lum is not written in gloss size, but there is no serious objection to interpreting it as a gloss, since the size confusion is found elsewhere in Nabnitu. Quite possibly the gloss was introduced to avoid the confusion with hum = *ḥarāšu* of A V/1: 3. If this interpretation of Nabnitu XXI 209 is correct, the resulting meaning for the substantive su-lum would be something like “tethering rope” or “tethering ring,” a meaning which fits quite well the passages adduced above. Verbs used with the compound su-lum-mar are kēš in: [...]su-lum-mar-re-da-kam su-lum-mar-re kēš-da (unpubl. and unnumbered Ur fragment in the British Museum, courtesy S. N. Kramer), and its opposite bad, in: gar-ra šeš-mu zu-lum-ma-ra [x]-x'-NE-bad ba-u₅ *CT* 15 29: 25, and an equivalent of *petû* in the passage from *SBH* 19 r. 1, quoted above. The meanings “to tie” and “to open” are compatible with the translation of su-lum just proposed. Another reference for su-lum-mar is: [...]su-lum-mar (var. -gar) nu-gar *BF* 29, in a half-broken passage. We must mention also the late divine name ^dKA^{zu}-lum-gar^{mar}=^dé-a *CT* 25 33:16, which appears also in the Theodicy 277 (W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 88). According to *Diri* IV 304 and *Ea* VI 203, the logogram KLSAG.DU has a reading sulummār with a translation *tubullû* “climbing-belt” to harvest dates (Meissner, *Sachau Festschrift* 22ff.; W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 328). It is another writing of the same word with another specialized meaning (from “loop of rope” to “climbing-belt”).

The é-su-lum-ma thus takes its name not from the whips but from ropes to tether the animals that were also kept there; it could be made, according to the lexical references, from wood, leather, or reeds. As for its physical shape, one could imagine something like the quiver seen on the front part of chariots

53. A word play on in, “straw” and “insult,” is likely.

54. The connexion with *ḥarāšu* if correct, makes attractive an explanation (at least on the level of popular etymology) of the difficult *laḥaruška/laḥaruššu* as *lū aḥruš-ka/šu “let me tie you/him down,” that would also provide a solution for the unparalleled alternation -ška/-ššu.

and wagons in archeological representations. As a matter of fact the *laḥaruška* was used also to keep arrows; cf. *STT* 2 366: 9 “they placed the bow in the bow case they filled the l. with shining arrows” (*laḥarušak undalli qanī ebbūtu*), see E. Reiner, *JNES* 26 196, and cf. ref. from Malku II 200, above.

^{giš}er_in₂ (14, 71) “yoke.”

Akk. *šimittu* (ref. *CAD* 21 198 s. v.).

While the meaning yoke for ^{giš}er_in₂ is reasonably certain and confirmed by the form of the original pictogram, the difference between ^{giš}er_in₂ and the much more frequent ^{giš}š_ud_ul/n = *nīru* is not altogether clear. By translating “crosspiece of a yoke,” *CAD* loc. cit. seems to imply that ^{giš}š_ud_ul is a more general term. However, both in plows and in chariots and wagons, the pole on which the yoke rests is considered part of the plow or vehicle and has specific names, and it is perfectly clear from *STVC* 75 ii 4ff. and dupl. that ^{giš}š_ud_ul designates only the “crosspiece,” made by joining two pieces (^{giš}š_ud_ul á-2-b i) fastened by dowels secured with rope tied around (^{giš}kak-sa-l á). The contrast ^{giš}š_ud_ul/^{giš}er_in₂ is thus hardly the one between a whole implement and one part of it. From the Lagaš-Girsu Presargonic texts one gets the impression that ^{giš}er_in₂ is associated with wagons and chariots, and ^{giš}š_ud_ul with the plow: ^{giš}er_in₂-mar (*DP* 413, 414, 446, 486, 502; *VAS* 14 162; *TSA* 26, 31; etc) but always š_u-d_ul₅ (written also šá-d_ul₅ *DP* 492 vii 10; *TSA* 28 i 1; 31 i 1ff., vii 4ff.) for the plow (*DP* 410, 413, 436, 446; *TSA* 28, 31; etc.). Also, ^{giš}er_in₂ appears to be associated mostly with equids and ^{giš}š_ud_ul with oxen. There are however exceptions, and if we have a ^{giš}er_in₂ for a wagon in *BIN* 8 127: 4 (Sargonic), we have also a ^{giš}š_ud_ul for a wagon (pulled by oxen) in *AS* 16 7 iii 10’ (OB), and one for a chariot in *BIN* 9 437: 17 (Isin). A š_u-d_ul₅ for oxen is mentioned in Gudea cyl. B xv 20, while line 12 has a šá-d_ul₅ for donkeys; cf. also: anše ki-^{giš}š_ud_ul-šè ... ú íl-í[l-(i)] UK B₃ 30. In the case of the plow, ^{giš}er_in₂ is rare, see the series ^{giš}apin, ^{giš}er_in₂, ^{giš}ninda₂ in *TCL* 5 6036 xv 18ff.; xvii 5ff.; xviii 11ff. In *WZJ* 9 237: 316 ^{giš}apin-^{giš}š_ud_ul-er_in₂-bé-e (cf. Van Dijk, *SGL* 2 137; Falkenstein, *ZA* 64 81), er_in₂ is the oxen team plus the plowmen (see my discussion to Hoe-Plow debate, line 91 in SDD).

gáb-íl (36) “main beams on both sides of the chariot body.”

Lex.: ^{giš}gáb-íl-gigir = *kabbillu* Hh V 33; = *bubūtu* V 53; with fore. *MSL* 6 37: 31f.; 40: 14f.; *kabbillu* has an Akk. synonym *tillu* Malku II 205. The word gáb-íl belongs to formations of the type ga-b-√ and ga-n-√, frozen verbal forms used as active participles, the first one for transitive verbs, the second one for intransitive verbs, and means simply “carrier.”

From Akk. *bubūtu* (ref. *CAD* 2 302b *bubūtu* B) it is clear that there are two gáb-íl in a vehicle, one on each side, and that alone makes Salonen’s translation “axle” (*Landfahrzeuge* 102) very suspect. Our line seems to confirm that there are two gáb-íl in a chariot: “an ox and a cow carrying heavy loads.” One could think of the two lateral beams forming the body of the chariot, on which rest the cross-beams (šà-s i/šà-s ù) mentioned in the following line 37.

The word gáb-íl is otherwise well known with the meaning basket: fore. Hh VIII-IX *MSL* 6 195: 192; 188: 79a-b (^{giš}gáb-íl-si-ga, ^{giš}gáb-íl-maḥ); it is used for fish: *DP* 285 i 4; *TSA* 48 iv 1; *RTC* 34 ii 1; *ITT* 3/2 6160: 1 (capacity = 120 sila₃); *Riftin* 64: 5f. and pass.; and in connection with scales, probably to weigh wool: *DP* 509 iv 5. The meaning “basket” is likely too in W. G. Lambert, *BWL* 243: 47ff.: gá-e gú-e gáb-íl-mu *ba(tablet: ZU)-a-b-ri-ri “as for me, my carrying basket rests on my

shoulders (lit. neck).” I would also consider the entries Izi V 110 (ga-ab-íl) and the others given in CAD 21 7 a for gáb-íl = *zabbilu*, not as belonging to *zabbilu* B, but to *zabbilu* A “basket.”

g a b a - g á l (34) “front guard of the chariot”

See CAD 5 1 b *gabagallu*; and for g a b a - g á l as a literary term Falkenstein ZA 56 49. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge* 88 is to be modified according to MSL 6, Hh V 18ff.: ^{gis}še-ir-g a b a - g á l - g i g i r, ^{gis}g a b a - g á l - g i g i r = *irtu*; these entries must be added to the lexical section of *irtu* in CAD 7 183; for line 18, cf. še-ir-DU₈-n a (older NIR-DU₈-n a) quoted sub m a - g í d.

^{gis}k a k - s a - l á (15, restored) “dowel or peg, secured with a rope.”

This word has been tentatively restored in line 15, because the traces fit and the presence of s a - p à r makes a word play on s a very likely. The term appears in STVC 15 ii 2 and 7:

^{gis}dam-bi téš-bi im-mi-in-u₅ ^{gis}k a k - s a - l á (var. -s a l - l a) b í - i n - t u k u

^{gis}šudul á - 2 - b i m - m i - i n - l á ^{gis}k a k - s a - l á b í - i n - t u k u

“He ties together the two arms of the yoke, he puts there a peg secured by a rope”

In the lexical sources, ^{gis}k a k - s a - l á (of a plow) appears in fore. to Hh V MSL 6 43: 30; 174: 51; but the main text (Hh V 161f.) has (k a k) - s a l - l a as in the variant above; the Akk. equivalent of s a - l á or s a l - l a is *mussiru*.

^uKI.KAL (35) “platform of the chariot.”

Reading not directly attested; possibly ħ i r i n / ħ u r i n, from ^{gis}al-e ^uKI.KAL^{hu-ri-in} š u - š è a l - g á - g á “the hoe controls the h. weeds” Hymn to the Hoe 106 (the gloss has a variant: ħ i - r í - i n - n a); this reading is confirmed by CT 39 12:17 (quoted with additional references CAD 6 197b *ħirinnu* A): *šumma ina PÚ.LÁ URU* ^uKI.KAL^{hi-ri-in} IGI;⁵⁵ the preceding line has the same text with ^uKI.KAL without gloss, showing that a reading *^uk i - k a l is also possible, cf. in that connexion ú - k i - k a l a g - g a “hard ground weeds” UK C 25. Finally, a new source quoted below gives the reading s a s.

^{gis}^uKI.KAL - g i g i r = *sassu* Hh V 32 (with fore. MSL 6 36: 10); the unpubl. duplicate BM 64377 gives far this line the gloss s a - a s, but being an unreliable school tablet with many errors, the gloss needs confirmation. The determinative ú in Hh V 32 (cf. MSL 6 7) is not an error since it is also found in our text, in the Agade text BIN 8 127: 2, and in related meanings as in ^{gada}^uKI.KAL UET 3/1 81 s. v.

1 ^{gis}mar-gíd-da š u - d u ₇ - a l ^{gis}šubur ^uKI.KAL^{SAR} ^{gis}z a - r a n u - t u k u ^{gis}er i n ₂ n u - t u k u “one fully equipped cart, 1 š. (= *majāltu* Hh V 67) with platform (but) without pole (and) without yoke” BIN 8 127: 1ff.; [ur-sag-7] ^{gis}KI.KAL - g i g i r [b í - i n - l á] : [7 qar]-ra-du ina sa-[as-si...] Angin II 5', corresponds to the OB version line 55: ušum-ur sag-dúr-ra (= *kussû*, *littu* Hh V 40f.) b í - i n - l á; [...] x ^{gis}KI.KAL - g i g i r i - z i ħ u - l u ħ z [i - z i] : [... sa-as-s] i a - g u - ú g a l - t i s a - a t - [b i - u] K 9008: 3' f. (RA 51 109; cf. Landsberger, WZKM 57 12⁵⁰).

(^u)KI.KAL designates also the “sole” of sandals or boots (Hh XI 130; TU 283: 1, 3; BIN 9 383: 2: 428: 9; 469: 2f.; etc.) and a type of linen cloth: ^{gada}^uKI.KAL.

55. Cf. also ħ i - r i - i m KI.KAL = *pitru* Diri IV 266.

B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 275⁸³; Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge* 95; for the plant see Landsberger, *MSL* I 224.

^{giš}ma - gíd (11) “chariot pole”

Written also ^{giš}mu - gíd - gígir = *mašaddu* 𒄩𒄩 V 46, var. adds -da after gíd, (followed by su - din and erin₂ as in our text).

Frequent in Presargonic Lagas texts as part of a chariot (*DP* 479 i 3), of wagons (*DP* 411 i 1; 413 i 3ff.; 414 i 1f.; 420: 2; etc.), and also of the vehicles called ^{giš}níg - šu - (k)⁵⁶ (cf. ^{giš}níg - šu - gi = *narkabtu* 𒄩𒄩 V 3; *BWL* 242 iii 29) (*DP* 413 i 1; 414 i 2; 418 iii 5; 427 ii 1; Nik 282 i 2) and HAR.RA - da - (k) (*DP* 413 i 2; 414 i 3; 418 iii 4; Nik i 282 i 1; etc.). It is made from wood of gul - bu (*DP* 418 iii 4; 413 i 2; 427 ii 1; 482 I 4), še - du₁₀ (*DP* 414 i 1; 419 i 3; 482 i 2; Nik 282 i 2; *ITT* 2/2 5725: 3, 6) and mes - babbar (*DP* 482 i 2; Nik 282 i 1). According to *DP* 482, parts of the ma - gíd were the mud and the nir - du₈ - na (cf. še - ir - du₈ - na - (k)⁵⁷ in Angin 56, replaced in the late version [II 6'] by še - ir - tab - ba = *liwītu*).

Older references, such as *UET* 2 25 I 5, mean perhaps only “beam.” maš - DI - tum in *RTC* 222ff. (Gelb, *MAD* 3 185 s. MŠD?) is in all likelihood an eating or drinking utensil.

^{giš}ra b (14) “neckstock,” or a similar implement.

Our line comparing, in agreement with A 1/4: 4f.: šudul DUL = *nī[ru]*, *rappu*, the yoke with the ^{giš}ra b, suggests that this often discussed term (see simply Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 127f.; Sjöberg, *ZA* 54 57, with previous literature) means after all a kind of pillory, and confirms the meaning “to clamp down” for šu — ri - ri = *lātu*. For a further discussion, see SDD, lexical index s. giš - gú and giš - šu.

sag - ki (29) “front of the chariot”

As part of the chariot, sag - ki seems to be found only in late descriptions of the Big Dipper constellation (*CT* 33 1ff. i 18; *Afo* 4 75 r. 4; Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge* 83f.).

su - din (12)

Akk. *suddinnu* “bat” 𒄩𒄩 V 47, between mu - gíd and erin₂ as in our text; N 959 (NB school tablet) has a var. sun - din; also in fore. *MSL* 6 36:19, with a var. šu - din.

The translation “Kummet” (Salonen, *Hippologica* 105f.) is difficult to accept because the pieces of the harness are treated in 𒄩𒄩 XI (see forthcoming additions in *MSL* IX); it must be something on the pole or yoke, preferably on the latter because of the, admittedly not very clear, rest of line 12.

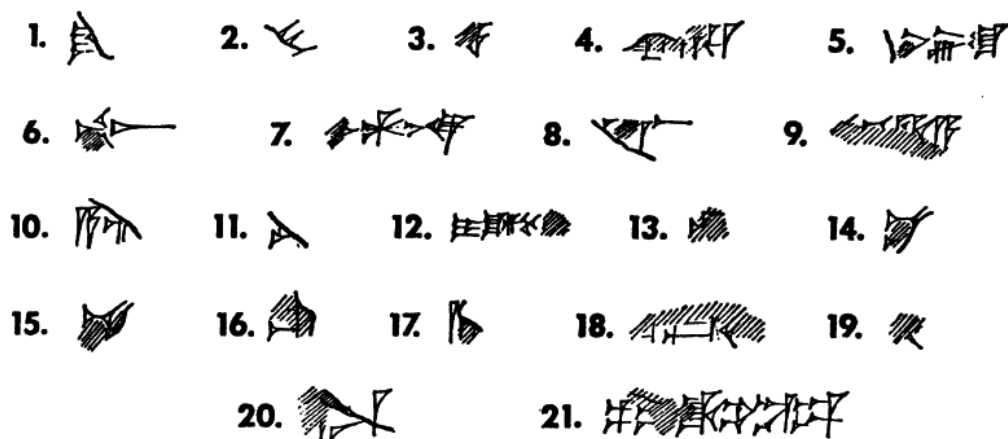
56. Cf. ^{giš}níg - šu - gi = *narkabtu* 𒄩𒄩 V 3; Lambert, *BWL* 242 iii 29; ^{giš}níg - šu umbin! - na na₄ guškin - ta dar - a *PBS* 10/2 6 iii 30 (cf. Castellino, *ZA* 52 19); níg - šu ^{giš}gígir har - ra - an - na si - ga - me - èn *MBI* 3 ii 6 (Šulgi hymn); Hallo, *JAOS* 88 83: 19 and 87.

57. Another example of šer₇ = NIR in main dialect texts. Unpublished Ur III economic texts from Nippur write also pèš - NIR - gu instead of the usual pèš - še - ir - gu.

s a - s u (37) “cross beams of the chariot body”

This translation assumes that šà-sù is the same as ^{giš}šà-si. This term is applied to a part of a wagon: ^{giš}šà-si-mar *VAT* 4778 ii 2 (*Or* 16 3), and more often to a part of the implement ^{giš}ri-gi₄-bí-lú (in all probability the same as ^{giš}ar-gi₄-bí-lu): *DP* 410 i5, iii 7: 414 ii 3; 418 iii 1; 433 iii 4; 436 iv 7; 446 ii 5; *TSA* 26 iv 2; *VAS* 14 57 iii 2 (made of the woods a sa l or gu l - bu).

The translation “cross beam” for ^{giš}šà-si is based on the well-documented meaning “rail of a door frame” of this term (apparently missing in Salonen, *Die Türen*): according to *TCL* 5 6036 xii 2, 12, 21, each door of 6 × 2 cubits mentioned in this text had six rails 2 cubits long; in *RA* 16 19 v 20'f. there are only four for the same type of door (^{giš}i g - é - si g₅) and are made of apple wood, while in the case of *TCL* 5 6036 they were made of poplar (xvii 14) as in *RA* 16 19 I 34; in *UET* 3 826 iii 7f. they are made of ^{giš}ù-su h₅. To judge from *AnOr* 186: 9f.: 2 kuš-gud-babbar ṣà'-si ^{giš}gu-za-šè the term indicates also leather slats, or the like, in a chair, but the text of this isolated passage is uncertain.





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II.9

From Enki's Headaches to Phonology^{*}

Theoretical considerations based on the nature of the decipherment processes show that, as a rule, one can detect in the Sumerian phonological system a number of phonemes only equal to or smaller than that of the Akkadian phonemic inventory.¹ Nevertheless, it seems that by combining faint clues which range from scribal mistakes to more or less well established phonological universals, the Sumerologist can arrive at far from weak presumptions about some Sumerian phonological entities unknown in Akkadian. The following note is a sample of a series of studies designed to test the possibilities and limits of this assumption.

1. *Ugu-dili₂ and ^dAb-ú.*

Towards the end of the mythical tale of Enki and Ninhursagā, edited by S. N. Kramer, *BASOR* SS 1 (1945) and completed by *UET* 6 1 (1963), there is a section with puns based on the names of ailing parts of Enki's body and the names of a group of secondary deities. Lines 251ff.² read:

šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig
 ugu-dili₂-mu ma-gig
^dab-ú im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud

^{*} The present article was originally published in *JNES* 32 (1973) pp. 57-61.

1. The theoretical basis is discussed in detail in my forthcoming book on the Sumerian writing system, and briefly outlined in "The Sumerian Writing System: Some Problems" (to appear in *Or* 42). Abbreviations are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. [] = graphemic transliteration (used only in certain cases); / / = phonemic approximation from broad to narrow.

2. The pattern šeš-mu a-na-zu a-ra-gig X-mu ma-gig ^dYim-ma-ra-an-tu-ud is repeated seven more times; X : Y are: (2) pa-sík (visible in the photo *PBS* 10/1, pl. 6, but now only s]i k preserved on the tablet): ^dnin-sík-la, (3) kír₄: ^dnin-kír₄-ù-tu (var. -e-tu), (4) ka : ^dnin-ka-si, (5) zi : ^dna-zi, (6) : á : ^dá-zi-mú-a, and (7) za g : ^den-sa₆-a g. *UET* 6 1 interchanges the order of 5 and 6. For pa-sík, see Ugumu 21; the reading sík-lá is not supported by the photo nor by collation, and it would be in disagreement with sík sù-ru: [sí k] LÁ= *ša ši-pa-a-ti na-ši-a* CBS 11319 + ii 10'. The reading kír₄, not su₁₁, is required by the spelling ^dnin-GIR×GÁN-*tenú*-ù-tu (cf. Proto-Ea 540, against Kramer, *BASOR* SS 1 30). Reading za g in (7) according to my collation.

- (Ninḫursaġa): “My brother, which part of you hurts you?”
 (Enki): “The top of my head hurts me!”
 (Ninḫursaġa): “Abu has been born for you.”

The Ur version of the tale (*UET* 6 1 r. i’ 4’ f.) gives clearly the first two signs of line 252, which can also be recognized on the photo of CBS 4561 in *PBS* 10/1 pl. 6. Since the term *ugu-dili₂* was still unknown in 1945, it is understandable that Kramer had to leave the term untransliterated in his edition, but he was able to recognize the word-translated by him as “brain-pan”—in 1963 (*UET* 6/1 p. 2) when my reconstruction of the lexical series *Ugumu*, subsequently published in *MSL* 9, was already available to him. He was puzzled, however, by the relationship between *ugu-dili₂* and ^dab-ú. A first, obvious solution is to assume that since the answer is put in Ninḫursaġa’s mouth it has to be in the Emesal dialect,³ in which case the well-known replacement of /g/ by /b/ is to be expected. Whether this solution is sufficient or not, the relationship between *ugu* and *ab-ú* raises several interesting phonological questions that warrant further investigation.

2. *Ugu-dili₂ = abbuttu*.

Apparently, the Akkadian translation of *ugu-dili₂* is unknown. Its meaning “upper part of the skull” can be inferred from the position of the word in *Ugumu*, a series which follows the traditional arrangement of the names of the parts of the body from the top of the head to the feet, and is confirmed by etymological considerations: *ugu* = *muḫḫu*, and *dili₂* = *itqurtu* “shallow bowl.” But is the Akkadian translation really unknown? There is a fish name written NINDA₂×Ú.AŠ whose reading is spelled variously as *ugudili* or *ubudili* (references in *MSL* 8/2 110 and *CAD* A/1 48), translated into Akkadian as *abbuttānu*. Derivations with the suffix *-ānu* are extremely common as zoological or botanical terms; examples of derivations consisting of names of parts of the body + *-ānu* among fish names are *ziqnānu* and *sapsapānu*, Sum. *suḫur-su₆-l^{ku6}á* and *suḫur-dùn-bar^{ku6}*, respectively (*Hh* XVIII 6 f.).⁴ There is good reason therefore to postulate an equation *ugu-dili₂ = abbuttu*. The usual Sumerian term corresponding to *abbuttu* is *gàr/ka r*, lexically and in the expression *gàr/ka r—ak/dù = abbutta šakānu* (*CAD* A/1 48 f.). In the part of *Ugumu* which lists types of hair and hair styles there are two entries which are relevant to the present discussion: *ugu-dù* and *ka r* (lines 37 f.); the last one is the already known term for *abbuttu*, the first one is an obvious cognate of the same word, despite the fact that one would expect **abbuttù* if it were a loan word from Sumerian. As a provisional conclusion one can say that Sumerian has for *abbuttu* (a) “upper part of the skull or scalp” *ugu-dili₂* (and possibly *ugu-ni*, from *Ugumu* 2), and (b) “tuft of hair growing on this part of the head” *ugu-dù* and *gàr/ka r*.

3. *Ugu and other compounds*.

- According to Diri III 142f.: ^ú-gu A.KA = *muḫḫu*
 ^ú-gu U.KA = *muḫḫu, eli*, etc.

3. Note, however, that if the divine names were in Emesal one would expect ^dna-š i rather than ^dna-z i; cf. for Main Dialect z = Emesal (š): Emesal Voc. II 189, 191, 196.

4. Completed by CBS 8299 r.

The spelling A.KA is found in Ur III administrative texts, among other cases in the frequent construction A.KA PN-a k - a ġ a r/ġ á - ġ á; see the discussions by Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 30, and Jacobsen, *Copenhagen* 11 no. 20, note 3, where it is suggested that a - k a = a k - a, a nomen actionis from a k “to do.” The most widely accepted translation is “account.”⁵ In view of the lexical evidence quoted above, it seems more natural to take A.KA as u g u₂, corresponding to Akk. *eli*, so that the phrase above means simply “to charge to PN,” roughly corresponding to ġ ú + pronominal suffix + locative with ġ a r in the Lagaš Pre-Sargonic texts. In another formula, the parallelism of u g u and A.KA in l ú n a - m e n í g n a - m e u g u - n a l i - b í - i n - t u k u (Fadhil A. Ali, *Sumer* 20 66:4) compared with PN A.KA-mu n í g n a - m e n u - u b - t u k u (Sollberger, *TCS* 1 268) is, I think, conclusive.

Assuming that A.KA = u g u, the spelling with initial [a] raises the question of the original, or at least older, vocalization of u g u. It seems reasonable to read A.KA as a - g ù, although a - b u_x cannot be excluded. In any case, the older form would have had an initial a- which subsequently underwent vowel harmonization. Note how this older form is closer to a b - ú in its vocalization.

In addition to the u g u-compounds mentioned in 2, there are a few others more or less related to them, which deserve mention:⁶

u g u - d ù^{mušen} = *nāḥiru* Nabnitu A 159.

b u r u₅ - u g u - d ù^{mušen}, Nippur Forerunner to Hh XVIII (3N-T738:9'); in Hh XVIII 181f. there are two entries restored from the Boghazköy version and from HAR-g u d: b u r u₅ - u g u - d ù - a^{mušen} = *ap-pu-un-nu* (var. *ap-pa-nu* in Bogh.), b u r u₅ - u g u - d i l - l u m = MIN (see *MSL* 8/2 127 f.). The spelling with AŠ instead of d i l i₂ appears also in:

p i r i g - u g u - d i l i = *nadru*, *ugudilû* Hh XIV 131 f.

It is not completely certain that the first element of u g u—d é “to get lost, to disappear” was originally the same as a - g ù/u g u, because it is usually written ú - g u or ù - g ù; in Ukg. 6 iii 12 it is written ú - PAD where PAD could conceivably have a value b u_x (cf. Poebel, *AS* 2 8 f.).

There are thus indications of an alternation [b] ~ [g] for u g u in situations in which the change can hardly be ascribed to Emesal influence.

4. The Alternation [b] ~ [g].

Can a phoneme represented by this alternation be postulated in the phonemic inventory of Sumerian? The conditions for the successful detection of a Sumerian sound foreign to Akkadian are described in the studies quoted in note 1. For the present suffice it to say that the following conditions, among others, must be fulfilled:

5. Sollberger, *TCS* 1, glossary 33 a k a; Sauren, *Wirtschaftsurkunden Genf*, p. 343, van Dijk, *JCS* 19 23 transliterates A.KA, part of a š u - n i r - emblem, as a - g ù “partie supérieure.”

6. Several of these items represent late spellings and developments of the lexical lists; nevertheless, it is difficult to keep *appu-* separated from u g u-, in view of the data in paragraph 2. One could still add perhaps *abūtu*, Sum. u b i^{ku6}, see *CAD* A/1 93 *abūtu* A.

(a) The graphic alternations (the only basis to detect specifically Sumerian sounds) must form a clear pattern established from a sufficiently large number of cases; isolated occurrences of a graphic alternation are not enough.

(b) The presumed sound will be only an allophone if its occurrence is always associated with the same phonological environment.

(c) Two different spellings can be compared only if they represent words of identical semantic contents; furthermore, the forms must be the same morphologically and syntactically.

(d) The results must be acceptable from the point of view of general phonology. Leaving aside for the moment the rule (Main Dialect) [g] → (Emesal) [b], there is in fact a sizable number of cases, in Main Dialect, which present the alternation [b] ~ [g] (occasionally [k]), as shown by the following examples:

1. in initial position:

1.1. in the environment #__ur.

1.2. in other environments.

[1.12] bu ru₄ “raven”: g u - r u ŠIR.BUR^{mušen} = *hi-ri-ba-am* CBS 11319 + iii 13' (OB lexical).

[1.13] bu ru_x(EN×GÁN-*tenû*) “harvest”: k u r, textual var. in Bird-Fish 101.

[1.14] ^ub ú r “a plant”: ^uk u r, late var., see *Studies Oppenheim* 86.

[1.15] gu r₅-r u, gu r₅-u š “scalp”: b ú r - r u, b ú r - r u - u š, vars. in Nabnitu J 157 f.

[1.16] ku ru₇(IGL.ERIN₂) “inspection”: bu - ru, g ú - ru, g ú - ru - u m, vars. in Proto-Ea 412; ku - ru m Antagal E b 29; ku r S^a Voc. X 4, S^b I 357, Nabnitu XXIII 162.

[1.17] ^{kuš}g/k u r (u)_x(E.ÍB^{ur}) “shield”: e - bu - ù r (cf. Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen* 1 115)⁷ represents perhaps a variant; uncertain.

[1.21] b^e/i r_{6/7} “to tear a garment”: g i - i r, k i - r i, i - k i - r i, vars. in Proto-Ea 654 where b i - i r is also found; note that Proto-Ea, however, does not provide semantic information.

[1.22] b ú n (also bu ḥ?) “to blow”: bu - ú, gu - u, vars. in Proto-Ea 324.

[1.23] ^{giš/gi}b u n i n “trough”: bu - n i - i n Ea I 64, gu - n i - i n Proto-Ea 44, ku - n i - i n Ea I 64; perhaps more than one word is involved because of variations in the middle and final consonants.⁸

[1.24] b a₄ “house”: g á, m à, all adjacent entries with the same meaning in Ea IV 217ff.; while g á is an acceptable form for “house” (cf. for instance the spellings é - u d u and g á - u d u,⁹ as well as the Akkadian value of É in cases like *MSL* 12 159:60), the translation *bītu* of b a₄ may very well be a scribal error; in any case, hardly an instance of [b] ~ [g]!

7. ^{túg!}i b - b a - r u is something completely different; see *MSL* 9 148:127.

8. bu - g i Proto-Ea 43; bu - g i - i n Ea I 64, Diri II 299; bu - g i n Ea I 65, Hh IX 213; bu - k i - i [n] Proto-Ea 43; bu - n i Proto-Ea 43, Voc. Proto-Ea A iv 23; bu - n i - i ḡ Proto-Ea 43; bu - n i - i n Ea I 64; bu - n í g Proto-Ea 43; bu - n i n A-a 1/2:217, Hh IX 212; bu₄-g i n Ea I 64; bu₄-n i n Ea I 65; bu - u - n i Voc. Proto-Ea A iv 23; gu - n i - i n Proto-Ea 44; gu - n i n Proto-Ea 44; gu - u - n i - i n; Voc. Proto-Ea A iv 24; g ú - n i n Proto-Ea 44; ku - n i - i n Diri II 298; ku - n i n Ea I 64; cf. still ^{gu}LAGAB×A var. in Bird-Fish 64, and Dialogue 5: 85.

9. Additional references *CAD* B 282f. *bītu*.

2. in intervocalic position:

[2.1] (e)n-u b u r r i m “a priest of Inanna”: u k u r r i m, better attested, see *MSL* 12 69 ad 233ff.

[2.2] z u b u d “a weapon”: z u g u d, consecutive entries in Ea IV 115f. with a slight, and almost certainly artificial difference in the Akkadian translation.

[2.3] l u - l u - b u - n a “gathering (of persons), collection (of goods)”:¹⁰ l u - l u - g u - n a, l u - l i - g ú - n a *JNES* 23 4:43, n i - i n - n i - b u - [n] a *Ugaritica* 5 314:58', textual vars.

[2.4] a - g a r₅ “lead”: Akk. *abāru*; probably a word foreign to both languages.

[2.5] a b r i g and a g r i g, Akk. *abarakku*, and *ab(a)riqqu* or *agriqqu*, respectively, fail to fulfill the condition of semantic identity if the translations proposed in *CAD* A/i 32 if., 62ff. are correct.

3. in final position:

[3.1] u r - z í b “lion”: u r - z i g, vars. according to glosses to the same entry in Hh XI 22 (completed by *MSL* 9 197).

[3.2] s i g - b, with various meanings: s i g - g is the usual form; examples of -b are m á - s i g - b a (genitive) *RTC* 29 ii 3, v 2 compared with m á - s i g - g a Hh IV 347; s i g - b a - (a) - n i - (a) - š è G u d. Cyl A iv 18, v 15; s i g - b a u g n i m k i b a - n i - t a g 6N-T908 iv 6'; cf. also s i - b a, textual var. of s i - g a “silently” in Bird-Fish 105.

[3.3] š u - r u - u b - b a “dried up”(?): š u - r u - u g - g a, textual vars. in Dumuzi's Dream 120.

[3.4] d i b “to cross”: the var. d i - g i given for Proto-Ea 65 does not exist: the apparent -g i (from *PBS* 5 111) is an apprentice scribe's malformed - í b (collated).

Not all the words listed above can be considered as good instances of the alternation under discussion. Some, e.g., b a₄, have been included to show the kind of obstacles and ambiguities found in these researches; š u - r u - u b / g could be, for example, a false Emesal form.

5. Conclusions.

5.1. Certain words show an alternation [b] ~ [g], before [u] (13 cases including u g u); if [u] is followed by a consonant it is mostly [r] (7 cases). Exceptions are 1.21 and 2.4 (note, however, that both end in [-Vr]), and the doubtful 2.5 in which [r] also follows (perhaps preceded by a now lost vowel, cf. the Akkadian forms); 1.24 does not belong to the series. Nothing can be said about the environment in final position because of the lack of sufficient examples: the two cases of s/z i ____ # can be coincidental.

5.2. [b] and [g] can be in significant contrast as in s u₈ - g “to stand (pl.)” versus s u₈ - b “to go (pl.),” an example of a minimal pair as good as one can get without informants.

5.3. Since /ĝ/ is regularly found only before “front” vowels (the few exceptions can be easily explained),¹¹ one could wonder whether [b] ~ [g] does not represent the allophone of /ĝ/ before the “back”

10. l u - l u - b u - n a = *taphurtu* Nabnitu 0 301; *PBS* 5 25 vi 13 has l u - l u - b u - n a after i m - r i - a g ú - g a r - r a. Perhaps related to Pre-Sargonic l u l - g u - A K (with na for AK?), cf. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends*, p. 82.

vowel. If /ŋ/ is taken as a narrower definition of /ġ/, then the alternation [b] ~ [g] could represent the labialized velar /ŋ^w/, or if /ġ/ = /ŋm/ (nasal labiovelar), then [b] ~ [g] = /ġb/ (labiovelar stop).¹² In the last case the two Emesal rules

$$[\text{ġ}] \rightarrow [\text{m}] \quad \text{and} \quad [\text{g}] \rightarrow [\text{b}]$$

could be collapsed into one and explained by the omission of a velar feature in Emesal. However, since most of the initial and intervocalic cases of [g] → [b] in Emesal are not followed by [u] in Main Dialect: i-bí: i g i, a-ba: a-g a, la-bar: la g a r, li-bi-ir: ni m g i r, as against the isolated z é-b é-e d: d u g u d, the hypothesis of an allophone of /ġ/ has to be rejected.

5.4. Another possibility that may be considered is that [b] ~ [g] represents a labialized allophone of [g] (phonetically /g^w/) before /u/. But if the cases of alternation in final position listed above are valid, this assumption appears untenable. Note that while -b u for -b é, after root, is found, there are no cases of -g u for -g e.

5.5. It is thus possible that [b] ~ [g] may represent a phoneme, and may be tentatively entered as such in the Sumerian phonological inventory. The most likely phonetic definitions of it will be /g^w/ and /ġb/. It must be remembered, however, that all of its occurrences cannot be listed in the lexicon due to lack of information in the sources and to the lack of informants: there is no one or nothing to tell us whether b ù r “hole,” g u r “to return,” and *g^w u r form minimal pairs or not.

11. g u r u š has a var. ġ e r e š; m u r₇-g ú = /ġ u r g u/ comes from e ġ e r + g ú after loss of initial vowel and vowel harmony; the suffix -ġ u “mine” is ġ á plus an unknown element that causes the change a → u, as in z a, -z u.

12. For the complex possibilities involved, see P. Ladefoged, *A Phonetic Study of West African Languages* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968).

Medical Commentaries from Nippur^{*}

Commentaries are interesting not only because they offer a unique glimpse of the Mesopotamian philologist's mind at work, and because they often prove useful in textual reconstruction, but also because, despite some shortcomings, they may help the lexicographer in his reconstruction of the native lexical compilations. A general study of this scholarly genre of texts is badly needed. See, for the present, R. Labat, *Commentaires assyro-babyloniens sur les presages* (1933); G. Meier, *AfO* 12 (1937-39) 237 ff.; E. Leichty, *TCS* 4 (1970) pp. 22 f., *AfO* 24 (1973) 78 ff.; and W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 17 (1954-56) 311, 320.¹ The designations for the different types of commentaries (*šātu*, *šūt pî*, *maš'āltu*, *mukallimtu*) need to be revised in the light of both the Sumerian terminology (n í g - z i - g á l - e d i n - n a, n í g - p à - d a, u l - d ù - a, etc.), and the traditional scribal practices which are becoming better known thanks to the reconstruction of the Edubba-literature. This is not the place for a general introduction to the commentaries, and I will limit myself to some remarks on the origin of the philological explanations.

1.1. As pointed out by Meier and Lambert, there are two main types of explanatory texts: the purely semantic elucidations, or philological commentaries, and the hermeneutic commentaries (which most of the time also include philological explanations). The hermeneutic texts include a good number of ad hoc explanations, most of which would be sought in vain among the native lexical sources. 11N-T3 offers very good examples of "etymologies" of Sumerian or Akkadian words, and interpretations of compound signs based on words related to the general subject of the commented text, in this case the woman with child: *alādu*, *ašû ša zēri*, *banû*, *māru*, *šeḥru*, *zēru*, and the like. See, for example, the explanation of Sumerian g i è n - b a r - b à n - d a (lines 8 ff.): g i = *sinništu*, b a r = *ašû*, and b à n - d a = *šerru*; è n, which apparently did not readily lend itself to a fitting gloss, is conveniently disregarded. Akkadian *šamnu* (line 11) is explained as š á = *sinništu* (the commentator disregards the phonetic values and the explanation of š á is based on a meaning of n í g), a m = *zēru*, and n u = *banû*. In line 39, the signs ^{na4}p e š₄(ŠA×A) are related to the main theme by taking n a₄ = *ašû ša zēri*, and explaining the A inside of the ŠA as "the child within the

^{*} The present article was originally published in *JNES* 33 (1974) pp. 329-338.

1. I am grateful to H. Hunger for having made available to me a large number of commentaries from Warka which will appear in his forthcoming *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, vol. 1.

womb” (A = *māru*, ŠÀ = *libbu*). Nevertheless, most of the commentary is devoted to more or less straight philological annotations of unusual words. What directly concerns the lexicographer is the source of these explanations. Is it possible to ascertain from which lexical series the equations have been taken, and thus recover some entries in the missing portions of the series? Consider the following explanations from 11N-T3:

1) *na-gi-ri* KA×AD.KÙ ŠÁ *ka-ga-ak-ku* AD-KÙ *i-gub* = *āšipu* (7). The inclusion of the sign name points unmistakably to Ea or A. The equation appears in fact in Ea III 122 with a variant in the reading (see the remarks on this passage in 2.3).

2) *ni-ig* GAR = *sinništu* (11). The relevant parts of Ea and A are not preserved; in any case, if it is from one of these sources it must be A III/6, since for the value *níg* in Ea one should have a more common meaning than the unexpected *sinništu*.

3) *i* NI = *šamnu* (11) is identical with Ea II 7.

4) *giš.ki-ri-is* KÉŠ = *kirissu* (14). The inclusion of *giš* seems to exclude A VIII/2:43, and points rather to Diri III 15 or Hh. VI 7.

5) *ni-ra-aḥ* ^dGUD = *nirāḥu* (25). The format is similar to Ea, but the equation does not appear in the expected place, see remarks.

6) *ba-ār* BAR = *ašû ša zēri* (30). Note, in the first place, the pronunciation after the sign, which suggests a source with glosses (BAR^{b a - ā r}) rather than an Ea-type list. A I/6 has 194 entries for BAR (not counting the thirty or so for MAŠ) of which thirty-two are completely lost and a score are incompletely preserved; this entry is not among those preserved.

7) *du-u* KAK = *lillidu* (30, 35, 36). A II/1 is not sufficiently preserved for KAK. Note again the disregard for the correct value: KAK in *maš-dà* is explained by a meaning of *dù*.

8) *za-al* UD = *nūru* (35). The reading *za la g* (A III/3:60) is reduced to *za l*; cf. *Sumer* 13 71:4 *za-al-za-le-ga* = UD-UD-*ga*.

9) *ul-la* NI *i-’-u* = *šamnu* (31). Perhaps from A II/1, but in any case difficult to explain, see remarks on this line.

10) *KU tu-u n* DÚB = *kamādu* (45). Not found in its expected place in Ea IV 219, but could be from A IV/3; the presence of *KU* = *túg* is an additional complication; must we reconstruct **tu-u n* DÚB = *šá TÚG.DÚB kamādu* in A IV/3?

11) *ma-a* GÁ = *pisannu* (51). Obviously incorrect; it is perhaps a misquotation of *ma-a* GÁ *pi sa n n u* (sign name!) = *alāku* Ea IV 229 (= A IV/4:1).

In conclusion, some entries are certainly from Ea or A, but in others the presence of a Sumerian reading must be considered more as a gloss than as a formal reading (in the transliterations which follow all of them are given on the line). The quotations are often inexact or modified to suit the commentary: see, for example, the puzzling PAP^{p a - a p - ū r} ŠEŠ in 11N-T4:15. Note, finally, that if my contention that Nabnitu, Erimḥuš, and Antagal were intended as a general Akkado-Sumerian index to all lexical lists is correct, there is no way of telling whether a lexical quotation comes from them or from Ea, Diri, or HAR-ra as quoted in them.

1.2. The three texts published here were found together at Nippur during the eleventh campaign (1972-73)² in level VI of the deep sounding 50c in the southeast corner of the WA area, in a rather unstructured section (ancient dumps, pits, and courtyards); the closest dated tablet was a contract from the time of Cyrus (11N-T6, year not preserved) found in a pit in the same square.

The owner of the tablets was Enlil-kāšir son of Enlil-šuma-imbi, a *kalû* of Enlil, and collector of commentary tablets, since a Seleucid commentary from Warka, *TU* 47, is described in its colophon as a “copy from Nippur ... tablet of Enlil-kāšir, the *kalû* of Enlil and the son of Enlil-šuma-imbi” (Hunger *Kolophone*, no. 110). Note the owner’s claim in 11N-T3 of being a descendant (ŠÀ.BAL.BAL) of a Sumerian. (For the name, see *JCS* 16 66 iv 12.) I consider Enlil- kāšir as the owner, not the scribe, of the tablets, because while 11N-T4 and 11N-T5 seem to come from the same hand, 11N-T3 shows small paleographic differences in the shape of certain signs.

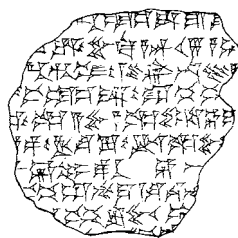


Fig. 1. Fragment 11N-T5

The tablets are written in a minute but clear and elegant script; since there are no doubtful signs, no copies have been provided, with the exception of the fragment 11N-T5 (fig. 1). The other two tablets are perfectly preserved, allowing the editor the rare pleasure of publishing a text without using square brackets.

2. 11N-T3.

2.1. This tablet comments on a collection of incantations and magic treatments to help a woman having difficulties in childbirth (la-ra-a ḥ = *pušqu* “dystocia”). The commented text is partly known from the first half of VAT 8869 and its Kuyunjik duplicate K.2413 (*AMT* 67, 1), with the unpublished fragments K.8210 and K.3485 + K.10443, to be published by Köcher in *BAM* and known to me from copies by Geers. VAT 8869 was published by Ebeling in *KAR* 196 and has been recopied by Köcher in *BAM* 248. The tablet has apparently deteriorated since the time it was copied by Ebeling, and for the upper part of columns i and ii, only *KAR* 196 is available. K.8210 corresponds approximately to lines 28-41 of the first column of VAT 8869. Some related OB incantations have been studied by van Dijk, *Or* 41

2. See the preliminary report, “Nippur 1972-1973,” by McGuire Gibson in Expedition 16 (1973): 9-14. A formal report, which will include all other 11N-T texts, is scheduled to appear as *OIC* 22. I would like to thank Dr. Gibson for his permission to publish these tablets.

(1972): 339 ff. and 42 (1973, in press).³ W. G. Lambert has edited two MA texts on the same subject in *AS* 16 283 ff. and *Iraq* 31 (1969): 28ff. A large part of the commented text is still missing, and due to frequent repetitions of the same themes it is sometimes difficult to assign the quotations to their right place. The colophon of 11N-T3 offers no catchline; VAT 8869 is followed by another incantation: é n a - i d i m - t a b a - t a - g i n - n a - t a m u - u n - d a - ú s - s a .

2.2 Transliteration.

1. é n m u n u s ù - t u - u d - d a - a - n i : e - l i p - p i š á u q - n a - a z a - n a - a t
2. z a - n a : m a - l u - ú : g u g n u - z u ù g u g n u - z u : l u - ' - a t - m a
3. a - n a n i - q í - i u l n a - t a - a t : p u - u ḫ - t u m š i - i : g u g : e l - l u m
4. n u : l a - ' : z u : n a - t u - u : a - m a - r a : a - n a n i - q í - i u l n a - t a - a t
5. š á Ê - u : s i z k u r : n i - q u - ú : s i z k u r : š u - l e - e u m - m a l u - ' - a t - m a
6. a - n a š u - l e - e u l a m - r a - a t : n a - g i - r i u m - m a ^dGAŠAN.DINGIR
7. i š - t a - n a - a s - s i : n a - g i - r i K A × A D . K Û š á k a - g a - a k - k u A D . K Û i - g u b : a - š i - p u
8. g i è n - b a r - b à n - d a š u u - m e - t i : g i : s i n - n i š - t i m : b a r : a - š u - u : b à n - d a
9. š e - e r - r i : š a - a ḫ - r i : s a ḫ a r s i l - l a : s a ḫ a r : e - p e - r i : s a - ḫ a r u š a - ḫ a r i š - t e n - m a
10. s i l a - l a m ₄ - m a : s i : e - š e - r i š á a - l a - k u : l a : l a - a : š a - ḫ a r : a m - m a : z e - r i
11. š á - a m - n u : n i - i g G A R s i n - n i š - t i m : a m : z e - r i : n u : b a - n u - u š á - n i š i N I
12. š á - a m - n u : i : a - š u - u š á N U M U N : e - l i L I . D U R - š ú ḫ e - p i - m a a š - š u m g i
13. n a - k i - i s a b - b u - u n - n a - t i : a b - b u - u n - n a - t ú r i - i k - s i š á L Ú š i - i
14. g i š . k i - r i - i s K É Š : k i - r i - i s - s u : É ú - b a - n u : š u p - š u q - t ù m - m a : š u p - š u - q a
15. k a - a - š ú š á - n i š d a n - n a - t i : i n a q a r - n i - š ú q a q - q a r ṭ e - r a - a t : d a - r u - u < : > s a g - ú s
16. š á - n i š ṭ e - r a - a t : ḫ i - i ṣ - n i - i t : d a - r u - u : ḫ a - š a - n u Š À - b u - u g ú - d a - r i
17. n a - a n - d u - r a : e - l a l : e - d e - r i : e l - l a - m e - e : A G A t a š - r i - i ḫ - t i
18. Š À - b u - u é - l a m ₄ - m a : É e r - b i š á - n i š s i é . g a r ₈ - b i t i l - l a : e l - l a m - m u - u
19. š á n u - ú - r u l a - n i - š u ú - q a t - t a - a : s i : n u - ú - r u m : é . g a r ₈ : l a - a - n u
20. b i : š u - u : t i l : q a - t u - u á š - š ú ^d30 š á A N . T A . L Û g a m - m a r - t i i - š a k - k a n
21. a š - š u m Á B - i a l a a - l i t - t i á š - š ú ^d30 E N l a - a - t u m e l - l e - e - t i
22. z i ^dn i n - d a r - a s i p a A B . L U - l u - ú - a ḫ é - p à : n i š ^dM I N S I P A
23. ú - t u l - l a - a - t ú l u - ú t a - m a - a t : ^dn i n - d a r - a : ^d30 : n i - š i l - p a - a
24. n i - š a l - p ú - u : e - t e - q u : n i - š a l - p ú - u : a - l a - k a : g i r ₅ - g i r ₅ : n a - ḫ a l - š u - u
25. g i r ₅ - g i r ₅ : n a - š a l - p ú - u : n i - r a - a ḫ ^dG U D : n i - r a - ḫ u : a n : z e - r i
26. g u d : š á - ḫ a - t u : i n i m - i n i m - m a < : > m u n u s l a - r a - a ḫ - a - k á m : l a - r a - a ḫ : p u - u š - q a
27. d a n - n a - t i : n a - ḫ u - u n - d i : ^d30 : n a - r u - u n - d i : ^dU T U
28. n a - a m - l i - s u k i - m a š a - b i - t u m : z é : m a - l a - s u : z é : b a - q a - m u
29. š á - n i š n a - a m - l i - s u Š À - b u - u n a p - l u - s u : a - m a - r a : k i - m a M A Š . D À

3. Van Dijk has kindly communicated to me his copies of the incantations which will be published in his forthcoming article: YBC 4603, MCL 1207, and John Rylands Library Box 24 E. 6(14), as well as UM 29-15-367 (for which I have used also my own copy); I have not seen, however, the text of van Dijk's article so that all textual misinterpretations are my own.

- (30. MAŠ ba-ár : a-šu-u šá NUMUN : du-u KAK : lil-li-du : ul-la : an-na
 31. an-na : qí-bi-ti šá-niš ul-la : ul-la NI i-³-u : šá-am-nu : i bur
 32. i kan-nu šá LÚ.ŠUR šá-niš bur : bi-³-il-ti : ^{urdu}kak-u₄-tag-e
 33. mul-mul : mul-mul : šil-ta-ḥu : mul-mul : ze-ri
 34. gi mul-mul ze-ri šá-niš gi : sin-niš-ti : urudu : e-ru-u
 35. a-na a-re-e : du-u KAK : lil-li-du : za-al UD : nu-úr : tag-ga
 36. e-ze-bi šá-niš du-u KAK : lil-li-du : si : e-še-ri šá a-la-ku aš-šum
 37. ^{mul}KAK.SI.SÁ : e-gi-zi-ni-ti : GEME₂^d30 : ina SAG.DU.MU na-ma-ra
 38. na-ma-ra : KASKAL^{II} šá GIŠ.GI u GIŠ.TIR : šá ŠÀ iš-qil-la-tum li-kal-lim nu-ú-rum
 39. ana MUNUS PEŠ₄ iq-ta-bi : NA₄.PEŠ₄ : ši-il-la-tum : NA₄ : a-šu-u šá ze-rum
 40. A : ma-ra : ŠÀ : ŠÀ-bi : uš-šu-rat ḥur-da-at-su : ḥur-da-tú : ú-ru-u
 41. šá sin-niš-ti ŠÀ-bu-u qa-at-ka šu-ta-am-ša-am-ma lu-pu-ut ḥur-da-at-na
 42. šá-niš ḥur-da-ti : qim-ma-ti : šal-šiš ḥur-da-ti : ḥur-ri-da-du
 43. da-du : ma-ra : ina kit-tab-ri-šú : ina i-di-šú : kit-tab-ri : i-di : še : i-di
 44. še : kit-tab-ra : qí-ip nap-šá-a-tum : qa-a-pa : na-da-nu
 45. KU tu-un DÚB : ka-ma-du : ik-kud it-ta-³-id : ta-an-qí-tum
 46. ḥi-is-sa-tum : it-mu-du : še-mu-ú : ab-nu ti-ik-ku AN-e : ab-nu
 47. ab : ba-nu-u šá a-la-du : nu : ze-rum : u-gu₄ : ti-ik-ku : u : ba-nu-u
 48. gu : a-la-du : an : AN-e : an : ze-ri : IŠ BÀD ŠUB-tú
 49. BÀD : du-ú-ru : KÉŠ : ri-ik-si : BAD : pe-tu-u
 50. ŠUB-tú šá E-u áš-šú SI.A : qa-a-pa šá É.GAR₈ : si : e-še-ri šá a-lak
 51. a : sa-ḥar : IŠ GÁ šur-di-i : ma-a GÁ : pi-sa-an-nu : gá : a-la-ku
-
52. ša-a-ti šu-ut KA u maš-³-al-ti šá KA um-ma-nu šá ŠÀ
 53. én munus ù-tu-ud-da-a-ni IM.GÍD.DA^d50.KÁD
 54. LÚ.UŠ.KU^den-líl A šá ^{md}en-líl-MU-im-bi ŠÀ.BAL.BAL
 55. ^mlú-du-mu-nun-na šu-me-ru-ú

2.3. Remarks.⁴

(1) As shown by the colophon, munus ù-tu-ud-da-a-ni is the incipit of the first incantation on the tablet. An OB incantation with the same opening line is MCL 1207, edited by van Dijk. On VAT 8869 the incantation is, at least in part, bilingual. The rest of line 1 is a translation of ^{giš}má ^{na₄}za-gìn-na mi-ni-in-si (see the OB parallels).

(2 ff.) The commentary restores VAT 8869 i 9 f.: [...] ù gu g¹ n [u-zu] [... ana ni]- qí¹-i ul [am-ra-at]. The sentences gu g nu-zu ù gu g nu-zu are a corruption of the OB text: ^{na₄}gu g nu-zu ^{na₄}za-gìn nu-zu (MCL 1207:6' = John Rylands dupl. 7'). It is uncertain whether lu-³-at-ma is part of the text or only an explanation.⁵ One would expect gu g = nīqu (Idu I 106) instead of gu g = ellu (Diri III

4. Several of my colleagues at the Oriental Institute, especially H. Hunger, E. Reiner, and R. D. Biggs, have discussed some passages with me and provided useful suggestions.

5. There seems to be no room for it in VAT 8869.

77, and passim). As it is, the justification for the translation seems based on a peculiar use of antonymy whereby *ellu* means in fact *lu'û*. This rhetorical convention has been briefly commented upon by Landsberger, *MSL* 9 144. "She is a *pūhtu*" would thus indicate the use of this figure of speech. A bilingual Edubba text ("Examenstext A," quoted according to a manuscript of Landsberger and Sjöberg) gives (line 15 f.) *ki-bi-gar-ra* = *pūhtu*, literally "replacement," as one of the grammatical categories which are "not suitable to be translated directly into Akkadian." *AHW*. 877 s.v. *pūhtu*, suggests "synonym," but one fails to see why asynonym would be difficult to translate. I would prefer "metonymic form" which would include, among other figures of speech, the particular use of antonyms mentioned above. The lexical lists do not give *zu* = *naṭû*, but the equation is amply documented by bilingual passages: *CT* 17 14: "0" 1 f.; 20 i 52 f.; *TCL* 6 51:31 f.; *Lugale* IX 2. For *naṭû* = *amāru*, cf. Reiner *Šurpu* p. 50:8, commenting *la amrāti lummudu la naṭāti šūhuzu* *Šurpu* II 64.

(7) The equation comes from Ea III 122, where the reading is *nigru* (*JAOS* 88 139); the inscribed sign should not have been given there as LÛ, since according to my copy and to the photo, the sign is AD followed by a squeezed KÛ in agreement with the sign name given here, and Lu IV 53.

(14) The ^{giš}*kirid*/d-(da) (A VIII/2:43; Diri III 15; Hh. VI 7 with gloss *ki-ri-id*, the last sign is broken off in the first two references) appears associated with the ^{giš}*bala* in a topos characteristic of incantations about pregnant women in the clause "if it is a boy..., if it is a girl..."; see the passages quoted by van Dijk, *Or* 41 346, to which must be added now UM 29-15-367 iv 10 if., a parallel with a more satisfactory modal prefix in the main verbs. The association of *kirissu* and *pilaqu* as emblems of womanhood is frequent also in Akkadian contexts (*CAD* K 407a s.v. *kirissu* b). Further Sumerian examples are:

^{túg}*Ámunus-a* *ḥé-im-mi-mu*₄
eme-sal-a ka-zu ḥa-ba-e-ni-gar
^{giš}*bala* ^{giš}*kirid* *šu-zu ḥé-im-mi-si*

from UM 29-16-229 ii 7' ff., in a context describing a man's transformation into a woman (to be compared with the "Song of Zababa" in *KBo* 1 11, see Güterbock, *ZA* 44 122:16)

munus-bi ^{giš}*bala* ^{giš}*kirid-da* *šu ba-(e)-si-ga*
 in Ni 9711:4 (*ISCT* 1 63, and dupl.). The commented passage can be recognized in VAT 8869 i 23 f., to be read: [... *ḥé*]-a ^{giš}*bala* [^{giš}*kirid* ...] : [... *pi*]-*laq-qí* [...]. É/GÁ *ú-ba-nu* is to be taken as an explanation of *kirissu*, because of ^{giš}*u* *mbin* = *kirissu* in Hh. VI 8, but I am unable to explain the É/GÁ. The end of the line quotes VAT 8869 i 36 = K.8210 i 9'.

(15 ff.) Restores K.8210 i 11' = VAT 8869 i 38 (compare iii 56, with different suffixes). The verb *terû* seems to puzzle the commentator who quotes *dāru* = *sag-ús* "permanent," a *da-ru-u* synonym of *hašānu*, and *edēru*; *e-lal* must be for *alālu* A, cf. *ACh* Ištar 30:38. (17ff.) The ends of lines 13'f. in K.8210 read: [...] *i-bak-ki*, [...] *dī-ma-šú*, which, restored with the help of *VAS* 17 34:7f.

am-mi-nim-mi ^d*šamaš* *i-ba-ak-ki*
el-lam-me-e i-il-la-ka dī-ma-šú

agree fairly well with the remaining traces in VAT 8869 i 40 f. as copied in *KAR* 196 (at the end read *-šú*¹ instead of *-ma*). The sense of *ellamê* (cf. van Dijk, *Or* 41 [1972]: 345) becomes more precise thanks to its equation with *agû tašriḫti*, which designates the aspect of the moon from the eleventh to the fifteenth days

of the lunar cycle (Weidner, *AfO* 19 110). Incidentally, one will no longer hesitate to translate *ACh* Suppl. 2 Sin 18:21 (cf. *CAD* E 100b): “if the full moon ‘cries’ over the Ekur.” The complicated explanations given by the commentator make it clear that the “crying” of the moon refers to its eclipse. In lines 18 f., *si é - ga r₈ - bi*, etc. is a bilingual quotation from an unknown source, and the quotations in line 21, also from unknown sources, are introduced as alliterations of *ellamê*.

(22 f.) This bilingual passage is taken from the *zi* ^dDN ... *h é - p à* formulary, see provisionally Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 357ff. For the title of Nindara, cf. *RA* 24 48:7, and note the writing AB.LU for ÁB.KU.

(23 ff.) Comments on VAT 8869 i 49: [...] GIM MUŠ *ni-šil-pa-a ki-ma ni-ra-ḫi*. The emendation of *ni-šal-pu-ú* in *CT* 29 BM 38592:4’ (Diri I) to *ni-qel^l-pu-ú* proposed by von Soden, *AnOr* 47 25** is thus disproved. Further evidence for this verb is provided by the Ugarit recension of Diri which has *ni-qel-pu-ú* followed by *ni-še-el-pu-ú* (lines 7 f.).

(25 f.) The equation ^dGUD = *nirāḫu* is unexpected. It looks like an entry from Ea, but *Niraḫ* is not among the long list of ^dGUD deities in Ea IV 138ff., nor in An = *anum* VI 203ff. On the strength of Emesal Voc. I 19 and Hh. XIV 9 one has to assume that the correct logogram is ^dMUŠ.

(26) It is the subscript in VAT 8869 i 51.

(27) The identifications of Narundi with the sun and Naḫundi with the moon are new. In An = *anum* VI 181, 184, Naḫundi is listed among the seven Elamite gods, and Narundi is their sister. The comment is on VAT 8869 i 59.

(28) To judge from VAT 8869 iv 2: *lusma kīma šabīti nerrubi kīma nirāḫi, na-am-li-su* is an error, and a form of *lasāmu* is expected; however, VAT 8869 i 59 clearly has an *-am-* as the second sign, so the error is an old one.

(30ff.) There seems to be no way of placing *u l - l a* between lines 60 and 68f. of VAT 8869 i. Since the *i - b u r* commented next probably belongs to lines 68f., it is assumed that *u l - l a* stands for *ūlu* (*šamni*) and must be placed in line 68. The second explanation of *u l - l a* is obscure: it looks like an entry from Ea with the sign name *i - u* for NI, but Ea II is complete at this point and does not have such an entry, although it has *š á - m a - a n NI = šamnu* (line 9). It is of course possible that an entry giving to NI a reading based on *ūlu* was included in A II/1 (not preserved); an alternative solution is to read *u l - l a NI* for *ūlu šamni*, with *i - u* as a gloss to identify NI. In any case, cf. *ú-lu = ša-man* Malku VI 200, and Emesal Voc. II 178.

(36) ^{mul}*k a k - s i - s á* is introduced here because of the translation *šiltahu* in Hg. to Hh. XXII 46.

(37) For the Akkadian spellings of *g e m e₂ - s i n*, see W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 31 38 ad line 51.

(38) KASKAL^{II} as written on the tablet is incorrectly listed as a variant of KIB in Clay’s list of signs, no. 87, in *BE* 10. For the explanation, cf. *na-ma-rum = gir-ru* [*ša qišti?*] in *CT* 18 4 r. i 25, a restoration preferable to the tentative *na-ma-ru = ḫa^l-ru-[bu]* in *CAD* A/1 s.v. *adūpi*. For the following quotation with *išqillatu*, see VAT 8869 ii 23 as copied in *KAR* 196: [*x x x*]-*qil-la-*[], but the traces of the other signs, as copied, do not seem to fit. There are several passages with *išqillatu* “shell” (Oppenheim, *Or* 32 410) in the literature, but all are descriptions of dry canal beds: *TCL* 3 + *KAH* 2 141:222 (Meissner, *ZA* 34 118); *CT* 39 19:126; and ⁿ*a₄p e š₄-bi^d u t u u₆-d i b a - a n - d a : [i]š^l-qil^l-lat-su^d UTU i-ta-mar SBH 60:13 f.*⁶

6. Cf. also ⁱ*d b u r a n u n - n a ... n a₄p e š₄-bi [. . .], u₄-bi - a m u r u b₄ i d b [u r a n u] n - n a - k a k i b i - i n - d a r N 3189 + 3190 + SEM 24 + SEM 25 r. iii 6’ff.*

(40) Comments on VAT 8869 ii 30 (with the more correct suffix *-as-sa*) and establishes the first sign of the line, unclear in the editions.

(41) Quotation from Gilgameš VI 69.

(42) The *hurridadu* given as a third synonym of *hurdatu* is possibly the *hur-ra-tu-tu* which appears among other terms for “infant” in Proto-Lu 368; the reading in *MSL* 12 46 is to be corrected according to the spelling ending in -d ù -d ù in the Ugarit recension (unpubl.), despite the apparent variant -TU-KU in source E’ of Proto-Lu. See also *CAD* H 250a s.v. *hurdu* B.

(44f.) The explanation *qāpu* = *nadānu* shows that the commentator took *qí-ip* as *qīpu* “the one entrusted with,” and therefore it seems natural to take *napšātum* as “the lives” (presumably of the mother and baby). The next entry, however, instead of explaining *napāšu* A “to breathe” or *napištu*, introduces *kamādu*. The missing link, omitted, perhaps by mistake, by the scribe who departs here from his usual style, must be *napāšu* B which, like *kamādu*, describes a textile activity. The first sign in line 45 is somewhat ambiguous: it may be KU or ŠU, since there is a faint line which runs along the left margin of the text and crosses the sign exactly where traces of an initial vertical wedge could be expected if the sign is KU. I am inclined to take it as KU = t ú g, and interpret it as t ú g-^{t u - u}n DÚB. There is no known reason for a ŠU since the šu inserted between t ú g and DÚB in OB Lu A 11 = B 13 in the *MSL* 12 edition is unjustified. The reading t u n_x for DÚB agrees well with the already known d u n = *kamādu*; in a narrower transcription the reading would be /tund/, since DÚB is followed by -d a or -d e. Note that the reading t u n_x does not appear in its expected place in Ea IV.

(45f.) Comments on VAT 8869 ii 61: *ik-kud it-ta-’-id ba-lat-sa* “(Asarluḫi) was worried and preoccupied about her life.” The two verbs appear together elsewhere, for instance, in Goetze, *JCS* 19 122:22 (with a different translation). Note the so far unattested *tapristu* form from *nkd*, *tankittu*. In the next explanation the tablet has a clear -MU- instead of the expected -’-.

(46ff.) It is curious that the passage commented in the rest of the tablet is VAT 8869 iii 7ff., as shown by the presence of NA₄ before t i - i k and IŠ before the other two items, despite the fact that the three terms appear already in ii 57ff. and 70ff. In line 48 note the omission of *sa-mit* before BĀD of the text. The commentary implies a reading *u g u instead of g ú for *tikku*.

3. IIN-T4.

3.1. This tablet is the 24th *pirsu* of a commentary to a therapeutic series *bulṭu É da-bi-bi*. The 22d *pirsu* is Si 276, published in *BAM* 401, and previously by Scheil in *ZA* 10 199 ff., 202ff., whose colophon⁷ reads:

DIŠ NA ŠÀ.MEŠ-šú SAR.MEŠ-ḫu⁸ : 22 *pir-su* DIN-ṭi É *da-bi-bi*
 NU.AL.TIL *ša-a-tú šu-ut pi-i u maš-a-a-al-tú šá pi-i um-ma-nu*
 [šá] Š[À] ÉN *sa-am-e um-ma-ka*,⁹ etc.

7. Not included in Hunger *Kolophone*.

8. Cf. *STT* 100: 9’; *BAM* 159 ii 12ff., v 48.

9. Cf. perhaps *BAM* 409 r. 27, or K.3174.

The text commented by 11N-T4 is unknown, although several related passages are mentioned in the remarks (3.3). It is possible that the series commented is DIŠ NA UGU₈-šú NE *ú-kal*, whose first tablets are published in CT 23; note in this connection the title in the colophon of the Warka tablet BAM 403: 19-*ú nis-ḫu* DIŠ NA UG[U-šú NE *ú-kal bulṭu*] 'É' *da-bi-bi*.¹⁰ A medical tablet to be published by H. Hunger (personal communication) shows that the series had at least forty-five tablets. A definitive answer must await Kicher's edition of the corpus of medical texts.

3.2. Transliteration.

1. DIŠ NA MURUB₄. MEŠ-šú KU.MEŠ-šú : *mun-ga* : *mur-ṣu*
 2. ^úDÜN.LÁ ^{he-pi eš-šú} *ina* U₄.4.KÁM DU₈ : *ina ri-bi-i* U₄-mu
 3. *pa-ṭa-ri* ^{he-pi eš-šú} *ba-aḫ-ri ta-šáḫ-ḫal*
 4. è : *šá-ḫa-lum* : BI ^{he-pi eš-šú} ZÌ : *pa-ru-ru šá qé-mi*
 5. ^údi-šu-tú : ^údi-i-šú
 6. DIŠ NA *tu-lim-šú* KÚ-šú *aš-rat* ^d*marduk* KIN.KIN-ma TI-uṭ *šá E-u*
 7. *ina* ŠÀ ŠÀ.GIG : ^dSAG.ME.GAR : ŠÀ.GIG : *ṭu-li-mu*
 8. ŠIM.GUD UD.A RAD : *ana ga-bi-du al-pi tu-ub-bal*
 9. *ta-sa-ku* <:> *ma-TAR* : *ba-a-a-ri* GIM *pa-ni* ŠÚR.DU^{mušen}
 10. KU-ŠI MÁŠ : *ṭu-li-mu* MÁŠ.ZU *šá E-u*
 11. ^{mul}SUḪUR.MÁŠ KUR *su-bar-tú u* URU.DÙG
 12. *an-du-ḫal-la-tú* *šá E-u* : *n i r - u š u m g a l* : *an-da-ḫal-lat*
 13. *ana-ku* ^dASAR.LÚ.ḪI UŠUMGAL ^dA.NUN.NA.KI *la-bi* ^di-gì-gì
 14. PAP.ŠEŠ SIM-tum *šu-um-šá* : *nap-pu-ú u na-pi-tú* *šum-šu*
 15. PAP *p a - a p - ú r* ŠEŠ : *nap-pu-ú* : SIM : *na-pu-ú*
 16. *ina na-aš-ša-bu lab-bi li-nu-uḫ*
 17. *ina na-ša-bu* ŠÀ-bi *li-nu-uḫ* : ^ú*nu-ša-bu*
 18. ^ú*ku-uk-ka-ni-ti* 5 *la-a-ri* *šá-kin*
 19. ^ú*ḫal-la-pa-a-na* : ^ú*ḫal-tap-pa-na* : ^ú*tu-uš-ru*
 20. DIŠ NA BIR-su KÚ-šú ^d*nergal* *šá E-u*
 21. ^{mul}BIR : ^d*šal-bat-a-nu* : GIŠ.Ú.GÍR.LAGAB : *pu-qut-tú*
 22. *mu-ša* : *ḫi-niq-tum* : MÁŠ U₄-mu : *mi-šil ta-am-mu*
 23. ŠÀ-ú *mi-šil* *šá* MA *šá-niš* MÁŠ U₄-mu : *mi-šil* U₄-mu
 24. *múš-tin-ni-šú* : *mu-uš-tin-ni* : *pi-il-šú* *šá ú-šá-ri*
 25. *šú-ḫi-šú* : *šu-uḫ-ḫa-šú* : *em-ra ú-zaq-qa-ta-šú*
 26. *e-me-ri* : *na-pa-ḫa* : *ú-ḫar-ra-aš* : *ú-bat-taq*
 27. *mi-šiš tam-tim* : *mi-ši-is-su tam-tim* : ^ú*ḫa-ḫi-in* : *pu-qut-tú*
-
28. 24 *pir-su bul-ṭu* É *da-bi-bi* NU.AL.TIL
 29. UL *šu-ut* KA *u maš-a-a-al-ti* *šá* KA *um-ma-nu* *šá* ŠÀ

10. Other occurrences of *bulṭu* (*ša*) *bīt* PN/DN include ^dME.ME (BAM 403), and ^mDÜ.DÜ.DÜ (Warka commentary, unpub., communicated by Hunger). Note the absence of the personal name determinative in all instances of *da-bi-bi*.

30. DIŠ NA MURUB₄.MEŠ-šú KU.MEŠ-šú
 31. DIŠ NA *ina* KÀŠ-šú BAD ú-tab-ba-kam
 32. IM.GÌ.DA^{md} en-líl-KÁD LÚ.UŠ.KU^d ALIM
 33. lú dingir-bi^d nuška-ke₄

3.3. Remarks.

(1-5) There are paragraphs mentioning the same symptom, e.g., *AMT* 52, 6:6'ff.; *BAM* 56:5'ff.; 96 ii 14ff., but none corresponds to the text commented here. Perhaps it is to be sought in the missing portion at the beginning of *BAM* 77. ^ùdù n-lá is probably the same as ^ùt u-lá and ^ùt ú l-lá. The equation è = šaḥālu is new and possibly incorrect; it is not found in the relevant section of Diri. For *parūru*, see *AHw* 837b s.v.; K.9964 in *CT* 19 39 is a duplicate of the source quoted there.

(6-19) Comments on *BAM* 77:20'ff., and its duplicate *BAM* 78:1ff. Line 6 of the commentary = *BAM* 77:21', and line 8 = 24', apparently with ú instead of š i m. Line 9 is unclear; it must comment on [...]'x'-a-a-ri ik-ta-na-su-us *BAM* 77: 25', but apparently a separation mark is missing after ta-sa-ku, and one would expect that ba-a-a-ri would be the word explained and not the other way around. Furthermore, ma-TAR is ambiguous: it can be read ma-šil, ma-kut (because of its proximity to gabīdu), etc.; I prefer ma-ḥaš which can be conceivably glossed as ba'āru. The commented text must have read [x] or [x kīma] ba-a-a-ri iktanassus, a rather unusual phrase in a medical text, perhaps an allusion to some hunters' custom. Underlying the comment is of course the term kasūsu, a synonym of šurdū "falcon." The beginning of line 10 is again obscure: MÁŠ.ZU (= kazzu, kizzu) is introduced because of the similarity of roots, and so is ^{mul}SUḪUR.MÁŠ in line 11, but I fail to see how KU.ŠI can be explained as ṭulimnu. Note, however, that in *BAM* 432:8ff. (commenting on *TCL* 6 34 i 6) AN.KU.ŠI is likewise followed by a comment on MÁŠ.ZU.¹¹ The anduḥallatu appears repeatedly in *BAM* 77 from 34' on. The quotation in line 13 comes obviously from a still unrecovered line of "An Address of Marduk to the Demons" (W. G. Lambert, *Afo* 17 310ff.). From line 14 on the commented text from *BAM* 77 is lost. The equation PA^{p a - a p - ú}rŠEŠ = nappû is new (the np' section in Nabnitu is only partly preserved), and so is the form ḥallapānu (perhaps merely a scribal error on the commented tablet) for ḥaltappānu.

(20-27) For this section the text which is closest to the commentary is so far the MB Nippur tablet CBS 19801 (*AJSJL* 36 67 ff.; *BAM* 396) i 23' ff. Note that this same tablet has in iv 3 the catchline of 11N-T4.

(21) For the astrological equation, see *CT* 26 42 ii 15, correctly restored by Jastrow, *AJSJL* 27 66 f.

(22) Cf. *BAM* 396 i 24'. It is not clear whether *tammu is considered by the commentator as a loanword from Sumerian (t a m - m a = talīmu *MSL* 12 109:188; *ArOr* 37 487:3 f.; *RT* 16 92:11), or if he is "forcing" the phonetic shape of tuāmu; in any case, he felt the need to clarify it as "half of a MA" which hardly makes sense; I propose to read ma-<ši>.

(24) Cf. *BAM* 396 i 29'.

(26) emēru = napāḥu shows that the meaning proposed by *CAD* S 126 s.v. šemēru is to be preferred to the one s.v. emēru A.; note the semantic agreement with the gloss malû in Labat, *TDP* 74:32, and the

11. *PBS* 10/4 12 iii 6: AN.KU.ŠI EDIN[?] ki-i-šu.

association of (š)emēru with *napāhu* in *AMT* 48, 1:7, 12; 48, 3:8; 76, 1:4, etc., as well as with *šāra uddupu* in *BAM* 240 r. 25. The meaning is clearly “to be swollen, distended.”

4. 11N-T5.

A thin chip, probably from the obverse, of a commentary. The texture of the clay and the script are identical to that of 11N-T4. The text is too brief to identify the commented tablet.

- (1) R]I KÉŠ.DA-su š[u-
- (2) KÉ]Š[?].DA: *pu-di šá* ^d15 *šá* GI[M
- (3)] *re-ḥu-tum* : DIŠ *in-na* BIR *šá* [
- (4)]TU₇ *Zì (tablet: KÉŠ).DA : *ra-bi-ku*[m
- (5)]^ʿx^ʿ : *ka-a-pu šá ka-li-e ma* [
- (6) *ka*]-^ʿa^ʿ-*pa* : *ḥa-ba-lu* : *kap-ka-pu* : [
- (7)]^ʿx^ʿ-*kal-lum áš-šú e-rum* [
- (8) *bu*]-*qu-um-mu-ma ana ba-qa-m*[u
- (9)]^ʿx^ʿ-*qu šà-bu-u* ^ʿx^ʿ[
- (10) traces

II.11

Enlil, the Merchant: Notes to *CT 15 10**

The eršemma BM 13963 (*CT 15 10*)** has been translated by Falkenstein in 1953 (*SAHG* no.11 and p. 365; cf. Kramer, *BiOr* 11 173²¹), and by Kramer in 1969 (*ANET*³ 576).¹ Under the deceptive appearance of a short, uncomplicated hymnal text, there remain several poorly understood passages, and the overall thematic structure is far from clear, at least in the translations published so far.

BM 13963 is a practically complete small (76×55 mm.) Old Babylonian tablet with a clear and firm script.² L. W. King's copy in *CT 15 10* is accurate, if not paleographically perfect. Kramer's collations in *RA* 65 24 confirm this point. Under the appearance of a carefully written tablet, however, lurk numerous scribal mistakes and malformed signs.

The text belongs to a period and literary genre³ in which new compositions are created almost exclusively as multiple combinations of more or less standardized blocks a few lines long, which may appear in several compositions at the same time. These blocks are modified only slightly, or not at all, to adapt them to their new contexts, but they are very much subject to textual erosion.

The text of the eršemma BM 13963 can be divided into the following sections:

A) 1-8: Standard epithets of Enlil in their short OB form. For their history and presence in other compositions, see R. Kutscher, *YNER* 6 44ff.

B) 9-11: Enlil as a merchant. This section appears in at least two OB balags: *z i - b u - ù z i - b u - ù* (7.216) and *ḫ u t u - g i n x è - t a* (7.204).⁴ Since it is difficult to assign excerpts and small fragments to one

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** In addition to the usual abbreviations, note: ELA = Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (see Civil, *JNES* 26 201 for list of sources); EWO = Enki and the World Order (ed. C. Benito, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania 1969); LA = Laḫar and Anšar (own ms.); L1 = Lugalbanda and "Ḫurru" (own ms.); Š = Šulgi hymn.

1. Older bibliography may be found in Borger, *HKL* 1 226.

2. Observations based on a personal examination and collation of the tablet in the British Museum.

3. See J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, for a general overview, and for the eršemma in particular: Mark E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: the Eršemma* (forthcoming).

4. Designations according to *HKL* 4 (forthcoming). The pertinent sources are listed in the remarks to Section B.

or another of the two balags,⁵ and the lines are the same anyway; the parallel sources are grouped together in the reconstruction below.

C) 15-22: Enlil as god of abundance. These lines are found in another Enlil eršemma (*VAS* 10 101: 6-13), and in the balag a - a b - b a ḥ u - l u ḥ - ḥ a (*CT* 42 26: 25ff.; see Kutscher, *YNER* 6 126ff.).

D) 23-25: Activities of Enlil as a merchant. Not attested elsewhere, but a quotation in a Late Babylonian commentary shows that these lines survived in a now lost portion of the canonical literature.

My remarks are restricted to sections B and D.

Section B⁶;

9. am ná-a gud-de^a sag nu-^{*}-dī^b
10. ^dmu-ul-líl dam-gàr-ra ki-dagal-^{*}la^{a7}
11. ù-mu-un mu-rín-na-ni sag-ma-al-^{*}la
12. ù-mu-un na₄-na^a ga-NUNUZ^b àm-da-ma-al-la^c
13. ù-mu-un ^{*}ki-tuš-a-ni uru₂ ir-ir^a
14. ^{*}ki-ná-a-ni á-ág-e^a gal-la^b

9. A wild bull at rest, who does not stampede the cattle,
10. Enlil is the merchant of the wide earth (or the Ki-ur).
11. The scales of the Lord weigh out generously,
12. The weights of the Lord can hold . . .
13. (From) his seat, the Lord plunders cities,⁸
14. His sleeping place is great for the orders (given there).

Remarks:

Textual parallels. B = Ni 9798 (*ISCT* 1 127); C = *VAS* 29: 6ff.; C' = *VAS* 2 8 i 5'ff.; D = *VAS* 2 5: 9ff.; E = PBS 1/18 i 5ff.; F = *UET* 6 205 r. lff. (from photo).

9. a) ACE: -d è; B: -d a; C' uncertain. b) A: -KI; CC': -d i; D: -KU? (not collated). Elsewhere, A writes DI for KI in lines 13, 14, 18, but has correctly DI in line 7.

10. a) A: d a g a l-RA; C: 'GÁ×X'-ra?; C': [x]-ra; D uncertain. Two readings enter in consideration for A: k i d a g a l-^{*}la or k i-^{*}ùr-ra. Compare, for the latter, ^[d]m u - u l - l i d a m - g à r - r a k i - ù - r [a] KAR 9:13'; in favor of this reading there is also the fact that k i d a - m a - a l - l a would probably be found in A if k i d a g a l - l a were intended.

11. The final -l a is clear in C', A has an incorrect KI. Falkenstein and Kramer both read: m u - u d - n a "spouse." This reading is paleographically unacceptable. The scribe of A makes a clear distinction

5. *UET* 6 205 belongs certainly to ^du t u - g i n_x è - t a because the tablet has balag excerpts in the canonical order as given by 4R 53.

6. The textual variants are given in the remarks.

7. Or k i - ^{*}ùr - r a, see remarks.

8. Literally, "The Lord, his seating place, plunders cities."

between ERIN₂ (here and in line 7) and UD (lines 12, 15); the contrast is preserved in King's copy, and is now confirmed by B where the two signs are quite distinct in the *ISET* copy. The word is thus *mu-rín-na*, the Emesal form of *giš-rín-na* "scales," which fits the context perfectly. The natural connection between merchants and scales is mentioned in a proverb of Collection Three (from 3N-T 335 iv 12f.)⁹:

giš-rín-na sa ka pú-níg-ḥuš-a-ka
*dam-gàr ku-li-ni-ir*¹⁰ *lú na-an-tuku*

"The scales are the net on the opening of a pit-trap;
 No one has a merchant for a friend."

On a Sargonic slave sale tablet (*Sumer* 13 133 A 10), in the payment of the price, the usual clause with *kù*—*lá* is replaced by: *PN dam-gàr lú giš-rín dab-ba-àm* "the merchant PN was the one who held the scales." With the title of merchant applied to a deity, we have in a prayer: *dam-gàr-(re) lú giš-rín-na-mu a-na ì-na-ak* "what have I done to him, to my merchant who has the scales?" (*JNES* 33 292:4).¹¹ The scales as a symbolic instrument in divine hands appear in the hymn to Hendersagga 206f. (Edzard and Wilcke, *AOAT* 25 139ff.): *u₄ um-zal^d utu um-ta-è, ^dutu ki giš-rín-na mu-un-ḡub* "the time passed, after the rising of the Sun, the Sun set up the scales on the earth." Utu's scales are mentioned again in lines 217 and 222 of the same hymn. In the seal *OIP* 47 no. 42, a figure holds a pair of scales before Utu; after him stands another one clasping a goat in the traditional ritual position; a third and smaller figure carries what the editor describes as a knife, but can equally well be a basket or container. The *sa g-ma-al-la* (= *sa g-gál-la*) at the end of the line could be derived from the well-known verb *sa g-gá—gál* "to put on the head," but the resulting literal translation "he carries his scales on the head," although not impossible is hardly satisfactory. A possible parallel which seems to require a different meaning is: *giš.al giš.ù-šub-ba giš.al sa g-gál-la-àm*, Song of the Hoe 96 (*TRS* 92 and dupl.), where a translation "(of) the hoe and the brick-mould, the Hoe is the more important" seems reasonable, but there are no lexical passages or similar contexts to support it. In Ur III texts there are some passages with a verb *sa g—gál*: *n(gur) gur-ba n'si la₃-(àm) sa g-ì-gál* *BE* 3 104 pass.; *n(gú) ma-na síg* (+ specification) *sa g-n' ma-na ì-gál* *BM* 12946 (*CT* 718 pass.); in the first case *n' = 2* or *3*, in the second *n' = 1* or *2* (and possibly $\frac{1}{2}$ in r. 1); there is no apparent relationship between *n* and *n'*. It would seem that *n'* designates a supplementary amount added to the regular measures.¹² If this interpretation is correct, then *sa g-gál* can be roughly paraphrased as "to measure adding a supplementary amount, to fill generously," and this meaning is acceptable for our line as well as for the Song of the Hoe passage (in the sense that the hoe is the one that fills the brick-mould more than adequately). The lexical passages *Hh* XXIII ii 16'ff., and *Izi* C iii 13f., do not seem to help. Kramer and Falkenstein take *sa g-ma-al* as an (otherwise unattested) Emesal form of *ša ga n-lá*, but note *BA* 10

9. A variant of more difficult interpretation, is found in Collection Seventeen (CBS 13994).

10. CBS 13994 has *ku-li-gá-šè*.

11. For *dam-gàr* said of Enlil, see also the quotation from An-anum at the end of the article.

12. What exact relation may exist between this *sa g-gál* and the *gur-sa g-gál*, I could not say

no. 39:1' with *ša ga n-lá* in an Emesal context. The word goes well with merchants and weights (cf., e.g., *BWL* 134: 139), but grammatically it is unsuitable here as a predicate.

12. a) A: -na; BCC'E: -a-ni. b) A: ga-NUNUZ; C: ga-ra; C': 'x'(Winkelhakens)-ma-ra. c) A: -ma-al-la; C: -ma-[-; C': -ma-la; D:]-la; E: (indented): TUG 'x' [. Once the reading mu-rín has been accepted in line 11, the interpretation of the NI in NI.UD as "fat" has to be rejected. Falkenstein translated: "der das Fett gedeihen lässt," and Kramer: "makes abundant the *erin*-fat," both probably influenced by the theme of abundance in section C. NI.UD is obviously na₄ "weight," cf. simply Eames Coll. 81f. H 4 (with addendum p. 268), and *CAD* A/I 59a *abnu* A4; note, for instance, na₄ da-m-gàr in *YOS* 5 154 (Nur-Adad's date). Texts C and C' imply ga-àr "cheese." Is the NUNUZ of A a scribal error for HAR? In view of the other erroneous signs on the tablet it is quite possible. If one persists in seeking a solution which accepts NUNUZ as the correct sign, there is a dairy product called ga-NUNUZ-te (the -te must be read as such because of a variant -ta in L 192) translated into Akkadian as *ú-qu-ru*, with meaning unknown (Hh XXIV 98). The terminology of dairy products in Sumerian is still obscure, and the only thing one can say about the ga-NUNUZ-te is that it could be cooked: ga-NUNUZ-te še g₆-gá EN₂ 109; cf. i-NUNUZ-te NUNUZ-te še g₆-gá L 192 (among supplies for a banquet). The absence, however, of -te in CT 15 10, suggests that the solution should preferably be sought in some other direction. An emendation to *gú-nida(NUNUZ) (see Civil, *Studies Oppenheim* 78) is perhaps too radical. The implications must be that Enlil's weights are capable of measuring things which are difficult either because of their small size (one grain of naked barley?) or because of some physical quality of the product (a semi-liquid cheese?). In cylinder seals depicting dairy scenes one can see sometimes rows of small circles which are usually interpreted as cheeses (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* 139); do we have here a comparison of the neatly arranged weights of the merchant with the rows of cheeses? With the evidence at hand, I am unable to reach a satisfactory conclusion.

13 a) ir-ir; C: ir-[-; C': a-s[i?]-ir; D:]-ir; F: ir-ra. Assuming that the merchant's theme is continued in lines 13-14, I take ir-ir as *šalālu*, "to plunder." See comments on next line.

14. a) A: -e; CC': -gá; for F see following note. b) A: -la; C'D: -zu; the second half of the line in F (semi-syllabic text) reads: gi-an-gal-zu. Embedded in the theme of Enlil as merchant there is a subtheme: he is no ordinary merchant, traveling constantly and getting involved in hectic and noisy market activities, but rather conducts his business without leaving his shrine, in a quiet and forceful manner. This subtheme of lofty tranquillity is first hinted at, metaphorically, in line 9, and reappears now in lines 13-14. While sitting down, Enlil is capable of "plundering," i.e., buying up all the merchandise in a town; and even when he is sleeping he gives instructions to his agents to conduct business in far-away places.

Section D:

Section C interrupts the merchant theme with the introduction of aspects of Enlil unrelated to it: his sovereignty over countries and gods, his production of rain for the crops, his filling of the marshes with birds and fish. Whether some source had B followed by D, or D was added from a source unrelated to B, cannot be decided without additional textual evidence. In any case, D resumes the merchant theme:

23. a-a^dmu-ul-líl li-*id-da maḥ mu-e-túm sag-e ba-e-dé

24. ù-mu-un ka-na-ág-gá giš.ba-rí-ga mu-e-túm gi-gur bal-šè me-a

25. a-a^dmu-ul-líl sag zi sag lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak

23. Father Enlil, you bring the lofty lidga-measure, you pour people into the baskets,
 24. Lord of the country, you bring the bariga-measure, you carry the baskets for trade.
 25. Father Enlil, the loyal ones are taken in trade for the traitors.

Remarks:

23. This line becomes understandable if 1) the -le is separated from ^dmu-ul-líl, which is obviously a vocative and therefore does not require an -e ending, and 2) the resulting li-da-da is emended to li-*id-da (the tablet has clearly -da-da). The syllabic spelling li-id-da stands for /lidga/ or /lidda/ ‘standardized measure,’ Akk. *litiktu*. The form li-id-ga appears in ELA 324 (with variant lí-id-ga, or lí^{id}-ga), and TRS 29: 11, in both cases the measure is used for grain. The older spelling is NI-ga (see Gelb, *Studies Landsberger* p. 58), to be read líd-ga according to Ea II 11: líd NI = *li-ti-ik-tu*; the correct form in the Akkadian column should have been *ša NI.GA *litiktu*.¹³ The late lexical sources all give lidda as a reading of ŠÀ.DIŠ or ŠITA (see CAD L 216b *litiktu*, lex. section). The correctness of the emendation li-*id-da is confirmed by a quotation from an otherwise not preserved canonical liturgical text in a Late Babylonian commentary to Aa II/l: a-a ^den-líl-lá giš.ŠÀ.ME⁷-da mu-un-tú[m...], umun ka-na-g-[g]á giš.ŠÀ⁷.ME-da: (an obscure explanation follows).¹⁴ There is no doubt that the unusual ŠÀ.ME stands for ŠÀ.DIŠ = lídda₂, because the line comments precisely on li-id = NI.

One can hesitate between reading túm or gub (or rather their Emesal equivalents) in the verb, with no significant difference on the overall meaning of the line: A translation “you bring” may seem more natural, but one can adduce in favor of gub “you set up,” passages such as giš.li-id-ga maḥ-a-ni ki b[a-a]n-ús ELA 343, and gi-gur... ki mu-un-na-ab-ús-sa Nanše hymn 15f. The verb at the end of line 23 is dé as recognized by Falkenstein and Kramer, but the sign is malformed on the tablet.

24. Once the presence of li-id-ga has been established in line 23, the parallelism requires reading giš.ba-rí-ga, instead of giš.tukul plus something else (it is difficult to imagine what) that gives “die *blanke* Waffe” in Falkenstein, and “weapons of *destruction*” in Kramer. The sign on the tablet after giš is definitely not KU. Langdon, *SBP* 279, read giš.MA (“figs to (thy) dwelling we bring”). For giš.ba-rí-ga, Akk. *paršiktu*,¹⁵ “a container of a capacity of one PI,” see *MSL* 5 102 ad 218ff., with the remarks which show that the word fared quite poorly in the hands of the late native lexicographers (cf. already Landsberger’s emendation of *TCL* 6 35 in *WO* 1 374). The word is very frequent in OB texts (cf. Goetze, *JCS* 2 85), and is found sparsely in Ur III: *UET* 3 847:5; *TCL* 5 5672 v 17; BE 3 160; *ITT* 3/2 5206: 2; *ITT* 5 6988: 1; Reisner *Telloh* 124 vii 2; Or 40 390 no. 4¹⁶; UM 29-15-918¹⁷; etc.

13. Cf. my remarks in *AS* 20 132³⁰.

14. *ma-šú-u* (probably for the measure *māšu*) *ša qaq-qad* ŠE.GIŠ.ì *ana da*-[...]; see *MSL* 14 for the complete edition and details.

15. We must distinguish between *paršiktu* A = ba-rí-ga “a measure” (the word however is not of Sumerian origin!), and *paršiktu* B = giš.e me-si-g “a part of a boat” (which could be a loanword from Sumerian); the ad hoc translation “ein Teil des Lastschiffes für Gerste” (*AHw* 835a s.v.) is hardly satisfactory.

16. The transliteration of line 2 is incorrect, read [k]a, or [s]a g, at the beginning of the line instead of l(?) giš., and translate “one b. whose opening (or top) is lined with copper” [the author informs me that he realized independently his misreading in a correction sheet distributed with the offprints].

At the end of the line, *bal-šè me-a* stands for *bal-šè mu-e-a₅/ak*,¹⁸ the prefixes *mu-e-* being required by the parallelism with all the other verbs of lines 23-24. This interpretation offers no orthographic or morphological difficulties whatsoever, and has the advantage of providing a finite verbal form for the second clause of line 24. Falkenstein and Kramer took *me-a* as the interrogative “where?” The verb *bal*—*a* *k* has the meaning of “to transport for trading purposes” rather than “to trade, to barter,” since it takes only one object and always implies movement. In the unambiguously finite forms, this verb seems to be always constructed with the terminative in its nominal component: *bal-šè*—*a* *k*. Compare *nam*—*tar* and *mu*—*sa₄* versus *nam-šè*—*tar* and *mu-šè*—*sa₄*; these verbs, however, are found more frequently without the postposition in the finite forms, and there is no semantic contrast.

a) Form *bal*—*a* *k*: [...] *nu-íl bal nu-a* *k*-(e), [...] *nu-íl nam-ga-e* *š₈ nu-a* *k*-(e) “no [...] is transported, there is no trade, no [...] is transported, there is no traffic” ELA 16f., introducing the conditions which obtained between Aratta and Uruk at the beginning of the tale. The establishment of import-export relations between the two cities is one of the essential points of the plot, and is summarized at the end, lines 618f.: *nam-lú-u_x aratta.ki-a-ke₄ kù-sig_x (Gí)*¹⁹ *kù-<babbār> na₄.[za]-gìn bal-a* *k*-*dè* *’si bí-in-sá*²⁰ “the people of Aratta had been directed to export gold, silver, and lapis lazuli.”

b) Form *bal-šè*—*a* *k*²¹: (1) *giš.má-gi₄-lum me-luḥ-ḥa.ki-(a)-ke₄, kù-sig_x kù-babbār bal-šè ḥé-a* *k*-*e* “that the gílum-boats of Meluḥḥa brought in silver and gold” EWO 128f. (2) *kù na₄.za-gìn-bi má gal-gal-la/e bal-šè i-a* *k*-*e* “large boats carried its (of the shrine of *gú-ab-ba.ki*) precious metals and stones” Sumer and Ur Lament 172 (UET 6 128: 23 and dupl.). In connection with merchants: (3) *dam-gàr-(ra) sag-dù-dù nu-zu bal-šè mu-ni/e-a* *k* “I have been carried around by an inept merchant”²² TuM NF 3 56: 6 (letter, dupl. UM 29-15-995). (4) *kur-re ki a-ta ba-da-gub-bu-dè-en bal-šè ma-ab!*-*a* *k*-*e*, *dam-gàr-ra-gìn_x èm-tuk-tuk šu-a mi-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄* “in the Netherworld, I (Inanna) have to stand in a place far from the water, he will bring it (the water) in for me; like a merchant, he will deliver the treasure” TLB 2 1 iii 13’f. (balag, translation uncertain). In a figurative sense: (5) *im-u_x-lu im-mir-re bal-šè mu-e-a* [*k*-(e)] “you (the winnowed grain) are carried around by south wind and north wind” LA 153. (6) *zú-zu ki ba-al-la zú-zu saḥar bal-šè a* *k* “your (of the hoe) blade digs the ground, your blade carries the dirt around” Silver-Copper C 62 (TuM NF 3 36: 55 and dupl.). (7) The proverb P5.45 (E. I. Gordon, JCS 12 43) is the only case where “to trade for” could be considered: *aṇše kù l gín-e bal-šè i-a* *k*-*e* “he trades a donkey for one shekel of silver.” However, in view of the other occurrences of *bal-šè*—*a* *k*, a translation “he brings in for trade one-shekel donkeys,” i.e., poor quality merchandise, seems preferable. Note, in connection with both translations, that one shekel is a derisory price for a

17. 480.30 *še-giš-i* (gur), *giš.ba-ri-ga giš.ba-an* 20 (sil₃) *mu-DU é sà-ḥi-ru-u-m-ke₄-ne* (note the -*ke₄*- after consonantal ending).

18. Note also *ab-da* in CT 15 10: 16f., which corresponds to *ab-a* *k* in the dupl. VAS 10 101: 7ff, and CT 42 26: 26ff.

19. For the reading of KÜ.GI as *kù-sig_x*, see my “Notes on Sumerian Lexicography III” (forthcoming).

20. The reading seems to fit the traces as copied by Kramer and as visible on a photo at my disposal. Sol Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (PH.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1973) reads, like Kramer, *éš-gàr x* (x) x. The grammar requires either a finite verb or a subordinate clause in -*dè*, but the final sign is certainly not NE and looks very much like DI.

21. Translated by *makāru* B “to do business” in A. i. III ii 16, and VI i 17.

22. Cf. *lú sag-dù-dù nu-tuk-u-a = la rāš tašmti* BWL 242: 23. See also Falkenstein, OLZ 57 373.

donkey; donkeys in Ur III fetch prices from 4 1/3 to 6 1/2 shekels. Another acceptable translation, closer to the one proposed by Gordon, would be “the donkey carries one shekel of silver for trade,” i.e., conspicuous and out of proportion means are used to accomplish something. In Ur III documents dealing with river transportation the term *ba l — a k* is quite frequent. In view of the meaning of *ba l - (š è) — a k* in literary contexts (note especially its use with boats in passages (1) and (2), above), it would seem that the generally accepted translation “to bring a ship across a river, canal” (Eames Coll. 74f.), presumably meaning to take a boat from one bank to the opposite one, could be improved upon. Further discussion would carry these remarks too far, but note that the fact that *ba l — a k* may take several days (e.g., *BIN* 5 138: 4f.; 242: 4; etc.) militates against the traditional interpretation.

25. This line is a quotation from the Curse of Agade 192: *sag [zi-(da)] sag lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak*, and Uruk Lament 3:21: *sag zi sag lul-la šu-bal mi-ni-ib-ak-a-a-aš* (with a variant interchanging the order of *zi* and *lul*).

The verbs *šu — ba l* and *šu - ba l — a k*, despite being both rendered by Akk. *šupêlu* (A.i. II ii 79ff.), differ in their meaning and syntactic use in Sumerian contexts.

a) *šu — ba l*

1) This compound governs the locative²³ (like other verbs of change such as *kúr*), takes only one object, and means “to alter,” with the presupposition that the change is for the worse or at least that it somehow upsets the established order. It is a quite common verb and no references are needed. The objects that change are, in decreasing order of frequency, *inim* (and similar terms for utterances), *nam-tar*, *di*, and *me*; concrete objects are rare: *é, uš* “foundation,” *i-si-ga* “works” (one instance each).

2) Quite different from *šu — ba l* is *šu - a — ba l*, for which no finite forms seem to be attested, and has the meaning “to transfer, to hand down,” through space or time, and, very likely, with the implication that the transfer requires intermediate steps. Typical instances: *hur-sag zub-(bi)-ta šu-a bal-a/e*, and *hur-sag gi-ta šu-a bal-a* “(iron daggers) traded down from the ... mountains,” and “traded down from the black mountains” *L* 1:110, 113; *egir u₄-da inim šu-a bal-e-dè* “in order to pass the word to posterity” *Š B* 6; *u₄ ul-lí-aš a-ar-bi ak-dè*, *u₄ sud-rá-aš šu-a bal-e-dè*, *mu · sud-rá-aš nu-ḥa-lam-e-dè* “in order to utter its praise forever, to transmit it to the distant future, that it not be forgotten in years to come” *Š O* 44ff.

b) *šu - ba l — a k* is found in two different constructions with different meanings:

1) With two objects, the second with the locative postposition: *O₁(b)ject O₂(b)ject-a*.²⁴ The meaning is “to change *O₁* into *O₂*”; the presupposition that *O₁* is better than *O₂* is true in most cases, and when it would seem that *O₁* and *O₂* have equal value (as in *SRT* 36: 21 first with *O₁ = ni-ta* and *O₂ = mu-nu-s*, and then the other way around) the action nevertheless represents some kind of subversion of the normal order of things. *O₂* can be omitted, in which case the presupposition that the deleted *O₂* is worse than *O₁* always holds. Note, however, that since Akk. *šupêlu* is occasionally used in reference to a change for the better (e.g., *Šurpu* IV 19, *KAR* 250: 14), the possibility that, under Akkadian influence, *šu - ba l — a k* could

23. With the locative, rarely the locative-terminative infix in the verb.

24. The verb regularly takes the locative infix; exceptions are few: locative-terminative (Ur III or archaic), and terminative in late texts (*SBH* 31r.18; *RA* 65 126 ii 9f.). In Curse of Agade 192, one text has terminative but no *-ba l: šu ba-š i-* (3N-T 303), against at least five sources with *šu - ba l ba - ni -*.

atypically imply that O_1 is worse than O_2 cannot be excluded a priori. Characteristic passages: a) with O_1 and O_2 : é zi-da bal-bi bal kúr-ra šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak “the rule of the legitimate house has been changed into a foreign rule” *STVC* 30 ii’ 15’ (dupl. *BE* 30 12: 22 = *PBS* 10/2 15), for which *SBH* 31 r. 19 provides the Akkadian translation šá É ki-ni pa-lu!-[šá ana] pa-lu-’ú’ nak-ri uš-te-pe-el; me-zu me kúr-ra šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak *LU* 70; *CT* 42 9 i 9f.; ^da-nun-na me-mu m[e kúr]-ra šu-bal ak-a-bi: ^da-nun-na-ki par-[šu]-ú-a ana pa-ra-aš n[ak-ri uš-te-p]é-el *SBH* 4: 106f. b) with deletion of O_2 : me ki-en-gi-ra šu-bal ak-dè *LSU* 4; dí-m-ma-bi šu-bal a-ba-a bí-in-ak *Uruk Lament* 1: 22; inim PN-ra in-na-an-eš-a, šu-bal bí-in-ak-eš “they changed the statement that they had given to PN” Falkenstein, *NSGU* no. 113: 24f.; ní-te-a-ni šu-bal ba-ab-si-in-ak-a : ra-ma-an-šu uš-te-pi-lu *RA* 65 126 ii 9f.; from the Sumerian alone one would translate “his nature was transformed (for the worse)” but the preceding context, the presence of the -ši infix, and the late date of the text, are sufficient reasons not to reject outright Lackenbacher’s translation: “(et) ils ont (ainsi) échangé son être contre (le leur)” (*RA* 65 129).

2) With two objects, the second with the terminative postposition: O_1O_2 -š è “to exchange O_1 for O_2 .” This construction is infrequent, but its rarity seems to be due to stylistic factors since the known occurrences are from *Ur III* business letters and the colloquial speech of the dialogues. Examples: 60 še gur ... še-munu_x(PAP.PAP)-š è šu-bal ha-ma-ke₄ *TCS* 1 198; é ad-da-za-ka šà-gal id₈-da kaš zi-munu_x še-ta-àm nu-ub-diri, ama-zu-š è šu-bal-(a) ak-àm “in your father’s house the food (allocated) for the month is insufficient: beer and brewing supplies (are made) from the barley, your mother is traded (for more grain)” *Dialogue* 1: 45f. In one case, O_2 is omitted and a dative indicating the person who benefits from the exchange is added: 40 še gur PN-ra šu-bal-a h é-mu-na-ak-e *TCS* 1 199. In Akkadian, the corresponding construction O_1 ana O_2 šupêlu is very frequent in *OB*, e.g., *UET* 5 486: 2; Gautier, *Dilbat* 25: 16; Ešnunna Code A II 11 (as read by Landsberger, *Symbolae David* 74); etc. Later on it was replaced by O_1 itti O_2 šupêlu.

It is possible that the semantic differentiation between the locative and terminative constructions was not as sharp as this brief syntactic survey would lead one to believe (note the case of *RA* 65 126 ii 9f., above), and that the more concrete, mercantile meaning of šu-bal—ak was always a background association in the more general “to change O_1 into O_2 .” That could explain the locative construction in our line 25: while in the *Curse of Agade* and *Uruk Lament* passages quoted above, a translation “to turn the loyal ones into traitors” is inescapable, in our context it is more natural to assume that the purpose of Enlil is to get rid of the traitors and acquire loyal subjects. The quotation is left here by the scribe in its original syntactic form, but its intended meaning is different. The late *OB* scribe who compiled the eršemma, working with frozen formulae and not well versed in grammar, was unable to make the necessary syntactic adjustments. My translation assumes that sa g zi lu-l-la-š è would have been the correct construction. Enlil acquires loyal subjects by trading them for the traitors that infest his country. In the last lines, the metaphor of the merchant assumes the overtones of slave trade. For this aspect of the Mesopotamian merchant’s activities, see Leemans, *The Old Babylonian Merchant* 9.

That Enlil could be depicted as a merchant is no surprise (note Kramer’s perplexity in *ANET*³ 576⁵), for there is an entry ^dam-g àr = ^den-líl in *An-anum* I 175 (*CT* 24 22: 106; cf. already Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 243, 280).

II.12

The Song of the Plowing Oxen^{*}

0. The only published sources of the composition edited here, *PBS* 1/1,3 and *SLTN* 150, were originally classified in my Sumerian Literary Catalogue (to appear as *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 3) simply as “work songs”. A closer study and the discovery of new fragments proved, however, that much more is involved.

In its present state, even with all its missing parts and textual uncertainties, to say nothing of the problems of interpretation, the song is sufficiently unusual to warrant publication. Further discoveries will probably show that my reconstruction and interpretation will in some points have missed the mark. Nevertheless, I hope that Samuel Noah Kramer, who has taught all of us the value of fearless pioneering work in the recovery of the Sumerian literary treasures, will appreciate this attempt. To him, it is respectfully dedicated.

1. *Form and Contents*

1.1. Structure. The text consists of sections or stanzas of varied length: the shortest one preserved (62-65) has only four lines, the longest one (38-61) has twenty-four. Each section opens with the words e-e l-lu ma-a l-lu (var. ma-a-lu), for which see the commentary to line 1. Although the text is obviously a song, a strict metric pattern cannot be discerned.¹

1.2. Contents. In its present imperfect state of preservation, the text appears to be a song about plowing oxen and related agricultural activities:

^{*} The present article was originally published in B.L. Eichler (ed.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT 25, Neuchirchen-Vluyn 1976, pp. 83-95, pl. V*-VI*.

1. On metric patterns, see: W. Heimpel, *Or* 39 (1970), 492ff., and H. Sauren, *UF* 3 (1971) 327ff., with additional literature. My unpublished paper on “Poetic patterns in Sumerian” (read in the 118th. AOS Meeting, Baltimore 1970) deals with an 8 + 5 syllabic metric pattern, with or without assonance, detectable in the Debate between the Tree and the Reed and in the opening lines of Gudea Cyl. A, among other cases; other meters and several matters of principle (some of which are not consonant with Sauren’s proposals) are also discussed.

a) Introduction (1-6). Exhortation to the oxen to go to work. The opening lines are repeated at the beginning of the last section (143ff.). The speaker is the Farmer, clearly not an ordinary farmer but either a god or a king. In view of the cultural setting discussed in 1.4, I prefer the second alternative. If a king were mentioned by name it almost certainly would be Lipit-Ištar.

b) Dream (14ff.). The transition between a) and b) is lost. The Farmer goes to Nanše's house or temple to have a dream induced with Nanše's help. In the dream the Farmer sees a young bull that can speak (27ff.); only the end of the ensuing dialogue, in which Nanše also takes part, is preserved (52ff.). Apparently the purpose of the dream is to choose the oxen for the plow.

c) Dialogue between Enkimdu and Ninurta(?) (92ff.). The frame of this dialogue is lost; in the preserved portion Enkimdu relates how he is going to irrigate the fields.

d) Instructions (119ff.). An unidentified speaker exhorts the Farmer to ready his implements: harrow, hoe, and plow.

e) Conclusion (143ff.). After some lines which seem to refer to the role of certain deities in the work in the fields, the appeal to the oxen is repeated (143ff.), and the half broken conclusion ends on a joyous note: drinking and Inanna's satisfaction.

1.3. Literary Genre. The subscription describes the text as an *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma*-song for Ninurta. So far, only four other compositions classified as *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* have turned up:

1) *en kir₄-zal an-na 'x'-da-e ħé-du₇*, for Nanna: *TRS* 30, edited by Sjöberg, Nanna- Suen, pp. 70ff.

2) *en-gal u₄ giš-ħé-ta sag-íl še-er-zi 'x'-a*, for Nanna with a prayer for Ibbī-Sîn: CBS 11168, edited by Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 19/20 (1970-71), 145ff. (with var. *ù-* for *ú-* in the subscription).

3) *en-e an-na KA mu-ni-in-su-ub*, also for Nanna: *UET* 6,68; CBS 12672 (*STVC* 124) + CBS 12701 (*BE* 29,12) + CBS 11363 + N 3317 + N 3525; and Ni 4049 (*ISCT* 1,4).

4) *e gud-dè ús [...]* *gù-nun iri in-ga-àm-me*, for Ningublaga: CBS 7399 (*STVC* 132) + Ni 4212 (*ISCT* 2); and *STVC* 124 +, together with 3). Editions of 3) and 4) are being prepared by Å. Sjöberg.

These compositions do not share any structural characteristics. The central part of 1) is missing, and the only trait common to 3), 4), and our composition is that all of them deal with cowherds and cattle. Compositions 1) and 2), even if they do not deal directly with cattle, at least they are addressed to Nanna whose connections with cattle are well-known. The term *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* itself is unknown in the lexical lists: it is missing from the long list of musical terms in Proto-Lu 587ff., and missing or not preserved in the *ú*-section of Izi E 250-330. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 (1964), 51, would like to connect it with *i-lu-lam*, for which see now Izi V 40f.; however, only in two passages is the *i-lu-lam* sung by shepherds, and the rest of its occurrences suggest a very general type of song. Provisionally, *ú-lu-lu-ma-ma* can be translated as "cowherd's song".

1.4. Cultural Setting. In contrast with most Sumerian literary pieces, the *Sitz im Leben* of this song is relatively easy to ascertain. There is good evidence for agricultural festivals during which the king performed activities related to the plow, its oxen, and the first opening of the furrows. There is not room here to present the evidence, or to discuss the details of the ritual (see my commentary to the Debate

between the Hoe and the Plow), and only a few points, useful for a better understanding of the song, will be stressed here.

It appears that there were two such festivals, one took place around the 20th. of the second month of the Nippur calendar, the ezen^{itu} gud-si-su, and was first recognized by Landsberger, *Kult. Kalendar*, pp 25ff., in the Ur III administrative texts (references updated by Sauren, *CRR* 17 (1970), 17)² and is confirmed by *LIP* 91, 99³; the other, the ezen^{itu} šu-numun-na, is described in the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 24ff. and attested in Ur III texts in Umma and Girsu: ^{giš}ḥašḥur and i-giš for ^{giš}apin^d šara-da sù-a ezen šu-numun-na *TCL* 5,6040 iii 27ff.; beer given to the teams (erin₂) for the kaš-dé-a of the ezen šu-numun (compare the beer drinking in line 146 of our song), *ibid.* ii 8f.; other supplies for the festival: oxen *AASF* B 92,300:6; sheep *BRM* 3,47:5, 10; Speleers, *Recueil*, 183:28'; si-g-gi and goat hair (for ropes?) *ITT* 3/2, 5398; etc.

According to *LIP* 116ff., which actually quotes some lines of the song, the singing of the e-el-lu's formed part of the ceremonies of the festival of the month of gud-si-su:

- 115 lugal-mu gud sag ^{giš}apin-na mí ga-àm-ma-ni-ib⁴-dug₄
 116 e-el-lu gud gen-[a] gen-a ^{giš}šudun-a gú gar-i
 a-[la-la]
 117 gud lugal-la-ke₄ gen-a gen-a⁵ ^{giš}šudun-a gú gar-i
 a-la[p]
 118 [ab-sín gá]n-zi gír DU.DU-i ús si-sá ḥé-e-dib⁶
 šī-ir []
 119 kun pirig-zu ^{giš}apin-na⁷ bar-da šub-šub⁸-i
 zib-bat-ka [x] []
 120 gud DU-a-zu un-e ba-šag₅ kin-e á sum-ma⁹
 al-pu a-lak-t[a-ka]
 121 ^dli-pí-it-ištar gud su₈-su₈-ba-zu i-lu-zu dūg-ga-àm
 ^dli-pí-it-iš[tar]

The man leading the oxen (lú gud su₈-ba-ke₄) speaks:

- 115 “My king, I want to praise the leading oxen of the plow:

2. I cannot agree with the author's aprioristic statement that “malgré la tradition littéraire, il est absolument exclu que la fête ait été en relation avec la vie agraire”. Additional references: *Or* 47-49 (1930), 42 (ŠS 7/1); Jones-Snyder, 60:25 (AS 3/2), 64:15 (AS 7/2/21); Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts* I, 182 (AS 3/2), 186 (AS 8?); etc.

3. “Lipit-Ištar and the Plow”: Sources: A = CBS 14062 (*STVC* 75), B = UM 29-15-399 (bilingual, MB), C = CBS 15044, D = N 3628, E = N 4166, F = CBS 14054 (*STVC* 79), and G = 2 N-T 582, as well as several probable fragments like Ni 9892 (*ISCT* 1,136).

4. B: -i b-; A om.

5. B om. one gen-a.

6. Line in B; A om.

7. A: giš-ḥur-ra-ka; B: -na.

8. B om. one šub.

9. AD: -ma; B: -mu.

- 116 'Ellu! go, oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke,
 117 Go, royal oxen, go, put the neck under the yoke!
 118 Step on the furrows of the fertile field, that the sides be made straight.
 119 With your lion's tail beat the sides of the plow,
 120 Your step, oxen, rejoices the people, you have been given strength to work!
 121 The oxen you guide, Lipit-Ištar, and your song is a pleasure."

A text recently published, S.T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Drehem Archive* 1, 186, mentions the *sizkur gi₆ ezen gud-si-su u₄-20-kam*, showing that some nocturnal ceremonies were part of the festival. Is the dream of the song somehow connected with them?

The tradition survived into later times. Landsberger's reservations about the festival in post-OB times. (*JNES* 8 [1949], 274, 277f.) are dispelled by new evidence: the MB bilingual recensions of the *e-e₁-lu's* (see 2.3) and LIP, and a late MB or early NB exercise tablet which mentions the *ezen-gal ezen^{itu} gud-si-[s]u* (12N-T 499:2). The allusions in *Astrolabe B i 12 ff.* are more than an etymological play.

1.5. Date. The reign of Lipit-Ištar (1934-24 B.C) seems at present the most reasonable date for the composition of the extant OB version, because of LIP. In any case it can hardly be assigned to the time before Išme-Dagan, or after Ur-Ninurta¹⁰, that is, it must be placed between 1953 and 1896 B.C. It is possible, however, that the song existed, in one form or another, before that time, and that it was compiled from older materials. This is suggested by the role played by Nanše, as well as by indications, after the Isin dynasty, that seems to associate Ningirsu, rather than Ninurta, with the festival: Ningirsu is the god of the *alāla*-song (*CAD A/I*, p. 328); the second month is Ningirsu's month, when the oxen are yoked and the ground is "opened" (*SBH VIII ii 12f.*); the plow is the symbol of Ningirsu (*RA* 34 [1937], 42); etc. All of these associations could point to the Lagaš province as the older place of origin of the song, if not of the festival. Going back still further, and with all due reservations, it does not take much imagination to see in *WVDOG* 43, nos. 45, 50, and 52, early *e-e₁-lu* songs.

2. Reconstruction of the Text

2.1. Sources.

Old Babylonian

- A = N 3517 + N 3606 1-6, 138-48.
 Upper left corner from a two-column tablet (photo Pl. II).
 B = CBS 11556 (*PBS* 1/1,3, photo *ibid.* pl. 39) 13-25, 38-50, 91-100, 119-26.
 Lower left corner of a three-column tablet with ca. 25 lines per column; surface badly eroded.
 C = Ni 1250 (*SLTN* 150) + UM 29-16-684 + N 1631 2-9, 16-33, 39-46, 50-70, 91-100.
 Upper right half of a two-column tablet with ca. 37 lines per column (photo Pl. I).

10. For an Ur-Ninurta text dealing with farming see Civil, *Or* 41 (1972), 88 (text C₂).

Middle Babylonian (bilingual)

- D₁ = UM 29-13-560 obv. i and rev. unplaced; obv. ii = 15-29.
 D₂ = N 3529 unplaced.
 D₃ = N 3169* unplaced.
 *D₁₋₃ seem to be fragments of the same tablet, see 2.3.

2.2. OB Recension. Three copies have been preserved with different paleographic and orthographic characteristics: A has wide columns (ca. 70 mm.) and favors longer lines, B has very short lines and a number of indented ones, C has also short lines but apparently not indented ones. A and B write m a - a l - l u, while C has m a - a - l u. The number of lines has been inferred from a comparison between the arrangements of the text in B and C. Possible errors in the reconstruction depend upon three factors: 1) the correct placement of N 1631 in C, 2) the number of indented lines in B, and 3) the amount of blank space at the bottom of the last column. The line numbering is pretty well assured until line 70, except for possible changes due to factor (1). The margin of error after line 91 is at least ± 7 , due to (2). After line 130 this margin is increased by an unknown magnitude because of factor (3); in any case it is safe to assume that it is unlikely that the composition had more than 150 lines.

2.3. Bilingual MB Recension. D₁₋₃ appear to be parts of the same tablet, with Sumerian and Akkadian in adjacent subcolumns; it must have been a rather large tablet since D₁, a center fragment, is 35 mm. thick. D₂ is the upper right corner, and D₃ a very small fragment. Either the text of D added a number of sections to the OB recension or the tablet included another composition with similar short divisions, because lines 15-29 of the OB recension are found close to the beginning of col. ii. Because of its fragmentary condition (not a single full line is preserved) the text of D is given only in photo (Pl. II), except for col. ii of D₁ which has been incorporated into the main text.

3. Transliteration and Translation

	A	B	C	D ₁
1	[e-el-lu m]a-al-lu ¹¹	+		[Ellu m]allu!
2	gud gen-a gen-a ^{giš} [udun-a] gú gar-i	+	+	Go, oxen, go, put the neck [under the yoke],
3	[gud lugal-(la-ke ₄) gen-a gen-a ^{giš} šudun]- a gú gar-i	-	+	[Go, royal oxen, go], put the neck under [the yoke!]
4	[engar-zi] ma-da-me-en	+	+	I am [the faithful Farmer] of the land,
5	[^d RN dumu] ^d en-lil-lá-me-en	+	+	I am [...], the son] of Enlil,
6	lugal kalam-ma-me-en	+	+	I am [the king] of the country.
7	[e-el-lu] ma-a-lu		+	7-13 (broken)
8	[s]ag mu-da-gál		+	
9	[sag] mu-da-gál		+	

11. A writes 1 and 2 in one line, but here it has been divided in two to conform to the style of B and C on which the line numbering is based.

	A	B	C	D ₁
10-12 (broken)				
13 ʾx x ¹² []		+		
14 á-še ama hu-m[u-da-an-x-x]		+		And now, I (want) to [... with/next to] the Mother,
15 á-še ^d nanše hu-mu-da-an-ʾx-x ¹³		+	+	And now, I (want) to [...] with/next to Nanše
16 ninda ^{kuš} lu-úb ha-ma-ni-in-gar-ra-àm ¹⁴	+	+	+	(I want) her to put bread in my leather bag,
17 a ^{kuš} ummu-da ha-ma-ni-in-dé-àm ¹⁴	+	+	+	To pour water into my waterskin,
18 sag-ús-sa giš.x ha]-ma-da-an-gub-ba ¹⁵	-	+	+	To stand by (as a “dreamer”) [...],
19 engar ¹⁶ ninda gu ₇ -a ha-ma-an-dug ₄ - ga.ám ¹⁷	+	+	+	To say to me: “Farmer, eat the bread!”
20 engar ¹⁶ a nag-a ha-ma-an-dug ₄ -ga-àm ¹⁷	+	+	+	To say to me: “Farmer, drink the water!”
21 e-el ¹⁸ -lu ma-a ¹⁹ -lu	+	+	+	Ellu mallu!
22 ^d nanše ²⁰ é ma-mu-dè ²¹ ba-ná	+	+	+	(The Farmer) went to dream with Nanše in the House.
23 ^d nanše ²² inim gi ₆ im-ma-na-ab ²³ -túm	+	+	+	He said good night(?) to Nanše,
24 ninda ^{kuš} lu-úb-a ba-an-na ²⁴ -ni-in-gar	+	+	+	He had his leather bag filled with bread,
25 a ^{kuš} ummu-da ba-<an-na> ²⁵ -ni-in-dé	+	+	+	He had water poured into his waterskin,
26 sag-ús-sa giš.[x ba-an-na-an-gub] ²⁶		-	+	He had her [stand]ing by (as a “dreamer”)
27 ^{lu} engar igi ʾx ²⁷ [(x)] ini-ma-ši-in-bar		+	+	The Farmer [...] had a vision:
28 gud-áb ʾx ²⁸ [()] eme ba-an-gar		+	+	A young bull was talking [...],
29 ʾx ²⁹ [g]ir? bí-in-lá		+	+	[...] tied the feet (?).
30 [am]a-a-ni gù mu-na-dé-e		+		[The Farmer] said to his Mo[ther]:
31 [ninda ^{kuš} lu-úb-(a)] ma-an-gar		+		“[You(?)] put [bread in my leather bag],
32 [a ^{kuš} ummu-da] ma-an-dé		+		[You(?)] poured [water into my waterskin],
33 [sag-ús-sa giš.x ma-an-g]ub?		+		[You(?) st]ood [by ...]
34 (traces)		+		34-37 broken

12. The traces in the copy in PBS 1/1,3 are misleading, see photo in the same volume.

13. Perhaps ʾš u b¹³ - b[u]; see commentary.

14. B: - a; C: - à m.

15. Line in BD; C om.

16. D: l ú - e n g a r - ʾe¹⁶ (clearly visible in line 20); C om. l ú and - e.

17. C: - à m; B om.

18. C: e - e l -; i -.

19. A (in lines 1, 143) C: - a l -; B: - a -.

20. D: a m a (before^d n a n š e); C om.

21. B: - g i n_x; C: - d è.

22. D: - r a (after^d n a n š e); C om.

23. B: - a b - C om.

24. B: i m - m a -; C: b a - a n - n a -.

25. B: i m - m a -; C: b a - <a n - n a > -.

26. Restored from line 18; only in D; B om.

	A	B	C	D ₁
35-37 (broken)				
38 ʿe-[el-lu ma-al-lu]		+		E[llu mallu!]
39 a-na-[àm]		+	+	What [...?]
40 a-na-à[m]		+	+	What [...?]
41 a-ba-àm []		–	+	Who [...?]
42 a-ba-àm []		–	+	Who [...?]
43 a-ba-àm la[g]		+	+	Who [will pick up the] clods?
44 a-ba-àm muše[n]		+	+	Who [will chase away] the birds?
45 á-zi-da []		+	+	On the right [...],
46 á-gùb-b[u]		+	+	On the left [...].
47 igi-il-l[a]		+		The choice [...]
48 umbin gal-m[u]		+		My big hooves [...],
49 mul an-na ʿxʿ []		+		The stars in the sky [...]
50 UŠ.KU-bi [ll s]i im-sá-ʿeʿ []		+	+	Will make straight [...] its ...
51 [s]agʷ-dil gur ₄ mu-un-[t]a-šub			+	[The ox] let (his) thick tongue hang down,
52 [inim] mu-na-ni-ib-gi ₄ -[g]i ₄			+	[...] he answered [the Farmer]:
53 gud-me-e[n] gud tur-me-en			+	“I am an ox, (but just) a young ox,
54 sig kiri ₄ -[m]u nu-lum-ma-me-en			+	In whose muzzle hair has not yet grown,
55 gú-tar-g[á] saḥar nu-šub-ba-bi			+	No dust has fallen on my shoulders,
56 a-na-aš-àm lugal-mu gá-e mu-un-[ka]l- me-en			+	My master, why am I so va[luable?]”
57 amar-bàn-da-mu inim l-àm a-ra-ab-[bé]- en			+	“My proud calf; I am going to speak to you only once,
58 gizzal hé-im-ši-a[k]			+	So pay attention:
59 giš.KU ad-da-zu 4-à[m]			+	What a plow(?), your fathers are four,
60 giš.KU ama-zu 8-àm			+	What a plow(?), your mothers are eight,
61 ^d utu giš šag ₅ -zu si hé-ri-i[b-sá]			+	May the Sun guide straight your beautiful yoke!
62 e-el-lu ma-a-[lu]			+	Ellu mallu!
63 engar šu-nim-ma sipa tūr kù-[ga]			+	The early working Farmer, the Cowherd of the sacred cattle pen,
64 guruš-e u ₄ -tur-ra-ni-ta dam an-tu[ku-àm]			+	The young man who, since his youth, had a wife,
65 dumu an-tuku-àm AŠ-ni [?] nu-mu-un-[]			+	Had sons, he does not [...] alone
66 e-el-lu [ma-a-lu]			+	Ellu mallu!
67 mul an-na gá-[e]			+	The stars in the sky, I [...]
68 gùn an-na gá-ʿeʿ []			+	A gleam in the sky, I [...]
69 ^{uig} níg-bara ₂ ùr-ra g[á-e]			+	The bedding on the roof, I [...]
70 [x x] ʿgá-eʿ [.....]			+	70-91 (broken)
71-79 (broken)				
91 ʿgiš.xʿ []		+	+	
92 e-el-[lu m]a-a-lu		+	+	El[lu m]allu!

		A	B	C	D ₁
93	^d en-k[i-im-du lú] e-pa ₅ -ra-ke ₄		+	+	Enkimdu, the man of dikes and canals,
94	en ^d [g]ù mu-na-dé-e		+	+	Says to the lord [...]:
95	lugal-m[u ^r x ^r ga-mu-ra-ab-ka-e		+	+	“My king, I want to [...],
96	gán-zi-[dè a g]a-ra-ab-du ₄		+	+	I want to irrigate your fertile fields [...]
97	im-sa[g] im-ma-ab-bé		+	+	The early rain ... [...]
98	u ₄ ^r še ^r [] ^r x ^r gán-NE		+	+	98-100 (too poorly preserved for translation)
99	AN A[N m]u- ^r da ^r - ^r x ^r [] ma-ba-ak		+	+	
100	^r x ^r [] ^r x ^r NE		+	+	
101-18	(broken)				101-18 (broken)
119	e-el-lu ma-al-lu		+		Ellu mallu!
120	^{giš} gán-ùr ^{giš} ga-ríg a-šà-gá		+		The harrow, the comb of my field,
121	^{giš} zú gal-gal ḥa-ra-ab-si gán kù ri-ri-dè		+		Has to be fitted with large teeth to harrow the holy field.
122	^{giš} al gú ki ḥé-re-lá mud sá-bi-ib		+		The hoe must dig the edges – remove the stumps!
123	^{giš} al gú ki ḥé-re-lá		+		The hoe must dig the edges.
124	^{giš} apin kù-zu ^{giš} dal-a lá-a-ba ^{giš} dal-ta um- ta-si-ig		+		Once you have taken down your sacred plow, which was hanging from a beam,
125	nagar-gal-zu gu ḥu-mu-a-ab-tag-ge		+		Your master carpenter must tighten (its) bonds.
126	^r á ^r ^{giš} li-um-ma-bi []		+		Its side-boards [...]
127-37	(broken)				127-38 (broken)
138	(traces)				
139	[] KA×LI-KA×LI []	+			[...] the sounds [...]
140	[šu-z]i-da-na gi-l-ninda ḥé-[]	+			(S)he has to [hold] in his/her right hand the measuring reed.
141	[^d e]n-ki-im-du lú e-p[a ₄ -ra-ke ₄]	+			Enkimdu, the man of dikes and canals [...],
142	[]-a-ka ḥu-mu-ra-[]	+			Should [...] for you in [...].
143	[e-el-lu] ma-al-lu gud gen-a gen-[a ^{giš} šudun-a gú gar-i]	+			[Ellu] mallu! go, oxen, go [put the neck under the yoke],
144	[gud-lugal-la-ke ₄] gen-a gen-a ^{giš} šudun-a gú [gar-i]	+			Go, [royal oxen], go, [put] your neck under the yoke!
145	[ab-sín gán]-zi-da gír DU.DU-ì ús [si-sá ḥé-e-dib]	+			Step (on the furrows of) the fertile [field, walk] the sides [straight].
146	[] é-kaš-a-ka ul-ti-a []	+			In the alehouse, the joy of drinking [...],
147	[] ^d inanna-ka ki-búr-r[e]	+			Inanna [...] a place of relaxation.
148	[] ki-bi ì-g[i ₄ -gi ₄]	+			[Her heart(?)] is happy again.
	[ú-lu-lu]-ma- ^r ma ^r ^d nin-urta-kam	+			It is an [ululu]mama song for Ninurta

4. *Philological Remarks*

1f. Restored from lines 143f. and from the LIP passage quoted in 1.4. The words e-e l-lu ma-a l-lu are to be taken as onomatopoeic interjections to incite the oxen. The word division is uncertain: e-e l-lu is attested alone (LIP 116, Izi D iv 31) but not ma-a l-lu²⁷. An analysis of it as an Emesal form for gál-ù seems here out of the question; perhaps e-e l-lu ma-a l-lu comes from e-e l-lu-ma e-e l-lu. The MB recension gives i-lu-[...] for the Sumerian and [...-l]a-li for the Akkadian. The lexical sources (Izi D iv 28ff.) give:

28	e-líl-lá	=	mekû
29	e-líl	=	elilu
30	e-*li(tablet TE)-lum	=	zamāru
31	e-el-lum	=	alāli
32	e-el-lu-‘líl’-lum	=	alālima
33	e-uru ⁴ -KU	=	zamāru

It is tempting to read, or emend, the LÍL of line 32 as GÁ to give e-e l-lu-*ma l-lu m. Sumerian knows a large number of forms based on the consonant -l-. A listing, with previous literature, is given by Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, p. 148 n. 433 (where e-e l-lu is overlooked). Phonologically, they range from VIV (i-lu) to VIVIV (e-líl-lá, ù-líl-lá) and VIIIV (e l-l a-lu) with VIIV (e l-lu) and VIVIV (a-l a-l a, ù-l i-l i, e-l a-lu, i-lu-lu) in between. A prolongation with -m- appears in i-lu-l a m-(ma), e-lu-l a m, e-l e-lum, and ú-lu-lu-m a-m a; more rare is the additional -r- as in a-l i-r i, a-a l-l a-r i. Some of these forms can be used interchangeably, others have a very specific range of application. Note, for instance, the contrast e-lu-l a m—e versus i-lu—d u g₄ in Enki and Ninhursag 29f., and the LIP passage quoted above in which the e-e l-lu seems to be considered a specific type of i-lu. There is no room here for a discussion which would have to include a reclassification of the Akkadian forms: *alāla*, *alāli*, *elihu*, *alālu* B, *elēlu* s., etc. The form which in its use is closest to e-e l-lu is *alāla*, as shown by the references in CAD A/1, p. 328 *alāla* b). The -NI after g a r can be the locative infix, see Gragg, *AOATS* 5, p. 68, or the locative-terminative infix²⁸. For additional examples of imperatives with -NI, see simply Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1950), 132. The phrase ^{giš}u d u n g ú—g a r is attested with both locative-terminative, e.g., *TRS* 18 I 24, and locative, e.g., Enmerkar and Enmuškešdanna 147f. = 160f. (ms. Civil); cf. ^{giš}u d u n g ú-b a g a r-NI *CT* 36 39 r. 6 (dupl. CBS 8088).

4ff. Free restorations, cf. 1.1 a). Since the oxen are addressed, -m e-e n must be first person.

7f. The first preserved sign is either K]A or s] a g. Both possibilities give various homographic verbs: s a g—g á l/g á-g á a) “to put on the head” with locative; b) “to advance, etc.” (Akk. (w)āru); only the second takes the comitative infix: *YNER* 3, p. 18:37; Inanna and Ebiḫ 129; *TRS* 23:49; Angin 71; Enki and the World Order 291 (n u-m u-u n-[d è-g á-g á]). KA in KA—g á l/g á-g á can be read i n i m or g ú and the (late) evidence is conflicting: compare A.i. VI ii 8, 13, with 18, 20, 22 (see also *BA* 5/5 [1903], 620 I^b r. 11). Semantically, in addition to the obvious “to put a word” as in ^du t u k a-g á i n i m b a-

27. Cf., however, the song incipit m a-a a l-lu k i-n a m-a l-l a m a-a n-g u KAR 158:ii 51.

28. For my contention that the locative-terminative infix is a vocalic element, symbolized here as -*l-, which is a member of the same morphological subset in which Gragg, *AOATS* 5, p. 8, places the locative -n i-, see my forthcoming study based on a paper read at the 1969 AOS Mid-Western Meeting, Madison (Wis.) 1969.

ni-in-gál ZA 53 (1959) 118:27, there are at least two compound verbs: in im — gál/gá-gá (and gar) “to prefer a claim, a challenge in court” (*paqāru, ragāmu*), and gu — gál/gá-gá which designates different types of vocalizations (*ragāmu, rigma šakānu, šasû*, etc.); only the second takes the ablative infix which can appear also as -da- or -ra-²⁹: gu im-da-an-gál Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 240 (with var. gu — è); gu mu-e-re-gál-la (where -re- < -ta + *I, locative-terminative) Lugale 481= XI 39, with the curious late var. gu mer-ra-gál-la.

14ff. Many things remain unclear in this passage because of the missing lines, the tendency of the scribe who wrote B to abbreviate (omission of the locative after ^{kuš}lu-úb in line 16 [but compare line 24], and after é in line 22, omission of the infixes -an-na- in line 25), and above all our ignorance of the rules and customs involved in inducing dreams³⁰. I assume that the lú sag-šè ná (Akk. *mupaššir šunāti*) is a “professional dreamer”, rather than “interpreter of dreams”. The Akkadian translation cannot be adduced against this interpretation in view of the ambivalent meaning of *puššuru* said of a dream (Oppenheim, *Dream-book*, pp. 217ff.). The only known passage with sag-šè — ná appears to be Gudea Cyl. A xx 7ff. which I would translate “Gudea made a ‘professional dreamer’ lie down, he (the dreamer) brought forth a message for him, he made him see the construction of the house of his King”, etc. Cf. Falkenstein, *CRAA* 14 (1966), 55f., with a slightly different translation. In the present text, Nanše performs for the Farmer this role of “dream inducer”. The translation assumes that the clauses with ħ-prefix are subordinates of a modal abstract verb. The copy of the last sign(s) of line 15 in PBS 1/1,3 is misleading, but a reading -š ub-b[u] though possible is by no means certain. Nanše provides the Farmer with food and drink presumably to take with him to work. This gesture cannot be seen as a token of her hospitality since the provisions are put in containers. The pair ^{kuš}lu-úb and ^{kuš}um mu as containers for the basic provisions is less frequent than the pair ^{kuš}a-gál-la and ^{kuš}um mu, but appears already in the archaic text published in photo by Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, p. 106 fig. 6a v 5’ff. (also reproduced on the dust jacket): ninda šu nu-gi₄ lu-úb-ba mu-na-ni-gar, a š[u nu-gi₄ (kuš) um mu-(da) mu-na-ni-dé]³¹. For the meaning of the line, cf. ^{kuš}lu-úb-ba gar-ra-ab : akala šuddi A 29975:10 (MB)³². The ending -d of um mu is confirmed by the topos giš ^{kuš}um mu-da-gin_x úr-tál-tál Enmerkar and Enmuškešdanna 93; Šulgi X 139; Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos*, p. 55; “to spread the legs like the wooden support from which the ‘waterskin hangs’”³³

29. Gragg, *AOATS* 5, pp. 93ff.

30. See Falkenstein in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* (CRAA 14 [1966], 45ff.) for a general survey of the available Sumerian sources.

31. Cf. already lu-úb, followed by ^{kuš}A.EDIN, in Biggs, *OIP* 99, 33:x 10f. (Abu Šalābīkh).

32. The soldiers carried a lu-úb-bag hanging on the side as standard equipment; cf. ^{kuš}lu-úb gùn-a íb-ba gál-la-a-ba, which closes the list of weapons presented to Nergal by Ur-Nammu (Ur-Nammu’s Death 88); a ^{kuš}lu-úb dag-si ak-a is presented to Ereškigal (ibid. 91), to be compared with á tuku-zu ... ^{kuš}lu-úb dag-si-ni na-an-íl-íl-i^{anše} ni-is-kum na-an-ħul-le u₄-šú-a ħé-ná (Destruction of Agade 249f., ms. Civil; ZA 57 [1965], 62 to be completed and corrected accordingly); this type of bag was carried hanging from a saddle-horn(?), Akk. *dakšiu*. The lu-úb-bag is often mentioned in the Šuruppak Instructions 106f., 118ff. (in the last passage it belongs to the lú ħun-gá).

33. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos*, p. 55, with a different interpretation: he prefers é instead of giš, but a new photo of TMH NF 3,11 shows a clear giš. Because of Hh VII A 146 one could expect da g, but the traces exclude this sign in all sources. I take the var. -ba d -ba d -‘x’- of OECT 1,19 as a synonymic (both tál and ba d = *petû*) rather than a phonetic variant.

18 (See also line 26). *sag-ús—gub* is probably a technical term of oneiromancy; compare *u₄-šú-uš-e sag-ús gub-ba [...]*, *ma-mú nu-me-a è-dè inim ba[l ...]* Food Story 148f. (Lambert and Millard, *Atrahasis*, p. 142), where it refers to Ziusudra's vain attempts to have an induced dream (and thus he has to appeal to the wall oracle). A connection with *sag-gá—gub*, Ean. 1 F vi 27; Gudea Cyl. A ix 5ff., is possible but the subject of *sag-gá—gub* is the person appearing in the dream and the verbal phrase governs the dative while in the present context *sag-ús—gub* has the comitative infix. One can propose the following meanings for *sag-ús—gub*: a) “to stand close by”, b) “to stand by constantly” (cf. *ús-sa = kajamānu*), and c) “to stand by at the disposal of, to stand by waiting” (*kullu rēši*)³⁴. In any case it does not seem to refer to the apparition but to the waiting dreamer. After *giš* restore perhaps *ná*.

22. The line contains in an abbreviated form the standard formula to describe a dream: *ú-sá-ge / gin_x la-ba-ná-(a/e) ma-mú-dè / da ba-ná* Lugalbanda and the “hurum” 331; Sargon's Legend B 13; etc. Note in B the absence of the locative after *é*, and the older spelling *ma-mu* instead of *ma-mú*. Is there a missing comitative infix after *nanše*? Compare *e-ne inanna-da gi₆-a ma-mú-da igi hu-mu-ni-in-du₈, gá-e inanna-da gir-babbar-ra-na³⁵ inim mu-da-bal-e* “he may have a vision at night in a dream about (or: with the help of) Inanna, (but) I converse with Inanna when she is awake” Enmerkar and Enmušešdanna 31f. = 62f. I assume that the subject of line 22 is the Farmer, but it can equally well be Nanše.

23. The presence in text D₁ of the dative postposition after Nanše creates a problem. With only the text of C at hand, one would take Nanše as the agent and translate “Nanše brought out to him (the Farmer) the nocturnal message”, i.e., the dream (cf. *inim—è* in Gudea Cyl. A xx 7ff.), a much more natural sense. Is the variant of D₁ after all incorrect? The meanings and readings of KA—DU which come into consideration for this difficult line are: a) *zú—gub* “to eat (outside of the table or at unusual times)”; b) *ka—túm* “to bring news” (Akk. *pû+suff.+abālu*), as in *ka-ka-ni àm-túm-mu* Dialogue 2:16; and the related c) *inim—túm* “to bring good news”, Akk. *bussuru*, an equation that it is not directly attested but may be inferred from Lu-dingirra's Message 46 and its Akkadian version (Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* 5 [1968] 314); cf. also the late logogram KA.DÜ.A = *bussurtu*. I know of no parallel to *inim gi₆*, but I would tend to take the whole phrase as meaning “to bring the good news of the night”, or simply “to say good-night”.

28. Cf. *ša-ga-ni-še mu-un-zu eme-na nu-gá-gá lú-da nu-mu-un-da-ab-bé* Destruction of Agade 89; Sargon's Legend B 4 = 50 = 52; *ša-ga dug₄-ga eme-a gá-a-ra a-ba-a gá-gin_x búr-búr-bi mu-zu Šulgi* C 108f. *gud-áb-(ba)* “young bull” (*mīru*) is a genitive nominal compound, not to be confused with *gud-áb* “cattle”, an asyndetic bipolar compound which exceptionally does not follow the regular female + male arrangement, see Falkenstein, *AnOr* 29, p. 39 n. 1.

29. The sign transliterated *g]ir* is very uncertain; cf., as an example of other possibilities, the *kun pirig* of LIP 119. In addition to the obvious “to tie the feet”, *gir—lá* means also “to get the feet

34. Cf. still *sag-ús-sa = nīru ša eqli* Nabnitu XXI 305.

35. *g'ir'-babbar-ra = munattu* Erimhuš II 263, and note the explanation *šēp ūmi āliktu* in Malku VI 209f., which sounds like a loan translation from Sumerian.

entangled in something”: ^dme-unu^{gi} pà lú níg-ul-e nam-šu-ḫa mu-ak-e ... ^úam-ḫa-ru peš_x(KIA)-lá íd-da-ka ... gír ba-ni-in-lá (unpubl. tablet in private possession ii 3-5).

43. Possibly to be restored la[g ... -ri-ri(ge)] “to pick up clods”, a frequently mentioned activity connected with the preparation of the field before making the furrows: ab-sín-ta la g/la-ag ri-ri-ga in Ur III, see Oppenheim, *AOS* 32, pp. 161f., Salonen, *Agricultura*; p. 420; in a literary context: la g-bi ḫa-ra-ab-ri-ri: *ki-ir-ba-an*-[na ...] Farmer’s Instructions 60.

44. Perhaps muše[n ... -sar-sar-(re), or -dal-la], “to chase the birds away”, a less frequently mentioned task at sowing time and before the harvest: buru₅—zi-zi A.i. IV i 32; buru₅—sar ibid. 49; ⁺Ú.BU×BU.DA—[zi-z]i ibid. 50; Ur III: BIN 5 225:2; *JCS* 16 (1962), 17 [B] 7: x^{mušen}³⁶ dal-la; cf. still zú buru₅^{mušen}-ra bal-e-e-b: *šin-ni er-bi* [...] Farmer’s Instructions 66. If the restorations proposed for lines 43f. are correct, lines 39ff. must have listed activities associated with plowing and farming.

48. Instead of -gal-m[u one could also read ušum g[al].

50. The most obvious reading is of course gala-bi, but somehow it does not seem to fit what can be understood from the context.

51. The first sign is uncertain; the first possibility that comes to mind is to read ^{gi}k jid-AŠ.NIGIN₂, a type of reed mat known from the lexical lists (Hh VIII MSL 7, p. 26), the economic texts (*TCL* 5, 6036 xvii 25f.), and the literature (Dialogue 1:15; W.G. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 236:10). The traces, however, seem to point rather to K]A or s]ag. Possible solutions are: (gu ru š) s]ag-dili “unmarried workman” (see my commentary to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 179), or ^(uzu)s]ag-dili “part of the tongue”, Akk. *milištu* Hh XV 77; in the first case the translation would be “the lone worker threw a LAGAB”; in the second, LAGAB would be read naturally gu₄/gu₈ “he let hang down the thick tip(?) of the tongue”, a perfectly bovine gesture.

54. There could be a missing sign between the KA and the -mu; in any case, it must be a part of the body of the ox, and the sentence stresses the young age of the animal. Note in passing the difference between the relativization rules of English and Sumerian.

55. gú-tar is here the “neck, shoulder” of the animal, Akk. *kutallu*³⁷ The young beast has not yet been working under the yoke. The dust raised by the working oxen is mentioned in Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, 2.90. Here, the -bi characterizes the form as a “pronominal” conjugation.

56. Only a broken vertical wedge is preserved before -me-en, so that instead of the proposed reading, one could have also -[x]-‘a’-me-en. I assume, in any case, a relative clause which would be awkward to translate as such into English.

57ff. The ox stops talking in line 56, and 57-61 must be attributed to a new speaker, most likely the Farmer. The speech sounds like a riddle. I am at a loss to explain satisfactorily the initial giš.KU of 59f. It must be a metaphoric term to designate the plow or the yoke. An equally obscure giš.KU appears in connection with oxen in Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, 2.83: gud gen-a/àm giš.KU-(a) AB-àm³⁸.

36. The sign looks like GİR in *BIN* 5, and like LUL×ŠE in *JCS* 16.

37. Note gú-tál-li on the rev. of D₂.

38. The proverb, in turn, is reminiscent of Inanna and Ebiḫ 168f: á zi-da-mu ^{giš}tukul mi-ni-in-ri, á gùb-bu-mu AB-e ri-ri-me-en. The sign AB, not completely certain in any source, is probably KU₇, to be read *gaml (see Biggs and Civil, *RA* 60 [1966], 10, where KU₇, spelled ga-a-m-le, is found next to tukul). It is possible that the proverb 2.83

Note also Lipit-Ištar Code viii 43 sa-sal KU-a bí-in-sír (cf. my note in *AS* 16 [1965], 8); does it mean that the neck muscles have been damaged *by the yoke*? The “fathers and mothers” are the plowman and his helpers, and the oxen of the team as shown, from a slightly different perspective, in the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 91: gud-zu 6-àm lú-zu 4-àm ù za-e šà 11-kam-ma-bi-me-en “your oxen are six, your men are four, and you (the Plow) make eleven”. In the present context the plow has four pairs of oxen instead of three; cf. ^{giš}apin-gud-8-lá Hh V, 129³⁹. The young oxen, in a team with several pairs, were yoked in front to train them progressively to the task of carrying the yoke and pulling the plow; see *AS* 16 (1965), 4f. for differences in hiring prices which reflect this practice. The word ^{giš} (line 61) alone can mean “yoke” and/or “plow”: Hh V 104f.; XIII 292 (with Landsberger’s remarks *MSL* 8/1, pp. 66ff.); Idu II 187; a literary example is dumu uru-na mu-un-<re>-eš amar ^{giš} nu-zu-gin_x ha-ra-kéš-re₆-eš VAS 10,196 iv 15, with dupl. 3N-T750. The key to explain the mention of the sun could be the use of the length and position of the shadow of the yoke as a guide for plowing straight.

63. šu-nim, Akk. *qātum ḥaruptum*, “early work” *MSL* 13, p. 120:193; cf. A.i. IV i 24; a-gàr gal-gal gán-zi šu-nim-ta kin nu-mu-ra-ab-ak-en Debate between Winter and Summer 180.

67ff. The mention of the stars, followed by a reference to bedding, must refer to night time, and the dream must have ended with the first lights of the day (for gūn a n - n a, cf. Akk. *burūmū*), rather than to the constellations showing the arrival of the plowing season, a traditional topic found from the Farmer’s Instructions to Virgil’s *Georgica*, and that must have been included somewhere in our song (cf. perhaps line 48).

Another literary link between stars and farming is the comparison of the constellation to well-ordered rows of furrows, and vice versa: see *TCL* 6, 51:7 for the former, and [ḥenbur] saḥar sag-íl-la-ba mul an-gin_x gūn-a : *ḥáb-bur-ra ša i-na e-pé-ri* [...] LIP 123, for the latter. Falkenstein, *CRR* 14 (1966), 64f., has suggested some relationship between dreams and astrology; his passages, however, sound more natural if mul is taken there as designating the writing on the tablets seen by Gudea in his dreams. In lines 67ff it is not clear whether one must read gá- or -ke₄. For a parallel to line 69, compare ^{túg}è m - ba ra₃-ga-na ur ba-e-ná *CT* 15,18:12 = è m - ba - ra - ga - na ur₄ bé-nu CBS 145:5’, where ur and ur₄ stand for ùr “roof”. The meaning “bedding” for ^{túg}níg-ba ra₃-(g) is clear from *SRT* 1: 178f. (cf. Römer, *SKIZ*, p. 189), and ki-ná ^{túg}níg-ba ra₂-ga ù-dùg li-bí-in-ku-ku Uruk Lament 3.24 (ms. Civil-Green), but the word is poorly attested in the lexical lists: Hh X 147:57ff.; Ur III references in Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*, pp. 119, 126.

97. i m - s a g, Akk. *ḥaruptu*, “early rain”.

120. For the harrow in general, see Salonen, *Agricultura*, pp. 108ff. The reading ^{giš}ga-ríg, first suggested in *JNES* 26 (1967), 210f., is now confirmed⁴⁰ by the Ugarit recension of Diri: ka-ri-im

is a further instance of the topic t u k u l / g a m l, since the signs AB and KU₇ are very difficult to tell apart even on carefully written tablets.

39. The coincidence of these numbers with ἄρτον ... τετράτρυφον, ὀκτάβλωμον in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 442, is curious but certainly accidental.

40. The apparent counterexamples with a spelling g a - z u quoted in Salonen, *Hausgeräte* 1, p. 109, can be eliminated: In *HSS* 15,291:25 read *kà-sú* “(bronze) cup” (*kāsu*), and in Wiseman, *Alalakh*, 417:8, the copy has an unambiguous ZUM.

GIŠ.GA.ZUM = *m[u-uš-tu]*, followed by *ni-ik-ši-ki* (tablet -LA) GIŠ.NÍG.UMBIN = *m[u-mar-ri-tu]* RS 20.203 r. 7'f. (courtesy J. Nougayrol).

121. The teeth of the harrow are known from lexical lists: Hh V 75f., 186; and from administrative texts: DP 437 ii 1, iii 5, v 3 (*zú* ^{giš}*gán-ùr 5-ta ì-kéš*; 450 vii 4; 451 vi 5; 458 ii 2; 461 ii 2; etc. The verb *si* is *si-(g)*, written also *sì-(g)*, “to provide an implement with one of its parts”: ^{na4}*kinkin šu s(ì)-ga* (ITT 3/2 5059: 1; 5509:1; 6145:1; TCS 1,105:3; etc.) contrasts with ^{na4}*kinkin šu nu-tuku* (ITT 3/2 6184:2) to designate a millstone with or without the pounding stone. Other examples of the same verb are ^{giš}*al-e zú si-ga* “hoe provided with its blade” BIN 5,79:1; 212:1; and *nun-gal-e* ^{giš}*al-e sa bí-in-sì*) Enki and the World Order 334 (but ^{giš}*al zú si-ga-ni*, *ibid.* 336). ^{giš}*al-e sa-s(ì)* an expression that puzzled Falkenstein, ZA 56 (1964), 83, means simply “to fit the hoe with its rope”, for details see my study of the Sumerian hoe in the introduction to the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow. The exact nuance implied by the verb *ri* in the present context is not easy to determine, but seems to designate the typical action of the hoe. Note that this action is described often, in addition to *ba-al*, by the verb *ra/ra-a ḥ/ri*; for instance: a) *ra: AfO* 9 (1933-34), 246 ii 2ff.; Destruction of Agade 127; Ur Lament 245, 258, etc.; b) *ra-a ḥ*: Sumer and Ur Lament 82 (ms. Kramer); and c) *ri*: *ibid.* 346. All these passages refer to the destruction of cities, but the verb is used metaphorically as shown by: *gán* ^{giš}*al-e ri-a-gin*_x Ur Lament 272, and *a-gàr-bi* ^{giš}*al-e ri-e-dè* TRS 73 i 4'.

122. A meaning “to put on the ground” would be acceptable, but since *gú ki-lá* governs elsewhere the terminative *-šè* (e.g., Destruction of Agade 113, 120; Debate between the Bird and the Fish 81; Sumer and Ur Lament 54), and here it has a locative-terminative (*-re<-ra-* (dative) + *-*I-*), it is likely that *ki-lá* has to be taken here as “to dig”, as in *suḥuṣ kalam-ma ki ba-e-lá* “the foundations/roots of the country have been dug out” Destruction of Agade 118 (cf. *ki-lá* = *kalakku*, *ḥirītu*), in which case *gú* would be the “edges of the field” where hoeing must have been more difficult and important, as shown by Farmer’s Instructions 12: *gú a-šà-ga ub-da-4-ba* ^{giš}*al-e ḥa-ra-ab-nigin* “your hoe must work on the four edges of the field”. For the meaning “stump” of *mud*, cf. ^{giš}*mud* (with var. ^{gi}*múd*) ^{giš}*i-ri_x-na-bi* “stumps and roots” Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 89. Note the *ḥ*-subjunctive + 2nd. person dative forms, alternating with imperatives, a style typical of the Farmer’s Instructions. The meaning of *sá* is contextual.

123. Is this line an erroneous repetition, or is there a second half missing?

124. The plow was hung from a ceiling beam or similar support when not in use. This is corroborated by ^{giš}*apin-zu dal-la/a e-ne ba-an-gi₄* Debate between the Tree and the Reed 114, and ^{giš}*apin kù-gá* (^{giš}) *dal-la/a ù-mu-ni-gar* Debate between Summer and Winter 225. Despite the loan word *gištalû*, the occasional absence of the determinative shows that the reading is simply *dal*; the spellings with *-la* exclude *giš-de₅* (*gištû*). The meaning “to take down” for *si-ig* is inferred from its contrast with *lá* “to hang up”, see the parallel in Dumuzi’s Dream 33 = 56.

125. Another possibility is to read *nagar gal-zu* “the skilled carpenter”. Cf. *ta-ag* TAG = *rakāsu*, *siniqtu* A V/1:226; 228. It must be remembered that the Mesopotamian plow had a “bound” construction, with ropes and pegs, rather than an “assembled” construction with joints and mortises.

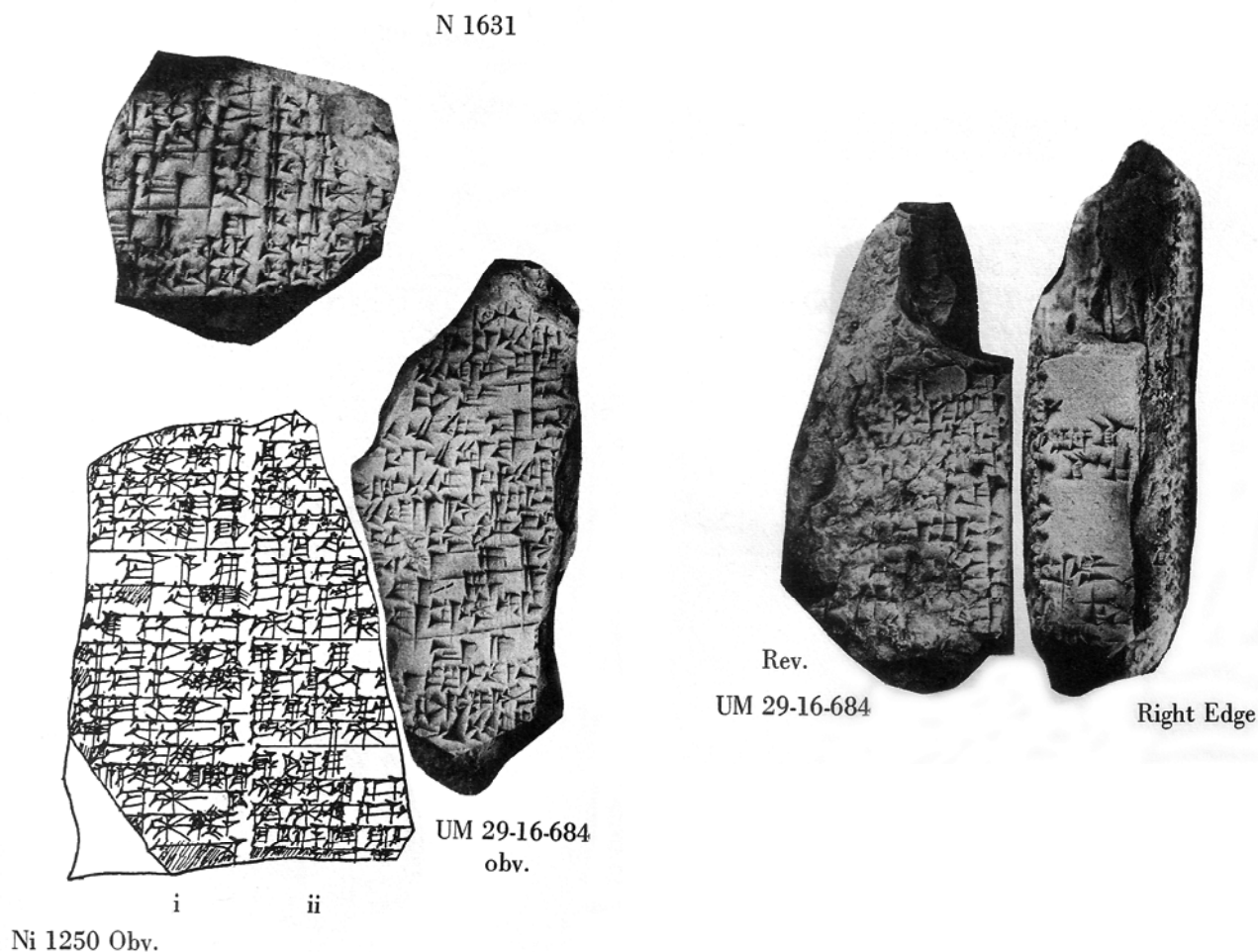
139. For the reading *m u₇-m u₇* (<*m u_n-m u_n*) for KA×LI-KA×LI, see Landsberger, MSL 8/1, p. 21 ad 157f.; in connection with his remarks, note that the gloss in source E of line 157 must be read *m u[n]¹-m u*, and that the Ugarit recension of Diri gives [*m u*]-*m u* KA×LI-KA×LI = *ikribu*, *kāribu*, *karābu*, followed by the usual equivalents *rgm* and *rmm*.

143ff. Restored from LIP 116ff., quoted above 1.4.

147. ki-búr can mean “place of relaxation” or “solution” (of the dream); the passage zì dub-dub-ba-bi hé-ḫúl-le-en ki-búr-zu hé-a, with ^{kaš}di da mentioned in the preceding line, in Lugale 575 = XIII 36, favors the first option.

148. The restoration of ki-bi — g i₄ is only tentative.

Plate I



C = Ni 1250 + UM 29-16-684 + N 1631

Plate II



D₁ = UM 29-13-560



obv.



rev.

D₂ = N 3529



D₃ = N 3196



obv.



rev.

A = N 3517 + 3006

II.13

Enlil and Namzitarra^{*}

The brief, but fortunately complete tale published here is a Sumerian variation of a well-known theme, attested in the folklore of many cultures: a) D (= a deity, a holy man, or a semi-divine hero) in disguise meets H (= a man), b) H recognizes the true identity of D, and c) D rewards H with a blessing, material goods, or spiritual powers¹.

1. Plot and Protagonists

Enlil disguised as a raven or crow meets Namzitarra, a servant of the *gud u₄*-priests; Namzitarra recognizes Enlil, helped by a clue based on an episode from the adventures of Enmešarra, an ancestor of Enlil; Enlil rewards Namzitarra, not with material possessions, but by giving him a hereditary prebend in his temple. The tale has thus a likely explanatory function: how Namzitarra's family, despite his humble origins, gained possession of a prebend, one of the most important sources of familial wealth in old Babylonian Nippur².

Enlil is not a typical trickster figure in Sumerian tales, but he uses disguises on other occasions: in the myth of Enlil and Ninlil as parents of the Moon, he repeatedly seduces Ninlil, disguised as a gate-keeper, a man from the river, and a boatman.

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1. Abbreviations not on the third page of the cover: *BA*: Beiträge zur Assyriologie (Leipzig). - *BL*: St. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris 1913). - *HKL*: *Handbuch der Keilschrift-Literatur* (Berlin). - *ISCT*: *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Sumer Edebî Tablet ve Parçaları* (Ankara 1969). - *LKU*: A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin 1931) - *PSBA*: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London). - *SBH*: G. A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln aus griechischer Zeit* (Berlin 1896). - *SEM*: E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (Chicago 1934). - *SLT*: id., *Sumerian Lexical Texts* (Chicago 1929). - *SLTN*: S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur ... at Istanbul* (New Haven 1944). - *SRT*: E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland 1924). - *TMH*: *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung ... Jena* (Berlin). - *TuL*: E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Leipzig 1931). - *UET*: *Ur Excavations, Texts* (London). - *YNER*: *Yale Near Eastern Researches* (New Haven).

2. Elizabeth C. Stone, *The Social ... of Old Babylonian Nippur* (Ph. D. Diss., Chicago), forthcoming.

I translate *u ga*^{mušen} as “raven” but a translation “crow” cannot be excluded. There is simply not enough evidence to differentiate these two birds of the genus *Corvus* (for a more optimistic view, see Landsberger, *WeOr* 3 249¹⁶). Sumerian has two words *u ga* and *bu ru₄* corresponding to Akk. *(h)erēbu*; a third word *bu ru₅*, superficially identical with *bu ru₄*, corresponds to Akk. *er(i)bu*. It is quite possible that *bu ru₄* and *bu ru₅* are not merely a graphic disambiguation of the type /*garza*/ = PA.DINGIR and PA.LUGAL, or /*ad*/ = LÚ×BAD and UDU×BAD, but that they are phonologically different: *bu ru₄* = /*g bu ru*/ (see *JNES* 32 60 [1. 12]), but *bu ru₅* = /*b u ru*/. If so, they could very well be reflexes of the words which appear in Semitic as *grV:b* or *rV:b*, and *rb*, respectively with metathesis of the *r* as in *du ru na* and *tenūru* or in *šu-nir* and *šurinnu* (*JCS* 25 173). In literary texts, *bu ru₄* is relatively infrequent and used almost exclusively in comparisons (Tree and Reed 16, Lugalbanda I 38; Ur Lament 275; Winter and Summer 279), while *u ga* plays an active role in the fable of the Crane and the Raven, in Inanna and Šukaletuda, and in the tale studied here, and is therefore the bird with more “personality”. Since the raven is larger and less gregarious than the crow, I have a slight preference for a translation “raven” for *u ga*. For additional literature and references to the two birds, see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 416ff., 440ff., and A. Salonen, *Vögel* 124ff.³ For a special relationship between *u ga* and Enlil, see Kutscher, *YNER* 6 97: 108f., the incipit *én u ga*^{mušen} *mu d-lá^d en-líl-lá* (Caplice, *Or* 34 112), and: W. G. Lambert, *ASr* 20 114: 15.

Namzitarra is well attested as a personal name: see Limet, *Anthroponymie* 284f., 497f., for Ur III, and *PBS* 8 151: 18; 166 iii 5; etc., for OB.

Enmešarra is the most famous among Enlil’s ancestors (*en a ma a-a^d en-líl-lá*). The most complete ancestor list is provided by An = *anum* I 96-138, with twenty-one pairs, plus the names of the seven children of Enmešarra (139-46). Shorter enumerations are found, for instance, in god lists: *TCL* 15, 10: 1-30, with fifteen pairs (note that the ancestors are not included in the Nippur god list: *SLT* 122-24, etc.), literary texts: *BASOR* 94 5 B 14ff., incantations: *u du g-hu l-a-me š* 5: 47ff., and liturgical texts: *CT* 42 3 iv 2ff., and dupl. (“standard” litany found in several balag). The qualification of Enmešarra as *še š-a d-da* of Enlil shows that the pairs of ancestors do not represent successive generations, but a single one. As I have suggested elsewhere (“Lexicography” in *Studies Jacobsen*, AS 20 142), the Sumerian kinship system belongs to the so-called “Hawaiian” type: the terms *še š* and *ni n₉* are not limited to siblings but extend to the relatives of *ego*’s generation (hence the absence of a special term for “cousin” in Sumerian); similarly, there is only one term for the males, and one for the females of the first ascending generation, which are the same as the ones applied to the biological parents (note the use of *u gu* and *ù-tu* with *a-a* and *a ma* to specify the “real” parents). The term *še š-a d-da* is typically restricted to inheritance documents⁴ and similar cases where biological paternity needs to be explicitly excluded. The

3. Salonen gives only the literary references found in Heimpel, who restricts himself to occurrences with *gin_x*. Some additional references, besides *CAD* A/2 265b, are: *mu-lu-gá RIG₇ ga-na u ga*^{mušen} *ba-e-KU* *CT* 15 18: 37 = *mu-lu-mu da-ga-na ú-ga bé-KU* *CBS* 145 r. 6’; *ga-ša-an-an-na u ga*^{mušen} *ba-e-KU ugu-ni-šè ba-gub* *BM* 120011: 32 (reference courtesy S. N. Kramer); *u ga*^{mušen} *dug saḥar an-d[a-x]*, *ka₅-a èn i-ni-in-tar-[re]*, *me-àm a i-íb-sù-e*, ^{id}*digna^{id} buranun-na-[(x)]*, *i-ni-in-sù-e*, *a-na-àm èn mu-e-tar-tar-re* *Proverbs Coll.* 20 (*CBS* 13989 r. I’ 4’ff.; dupl. *CBS* 19758); the “microscopic” text from the Louvre (*Expedition* 1/3 2) is a balag(?) in which the *u ga*^{mušen} is frequently mentioned. The reference [71.3] in Heimpel p. 418, misquoted in Salonen p. 128 as coming from *PBS* 29 15.219, is line 80 of the *Ĝendursagga* hymn, see Edzard and Wilcke in *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (AOAT 25, 1967, 148).

4. At least in Old Babylonian Nippur. For the term, see Sjöberg, *HSAO* 218, who, however, seems to consider it only as a “sumerogram”; but cf. *BE* 6 10: 8; 43: 17; etc. and the following model contract (or rather court case): ^m*d sin-ma-gir du mu*

assumption that the Sumerian kinship system belongs to the type just described has important implications for the correct interpretation of several mythical tales and divine genealogies.

Enmešarra⁵ is the protagonist of a myth extremely difficult to reconstruct because, first, only isolated and obscure episodes of the plot are known, and, secondly, practically all texts dealing with Enmešarra belong to a period in which the theogonies were reformulated to give a central role to Marduk. The potentially most informative, but unfortunately very incompletely preserved text, is Pinches, *PSBA* 30 80ff. It describes at the beginning the imprisonment of Enmešarra and his children. Enmešarra's captivity is the most often quoted episode: *SBH* VIII v 35, 42; VAT 9947 (TuL no. 8) 5, 21; cf. *ZA* 6 243: 36. According to these texts, ritual laments commemorating the captivity were performed in the months of Tešret and Tebet. Compare the reference to a lament by or for Enlil's ancestors in Destruction of Agade 209f. (Falkenstein, *ZA* 57 61, completed by A 30235 and A 30296): ér-bi ér am a-a-a ^den-líl-lá-ke₄, du₆²-kù su-zì gùr-(ru) dùg kù ^den-líl-lá-ke₄/ka i-im-gá-gá-ne "their (= of the people of Nippur) lament, is (like) the lament of Enlil's ancestors, they perform it on the terrifying "holy mound", the sacred ... of Enlil". Two late texts of an explanatory nature add new details to Enmešarra's misadventures, but both are obscure and difficult to interpret. *KAR* 307: 24-29 (Ebeling, *TuL* 33): "The Elamite chariot without a seat carries Enmešarra's corpse. The horses hitched to it are the ghosts of Anzu. The king who stands on it is the heroic king, the lord Ninurta. The fan-bearer(?) who stands next to him, after having extirpated the tongues of Anzu, holds them in his hands. He has hung the ladder of Enmešarra's house on the wall. A greasy fleece is the taboo of Enmešarra". The second text is CBS 16: 2 (a collection of taboos and explanations, partly duplicated by *LKU* 45, cf. Weidner *AfO* 19 108): SA.A.RI ^den-me-šár-ra MU ^d50 DU ina tal-li-ki LAM×KUR.RU.KI KÁ-šú GILIM-ma ina gi-gu-ni-e uš-ni-lu-šú "The cat (is the taboo of) Enmešarra because Enlil (or Ninurta!) in the journey(?) to(?) Aratta, besieged his gate and made him lie down in the *gigunu*". W. G. Lambert (private communication) quotes me an unpublished commentary to this text which explains the clear LAM×KUR.RU of CBS 16 as Šuruppak and renders GILIM by *i-li-mu*-³i (sic) [...]. In any case, the translation remains extremely doubtful.

To this meager and confusing information, our text adds the fact that Enmešarra "took away the Enlilship" (line 18), but from whom and for whom? It could very well be to give it back to its rightful owner, to judge from a line from an incantation in a ritual for the building of a temple in which Enmešarra is called *nādin haṭṭi u palē ana ^dAnu u ^dEnlil* (Borger, *ZA* 61 77: 49). Is Enmešarra's stealing of the Enlilship related to the conflict between Anzu and Ninurta? *KAR* 307, quoted above, suggests an affirmative answer. In conclusion, so much concerning Enmešarra's misadventures remains unknown that there is no way to tell where Namzitarra got the clue by which he recognized Enlil in the disguise of a raven. Note that the bird associated with Enmešarra is given variously as the rooster and the *šuššuru*-bird (W. G. Lambert, *ASt* 20 112: 2 and 114: 14, respectively), not the raven. In light of the increasing evidence for the Sumerian scribes' fondness for puns, I would seriously consider the possibility that the

kù-^den-líl-lá, ^m*iš-me*-^dda-gan lugal-e, níg-erim₂ nu-dib, gaba-ni íb-ri igi-ni in-gar-ma, lugal-e be-lí-en-nam, šeš-ad-da-mu, garza é a-šà-ga-bi, ḥa-[x]-⁷x' (= ḥa-[la-b]a?) šeš-ad-da-mu, nam-gú mu-un-ak-ma, mu 10-kam-ma-ta, igi-tù-m-lá-a-bi igi bí-du₈-ru-un, ^diš-me-^dda-gan lugal-e, pu-úh-ru-um nibru^{ki} ka, ù di-ku₅-e-ne, gú si-si-da, etc. (CBS 11324 i 26ff.).

5. For Enmešarra in general, see Ebeling, *RIA* 2 396f.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 16 146ff.; Nougayrol, *RA* 41 31 (AO 17262: 20); H. and J. Lewy, *HUCA* 17 26ff., 37ff.; Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* Bd. 1 62.

recognition is not based on a mythical episode but on a simple pun: *u₄ ... g a - z u* (line 18), interpreted as “to know the raven”.

2. Sources

A	3N-T 326 (= IM 58427) + 3N-T 360 (= A 30218) ix 8ff.	1-27.
B	CBS 4605 (<i>PBS</i> 12 31, collated)	1-18.
C	N 5149 obv.	2-9.
D	N 5909 obv.	6-18.
E	CBS 7917 + N 4784 obv.	10-14.
F	UM 29-16-79A iii	19-27.
G	N 3097*	15-18.

The reconstruction is based on direct examination of all sources, except for 3N-T 326 for which only a cast was available.

C, D, and E are exercise tablets of type II/1 (see *MSL* 12 27f., 51f.; 13 10); on the reverse, C has an excerpt of the series *Nigga* (= source Q₁ in *MSL* 13 94), E an excerpt of the Forerunner to Hh XIII-XIV, and D an unidentified exercise.

A is a complete tablet with ten columns, F the upper part of a four column tablet. Both contain the entire “Lisina-group”. Under this designation I include the tablets that had *a*) the Tale of Lisina, a composition partly narrative and partly lament, whose Ur version is known from *UET* 6 124, and whose Nippur recension can be reconstructed in part from a dozen sources, of which only *STVC* 121, Ni 9898 (*ISCT* 1 142), *SLTN* 38 and *TMH* NF 4, 48 have been published. Several “opera minora” follow: *b*) a short letter(?) of ca. 14 lines, *c*) *níg-nam nu-kal zi ku₇-ku₇-dam A*, found also in other compilations, see provisionally Alster, *Studies in Sum. Proverbs* 87 (version 1)⁶, *d*) Enlil and Namzitarra, and *e*) a short composition of 8 or 9 lines, beginning [*nam*]-*du_b-sar-ra [x]-ta [é-g]al lu_gal-la-kam*, very incompletely preserved. Source B is a poorly written one-column tablet which had Enlil and Namzitarra, followed by composition *e*). Source G is a small fragment with at least composition *b*) and Enlil and Namzitarra.

A, C, and G have short lines (two or more for each normal length line). The line division of the reconstructed text follows the Sources with normal line length.

All sources, except A, will be published with the Sumerian literary fragments from Philadelphia in a book being prepared under the direction of Å. Sjöberg. Source A will be included in a future publication of the Lisina mythical tale⁷.

The short length of the text and the fragmentary condition of the sources, do not allow to establish clearly the relationship among them. Most of the variants are of the type that is likely to originate independently in any source: -*àm* : -*ø*, -*ka* : -*ke₄*, -*dè* : -*da*, -*aš* : -*šè*, etc. Such variants are useless for

6. The list of sources given there is very incomplete; see my *Cat. of Sum. Lit. Texts* (*HKL* 4, forthcoming) for a more complete reconstruction than the one proposed in *Or* 41 89. Note that, despite Alster p. 124¹², there are several half preserved lines in col. viii of *SLTN* 131 +, or at least they were there the last time I saw the tablet.

7. I wish to thank Å. Sjöberg, Curator of the tablet collections in the University Museum, for his kind permission to publish texts B-G.

textual analysis, since its fundamental axiom is that “any reading found in two sources cannot have occurred spontaneously in both” (see, for instance, V. A. Dearing, *Principles and Practice of Textual Analysis* 85). There are few directional variations with diagnostic value: the most important is the omission of *igi-ni mu-ni-in-gi₄* in line 12, with the concomitant addition of *^den-líl-le* at the beginning of line 13. This phrase is very likely an interpolation, because of its explanatory and redundant character. The resulting source pattern is AD : BE, with AD representing the group closer to the original form. However, in the variation *a-ba-àm za-e-me-en : a-ba-me-en za-e* (line 10) the sources are grouped AB : DE, a pattern that occurs also in two lesser variants in line 13: *ù- : ø-* and *-aš : -šè*. A and D disagree in *bí- : ì-* (line 16), but agree again against, B (E is broken at that point) in having line 16, omitted by B (a significant variation, but note that the text still makes sense without this line). In conclusion, the text presents far too few variations to reach any firm results.

3. Text

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1. nam-zi-tar-ra ^d en-líl mu-zal-le	+	+					
2. inim in-na-an-dug ₄	+	+	+				
3. me-ta-àm nam-zi-tar-ra	+	+	+				
4. é ^d en-líl-lá-ta ¹	+	+	+				
5. bal-gub-ba-mu bí-silim-ma-àm ¹	+	+	+				
6. ki gudu ₄ -e-ne-ka ¹ udu-bi-da ² ì-gub-bu-nam ³	+	+	+	+			
7. é-mu-šè al-du-un	+	+	+	+			
8. nam-mu-un-gub-bé-en	+	+	+	+			
9. gùr-mu u ₄ táb-táb	+	+		+			
10. a-ba-àm za-e-me-en ¹ lú èn mu-e-ši ² -tar-re-en ³	+	+		+	+		
11. gá-e ^d en-líl-me-en	+	+		+	+		
12. ^d en-líl-le igi-ni mu-ni-in-gi ₄ ¹	—	+		—	+		
13. ¹ uga ^{mušen} -aš ² ù ³ -mu-ni-in ⁴ -ku ₄	+	+		+	+		
14. gù al-dé-dé-e ¹	+	+		+	+		
15. uga ^{mušen} nu-me-en ^d en-líl-me-en	+	+		+			+
16. ¹ nam-mu-tar-ra gá-e ^d en-líl-me-en a-gin _x (GIM) bí ² -zu ³	+	—		+			+
17. u ₄ ^{d(1)} en-me-šár-ra šeš-ad-da-zu LÚ×GÁN- <i>tenû</i> ² -da-a	+	+		+			+
18. nam- ^d en-líl ba-e-DU-a u ₄ -dè en-gin _x (GIM) nam ʾgaʾ-zu e-še	+	+		+			+
19. kù hé-tuku za hé-tuku gud hé-tuku udu hé-tuku	+					+	
20. u ₄ nam-lú-u _x (GIŠGAL) ^{lu(1)} al-ku-nu	+					+	
21. ní-g-tuku-zu me-šè ¹ e-tùm-ma	+					+	
22. ^d en-líl-me-en nam mu-tar-ra	+					+	
23. a-ba-àm mu-zu	+					+	
24. nam-zi-tar-ra mu-mu-um	+					+	
25. mu-zu-gin _x (GIM) nam-zu hé-tar-re	+					+	
26. é lugal-za-ka è-a	+					+	
27. ibila-zu é-gá si-sá-e ¹ hé-en-dib-dib-bé-ne	+					+	

line 4. 1) AC: - t a; B: - k a

- line 5. 1) A: - à m; BC om.
- line 6. 1) ACD: - k a; B: - k e₄. 2) A: - d è; BC: - d a. 3) A: - b] u - u š[?] (or - t a); B: ʿxʿ(= ub[?])- n a m; C: - b u - n a m; D: - b u -[.
- line 10. 1) A: - à m z a - e - m e - e n; B: - à m[?] ʿz a - e⁻ - m e - [e n] (uncertain); DE: - m e - e n z a - e. 2) A: - e - š i -; DE: - e -; B om. 3) A: - e n; BE om.
- line 12. 1) Line in BE; AD om.
- line 13. 1) AD: ^de n - l í l - l e (before u g a); BE om. 2) AB: - a š; DE: - š è. 3) AB: ù -; DE om. 4) ABD: - i n -; E om.
- line 14. 1) E: - e; A om.
- line 15. 1) Second half of line in ABG; D om.
- line 16. 1) D: ^de n - l í l - l e (before n a m -); G om. A broken, but not enough room for it. 2) A: b í -; D: ì -; G uncertain, perhaps b [í-. 3) Line in ADG; B om.
- line 17. 1) BD: ^d; AG om. 2) A: LÚ×ŠÈ; G: LÚ×GÁN-*tenû*.
- line 20. 1) F: ^{lu}; A om.
- line 21. 1) A: - š è; F om.
- line 27. 1) A: - e; F om.

4. Translation⁸

1. *Namzitarra walked by Enlil*
2. *(who) said to him:*
- E 3. “Where (are you coming) from, Namzitarra?”
- N 4. “From Enlil’s temple.
5. My turn of duty is finished;
6. I serve at the place of the g u d u₄-priests, with their sheep.
7. I am going home.
8. I cannot stop,
9. I am in a hurry.
10. Who are your who asks me questions?”
- E 11. “I am Enlil”.
12. *(But) Enlil had changed his appearance:*
13. *having turned into a raven,*
14. *he was croaking.*
- N 15. “(But, yes,) you are not a raven, you are (really) Enlil!”
- E 16. “How did you recognize that I am Enlil, the one who decrees the fates?”
- N 17. “When Enmešarra your uncle, the captive,
18. took away the Enlilship, he said: ‘now I want to know the fates, like a lord.’”
- E 19. “If you get precious metals, precious stones, cattle, or sheep,
20. when people come (to steal),

8. To make the translation more understandable, I indicate the speakers: italics for the narrator, E = Enlil, N = Namzitarra.

21. what is going to happen to your wealth?
22. I am Enlil, the one who decrees the fates.
23. What is your name?"
- N 24. "My name is Namzitarra."
- E 25. "May your fate be assigned according to your name:
26. leaving the house of your master,
27. let your heirs come and go regularly in my temple".

5. Commentary

1. The meaning "to pass by" of *zal* is inferred from the context but it fits well within the semantic range of *zal*. An example of *zal* with human subject and spatial connotations is: *lú-gu-la uru-za-ka zag-ba ù-ba-e-zal* "when you have passed by the side of the notables of your town" Šuruppak Instructions 196. This translation which considers *zal* a verb of movement and takes *lú-gu-la*, considered as a collective, rather than *uru* as the antecedent of *-bi-(a)*, seems more satisfactory than "to dwell side by side" (Alster, *Mesopotamia* 2 45). Instead of the translation proposed here for line 1, one could take Namzitarra as a sort of *casus pendens*: "(There was once a certain) Namzitarra, Enlil passed by ...". But since the hurried walking of Namzitarra is an important element of the narrative (cf. 7ff;), I prefer to take Namzitarra as the subject and topic.

5. *silim* = "to complete (safely, happily)", in contrast with *til* which is neutral or has the opposite connotation. Compare *gaba a-ab-ka-ka ki-SAR-a nam-ga-eš₈ bí-silim UET 1 50: 12ff.* "(Ur-Nammu) completed the retaining wall(?) of the commercial (quay), facing the sea waters." This meaning is frequently attested in OB administrative texts: *kaskal-šè al-su₈-bé-eš, silim-ma kaskal-la-ne-ne* ("at the safe completion of their trip"), *sag-níg-ga-ra šà um-mi-a un-dùg-ge-eš-ma*, etc. *PBS 8 151: 10ff.*; *u₄ kaskal-ta gur-ru-d[a], silim-ma kaskal-^{*}la(tablet TA)-ne-ne, šà dam-gàr-ra-[ke₄], un-dùg-ge-eš-[ma]*, etc; *UM 29-15-997 i' 3'ff.* (model contract); note also, preceding the clause *kù ì-lá-e, kaskal-ta silim-ma-(bi) UET 5 313: 6; 315: 6*; and *kaskal silim-ma itu-3-kam 314: 6*; the corresponding Akkadian phrase is *ina šalām KASKAL*⁹.

8. For *gub* in the sense of "to stop during a walk", compare *gin-na na-an-gub-bé-en: alik la kalāta BA 10 no. 28 r. 4'f.* (Lugal-e), found also in *Ki 1904-10-9, 64 obv.(!) 7'f.* (dupl. Rm 376 + Rm 2, 218) (*AJSL* 35 138f.) in a prayer recited during a procession in the performance of the *ka-lu_h*-ritual.

9. Reading *táb* based on *u₄-tab-tab* in Nabnitu O 49 (*hamtu*-section), taken as a graphic variant of *táb-táb* (see references in *CAD H 64a hamtu B*), but note that *ul₄* is also possible. Cf. *gìr-GÍR*

9. See Oppenheim, *JAOS* 74 10. Note that in *UET 5 313-15* the phrase does not apply to boats, as suggested by Oppenheim. Of the Akkadian passages with *i-na ša-la-am KASKAL*, only one (*YOS 8 172: 8*) refers to a trip by boat. The expression ^{gis}*má silim-ma* "boat in good repair", however, does exist: Oppenheim, *ibid.* 10¹⁶; *itu gud si-su-ka, ^{gis}má silim-ma ù á-bi kar-bi-šè, gur-ru-dam 2N-T 213: 51ff.*; and in an almost complete model contract: [1] ^{gis}[*má x gur*], [x] ^{gis}*zi-gan*, [x] ^{gis}*gi-muš*, '4' ^{gis}*gisal*, [x] *éš*(written *TÚG*)-*si má gid-da, ^{gis}má dnanna-me-š₄, [k]i dnanna-me-š₄-ta, [m^u]r-^{dš}ul-pa-è'-ke₄, 'itu' 2-kam-ma-šè, in-ḫun, á-bi itu-da, 6 še gur, ^{m^u}ur-^{dš}ul-pa-è, dnanna-me-š₄-ra, al-ág-e, itu du₆-kù, ^{gis}má silim-ma, ù á-bi-šè, [ka]r nibru^{ki}-ta^(sic), [gur-r]u-dam (3N-T 567, exercise tablet, type II/I).*

(without u_4) in Lugal-e 90 = III 1: *me-šè gîr im-mi-íb-GÍR-e/en : ana tāḫazi i-ṣṣ'-[...]*. The u_4 is certain in all sources, and a reading *mu-e-* is not possible. Since the components of the Sumerian idiom cannot be determined exactly (“my feet are burning?”), but its meaning is clear, I give a translation *ad sensum*.

12. *igi-gi₄* = MIN (= *saḫāru*) [šá X] Nabnitu X 207, probably to be read *saḫāru ša pāni*. See my discussion in AS 16 2¹¹, where I proposed *šá i'-[nim]*, and a tentative translation “to lose the sight”. The present context obviously requires “to change the appearance”, a meaning that fits also the passage discussed in AS 16 2 (Code of Lipit-eštar xvii 30ff.) which should now be translated “if a man’s first wife has lost her good looks (lit. has changed her appearance) or has become physically disabled ...”. Compare: *é... a-na-aš igi bí-in-gi₄* “House (where there was music all day), why has your appearance been changed?” Nippur Lament 3.6.

17. Only source A preserves the last two signs. The final -a remains unexplained¹⁰; it cannot be the nominalising suffix of u_4 ... -a, which appears in its expected place in *ba-e-DU-a*. The readings of LÚ×ÉS and LÚ×GÁN-*tenû* that enter into consideration are *se_x* (OB Lu A 495ff.; Proto-ea 627 [MSL 14]), which stands presumably for [eš(e)] “rope”, and *ešela*, attested as a reading of the late logogram LÚ.ŠÀ.A (which replaces LÚ×GÁN-*tenû*): *si-la-bi-mi-en* = LÚ.ŠÀ.A-bi-mèn· JNES 28 71; W. G. Lambert, JNES 33 301; *si-la-a mu-ub-ri* CT 15 7: 16 = LÚ.ŠÀ.A mu-[...] BL 186 (+ 177) r. 20'; note also [e]-še-lá LÚ×ÉS.LÁ = *kamû* A VII/2: 31. There are some inconclusive passages that seem to indicate that éš “rope” was in fact /eš d/, for instance, *éš-da-l-kùš-na um-da-a-n-lá* Laḫar and Ašnan 148 (observe, however, that it could be a comitative rather than a locative); a final -d would explain the -da in our line, where a comitative is hard to accept. As a further confirmation of the final -d, we have [(x)-x]-ed LÚ×ÉS.LÁ = *hitnuqu* A VII/2: 29, possibly to be restored [(e)-še]-ed. It is thus likely that LÚ×GÁN-*tenû* and its variant LÚ×ÉS have to be read here *(e)še-da “(the one) of the rope”, i. e., “the captive”; see Gelb, JNES 32 73, 77ff. for LÚ×GÁN-*tenû* in Presargonic and later texts.

18. The two clauses of this line are open to several interpretations: *ba-e-* can be, but does not need to be, second person, in which case the agent would be Enlil; in the second clause one could read u_4 -*ne-en-gin_x-nam* “like in that day”, or *en-gin_x-nam*, or even *nam-ga-zu*. As long as no additional information about Enmešarra’s misadventures is available, no decision seems possible.

19. Cf. *lú kù tuku lú za tuku lú gud tuku lú udu tuku ká lú še tuku-ka dúr ḫé-gá-gá u₄ ḫé-ni-ib-zal-zal-e* “The man who have precious metals, precious stones, cattle, or sheep, will have to sit at the gate of the man who has grain, and spend the day there” Laḫar and Ašnan 189f. (no var. given).

20. Despite the -a at the end of line 21, I assume that the temporal clause that starts with u_4 ends with *al-ku-nu-(a)*. The meaning of *ku-nu* is well established: a) *ku-nu* = *qerēbu* Antagal G 198 and Frag. 1: 7¹; OBGT IX 152ff. Confirmed by the translation with the synonym *teḫû* in B. Hruška, ArOr 37 484: 3lf.: “my well-established boundary markers, whose sides inspire awe, and should not be approached” (*ku-nu-dè nu-un-zu-a: ana teḫê la naṭû*); cf. ibid. p. 491, without translation or commentary. The contrast with *sù-ud* in Proverb 1.15 (cf. Jacobsen apud Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs 454) is a further confirmation. b) *ku-nu* = *sanāqu ša nakri* Nabnitu N 93; in context: u_4 *lú-kúr im-*

10. Is this -a the same that appears constantly at the end of the late logogram LÚ.ŠÀ.A?

ma - ku - nu - a (var. ku - na - a) Letter of Puzur-šulgi to Šulgi A (Ni 9706 r. iv' [Or 22 38] and dupl.). It seems that ku - nu adds to “to approach” the implication that the person or thing that approaches has evil intentions or is somehow undesirable. Such implication is unavoidable in this passage: what is wrong with a reward of material wealth is that it can easily be taken away by rapacious people.

I retain the reading ku - nu, but there is no firm evidence for ku -; cf. perhaps gi - na = *sanāqu ša* LÚ.IM Nabnitu N 91. It is possible that some occurrences of ku - nu may have been mistakenly taken as durun. Cf. lú - tur in im - mu - šè ba - KU - un - na m - mu šà - mu bí - d ù g - ga Dialogue 4: 6¹¹, where the verb is certainly in im - šè tu š / durun “to abide by the instructions,” so that the passage must be translated: “oh my little one who has abided by my instructions, my heart is glad about it.”

21. Literally, “where is it going to be taken to?” me - šè - tú m / t ù m = *ajīs abālu OBGT* I 712f., 715, 717. In context: na m - ka la g - ga - zu me - šè ba - an - tú m *UET* 6/1 2: 53; me - šè lú ḫ é - en - tú m - mu Dialogue 3: 27.

23. Note the use of a - ba, instead of a - na, with mu “name”.

26f. I take these lines to mean that Namzitarra will cease to be a servant and will acquire rights to some hereditary prebend in Enlil’s temple. Note, as a curious coincidence, the mention of a gu du₄ named Namzitarra in *UET* 3 51.

11. In *SEM* 66 and *SRT* 29, this line replaces line 70 of *Schooldays* (against eleven other sources).

Enlil and Ninlil: the Marriage of Sud*

0. Preliminary Remarks¹

This article is an edition of a relatively complete mythical tale, known since 1967 (*JNES* 26, 200ff.). The publication by O. R. Gurney of a Neo-Assyrian bilingual tablet in 1964 with a substantial part of the first third of the text (*STT* 151-54) prompted a reexamination of unpublished duplicates from Nippur and two published pieces (*VAS* 10 177 and *HAV* 16) that resulted in a preliminary, and in many points incorrect, proposal of reconstruction (*JNES* 26, 201). Subsequent work led to the identification of further duplicates and to an almost complete recovery of the text. Noteworthy among the new texts are two tablets from Susa made available by the late Maurice Lambert, and three Kouyunjik pieces identified by W. G. Lambert. There remain a number of partially broken lines, some weak spots (notably from line 137 on), and two very short gaps (lines 52-56 and 124), but the main outline of the plot is now clear. The tale had a wide diffusion attested not only by the relatively high number of sources preserved and their geographical distribution, but also by its long survival through Middle-Babylonian times and into the Assyrian libraries. We hope that this edition, although limited in scope because of space restrictions, will please Samuel Noah Kramer who has done more than anyone else to revive Sumerian mythology and without whose inspiration this work would not have been started. To him it is respectfully dedicated.

1. Contents and Structure

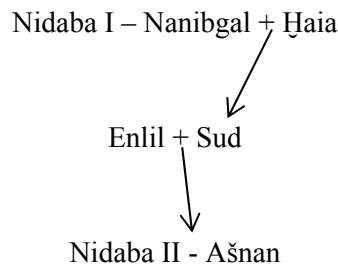
1.1. *Dramatis personae*

1.1.1. *Nidaba*. She is the Lady of the city of Ereš, wife of Ħaia, and mother of Sud. Nidaba's roles are in accordance with what is known of her elsewhere in the literature (Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 110f.; Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 148f.; H. Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil* 18f. lines 13f.; and see below for the most important literary sources). She appears in the text under three names: Nidaba(k), Nanibgal, and Nunbaršegunu. The

* The present article was originally published in *JAOS* 103 (1983) pp. 43-66.

1. In addition to the usual abbreviations, note UGN = UD.GAL.NUN orthography. Copies are by W. G. Lambert.

pronunciation of the name Nidaba is not directly attested in syllabary sources; both Proto-Ea 678ff. and Ea VII iv 15'ff. (with Aa VII/4:92ff.) omit the goddess's name from the NAGA-section. Akkadian reads her name as Nissaba: *ni-is-sà-ba* Proto-Diri Nippur J 32, *ni-is-sa-a-ba* EN₁ 14, *ni-sa-ba* CT 17 34: 28. The reading Nidaba, preferred here, is based only on the sign name *ni-da-ba* in Diri IV 69. The name Nidaba is considered a compound of *nin+x* in Emesal Voc. I 21f.: ^dgaša-n-NAGA = ^dNAGA = DAM.BI MUNUS (sc. of Ħaia); the pronunciation of NAGA in Emesal in the divine name is not yet clear. The second name Nanibgal (wr. AN.AN.NAGA, less frequently AN.NAGA.GAL) is attested in Proto-Diri Nippur J 33' as *na-ni-ib-gal* (Akk. subcolumn); it could give a clue to a more accurate form of the original name since it would seem that it corresponds to *nidaba + gal*, but no interpretation is possible without additional evidence. In the present tale as well as in some OB texts the names Nidaba and Nanibgal obviously designate the same person in many cases, but in the tradition of the list An = *anum* they are kept apart: Nidaba, with nine additional names including *nun-bar-še-gùn-nu*, is listed as wife of Ħaia in I 281ff., while Nanibgal (with the two spellings mentioned above) appears in I 326f. as the wife of Ennugi/Urmaš and as *gu-za-lá* of Enlil. The present tale seems to give another solution (see 1.1.7) which results in the following family tree:



The main literary sources dealing with Nidaba are:

- 1) The section 89-91 of the *Zà-mì* hymns (R. D. Biggs, *OIP* 99, 48, with UGN parallels, see J. Krecher, *BiOr* 35, 156).
- 2) A short Ur III text: 6N-T680 = NBC 11107, to be published by D. Reisman.
- 3) The hymn *nin mul an-gin₇*, edited by W. W. Hallo, *CRR* 17, 123ff.²
- 4) Išbi-Era's hymn *bur-šu-ma gal* to Nidaba, edited by D. Reisman, *AOAT* 25, 357ff.³
- 5) An eršemma-song: L 1489 (*IS*ET I 162).
- 6) A širnamšub-song, edited by M. E. Cohen, *JAOS* 95, 602ff.
- 7) One of the hymns (no. 42) of the Collection of Temple Hymns (Å. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 48f.) is dedicated to Nidaba's temple in Ereš.

1.1.2. *Ħaia*, husband of Nidaba and father of Sud. Originally, the name may have been a variant spelling of é-a and therefore identical with Enki, but Ħaia and Ea are already considered two different deities in the early OB period. Note that while offerings are made to Ħaia, especially in Ur, in the Ur III

2. Add to the sources CBS 15141, N 3041 + N 3042, and several small frags. from Ur (some bilingual).

3. Sources D, E, and F are part of the same tablet; add CBS 15175, *TIM* 9 7, 11.

period, at that time Ea appears only in personal names. The sole text dealing directly with Ħaia is the Rim-Sin hymn *en gēšt u ma ĥ šu-du*⁷, edited by H. Steible, *Ein Lied an den Gott Haja*.

1.1.3. *Sud*. She is the daughter of Nidaba and Ħaia who, after marrying Enlil, becomes Ninlil. Originally the deity of Šuruppak, where she is often mentioned in the ED period, Sud appears very rarely in texts from other periods or places.

The reading *sud*, first pointed out by R. Scholz in 1933 (*ZA* 41, 304), is supported by the complement in -da in ED: *na m-má ĥ-dsùd-da* *NTSS* 294 r.3, and in the ED and Sargonic personal names: *inim-zi-dsùd-da* (*DP* 1; *BIN* 8 15:11), *a-nun-dsùd-da* (*NTSS* 65+; 165), *dsùd-da-zi-dè* (*BIN* 8 181:8), etc., and -dè: *di-dsùd-dè-mu* (Grégoire, *AAS* 203:6). The known syllabic spellings are *su-ud* (line 170 of the present composition; *PBS* 10/2 13 r.10, cf. E. Bergmann, *ZA* 64, 38f.), *su-de* (*VAS* 2 11 r. iii 12), and *sù-ud* (*AN* = *anum* I 169); late canonical texts write *dsù-ud-ág* (see below). By Ur III times Sud no longer appears in personal names, and receives offerings only on very rare occasions, e.g., *AASF* 92, 681:2f.; *AO* 4682:11f. (*TCL* 2 1), *YOS* 3 512:9. Literary texts dealing with Sud are:

1) *WVDOG* 43 36, which ends in a litany with the refrain *dsùd-kam*⁴.

2) Lines 180f. of the *Zà-mì* Hymns (*OIP* 99 51):

nun kù šuruppak BAN

nun dsùd zà-mì.

3) The balag-like text *TRS* 15 1 of OB date.

An isolated mention of Sud is found in A 33632 (Ur III Nippur, perhaps an incantation):

i' 2' nu mu dumu-m[u ...] n[a ...]

dsùd^{ki} 'x' [...] ZU.A[B? ...]

4' a-e id-da-b[i ...] in-[...]

kar babbar-ra SLA b[a-...].

After Ur III the name survives, except for *TRS* 15 1, only in stereotyped phrases:

a) *ù-mu-un sa-a-zu dsùd dumu nun* *CT* 42 3 v 9 (dupl. *MAH* 16088, quoted *OLZ* 1961 370, has var. *sa-za*), written [...] *sa-za su-de dumu nun* in *VAS* 2 11 r. iii 12, for which the late canonical texts have: *umun sa-a dsù-ud-ág dumu nun-[na]* *SBH* IV 92f.; and *dsùd dumu nun làl-e šà-ba* *CT* 42 3 v 26, for which the late dupl. *SBH* 48 and 5R 1+ give also *dsù-ud-ág*, showing how unfamiliar the late scribes were with Sud's name. Both phrases belong to a standard litany found in several balags. I can offer no explanation for the repetition of the name in the same litany.

b) *dsùd dumu nun a^{urudu} sen-díli kù-ga* *TA*⁵ *VAS* 28 iv 9' with the syllabic dupl. *su-ud dumu nu-un e še-en-di-li kù [...]* *PBS* 10/2 13 r. 10, in a litany of the balag *zi-bu-ù zi-bu-ù*. The phrase is quoted in a širnamšub of Inanna: *dsùd AŠ a^{urudu} sen-díli kù-ga a-da-mìn mu-ne-ne* *CT* 42 13 35 (cf. *PAPS* 107, 503). The implications of "water of the holy washing bowl" are unknown, although a connection between Sud and water seems apparent in A 33632 quoted above; note also the refrain *bar a gá-gá* (or *a bar gá-gá*) at the beginning of *WVDOG* 43, 36, and the

4. Not an UGN text despite *OIP* 99 37; see Krecher, *BiOr*, 35, 156.

5. TA indicates repetition of the refrain in some OB tablets and thus its function is similar to (KI).MIN or to the blank spaces in later tablets.

relationship with the abzu in A 33632 and in *BA* 5 no. 1b 18, and dupl.: ^dsùd dumu nun abzu dūr-(ra nam-mi-gub).

1.1.4. *Enlil*. The god of Nippur who marries Sud. 1.1.5. *Nuska*. Enlil's adviser and representative (sukkal), he acts as emissary.

1.1.6. *Aruru/Ninmah*. Sister of Enlil, she is a mother goddess whose name is sometimes applied metonymically to other female deities with childbearing functions. Nidaba, for instance, is called ^da-ru-ru kalam-ma "the A. of the land" in a hymn (*CRR* 17 124:8); see line 152.

1.1.7. *Ašnan* is the personification of grain. In earlier texts Ašnan plays an active role in the mythology; later on, as shown by the Debate between Laḥar and Ašnan, she is simply a divine hypostasis of grain. The former role is exemplified by the myth *OIP* 99 283 (with numerous dupls. in the same volume), which deals with, among other topics, her seven sons (of which no trace is found in the later mythology). Note also her inclusion in the Zà-mì Hymns (102f.). The god lists fail to give a clear picture of Ašnan's ancestry. In the Debate between Laḥar and Ašnan, Ašnan comes out from among the gods but it is not obvious how. In the present tale, it would seem that Ašnan is identified with Nidaba II and thus is the offspring of Enlil and Ninlil-Sud. See remarks to line 157.

1.1.8. Other deities playing secondary roles are: a) En-bàd-tibira^{ki}, spelled here en-ba-tibira (line 153), practically unknown, possibly identical with the lugal-bàd-tibira^{ki} of An = *anum* VI 68.⁶ Perhaps more relevant are the names ^dtibira kalam-ma and ^dtibira dingir-re-ne given to Aruru in An = *anum* II 26f. See commentary to line 153. b) Iškur, the weather god that waters the crops.

1.2. Geographic Setting

The geographic frame does not play any significant role in the story and no special passage is devoted to its presentation. Shifts in locale are handled implicitly or as a matter of fact. The action takes place in Nippur, Enlil's town, and Ereš, mostly in the second locality. The reading of the town's name is given as e-re-eš (Diri IV 70; Hg B to Hh XX-XXII 27), e-reš (Aa VII/4:95), or [e-ri-i]š (Ea VII iv 21'). The earliest mention of the town is in the list of geographic names *OIP* 99 21 i 7 = *WVDOG* 43, 23 i 7 = *UET* 7 80 i 8. The archaic Uruk recension of this list (cf. *JNES* 36, 293f.) already includes Ereš (M. W. Green, personal communication). An Abū Šalābīkh administrative text in extremely poor condition (*OIP* 99 505) lists amounts of še GĀN PAD gu r for different people; the last name is lugal éreš^{ki}. In the same place and period, Ereš is mentioned in the Zà-mì Hymns (line 89) as Nidaba's home town. It is infrequently found in ED and Sargonic times, mostly in Nippur texts and in personal names (see simply *Rép. Géog.* 1, 49 s.v.). The temple hymn no. 42 (*TCS* 3 46f.) is dedicated to the Ezagin temple in Ereš. In the Ur III period an ensi of Ereš is mentioned in a transaction that takes place in Nippur, dealing with a large amount of grain, in the 36th year of Šulgi (*Atiqot* 4, 52), From the fourth month of the following year we have the inventories from two temples in Ereš: the temple of Ninḫursag (A 5834) and the one of Ninegal (*YOS* 4 296). Both texts mention Ur-din-mug as the ensi. After this date, no more is heard of Ereš during that period. The inventories and the amount of grain could point to some critical situation, whether due to economic or military causes we cannot tell, that ended the history of the town. In the 15th year of

6. *CT* 15 18:8 does not refer to this deity, as proposed by Tallqvist, *AGE* 351. The passage should be translated "The lord no longer inhabits (the town) of Badtibira"; b à d - t i b i r a^{ki} is in the locative, not genitive case.

Sinmuballit (1797 B.C.), the year formula commemorates the building of the walls of Ereš, possibly a reconstruction attempt, unsuccessful in all likelihood. In literary texts, Ereš plays an important role in one of the episodes of the tale of Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna (lines 170ff.; ed. by A. Berlin, 1979) as Nidaba's city and home of the old woman Sagburru. Ereš is called in this tale *ur u^{ki} ul* "an ancient town" (line 253) and "city beloved by Ninlil" (ibid.). Otherwise, it is only occasionally mentioned in connection with Nidaba (*CCRA* 17 125:33; *ISCT* 1 162:5; *CT* 44 18 r.i' 18'; N 4196 r. 2'). R. D. Biggs (*OIP* 99, 24) and N. Postgate (*Iraq* 38, 160f.) have suggested that Abū-Šalābīkh is a good candidate for Ereš. For another suggestion, Ġarin between Šuruppak and Uruk, see Th. Jacobsen, *Iraq* 22, 176. Nothing definitive can be said with the information now available. If the *g ú - e/g ú - ri/g ú - š e* deictic system is based on river orientation, line 70 = 99 could indicate that Nippur and Ereš were on opposite banks of the Euphrates, a not too helpful detail.

1.3. *Structure of the Tale*

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1.1.5. Sud grows into womanhood.....	5-8

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1.2.2. Journey in search of a wife	11-12
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2.1.1. Enlil's proposal	14-16
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2.2.1. Enlil's proposal	22-25
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3.1. Sending of emissary to the mother

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(short gap)

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1.4. *Themes and Motifs*

1.4.1. Underlying the tale is the syncretistic theme of the identification of Sud, an Ereš deity, with Ninlil, Enlil's consort in Nippur. It contains, no doubt, the solution to some conflict between local pantheons whose nature is not apparent from the extant religious texts and that goes back to prehistoric times. It is possible too that the existence of two Nidaba's may have been a theological conflict of long

standing. Our tale provides a solution, while the late list An=*anum* provides a different one (see 1.1.1). Besides the theme of the birth of a deity, one can point out other familiar themes such as the divine journey, the allotment of duties and powers among deities, Enlil's supremacy, etc. It is not possible to present here an analysis of the various motifs interwoven with the general plot of a marriage between deities, but some of these motifs require at least a brief comment.

1.4.2. The straightforward marriage plot is complicated by a case of mistaken identity. Enlil finding Sud “standing in the street” (sila-a gub-ba) mistakes her for a prostitute. Nowhere are we explicitly told that Sud is taken for a kar-kid, but the expression sila-a gub-ba,⁷ the way she is treated by Enlil, and the repeated use of the verb šu—kár “to smear the reputation”⁸ as well as the need for the insult to be corrected by marriage, leave no doubt that Enlil took her for a lady of the street.

1.4.3. A second motif is the carrying of gifts with the left hand. Nuska is instructed by Enlil (line 42) as follows: “do not go to her (i.e., Sud) empty-handed, take her a treasure with your left hand.” Complying with these instructions, “the emissary opened his left hand and gave her the treasure” (line 38). This motif does not seem to be attested in Mesopotamian narrative texts, but there are inklings in didactic texts about beliefs associated with the use of different hands.

The term for “left hand” used here is šu ki-ta “lower hand” instead of the regular šu gùb-bu. This term and its expected counterpart šu an-ta, or šu an-na, seem to be restricted to side designations with ethical implications as shown by the following passages:

a) *STT* 398 side b ii' 4' ff. (Group Voc., unidentified):

á zi-da	“right side/arm”
šu an-na	“upper hand”
šu *gu ₇ (text NAG)	“eating hand”
á gùb-bu	“left side/arm”
šu ki-ta	“lower hand.”

The Akkadian translation is broken away but the meanings are clear.

b) *ZA* 6 243:38 (Commentary to an unidentified text): ŠU^{II} AN.TA *im-na* : ŠU^{II} *šap-lit* : *šu-me-lu*.

c) *CT* 24 24:44f. (Group Voc. appended to a copy of An=*Anum*):

[(x) š]u an-ta	= <i>i-mit-tu</i>
[(x) š]u ki-ta	= <i>šu-me-lu</i> .

d) *RA* 17 121 ii 13' ff. (Bilingual religious instructions):

ninda gur ₄ -ra kíd tur-bi ú maḥ-a	<i>in e-pe-e qir-[ša (or kir-ša) šuḥ-ḫi-ir]</i>
šu an-ta-zu ul ₄ -bí-íb	<i>ak-la ru-ub-[bi]</i>
šu ki-a(for-ta)-zu	<i>im-nu-uk šu-uḥ-[miṭ]</i>

7. See remarks to line 15.

8. The translation *tuppulu* of šu—kár “to dirty one's reputation, to soil someone (physically)” is now firmly established (OB Lu A 333; C3 16; D 241; Antagal C 232; cf. Antagal e i 10' ff. and Erimhus VI 202), and confirmed by šu-kár—ak=*hesû* C (OB Lu D 12). My translation in *JNES* 26 205, as well as the proposals of Wilcke, *JNES* 27 237 n.16 and Sjöberg, *JCS* 25 132 are to be modified accordingly. Note that *UET* 6 275 has šu—kar and not šu—kár as stated in the last two contributions. See also F. R. Kraus's discussion of the derived *tupullû* in *RA* 64, 145.

g ú - g í d - d a a k - a b

ka-bit-tuk it-[...].

“In baking, make the dough compact, the loaves large. Be quick with your right hand, [keep away(?)] your left”⁹

In the ritual position of prayer seen, for instance, in Gudea statues, the right hand is on top and the left underneath. It seems preferable, however, to seek the origin of this terminology in the “good manners” dictated by traditional taboos. From the references a) and d), above, it appears that the rule, traditional in the Near East, that food be eaten only with the right hand was already operative in the old days. The concept of the pure right and the impure left is further illustrated by Antagal C 240ff.:

[š u] s i l i g (for z a l a g)	= ŠU KÙ-tum	“pure hand”
[š u] s i l i g - g a	= im-nu	“right hand”
[š u] n í g - g i g	= ŠU ma-ru-uš-tum	“bad hand, taboo hand”
[š u] n í g - g i g - g a	= šu-me-lu	“left hand.”

In the context of the tale, the nature of the present, called “treasure” (g i₁₆ - s a), is unknown. It may have been described in the missing parts of lines 85f. or it may have simply been left unspecified as something well-known to the audience. In any case, it is different from the bridal gifts described in lines 104ff., and it does not seem to have been anything edible. I would surmise that Enlil persists in believing that Sud is a prostitute and therefore the presents given to her, an impure person, have to be offered with the left hand. There seems to be no Mesopotamian evidence for other implications of the use of the left hand found in other cultures, such as secrecy or ruse; it would be rash to exclude them a priori from our tale, but I believe that the interpretation proposed above is sufficient.

2. Sources

2.1. Nippur

- A 3N-T150 = UM 55-21-265 1-44.
One-column tablet (lines 1-44), complete. From TA 181 X 4.
- B 3N-T371 = IM 58450 (cast and photo) 1-20, 27-30.
One-column tablet (lines 1-30), damaged, with several fragments incorrectly glued together. From TA 205 XI 2, wall 4.
- C Ni 4412* (*ISCT* 1 93) + Ni 4477* (*ISCT* I 96 and unpubl. copy by Kramer; photo) 11-19, 34-49, 58.
Fragment from the middle of a one-column tablet (lines 1-58?).
- C₁ CBS 3956 (*STVC* 112) 14-19, ...?
Very small center fragment.
- D N 2431* 33-44.
Small fragment, obverse. MB?

9. Note that the Sumerian and Akkadian lines do not correspond one-to-one. One could restore *it-[id]* “watch,” with a more general meaning.

E	UM 29-15-255B	36-48, 57-71.
	One-column tablet (lines 36-71), lower edge missing, reverse heavily damaged.	
F	N 2203*	39-40, 60-63.
	Small fragment, MB. Irregular text: line 40 is followed immediately by 60ff.	
G	UM 29-13-495	40.
	One-line MB oblong exercise tablet.	
H	3N-T902, 91 (<i>SLFN</i> pl. 2)	57-64, 81-84.
	Upper fragment from a one-column tablet (lines 57-84). From TA 205 XI 2.	
I	3N-T503 = IM 58526 (cast)	65-86.
	Lower half of a one-column tablet. From TA 205 XI 2.	
I ₁	N 2690	67-70, 77-79.
	Left edge fragment from a one-column tablet.	
J	UM 29-13-345	70=100.
	One-line MB oblong exercise tablet.	
K	3N-T903, 107 (<i>SLFN</i> pl. 2)	72-78, 84-88.
	Right side fragment from a one-column tablet, near the bottom. From TA 205 XI 2.	
L	3N-T385 = A 30229	88-110, 117-51, 154-67?.
	Lower right third of a two-column tablet. From TA 205 XI 1.	
M	3N-T476 = IM 58506	89-95, 110-18.
	Upper left corner of a one-column tablet (lines 89-118). From TA 205 XI 2.	
N	3N-T902, 99 (<i>SLFN</i> pl. 1)	96-102, 104-06.
	Center fragment of a one-column tablet, near the bottom. Compatible with source M. From TA 205 XI 2.	
O	N 2692*	81-84.
	Very small fragment, probably obverse.	
P	UM 29-16-483*	108-16. 157-64.
	Center fragment from the reverse of a two-column tablet.	
Q	CBS 13104 (<i>HAV</i> 16)	157-73, 175.
	One-column tablet (lines 157-end), lower right corner missing.	
R	N 3035	14-19, 34-41.
	Fragment from a one-column tablet.	

2.2. Susa

S ₁	Sb 12521 (copy of obv. by M. Lambert, ¹⁰ photo. coll.)	60-74, 92-113.
	Large fragment from a one-column tablet. Ten-line marks.	

10. These tablets are part of a group of Sumerian literary tablets from Susa whose join edition by M. Lambert and myself, finished shortly before his death, will appear in the near future. It will include copies of sources S₁ and S₂.

S₂ Sb 12361 (copy by M. Lambert. photo, coll.) 143-77.
 Oblong tablet, practically complete.

2.3. *Origin unknown (Sippar?)*

T VAT 1352 (*VAS* 10 177) 28-46, 95-99, 138-58.
 Lower left corner of a two-column tablet (despite Zimmern's remarks in *VAS* 10 p. x), very poorly preserved. Not collated.¹¹ Number of lines (46) at the bottom of col. i.

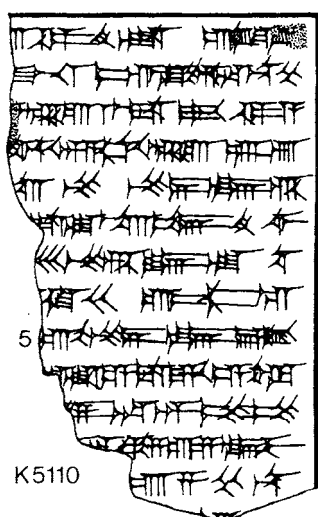


Plate 1.

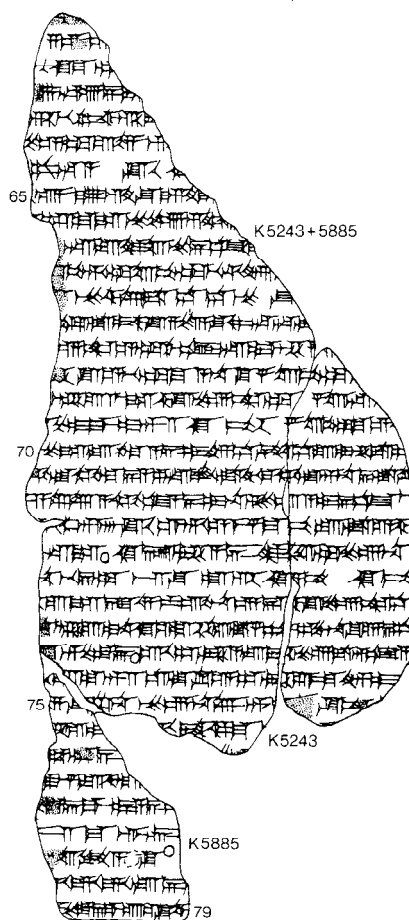


Plate 2.



Plate 3.

11. Dr. E. Klengel kindly tells me that "die Tafel durch Salz zerstört ist und leider auch keine Photonegativ van ihr existiert" (letter of 10/9/74).

2.4. *Neo-Assyrian*

- U K 5110* (copy by W. G. Lambert, pl. 1) 1-7.
 Upper right corner of a one-column tablet, bilingual.
- V₁ *STT* 151 (+)
- V₂ *STT* 152 +
- V₃ *STT* 153 (+)
- V₄ *STT* 154 7-13, 15-51.
 One-column tablet with a max. of 57 lines (colophon included), with the upper and lower edges missing, bilingual. V₂ and V₃ join immediately (rev.) and join back-to-back V₄ (obv.). This source is simply designated as V in the critical apparatus.
- W K 5243 + K 5885* (copy by W. G. Lambert, pl. 2) 68-75.
 Large fragment from the obverse of a one-column tablet, bilingual.
- X K 17725* (copy by W. G. Lambert, pl. 3) 69-72.
 Very small fragment, only Sumerian as far as it is preserved.

The Neo-Assyrian version was divided into three tablets. Sources U and V belong to the first tablet. W and X to the second. Nothing has been recovered from the third tablet. No colophons have been preserved to confirm this division. Note that source C ends and H begins at the hypothetic cutoff point between the NA tablets I and II, while other sources, for instance E, straddle this point.

[In the preparation of the edition, the originals of the Nippur tablets have been used, unless stated otherwise. The Susa tablets have been collated by me. I have relied on copies for the NA texts and for source T.]

2.5 *Remarks on the Present Edition*

The Nippur sources are combined in a single line since their variants are mostly of a secondary orthographic nature. Where source T differs appreciably from the Nippur text, it is presented separately. The Susa and NA recensions always rate a separate line.

Among the many important questions that are not discussed because of lack of space, that of the differences between recensions is the most important. The NA recension, particularly the Sultantepe tablet (source V), has many morphological and syntactic errors which, for the most part, are not pointed out specifically. Note that in line 22 the scribe erroneously reverses interlocutors.

The translation may be considered too free by many colleagues. I consider it unfortunate that the common practice, used for most exotic languages, of giving first a morpheme by morpheme translation and then a current translation that respects the syntax and idioms of the target language has never gained currency in Sumerological work.

The translation follows, wherever possible, the Nippur recension. When this recension is not available or is incompletely preserved, the source that seems to fit better the plot has been followed.

3. Text

1	[x x x x zi-d]è-eš ġar-ra u ₆ -di ħi-l i ġur-ru [] 'u ₆ '-di ħi-li ġur-ru [á]š-bat ana tab-rat ku-uz-ba na-šat	AB U
2	[x] x x' dumu nun a-ba e-ne-ġin ₇ an ^d en-líl-da zag-du [] a]n ^d en-líl-la-da zag-di-a [i]t-ti ^d a-nim u ^d en-líl šit-nun	AB U
3	[x x x ħa]-ià a kù-ga 'šà-ga ¹ mu-ni-in-ri [] šà-mu mu-ni-in-ri [el]-le-tu ina ŠÀ-bi ir-ġe-ši	AB U
4	[x x x] 'd' nun-bar-še-gu-nu 'zi'-[dè-e]š mu-ni-in-tu-ud [] -eš mu-ri-in-tu-ud [] ki-niš ú-lid-si	AB U
5	[x x] 'x' -na mu-ni-in-bùluġ 'ubur ga dùġ' mi-ni-in-ġu ₇ [dùġ]-ga mu-ni-in-sub _x (DAG.KISIM ₅ ×GA) [t]u-le-e ġa-biš e-niq	AB U
6	[x x k]i sikil-la ba-ġur ₄ -ġur ₄ ħi-li ma-az ba-an-d[u ₈ -du ₈] ¹ [-a]z ba-an-du ₈ -du ₈ [ku-uz-b]a ul-ša ú-za-in-ši	AB U
7	[x x] 'x' 'd' nidaba-'ka'-ke ₄ ká é-za-ġin-na [] é-za-ġin-na (traces)	AB U
8	[x] 'x x' áb maġ sig ₇ -ga-'ġin ₇ ' u ₆ -e àm-ma-gub [] 'maġ sig ₇ ' [] lit-ti šir-ti 'x'[]	AB V
9	'u ₄ '-ba ^d en-líl'-le é-kur-ra dam nu-mu-na-ba-àm ['d]n-líl-lá-ra é-kur-ta [] [] a-na ^d en-líl ina É.KUR áš-[šá-ta]	AB V
10	^d nin-líl-le mu-ni ki-ùr-ra pa [nu-u]m-mi-in ¹ -è-àm []-líl-lá mu-ne é-ki-ùr-ta [] [] i-na É.KI.ÙR šum-šá []	AB V
11	zag an-ki ki-en-ġi níġin-na-ba igi 'x' [x n]a-me saġ [m]i-[ni]-'ib'-í[l] [] ki-i-in-ġi níġin-na-šè ugu na-me ġú [] [] u KI-tim a-na nap-ġar ma-a-ti []	AB V
12	kur-gal ^d en-líl-le kalam kin-kin-da-ni éreš ^{ki} -a ¹ b[í?-(in)]-gub [-lí]l-lá kalam kin-kin-na-šè éreš ^{ki} [] [] ra-bu-ú ^d MIN ma-a-tum ina si-te-'-[i-šu]	ABC V
12a	[t]illa ₄ nir-ġál-bi [] [] su-la-a e-te[l-liš]	V
13	igi i ¹ -ni-in-bar munus šà-ga-na-ke ₄ im-ma-ni-in-p[à-d]è [] 'šà-ga'. []	ABC V

14	mu-un ¹ -na-te šà-húl-la diri-na inim mu-un-da-bal-e ²	ABCC ₁
15	^{tùg} pàla ¹ nam-nin-a ga-ba-ab ² -du ₇ -un e-sír-ra un-gub-bu ba-[x] (traces)	ABCC ₁
16	nam-zil-zil á-šè nir im-te-ġál lú téš nu-tuku-tuku-un ¹ []-zu-šè nir im-[] [a-na du-m]uq-qí-ki ki-i tak-la-k[u]	ABCC ₁ V
17	^d sùd-e ^d en-líl-ra á nam-tur-ra-ta inim mu-na ¹ -ni-ib-ġi ₄ -ġi ₄ [^d s]ùd ^d en-líl-lá {KA} á nam-tur-ra-[ni-ta] [^d MIN] ana ^d en-líl a-na i-di meš-ġe-ru-ti-šá a-m[a-ta]	ABCC ₁ V
18	me-e ká-me-a še-er-ma-al-bi da-gub a-ba šu mu-un ¹ -kár-kár [] ká-me-ke ₄ nir-ġál-e ba-da-gub a-b[a] [a-na-k]u ina [b]a-bi-ni e-tel-liš az-za-az-zi man-nu []	ABCC ₁ V
19	za-e ta-z[u i-bi(?) m]u-ma-al ta ¹ -aš ġú-uš ² im ³ -di-di-in []-zu ne-a [x-z]u mi-ni-in-ġál ugu-ġu ₁₀ -[] at-t[a] re'-ka-a []-ka šá-kin-ma a-na[]	ABC V
20	[] b]í-ib-lá ¹ i-bí-ġu ₁₀ -ta šul [x] 'x'-a K[A x b]í-in-lá ig[i] 'eṭ-lu' [] (traces) 'um x' []	ABC V
21	[] a]-ša-an-ġar mu-'un'-ak-ne mürġu mu-un-na-ne ¹ [] a-š]a-aš-a-an-ġar mu-un-'x-x' [] b]í-in-si-eš [] 'x' um-mi-ia ú-šam-ġa-'ru' l[i-ib-b]a-te-ia i-ma-al-lu-u	AC V
22	[mìn-kam-ma-šè ^d en-líl-le ^d s]ùd m[u-un]-na-ni-ib-ġi ₄ -ġi ₄ [^d]sùd ^d en-líl-là-ra ġù mu-u[n-n]a-dé-e šá-niš ^d MIN ana ^d MIN i-šas-si	A V
23	[]-b]é mu-na-da-gub-àm [i-ġi-in-z]u 'inim' mu-un-na-ab-bé mu-un-na-an-d[a-gub]-ba tu-šá-ma a-ma-ta i-qab-bi-ši it-ta-zis-si	A V
24	'ġen' ² ga-ra-ab-dug ₄ inim mu-'un'-da-bal-en nitlam-ġu ₁₀ ġé-me-en []-r]a-ab-dug ₄ inim mu-un-d[a-]-e nitlam-ġu ₁₀ ġé-me-en [] lu-uq-bi-ki šá a-ta-mu-[ú] ġi-ir-ti-ma-an at-ti	A V
25	ne su-ub-ma-ab nin ₉ igi sag ₉ -sag ₉ -ġu ₁₀ ur ₅ šu-zu-šè na-nam [ne] su-ub-ba-ab nin igi sig ₇ -ga [u]r ₅ šu-zu ġé-na-ġál [iš-q]in-ni a-ġa-ti šá pa-nu-šá dam-[qu š]u-ú ġi-mil-la-ki	A V
26	inim ka-ka-na nu-um-ma-ra-è igi-ni-šè é-a ba-ku ₄ [ini]m ka-ka-na nu-um-ma-ra-[è i]ġi-a-ni-šè é-a ba-an-ku ₉ [a-ma]-tum i-na pi-i-šú ul u-ša-[a ana pa]-ni-šú a-na É i-te-ru-ub	A V
27	en gal-an-zu šà ní-te-na-ka dum-dam mu-un-da-ab ¹ -za [en g]al-an-zu šà ní-te-en-na-k[a ¹] mu-un-da-ab-za [be-lu]m mu-du-ú ina ŠA-bi ra-ma-ni-š[u ri(?)]-im-ma uḫ-taš-ša-ši	AB V
28	ġù ba-an-dé u ₄ -ul a-ra-zu ^d nuska á-ba mu-un-da-âġ-e [ġù b]a-an-dé-e ul-la a-ra-zu ^d nus[ka x-d]a á mu-un-da-an-âġ [] a]n-ni téš-li-tu ^d nuska [] ú-ma-'ár	ABT V

29	ga-e-gi ₄ éreš ^{ki} uru ^d nidaba-šè uru ¹ ki-ùr maḥ-bi ² [] ereš ^{ki} uru ^d nidaba ur[u ki]-ùr maḥ ³ -b[i]-im [] <i>ana e-reš URU šá^d NIN. PI. [šá du]-ru-uš-šu-šu ši-i-ru</i>	ABT V
30	nam-ba-ra-gi ₄ -dè-en ¹ níĝ a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-ĝu ₁₀ ² e-ne-er ¹ ù'-ne-dè-daḥ [-g]i ₍₄₎ -e-dè-en níĝ a-ra-ab'-b[é]-en-na-ĝu ₁₀ e'-ne-er ù-mu-e'-[daḥ] <i>[la tap-p]a-rak-ki šá a-qab-b[u- k]a a-na šá-a-šá [šu]-un-ni-šim'-m[a]</i>	ABT V
31	ĝuruš-me-en igi-íl-la-ĝu ₁₀ -dè mu-e-ši-in-gi ₄ -i[n] [ĝuruš-m]e-en igi-íl-la-[ĝ]u ₁₀ -dè {er} lú m[u-š]i-ib-gi ₄ -gi ₄ <i>[eṭ-lu a-n]a-ku a-na í[L i]-ni-ia áš-pu-rak-ki</i>	AT V
32	dumu-munus-zu nam-dam-šè ga-tuku gi-na-zu šúm-[ma-ab] []-dam-šè ga-tuku gi-na'-zu šúm-ma-ab <i>ma-rat-k[i] a-na áš-šu-ti lu-ḥu-uz [ki]t-t[a]-ki id-din</i>	AT V
33	mu-pà-da-ĝu ₁₀ ga-mu-ra-ab-íl níĝ-dé-a'-[ĝu ₁₀] [g]a-mu-ra-ab-íl [ní]ĝ-i-dé-a-ĝu ₁₀ šu te-ma-ab <i>a-n[a] zi-kir šu-m[i]-ia lu-uš-ši-ki-im-ma bi-ib-la muḥ-rin-ni</i>	ADT V
34	^d en-líl-me-en pa-bíl-ga ¹ ù-tu ² -da an-šár maḥ-[di e]n an-ki-a'-[me-en] [-e]n pa-bíl-ĝu ₁₀ ù-tu-ud-da an-šár maḥ-di en an-ki-a-me-en [pī]-ri- 'i i-lit-[ti] 'AN.ŠÁR ¹ ti-iš-qa-ru be-el AN-e u KI-tim a-na-ku	ADTR V
35	[(x) d]umu-zu ¹ mu-ni ^d nin-líl hé-im kur-kur hé-im-me-KAS ₄ ² [-z]u mu-ni ^d [nin-lí]l hé-im kur-kur-ra hé-im-mi-in-dug ₄ []-tu šum-šá ^d [nin]-líl-ma ma-ta-a-tum liq-ba-a-ši	ADTR V
36	ĝá-ĝeš-šú-a nam-èrim-na-šè sag-e-eš ga-na-rig ₇ [na]m-èrim-na-[šè] sag-ge-e-eš ga-an-na-rig ₇ -g[a] <i>[MIN ana i]-ši-it-ti a-na [š]i-rik-ti lu-uš-ruk-ši</i>	ADETR V
37	ki-ùr-ra ¹ ama ₅ ki-áĝ-ĝá-ni-šè níĝ-ba-aš ga-na-an-ba [a]ma ₅ ki-áĝ-ĝá-a-ni-šè níĝ-ba-aš ga-an-na-an-ba <i>[É.KI].ÙR maš-tak na-'ra'-mi-ia a-na qiš-t[i] lu-qí-is-si</i>	ADETR V
38	é-kur bára-maḥ-ĝá ¹ ḥu-mu-da-an-tuš ² nam hé-im-mi-ib ³ -tar-re é-kur bára-maḥ-ĝu ₁₀ ki-ĝu ₁₀ ḥu-[]-ni-ib-tar-re <i>i-na É.KUR pa-rak-ki-ia ši-ri [(traces) ší]-ma-a-ti -šim</i>	ADETR V
39	^d a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne-er ¹ me hé-im-mi-ib ² -ḫal-ḫa ^d a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-la-e-ne-er me ḥ[é-š]i-in-ḫal-ḫal <i>ana^d a-nun-na-ki DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ par-ši li-za-'iz</i>	ACDEFTR V
40	ù za ¹ -ra zi sag-gi ₆ -ga ² šu-zu-šè ga-mu-u ₈ ³ -ĝar ù za-ra zi sag-gi ₆ -ga šu-zu-šè ga-mu-un-ĝál <i>ka-a-ti nap-šat šal-mat qaq-qa-di ana qa-t[i-ki lup-qí-i]d</i>	ACDEFGTR V
41	du-a ¹ -zu-dè munus ḥi-li-a ² pà-da-ĝu ₁₀ ama-a ³ -ni ḥa-ra-ra ⁴ -ab-lá-e ĝen-na-zu-dè munus ḥi-li pà-da-ĝu ₁₀ ama-a-ni ḥa-[] <i>ina a-la-ki-ka sin-niš-tú šá ina ku-uz-bi a-ta-tu um-m[a]</i>	ACDETR V
42	sù-ga nam ¹ -ši-du-un šu ki-ta-za ² gi ₁₆ -sa de ₆ -an ³ -na sù-ud-bi na-an-ši-du-un šu ki-ta-zu gi ₁₆ -sa []	ACDET V

	<i>ri-qiš la ta-lak-ši ina š[u-me]l-ti-ka []</i>	
43	u ₄ na-àm ¹ -zal-zal-e-en ² ul ₄ -la-bi inim-ma ³ -ni gur-ma-ab ⁴ u ₄ na-an-zal-e ul ₄ -la-bi inim-m[a-ni]-ra-ab <i>l[a]</i>	ACDET V
44	ukkingal ^d nuska á-ág-â-â ^d en-líl-la ¹ šu ba-an ² -ti-a-ta ukkingal ^d nus[ka]	ACDET V
45	u ₄ x x ¹ nam-zal ¹ éreš ^{ki} -šè ² ġir-ni ³ na-àm-mi ⁴ -gub []-in-[] []-ta-[]	CET V
46	é-za-gìn ki-tuš ^d nanibgal-šè ¹ mu-na-da-an-ku ₄ -ku ₄ ² [] [ana É]. ^r ZA.GÌN ^r šu-bat ^d MIN i-ru-um-[ma]	CET V
47	[x x] x ¹ zi ^d nanibgal bára ^r -ga-na ki mu-na-ni-ib-za []k]i-a mu-un-ni-ib-za []p]a-rak-ki-šá uš-te-ke-ni	CE V
48	[x x ^d en-]íl-lá-ka [x-x]-x ^r -gub èn mu-mu-ni-ib- ^r tar-tar ^r -[re] []m]u-ra-an-tar-tar-re <i>iz-ziz-ma šU² ^rdEN.LÍL.LÁ x^r []</i>	CE V
49	[]a-na a ^r -[] []é ^r -kur-ra a-na a x x ^r [] []x ^r -e-nu šá É.KUR []	C V
50	[]ma]h-mu-a igi in-[]	V
51	[]en-na m[u-	V
52	[]	
53	[]	
54	[]	
55	[]	
56	[]	
57	[]KA x ^r []	EH
58	[]g]a ¹ KA [()] ^d sùd lá-a ma-ra-ab-[x]	CEH
59	níġ ma ^r -[ab-bé-en]-na-zu de ₆ -ma-ab x ^r [] x ^r -ab-gi ₄	EH
60	in-ga-[n]a ¹ -daġ ^d nanibgal sukkal-ra ² inim m[u-na-a]b-sag ₉ -sag ₉ ³ ^d nidaba [] inim mu-un-x ^r -[]	EFH S ₁
61	ad-gi ₄ -gi ₄ lugal-bi-ir túm- ^r ma [?] igi-níġin mùš nu-túm-mu ^r ad ^r -[]-ma [?] ig[i]	EFH S ₁
62	a-ba za ¹ -gin ₇ kur-gal-da u ₄ -da šà-kúš-ù a-[] [a-ba] za-e-k[e ₄] [man]-nu ki-ma k[a-a-ti]	EFH S ₁ W
63	kin lug[al] šubur bí-in-dab ₅ -ba me ¹ a-na a-da-mìn i-ak ki[n]-aš a ^r da ^r -[]-e [kin l]ugal šubur NI-d[a]	EFH S ₁ W

	[šip]-ri be-lum ar-d[a-tú]	
64	[níĝ mu-e-dug ₄ -ga-z]a gi-na ʿhélʿ-[im níĝ-lul nam-me-a]	H
	níĝ []-lul-[la] nam-me-a	S ₁
	[níĝ m]u-e-dug ₄ -ga-za g[i-na]	W
	[šá] taq-ba-a lu-u k[i-in]	
65	[maḥ diri lú šu-gi ₄ -gi ₄ n a-b]a ḥul [ba-an-gig]	I
	[] a-ba ḥul ʿbaʿ-[]	S ₁
	[ma]ḥ diri lú gi šu-gi ₄ -g[i ₄]	W
	[š]i-ra at-ra mu-ter gi-mil-l[i]	
66	[ur ₅ ša mu-ni-in-ḥú]l ga-nam i-[UD bí-dug ₄]	I
	[]-UD b[i-]	S ₁
	[(x) x é]-zu-ta ur ₅ ša mu-ni-ib-ḥú[l]	W
	[x]-ʿxʿ bi-ti-ka šá-bi ka-bat-ti iḥ-d[u]	
67	níĝ-dé-ʿaʿ mu-pà-da de ₆ -de ₆ -d]a šu-kár i[m-ma-ab-gi ₄ -gi ₄]	I I ₁
	[]-gi ₄ -gi ₄	S ₁
	níĝ-dé]-ʿaʿ mu-pà-da túm-túm-mu šu-[]	W
	[i-na b]i-ib-li-i ù za-kar šu-mi ba-ba-l[i]	
68	ù-n[a-dug ₄] ʿušbarʿ-ĝu ₁₀ hé-me-en níĝ ša-za ak [e-še]	EI I ₁
	[]-zu ak-a e-še	S ₁
	[ù-mu]-un-ne-e-dug ₄ SAL.ušbar ₆ -zu hé-me-en ʿníĝ šaʿ-[]	W
	[qí-b]i-šú lu e-met-ka-ma a-na-ku šá šá-bi-ka-m[a]	
69	kur-gal ^[d] en-líl-ʿraʿ ù-na-a-dug ₄ níĝ ša-za ak e-še	EI I ₁
	[]-zu []	S ₁
	[kur-gal] ^d en-líl-lá-ra ù-mu-un-ne-dug ₄ níĝ ša-za a[k]	WX
	[a-n]a KUR-i GAL-i ^d MIN qí-bi-šú šá šá-bi-ka-ma e-[pu-uš]	
70	gú-ri-ta nin ₉ -a-ni hé-en-ĝen gú-e-ta hé-en-da-ĝen	EI I ₁ J
	[]-t]a ʿhé-imʿ-ši-ĝen	S ₁
	[gú]-še-ra-ta nin ₉ -a-ni hé-im ¹ -ĝen gú-e ² -ta hé-en-da-a[b-x]	WX
	[u]l-tu ul-la-ni a-ḥat-su lil-li-kam-ma ul-tu an-na-ni li-r[u-ub]	
71	[^d a]-ru-ru e-ri-ib-a-ni na-nam é hé-n[a]-ra-ab-lá-lá	EI
	[]-d]a-ab-lá-e	S ₁
	^d a-ru-ru a-ru ₅ -ib-a-ni hé-na-nam é-a hé-ni-ib-lá-[]	WX
	^[d] beʿ-let DINGIR.MEŠ lu-u mar-ti e-me-šá-ma bi-ta li-kal-lim-[ši]	
72	[lugal-zu-úr ki-ùr maḥ]-a-ni ur ₅ -gin ₇ dug ₄ -mu-na-ab	IK
	[] dug ₄ -mu-na-ab	S ₁
	[en]-zu-ra ki-ùr maḥ-a-ni ur ₅ -gin ₇ dug ₄ -mu-un-na-[ab]	WX
	[a-n]a be-lí-ka ina MIN-šú ši-ri ki-a-am qí-bi-š[um]	
73	[^d en-líl-ra itima kù si(?)]-ga-n]a ù-ga-na-dè-daḥ	IK
	[]-d]è-daḥ	S ₁
	[^d e]n-líl-ra itima kù siĝ-ga-na un-ĝá ù-mu-un-ne-DU-ʿxʿ	WX
	[a-n]a ^d en-líl i-na ki-iš-ši-šú el-li šá-qum-[m]e ap-pu-na šu-un-ni-šum-m[a]	
74	[]-ra á mu-da-an-áĝ-ʿtaʿ	IK

	[]- ^r áĝ ^r -e	S ₁
	[(x)] ^r x ^r ^d nidaba sukkal èš-maḥ-a-ta a mu-un-da-an-áĝ-a-t[a]	WX
	[ka]b- ^r ta ^r -at ^d MIN iš-tu suk-kal ÈŠ.MAH ù-ma- ^r i-[ru]	
75	[]-g]ub ^d nuska dūr bí-in-ĝar	IK
	[^{ĝeš} g]u-za šu-niĝin-na mu-un-na-šub ^d r nuska ¹ dūr bí-i[n-ĝar]	W
	[ku-u]s-si-i [mit-ḥar-t]i id-di-ma ^r d ^r [nuska]	
76	[^{ĝeš} ban]šur ^r kir ₄ ^r -zal-[]	W
	[pa]-áš-šur ta-ši-la- ^r a ^r -[ti]	
77	^d nanibgal [] gù mu]- ^r na ^r -an-dé na mu-ni-ib-de ₅ -ge	I I ₁ K
	[^d na]nibgal dumu-a-ni g[ù]	W
	[^d]MIN ma-rat-sa []	
78	lú tur-ĝu ₁₀ šà n[á k]ù-ga-zu ama ₅ dūg	I I ₁ K
	[dumu-ĝu ₁₀] šà ná-a KU []	W
	[mar-t]i qer-biš ta-ni-[il-]	
79	é-ĜÉŠTU. ^d NIDABA-ka-kam [] è-a-me-en	I I ₁
	[^d n]anibgal é-ĜÉŠTU.[^d NIDABA]	W
80	[] ^r x kin ^r -ti-la kù-zu gal-an-zu- ^r àm ^r	I
81	[x] ^r igi ^r -ni-šè na-an-DU-DU kaš dé-mu-na-ni-ib	HIO
82	[dug ₄ -g]a ama-na-šè šu bí-in-luḥ zabar šu-na bí-in-ĝar	HIO
83	[š u k]i-ta-ni sukkal mu-un-ši-in- ^r bar ^r ĝi ₁₆ -sa mu-na-an-šúm	HIO
84	[]- ^r x ^r -ka-ni níĝ-nam gar-gar igi-[ni]-šè mu-na-an ¹ -gub	HIKO
85	[] umbin níĝ-ba šu bí-in-ti	IK
86	[] nib]ru ^{ki} -šè ĝir ba-an-dab ₅	IK
87	[] ^r x ^r ^d en-líl-ra [ki] mu-un- ^r su ^r -ub ¹	KL
88	^r x x x-e [?] nin-ga[l] ^r x ^r -ni-in-dug ₄	KLM
89	á mu-da-áĝ-e []- ^r x ^r -gi ₄	LM
90	ad-gi ₄ -gi ₄ lugal-b[i-ir túm-ma igi-níĝin mù]š nu-túm-mu	LM
91	a-ba za-gin ₇ [kur-gal-da u ₄ -da šà]- ^r kúš ^r -ù	LM
	[]-d]a šà k[úš-]	S ₁
92	kin ^r lugal šubur ^r b[i-in-dab ₅ -ba me-e a-na a-da]-mìn ì-ak ¹	LM
	[] a-da-<mìn> ì-[]	S ₁
93	^r níĝ mu-e-dug ₄ -ga ^r -[za gi-na ḥé-i]m níĝ-lul nam-me-a	LM
	[]-im níĝ-lul-la nam-[me-a]	S ₁
94	^r maḥ ^r di[ri lú šu-gi ₄ -gi ₄ a-ba] ḥul ba-an-gig	LMT
	[]a-ba ḥul ba-an-gig	S ₁
95	^r x x ^r [u]r ₅ šà mu-[ni-in-ḥúl ga-nam ì]-UD bí-dug ₄	LNT
	[]n-húl ga-na ì-UD bí-dug ₄	S ₁
96	níĝ-dé mu-pà-da ¹ [de ₆ -de ₆ -da šu-kár i]m-ma-ab-gi ₄ -gi ₄	LNT
	[]d]é-dé-da šu-kár-bi ĝi ₄ -gi ₄	
97	ù-na-dug ₄ ùšbar-ĝu ₁₀ ḥé-[me-en níĝ šà]-za ka ¹ e-še	LNT
	[] ḥé-me-en níĝ šà-zu ak-a e-še	S ₁
98	kur-gal ^d en-líl-ra ù-[na-a-dug ₄ níĝ šà]-za ak e-še	LNT

	[]-na-a-dug ₄ níĝ šà-zu ak-a e-še	S ₁
99	[gú-r]i-ta nin ₉ -a-ni [hé-en-ĝen] gú-e-ta hé-im-ta-ĝen	LN
	[]-ri-ta' {a-ni} nin ₉ -a-ni hé-ĝen ki-bi ga-àm-ši-ĝen	S ₁
100	[^d a]-ru-ru e-ri-i[b-a-ni na-na]m é hé-na-ra-lá-lá-e	LN
	^d a-ru-ru SAL.UD-a-ni na-nam é hé-im-da-ab-lá-e	S ₁
101	[lugal-z]u-úr ki-ùr [maĥ]-a-ni-a ur ₅ -gin ₇ dug ₄ -mu-na-ab	LN
	lugal-zu ki-ùr maĥ-a-ni ur ₅ -gin ₇ dug ₄ -mu-na-ab	S ₁
102	[^d en-líl-ra itima kù si(?)]-ga-ni ù-ga-na-dè-daĥ	L
	^d en-líl-ra itima kù si-ga-ni ur ₅ -gin ₇ ù-ne-dè-daĥ	S ₁
103	[] ba-dùĝ ^d en-líl šà-ga-na ĥúl-ĥúl-e im-DU	LN
	su-na inim ba-dùĝ ^d en-líl šà-ga-a-ni ĥúl-ĥúl àm- ^r DU ^r	S ₁
104	[] saĝ mu-ni-íl kuš ₅ mu-tag-tag-ge	LN
	kur igi-nim-ma saĝ mi-ni-in-íl PIRIG mu-un-tag-tag-ge	S ₁
105	[x x máš-an]še <níĝ>-ùr-4-e edin ní-ba lu-a	L
	máš-anše níĝ-úr-4-e edin-na ní-ba lu-a	S ₁
106	[]-z]u ĥur-saĝ ĝál-la-ba šu im-ma-ni-tag	L
	šid nu-zu ĥur-saĝ íl-la-ta šu mu-tag-tag-ge	S ₁
107	am lu-lim am-si dāra maš-dà az šeg ₉ šeg ₉ -bar-ra	LP
	am lu-lim am-si dāra maš-dà az šeg ₉ šeg ₉ -bar-re	S ₁
108	su-a ka ₅ -a ¹ su ² -a-ri ur-šub ₅ udu-kur-ra áb-za-za ^{ugu} ugu ₄ -bi	LP
	su-a ka ₅ -a su-a-ri ur-šub ₅ udu-kur-ra áb-za ^{ugu} ugu ₄ -bi	S ₁
109	gud niga á gur-gur-ra 'gù-bi' bí-in-sì-'sì'	LP
	gud [gu]r ₄ -gur ₄ -ra gù-bi bí-in-za-za	S ₁
110	šílām amar-bi am si ĥal-ĥa sàm[an]	MP
	[] sàman za-gìn lá-lá	S ₁
111	u ₈ sila ₄ ùz máš zur-zur-re []	MP
	[]-r]a a-da-mìn ne e-ne []	S ₁
112	máš gal su ₆ -lá umbin súd-súd sila ₄ [?] 'x'	MP
	[] s]ud sila ₄ udu 'x' []	S ₁
113	udu nam-en-na-ba ₁ si ba-ni ² -in-sá ^d en-[líl éreš ^{ki} -šè]	MP
114	ga-àr gal-gal ga-àr gazi ga-àr tur-[tur]	MP
115	ga nunuz-te šeg ₆ -ĝá ga i-ti-ir-d[a]	MP
116	lāl ĥád lāl háb ku ₇ -ku ₇ -da ĤI [x] 'x x x' [()]	LM
117	[x x] 'x' gur-gur gal-bi s[i b]a-ni-sá ^d en-líl 'éreš ^{ki} [-šè]	LM
118	[x x] zú-lum ĝeš-pèš ^{ĝeš} nu-úr-ma gal ^{ĝeš} r ^x [-(x)]	L
119	^r ĝeš ^{mi} -par ₄ ^{ĝeš} sennur ^{ĝeš} ĥa-lu-úb ^{ĝeš} lam ^{ĝeš} al-la-nu-um'	L
120	zú-lum dilmun-na gur-da dab ₅ -ba an zú-lum za-gìn-na	L
121	^{ĝeš} nu-úr-ma gal pú-ta šu-su-ub-ba ^{ĝeš} geštin ga-ra-an gal nim	L
122	ĝeš kur gi-rin-na ^{ĝeš} šà- ^{ki} kiri ₆ ^{ĝeš} ĤI UD 'x' [] en-te-en-e gú-peš-a	L
123	gurun ^{ĝeš} kiri ₆ -a si ba-ni-in-sá ^d e[n-líl éreš ^{ki} -šè]	L
124	ĥa-šum ĥa-ra-li kur ki su[d] èrim-ma níĝ šà []	L
125	^{na} du ₈ -ši-a kù-sig ₁₇ kù-[babbar]	L

126	gú-un igi-nim-[ma ()]	L
127	gú-un dugud-da-bi si b[a-ni-in-sá] ^d en-líl ereš ^k [ⁱ -šè]	L
128	mu-pà-da eğer-bi níĝ laḫ ₄ -[] ^d nin-maḫ sukkal a- ^ʾ ab ^ʾ -[x]	L
129	saḫar ĝir-bi ^{IM} mùru šeĝ-ĝá-gin ₇ an-šà-ga i-ib-[ú]s	L
130	éreš ^{ki} -šè nam-mi-ni-in-tùm níĝ-dé-a gal-[ga]l ^d nanib[gal ()]	L
131	šà bar uru-ba im-mi-in- ^ʾ si ^ʾ -s[i ^ʾ] ^ʾ šu nam-peš-peš-d[am]	L
132	tak ₄ -tak ₄ -bi ĝir- ^ʾ bar ^ʾ -ra ^ʾ x ^ʾ [] kur-bi []	L
133	AN ^ʾ sig ₇ -ga x ^ʾ []	L
134	[]	L
135	ú. ^ʾ x ^ʾ [] BI []	L
136	ú.A ^ʾ x ^ʾ [] ^{túg} aktum [] ¹	L
137	ùšbar ^d en-líl-lá mu[nus] ^d ašnan []	L
	^ʾ ùšbar ^{bar?} ^d en-líl-le munus šu ba-kár-kár ^d nanibgal mí mu-un-e	T
138	[z]ur-ra-[-b]i mu-un-KU-[] [x] mu-[un-na]-an-DU-a-aš	L
	nin zur-zur-ra-ke ₄ mu-un-tak ₄ -tak ₄ gù mu-un-na-an-dé	T
139	[^d en]-líl [] [dam]-ta[m-m]a-ni [hé-m]e-en dūg-[g]a hé-ne-da-ab-bé	L
	^d en-líl-le dam ^ʾ šà-ga-ni hé-me-en dūg-ge-eš hé-en-da-ab-dé	T
140	^ʾ sag ₉ -sag ₉ -ge ^ʾ gú-da ḫu-mu-rí-in-lá [ba]d-bad- ^ʾ e ^ʾ ḫa-ra-NE	L
	sì-sì-ke gú-da ḫu-mu-ni-bal-e ki-âĝ bad-bad ḫa-ra-NE	T
141	ḫ[i-li e-n]e-bi šu [n]am-bar-re-en-zé-en ^ʾ u ₄ ^ʾ sù-ud ba-[r]e-en-zé-en	L
	ḫi-li-a e-ne-bi šu nam-bal-èṃ hé-im	T
142	mìn-na-ne-ne du ₆ -ta NE- ^ʾ NE ^ʾ -en-zé-en u ₄ -da-ta tu-ud-en-zé-en	L
	[] du ₇ -da zal-zal-le-zé-en ^ʾ mu x ^ʾ []	S ₂
	mìn-na-ne-ne ^ʾ x ^ʾ NE-NE mu-da NE-NE-zé-me-en	T
143	^ʾ é-a ^ʾ ku ₄ -ra tuš ¹ -ù-dè igi-[zu-š]è hé-ĝál hé-im a-ga-zu-šè kir ₄ -zal	L
	^ʾ hé ^ʾ -i[m]	L
	[k]u ₄ -ra-ba-ni igi-zu-š[è hé-ĝ]ál hé-im []	S ₂
	é-e ku ₄ -ra KU- ^ʾ x ^ʾ igi-zu-šè hé-ĝál hé-im a-ga-zu kir ₄ -zal hé-im	T
144	ĝir-ús-sa-zu-ne un si ḫa-ra-[ab-sá] un ní-ba ḫa-ra- ^ʾ x ^ʾ	L
	[-z]u-šè un-e si ḫa-ra-ab-si un ní-bi ḫa-ra- ^ʾ NE ^ʾ	S ₂
	ĝir-ús ¹ -a-zu-šè un ¹ ^ʾ si ^ʾ ḫa-ra-sá un ní-bi ḫa-ra-NE	T
145	nam i-ri-tar-ra-ĝu ₁₀ hé-ir-*š ¹ i ¹ -ĝál saĝ-íl-la ^ʾ é ^ʾ -maḫ-šè ĝen-na	L
	[] ^ʾ i ^ʾ -ri-tar-ra-zu hé-im-ši-ĝál saĝ-íl-la èš-maḫ-[]	S ₂
	nam e-tar-re-zu ^ʾ níĝ nu-kúr-ru saĝ-íl é-maḫ-šè ĝen-[x]	T
146	šu-ni im-ma-an-dab ₅ ^d a-ru-ru èš-maḫ-šè mi-ni-in-kar	L
	[]-ni mi-ni-in-dab ₅ ^d a-ru-ru èš-maḫ-a-šè mi-[ni]-i[n-]	S ₂
	šu ¹ -ni im-ma-dab ₅ ^d a-ru-ru èš-maḫ-šè []	T
147	é-kur za-gìn-na mu-ni-in-ku ₄ ì-saĝ igi-ni mi- ^ʾ ni ^ʾ -[in]-dé ¹	S ₂
	é-kur é ^d en-líl-ke ₄ mu-un-ši-íb-ku ₄ ^ʾ x ^ʾ []	T
148	é ki-ná ^ʾ ĝeš-ná gi-rin ^ʾ -[] tir ^{šim} ĝeš ^ʾ erin-gin ₇ []	L
	é ki-ná ^ʾ ĝeš-ná gi-rin-n[a] tir erin-na-gin ₇ dūg	S ₂
	^ʾ x-ná ^ʾ -a [ĝe]š-na girin-n[a] ^{ĝeš} tir ^{šim} []	T

149	^d en-líl ¹ nitlam-a-ni ġiš [m]u-ni-in-ġi-li-[ġi-li] ^d en-líl SAL.UŠ-a-ni ġiš-a- ^r ni ¹ [(x) i]m-mi-in- ^r nir ¹ mu-ni-ib-ġi-li-ġi-li ^d e[n-lí]l nitlam-a-ni ġiš b[í ² -]	L S ₂ T
150	[]-ka mu-[] bára nam- ^d en-líl-lá-ka-ni mu- ^r ni ¹ -[in-x-(x) š]u ₁₂ mu-ni-in-gub ¹	L S ₂
151	en dug ₄ -ga-ni URU×URUDU nin munus tam-[t]am- [*] ma-ni nam h ^e -r[i-i]b-tar-re en-dug ₄ -ga-a- ^r x x ^r -ru nin []	S ₂ T
152	^d nin-tu-re nin ù-tu nin dùg-bad mu-še ₂₁ m[u-ri]-in-sa ₄ ^d nin-tu ¹ munus nu-ù-t[u]	S ₂ T
153	^d [e]n-ba-tibira mùš-me mi-ni-in-sig ₇ ġi-x dím-[d]ím [^d en-ba ¹ -tibira ¹ mùš-m[e]]	S ₂ T
154	[nam(?)-nu-gig-ga níġ-nam munus-e]-ne [lú ġi] nu-bar- re-dam [n]u-gig-ga níġ-nam munus- e-ne lú ġi nu-bar-re ^r x x x ^r níġ-nam []	L S ₂ T
155	ki-ni ġar me [*] ki ¹ -ti- ^r le sag ₉ -ge sag-e ¹ -[eš ri]g ₇ [k]i-ni ì-ġál ġi-ti-l[e] ^r x ¹ saġ-e h ^e -na-ri[g ₇] ^r ki x x ^r []	LPQ S ₂ T
156	u ₄ -da-ta munus EDIN.BAR h ^e -im munus bar lú é h ^e -im [u ₄]-da-ta munus EDIN.B[AR] h ^e -im [mu]nus lú nin é-e-ke ₄ ^r u ₄ ¹ -d[a ¹]	PQ S ₂ T
157	lú dam sì-ga-ġu mu-un-ù-tu kù ^d nidaba-ke ₄ lú dam-tam-ma-ġu ù-tu-d[a ²] kù ^d nidaba-ke ₄	PQ S ₂
158	^d ašnan ^d ašnan mú zi ki-en-ġi-ra h ^e -im ^d ašnan ^d ašnan zi kalam-ma h ^e -im	PQ S ₂
159	ab-sín-na ki-sikil sag ₉ -ga-ġin ₇ ní pa-è ¹ -ak-za [] ki-sikil sig ₇ -ga-ġin ₇ [n]í pa-è-ak-dè	LPQ S ₂
160	^d iškur kù-ġál ú-a-zu h ^e -im a ki-ta mi-ri-in-dé ¹ []-ġál ú-a-bi h ^e -me-en a ki-ta naġ-naġ	LPQ S ₂
161	zag mu-a gu saġ gibil-gibil-za ¹ še saġ gibil-gibil-za ¹ [] še saġ mú-mú-dè gu saġ mú-mú-dè	LPQ S ₂
162	^d en-líl ^d nin-líl-bi kúrku-a h ^e -mu- ^r ni ¹ -[t]u-tu-[d]è-eš ¹	LPQ
163	lú li-bí-in-dug ₄ -ga-ġu ₁₀ lú érim-bi h ^e -im ¹ lirim ₄ un-bi tu-lu-ab []-in-dug ₄ -ga-zu lú NE.DU-bi šà-nam lirim ₄ un-bi dul-la-ab	LPQ S ₂
164	buru ₁₄ ezen gal ^d en-líl-l[á-ke ₄] saġ an-šè mi-ni-[íl] [bu]ru ₁₄ ezen gal ^d en-líl-lá un ur ₅ -si-ge h ^e -me-en	L ² Q S ₂
165	nam-dub-sar-ra dub mul-la ġun-a ġi- ^r dub-ba ġeš-dub-dím ¹	Q
166	níġ-kas ₇ šid zi-zi-i ġá-ġá éš ^r za-ġin x ^r []	Q
167	saġ- ^{ġeš} gag ġi-l-ninda bulug sì-k[e] [] ġi-ninda-na bulug sì-ga e-pa ₅ dab ₅ -dab ₅ -bé	Q S ₂
168	šu mi-ri-in-du ₇ énsi [] [š u m]i-ni-in-du ₇ énsi-ke ₄ úlul(GAN.GAN)-la šu-zu im-mi-in-ġi]	Q S ₂

169	munus saĝ-íl nun-gal-e-ne []	Q
	‘munus’ saĝ-íl kur-ra zag-dib igi-íl-la-zu-dè pà-dè	S ₂
170	u ₄ -da-ta ^{d_r} sùd’ [] ^[d] nin-líl []	Q
	u ₄ -ta ^{d_r} su- ^d en-líl lugal-bi ^d nin-líl nin-bi h́é-im	S ₂
171	dingir ‘mu’ nu-tuku ‘mu’ gal tuku ú-gu ₇ rig ₇ -ga	S ₂
172	‘x’ [x x]-na bára ‘zag’ an-né’ gar nidba šúm-šúm-mu	S ₂
173	[sa]ĝ’ en-tar-bi [x x x x]-ga za-‘e’ nam h́é-tar	S ₂
174	[è]š nibru ^{ki} saĝ-e-eš rig ₇ -ga-ba	S ₂
175	‘šir kù mí-dug ₄ -ga’ [(...)] ^d en-líl ^d nin-líl-bi-[da zà-mí]	Q
	šir kù mí-dug ₄ -ga dug ₄ -ge-‘e’ ^d en-líl lugal kur-ra-ke ₄ [zà-mí]	S ₂

Textual Notes

3. 1) A: -‘g a’; B: -z u.
6. 1) This line in A is written on the left edge.
10. 1) A: [n u - u]m - m i - i n -; B: n u - m u - u m - m [i -.
12. 1) B: - a; B om.
13. 1) A: i - n i - i n -; C: m [i -.
14. 1) A: - u n -; C om. 2) A: m u - u n - d a - [; B: m u - d a - b a l - e; C: m u - n a - a b - b a - ‘x’ - [(x)].
15. 1) AC: NAM.NIN; B:].A. 2) AC₁: - a b -; C om.
16. 1) B: n u - u n - t u k u; C: n u - t u k u - t u k u - u n.
17. 1) B: - n a -; AC om.
18. 1) A: - u n -; BC om.
19. 1) AC: t a - a š; B: t a - a - [. 2) A: - u š; C: - e š. 3) A: i m -; C: i -.
20. 1) AC: - l á; B: ‘x’ (perhaps s u [d).
21. 1) A: m u - u n - n a - n e; C: - g]e - e š.
27. 1) A: m u - u n - d a - a b -; B:] - í b - [.
29. 1) A: u r u; B om. 2) A: - b i; B: - b i - š è.
30. 1) AB: - e n; T om. 2) A: - b é - e n - n a - ĝ u₁₀; B: - d u]g₄- g a - ĝ u₁₀.
34. 1) A: - g a; T om. 2) AD: - t u - d a; T: - t u - u d - [.
35. 1) R: [(x) d] u m u - z u; T: d u m u N I T Ú G z u?
37. 1) AE: k i - ù r - r a; T: e - k i - ù r. 2) ADE: - š è; T om.
38. 1) A: - ĝ á; E: - a. 2) ADE: - t u š; T: - t i. 3) AD: - í b -; E om.
39. 1) AE: - e r; D om. 2) A: h́ é - i m - m i - í b -; D: h́ é - e n - n e - e b - [; E: h́ e - e [n -; T:] - n e - é b - [.
40. 1) AE: - r a; FG: - a - r a; T om. 2) ADE: - g a; T om. 3) AD: g a - m u - u₈-; T: i -. F has lines 60ff. immediately after line 40.
41. 1) AT: - a -; CE om. 2) AE: - a; T om. 3) ET: - a -; ACD om. 4) A: - r a -; CE: - r a - r a -.
42. 1) A: n a m -; E: n]a - a n -; T: m a - a n -. 2) A: - z a; CD: - a - z u; E: - z u. 3) A: - a n -; C: - a -.
43. 1) AT: n a - à m -; C: n a m -; E: n a - a b -. 2) AE: - e - e n; T om. 3) AC(collated)DE: - m a -; T: - a -. 4) A - a b; C: - a - a [b].
44. 1) ACE: - l á; T: - l e. 2) ACDT: - a n -; E: - e -.

45. 1) T: -e; C om. 2) CE: -šè; T om. 3) CE: gîr-nî; T om. 4) C: na-am-mi-; E nam-[-; T: nam-mi-nî-[-.
46. 1) CE: -šè; T: ke₄[?] ma. 2) C: mu-na-da-an-ku₄-ku₄; E:]-ku₄-ku₄; T: ba-an-du-[x].
58. 1) Uncertain, the -g]a could be]-x'-SAL (H).
60. 1) E: -'na'-; F:]-an-. 2) E: -ra; H: -'a[?]-r[a. In F this line follows line 40.
- 61-73. These lines are repeated in 90-102; see there for restorations and additional variants.
62. 1) F: za]-a-; E: za-.
63. 1) E: -e; H om.
70. 1) W: -im-; X: -en-. 2) W: -è-; X: -e-.
84. 1) IO: -na-an-; I: -un-.
87. 1) K: -'su'-ub; L:]-za.
92. 1) Sequence as in M and S₁; L has line 93 before 92.
96. 1) Perhaps -m[u? in N.
97. 1) L has -ka here but a k in next line.
108. 1) L: -a; P om. 2) L: sa₅-; P: su-.
113. 1) P: -ba; M om. 2) M: ba-a[b-; P: ba-ni-in-.
136. 1) There is a]KA[on a tiny fragment of L, glued upside down, that could belong to this line.
143. 1) The sign is not ZU as shown by a comparison with the -zu- of a-ga-zu-šè immediately underneath.
145. 1) The tablet has -te- for -ši-.
148. 1) Line in S₂ and T; L om.
155. 1) Q has DI- for ki-.
159. 1) Q: -è; L:]-e.
160. 1) L: -r]i-ib-gu₇(clear); P: -r]i-in-dé; Q: -ri-ib-du g₄.
161. 1) L: i-za; Q: -za.
162. 1) LP: -NI; Q: -d]è-e š.
163. 1) L: -im; P: -me-en.

4. Translation

- 1 [The Lady] faithfully standing [in ...], full of admirable charms,
 2 [...], the noble son, who compares with An and Enlil like him?
 3 [Ĥa]ia, the [...], put the holy semen into her womb.
 4 Nunbaršegunu faithfully gave birth to [...],
 5 Raised her in her [...] and nursed her at the breasts of good milk.
 6 [The ...] of the young girl grew, she became full of charms and delight.
 7 In the [...] of the house of Nidaba, in the gate of the Ezagin.
 8 [...] stood as an object of admiration, like a large, beautifully shaped cow.
 9 At that time no one had given Enlil a wife in the Ekur.
 10 The name of Ninlil was not yet known in the Kiur.
 11 After having traveled through Sumer and to the ends of the universe, he ...
 12 Enlil, the Great Mountain, in his search throughout the land stopped at Ereš.

- 13 He looked around and found the woman of his choice,
 14 Approached her and overflowing with joy engaged her in conversation:
 15 “I want to outfit you with the cape of ladyship; after standing in the street, you will be [...].
 16 How I believe in your beauty (even if) you are not a honorable person.”
 17 In her youthful inexperience Sud answered Enlil:
 18 “(If) I want to stand proudly within our gate, who dare give me a bad reputation?
 19 What are your inte[n]tions]? Why do you come here?
 20 Young man, the conversation(?) is finished, out of my presence!
 21 [Others ...] have already tried to deceive my mother and made her angry.”
 22 Enlil spoke to Sud a second time,
 23 Once more conversing with her and standing close to her:
 24 “Come, I want to speak to you, I will have a talk with you, please be my wife.
 25 Kiss me, my darling of the beautiful eyes, the matter rests in your hands.”
 26 The words had scarcely left his mouth that she went into the house in front of him.
 27 The Lord, all-wise in his own heart, cried out.
 28 He said: “Quick, please, Nuska, I will give you instructions about this,
 29 I want to send you to Ereš, Nidaba’s city, the city whose grounds are august.
 30 Do not tarry. Repeat to her what I am going to tell you:
 31 ‘I am an unmarried man, I send you a message concerning my wishes.
 32 I want to take your daughter as wife, give me your consent.
 33 I want to send you presents in my name, accept my bridal gifts.
 34 I am Enlil, the offspring of Anšar, I am the noblest, the Lord of heaven and earth.
 35 Let the name of your young daughter become Ninlil, let it be spread throughout all foreign countries.
 36 I will present her the Gagiššua as her storehouse,
 37 I will give her a present of the Kiur as her favorite private quarters.
 38 Let her live with me in the Ekur, the august royal dwelling. Let her (also) decree fates.
 39 Let her apportion the duties among the Anunnas, the great gods.
 40 And, as for you, I will place in your hands the life of the black-headed people.’
 41 When you get there, the luscious woman of my choice will stay close to her mother.
 42 Do not go to her empty-handed, take her a treasure with your left hand.
 43 Waste no time. Bring me back her answer speedily.”
 44 When Nuska, the Head of the Council, had received Enlil’s instructions,
 45 He wasted no time [...], he arrived at Ereš.
 46 Entered the Ezagin, Nanibgal’s residence,
 47 [...], prostrated himself before her on her throne.
 48 Enlil’s [emissary] stood [before her], she asked him (about the message).
 49-59 [too broken for translation]
 60 He repeated to her. Nanibgal spoke flatteringly to the emissary:¹²

12. Lines 61-73 are repeated in 90-102; the translation gives the combined text and does not reflect the state of preservation of the text.

- 61 “ Advisor, fit for his king, ever observant,
62 Who, like you, could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain?
63 What could I contest in the king’s message which (his) slave has received?
64 If there is truth in what you have told me –and may there be no falsehood–
65 Who could reject the one who bestows such exceedingly great favors?
66 [The message] from your House gladdens our hearts and livers. Let us consider that amends have
been made.
67 By bringing the bridal gifts and his personal presents the insult is wiped away.
68 Tell him: ‘Let me be your mother-in-law, do what you wish.’
69 Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: ‘Do what you wish.’
70 Let his sister come from over there and I will go from here.
71 Let Aruru become my daughter-in-law, let her be shown the household
72 Inform thus your Lord in his august Kiur,
73 Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber.”
74 After the noble Nidaba, from the August Shrine, had given her instructions to the emissary,
75 She set out the chair of honor and seated Nuska on it.
76 [She set] a table of rejoicing, [...].
77 Nanibgal called her daughter and gave her advice:
78 “My little one, sleeping indoors [...] your pure [...], the private quarters are better (for you).
79 (Only) I may leave the House-of-Nidaba’s Wisdom.
80 [He ...s] the finished work, he is knowing and wise.
81 [...] go to his presence and pour him beer.”
82 [According to the instructions] of her mother, she washed (his) hands and placed a cup in his hands.
83 The emissary opened his left hand, gave her the treasure.
84 [...] he piled up everything and set it before her.
85 [...] she took the gift with fingertips.
86 [Nuska, the emissary, ...] took the road back to Nippur.
87 [...] he kissed the ground before Enlil.
88 ..., the great Lady, had said to him [...],
89 She gave instructions [... that he repea]ted:
90 “Advisor, fit for his king, ever observant,
91 Who, like you, could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain?
92 What could I contest in the king’s message which (his) slave has received?
93 If there is truth in what you have told me –and may there be no falsehood–
94 Who could reject the one who bestows such exceedingly great favors?
95 [The message] from your House gladdens our hearts and livers. Let us consider that amends have
been made.
96 By bringing the bridal gifts and his personal presents the insult is wiped away.
97 Tell him: ‘Let me be your mother-in-law, do what you wish.’
98 Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: ‘Do what you wish.’
99 Let his sister come from over there and I will go from here.
100 Let Aruru become my daughter-in-law, let her be shown the household

- 101 Inform thus your Lord in his august Kiur,
 102 Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber.”
 103 The message made his body feel good, brought great rejoicing to Enlil’s heart.
 104 He raised his head toward the Upper Country, animals came running:
 105 Quadrupeds, from goats to donkeys, that multiply freely in the desert.
 106 The uncountable ones that are in the mountain were chosen:
 107 Wild oxen, red deer, elephants, fallow deer, gazelles, bears, wild sheep, and rams,
 108 Lynxes, foxes, wild cats, tigers, mountain sheep, water buffaloes, monkeys,
 109 Thick-horned fat cattle that bellow,
 110 Cows and their calves, wild cattle with widespread horns, led by blue ropes,
 111 Ewes and lambs, goats and kids, ramping and fighting.
 112 Large kids with long beards, scratching with their hooves, lambs, [...],
 113 Sheep fit for a lord, Enlil directed toward Ereš.
 114 Large cheeses, mustard-flavored cheeses, small cheeses, [...],
 115 Various kinds of milk products, [...],
 116 White honey, dry honey, the sweetest, [...],
 117 [...] thick and large, Enlil directed toward Ereš.
 118 [...], dates, figs, large pomegranates, [...],
 119 Cherries, plums, ḫalub-nuts, pistachios, acorns,
 120 Dilmun dates packed in baskets, dark-colored date clusters,
 121 Large pomegranates seeds plucked from their rinds, big clusters of early grapes.
 122 Exotic trees in fruit, trees from orchards. [...] grown in winter.
 123 Fruits from the orchards, Enlil directed toward Ereš.
 124 Ores(?) from Ḫarali, a faraway land, [...] in storehouses, goods, [...],
 125 Topaz, gold, silver, [...],
 126 The products of the Upper Country, [...],
 127 Heavy loads of them, Enlil directed toward Ereš.
 128 After the personal gifts, the transported goo[ds ...], Ninmah and the emissary [follow].
 129 The dust from their march reaches high amidst the sky like rain clouds.
 130 Before they had finished bringing the enormous bridal gifts for Nanibgal to Ereš,
 131 The city was full inside and out, to spread out [...]
 132 The remainder on the outlying roads [...], the piles [...].
 133-36 *(too broken for translation)*
 137 (Nuska) treated nicely Nanibgal, the mother-in-law, the woman slandered by Enlil,
 138 (But) the lady disregarded the flatterer, spoke to her (daughter):
 139 “May you be Enlil’s favorite wife, may he treat you well.
 140 May he embrace you, the most beautiful of all, may he tell you: ‘Beloved, open wide!’
 141 Never forget charms and pleasure, make them last a long time.
 142 You two make love on the ‘hill’ have children afterwards.
 143 Entering the House and living there, may abundance precede you, may joy follow you.
 144 Let the population line your way, let the people ... spontaneously.
 145 May the fate I have decreed for you come to pass, go with head held high into the August House.”

146 Aruru grasped her hand and took her away into the August Shrine,
 147 She made her enter the Ekur of lapis lazuli, poured the best perfume over her face.
 148 In the sleeping quarters, in the flowered bed pleasing like a cedar forest,
 149 Enlil made love to his wife and took great pleasure in it.
 150 He [sat] on the throne of his Enlilship, and stood up to bless her (his wife).
 151 The Lord whose word is pure(?) decrees the fate of the Lady, the woman of his choice:
 152 He gives her the name Nintu, the Lady-Who-Gives-Birth and the Lady-of-the-Open-Legs.
 153 He makes beautiful Enbadtibira's face, ...
 154 The [functions of the] n u - g i g, everything pertaining to women that no man must see,
 155 He gives to her a place set for her, honor, and a favorable protective spirit.
 156 From now on, let a woman be the ..., let a foreign woman be mistress of the House.
 157 My beautiful wife gives birth to holy Nidaba.
 158 Let Ašnan, the growing grain, be the life of Sumer.
 159 When you appear, like a beautiful young girl, in the furrows,
 160 Let Iškur, the water master, be your provider, he will make water gush from the ground for you.
 161 The beginning of the year is in your new flax, in your new grain.
 162 Let Enlil and Ninlil procreate as desired.
 163 Let the one I do not mention be the enemy, let the strength of his people diminish.
 164 (While) the harvest, the great festival of Enlil, raises its head to the sky,
 165 The scribal art, the tablets decorated with writing, the stylus, the tablet board,
 166 To compute the accounts, adding and subtracting, the blue measuring rope, the [...],
 167 The head of the (surveyor's) peg, the measuring rod, the marking of the boundaries, the preparation
 of canals and levees,
 168 Are fittingly in your hands. The farmer repays you the favor in the fields.
 169 Woman of pride, surpassing the mountains, choosing what you desire.
 170 From now on, Sud, Enlil is the king, and Ninlil is the queen.
 171 The deity without name has now a famous name, makes gifts of pastures.
 172 ... gives constantly offerings.
 173 Its caretaker, ..., may you decree the fate.
 174 When (all that) is offered in the Nippur shrine,
 175 A holy song of praise is said. [Praise be] to Enlil and Ninlil.

5. Commentary

1. If the missing incipit of this composition were listed in the Nippur literary Catalogue, the only still unidentified beginning that gives a plausible restoration seems to be *nin me zi-da* (Cat N2 23 [BASOR 88, 14ff.]). For the relationship between Nidaba and the *me*'s, compare *nin* (= Nidaba) *me-ni-da me nu di-a* "the Lady with whose *me*'s no *me*'s can compare" Ed C 74; *me gal-gal-zu ki-bi [h]a-ma-gi₄-gi₄* AOAT 25, 363:117; *me gal 50-e šu-du₇-a* CCRA 17, 124:5; ^d*nidaba-bi-da me šu sukud-rá* 6N-T780:2. However, the text, at least as understood by the Akkadian translator, requires here a locative. Furthermore, the resulting sequence *zi-da zi-dè-eš* seems

awkward from the point of view of Sumerian stylistics. No definitive restoration seems possible under the circumstances.

5. The sign DAG.KISIM₅×GA, known with the values a g/k a n (Ea IV 60; Sb II 248) and u b u r (Proto-Ea 830, Ea IV 65, Sb II 247; and syllabic spellings. e.g., *CT* 15 23:5, *PRAK* C 124 r.3; BM 100046:8 [*AnSt* 30. 7]), must have here the value s u b_x, so far unattested, replacing the normal spelling with KA×GA (*enāqu*, *našābu*).

6. The placement of this line suggested in *JNES* 26, 262 has been proved wrong by B and U. Note that Sumerian uses a verb of state at the end while Akkadian has a factitive.

11. The restoration of the end of the line is most uncertain:

A	igi ʿxʿ (begins with Winkelhaken) [(x) n]a-me sag ʿxʿ
	[...]
B	[m]i-
	[ni-i]b-i[l].

A reading *igi u* [g u n]a-me sag ... íl (without negative in the verb) does not seem satisfactory.

15. Enlil obviously mistakes Sud for a prostitute because he finds her “standing in the street.” It is clear that saying *sila-a gub-ba* of a woman indicates that she is a prostitute: *ki-sikil sag₉-ga sila-a gub-ba*, *ki-sikil kar-kid dumu^dinanna* “the beautiful girl standing in the street, the young prostitute daughter of Inanna” (incipit of an incantation *BL* IV, dupl. *JCS* 8 146: 1f.) Cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56, 118 and Finkelstein, *JAOS* 86, 362f. In the Code of Lipit-Eštar, *kar-kid* is followed regularly by *tillá* (xvii 12ff., 50ff.).

16. The verb *nir*—*gál* takes regularly the comitative infix that for unknown reasons is spelled -t a- or -te- with more frequency than expected. It also governs a NP with comitative although constructions with dative (in the case of persons) or terminative (in the case of inanimate nouns) are also attested: *za-a-ar nir hu-mu-u₈-dè-gál* *SRT* 12: 33; *nam-dingir-zu-šè nir im-te-gál* Enlil hymn 132. The verb *nir*—*gál* is not easy to translate (cf. *JNES* 31, 386f.) and the usual translation “to trust” often does not fit the context properly. The general idea here is that Enlil’s decision is based on his evaluation of Sud’s charms which override the ethical considerations resulting from her profession.

19. The deictic system with *gú* is regularly used in this composition (see line 70 = 99). The NA version here has misunderstood it and writes *ugu-mu-[šè*: “toward me” for the older *gú-u še š* “to here.”

21. KA×NE = *mùrgu* (Ea III 121; UM 29-13-648 ii 12; *MSL* 14 519 iv 3) or *urgu* (Proto-Ea 323; Sag B 347). Sumerian uses the construction *mùrgu*—*du_{g4}/e*: KA×NE *zi u-ne-[du_{g4} ...]* UM 29-16-10:1 while its dupl. *VAS* 17 44:13’ has KA×NE-*gin₇ na-a-du_{g4}*; KA×NE *du_{g4}-du_{g4}-ga-a-ni* Dimmani 39 (*TMH* NF 3 42); cf. further KA×NE-*ni ù-dúb šu táb-e* “her anger, burning coals that scorch the body” *ZA* 65, 180: 17. The Akkadian idiom is *libbātu malû* (see simply *CAD* L 164 *libbātu*, b); note that the NA version modifies the Sumerian text to fit the Akkadian idiom.

23. Despite the penetrating analysis of C. Wilcke in *JNES* 27, 229ff., the “irrealis” meaning of *i-gi₄-in-zu* is ill-suited to many contexts including the present one. A simple “furthermore,” “moreover,” or “once more” seems to render better the intended nuance.

26. A colloquial translation of the Sumerian idiom would be “she closed the door in his face.”

30. It is assumed here that Akkadian has a form of *naparkû* “to tarry” that fits very well the context, although Sum. *g i₄* is not known in this meaning (one would expect rather to have it translated by *parāku*).

33. For *m u - p à - d a*, see Finkelstein *JCS* 22, 75 n. 5 (based exclusively on this passage, it seems); the objections of F. R. Kraus, *RA* 65, 99ff., especially 110, are valid, and I prefer to translate “personal gift,” “gift in someone’s name.” The *a-na* at the beginning of the Akkadian translation, for which Kraus proposes with hesitation an emendation *a-na-<ku>*, is obviously incorrect and has to be considered as one of the many mistakes of the NA scribe. Perhaps it has been inserted by false analogy with *ana širikti sarāku* or *ana qišti qāšu* (lines 36f.). The incorrect affix *-ma-a-b* in V is probably due to an incorrect interpretation of a Babylonian cursive BA misread as MA.

41. For the verb *l á* with a dative of person, cf., for instance, *g a l - a n - z u - m e - e n š u l n u - z u - r a a - n a - a š m u - u n - n a - l á* “I am a wise person, why then do I keep close to an ignorant youth?” Man and his God, 44.

42. For the term *š u k i - t a* to designate the left hand, see 1.4.3.

45. The restoration proposed in *JNES* 26, 204, although plausible in-itself, is not supported by a closer examination of the sources.

52ff. The reverse of C₁ has to be placed here:

1'	[	]	-ib-[	]
2'	[	]	'x' bar-šè 'x' [	]
3'	[	]	'x'-ga	[
4'	[	nid]aba-ka-šè ére[š	]	

5'	[	]	dug ₄ -ga' mu-u[n-	]
6'	[	]	'x' [	].

The end of the fragment may be identical with 57f.

58. A *verbum dicendi* is probably to be restored at the end. The meaning of the imperative *l á - a* is not clear because of the lack of context: cf. line 71.

66. The verb UD is to be taken here as *ubbubu* in the legal sense of “to clear from debts, accusations, etc.”

67. The verb *š u - k á r* — *g i₄*, lit. “to return the slander,” is used here in the sense of “to make amends for the slander, to wipe out the insult.” Compare Dialogue 2:152: *k i š u - k á r - g i₄ - z u g i z k i m n u - r a - a b - t u k u* “he has not given you recognition of your amends for the slander.” The expression is reminiscent of *š u - g a r* — *g i₄* “to repay a favor,” and could very well be a, perhaps ironical, analogical formation based on it.

71. Since the Sumerian speaker orientation in the use of kinship terms is different from English, the possessive *-n i* cannot be translated by “his” in this passage without paraphrasis or without changing the possessive. Aruru is Enlil’s sister and her new relationship to Nidaba’s house is described by Enlil’s mother-in-law as *e - r i - i b*, here to be translated as “son-in-law’s sister” from the perspective of Nidaba, but as “husband’s sister with a specific function in the marriage rite” in relation to Enlil (hence the “his” possessive in Sumerian). For additional references for *e - r i - i b*, see Sjöberg, *HSAO* 219f. (add there *STVC* 131 r.2). From the present line and from lines 146f. it appears that the husband’s sister had an important role in marriage rites. Aruru-Ninmah goes to Ereš with the bridal gifts caravan (line 128).

75. This type of chair is mentioned in Hh IV 119 (*MSL* 5 160 with a misprint *pít-* for *pít-*). The logogram šu-ni-gin fits a derivation from *paḥāru*, compare ^{giš}gu-za-ni-g-ni-gin-na = *kussi puḥri* “seat in the assembly” Hh IV 101, but a form *pithurtu* is unattested elsewhere and the evidence for it in Hh IV 119 is orthographically difficult once the spelling *pít-* has been eliminated. I would prefer to read *mit-ḥar-ti*, for which ni-gin is also a possible correspondence. The meaning is not clear; it could refer to the physical shape of the chair or designate a chair of “equal rank” to the seat or throne of Nidaba. In any case, the context implies a “seat of honor.”

82. Hand washing is a preliminary to proper eating or drinking: šu nu-luḥ-ḥa ka-e tūmu-da ni-g-gi-ga-ka-m “to have to bring to the mouth unwashed hands is an abomination” Prov. 3.161 in R. S. Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collection*, 240 (with a different translation).

104. Note the syntactic order Object + Verb + Subject + Terminative NP, used in all clauses until line 127, which puts the focus on the size of the gifts. Because of the uncertainties of the zoological and botanical vocabulary, the translations in the list of gifts are given just for literary effect and are not intended to give specific identifications. For ku š₅—ta g, see *AS* 20 134ff. where my remarks do not emphasize sufficiently the difference between ku š₅—ta g “to run at a fast gait, to trot, etc.” and ku š₅ ki—ta g “to drag.”

106. The verb šu—ta g with locative-terminative means “to choose” and corresponds to Akk. *lapātu* for which this meaning is not explicitly accepted in the dictionaries. Compare šu-du-ga DN and *lipit qāti* (*CAD* L 87b *lapātu*, 4’k) a ritual gesture to express choice.

114f. Given the uncertainty of the Sumerian terminology about dairy products, the translations are only approximative; those of line 115 have been replaced by a general gloss.

116. Reading ḥá d from Aa III/3:87; see Hh XXIV 4f. and *MSL* 11 163 vi 20; 164 19 ii 2. The honey lál-ḥáb = *matqu*, *lallaru* Hh XXIV 2f., here with the spelling with ḥab, confirming the reading. See Sjöberg, *ZA* 63, 54f. for ta-ḥáb which in some cases has been misread for lál-ḥáb. Clear examples: mu-ná lál-ḥáb-ba bí-in-ná-e *PAPS*, 107 523 r. 6; é ki ná-a lál-ḥáb du-g-ga-ba *ISET* 1 32:11.

124. The word ḥa-šum/su₆ is spelled ḥa-zé-e n in *SLTN* 61: 136 (cf. *JCS* 28, 184). (Ḥ)arali is known as a source of gold (*UET* 6 1 ii 1; *CAD* A/2 227 *arallú*, e). The term ḥa-šum has been translated here by a neutral “ore,” but it could very well designate a precious stone.

137ff. The text of these lines is especially uncertain because of the unreliability of the copy of source T, the peculiarities of S₂, and the fragmentary condition of L. In line 137, I assume that, despite the absence of -ra after ba-kár-kár in T, it is a relative clause. The clear Ašnan in L is difficult to explain.

138. It is assumed that zu-r-zu-r-ra-ke₄ is a genitive with ellipsis of the regens. The dative infix -na- refers to Sud. The translation follows T since L, with a diverging text, is too poorly preserved.

139. da-m-ta-m-ma = *ḥā’iru* A Lu III 199, but can be said of either spouse; see Finkelstein, *JCS* 22 73 ad 6 (the new dupl. Si 277 [*Or* 50, 92, with note] has da-m-ni-ta-da-m). The var. of T, da-m šà-ga-ni, is a paraphrase that confirms nicely the meaning of da-m-ta-m. See line 157, where da-m-ta-m of S₂ corresponds to da-m-si-ga of Q.

140. The verb ba-d-ba-d = *puttû* is taken here in a sexual sense as in the more usual combinations with du-g and úr.

141. e - n e here is not the 3rd pers. pronoun but rather the first element of such compounds as e - n e — d u g₄/d i or e - n e - s ù - u d; its, meaning seems clear (note the association with ḫ i - l i) although no Akkadian translation seems to be known.

142. The d u₆ (for the term, see TCS 3 50f.) is also the birthplace of deities in Laḫar-Ašnan 39, and - t a is a locative of remote deixis. The verb NE-NE, with the var. z a l - z a l in S₂ (through a var. *NI-NI?) perhaps here corresponds to Akk. *ḫelû*,

144. The meaning of the verb NE at the end of the line remains uncertain.

145. The verb g á l with infix -š i- means “to come into being (somewhere),” see Ninmešarra 10 (with a divergent interpretation in YNER 3 15, see also 74); here it refers to the actual realization of the fate.

149. The expected verb is g i š — d u g₄ but S₂ seems to have g i š — n i r, perhaps a hybrid formation (g i š — d u g₄ × d ù g — n i r, both synonyms).

151. The translation follows S₂; in T the first sign after -g a - a- could be -n [i] and the second looks like A; perhaps this apparent A and the following RU are a miscopy for URU×IGI. The sign URU×URUDU is perfectly clear in S₂, but in all probability it should be considered as a graphic variant of URU×IGI attested elsewhere: Gud cyl. A xvii 8, B xviii 8; Temple hymns 64; etc. If this interpretation is accepted, it requires the insertion of a n u - before the URU×URUDU, read s i l i g, since the rhetorical usage of this word, with very few exceptions, shows a strong preference for negative forms. A positive form, furthermore, would not fit the context. For s i l i g “to cease, to stop” in general, see TCS 3 64. Note that the equation s i l i g = *naparkû*, first suggested by Thureau-Dangin in 1904 (ZA 18, 140 n.3) and now traditional in Sumerological literature (e.g., TCS 3 64, SGL 1 45ff., SGL 2 118ff., Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil*, 101. Steible FAOS 1 42, etc.), although almost certainly semantically correct, apparently has no explicit lexical basis. The only way to avoid the insertion of the negative would be to take s i l i g (presumably read *z i l i g) as *ellu* or the like as, for instance, in Lugal-e 5 or Antagal C 240f. (quoted in 1.4,3). Note in this connection the equation z u l u g(NAR) = *namru* Aa VII/4:135, Nabnitu XXI 250, Nigga bil. B 185 (cf. Proto-Ea 582), which gives a “complete” series z a l a g/z i l i g/z u l u g. However, z a l a g is not as appropriate stylistically as n u - s i l i g as a qualification of Enlil’s word. On S₂ the sign between -t a m- and -n i looks more like GIŠ than MA, but GIŠ-NI (g i z - z a l) does not make sense in the present context.

152. I assume that Enlil here does not bless his sister Nintu (presumably for her role in the wedding) but rather addresses his new wife and gives her the name Nintu, as well as the other names, because she has become a birth-giving deity. For the names, see An = *anum* II 37f.; a m a - t u - u d - d a and a m a - d ù g - b a d, with gloss d u - b a - d a and translation *ummu pe-ta-at bir-ki*.

153. For e n - b à d - t i b i r a, see 1.1.8, The sign which follows i g i has the outline of LAGAB with some imprecise traces of wedges inside.

154. The missing sign before n u - g i g - g a is possibly n a m -; n í g seems less likely.

155. The phrase k i - N I - g a r, with var. k i - N I - N I - g á l in S₂, can be the verbal phrase “to set her place,” i.e., “a place of her own,” but in view of the context one may wonder whether it is not a variant phrase of k i - b i - (i n) - g a r = *pīḫatu* “(administrative) responsibility.”¹³ Such a meaning would fit the context well, although I do not have supporting evidence for the spelling k i - N I - g a r. Here m e = *dūtu*. Souree Q has D I - instead of k i -; for /k i t i l/, see CAD L 61a, *lamassu* and 66a, *awīl lamassi*, lex. sections.

13. Note that since *pīḫatu* designates an administrative responsibility associated with a determined district or region, the difference between the literal translation and one based on *pīḫatu* is more apparent than real.

156. Despite the var. A.BAR.EDIN for A.EDIN in *ITT* 1 1436, it is not obvious that EDIN.BAR is a kinship term (as suggested by Sjöberg, *HSAO* 219ff.); note that the present tale uses e-ri-i b in line 71. In ED texts there is a profession or status term BAHAR.BAR (ref. M. Lambert, *Sumer* 10, 163 sub bar-bir₄; and *WVDOG* 43, 29:12) applied, it seems, to males. Note that some words which are spelled with BAHAR in early texts seem to be written with EDIN in later times; thus, for instance, BAHAR.BÚR (*WVDOG* 43, 56 vi 15) seems to correspond to EDIN-búr of Proto-Lu 392 and Rim-Sin 8: 36: ki-bi bād nu-dub gú-gir-bi edin-búr-bi ḫé-šub (the term designates something in or around the city walls; gú-gir here is probably *pilšu* and not *padānu* [Grégoire, *RA* 69, 191]). It is thus not impossible that BAHAR.BAR corresponds to EDIN.BAR. The few occurrences of edin-bar do not provide any clue: edin-bar sù-ga-ka lú im-mi-in-nú-ù-da “people have to sleep in the naked desert” Ur-Nammu’s Death 192; in *WVDOG* 43, 36 iii 13 edin bar tab-ba, bar-tab is probably the verb attested elsewhere with a meaning “to banish into, to exile” as in a-ne-ne lú edin bar-tab-ba al-me-a-ke₄-eš “they, being persons banished to the desert ...” 6N-T638 i 8 (Ur III Lugalbanda epic). Note, furthermore, the expression edin-bar lagaš^{ki} in *BL* 175:22 (cf. *BA* 5 1b 7): edin-bar lagaš^{ki} ḫa-ḫul-(a-šè), where the context requires a toponym; this fact is not so clear in Eršemma 10:12 edin-bar lagaš^{ki}-mèn me-er-(ra-mu-dè a-ba mu-un-šed₇-dè) “I am the... of Lagaš, who will calm me down when I am angry?,” where a term qualifying a person seems indicated (note, however, the parallel preceding line which has èš é-50 etc.).

157. While source S₂ could be understood as a vocative: “Oh, my favorite wife, born of Nidaba,” source Q can only mean, with a Subject+Verb+Object syntactic order, that Enlil’s wife has given birth to Nidaba, i.e. Nidaba II. I want to stress that this line, with its textual ambiguity, is the only basis for the theory of the two Nidaba’s proposed in 1.1.1 and 1.1.7. It must therefore be considered for the moment as at best a likely hypothesis. Note that the god lists are curiously reticent about Ašnan’s parentage. For the variant d a m - t a m : d a m - s i - g a (presumably for si g₅), see remarks to line 139.

158. The first time, Ašnan has to be taken as a divine name, the second as a term for “grain.”

161. Note that z a g m u - a is not a locative here.

162. The verbal phrase occurs in Gud cyl xx 17f.: (Gatumdug) sig₄-bi kur-ku₄-a mu-ni-tu(d) “she creates the brick walls as desired.” For KA.AN.NI.SI = k ú r k u “desire, wish,” see Sjöberg, *AS* 16 65ff. and *TCS* 3 153. We have here a likely word play with /kurku/ “(yearly) flood,” and even possibly with k u r k u (ME.^dNIDABA) Diri IV 69.

165. It is assumed that all the scribal implements listed here are given to Nidaba II and not to her grandmother. For giš-dub-dím, see *Ḫḫ* IV 21 and its *Ḫg* A 35 as well as OB Lu A 465 (cf. D 305). The Akkadian equivalent should be **gišda/ubdimmu*, probably identical with *muštaptinnu* (*CAD* M/2, 285b s. v.), as shown by the Ebla vocabulary *MEE* 4 403: giš-dub-dím = /*mašdabdinu*/. The reading = NI.LAGAB-*di-im-mu* in *Ḫg* A 35 is incorrect: NI.LAGAB may have resulted from a carelessly written DUB or from GIŠ.DUB. The term designates a wooden implement used to fashion tablets and, occasionally, to spank unruly students: (the student who calumniates a classmate) giš-dub-dím-ta^{giš}tukul-l-àm ù-ba-a b-ra “after being spanked with a tablet board, like with a mace,” will be thrown in chains and jailed in the Edubba for two months (Dialogue 3: 183); cf. also Rules of the Edubba A 11’: [...] giš-dub-dím-ta ra-ra.

168. Although e n s í could conceivably be used here in its Ur III meaning, it more likely reflects the semantic shift to “farmer” attested in OB times.

169. Note the textual differences between Q and S₂: the translation follows the latter.
 175. The second part of the doxology shows again textual differences between Q and S₂.

Appendix

Further Notes on Enlil an Ninlil: the Marriage of Sud. (W.G. Lambert).

It is an honour to be invited to contribute to the present edition both in view of the jubilarian, and in view of the distinction of his former student. While the writer identified and copied the LA fragments from Nineveh, he has seen no more of the other tablets than is published. Thus he cannot comment on the main, OB-period text, but will concentrate on some more general issues.

First, the dramatis personae. The editor follows the sign-name in Diri for the standard form of the name of Sud's mother: ME.^dŠE+NAGA = *i-ši-ib-ni-da-ba-ku* (CT 11 49 16), though he quotes other evidence favouring Nis(s)aba. There is in fact much more evidence for the latter. The earliest item is from Fara, SF 77 ii 11: NAGA.SÁ n u . s u . b u . š è. As noted by Jestin (ZA 51, 37ff.), M. Lambert (RA 47, 84f.), and R. D. Biggs (OIP 99, 39), this text is remarkable for supplying phonetic renderings. Then there is ^dn i - i s - s a - b i four times (not in every case quite complete) in a LB literary fragment (J.J.A. van Dijk and W. Mayer, *Bagh. Mitt.*, Beiheft 2, no. 91); also ^dn i - i s - s a - b a - a n in the Meskene version of the Weidner List (RHA 35, 186), and all the phonetic writings of the common noun in Akkadian, *nissabu* (see *AHw* and *CAD* sub voce). Thus the evidence from ED to LB is unanimous for Nis(s)aba apart from the sign-name in Diri. This is known from one LA copy only (unless there is unpublished material). Of course there is no difficulty in assuming two forms of the word, due to phonetic interchange of dental and sibilant, but it must be observed that the LA sign-form DA, especially in some Assur and Nimrud hands, is easily confused with ŠA, and the two signs are very similar in NB and LB script also. Thus it is possible that *-ni-da-ba-* in this case is a scribal error for *-ni-sa-ba-*. On this evidence the present writer prefers the majority opinion of the ancient witnesses.

As to meaning, Civil accepts that the Emesal writing ^dg a š a n . ŠE+NAGA (in litanies as well as in the Emesal Vocabulary) presumes that the meaning is *nin+sab(a)* "Lady of Sab(a)." Already in Uru'inimgina's time the name is treated as a genitive construction: ^dNAGA. ke₄ n a m . t á g . b i g ú . n a ḫ é . í l . í l (*Corpus*, Ukg. 16 ix), as often later. This fits with the Emesal evidence very well. Also it must be observed that when a dialect attests the interpretation of a name, this is different from an interpretation from a learned, scribal source. It implies that that interpretation was generally accepted among speakers of the dialect. (There is evidence that spoken Sumerian of the early Second Millennium was much akin to Emesal.) Thus one must assume that about the end of the Third Millennium this interpretation of the name Nissaba was the general view in Sumer. The grammatical construction of the name as known from about the middle of the Third Millennium makes it very probable that the same interpretation was also current then. It may be objected that this interpretation may be folk-etymology only, but this objection reveals confusion of method. In studying Sumerian religion the important thing is what meaning or meanings the ancients assigned to names. For the purposes of study of Sumerian religion that is the meaning. Modern philologists talk about "original" meanings, but in the case of Sumerian we have no cognate languages nor earlier language out of which Sumerian evolved, so serious Sumerian etymology is in most cases a pipe-dream only for the present. That is a loss for study of the Sumerian language, but little loss for study of

Sumerian civilization. Here the sense assigned by the Sumerians (right or wrong by our standards) is the important thing. Thus the present writer leaves to others to decide what Nissaba meant in the Uruk period, if it was then current. The doubled *-ss-* of the majority of phonetic writings is explained from the ancient etymology of the name as “Lady of Sab(a).” What *sab(a)* means is unknown. While it might be a place or a cult installation, it might be other things too.

With Sud, it seems that two quite distinct goddesses bear the name. In the litany *CT* 42 3 iv-v etc. ^dsu.kur.ru occurs twice, which happens with no other god or goddess. The section containing the first occurrence is lacking from a shorter version edited by E. Bergmann in *ZA* 56, 13ff., but that does not change the situation. The first time she occurs in a line with preceding: *ù . m u . u n . s a . a . z u / z a*, herself bearing the epithet *d u m u n u n*. The second time she occurs in a line on her own described as *d u m u n u n* and as *l à l . e . š à . b a*. The OB forerunner to An = Anum, *TCL* 15 no. 10 gives ^dn i n . s a . z a as a name of Šamaš, and ^ds u d . á g as a name of Aya his spouse (ll. 176, 178). The late version of this litany reads ^ds u d . á g in both cases, though only in the first case does it render it “Aya,” in the second case it repeats Sudag in the Akkadian. So at least from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon the Umunsazu/a and Sud of the litany were understood as Šamaš and Aya. One could nevertheless argue that this identification is wrong, and that this Sud is, historically speaking, goddess of Šuruppak. Against this view two arguments must be set. The first is that there is no problem in assuming an abbreviation of a divine name. Just as Dumuzi-abzu often appears as Dumuzi and so causes potential confusion with Tammuz, so Sudag could appear as Sud. The second is that the apparent total lack of a god Ninsazu/a from the Fara texts strongly opposes any suggestion that his spouse was goddess of Šuruppak. It is of no significance that in the litany Sud bears the epithet *d u m u n u n* at both occurrences, since it occurs with many other deities. But the other epithet with the second occurrence of Sud is significant. It is *l à l . e . š à . b a*, the meaning of which has not so far been elucidated. The late version changes it to a *[m] a é . š à . b a*, which is rendered *um-mi ŠU-MA*. This gives the impression of being the replacement of the difficult OB reading with something simpler! Curiously both E. Bergmann (*ZA* 56, 39) and J. Krecher (*Kultlyrik*, 124) tacitly emend the text to *l à l . é . š à . b a*, but that is wrong despite *TCL* 15 1 24 because in Proto-Lu *l à l . e . š à . g a* appears as a professional title (*MSL* XII 41 228), the meaning of which is given in Malku = šarru I 128: *l à l - š à - g a - k u* = *šab-su-tum* “midwife” (*JAOS* 83, 427). Thus the second Sud in the litany was a divine midwife.

This connects with Sud in the myth under consideration. Previously almost nothing was known of her character, but, after marrying her, Enlil assigns her place in the universe (literally “decrees her destiny”: line 151), the first point of which is to make her the Mother Goddess by giving her the name Nintur, and lines 153-154 can be interpreted to continue this theme. The phrase *[n a m ?] . n u . g i g . g a* need not refer to prostitution, but to midwifery, because the OB *Atraḥasīs* I 290 portrays the midwife at work in the house of the *qadištu* (= *n u . g i g*): *ša-[ab]-sú-tum i-na bi-it qa-di-iš-li li-iḫ-du*. If this is correct, line 154 of Enlil and Ninlil indicates that men were not welcome at childbirth in Sumer and Babylon. Line 153 is obscured by the uncertainty of reading at the beginning, but Civil already noted that *t i b i r a* occurs in names of the Mother Goddess to indicate her activity in the growth of the unborn child, cf. also ^dš à . z u . d i n g i r . r e . e . n e and ^dn a g a r . š à . g a in the same context. Note further that while *m ù š . m e* can bear the meaning of *zīmū*, it can also be rendered *būmu*, which could allude to the foetus, while *s i g₇* can mean “make grow.” *d í m . d í m* in the second half of the line is very clear, and as described the sign X could conceivably be BUL, cf. *s à . a n . s u r* BUL = *šá-as-[su-ru]* “womb.” This final point must await the

discovery of fully preserved copies, but the general point is certain. Sud as the mother goddess both engages in procreation herself and presides over procreation generally. Thus the title *l à l . e . š à . b a* of the litany fits.

In the present writer's opinion another attribute is given in lines 157-158. Civil notes the grammatical significance of the variant readings, but his choice (and interpretation of it) does not yield the utmost clarity because it results in two goddesses Nissaba in this one text, something for which (as he stresses) there seems to be no other evidence. Also we are apparently forced to identify the second Nissaba with Ezinu/Ašnan, though this is not formally stated. The grammar of the Nippur copy is difficult, but if there is no objection to an object with agentive ending after the verb, there can hardly be objection to taking the noun with agentive as the subject and assuming that the verb lacks the subjunctive ending, which appears in the other copy. This would yield:

May my beautiful wife, whom Nissaba bore,
be Ezinu/Ašnan, the growing grain, the life of Sumer.

Nissaba is mentioned because, being associated with grain herself, it is appropriate that her daughter should bear the name "Grain." By this interpretation there is no granddaughter of Nissaba with the same name, only the daughter Sud, who was married by Enlil, and who made her "Grain" be giving her the extra name.

Finally, Civil's observation about the significance of right and left hands in Antagal is a very important discovery, though perhaps it does not explain everything. The passage in *RA* 17 has to be emended to yield a left hand, which the Akkadian translation does not accept, and we do not understand the Sumerian phrase sufficiently to be sure that the Akkadian is wrong. Also in the epic, while Civil is surely correct to stress that Enlil first mistook Sud as a prostitute, her reaction to his first advances must surely have disabused him of the idea. There is a perfectly obvious reason why Nusku kept the gift in his left hand. He was sent to arrange the marriage with Sud's mother, and when she agreed he was to produce a hidden gift to seal the arrangement. No doubt he used his right hand for other purposes. Perhaps, like Ninšubur, he carried a sceptre as a symbol of office. Thus the less-used left hand served to hold the concealed gift. And one wonders what Nissaba would have said if the manner of production of the gift had misrepresented her daughter's character!

The 10th Tablet of úru à m - m a - i r - r a - b i *

1. *Introduction*¹

The reconstruction of the so-called “liturgical” series, i.e., the balag-poems, is a notoriously difficult task. One reason is structural: these poems are composed of textual blocks that are repeated within the same balag, in other balags, and in eršemma compositions (see *JCS* 28 [1976] 72ff.) making it very easy to combine fragments in an incorrect sequence. A second reason is the complicated textual transmission: a balag can be preserved partly in a tablet of the OB period and partly in NA or NB sources. The text is modified through the centuries by weak links of oral tradition or poor copies by inexperienced scribes. In NA and NB times the texts were standardized and arranged in a fixed sequence (canonical version). For unknown and possibly accidental reasons some balags have been abundantly preserved while of others we know only the name, as is the case for most of the balags to female deities in the official Kouyunjik catalogue published in 4R 53. This article is a contribution to the textual reconstruction of one of these balags. Any translations or interpretations of the contents are strictly provisional, pending a complete reconstruction of the series. The translation given here attempts to harmonize the disagreements between the Sumerian text and its Akkadian translation. Disagreements are frequent and are not discussed in detail, except when they present especial interest or difficulty.

The balag (or series) úru à m - m a - i r - r a - b i is first attested in the OB period (see *RA* 68 [1974] 95f.) when it had wide diffusion from Mari to Susa (unpubl. tablet). The text is very incompletely preserved. The canonical recension had twenty-one tablets. Of these, the first three are preserved in entirety (mostly in OB sources); we have only the incipit of the fourth and then a long lacuna from tablet four to nine; what is left of tablet ten is presented here; an enormous gap follows from tablet eleven to the last part of eighteen, and the last three tablets are reasonably well preserved. This does not mean that the

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1. I want to thank Dr. Irving L. Finkel, Assistant Keeper in the British Museum, for his excellent copy of K 3327 +, Dr. Jeremy A. Black, Assistant Director, British Archeological Expedition to Iraq, for his join of K 3327 and K 4655 and the Direction of the Royal Scottish Museum (Edinburgh) for a photo of Ed 09-405,26.

missing tablets have not been recovered, only that there are no colophons identifying these tablets whose texts may be otherwise well-known among the many unplaced Inanna balag fragments. Since many of the OB fragments come from Kiš, it is likely that many unidentified fragments in *PRAK* and *OECT* 5 will turn out to be part of this balag.

2. Sources

A = Ed 09-405,26 (copy by Langdon BL VIII, collated from photo).

Upper part of a NB bilingual tablet of unknown origin preserved in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh. The colophon reads, after the catch-line:

40 + [x ŠID MU.BI.IM DUB] 10 KAM.MA úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi

followed by traces of two lines more, relatively well copied by Langdon. Except for M. Witzel's attempted translation of the reverse in *AnOr* 10 29 3ff., this tablet does not seem to have attracted the attention of the scholars. Langdon's copy is seriously misleading in several places.

B = K 3327 + K 4655 (copy by Irving L. Finkel, fig. 1).



Fig. 1. K 3327 + K 4655 (copy I. L. Finkel)

Upper left corner of the reverse of a NA bilingual tablet from Kouyunjik. Identified by me among the copies of F. W. Geers, the join has been verified by Jeremy A. Black.

C = Ash. 1930-230g (copy by O. R. Gurney in *OECT* 5 45).

Fragment from the obverse of a unilingual, multicolumn OB tablet from Kiš in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. The surface is in very poor condition and a diplomatically accurate transcription would have required more half-brackets than are given here.

Note that *OECT* 5 46 parallels the opening litany (see remarks to lines 1-6). It would be worth checking whether *OECT* 5 45 and 46 could be part of the same multicolumn tablet. In this case, *OECT* 46 i' and the upper part of ii' would correspond to tablet nine of the canonical recension.

3. Text

1	[x x x]-a-na 'x' mu-tin 'unug ^{ki} -ga' [na-mèn(?) ...]	A
	[] a KUR šá ar-da-tum' []	
2	[mu-tin] an-na n[in]	A
3	[s]ag ₉ -ga [x x] 'x' []	A
4	gašan dub-'sar' 'a'-ra-l[i]	A
5	gašan dub-sar maḥ nin guruš'x' []	A
6	nin i-lu nin AḤ 'x' []	A
7	[x] [x] kul-aba ^{ki} al bí-in-e ₁₁ -dè mu-tin unug ^{ki} -[ga na-mèn]	A
	[x]-u i-tel-li ar-da-tum' []	
8	é a-ra-li-ke ₄ al []	A
9	é du ₆ -su ₈ -ba-ke ₄ al []	A
10	'du ₆ ' bàd-tibira ^{ki} -ke ₄ al []	A
11	é-múš-ka-nag-gá-ke ₄ al []	A
11a	[] 'x x mu' [] ér-ra KU-mu	C
12	unug ^{ki} -ga na-mèn unug ^{ki} -ga na-mèn mu-tin-mèn me-e unug ^{ki} -ga na-[mèn]	A
	[] m]u-tin-me-en unug ^{ki} na-me-en gá-e unug ^{ki} na-me-en	C
	šá ana-ku šá ana-ku ar-da-tum ana-ku šá []	A
13	unug ^{ki} é-gi ₄ -a-bi na-mèn mu-tin-mèn sag-dul ₆ -a ta unu[g ^{ki}]	A
	[unug ^k] é-gi ₄ -a-bi na-me-en mu-tin-me-en sag-tu a-na 'x' []	C
	šá ul kal-lat-su ana-ku ar-da-tum ana-ku ana mi-nim pu-u[s-su-ma-ku]	A
14	kul-aba ^{ki} um-me-da-bi na-mèn mu-tin-mèn ù-a IGI bí-í[b-]	A
	[kul-a]ba ^{4ki} um-me-da-bi na-me-en [mu-tin]-me-en ù-a IGI na-tuš?	C
	šá ul ta-ri-i[s-s]u ana-ku ar-da-tum ana-ku ú-nam-za-a[z]	A
15	é-mu sila da-ma-al-la-aš dè-íb-lá mu-tin-mèn me-e unug ^{ki} -ga na-[mèn]	A
	[]-al NI-íb-lá [] gá-e unug ^{ki} na-me-en	C
	bi-ti ana re-bi-ti lu ú-'x-x' ar-da-tum ana-ku ú-ru-ka-t[um ana-ku]	A
16	sila kul-aba ^{ki} -ka-aš dè-íb-lá mu-tin-mèn me-e []	A
	[]-lá []	C
17	[in-tu-u]d-da-ma in-tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin-mèn ma-'x'-[]	A
	[šá ú]-lu-di-šú MIN ar-da-tum []	A

18	[] 'in'-tu-ud-da-ma mu-tin-mèn []	A
	[] 'x' ú-li-di-šú []	A
19	[] in-tu-ud-d[a-ma	A
20	[]-gá-'gá' []	A
(lacuna)		
1'	'x' šu-kár é-a[n-na(?)] mu-tin-me-en []	C
2'	nin úru-ta ezen ma-al-la ta 'x' []	B
	nin ₉ -e úru ezen m[a-] en-na 'x' []	C
	<i>a-ḥa-ti ina URU i-sin-nu mi-nu i-ba-aš-š[i</i>	B
3'	urú-gá ezen me-na-e ^{itu} ab-è []	B
	úru šeš-a eze[n] en-na []	C
	<i>ina a-li-ni i-sin-nu ma-ti a-b[u</i>	B
4'	ki-sikil-e eze[n] mu-tin-me-e[n	C
5'	ezen šeš-mu me-na-e ^{itu} [ab-è]	B
	'ezen šeš' a-na-me-e[n-na] ab-bé	C
	<i>i-sin-nu</i> ŠEŠ-ia []	B
6'	[ezen ^d][dumu]-zi me-na-e ⁱ [^{tu}]	B
	ezen ^d dumu-zi [] mu-tin-me-en 'x'	C
7'	[x ^d dumu-z]i-'da'-ke ₄ mu-tin-mèn me-[]	B
	[]-'e' ar-da-tu me-[]	B
8'	[x x x] ^d dumu-zi-da'-ke ₄ mu-t[ⁱ n-mèn	B
9'	g[ú-e]n-na-ar šeš-mu 'gú'-en-na-a[r]	B
	<i>ina nap-ḥar be-li a-ḥi ina n[ap-ḥar be-li]</i>	AB
10'	šeš-mu ^d dumu-zi-da g[ú-en-na-ar	AB
11'	^d gilgameš umun ki-ta []	AB
	<i>be-el er-še-ti</i> []	AB
12'	umun-mu-zi-da me-er-si si-DI-ta m[u-tin-mèn	AB
	<i>ina li-mit gi-ir-se-e</i> []	A
13'	^d dumu-zi ki šeš-a-na-ta mu-tin-mèn []	AB
	<i>it-ti at-ḥe-e-šu</i> [(x)]	A
14'	šeš-mu mu-lu am-gin ₇ ná-a-ra mu-tin-men u nu-mu-un-da-ku-[ku]	A
	<i>ana a-ḥi-ia šá ki-ma ri-mi ir-bi-šu : ir-re-du-ú ar-da-tum ana-ku ul a-šal-lal</i>	A
15'	^d dumu-zi mu-lu am-gin ₇ ná-a-ra mu-tin-mèn ù ()	A
16'	sag šen-šen-na sag zabar-ra mu-tin-mèn nu-uš mu-un-da-ab-šúm	A
17'	anše-na tu-lu-ba-na mu-tin-mèn nu-()	A
	a e-le-'lu sipa'-dè ta an-ak guruš-e ta an-ak	A
	<i>ina lal-'la-ra 'ti re-é-um mi-na-a i-pu-uš eṭ-lum mi-na-a</i> MIN	A

4. Translation

This translation omits the litany part as well as the lines too broken for interpretation.

- 12 I am from Uruk, I am from Uruk, I am the young woman, I am from Uruk.
13 Am I not the bride of a man from Uruk? I, the young woman, why do I wear the veil?
14 Am I not the wet nurse of a man from Uruk? I, the young woman, <why do> I sing a lullaby?
15 My house(hold) overflows into the wide streets. I, the young woman, I am from Uruk.
16 It overflows into the streets of Kulaba. I, the young woman, I am from Uruk.
...
2' Sister, what festival takes place in town? [...],
3' When will the festival be in our town? In the month of Abu [...]
4' Young girl, [when will] the festival be? [In the month of Abu]. I am the young woman [...].
5' When is the festival of my brother? In the month of Abu [...].
6' When is the festival of Dumuzi? [In the month of Abu.] I am the young woman [...].
...
9' In the Assembly of the Lords, my brother in the Assembly of the Lords [...].
10' My brother Dumuzi, in the Assembly [of the Lords ...].
11' (With) Gilgameš, the Lord of the Netherworld, [...].
12' (With) Ningizzida, from the borders of Girsu, [...].
13' Dumuzi (is) with his peers. I am the young woman [...].
14' I, the young woman, cannot sleep because of my brother who is lying down like a wild bull.
15' I, the young woman, cannot sleep because of Dumuzi who is lying down like a wild bull.
16' Will not someone replace the holy corpse, the clean corpse? I am the young woman.
17' Will not someone replace the one whose donkeys have been set loose? I am the young woman.
-

(Incipit of next tablet):

Among cries of woe, what does the shepherd do? what does the shepherd do?

5. Commentary

Lines 1-12 contain the customary litany that opens each balag section. It is divided here in three parts: Inanna's names and titles (lines 1-6), names of the holy places related to the subject of the balag (lines 7-11), and the concluding line which normally repeats the initial refrain (line 12). The text of the opening line is so poorly preserved that a satisfactory restoration is not possible. There is room for at least four or five signs in the broken end of the line, and the sign KUR in the Akkadian translation is most doubtful. *OECT* 5 46 ii' 5ff. is a parallel, or perhaps even a duplicate (see above, 2), of text A:

mu-tin-e [...]
mu-tin-an-[na ...]
sag₉-ga 'x' [...]
ga-ša-an [...]
ga-ša-a[n ...]

If it is a duplicate, *m u - t i n - e* must be restored at the beginning of line 1 in A.

OECT 5 42:3ff. is a syllabic text that, without being a duplicate, offers obvious parallels:

bu-ru li-la ki-sikil bu-ru l[i-la] ti ba-gi-[gi]
 ama mu-ti-na-na bu-ru li-l[a] ti ba-g[i-gi]
 mu-ti-na-na NE-en mu-ud¹-¹x¹ [t]i ba-g[i-gi]
 sag₉-ga [ga-š]a-an ¹x ma da¹ [...]
 ga-ša-an [dub]-sar a-[ra]-li^{ki} [...]
 ga-ša-an dub-sa^{1?}-ra sila₄ za ¹a¹ [...]
 al-gá-ar-s[ur]-ra sag ¹mu-x¹-[...]

Lines 7-11 have the verbal form *a l b í - i n - e₁₁ - d è* between the toponym and the refrain. This form appears to be morphologically incorrect, for the prefix *a l -* is incompatible with any other verbal prefix. It is possibly a contaminated form influenced by *l ú - a l - e₁₁ - d è = mahḫû* “ecstatic,” for which see Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 [1977] 27f. I assume that the subject of this verbal form is Dumuzi who “has gone up,” i.e., disappeared from his holy places into the Netherworld, leaving Inanna as a waiting bride (see lines 13f.).

Lines 12ff. are a good illustration of the difficulties of distinguishing in writing declarative clauses from interrogative clauses when the question refers to the predicate itself and not to one of its arguments. The ambiguity of the Sumerian prefix *n a -* compounds the problem. The Akkadian translates *n a -* as affirmative in line 12 but as negative in 13f. I take these lines as rhetorical questions. In line 13, *u n u* [g seems clear but does not fit the Akkadian translation; a verb is expected. Line 14 includes what seem to be several scribal misunderstandings. A characteristic activity of the wet nurse in Sumerian literature is singing lullabies: *ù - a — d u g₄/d i* or *u₅ - a — d u g₄/d i* (Wilcke, *JNES* 27 [1968] 233 n.13), translated not too appropriately in late lexical lists by *nuzzumu* (Nabnitu B 297). Here *ù - a* has been misunderstood and an IGI has been inserted resulting in *ù é r*, and the verbal form (the auxiliary verb is not preserved in A) is translated by a D-form of *nazāzu/nasāsu*.² The parallelism with line 13 requires emendation by insertion of *t a -* (*a š*) or the like (cf. English translation).

Lines 15f. The Akkadian translation of *l á* is not readable. Langdon’s proposal in *BL* p. 19 is based on a reading *ú-ḫat-ti*; it is grammatically unacceptable and incompatible with the traces on the photo. The last two signs, crossed by cracks, are now:



Tentatively, one can propose something like “dispersed” derived from the well-attested meaning “to extend, spread over.”

Lines 17ff. The key word in this passage is *i n - t u - u d - d a - m a* “the one who gave birth to him,” but the context is too fragmentary to reveal the implications of this clause. Note the variation in the vocalization of the Akkadian verbal form in the translation.

If the reconstruction of the colophon given above is correct, the lacuna after line 20 can have from 3 to 12 lines.

2. For the distinction between the two verbs, see discussion in *CAD* N/2 141a. Note, however, that the passage from 4R 58 iii 35 in *CAD* N/2 353b *nussusu* d) should be translated “to sing a lullaby” and put under *nazāzu*.

Lines 2'ff. contain a dialogue. When Inanna is asked what kind of festival the town is celebrating (2'-4'), she answers that it is Dumuzi's festival of the month of Abu (5'ff.). The month name raises some puzzling questions. The Akkadian seems to give the name as *a-b[u]* in line 3' while the Sumerian has *a b - è* which, despite the phonetic similarity, corresponds not to Abu (Sum. *i z i - i z i - g a r*) but to Tebet in the Babylonian calendar. Source C may have a syllabic *a b - b é* for *a b - è* in line 5' indicating that the confusion is already present in OB sources. It is surprising to find misinterpreted such well-known terms as the month names. The month of Abu is the fifth of the Babylonian calendar and the month of Tebet is the tenth. According to the *Astrolabe B i 44* (Reiner and Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens* 2 pp. 62 and 151), in the fourth month (Tammuz) Dumuzi is "bound," (*b a - d a b₅ - d a b₅ - b a : ikkamû*), an allusion to his six-month sojourn in the Netherworld. All considered, it seems more likely that Abu, not Tebet, is the correct month. The only explanation for the confusion in month names seems to be to assume that at one stage the text was transmitted in Akkadian and that the Sumerian version derives from it. The author of the Sumerian translation was misguided by the phonological similarity and rendered Abu as *a b - è* instead of *i z i - i z i - g a r*.

The festival of the month of Abu is well attested in OB times, see *CAD A/1* 75ff. *abû* B. One Ur III text from Ur mentions *níg ezem-ma a-bu-um-ma* (*UET* 3 1015) "supplies for the festival of Abu," and another *níg-dab₅ a-bu-um-ma* (*UET* 3 244); the festival included offerings to the royal ancestors: *ki a-nag^dur-namma* in 244, *ki a-nag-da ba-an-dé-[a]* in 1015.³ The funerary nature of the rites is also implied by lines 9'ff. of the present text which mention the chthonic deities Gilgameš and Ningizzida (Eme-Sal *u m u n - m u - z i - d a*).

The word *g ú - e n - n a* (lines 9'f.) has the following meanings:

1) "river sediment (in a semi-fluid state), beer dregs," Akk. *qadûtu*. In Sumerian context: *g a i - t i - i r - d a g ú - e n - n a n u - m e - a k i - i n - d a r m u - d a - a n - k u₅* "the itirda-milk, without being river mud, has been diverted into the cracks of the ground" *VAS* 10 123 ii 12' (see Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* 150ff. for parallels and context). This translation, different from the one proposed by Falkowitz, is justified by the parallelism with the preceding line (line 11'): "The *a u*-milk, without being flood water,⁴ has been poured over the fields." Note that the milk product *itirda* is compared to mud later on in the same text (*r. i 4*).

2) "assembly of the lords," Akk. *naphar bēli*. This is the most frequent meaning and seems to be an old one (the term appears in Early Dynastic Lagaš [see below] and in Gudea Cyl. A xxvii 14-15). There is no need to assume that this Akkadian translation, given also in Lugal-e 24 and Angin 156, is a late scribal misinterpretation. Sum. *g ú - e n - n a* is not treated, despite the ending -a, as a genitive construction. Note, for instance, in Inanna's Descent 35, 174, 317, *š è m g ú - e n - n a* (locative) ... *t u k u* "to play the drums in the assembly," parallel to *é r - d u₆ - d u₆ - d a m . . . g á - g á* "to lament in the ruins." Late Sumerian recensions tend to add the dative suffix to *g ú - e n - n a* in the locative case. For passages with *g ú - e n - n a*, see Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30 136f.

3. I believe that it is quite possible that *a-bu-um-ma* represents *abbû* "ancestors" and thus the festival is the "festival of the ancestors" and has nothing to do with the month of Abu. *UET* 3 20, dated *i t u a - b i*, is probably a tablet found in Ur but written elsewhere.

4. Reading *a - e š t u b*.

3) “governor (of Nippur),” Akk. *guennaku*, derived from *gú-en-na-ak*, “the one of the assembly,” i.e., a genitive with ellipsis of the regens as in *šandabakku*, from *pi-sa-n-dub-ba-ak* “the one of the tablet baskets.” The term is mostly post-OB and not found in Sumerian literary texts. For the historical aspects, see Brinkman, *AnOr* 43 297f., and for a possible reading *šandabakku*, Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs* 75ff. (written before the revision of *Lú = ša*, see now *MSL* 12 97: 135).

4) “assembly room, throne room” is a meaning generally accepted and even claimed to be primary (Klein, *JAOS* 91 [1971] 298). While a semantic extension from “assembly” to “place of the assembly” is in itself very plausible, all unambiguous references to a room or building are genitive constructions with *kisal* (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 300) or *ma* (Ur Lament 25, 58, *VAS* 2 2 iv 16; *SRT* 1 iii 7: *ma-gú-en-na-ka ú šì-bal-bal-[e]* “he pours blood in the court of the assembly.”

In the present text, *gú-en-na* designates the assembly of chthonic gods, among whom Dumuzi is now counted (line 13’). This explains the name *ḫu-mu-zi gú-en-(na)* in Pre-Sargonic lists of offerings from Lagaš (*TSA* 1, *DP* 53); it refers to Dumuzi in his “dead period,” in the infernal assembly.

Line 16’. The term *zabar* has here a meaning “clear, clean” (cf. *zabar = ellu* Aa III/3:193; Diri I 128; = *namru* Antagal F 253) required by the parallelism with *šen-šen*. The line is an echo of Inanna’s Descent 289: *sag dili sag-gá-na ḫa-ba-ab-šum-mu*. For another instance of *sag* as a designation of a corpse, see Ur-Namma’s Death 43 (Kramer, *JCS* 21 [1969] 113): *sag kù-[ge] é-gal-a-na i-ná ur-ḫamma lú erín-e ki-ág-gá gú-nu-mu-un-d[a-z]i-ge* “the holy corpse lies in state in the palace, Ur-Namma, the beloved of his troops, cannot raise his head (lit. neck).” For *nu-uš*, see Römer, *AOAT* 25 37 1ff. I believe that *nu-uš* (from **nu-šè*)⁵ is used to form rhetorical questions. For instance, the Gilgamesh passage *nu-uš ma-ab-bé-en ku-li-mu nu-uš m[a-ab-bé-en]* (Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources* 86: 247f.) has to be translated “are you not going to tell me, my friend, are you not going to tell me (the chthonic rules)?”

Line 17’. The first phrase has to be analyzed as *anše + ani + ak tu-lu + bi + ani + a*, literally, “in his releasing of his donkey.” The precise meaning of this idiom is not clear. I have taken it as indicating weakness, as a euphemism for Dumuzi’s dead state; cf. perhaps, *nam-kalag-mu anše kar-ra-gin ḫaša gá ba-e-tak* “my strength has left me as (swiftly as) a runaway donkey” Proverb 10.9 (*PBS* 1/2 117 and dupl.). Another possibility worthy of consideration is suggested by the description of the funerary rites for Ur-Namma (Kramer, *op. cit.* 114:71, collated):

lugal^{gi}[anše?]-né ba-da-dúr-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-túm

ur-ḫamma^{gi}anše-né ba-(blank = repetition).

‘The king is seated on his donkeys (?), the donkeys are buried together.

Ur-Namma is seated, etc.”

There are some textual difficulties,⁶ but the allusion to the burial practices known from the Royal Tombs in Ur is clear. Line 17’ would thus be simply a figurative way of saying that Dumuzi is dead.

5. The morpheme structure conditions of Sumerian do not admit, it seems, a form *nVš* and therefore *nu-uš* must be a compound morpheme. Falkenstein, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 [1955] 113, suggested a derivation from *nu + e - še* (the quotative). I prefer to see in *-š* the terminative suffix for phonological and syntactic reasons.

6. Especially about the term that precedes *ba-*. It is preserved only in the following line, inserted by the scribe in characters so minute that Kramer missed it in his edition. The *GIŠ* could be *É*, the *ANŠE* could be *GIŠ*, etc.

6. Appendix

As an example of the *ta a n - a k* motif found in the incipit of Tablet 11th (in the catch-line of source A), I give here an unpublished fragment from Nippur. 2N-T226 (A 29965) is the center part from a small one-column OB tablet found in a dump in the TB sector of the Scribal Quarter. See copy, fig. 2.

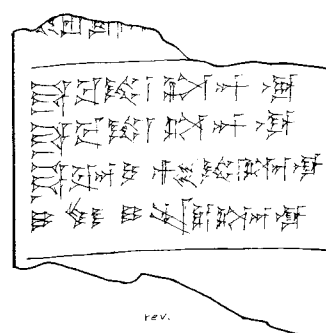
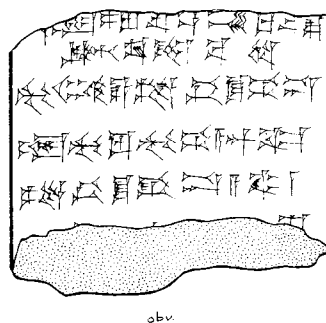


Fig. 2. 2N-T226 (copy M. Civil).

construction with dab_5 in 2N-T226 is noteworthy for being the first example of a reflex of this Akkadian idiom in a Sumerian context. The $-dè$ after gur_7-du_6 is to be analyzed as $-d+e$, the first is the final consonant of du_6 , the second the locative-terminative suffix.

Rev. 2'. The same incipit is found in *BE* 30 1 iv 3', an OB balag text with the bottom of column iii and the top of iv missing. This prevents us from deciding whether 2N-T226 and *BE* 30 1 are parts of the same composition.

[ADDENDUM. After this article went to press, Dr. Finkel informed me that he had discovered a new source for Tablet 10th. BM 77519 is the lower left corner of a LB tablet that fills in part the gap before line 1':

1'	[	]- $\bar{r}ti$	$\bar{d}dumu-z[i$	]
2'	[	]- $\bar{r}x$ -zé	mu-tin-mèn [	]
3'	[	]- $\bar{r}x$ -re	me-ri sag [	]
		<i>lu-u ma-ak-ki-im</i> ¹		
4'	[i-bi]-mu		ér-ra [	]
	<i>i-na-a</i>		<i>di-ma-t[u</i>	]
5'	ša-ab-mu		ḪAR- $\bar{r}x$ -[	]
	<i>li-ib-bi</i>		<i>tu</i> -[	]
6'	unú-mu		IG[I	]
	<i>le-ta-a</i>		$\bar{r}x$ -[	]

Follows line 2' of the reconstructed text. Lines 2'-8' of the reconstructed text are preserved with minor orthographic variants and line 4' is omitted. The reconstruction of line 7' suggested above is incorrect.]

Notes on the “Instructions of Šuruppak”^{*}

The “Instructions of Šuruppak,”^{**} a Sumerian collection of wisdom sayings dating back to Early Dynastic times, is available in a 1974 critical edition by B. Alster. New sources, most of them adding little of significance to the known text, have been identified during the last decade. Some of the more interesting ones are published in this article.

I. *A New Early Dynastic Source (OIP 99 256+323)*

The fragment AbS-T 305 (*OIP* 99 323) joins the right side of the obverse of *OIP* 99 256.¹ The tablet originally had nine columns on the obverse but only seven on the reverse and was slightly oblong (height

^{*} The present article was originally published in *JNES* 43 (1984) pp. 281-298.

^{**} Abbreviations used throughout are according to those in R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* 2 (Berlin and New York, 1975), pp. xi ff. Additional ones are:

MEE 3 = G. Pettinato et al. *Testi lessicali monolingui della Biblioteca L.2796*, Materiali epigrafici di Ebla 3 (Naples, 1981)

MEE 4 = ——. *Testi lessicali bilingui della Biblioteca L.2796*, Materiali epigrafici di Ebla 4 (Naples, 1982)

MM = siglum of tablets in the collection of the Abbey of Montserrat (Barcelona)

OSP = A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia* (Malibu, California 1975-)

SLFN = J. Heimerdinger, *Sumerian Literary Fragments from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1979)

SI = “Instructions of Šuruppak”

VE = Ebla Vocabulary (*MEE* 4, pp. 197 ff.)

The recensions of the “Šuruppak Instructions” are indicated as follows:

AbS = Abu-Šalābīkh recension

Ad = Adab recension

ED = Early Dynastic recension

OB = Old Babylonian recension

Sb = siglum for Susa tablets in the Louvre

References to B. Alster and C. Wilcke without further identification are to Alster’s *The Instructions of Šuruppak: A Sumerian Proverb Collection*, *Mesopotamia* 2 (Copenhagen, 1974) and to Wilcke’s review article in *ZA* 68 (1978) 196ff.

1. See *OIP* 99, pp. 57 ff. and Alster, pp. 11 ff.

198 mm, width ca. 209 mm). The join has not been verified yet with the originals in the Iraq Museum. No cast was made of the obverse of 256 because of the extremely precarious condition of its salted surface, and thus the join cannot be checked on casts either. R. Biggs's copies, however, are so accurate that the superposed copies fit exactly.² A cast and a photograph of 323 are available, and an examination of them shows that both 256 and 323 have the same scribal ductus and case size. Figures 1 and 2 combine the copies of *OIP* 99 256 and 323. Note that while the position of the obverse of 323 is certain, the same cannot be said for its reverse.

The text resulting from the join is as follows:³

vii	1'	ka[š z]u ₅ 'DI' na 'x' []	
		kaš nag-a-zu-dè DI na-an-ne-e	= OB 131
	2'-3'	u-sar-zu ₅ -ta 'x' gu ₇ níg-nam sag-ku ₅	
		(cf. é-ta è šà-zu na-an-gu ₇ -e)	= OB 132?
	4'	[igi]-zu ₅ -ta 'x'-hul na-ak	
		za-e igi-zu-ta kin na-an-ak-[e]	= OB 180
	5'	inim-zu ₅ -ta níg na-lu-lu	
		inim-zu-ta níg nam-mu-un-lu-lu-un	= OB 181
	6'	gà-la d[ag] é dúr [(x)] lá?	
		gá-la dag-ge é dúr-bi-šè 'mu-un-x'	= OB 182
viii	2'	[]ŠE ŠE []	
	3'	'x x x' dalla? [.....]	
	4'	[I[GI].DUB 'su?' []	
		3 broken cases	
	8'-9'	áš dug ₄ -x' [] bar šè-dar	
		áš dug ₄ -dug ₄ -ge bar ši-in-dar	= 139
	10'	[a]d-gi ₄ -gi ₄ []šè NE []	no OB parallel
vii	2'	“With your bite, eating ..., you slaughter (?) everything.	
	3'f.	Do not do evil with your eyes;	
	5'	with your words you will not multiply (your) possessions.	
	6'	The negligent one”	
viii	8'	“By uttering curses the skin is broken, giving advice ...”	

Commentary

vii 2'-3'. Or “eating your [...] with sharp teeth.” The sequence of signs is uncertain. The parallelism with the following lines, which start with an instrumental phrase with the second person possessive suffix, favors the sequence given in the text; the line, however, is somewhat similar to OB ŠI 132 –forming a unit with the preceding line– in the sense that both seem to refer to gluttony, in which case the sequence ù -

2. See photo in *OIP* 99, pl. 113 and fig. 1; note esp. the fracture line running from iv 3 to the bottom right corner.

3. The sigla are Alster's with their numbers given as subscripts; 3N-T919, 485 (*SLFN*, pl. 46) = T₁₄ is a new source.

s a r - t a [š à] - z u₅ <n a> - g u₇ would be preferable. The differences are nevertheless too great to accept the second reading without qualifications: é would be replaced by ù - s a r, n a would be missing, and the traces of x do not fit š à.

Despite occasional graphic contaminations, Sumerian clearly had two distinct terms, ù - s a r and u₄ - s a r. The second term, to be read u₄ - s a k a r, means “moon crescent,” the first, usually in the verbal construct ù - s a r — a k, “to sharpen.”⁴ The Ebla sources (VE 1134 f. in *MEE* 4, p. 322) are decisive on this point:

1134 ù-sar = za-la-sa

1135 ù-sar—ak = sa-’à-lum, sa-’à-a-um.

The first equation, related to Arabic *ḍarasa*, means “bite” and apparently has no Akkadian cognate.⁵ The term appears also in *OIP* 99 256 ii 3: g é m e k a r - k í d n a - s a₁₀ k a ù - s a r - k a m₄ = [k a r] - k í d n a - a n - s a₁₀ - s a₁₀ - a n k a u₄ - s a r - r a - k a m OB ŠI 159 (note the variant u₄/ù - s a r), “do not pay a prostitute, she is a mouth that bites (lit. a mouth of bite).” As already seen by Cooper, the Semitic of the second equation has to be interpreted not as a reflex of Arabic *šahr*, “new moon,” as proposed by Krebernik, but as /šahālu/, Akk. *šēlu*, “to sharpen”; cf. Arabic *saḥala*.⁶

vii 3’. The sign sequence is again ambiguous. One can read n í g s a g n a m - k u₅ or n í g - n a m s a g - k u₅. There is no objection to taking n a m - as a verbal prefix. Even if the AbS ŠI prefers n a -, the form n a m - is well attested in texts from Abū-Šalābīkh; for example: a - n e a n - t a i g i n a m - t a - b a r, “(in a pit) he will not be seen from above” (*OIP* 99 283 v 13 ff.); b a r - m u l k i N E - g a t u d - a s a g - z a n a m - m u₄ - m u₄, e s i₄(GI₄×GI₄) g i r_x(DU)-z a n a - n i - g a r, “do not drape your head with a multicolored skin made in a clean (?) place, do not put sandals on your feet.”⁷ However, the second

4. See J. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore and London, 1983), pp. 245 f. and my note in *RA* 60 (1966): 92.

5. See M. Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla, Teil 2,” *ZA* 73 (1984): 10 sub 227. The expected verb would be *šarāšu*, not listed in *CAD*, which has only *širšu*, *šurrušu*, etc., but see *AHW*. 1085a s.v. The meaning of this verb, however, is “to branch off, to grow” and seems thus semantically unrelated to the Semitic root represented by Arabic *ḍarasa* and Ebla *z/sarāšu*. I cannot agree with Krebernik’s interpretation of *za-la-sa* as /*daršay*/, “Neumond.”

6. Krebernik, “Syllabar,” pt. 2, p. 20 sub 227 and Cooper, *Agade*, pp. 245 f. See also my remarks in “Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages: Sumerian in Ebla” in L. Cagni, ed., *il Bilinguismo a Ebla* (in press). The association of *šarāšu*, “to bite,” and *ša’ālu*, “to sharpen,” apparent from the Ebla entries collected in Krebernik, “Syllabar,” pt. 2, p. 10, is to be explained by the sharpening techniques of stone implements. It must be remembered that stone sickles are used well into ED times and that flint arrowheads are still common in the Sargonic period. As often happens, terminology is more conservative than technology, and the term for “to sharpen a metal tool” was thus in Sumerian—even when applied to metal implements—based on the idea of chipping off rather than on a process of abrasion by friction, as it would be in the mind of the modern reader. Two additional remarks: first, in the passage *Lugale* 579 which speaks of sharpening (ù - s a r — a k) like a mace (m i - t u m), the mace must be one of the fantastic weapons studied by M. Gibson in his “The Mace, the Axe, and the Dagger in Ancient Mesopotamia” (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1964), which have cutting edges underneath the mace head and are often said to have “teeth” or “jaws”; secondly, in *ha-zi-lum si-nu* of VE 227 the first word has nothing to do with *ḥaššinnu*, “axe”—as tentatively proposed by Krebernik, “Syllabar,” pt. 2— but is a derivation from *ḥesēru*, “to chip off, said of teeth”; see lexical references in *CAD* H 176 s.v. As for the grammatical form of the Ebla entry, it must be stressed that the Semitic of VE does not need to be in a grammatically connected form, although some entries in VE are, for example, genitival constructions. An entry such as VE 227 can be paraphrased as “in z ú - g u l, g u l means *ḥesēru* and z ú means *šinnu*,” and there is thus no need to manipulate the grammatical endings to fit the grammar.

7. *OIP* 99 283 vii 10 ff. For b a r - m u l, see J. Krecher, “Eine unorthographische sumerische Wortliste aus Ebla,” *OrAn* 22 (1983): 184 ad 10; for an ED value /d a g/ for NE, see my article “An ED School Exercise from Lagaš (Al-Hiba 29)” *BiOr* 40

sequence seems to give a better meaning. The form *níg-nam* in ED times is attested in Ebla: *níg-nam* = *me-na-ma-ma* (VE 64, Akk. *mimmama*). For *sag-ku₅*, see Kagal D viii D 19' f. and Sag B 105 (no Akkadian preserved in either case). Ebla comes to the rescue again with *sag-ku₅* = *ha-da-bù*, *hal-da-bù-um* SAG VE 252. Rather than simply taking *hal* = *ha_x* to give *hatāpu*, “to slaughter,”⁸ it would perhaps be possible to interpret the entry as *haltappu*, “mace,”⁹ confirmed by (a-šà) *íd edin-na^{giš}tukul sag-ku₅-rá* (var. -da) *úr-ra lá-a-mu*, “my (field) ‘river of the desert’, a killer mace hanging from the side.”¹⁰

vii 4'. The sign below *ak* remains uncertain but probably should precede *hul* in a grammatical sequence; one would have expected UKKIN = *kin_x*. It is not ZUR as the *OIP* 99 copy might suggest. OB adds *za-e* and replaces ‘x’-*hul*—*ak* by *kin*—*ak* with a change in meaning, unless one assumes that *kin*—*ak* is here an euphemism to avoid mentioning the effects of the “evil eye.”

vii 5'. The ED version shows that the original formulation was in the negative. In the OB version, all sources—including now T₁₄ with [...] *níg nam-mu-lu* [...]—suggest a negative prefix,¹¹ with the exception of the less reliable Louvre source, which has a positive statement. The idea is that only hard work, not words or incantations, make business prosper.

vii 6'. The transliteration assumes that the sign below LA is D[AG] or its equivalent and the one at the bottom center is GÁ (given the imprecise traces, it could be the other way around with no change in reading). The sign at the lower right is not as clear as it appears in the copy—where it looks like LÁ—and I do not dare identify it. Considering the parallel in line 224, one would expect DU. The essential references for KU-bi-šè have been collected by Alster (p. 105, “toward it/that place”) and discussed by Wilcke (p.223, less categorical, suggests “Sitzfläche” as a basic meaning). The meaning can be made more precise: *dúr-bi-šè* means “at the bottom, at the back, in last place” (physically or in a scale of values). In “Debate between the Tree and the Reed,” when both went to the palace to present their gifts, presumably in some sort of procession, the Reed tried to put himself in front of the Tree, but *giš-e gi-ir ki im-mi-ib-lá dúr-ra-ni-šè mu-un-gi₄*, “the Tree held the ground against the Reed, made him go back to his (the reed’s) last place” (line 44). This translation is justified by Nabnitu O 189-92. A similar construction, this time with the adverbial *dúr-bi-šè*, is found in SAL.UŠ.DAM-ni *dúr-bi-šè im-ma-an-gi₄*.¹² The main occurrences of *dúr-bi-šè* can now be retranslated: “do not buy a palace slave girl, she will always be at the end of the road,” i.e., the palace sells only its decrepit, useless

(1983): 559ff.; for *esir₄*, see P. Steinkeller, “On the Reading and Meaning of *GI₄×GI₄* and LAK 173,” *AfO* 28 (1981-82) 140f.; note, finally, the value /*gi r*/ for DU, consonant with the pictographic form of DU.

8. Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla, Teil 1,” *ZA* 72 (1983) 190 and idem, pt. 2, *ZA* 73 (1984) 73 ad 252.

9. A. K. Grayson, “Two Fragmentary Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,” *Iraq* 37 (1975) 69.

10. *VAS* 10 197 iii 13', with unpub. Ur III dupl., part of “The Fields of Ninurta.”

11. The Nippur source T₁₀ has to be understood as *níg-nam nu*.

12. *CT* 15 28:17. The construction is similar to *a-ga-(aš)—gi₄*, written *a-ga(GIN)—gi₄* in Presargonic and ED; see, for instance, T. Jacobsen, *CTNMC* 2 iii 3—opposed to *du-b-sa-g*—; A. Westenholz, *OSP* 1 42 ii 5; etc. Semantically, while *a-ga—gi₄* implies only posteriority, *dúr-bi-šè* refers to the last place.

slaves¹³; “my son, the field placed at the bottom of the levees/water, be it wet or dry, it is (nevertheless) a field share,” i.e., even a plot located in the less favorable place for irrigation, at the end of the water ditches, can still be useful;¹⁴ “the b a r - š u - g á l-woman comes/stands last in the house,” alluding to the low social status of women of this profession.¹⁵ In “Inanna and Sukalletuda” 164, Inanna, exhausted, approaches the shade tree and lies down at its base (d ú r - b i - š è ì - n á); in *PBS* 5 26:34 the Gudam is made to sleep “at the bottom” (d ú r - b i - š è) of the fields of Zabalam, i.e., far at the end of the cultivated land. The other references quoted by Alster and Wilcke either do not belong here or are too obscure for translation.¹⁶

viii 2'. The second ŠE does not have the horizontal wedge of the true ŠE. A possible restoration is ^d]ŠE.T[IR; Ašnan is mentioned in ŠI 246 but apparently in a different context; also possible are š e S[AR and š e T[U.

viii 3'. Note the changes from the *OIP* 99 copy. The sign DALLA is certain.

viii 4'. IGI, before DUB, is reasonably certain.

viii 8'ff. See comments to line 139 in section 2 below.

r. i. Given the uncertain placement of these cases and their fragmentary condition, no transliteration or comments are given, but note that case 2' could correspond to OB ŠI 130 with d u g₄ instead of e (i m - m e); see section 11, line 130.

II. MM 477 and other Sources for Lines 100-143

MM 477, in the collection of the Abbey of Montserrat, is a single-column tablet (94 × 68 mm) of unknown origin. When last collating the tablet in April 1982, I was able to join a small, unnumbered fragment to the left edge (see copy, fig. 3).

The text of MM 477 is given below in a reconstruction of lines 100-143 and with the addition of the following sources not used in Alster's reconstruction:

A = 3N-T756 (IM 58682, from cast) = ll. 105-19, 122-35.

Right edge fragment of a single-column tablet from TA 189 XI/2.

B = 3N-T917, 382 (*SLFN*, pl. 66) = ll. 133-45.

Bottom right corner of a single-column tablet from TA 191 X/4.

13. OB ŠI 162; taking g ì r, “road,” in the sense of “sequence” (cf. g ì r - g ì n - n a), here said of qualitative ranking. The translation of the second part must not be understood in its idiomatic English sense but as “the last choice,” a more precise idiomatic rendering would be “the bottom of the barrel.” “Always” attempts to render the infrequent reduplication g á l - g á l.

14. OB ŠI 265; Wilcke's reading PAD is confirmed by collation; the internal vertical of the first PAD is clearly visible in the photo in *OIP* 99, pl. 114. Note the use of d u r u₅, “wet from natural causes,” rather than by irrigation.

15. OB ŠI 224.

16. The meaning of d ú r in all these passages is the one given by the group *išdu*, *šaplu*, *kiškirru*, and, possibly, *arkatu*; see *MSL* 14 140 19:7ff. and parallels. The term ^{giš}d ú r - b i - š è - g a r, already adduced by Wilcke, and the similar ^{giš}d ú r - e š - g a r in Hh VIIA 204 (with the d ú r confirmed by BM 37775; remarks in *MSL* 6 100 to be disregarded) designate the upper element of a drain pipe (see, for example, *OIP* 78, pl. 69; *UE* 7, fig. 21c; *Mission archéologique à Mari* 2/1, fig. 139), hence the explanation *simmiltu ša naššabi*, where *simmiltu* designates the vertical row of drain elements. Wilcke's interpretation (“Spalier[?] für *naššabu*-Gurken”) seems most unlikely. To understand the use of d ú r here, note that the upper element of a drain is flush with the floor, even if it is at the top of the drain.

S = MDP 27 260 = ll. 140-41.
Small oblong tablet in syllabic orthography, not collated.

Sources T₂ and T₅ (both from Nippur, TA 205) are part of the same tablet. Alster's source Ash is now published in *OECT* 5 33.

The text of the new sources is given here in score form under a revised version of Alster's critical edition. The main difference between the text presented here and Alster's is the different value attributed to source *JCS*. Alster systematically prefers the readings of the tablet, in the National Museum, Copenhagen. Source *JCS*, however, is full of *lectiones singulares* for which it is the only witness against Nippur and non-Nippur sources alike. These readings appear to consist mostly of typical late OB orthographic variants and thus, in my opinion, *JCS* has nothing to recommend it as a basis for textual reconstruction.

100	níg-ku ₄ -ku ₄ níg sá nu-di-dam
MM	[] - - []
101	níg-è níg nu-silig-ge-dam
MM	[] - - s[iligi] -
102	ninda lú-ù gu ₇ ga-ra-ab-sum-bi ku-nu-a
MM	[] - - - - - - -
103	sum-mu-da-bi an bad-ra-àm
MM	[] - - - - - - -
104	nu-ra-ab-sum-mu níg igi-bi-šè til-la-àm
MM	- r[a] - - - - - - -
105	ga-ra-ab-sum-bi lú-ra ga-ni-in-ús
MM	- [su]m mu [?] - - - - - - -
106	níg-ú-rum níg á-sì-ga-a-da
MM	- [] - - - - ø -
107	lú tur-mu níg nu-mu-da-sá
MM	- [] - - mu un da sá
108	ka sag ₉ -sag ₉ -ge inim ì-šid-e
MM	- ' - - ' [-] - - - -
A	[] K]A - - []
109	ka dù-dù-e kišib ì-íl-íl
MM	- -[d]u - - - - -
A	[] - - - -
110	ka lál-e ú-lál-e bu-re
MM	- - [] - - - - -
A	[] - - - -

- 111 KA-tuku^{kuš} lu-úb-a-ni sá im-dug₄
MM [] - - - - 'du'
A [] - - - - du
- 112 gal-gal-di^{kuš} lu-úb sù-ga ša-mu-un-túm
MM [] ú]b - - aš m[u]
A [] - a aš - - -
- 113 silim-di dug₄ sù-ga ša-ba-ni-ib-gar
MM [] - - []
A [] g]a - - - - -
- 114 kuš dù-dù-e kuš-ni še-ba-e-dù-e
MM [] - - []
A [] k]uš - - - ø - -
- 115 usu-tuku šu lú-ta ša-ba-ra-an-túm
MM [] - - - - []
A [] - - - - a[n]
- 116 lú-lil-e níg ú-gu ì-ib-dé-e
A [] - - - - - - -
- 117 ù-sá lú-lil-e níg ú-gu ì-ib-dé-e
A [] - - - - - - -
- 118 na-an-šèr-šèr-re-dè kir₄ šu àm-mi-ni-in-gál
A [] - - - - ø íb[?] -
- 119 ga-ti-la kir₄ šu àm-mi-ni-in-gál
A [] m]i ø íb[!] -
- 120 sag-du nu-tuku nam ši-ib-tar-re
A broken
- 121 téš nu-tuku lú úr-šè mu-un-dé-e
A broken
- 122 ga-e na-nam u₆-e ba-gub
A [] g]ub
- 123 dam òim-e nam-tar-re ba-KU-KU
A [] -
- 124 lú ħun-gá-zu^{kuš} lu-úb ši-me-da-ba-e
A [] - - - -
- 125^{kuš} lu-úb ši-mu-e-da-gu₇-e
A omits

- 126 ^{kuš}lu-ub š[i-me-d]a-til-e
A [] la
- 127 gá-la ši-me-da-dag-ge
A [] d]ag -
- 128 ga-ba-ra-gu₇ é-gal-la ba-gub
MM traces
A [] g]al - - -
- 129 dumu nita-zu é-zu-šè im-me
MM [] ' - - - []
A [] š]è - -
- 130 dumu-munus-zu ama₅-ni-šè im-me
MM [] 'ama₅' x-[]
A [] - -
- 131 kaš nag-a-zu-dè di na-an-ne-e
MM k[aš] - - - []
A [] ' - ' - ø
- 132 é- ta è šà-zu na-an-gu₇-re
MM e - [] - - traces
A [] ' - ' - -
- 133 an sù-ud-dam ki kal-kal-la-àm
MM - [] da]m - - - - -
A [] k]al - - - ø
B traces
- 134 an-da níg im-da-lu-lu-un
MM - [] - [] - - - ø
A traces
B [] l]u - -
- 135 kur-kur-re zi ši-im-da-pa-an-pa-'an'
MM - - [] - [] - - - ø
A [] - - - 'an'
B [] - - - - MUL
- 136 u₄ buru₁₄-šè u₄ kal-kal-la-šè
MM - bu[ru₁₄] - - - [-] -
B [] - - -
- 137 géme-gin₇ ri-ga-ab egi-gin₇ gu₇-ra
MM - [] r]i - - - - 'KA x'
B [] g]a - - - - 'gu₇ am'

138	dumu-mu géme-gin ₇ ri egi-gin ₇ gu ₇ -a ur ₅ h́e-en-na-nam-ma-àm
MM	[] ‘-’ ri- - - KU ø - - ‘en na ...’
B	[] - - gu ₇ -/[]nam ma àm
139	áš-dug ₄ -dug ₄ -ge bar ši-in-dar
MM	[du]g ₄ - - šè ‘im- ‘
B	[]-
140	igi-tùm-lá sag giš im-ra-ra
MM	[] - - ‘-’ - -
B	[]-
S	igi tu ul la- - - - -
141	gù-mur-re lú-lul-a túg šè-bir ₇ -bir ₇ -e
MM	[l]ú - la ‘túg šè bir ₇ bir ₇ ’ re
B	[] bir ₇ re
S	gu mu ru *lu ru la zu uš ši bi ir bi re
142	áš-di níg-erim-e na-de ₅ šè-íl-íl
MM	[N]E.RU- ‘-’ - - -
B	[] -
143	inim diri ù-bu-bu-ul-la-àm ú libiš gig-ga-àm
MM	[] ‘- - - ø - - - -’ - -
B	[] ‘-’ - - - ø

Translation

- (100) “Income should never reach an end, expenditures should never stop.
 (To say) ‘I will give it to you’ about someone else’s bread is near,
 (but) giving it is as far away as the sky.
 I will go after the man (who says) ‘I will give it to you’,
- (105) (but he will say:) ‘I cannot give it to you! The bread was finished up (just) before (now)’.
 Property is something to be expanded(?),
 (but) nothing can equal my little ones.
 The artistic mouth recites words (well),
 the harsh mouth brings (litigation) documents,
- (110) the sweet mouth gathers sweet herbs.
 The garrulous sends (?) his leather bag,
 the haughty one brings an empty bag,
 (and) the braggard puts emptiness in it.
 The one who works with leather will work with his own leather.
- (115) The strong one takes away from anyone’s hand.
 The fool loses things, sleeping the fool loses things.
 One takes a supplicating position not to get tied up,

- (and) one takes a supplicating position for an offering for his life.
- (120) The unwise decrees the fates,
the shameless one piles up things in another's lap.
I am such that I deserve admiration.
A weak wife is always seized (?) by fate.
- (125) Your hired hand shares the leather bag with you,
eats with you from the (same) bag, finishes up the bag with you,
(and then) loafs around.
You tell your son (to come) to your home,
(130) you tell your daughter (to go) to her women's quarters.
Do not pass judgment when you drink,
do not eat too much (?) away from home.
Heaven is far, earth is most precious,
(but it is) with Heaven that you multiply your goods,
(135) (and) the mountains can breathe.
At harvest time, at the most priceless time,
glean like a slave girl, eat like a queen,
to glean like a slave girl, to live like a queen, this is how it should be.
Insults break (only) the skin,
(140) (but) spying kills.
The liar, shouting, tears up garments.
Insults bring advice to the evil ones.
To speak too much is like fire, food that makes the stomach sick."

Commentary

The reader is referred in general to Alster's commentary and to Wilcke's discussions. The following are brief remarks to justify major changes either in reading or in translation.

100f. The later parallels quoted by Alster change the meaning of these lines somewhat as reflected in their different grammatical constructions. Wilcke's translation "ist ohnegleichen" seems to assume that there is no DI before the verb; all texts have clearly *s á n u - d i - d a m*, with *s á* and no infix *-d a-*, so the verb is *s á — d u g₄ / d i / e*. The lines are a wish for unlimited income which will allow unlimited giving.

102ff. Wilcke's interpretation which reads *- b i* instead of Alster's *k a š*, is supported by the sources which consistently write *- b i* at the end of the first half of the line rather than immediately before the verb. I read *n i n d a*, but *n í g* is equally possible. The "near / far" contrast corresponds to "easy / difficult" in more idiomatic English. No source has *g ù n - n u - a*: *JCS* has *g ù n - a* and all other sources *k u - n u - a*.

106f. The meaning of *á — s i* is still unclear; *á - SUM = išdihū* in *BRM 4 33 iii 8'* has a gloss *s u m*; this entry could give a clue to a meaning that fits the present context, assuming that the late gloss is incorrect. Otherwise, perhaps one should consider *s i = šapāku*. The likely meaning of these lines is that family is to be treasured more than possessions.

108. The reading *i n i m i - š i d - e* is clear in *U₃*, *MM*, and *A*; the traces of the published copy of *JCS* fit this reading too. The same expression reappears in *ŠI 228*.

110. The reading *b u - r e* of the Nippur sources and MM is to be preferred to *b ú r - r e* of *JCS* and the meaning “to pull out” (*b u - (r)* = *nasāhu*) –translated above as “gather” since “pull out” could have unwanted connotations in English– is the expected one (Alster: “distributes(?)”).¹⁷

111. The reading *l u l* comes from *JCS*, poorly preserved at this point; *U₃* has a clear *KA - t u k u* and MM *ʾKA - [*. Although *d u g₄* at the end is not too well attested, it seems preferable to take the verb as a form of *s á — d u g₄ / d i / e*.

112. The ending *- a š* is not an adverbial ending but an irregular spelling for the preformative in *ša - m u -*.

113. This line was added in smaller signs in *U₃* after the other lines had been written.

114. All sources except *JCS* have *- n i*, not *n í*.

117. Both *U₃* and *JCS* seem to have *ù - s á* rather than *u₆ - d i*.

119. Literally, for an “I want to live.” The usual translation “ex-voto” is misleading since this term designates an offering in fulfillment of a promise, regardless of its contents or purpose, while *g a - t i - (l a)* represents a wish or prayer for a very definite purpose. I have no explanation for the peculiar variant of *JCS*.

120. It is likely that *s a g - d u* stands for *s a g - d ù*; cf. *JCS* 28 78, n. 22.

121. Compare Nigga 142 f., and Nigga Bil. B 111f. with *s ù - u d* instead of *d é*, but note that the Akkadian translation uses *šapāku*. It is assumed here to be an idiomatic expression for some form of impoliteness or abuse, lit. “piling up (burdens) on other people’s laps.”

123. The second sign is clearly *ĐİM* in *U₁*; in *I₉*, not collated, the obviously retouched *ŠEŠ* of the copy may very well be a misunderstood *ĐİM*. The meanings of *đ i m* are: 1) “pole, post” (*makūtu*); 2) “weak, fragile, delicate” (*dunnamu*, *šerru*, *ulālu*); 3) “corpse,” and, possibly, 4) “figurine.” Here the second meaning seems to fit best; compare, perhaps, [*ù - m*] *u - u n - < b i > đ i m - m a k u r - š è b a - u₅*, [*g a - š*] *a - b i đ i m - m a k u r - š è b a - * d a* (copy AMA)-*u₅*, “its weakened lord has sailed to the ‘mountain’ (i.e., the Netherworld); its weakened lady has sailed to the ‘mountain’ with him,” *VAS* 2 12 ii 11’ f.

135. The final *- a n* is clear in Ash and A and implied by the incorrect *MUL* of B; there is room for it in *U₁*.

139f. The variant *t a g* for *d u g₄* is attested elsewhere: *CT* 1638 ii 4 (compared with *BIN* 2 22:198), and note the variants *d a - (g)*, *d a - a g*, and *d a - g a* (Ea III 70, *UET* 6 392:20, *VAS* 2 51:8, *RA* 11 144:5, etc.). The term *i g i - t ù m - l á* has often been the object of discussion.¹⁸ Curiously, no connection has so far been suggested between *i g i - t ù m - l á* and *i g i - t ú l - l á - (a k)*, “to look with anger.” The first term means, in my opinion, “to spy” or “to look with envy.” The ED version has a different antithetic pair: *á š — d u g₄*, “to insult,” and *a d — g i₄*, “to give advice.”

141. Except for the copy of Ash, all sources, even *U₁*, have *t ú g*. The verb is clearly *b i r₇* in *U₁*, MM, and B; in Ash it looks like *GIŠ-tenû*. S reads *k u - r u - l a* where the *k u* must be an error or a miscopy for

17. The verb *b u - (r)*, written more frequently *b ù - (r)* or *b u₆ - (r)*, is one of the terms commonly used in Ur III for collecting plants or weeds, the others being *k u₅*, *z é*, and *SIG₇*. *b u - (r)* is used especially for those plants that have bulbs such as onions (e.g., *NR/V* 208: 5; 210: 8; 211: 5 f; note *k i s u m - m a - k a ú é r b ù - r a*, “to pull out the ‘plants of crying’ in the onion patch,” Jacobsen, *CTNMC* 27: 10) or those pulled out along with their roots such as flax (e.g., *BIN* 5 210) or *ú ĤAR - a n* (Nikolski 2 142; Szlechter *JES* 119:4; *BIN* 5 257; 259); *CT* 42 27:3’ might read *ú - l á l - e a b u - r e*.

18. For the latest, see Wilcke, review of Alster.

l u = l ú. Note the change l → r in intervocalic position. The form z u - u š must be t ú g and a phonological ligature with the initial of the prefix š i -; note the writing with z instead of t, and compare instances such as s ú - u š for t ú š = *ašābu* (*MSL* 14 141: 20, 184: 140) or z u - g ú / g u l - l u m for t u k u l in VE 495a-b.¹⁹ The term KA.ĤAR has been repeatedly discussed,²⁰ but since new lexical materials have recently become available, some brief comments are in order. The readings and meanings of the term fall into three groups:

1. g ù - m u r - (a k), “to shout”; Akk. *qardu*, “one who shouts, is noisy.”²¹ The reading g ù is assured by the lexical context in *Kagal D* 7:7 and m u r by the S source to this line (see also *MSL* 14 138 r. l’f.). Other relevant lexical entries are g ù - m u r - a k í b - š i - i n - d u g₄ = *qu-ru-du-um il-te-su-ú* *YOS* 15 6;²² g ù - m u r - m u r - r a = *nubbû* from *nabû* B, “to wail, lament” *BRM* 4 33 ii 2; and KA-g ù - m u r - r a = *na-wa-a-ru ša amēli* in *Nabnitu XXI* 253, where *nawāru* must somehow indicate a vocal activity since it is followed by the synonymous d u m - d a m. *MSL* 14 138 r. l’f. supposes a translation *ra*[*gāmu*] or *ra*[*māmu*]. Textual examples of g u - m u r - (a k) are: d u n g u a n - n a b í - g u b u₄ a n - n a g ù - m u r - a k, “(Ningublaga) put the clouds in the sky, the storm roars in the sky” *TCS* 3 153 f.; similar contexts are *CT* 16 19:40 f., *AOAT* 25 418:120, and *CT* 15 16:30 u₄ g ù - m u r - r a n a - n a m to compare with M. Cohen 58:27 u₄ g u - m u - r a n a - n a. The parallelism with g ù - d i and s i g₁₄ - g i₄ supports the meaning “to shout, to roar.” In the preceding passages the subject is always the storm. In *Samsuiluna C* 4ff. Zababa and Inanna are said to be the ones “who shout loudest among the Igigi”: [n u n - g] a l - e - n e - e r [g] ù - m u r i n - a k - e š - a - a š = *qardūtīm ina Igigi*.

2. k i r₄ - ĥ u r / u r₅. This form has two different meanings or groups of meanings:

a) k i r₄ - u r₅, “to flare the nostrils,” Akk. *ganāšu* *Sag B* 117, *gunnušu* *OB Lu B* iii 50; “to rub noses,” Akk. *hanāšu* *Sag B* 118; “to snore(?)”, Akk. *naḥāru* *B Sag B* 120; “to sneer (as shown by some gesture with the nose),” Akk. *šanāšu* *Sag B* 119, *Nabnitu III* 160; cf. *Izi H* 191, *Aa V* /2: 194. Except for the uncertain case of “to snore,” k i r₄ - u r₅ designates something done with the nose that is considered a sign of contempt and derision. The exact gesture involved (it may even be more than one) is not clear; perhaps it is flattening the nose with one’s finger. The reading k i r₄ is assured by the context in *Sag B* (section k i r₄); for the second component *Izi H* and *Aa V*, quoted above, give u r₅.

b) k i r₄ - ĥ u r, “to cleave or pierce with a spindle,” Akk. *parāšu*, *parāšu ša pilaqqi* *Antagal III* 201 f.; cf. ^{giš} m e - t e - b a l = *naprašu*, “a part of the spindle” *Hh VI* 29. The *Antagal* passage gives the glosses k i - r i and ĥ u - u r; the latter is not incompatible with a reading u r₅ given the nature of the list.

3. z ú - u r₅ - (š a₄) is fully explained and glossed in *VE* 258 f., 0151 f.:

a)	z u - ’ ā - a r - š a	= z ú - u r ₅ - š a ₄	= ’ ā - š a - g ú - u m	VE 0151
b)	z u - u ₉ - u r ₅	= z ú - u r ₅	= d a š _x (R1) - d a - b i - l u - u m	VE 0152
c)		z ú - u r ₅ - š a ₄	= š a - b a - u m	VE 208
d)		z ú - u r ₅	= s i - n a - t u m ’ ā - l a - u m	VE 209

19. The spelling z u - u š cannot be construed as an argument for the elision of the final g, the phonological segment represented can perfectly well be /z u k š i/ with graphic simplification of the cluster /kš/.

20. See Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 84 f.; Alster, p. 111; Wilcke (review of Alster), p. 232; and R. Falkowitz, “Sumerian Rhetoric Collections”, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980). pp. 192ff.

21. This *qardu* is certainly different from the common adj. *qardu* “heroic”; *CAD* puts it in under *qardu*, with meaning unknown, in *G* 50a. Perhaps *qarādu* A could be related to this *qardu* since a meaning “to urge (by shouting)” seems to fit its occurrences (see *CAD Q* 126a s.v.).

22. As quoted in M. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology* (Cincinnati, 1981), p. 152.

The Semitic of equation a) corresponds to Akk. *esēqu*, “to incise, to cut,” confirmed by *zú-ur₅* = *esēqu* Sag A y 2; the sibilant may seem irregular, but note the variants *ešēqu*, *ezēqu* given by Diri V 66ff. Note in a) the change in vocalization of the second syllable by vowel harmony with the following *ša₄*, Entries b) and c) should be discussed together: in c) the Semitic must be interpreted as */šabāru/*, Akk *šebēru*, “to cut into pieces,” reflecting Common Semitic *tbr*, and b) gives a *taptarris* form of the same root.²³ The last entry d) represents something done with the teeth, but the second word remains obscure; perhaps it is a reflex of Semitic *rh*, “millstone,” with metathesis as in Akk. *erū*; cf. *zú-ur₅* / *kinkin-mu* Ugumu 105 with Akkadian translation *e-ru-ú-[a]* in *UET* 7 95:12. Note, finally, *zú-ur₅-ur₅* in Proto-Sag A iv 21’ (section *zú*). The meaning that emerges from these passages is “to tear or grind with the teeth.”

The manifold readings and meanings of KA.HAR make it difficult to assign a particular one to a given passage. Leaving aside less clear occurrences, meaning 1) is assigned to the present line 141 based on the spelling of the Susa source. Meaning 2) seems the most reasonable for proverb 3.69 to be translated “one insults the one who hurls insults, one sneers at the one who sneers.”²⁴ Most passages are interpreted better with meaning 3). This is certainly the case for ŠI 54, as shown by the OB variant *zú-úr*, to be translated “do not have sex with a slave of yours, she will ‘chew you up’.” *CT* 42 23 A 19 makes best sense read *zú-mu ninda kalag-ga i-ur₅-ra ninda kalag-ga nu-ur₅-re*, “my teeth which used to chew hard bread, do not chew hard bread (anymore),” with Alster and against the reservations of Falkowitz.²⁵ The same is true of proverb 2.19 *ukú ninda šu-ti-a-ni zú an-ur₅*, “the poor man tears at the bread that he receives.” Less clear is Kraus Festschrift 139: 33 *[dumu]-mu al-lub id-da-gin₇ zú nam-bí-ur₅-ru-d[a]*, but the translation “that my son not be crushed like a river crab/crayfish” is supported by the allusions to crushing (*sāku*) crab shells in Akkadian medical texts (references in *CAD* A/1 361a 1a). ŠI 230f. probably contains a complex word-play along the lines suggested by Wilcke.²⁶

143. “Fire,” Akk. *nablu*, as in “Ur Lament” 260 and parallel *BE* 31 16 i 13, or, alternatively, “inflammation in the skin,” Akk. *bubūtu*, as in *Lugale* 268.²⁷ The second meaning is of course derived from the first; compare English “carbuncle” or German “Entzündung.” In the expression *ú libiš gig-ga* the genitive indicates here and in line 160 the effects caused by the plant rather than the disease for which it is a cure, as is regularly the case for *ú* followed by a genitive, e.g., *Hh* XVII 209ff. The expression has the latter meaning in the fragment *Ni* 9764: 1f. (*SET* 1 124):

23. With *RI* representing /t a C/ where C is a sibilant as in other similar cases, e.g., *RI-da-gi-lum /taztakkiru/* *VE* 186 or *RI-da-i-hu /taštahhibu/* *VE* 73. Another instance of the root *tbr* is probably its form *ipris* in *ninda-sal-sal* = *iš-bi-lu /išbiru/* *VE* 77, “finely crushed bread”; cf. *OSP* 1 126 ii 3’ and my remarks on this entry in my article “Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages.”

24. See Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections*, p. 192.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

26. Wilcke (review of Alster), p. 232.

27. In the first case the expression is paralleled by *izi — šub*, in the second by *aš* (variant *áš*) = *šennītu*. See, besides Alster 101 and Wilcke 222, my remarks in “ED School Exercise.” Other occurrences of *ù-bu-bu-ul* include: *A.KA ti-la ù-bu-bu-ul ma gi₆-a *u₄ za-al /AS* 2 30 iii 17’; [...] *ù-bu-bu-ul-bi ba-ni-in-gar* *BM* 23666 r 15. The reference to the “Debate between the Bird and the Fish” in Alster belongs rather to *bu-bu-ul*-(a k), “to search”.

ú šà gig kur-ra ma-ab-è

ù libi[š] gig kur-ra ma-ab-è

“he/ she has made grow for me the mountain herb of (= that cures) bellyache.”²⁸

In any case, the term is not a name for a specific plant, as suggested in Alster 102 (“a kind of nettle”). The reading *libi š* of *AB.ŠÀ* is assured in ED texts (see *ŠI AbS* vi 13) by the spelling *li-bi-i š₁₁ gi¹* = (*libi š gi g*)²⁹ in an Ebla incantation published by Pettinato³⁰ with parallels *WVDOG* 43 26 iii and 6N-T 1014 and 1002 (Ur III). In Entemena cone A, end, one probably needs to read *š a_x* (*AB.ŠÀ*)-*g e*.

III. Susa Texts

In the preceding section the school tablet *MDP* 27 260 was seen to contain lines 140f. of *ŠI*. It is not the only tablet from Susa with this composition. The unpublished tablet Sb 12355 (= *S₂*)³¹ is a small school exercise tablet with eight lines of text (= *ŠI* 203-4, 44-46) on the obverse; the reverse has only doodles and crosshatchings. The transliteration is based on a copy by M. Lambert, a photo, and a collation of the original:

203	sag ₉ -ga ki-dur ₅ -ru-àm šà-ge nu-tak ₄ -tak ₄	
S ₂ :1	sag ₉ -ga ki-dur ₅ -àm šà-ge nu-tak ₄ -[]	
204	hul é níg-ga-ra ur ₅ -re la-ba-an-gu ₇ -e	
S ₂ :2	hul é níg-ga-ra ur ₅ nu-te-e[n [?]]	
S ₂ :3	mu-un-sag ₉ mu-[un]-sa[g ₉]	
S ₂ :4	ka-ni mu-[un]-ta[g-tag]	
44	lú-da níg-gu ₇ -e nam-ma-da-gu ₇ -e	
S ₂ :5	lú KA [?] -a níg-KA-a na-[]	
AbS	KA na-gu ₇	(v 6)
45	šu-zu bad-àm na-di-ni-[ib]-su-su	
S ₂ :6	šu-zu gi [?] na-bí-ib-s[á [?]]	
AbS	šu [?] -[x (x)] x [?] DU	(v 7)
46	gír/anše ur ₅ -re gud ša-ba-ri-ib-su-su	
S ₂ :7	gír / anše ur ₅ -re gud ša-ba-ri-[ib-]	
AbS	GİR [?] ur ₅ gud sa ₁₀	(v 8)
(46)	udu ša-ba-ri-ib-su-su	
S ₂ :8	udu ša-bi-ri-ib-TÚG-[]	

28. The tablet has *ù* in line 2, not *ú* as given by Alster and Wilcke; there is no doubt, however, that here *ù* stands for *ú*.

29. The photo in pl. 40 has a clear *gi*.

30. Pettinato, “Le collezioni én-é-nu-ru di Ebla,” *OrAn* 18 (1979) 346 ii 2.

31. To be published with other literary texts from Susa in a fascicle jointly prepared by me and the late Maurice Lambert.

There seems to be no parallel either in OB or in ED ŠI for lines 3f. of S₂, unless AbS rev. iv 15 m u m u s i g a is to be understood as m u - s i - g a m u - s i - g a, with s i - g for s a g₉. Line 44 = S₂:5 is textually unclear:

Ur₁ [x x] [n]íg-KA-a nam-mu-da-gu₇-e
 Ur₂ lú-da ní-gu₇-[] 'x x'-'[d]a-gu₇-e
 I₃ lú-da []

Alster's collation of the Ur sources, p. 138, is not quite convincing; note that there is room for only two signs at the beginning of Ur₁ and that it is not exceptional to find g u₇ (KA×GAR) replaced by the simple KA. One can provisionally translate “do not eat food with someone else,” although the Susa text could also be understood as “do not [eat] a stolen thing with a thief.” The Susa text has several unclear variants, especially n u - t e - e [n[?]-...] for l a - b a - a n - g u₇- e in line 2 and gi for BAD in line 6.

The lenticular school tablet *MDP 27 186* (= S₃), with the syllabic interpretation on the reverse, corresponds to ŠI 172:

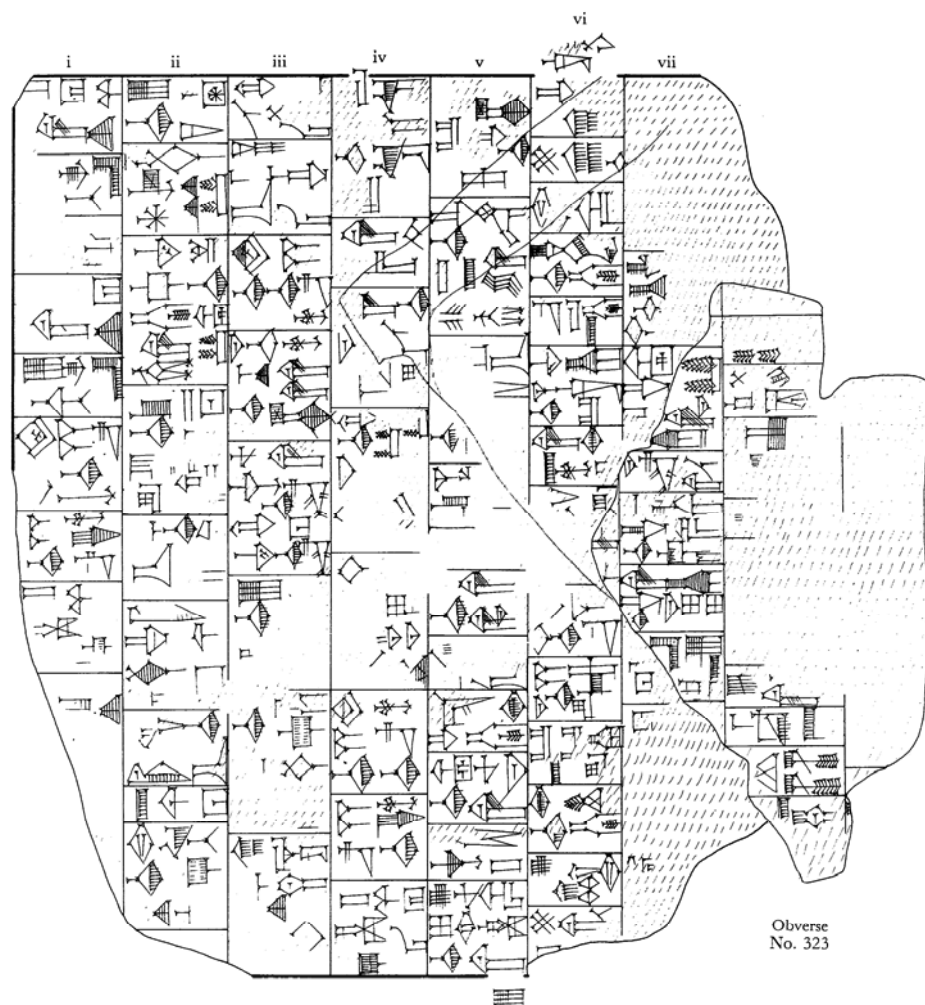
127 šeš-gal a-a na-nam nin₉-gal ama na-nam
 S₃ šeš-gal é na-na nin₉-gal ama[?] na-na
 S₃ r. šeš-eš-gal é an-na-[na] ni-in-gal 'x' dam é []
 Ad šeš-[] na-nam [] ama na-[]

I cannot explain the signs following n i - i n - g a l in the syllabic part; x looks like ÉŠ. On the one hand, it seems likely that in the obverse the scribe of S₃ understood the opposition a - a : a m a as é : a m a₅, possibly influenced by ŠI 129 f. On the other hand, it is conceivable that some joke is involved and that in the reverse the scribe intended to write é š - d a m : “your big brother, a house, your big sister, a brothel.”

Finally, *MDP 27 109*, another lenticular tablet, has a text similar to a line repeated several times in ŠI:

DI inim ga-ra-[ab-dug₄]
 geštú-zu¹ ħe-im-ši-a.

Text S₂ raises the interesting question of whether the version of ŠI known in Susa in OB times was a version different from the OB *textus receptus*. It has a different sequence and inserts two lines not attested elsewhere. Since the text is obviously a school exercise, and therefore could be an excerpt, and because of the lack of more textual witnesses, the question must remain open.



No. 256

FIG. 1.—OIP 99 256 + 323, obv.

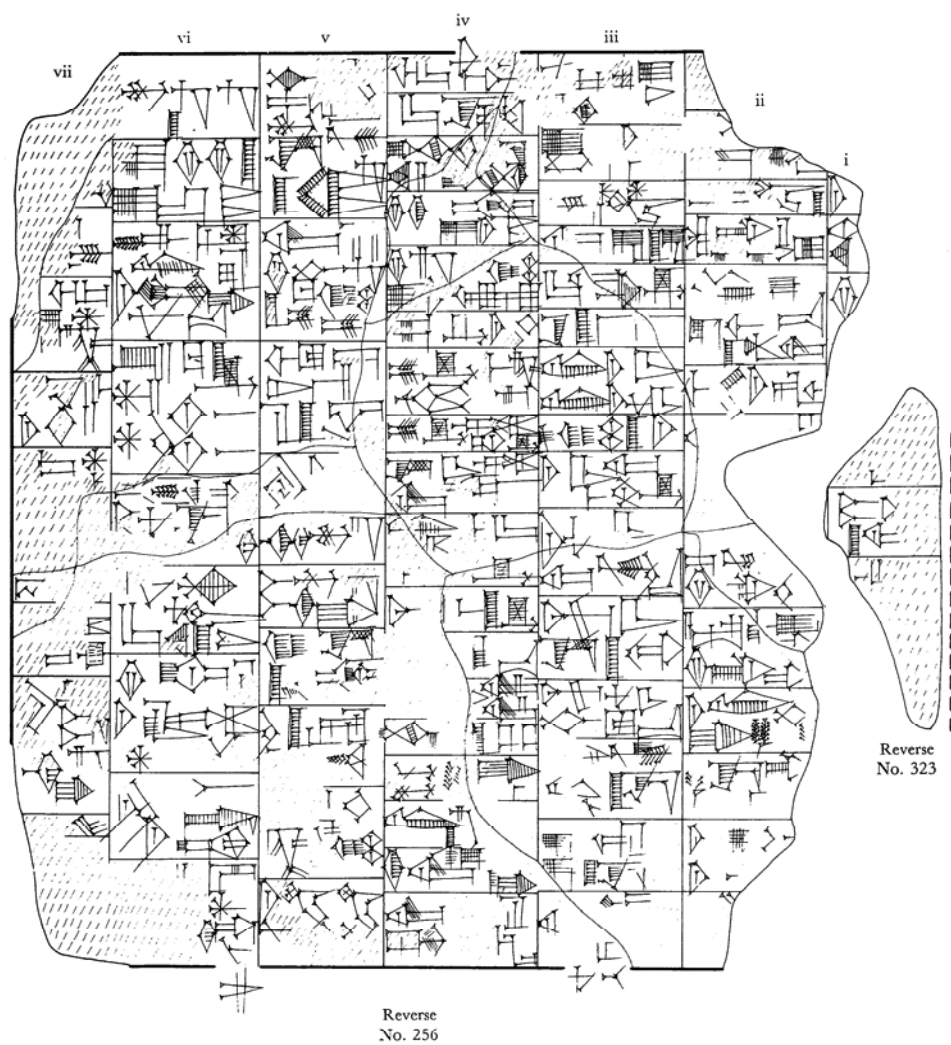


FIG. 2.—OIP 99 256 + 323, rev.

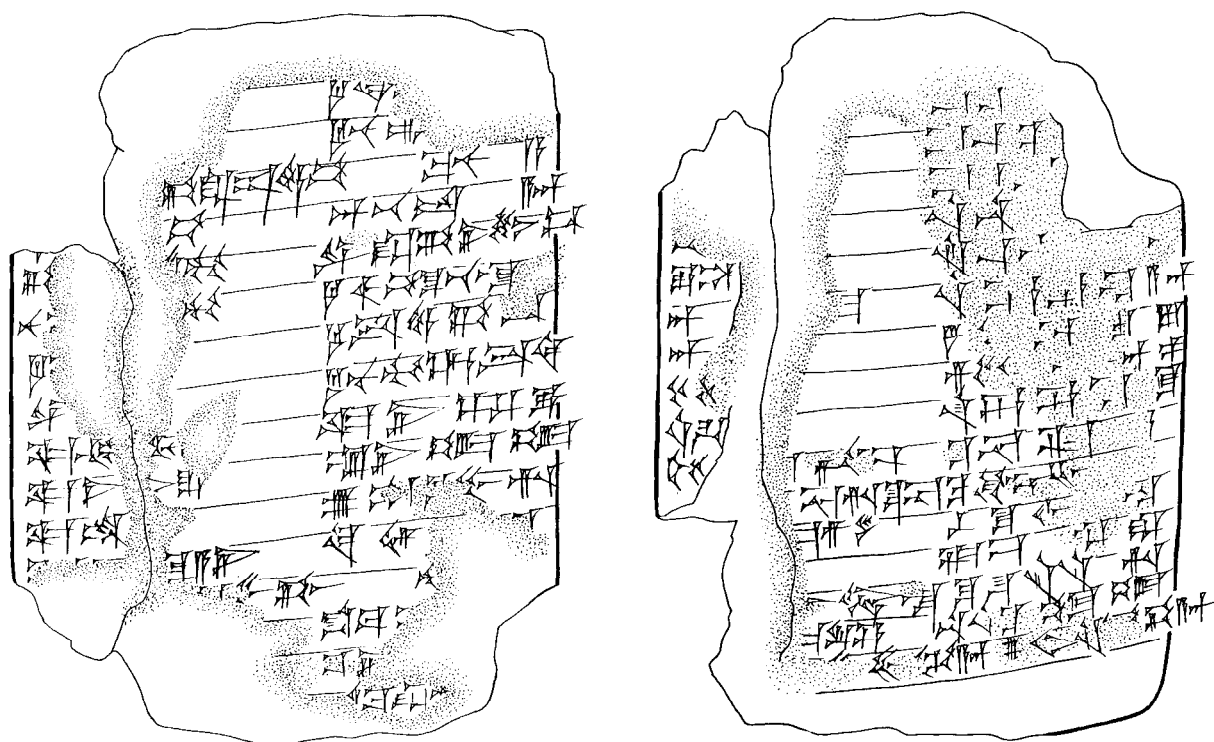


FIG. 3.—MM 477 (copy by M. Civil)

On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma^{*}

1. *A New Historical Inscription*¹

The cylinder fragment 6N-T908a = A 33656a (fig. 4) comes from area SB 76 in the Inanna temple in Nippur. About one-third of the circumference is preserved and from it the original diameter can be calculated –by triangulation of the center– at ca. 106 mm. The maximum preserved height is 146 mm, but there is no way of determining the original height. The text was originally divided into ten columns 32 mm wide. At the most, one-sixth of the text is preserved. The script of the cylinder and the date of the tablets found associated with it² suggest an Ur III origin.

The field register lists several small fragments with the same number 908, but they are either uninscribed or belong to other compositions; 908b, for instance, is part of a Lugalbanda epic. The small fragment 6N-T909 = A 33657, however, gives the impression of being part of 908a. It is an upper-edge fragment with traces of two columns, but its position in relation with 908a cannot be ascertained.

The attribution of the text to Ur-Namma rests solely on the]-n a m m a at the end of col. i' and on u r -^d[in v' 3. The inscription could, however, belong to Šulgi who mentions his father in it. In any case, if col. iii has been properly interpreted, the events described would belong to the time immediately preceding Ur-Namma's coronation.

^{*} The present article was originally published in *Or* 54 (1985) pp. 27-45, tab. vi (= *Festschrift Johannes J. A. van Dijk zum 70. Geburtstag, 28. Januar 1985*).

1. References to literary compositions with no indication of sources are to my unpublished reconstructions. I prefer the transliteration n a m m a rather than n a m m u; the form with final -a is attested 1) in Proto-Ea 53 (alongside n a m m u as textual variant), and 2) in the syllabic spellings u r -^dn a - n a - m a - k e (*TCL* 15 38 pass.) and ú r - n a - a m - n a - a m - m i (*TIM* 9 35:4). An explanation of the form *n a m m a as coming from n a m n a m seems preferable to simply assuming that n a m u + a k = n a m m a, even if *n a m n a m should result in n a n n a m rather than n a m m a (m), according to the usual pattern C₁VC₂ + C₁VC₂ = C₁VC₁C₁VC₂.

2. For a discussion of the locus of origin, see section 2.

col. i'

Only traces of the last sign on several lines, [...] - ħ a, [...] - 'x' (like end of GIŠ), one blank line, [...] - n a m m a.

col. ii'

1'	(traces)	
2'	ig gal elam-a-ta	from the great gate of Elam
3'	zag šušin ^{ki} -na-šè	to the border of Susa,
4'	lugal-ra	for the king
5'	gud mu-na-gi ₄ -gi ₄	(he/they) killed bulls,
6'	udu mu-na-gi ₄ -gi ₄	killed sheep.
7'	ensí-ensí elam-a-ke ₄	All the governors of Elam,
8'	mušen téš-bi nunuz zuĥ-zuĥ-gin ₇	like birds stealing eggs together,
9'	ne-ra ní-ba mu-na-ak-ke ₄	committed murder against him.
10'	sag elam ù-tu-d[a]	The persons born in Elam,
11'	(traces)	

col. iii'

1'	u ₄ -b[a]	At that time [...]
2'	ur 'šu' s[i? gin ₇ (?)]	[like] a ... dog(?)
3'	gír a-ba-[x]-ná	after he lay at his feet,
4'	gú-tar-lá dumu gu-tim-um-ma-ra	Gutada, the Gutian,
5'	inim an-na-ke ₄	by the word of An,
6'	šu nu-mu-ni-ib-tag	had not been chosen.
7'	gizkim ^d en-líl-lá	Of Enlil's signs
8'	na-me nu-[m]u-da-gál	there were none.
9'	n[a]m-lugal-šè	For the kingship
10'	[a] im-ma-'tu ₅ '	he (Gutarla?) took a ritual bath.
11'	[a]ga ba-an-'x-x'-né-éš-[a]	The crown which they had [...]
12'	(traces)	

col. iv'

1'	ne-[] mi-[]	
2'	ù a-ne [] mi-ni-i[l]	but he carried(?) [...]
3'	a-na bí-in-ak-bi	all he had done about it.
4'	ma-'da' gu-tim-um ^{ki}	The district of Gutí
5'	zi-mu-dar ^{ki}	and Zimudar
6'	sig-ba ugnim ki ba-ni-tag	had troops established in the South.
7'	tu-li-um ^{ki}	Tulium,

8' kar má-gur₈ nu-z[u²]
 9' me-te NI [] the harbor which is not suitable(?) for magur-boats,
 the proper thing [...]

col. v'

1' na[m]
 2' nam [] su[d]
 3' ur-^rd^r[namma]

6N- T909 = A 33657

col. i'

1 [u]r^ri^rki^r-ma
 2 [-g]i
 3 [] ^rx^r-ni
 4 [] ^ra^r-ba

col. ii'

1 zi-šà-gá[l (x)] kù ^den-[líl-lá]
 2 an-t[a]

Commentary

We are obviously dealing with a royal inscription of a narrative nature which makes use of devices such as metaphors, literary images, etc. Close parallels are the Utuḫegal inscription³ and Šu-Sin's Collection B⁴. The fragment Ni 4375 (*ISCT* 1 119) could be part of another copy of the present inscription. The fragmentary condition of 6N-T908a prevents a satisfactory reconstruction of the events, and only a few general features are understandable.

Column ii' describes a revolt in Elam. The agent of the first preserved sentence is lost and it is not clear whether the slaughter of bulls and sheep is part of the devastation brought on by the revolt or part of sacrifices in preparation for a campaign. Nor it is clear in the latter case whether the sacrifices were the work of people fighting for or against the king. Column iii' deals with a conflict with the Gutians and an attempt by a certain Gutarla to become the legitimate king. The events described presumably take place just before the beginning of the Ur III empire. Column iv' refers to Gutian and Zimudar troops stationed in

3. *RA* 9, 112; 10, 99; Ni 4167 (*ISCT* 2 124 [obverse and reverse to be interchanged]); see H. Sauren "Der Feldzug Utuḫegals von Uruk gegen Tirigan und das Siedlungsgebiet der Gutäer", *RA* 61 (1967) 75ff. (without Ni 4167).

4. *JCS* 21, 24ff.

the South. There is evidence for Gutian settlements in the vicinity of Adab and Keš around Ur III times⁵. Whether Tulium is part of these settlements or whether its mention starts another episode is uncertain, given the present state of the text.

Philological Remarks

Col. ii'

2' The “great gate” is a variation on the theme of the “bolt” (^{giš}sa g - k u l) of Elam, see P. Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḥaši”, *ZA* 72 (1982) 244, for references and geographic location.

4' Although attested lexically in OB (Proto-Aa 461:1'), the verb g i₄ in the sense of *dāku* is rare in literary texts other than liturgical ones. It would seem to express the violent death of the animals thus implying that the passage refers to destructive actions of the rebels.

7' For z u ḥ(KA) “to steal”, see A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 3 p. 175 s.v. Bands of corvines or similar birds pillaging bird nests must have been a usual sight in marshes and river banks.

9' The verb n e - r a — a k is at present a hapax; I have assumed here that n e - r a is a loanword from Akk. *nēru* “to murder”. For the form compare n e - ḥ a “calm, secure”, from *nēḥu*.

Col. iii'

1'-3' The patient of the verb —presumably the enemy chief— must have been mentioned in the lacuna of line 1 or even before. For g i r — n á, see, e.g., Utuḥegal iv 27' (completed by Ni 4167): ^du t u - ḥ é - g á l i g i ^du [t u] - š è g i r - n i - š è m u - n á “Utuḥegal made (Tirigajan) lie at his feet in front of Utu; ur - ' n i m ' - g i n₇ g i r - z u - š è ḥ é - n á “may he lie at your feet like a leopard” *SRT* 23:18; and, in broken context, g i r - n i - š è i - n á N 3235:3. For a similar expression with g i r i — ú s, see D. O. Edzard, *AfO* 19 11:11.

4'-6' Gutarla appears as a personal name in texts of the Sargonic period⁶, but it seems to be, at the same time, a poorly attested designation for a profession, possibly some type of barber, see Inanna's Descent 336 (next to u m b i n - k u₅ - k u₅) and Temple Hymns 311 (with Sjöberg's comments, *TCS* 3 111). The equations g ú - t a r - l á = *zajārūtu* “hostility” and g ú - t a r - l á - l á = *zajāru* “enemy” are given by Izi F 139f.⁷ The name of the text may represent an alteration of a Gutian name playing with the meaning “enemy”⁸. The translation given for these lines assumes that i n i m a n - n a - k e₄ is the agent and that Gutarla is in apposition with d u m u g u - t i m - u m - n a. The verb here is not an instance of k i r i₄ š u —

5. H. Sauren, *RA* 61, 75ff.; G. Gragg, “The Keš Temple Hymn”, in: Å. W. Sjöberg - E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (TCS 3) 162.

6. E.g., *RTC* 241:4; *MAD* 5 107:9; Foster and Donbaz, *Sargonic Texts from Telloh* 9:6, 162:23. Foster and Gelb read g ú - s i l - l á. It could be the same as the name g ú - T A R in Ur III texts.

7. Reading *za-'a-ia'-ar*, uncertain; Landsberger read *za-'a-ru'* [šá] *ši-ri*. Two Unidentified equations follow, see *MSL* 13 198:141f.

8. There is still a u r u - g ú - t a r - l á^{ki} in the Nippur Forerunner to H_h XX-XXII 241; it may be a fancy spelling for Kutalla. Cf. g ú - t a r = *kutallu*.

ta g = *labānu ša appi*⁹, but it is simply *šu — ta g* “to touch”. Note that when a deity is the agent of this verb and the meaning is positive (in contrast with the negative one “to strike with a disease” or the like) this verb means “to choose” (the choice being expressed by touching) and is thus identical with *šu — du g*¹⁰. Other possible meanings of the lines are “he (Ur-Namma?), by order of An, did not strike G., the Gutian”, i.e., he spared him, or “G., by order of An, did not strike the Gutians”. The lack of context prevents making a decisive choice. I prefer to understand the passage as saying that Gutarla aspired to the throne without having been chosen either by An or by a sign from Enlil, but that he nevertheless made himself ready for the crown (line 10f.). The form *gu-tim-u m*, with the intervocalic bilabial, is unusual¹¹, but the writings *gu-te-bu-u m* (*SAKI* 150 22a i 20) and *gu-tu-ú-u m* (*TIM* 9 39 r. 5’) are indications that the writing with -m- is a legitimate one. In line 10’ the sign *tu*₅, written NAGA×ŠU (cf. my remarks in *RA* 54 69²), is damaged but certain. The ritual bath is here a preparation for the coronation. I cannot suggest a satisfactory restoration for the verb in line 11; *gi-né* is excluded by the traces.

Col. iv’

5’ For Zimudar, in the Diyala, see P. Michalowski, *ZA* 68, 36 and *ASJ* 4, 132. Note now the toponym *zu-mu-dar*^{ki} in MEE 3 230:31.

6’ The verb *ki — ta g* implies that the settlements were intended as permanent. The meanings of *ki — ta g* is “to put on the ground” something that in the normal course of events stays there, while the action of, let us say, *gar/gá-gá* can be undone by the action *zi*¹². In particular, *ki — ta g* means: 1) “to place on the ground”, buildings or parts thereof: Gudea cyl A xx 26 (*á-gar*), *SRT* 13:44 (*é-gal*), Enki and the World Order 341f. (*ús* and *sig*₄), Enlil Hymn A 68 (*ki-ùr*), a stele (*na*₄) Lipit-Ištar Code xix 38; 2) “to plant”: *pú-giškiri₆-pú-giškiri₆-a lál geštin ki ba-ni-in-ta g-ta g* “he planted in all orchards honey-plants and grapevines” Winter and Summer 55, *CT* 36 31:11 (*gišlam*), BE 31 4 iv 6 (*giš*), *gaba-ba gada gú-na ki ba-ni-in-ta g-ta g* “he planted on the sides (of the fields) flax for tributes” Winter and Summer 63, “to sow” (*numun ki — ta g*): Lipit-Ištar and the Plow iv 11, 24’, Lament of Sumer and Ur 41; 3) “to lay eggs” (*nunuz ki — ta g*) Bird and Fish 22, 151, *AfO* 24 60: 39ff., *OIP* 99 280 r. ii’, *MBI* 1 xiii 9; 4) “to drop excrements”, said of cattle (*šurim ki — ta g*): Lament of Sumer and Ur 43, 47; 5) “to miscarry”, said of animals: *VAS* 10 123 iii’ 8’f.; “to drop slaughtered

9. Attested in Ur Lament 421, Uruk Lament 12.14f. (see M. W. Green, *JAOS* 104, 276), *u₄ gal huš an-na* 160 (*guruš nam-mah-zu mu-un-zu-a kir₄ šu ba-ra-ta g-ta g*), Dialogue 4:44 (*ukkin dingir-zu ús-sa-bi kir₄ šu ha-ra-ab-ta g-ge-ne*), and the bilinguals quoted *CAD* L 10b *labānu* B.

10. Therefore the meaning of names of the type Lipit-DN is “the choice of DN” rather than “creation of DN” as it is generally assumed; see, e.g., *CAD* L 201c, *liptu* A.

11. It would be dishonest, I believe, to make the problem disappear by simply reading *gu-ti-u m*.

12. The Akkadian translation of *ki — ta g* seems to be unknown. One would expect *nadû* and there actually is an entry *ta g* = *na-du-ú* in the lexical lists (Erimhuš V 227; Idu II 354) which could be assigned to *ki — ta g*, with the omission –so frequent in late lexical sources– of the first part of the verbal compound. This *na-du-ú*, however, is assigned in *CAD* to *naṭû* “to strike”, on the strength of *ta g* = *ma-ha-šu*, *na-tu-u* in Aa V/1:224f. Note, first that Aa is not semantically organized and, second, the curiously ambiguous semantics of the group Erimhuš V 227-29 where *na-du-ú* is followed by *maqātu* “to fall” –favoring *nadû*– and then by *tarāku* “to beat” –favoring *naṭû*. I take it that the ambiguity is real and that *ta g* in *ki — ta g* = *nadû*, but *ta g*, possibly in *giš — ta g* or *šu — ta g*, also = *naṭû*.

animals or people on the ground”: Šulgi B 91, Lament Sumer and Ur 387; 6) various instances which may have a technical meaning as in ^{giš}šidim-ma-zu ki i-ta g-ta g-ge (every day the shepherds) “put your ‘counting sticks’ on the ground”, or which are unclear as in 30 sila še in-u-da ki-ta g ba-a-da b₅ a-rá-l-kam še ki-ta g-ta zu h-a Legrain *TRU* 376, etc.¹³

7’ The town of Tulium, a fluvial site judging from the present passage, seems to be known only from the Drehem text AM 14:5 (*RA* 9 63), a text mentioning Šarrumbani, and goats for the erín pu-ut tu-li-um^{ki}, and from M. Sigrist, *Andrews University Texts* I 743:2 (reference courtesy P. Steinkeller), a Drehem text dated Šulgi 48 mentioning erín pu tu-li-um^{ki} next to erín sa-bu-um^{ki}.

2. A New Fragment of Ur-Namma Hymn B

Hymn B of king Ur-Namma was edited by G. Castellino in 1959¹⁴ on the basis of a single source:

A = Ni 2430 (*SRT* 11).

Two years later, Å. W. Sjöberg¹⁵ identified and studied another source with syllabic orthography:

B = AO 6316 (*TCL* 15 38)

A few years ago I found three minute fragments, part of the same tablet, which duplicate lines 4-27 without adding much of significance to the known text, except for a few signs in the damaged lines 4ff.:

C = CBS 15168 (+) N 7926 (+) N 6876¹⁶.

A new duplicate which does not add anything new, but which is of special interest because of its possible Ur III date is:

D = 6N-T288 (= IM 61500).

It is the upper right corner of a small one-column tablet and has been read from a cast; see fig. 1.

Since the most significant feature of 6N-T288 is its date, a brief discussion is in order¹⁷. The fragment was found early in 1958 during the 6th Nippur Campaign in SB 76 in the general area of the Inanna Temple, specifically in the fill underlying the lower Parthian temple (level II). The sector SB 76 measures about 32.5×32.5 m. and the fill itself has a depth of from 2.5 to 3 m. Several hundred tablets and

13. The case of Lugal-e 609 is among the unclear ones. The stone name ḫáš-tum (*ḫaštu* “pit”) seems to require a meaning “to bury” or the like, but k i — t a g always refers to the surface of the ground.

14. “Urnammu: Three Religious Texts, 2”, *ZA* 53 (1959) 106ff.

15. “Ein syllabisch geschriebener Urnammu-Text”, *OrS* 10 (1961) 3ff.

16. A transliteration of source C is appended at the end. I wish to thank Dr. Margaret W. Green who kindly helped me to locate the temporarily misplaced pieces and completed my transliteration of CBS 15168.

17. I wish to thank Richard D. Zettler for his help in interpreting R. C. Haines’ field notes.

fragments were found in this fill, mostly concentrated in what the excavators describe as “pockets”. A first pocket was found on January 9th 1958, a second on the 11th, a third on the 31st, and others were found the following weeks. The field register does not specify in which pocket each fragment was found, but since our fragment was registered in a group between the 7th and the 21st of January it must come from one of the first two pockets. All dated or clearly datable tablets registered on those dates are Ur III or older. The same conditions hold for all 719 registered tablets and fragments of the 6th Nippur Campaign with the exception of a group of 46 Kassite tablets, 3 “Assyrian”, and 2 Neo- or Late Babylonian. There are no Isin or OB tablets. All the non-Ur III pieces were registered on the dates February 4-12th and thus would appear to come from other pockets discovered later¹⁸. The external evidence overwhelmingly favors an Ur III date for 6N-T288. The script does not contradict such dating even if it is slightly more cursive than the usual Ur III ductus. The fragment is carelessly written with signs omitted (tu-<bu> in line 6) or malformed (note the “open” RU in line 3), thus reflecting its nature of a scribal exercise.

The first line of the fragment:

l' ʾx` nigin-dam

does not fit into the known text of Hymn B and may represent a recension of the hymn slightly different from the one attested in OB times, unless it is a foreign line inserted at the beginning of the excerpt. The rest of the text is given here, together with the text of A and B:

52 A	lugal-	mu	ŠITA.GIŠ	maḥ	kur	erím-gál-la-ka
B	[lu-ga-a]l-	mu	ú-tu-ug	ma-ḥe	kur	[i-ri-im-ma gál]
D	[lu]gal-	mu	ŠITA.GIŠ.TÚG	[maḥ	g]ú-a	erím-gál-la ʾx`
			saḥar-re-eš	du-bu	ki-bal-a	AK-AK
			[sa-ḥa]-ar-ʾe`	[da-bu	ki-ib-la-aš	ša-ša]
			[saḥ]ar-eš	tu-bu	ki-bal	ša-ša
53 A	sipa	^d ur- ^d namma-ke ₄	ŠITA.GIŠ	maḥ	kur	erím-gál-la-ka
B	[s]i-pa	ur- ^d na-na-ma-ke	ú-tu-ug	ma-ḥe	kur	i-ri-im-m[a] gál ^l
D	[	]	ʾx` ŠITA.GIŠ.TÚG	maḥ	gú [	]
			saḥar-re-eš	dub-bu	ki-bal-a	AK-AK
			sa-ḥa-ar-e	da-bu	ki-ib-la-aš	ša-š[a]
			saḥar-eš	tu-<bu>	ki-bal	[ša-ša]
rev.						
66 A	bára	nam-lugal-la-ke ₄	ki-a	mu-ni-in-ús		
B	pa-ra	na-lu-ga-la-ka	ki-am-mu-ús			
D	[		-ú]s			

18. Note, however, that the registration reflects some preliminary sorting and it is not impossible that the post-Ur III tablets were found before the first week of February and their registration delayed.

- 67 A urⁱ^{ki}-ma [pa]-è mu-ni-ib-ak
 B u₄-ri-ma pa-e mu-ni-ib-ša-aš
 D [ur]ⁱ^{ki}-ma pa-è [h]u-mu-ni-ib-AK
- 68 A sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄ ...
 B si-pa ur-^dna-na-ma-ke ...
 D [si]pa ur-^dnamma-ke₄

Philological Remarks

The passage has been adequately discussed by Sjöberg, *OrS* 10, and does not require further comment except for a few minor points. The sign group ŠITA, ŠITA.GIŠ, and ŠITA.GIŠ.TÚG has been studied by W. G. Lambert, *OrAn* 20 (1984) 94ff.¹⁹ The present context shows that these signs are, up to a point, interchangeable and one should not insist on a too strict assignment of an exclusive value to a given sign (group). Collation of source B shows that one should read ki-i-b-la-aš (the sign LA was completely omitted by Genouillac) instead of ki-i-b-bar (Sjöberg). The -aš represents a liaison with the initial of the following ša-ša rather than an adverbial ending. The si-i-m in B must be a miscopy or a scribal error for gál. For saḥar—dub, see also Krecher, *Kultlyrik* 144. The meaning “to pile up dirt or sand” takes the following specific nuances (illustrated with some examples): 1) “To pile up earth” (in a construction): Samsuiluna D iii 8 (*AfO* 9 [1933-34] 244); *CT* 13 36:18. 2) “To pile up sand” (over an abandoned building), as a symbol of destruction in lamentations: *Lament of Sumer and Ur* 324; Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 228; *VAS* 2 25 ii 39 and parallels (including the unpubl. N 4124), discussed by Krecher, loc. cit. 3) “To pile up” (something) to describe large amounts: udu-bi amaš-bi-a saḥar mu-na-an-dub-bu-uš “its sheep pile up (like) sand in their pens” Iddin-dagan A 92 (D. D. Reisman, *Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns* 154); ki-en-gi sag-e saḥar-gin₇ mu-un-dub-bu-uš “they have piled up the (severed) heads (as numerous) as sand dunes” *Uruk Lament* 4.26. Used as a noun, saḥar-dub-ba is one of the terms that can be translated by “sand dune”, see my forthcoming comments to Bird and Fish 53. The adverbial ending -eš is shown here to be a functional equivalent of -gin₇. The variant gú:kur can be explained either as based on the common lexical equation gú = *mātu*, or as textual change of an original gú-erím-gál into kur erím-gál: in any case, the -a of D remains unexplained.

Transliteration of source C:

- 4 [sipa] zi ur-^d[namma]
 5 [-ni]-^ra⁷ im-ma-ni-ib-d[ug₄[?]]
 6 [-ra-k]am ní-ḥuš mu-un-da-ri

19. The important observation of E. Arcari, *OrAn* 22 (1983) 167ff. that *MEE* 3 53: 1-56 –the so-called “sillabario di Ebla”– gives the readings of ED Lu A implies that the reading of ŠITA.GIŠ.TÚG in ED Lu A 1 is š i t a, against Lambert’s conclusions. For the phonological form of š i t a, see my remarks in L. Cagni, ed., *Il bilinguismo ad Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale, Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982* (Naples 1984) 94.

7	[		] me àm-ḪAR	
8	[	m]aḥ-a-na u ₄ -gin ₇ kár-kár-da		
9	[	NE].SI.A-ni nam-gub		
10	[	é-k]ur-ra sag an-šè il-i-dè á-bi mu- [...]		
11	[	-in]-maḥ un-gá sag mi-n[i-		]
12		(broken)		
13	[	š]ub-´bu´ [		]
14	[	] bal gú-erím-g[ál		]
15		ki-en-gi-ra u ₄ nam-ḫé-a [x] (intended)		
16		(omitted)		
17	uš mu-un-dùg-eš [			]
18	enkum nink[um			]
19	nam-šub galam-ma-na ^d [en-ki			]
20	´sipa zi´ ur- ^d -[namma			]
21	[u ₆]-´di-bi´ [			]
22	[	] un šár-šár-ra-ba [		]
23	[	] ká silim-ma ḫur-sag [		]
24	[	k]ù-me SIG ₇ -igi-ba še-er-[		]
25	[	] -dè àm-m[a-		]
26	[	] lú-erím dili [		]
27	[	] -àm ul [		]

3. The Tablet N 2230 + N 4006

In 1962 I published a few lines from this tablet –the ones with the more intelligible and interesting information– in a note in *RA* 56 213. At the time I was not aware of the existence of the particular genre of tablets to which N 2230+ belongs and could not make much sense of the rest of the text.

It is now clear that the OB scribes occasionally wrote tablets with only the beginning of lines of an individual text. The purpose of such tablets would seem to be purely mnemonic. In the case of N 2230+ the repetitious nature of the text of royal inscriptions readily lends itself to abbreviation. Early in the study of these tablets, I had asked myself whether they might contain the text of broken parts of a tablet. In which case, the scribe would have written a small tablet with, e.g., the text of an edge or a corner missing on a larger tablet, as a sort of supplement to it. So far the known tablets of this type do not support the hypothesis²⁰.

Without getting into too much detail and without discussing other related types, I will give here, as a sample, the description of three of those tablets.

1) 3N-T575 (= IM 58563) is a 50×90 mm tablet with three columns on the obverse and two on the reverse and written with a moderately cursive script. It comes from Nippur, TA 205 XI 2. The text

20. These tablets so far give 1) only line beginnings, 2) beginnings which are of a relatively uniform length, and 3) long stretches of consecutively numbered lines.

consists of the first one or two words of lines 196-316 of Šulgi hymn B²¹. For instance (text of 3N-T575 given under the textus receptus):

- 204 a-è-a-gin₇ gù-gal u₄-gal etc.
a-è-a-gin₇
205 ħi-il-šum^{ki} dab₅-bi elam etc.
ħi-il-šum
206 á-gál inim-ma-bi-ir etc.
á-gál
207 dumu ki-en-gi^{ki}-ra numun-ba etc.
dumu ki-en-gi-ra
208 ur-sag ki-en-gi^{ki}-ra ur-sag etc.
ur-sag ki-en-gi

2) A 165 is a 52×47 mm one-column tablet of unknown origin (from the estate of R. F. Harper) in a very cursive script. The text consists of the beginning of lines 253-98 of the “Debate between Winter and Summer”. Often it gives the three or four initial words, rather than just one or two as in the preceding quoted example. In several cases the beginnings of two successive lines of the debate are entered one after the other on the same line of A 165, with no separation mark.

3) N 6281 is a 77×50 mm Nippur tablet with two columns per side and is very clearly and carefully written. Its first 49 lines give the line beginnings of an unknown composition. At iii 11ff. and after a blank space, the tablet has the beginnings of lines 1-11 of Dialogue I.

N 2230+ is the upper part of a Nippur tablet 110 mm wide, see figs. 2 and 3. It is very thin and flat, and its slight degree of convexity prevents an accurate estimate of its original length. The maximum length now preserved is 93 mm. Each side is divided into seven very narrow columns, and the script is extremely cursive. It gives the beginning, often only the first sign, of the lines of several royal inscriptions. A transliteration with brief remarks follows:

1-5	broken		(break)
6	[]-da / [] d ^š šul	ii 1	broken
	lugal / ki		[nin-ka]l-la
	lugal / da-4-ba		dumu nibru ^{ki}
10	zi ma-da	5	ki-ág-gá- / ni
	‘x’ [x] SAR		alan-na-n[i]
	[] ‘x’		mu-dím
	[] ‘x’-ni		-----
	-----		‘gaba’ šul-gi’

21. Quoted according to Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)* (Studi Semitici 42; Roma 1972), revised according to my unpublished ms. There is an edition in preparation by Geerd Haayer.

	d	10	arad-zu
	nin		-----
10	nam-ti-il		kišib ^d nanna-zi- ^r x-(x) ^r
	^d šul		^d
	nita		nin
	lugal / ki		nam
	^r lugal ^r / da-4-ba-ka-šè	15	^[d] šul
15	[x kala]m [?] -ma		(break)
	traces	vi 1-2	broken
	(break)	3	^r kur-kur-ra-ke ₄ ^r
iii 1-2	broken		^d nin
3	^r dšul ^r	5	nin kur-kur-ra-ke ₄
	nita		nam ḥa-ba-da-ku ₅ -ne
5	lugal / ki		mu-sar-ra
	lugal / da-4-ba-ka-šè		^r x x ^r -na
	é-a-ni-ša		-----
	lukur kaskal-la		^r d ^r
	lukur ki-ág-gá-/ ni-e	10	^r nin ^r
10	lugal-a-ni		^d šul
	mu-tu		nita
	mu-ud-na-ni		lugal / ki
	igi-ni-šè in-gu[b]		lugal / gi ke ₄
	(break)	15	nam
iv 1-4	broken		^r x ^r
5	^d šul		alan-ma
	téš [?] -bi-da- / na ^r x ^r		(break)
	u ₄ a [x]- ^r x ^r	vii 1-4	broken
	^d en-[líl]-lá	5	^r x x ^r
	lugal urí / ^{ki} -ma		nin-a-ni-ir
10	^r d ^r [e]n-líl		tá-ra-am-ŠEŠ.AB / ^{ki} -am
	^r x ^r [n]i-šè		dumu-munus a-pil-ki-in
	^r x ^r [x] ^r á [?] -dah [?]		lugal ma-rí ^{ki} -ka
	[] ^r x ^r	10	é-gi ₄ -a
	(break)		ur- ^d namma
v 1-3	broken		lugal urí ^{ki} -ma
	^r x ^r [] / -da []		(break)
5	^d ŠEŠ.<KI>-z[i]	viii 1'	u[r [?]]
	x-bi-a- ^r x ^r		-----
	zabar-dab ₅		a ḥ[ul [?]]
	SÌLA.ŠU.DU ₈ ^r maḥ ^r		alan-ba
	ugula máš-šu-gí-gíd- / dè-ne		mu-ni-ÉŠ / un-e
		5'	mu-bi

	----- <i>a-li-šu-ni</i> ù [?] lugal a-ga-dē ^{ki} -----		[šu]l [nit]a (break)
	á-šè [] (break)	xii 2'	nita
ix 1'	[n]in šul nita lugal / ki		lugal / ki
5'	lugal / gi ke ₄ nam a mu -----	5'	alan lú ħu / gú-na lú igi-ni-šè (break)
	egir-bi na 2 kam-ma-bi	xiii 1'	ʾxʾ [] m[u] -----
10'	šu-bi gin ₇ -nam -----		d
	(break)		nin
x 1'	ʾx x xʾ / ħi-a nam-ra-aš ħa-ab-ak NE [?] -ÉŠ / ʾlugalʾ	5'	nam šul nita lugal / ki lugal / gi ka-šè
5'	ʾx.x ^{ki} LÚ×GÁN- <i>tenû</i> .A ħa-ni-dab ₅ šu-mu ba-ra-ba- / ta-è lú / ħul []	10'	ur-ʾxʾ-[] k[i] (break)
10'	ib-[] (break)	xiv 1'	ʾxʾ [] -----
xi 1'	[] ʾxʾ [] ʾxʾ [] / -ni a mu -----		da-wa-a-[x] PA. za-ul ^{ki} -----
5'	zag [?] d gilgameš ----- ʾd ʾninʾ	5'	[x] x [PA.] [x]-ʾxʾ-nu-uš ^{ki} -----
			[(x) x]-ma-at [PA] 10'[x]-ʾxʾ-lá-ka -----
			[]-ʾxʾ-a [GÌR].NITÁ []-al ^{ki} []-bu-um (break, close to edge, and end)

Commentary

This is a difficult text, with ambiguous signs and partial lines, and I shall only try here to make it accessible to interested scholars²². All preserved inscriptions are dedicated to a female deity represented only by the divine determinative, with *n i n* -<*a - n i - i r*> in the following line. The only two candidates, in my opinion, are Inanna and Ninlil (I assume that the inscriptions copied by the scribe were located in some Nippur shrine). Although dedications to Ninlil are found among Ur III royal texts (Ur-Namma 21, Šulgi 46)²³, it would seem more likely that the inscriptions in N 3220+ are dedicated to Inanna²⁴ and therefore that what we have here is a sort of epigraphic inventory of the votive inscriptions in the Inanna temple in Nippur. As far as one can tell, all the inscriptions belong to Šulgi (whose name is abbreviated either as *š u l* or as *š u l*), although some older material is included: the text mentioning the daughter of the king of Mari as *é - g i₄ - a* of Ur-Namma (col. vii) and the one mentioning Ališuni and the king of Agade (viii 6'ff). Some of the inscriptions were on statues (ii 1ff., vi 9'ff., xii 5', and perhaps iii 2ff.), at least one on a seal (v 1ff.), the rest on unidentified objects. As is frequently the case with Nippur OB copies of inscriptions, the tablet includes rubrics describing the genre (v 11) or location of texts (ii 7, iii 7ff., vi 7, xi 5') and possibly the identification of figures (viii 6'ff, xiv, the latter perhaps a simple enumeration).

i 6-13. The royal titles *l u g a l u r i^{ki} - m a l u g a l k i - e n - g i k i - u r i - k e₄* are abbreviated to *l u g a l* and *k i*, with the *k i* indented; in certain cases the second part is abbreviated to *g i k e₄* (or *g i k a - š è* in xiii 9'). The title *l u g a l^d u b - d a - 4 - b a* is abbreviated to *l u g a l* and part of what follows starting from the sign that was indented on the original.

ii 2-7. “[Ninka]lla, the Nippurian, his beloved, made his (Šulgi’s) statue.” For Ninkalla, see P. Michalowski, *JCS* 31 (1979) 172⁸ and *ASJ* 4 (1982) 135; the restoration of line 2 follows a suggestion of his. A parallel can be found in UET 8 25. The inscription was placed on the chest(?) –the sign is not certain– of the statue.

iii 3ff. “Eaniša, the concubine for the road, his beloved concubine, made (a statue) of her king and put it before her husband.” For Eaniša, see P. Steinkeller and J.-P. Grégoire in *RA* 73 (1976) 190f.²⁵. Note that *a l u k u r* addresses her partner as *m u - u d - n a*.

iv 5ff. This section remains obscure.

v 4-11. Copy of the inscription on an *a r a d - z u*-type seal (see N. Schneider, *Or* 5 [1936] 109ff. and D. M. McGuinness, *Studies in Neo-Sumerian Administrative Machinery* [Ann Arbor 1976] 206ff., for this type of text). Line 5 has been emended to give the same name as in line 11. On the tablet, the first sign looks like DIL.DIL, but probably DINGIR is intended, and the KI is omitted. If the emendation is unjustified,

22. My thanks to P. Michalowski for helpful comments that have resulted in improvements in the reading of several lines, especially ii 2 and x 9.

23. Inscriptions quoted according to the system in W. W. Hallo, “The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology”, *HUCA* 33 (1962) 1ff. Texts not listed in this article are quoted by museum or publication number.

24. In contrast with the ED cache of statuettes, see A. Goetze, “Early Dynastic Dedication Inscriptions from Nippur”, *JCS* 23 (1970) 39ff., practically no Ur III votive inscriptions were found in the Inanna temple excavations. One exception is a fragment of an ivory figurine (6N 426 = A 31056) with too little text preserved for identification: *ḫ i n a n n a, n i n - a - n i - i r, n a [m - t i - l a - n i - š è ...]*.

25. An interpretation based on a more literal meaning of *t u* (d): “Eaniša... gave birth to her (future) king and presented him to her husband”, seems at present less likely; the context suggests a regular dedicatory inscription.

it could be the father's name; cf. the Old Akkadian name *Ilī-ahī*. The following line is expected to have the name of an office, but I am unable to read it; the first sign might be a very cursive GİR. Perhaps this line gives the father's name. As Gelb points out to me, the title in line 9 is ambiguous: it can mean "the foreman (in control) of the diviners", or "the foreman (at the service) of the diviners", supervising their servants.

vi 3-7. These lines contain the end of a curse formula. Before line 3 one has to restore [^den-líl lugal], and in line 4 ^dnin stands for ^dnin-líl. The prefix chain in line 6 is the usual in Ur III inscriptions for the verb *nam — ku₅*, see Šulgi 46, Amar-Sin 3, Ibši-Sin 9, UET 1 57, 8 20.

vi 9-17. Beginning of the dedication of a statue. In line 15 *nam* stands for *nam -<ti-la-ni...>*.

vii 5-12. Published in *RA* 56 (1962) 213; see the observations of J.-R. Kupper, *JCS* 21 ("1967") 123.

viii 2'-5'. End of a statue dedication with its name.

viii 6'-8'. The name Ališuni is known in the Ur III and OB periods (see I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 3 5 '1₂ L): Nikolsky 2 364: 3 is a messenger text, *AOS* 32 TT 2 is a slave sale in which the names of all participants are Akkadian, and *AASF* 92 95: 13 (Šulgi 43) lists animals *egir é-du₆-la a-li-šu-ni*; the last reference could imply a high position for Ališuni.

ix 1'-10'. End of dedication (line 7': *a mu -<na -ru>*). The rubric in 8'-10' seems to say that the text was repeated twice.

x 1'-10'. Evidently part of a commemorative inscription describing acts of war. It is not possible to establish whether the preceding column is already part of it, or how far ahead it extends; the next clear incipit is in xiii 3'. Translation: "I plundered [...], took captive N., king of X, and did not let him go." The reading of the king's name and of his country are uncertain.

xi 3'f. Final verb as in ix 7'. The text was placed on the side or shoulder (z a g) of a representation of Gilgameš.

xiv 2'-14'. An enumeration of governors and generals similar to, e.g., Sargon b 16 (*AfO* 20 [1963] 51f.) or Šu-Sin's Collection A (*AfO* 19 [1959/60] 11ff.). PA stands for PA.TE.SI. For *za - u₁*, assumed to be in Elamite country, see *Rép. Géog.* 2 243 s.v. A likely restoration for line 13' is [*a - wa*]-a₁ or [*a - ba*]-a₁, but I cannot make any suggestion for the other toponyms. P. Michalowski would like to read [*h_u - ú*]h - n u - r i^{lki} in line 7'.

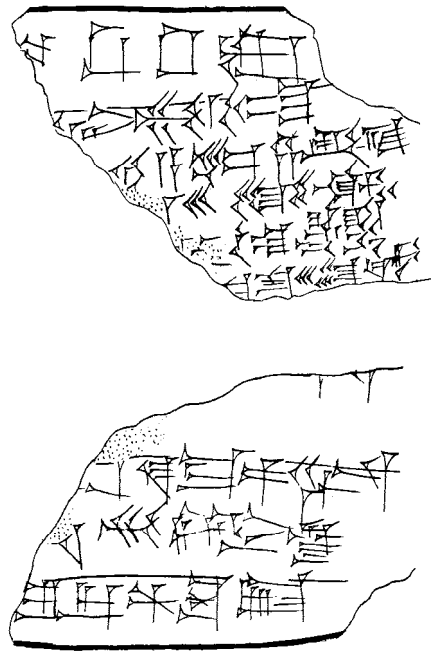


Fig. 1 - 6N-T288



Fig 2 – N 2230 + N 4006, obverse

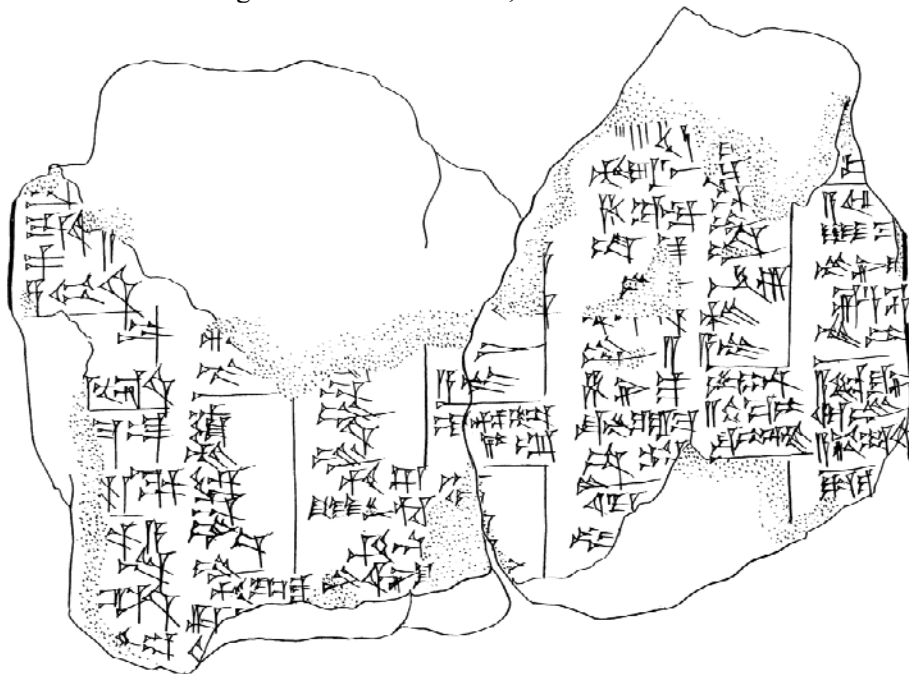


Fig 3 – N 2230 + N 4006, reverse



Fig 4 – The cylinder 6N-T908a (A 33656a)

Sur les « livres d'écolier » à l'époque paléo-babylonienne^{*}

Je ne me considère nullement comme un expert des archives de Mari mais je veux néanmoins me joindre à mes collègues dans leur hommage à M. Birot dont l'érudition et la modestie ont inspiré les assyriologues de ma génération. Même si je n'ose point écrire sur ses textes préférés, le sujet que j'ai choisi n'est pourtant pas sans rapports, au moins indirects, avec Mari. En premier lieu, l'éducation du scribe mésopotamien a toujours suivi, en dépit des divisions politiques, une tradition uniforme qui embrassait la totalité des villes où l'écriture cunéiforme s'était établie. Les exercices scolaires des scribes de Mari doivent donc avoir été essentiellement les mêmes que ceux des scribes du Sud mésopotamien. D'autre part, quoiqu'elle soit la seule des grandes villes de la civilisation mésopotamienne à ne pas nous fournir en quantité des textes scolaires –qu'elle doit cacher quelque part–, il faut espérer que Mari finira bien un jour par nous les livrer. À ce moment-là cette modeste étude contribuera, j'ose l'espérer, à mieux les comprendre.

Le texte publié ici est une partie d'un de ces dialogues où des écoliers s'exercent à manier la langue sumérienne qui n'était pas leur langue maternelle. Cette sorte d'exercice est bien connu dans d'autres systèmes pédagogiques. Il suffira de rappeler pour le monde occidental les exemples qui vont des dialogues compris dans des *Hermeneumata*¹ –et qui remontent probablement au III^{ème} siècle avant J.-C. –jusqu'au *Dialogus parvulis scholaribus ad latinum idioma perutilissimus* de Paulus Nivis (Schneevogel) ou la *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* de Jean-Louis Vives, parmi beaucoup de textes similaires de la Renaissance². Dans notre dialogue deux écoliers anonymes discutent de leur compétence en langue sumérienne en se vantant de leurs connaissances scolaires. Pour mieux décider qui l'emporte, on établit un long débat formel (a - d a - m i n) qui prend presque les trois quarts du texte et qui consiste en des tirades d'insultes plus ou moins vulgaires. C'est le premier quart du texte, qui décrit en détail l'apprentissage de la langue et de l'écriture, qui retiendra ici notre attention.

^{*} The present article was originally published in J.-M. Durand - J.R. Kupper (eds), *Miscellanea Babylonica : mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 67-78.

1. G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* III, Leipzig 1892.

2. A. Bömer, *Die lateinische Schülergespräche der Humanisten*, Berlin, 1897 (réimpr. 1966).

Dans mon catalogue des textes littéraires sumériens notre composition est désignée comme « Edubba D » (5.14). Le catalogue de Nippur (*BASOR* 88, 12) donne son titre à la ligne 56: e m e - g i r₁₅ e - 'z u - ù' (collationnée); c'est la ligne 3 de notre texte, les deux premières lignes étant identiques au début d'une autre composition (voir commentaire à la ligne 1) et par conséquent omises.

Le premier fragment publié de cette composition (source C dans *SEM* 67, 1934) fut classé parmi les textes de l'Edubba par Chiera et Kramer, le deuxième (source E dans *Or* 22 pl. 42, 1953) fut classé comme un fragment de mythe, la ligne 20 étant interprétée comme disant que la longueur de la vie humaine était de soixante-dix ans (*Or* 22 p. 193). Ce n'est que la découverte de la source A (*UET* 6 167, 1966) qui permet de se former une idée plus ou moins correcte du contenu (voir Kramer, *UET* 6/2 p. 3 et *Iraq* 25 124 avec traduction des lignes 21-25). Quelques passages ont été traduits par Å. Sjöberg dans *AS* 20, pp. 162 et 165.

Sources

A	U 16879C (<i>UET</i> 6 167, collationnée) 1-45. Ur. Tablette à une colonne.
B	N 1241 21-28, 225-35. Nippur. Fragment du côté gauche qui semble aller avec C.
C	CBS 10216 (<i>SEM</i> 67) 32-42, 76-86, 210-14. Nippur. Fragment du coin inférieur gauche d'une tablette à trois colonnes et dont B fait probablement partie.
D	UM 29-15-573 41-49, 55-64. Nippur. Tablette à une colonne auquel manquent les tranches supérieure et inférieure.
E	Ni 9718 (<i>Or</i> 22 pl. 42, <i>ISCT</i> 296 ; photo et moulage) 12-23, 171-78, 209-15. Nippur. Fragment du côté gauche d'une tablette à trois colonnes, compatible avec I.
F	CBS 13872 191-243. Nippur. Tablette à une colonne.
G	CBS 2201 + N 3075 + N 3129 206-24, 231-43. Nippur. Tablette à une colonne ; « join » de l'auteur.
H	Crozer 199* (<i>JCS</i> 4 137) 216-35. Origine inconnue. Fragment du côté gauche, non collationnée ³ .
I	Ni 9618 (<i>ISCT</i> 2 95, copie par Geers, photo et moulage) 76-94, 135-50. Nippur. Coin supérieur droit d'une tablette à trois colonnes, compatible avec E.

3. Quand j'ai essayé, il y a quelques années, de collationner la tablette au Crozer Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa. elle n'était pas là, une note de la main de Goetze datée de 1947 affirmant qu'elle était à Yale « for study ». D'après W.-W. Hallo elle est maintenant introuvable à Yale. La collection Crozer a été depuis acquise par la Colgate Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y.

J	Ni 9751 (<i>ISET</i> 1 147) + Ni 9498 (<i>ISET</i> 1 170) + Ni 9809 (<i>ISET</i> 244).....	17-25, 31-47.
	Nippur. Partie centrale d'une tablette à une colonne; « join » de l'auteur.	
K	<i>vacat</i> (fait partie de J)	
L	Ni 4299 (<i>ISET</i> 2 184)	125-31, 142-53.
	Nippur. Coin inférieur droit d'une tablette à trois colonnes.	
M	11N-T30	61-97.
	Nippur, WB 4, niveau IV, chambre 2. Tablette entière à une colonne.	
N	N 294.....	61-64.
	Nippur. Fragment de la tranche inférieure d'une tablette à plusieurs colonnes.	

On a un texte suivi du début jusqu'à la ligne 97 et les dernières 46 lignes sont aussi conservées. La longueur de la composition peut être établie à partir du raisonnement suivant. La source I place le début de la dernière colonne de la face à la ligne 76. Cette tablette doit être à trois colonnes puisque, si elle avait seulement deux colonnes de 75 lignes, la fin, conservée, de la première colonne du revers se situerait autour de la ligne $75 \times 3 = 225$. Or, la tablette B(+)C, qui ne doit pas avoir plus de trois colonnes (quatre colonnes seraient inattendues pour une longueur de seulement 42 lignes par colonne), et ses duplicats nous donnent le texte qui avoisine la ligne 225 et celui-ci n'est pas celui qu'on a dans I. En plus, une longueur de 75 lignes est possible mais elle ne doit être postulée qu'avec de fortes raisons à l'appui, qui nous manquent ici. Par conséquent I doit avoir une moyenne de 37,5 lignes par colonne, ce qui donne une longueur maximum de la composition de $37,5 \times 6 = 225$ lignes. D'après B(+)C, qui a une moyenne de 42 lignes par colonne, cette longueur serait de $42 \times 6 = 252$ lignes. Le fragment N donne la ligne 64 comme la dernière d'une colonne ; dans l'hypothèse que la tablette avait en tout quatre colonnes la longueur maximum serait de $64 \times 4 = 256$ lignes. Provisoirement, on a placé la section finale en partant de la première ligne de la sixième colonne de B(+)C calculée comme étant $42 \times 5 = 210$. La composition a dans ce cas 243 lignes en comptant la doxologie. Ce calcul n'est qu'approximatif bien entendu et sujet à des corrections fournies par la longueur réelle et encore inconnue des colonnes.

Le texte est assez uniforme, les variantes textuelles n'ayant qu'un intérêt orthographique. Je me suis donc dispensé d'en donner ici une édition « en partition musicale ». Les variantes sont données dans un appareil critique de type positif de façon que la seule information qui manque est la longueur des parties cassées. Une édition du texte complet, avec copies des sources et partitions est prévue dans le cadre d'un corpus des textes scolaires mésopotamiens.

Le sumérien écrit n'ayant pas de moyens de distinguer dans la plupart des cas la première personne de la deuxième et, de plus, ne marquant pas l'interrogation quand elle porte sur le prédicat (voir mes remarques à la ligne 2), seul le sens général du texte dicte l'attribution d'une ligne à un interlocuteur déterminé. L'édition donnée ici conserve cette ambiguïté.

Texte

- 1 lú-tur [dumu é-dub-ba-(a)-me-en dumu] 'é'-[dub-ba-me-en]
- 2 tukum-bi dumu é-dub-ba-[(a)-me-en]

- 3 [eme]-gir₁₅ e-zu-ù-à[m]
 4 [eme ʾgir₁₅]-ta inim e-da-bal-e-en
 5 [x] ʾal-tur-re-en a-na-gin₇-nam ʾka-za inim ab-bal-e-en
 6 níg k[a u]m-mi-a-ʾgá-ka 1 2 giš ba-ni-tuku-àm
 7 ʾinim-bil ga-mu-ra-ab-gi₄
 8 ʾnig ma-ab-gi₄-gi₄-na-zu hé-ib-da-gál a-na-àm ab-sar-re-en
 9 [tuku]m²-bi² níg ʾab-sar-re-en-na-mu èn ʾmu-e-ši-tar-re
 10 [x] ʾx é-dub-ba-a i-in-ti-e-na-mu itu 3-àm ba-ra-ab-lá
 11 [dub] ʾki-en-gi ki-uri-ke₄ a-a me-me-ta
 12 [x x x]-šè i-šid ù i-sar
 13 ʾmu dil-dil^d inanna-téš-ta
 14 en-na níg zi-gál-edin-na zag lú-šu-ka¹-šè i-sar
 15 gu-sum-bi mu-da-pà-dè-en¹
 16 sar-re-bi¹ ù ki²-búr-bi a-gin₇ ka-mu a-ab-si
 17 egir-mu ha-ha-za-mu-un
 18 níg na-me nu-mu-ra-da-gilim-bé-en
 19 ù lú-šu¹ im šu-gá lú ma-an-gub-ba
 20 mu lú 600-a¹-kam a-rá-bi mu-da-ab-sum-mu
 21 níg-kas₇ u₄¹ é-dub-ba-a i-tuš-ù¹-na mu-gar-ra
 22 u₄ du₈-a-mu¹ itu-da u₄ 3-àm
 23 ezen dil-dil-bi itu-da u₄ 3-àm
 24 šà-ba itu-da u₄ 24-àm
 25 é-dub-ba-a i¹-in-ti-i²-na-mu u₄-da gíd-da nam-me
 26 u₄ 1-e um-mi-a-mu níg-sur-ru-mu 4-ta-àm mu-ub-sum-mu
 27 níg-kas₇-bi gar-ra nam-dub-sar i-zu-a-mu nu-ub-tùm-ʾda²
 28 a-da-al-ta šà-dub-ba a-rá níg-kas₇-šè
 ba-e-dè-gá-gá-dè-en
 29 nam-dub-sar mu gar níg-sur nu-ù-gar NÍG ba-ba e-ne KA
 30 um-mi-a-mu inim sag₉-sag₉-ge dūg e-ak
 31 nam-gi₄-me-èš-ak níg ša-húl-le-dam
 32 nam-dub-sar-mu¹ mu-ub-zu-zu
 33 níg na-me nu-mu-ši-ib-sir-re-en
 34 um-mi-a-mu gu-sum 1-àm mu-un¹-pà-dè²
 35 geštú-mu-ta 1 2 bí-ib¹-dah-e-en²
 36 ki-ulutin-mu-uš¹ a-ba-da-tuš-ù-nam²
 37 eme-gir₁₅ nam-dub-sar¹ šà-dub-ba šid níg-kas₇-šè²
 mu³-da-ab⁴-sá-sá-e-en
 38 eme-gir₁₅-ta inim mu¹-da-ab²-bal-e-en³
 39 hé-ib-da-gál eme-gir₁₅¹ i-ri-dul-la-aš²
 40 dub sar-re-dè ga-gin
 41 dub 1 še gur-ta¹ zag 600 gur-šè
 42 dub 1 gín-ta¹ zag kù 10 ma-na²-šè

- 43 ki nam-dam-t[a²] lú hu-mu-un-DU-[(x)]¹
 44 nam-tab-ba 1 gú kurúm¹ igi hu²-mu-da-zàg-[x]
 45 é a-ša^{giš}kiri₆ sag-géme-arad sa₁₀-sa₁₀-[(x)]
 46 kù-ta gub-ba¹ a-ša nam-apin-l[á (x)]
 47 ^{giš}kiri₆ giš gub-bu-dè [] 'x'
 48 ù dub dumu-túl-ta-pà-da sar-r[e-bi] mu-u[n-zu]
 49 [] 'x x' é m[u-]
 50-54 cassé
 55 tukum-bi []
 56 lú ù-tu-me-e[n²-dè-en(?) ... -en]-dè-en [(x)]
 57 gá-e e-ne-bi im-šu im-^ʿšu² ba²-e²-[]
 58 lú-ù lú níg-kas₇ zag []
 59 ù igi šà níg-kas₇ ka-mu im-[]
 60 níg-kas₇ mu-DU 'x'-[]-ra²
 61 lú igi nu-un-da-an-du₈-a 'níg-kas₇' dub-sar-ra-gin₇
 an-d[a ?-(x)]
 62 šà-dub-ba nam-dub-sar-ra gu-sum šà sud-rá
 63 lú lú-ù-da¹ hé-en-da-ha-ha-za²
 64 tukum-bi á mu-da-an-gar a-na-mu šu ba-an¹-tùm
 65 ù tukum-bi á ba-an¹-da-gar-re² a-na-aš šu
 ba-[x]-te-gá-e³-[(x)]
 66 ki nam-gašam-ke₄² []-a
 67 nam-dub-sar-ra ù nam-[ki]-bi-šè [li-bí-ib]-gi₄
 68 'mìn-kam-ma'-[še] [x x x x] [x] 'dah²
 69 lú gá-da di-di-e 'a²' mu-un²-dím² mu-na-dab₅
 70 in in-gin₇ in-dúb-dúb-bu-[u]n²-dè-en
 71 áš áš-gin₇ lú lú-ù hé-e[n-d]a-bal-e

Notes Textuelles

14. 1) A: -š u - k a -; E: -g a š a m-.
 15. 1) A: -e n; E om.
 16. 1) A: -b i; E om. 2) A: k i-; E om.
 19. 1) AJ: -š u; E -g a š a m.
 20. 1) E: - a -; AJ om. 2) AJ: - ù -; E om.
 21. 1) AEJ: u₄; B om. 2) AJ: - ù -; E om.
 22. 1) AB: - m u; EJ: - g á.
 25. 1) A: i -; B: ì - . 2) A: - i -; J om.
 32. 1) A: - m u; J om.
 34. 1) C: -u n-; A om. 2) A: - 'x' - a; C om.
 35. 1) A: -i b-; C: -i b-. 2) A: -e n; C om.
 36. 1) A: -u š; CJ: -š è. 2) A: -n a; C: -n a m.

37. 1) J: -r a; AC om. 2) A: -š è; C om. 3) A: e -; CJ: mu -. 4) C: - a b -; AJ om.
 38. 1) AC: e -; J: m u-. 2) J: -a b-; AC om. 3) A: - e n; C om.
 39. 1) A: -i b-; C: -i b-. 2) A: KA- g i r₁₅; C: e m e- g i r₁₅; J: KA. 3) A: - a š; C om.
 41. 1) J: -à m; AC om.
 42. 1) CJ: -à m; A om. 2) CJ: kù 10 m a - n a -; D: 10 m a - n a k ù -.
 43. 1) Line in D; AJ om.
 44. 1) A: k u r ú m l g [ú; D: l g ú k u r ú m; J: l] g ú k u r ú m. 2) D: h u-; J om.
 63. 1) DM: -d a; N: -d è. 2) D: - h a - h a - z a; N: - h a - z a -(x)].
 64. 1) D: -a [b-; N: -a n-.
 65. 1) N: -a n-; M om. 2) N: -r e; D om. 3) M: - a[?] -; N: - e -.

Traduction

- (1) Jeune homme, [es-tu un écolier? - Oui, je suis un écolier]
 (2) Si tu es un écolier,
 (3) connais-tu le sumérien?
 (4) Oui, je peux parler sumérien.
 (5) [Tu] est si jeune, comment peux-tu t'exprimer (si bien)?
 (6) J'ai écouté maintes fois les explications du maître,
 (7) je vais te répondre.
 (8) Soit, tu peux me répondre, (mais) qu'est-ce que tu écris?
 (9) Si tu examines ce que j'écris, (tu verras que)
 (1a) le [temps] que je dois passer (encore) à l'école est moins de trois mois.
 (12) J'ai (déjà) récité et écrit
 (11) les mots sumériens et akkadiens depuis (le syllabaire) *a-a me-me* jusqu'à [...].
 (13) J'ai écrit toutes les lignes depuis (la liste de noms propres) *Inanna-téš*
 (14) jusqu'à (la série) *lú = šū*, même les formes désuètes.
 (15) Je peux montrer les signes,
 (16) leur écriture et leur solution, c'est ainsi que je m'exprime.
 (17) Suis-moi !
 (18) Je ne ferai rien de trop compliqué pour toi.
 (19) Même si l'on m'assigne (la série) *lú = šū* dans ma « tablette de main »,
 (20) Je peux donner l'ordre de six-cents lignes avec *lú*.
 (21) Le bilan des jours que je passe à l'école a été établi (ainsi):
 (22) mes jours de vacances sont trois par mois,
 (23) les différentes fêtes sont trois jours par mois,
 (24) avec ça ce sont vingt-quatre jours par mois
 (25) que je passe à l'école, le temps n'est pas long.
 (26) En un seul jour le maître a donné quatre fois ma section.
 (27) Le compte (des jours) fait, ma connaissance de l'art de l'écriture ne disparaîtra pas.
 (28) Désormais je peux m'appliquer aux tablettes, aux multiplications et aux bilans.
 (29) L'art de l'écriture, le placement des lignes, éviter les coupures, ...

- (30) Mon maître a corrigé les belles paroles.
 (31) On doit se réjouir de la compagnie (des collègues)!
 (32) Je connais parfaitement mon art de l'écriture,
 (33) j'ai de la facilité pour tout.
 (34) Mon maître montre un signe,
 (35) J'en y ajoute plus d'un de mémoire.
 (36) Après avoir été à l'école jusqu'au temps prévu,
 (37) je suis à la hauteur du sumérien, de l'art de l'écriture, du contenu des tablettes, du calcul des bilans.
 (38) Je peux parler sumérien!
 (39) — Soit, (mais) le (sens du) sumérien t'est caché !.
 (40) — Je veux écrire des tablettes:
 (41) la tablette (des mesures) d'un g u r d'orge jusqu'à six-cents g u r,
 (42) la tablette (des poids) d'un sicle jusqu'à vingt mines d'argent,
 (43) avec les contrats de mariage que l'on peut m'apporter,
 (44) les contrats de société, je peux choisir les poids contrôlés d'un talent,
 (45) la vente de maisons, de champs, d'esclaves,
 (46) les cautions en argent, les contrats de louage de champs,
 (47) les contrats de cultivation des palmeraies, les [...],
 (48) même les tablettes des contrats d'adoption, je sais écrire tout cela.
 (les lignes 49-55 sont trop fragmentaires pour une traduction)
 (56) Nous sommes (pareillement) nés, nous sommes [...].
 (57) Lui et moi [nous avons comparé(?)] « les tablettes de main ».
 (58) L'un et l'autre [ont fini(?)] les bilans,
 (59) et en face du bilan ... [...],
 (60) le bilan ... [...].
 (61) Celui qui ne peut voir [...] comme les bilans des scribes.
 (63) Que l'un se batte avec l'autre
 (62) sur les tablettes, l'art de l'écriture, les signes à plusieurs sens ;
 (64) s'il gagne il emportera n'importe quoi de mien,
 (65) mais si je gagne qu'est ce que je recevrai?
 (66) Chez les artisans [...]
 (67) L'art de l'écriture et l'art de [...]
 (68) Pour la deuxième fois [...].
 (69) Celui qui parle avec moi ...
 (70) Nous hurlerons insulte pour insulte,
 (71) l'un échangera des imprécations avec l'autre.

Commentaire

1. La restauration des deux premières lignes s'inspire du début du « Règlement de l'Edubba »⁴:

- 1 lú-tur dumu é-dub-ba-me-en 'dumu é'-[dub-ba-me-en]
 2 tukum-bi dumu é-dub-ba-me-en a-na-àm á-ág-gá []
 « Jeune homme, es-tu un écolier? — Oui, je suis un écolier.
 Si tu es un écolier, quelles sont les règles (de l'école)? ».

Voir encore le début d'un exercice morphologique (Ni 9688, inédit) :

- dub-sar-me-en tú-up-[ša-ru-um at-ta] « es-tu un écolier? »
 dub-sar-me-en tú-up-š[a-ru-um a-na-ku] « oui, je suis un écolier. »

2. Je prends le -ù- comme marque de l'interrogatif. Quand la question porte non sur un des arguments du prédicat mais sur le prédicat lui-même le sumérien dans la plupart des cas n'indique pas ouvertement l'interrogation dans le texte écrit (ce qui constitue la difficulté majeure dans l'interprétation du dialogue); ce n'est que sporadiquement que l'on trouve l'interrogation indiquée par l'insertion d'une voyelle. Par exemple: a ra d lú-še lu ga l-zu-ù « esclave, cet homme-là est-il ton roi ? » (Gilgameš et Agga 91).

3. Le verbe *inim* — *ba l* est à traduire par « parler, converser » plutôt que par « traduire » ici et à la ligne 38. L'instrumental -*ta* indique la langue parlée. Le même usage se rencontre, avec un autre verbe, dans : *eme-ba l-e mu-un-da-an-gub-bé gá-e eme-ni-ta inim-inim-[ma⁷]-ni si mu-un-na-ab-sá-e* « (l'étranger) a un interprète avec lui (mais) moi je lui corrige ses propres mots dans sa propre langue » (c.-à-d., je n'ai pas besoin d'interprète) Šulgi B 123-24. Toutefois on se sert aussi, avec *inim* — *g i₄*, du locatif (Šulgi C 119 suiv., avec des duplicats inédits):

- [eme mar]-tu níg eme-gi-ra-gin₇ hé-[en-ga-zu-àm]
 [] 'x' lú kur-ra hur-sag-ta DU-[]
 [sá ha-m]a-né-éš eme-mar-tu-a inim [hu-mu-ni-ne-gi₄]
 [e]me elam-ma níg eme-gi-ra-gin₇ hé-en-ga-zu-àm
 [x x ela]m^{ki}-ma nind[aba x x]-bu₅-bu₅-re-éš
 sá ha-ma-né-éš eme elam-ma inim hu-mu-ni-ne-gi₄

« Je connais la langue amorite aussi bien que le sumérien
 [...] les montagnards venant de la montagne [...]]
 ils arrivent chez moi, je leur réponds en amorite.
 Je connais la langue élamite aussi bien que le sumérien ;
 [Les ...] de l'Elam, apportent(?) des offrandes,
 ils arrivent chez moi, je leur réponds en élamite. »

4. D'après CBS 11786. Cette composition, malheureusement très fragmentaire, donne des instructions pour la conduite des écoliers. Les autres sources sont: UET 6 168 +, Ni 4103 (ISET 2 72), CBS 4573 (PBS 1/2 98 = PBS 12 30). Son « titre » *a - n a - à m á - á g - g á* apparaît dans le catalogue de Nippur (BASOR 88 12), ligne 57, à la suite de *e m e - g i r₁₅ e - 'z u - ù'*.

6. L'expression ní g k a u m - m i - a - (a k) correspond exactement à l'akkadien *ša pí ummâni* des colophons des commentaires tardifs et désigne ici l'ensemble de l'enseignement oral.

8. La forme verbale h é - i b - d a - g á l a une valeur concessive « admettons que ce soit possible », c.-à-d., « j'admets que tu peux le faire »; voir aussi ligne 39.

11. Le syllabaire a - a m e - m e est le plus élémentaire, voir l'édition dans H. Çiğ et H. Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* pp. 67 suiv. où la version nippurienne est désignée « Silbenalphabet B », la désignation « Silbenalphabet A » étant réservée pour une recension différente publiée par B. Landsberger, *Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift*, *AfO Beiheft* 1 pp. 170 suiv. et qui commence par m e - m e, p a p - p a p, a - a⁵. Pour une traduction des lignes 11-14 qui diffère de la mienne, voir Å. Sjöberg, *AS* 20 pp. 162 suiv.

12. Il faut rétablir dans la lacune le nom d'une série scolaire.

13. Le nom ^di n n a n a - t é š, qui correspond à l'akkadien *Ištar-baštī*, ouvre la liste A de noms de personne, qui donne par groupes de trois des noms qui commencent avec le même élément. Voir *PBS* 11/14 i 1; 47 r. i 3; 56: 1⁶. La lecture et l'écriture des noms propres très tôt dans les cours scolaires ne sont pas surprenantes, on les retrouve aussi à la même place dans l'enseignement primaire grec et hellénistique⁷.

14. Le terme ní g - z i - g á l - e d i n - n a, mot-à-mot « les animaux du désert », appartient à l'argot scolaire et son sens exact est difficile à déterminer. Il est traduit par l'akkadien *šātu* qui désigne une forme de commentaire. Il a un synonyme u₄- u l - d ù - a, avec la même traduction akkadienne. Si ce dernier n'est pas aussi un terme d'argot et s'il doit être pris littéralement, son sens pourrait être « forme ancienne, désuète », ce qui s'accorderait avec l'usage de *šātu* dans les colophons des commentaires. Le terme l ú - š u est la série l ú = *ša* qui avant l'époque canonique s'appelait l ú = *šū* comme le montre sa recension d'Ugarit. Je considère l'usage du titre avec la traduction akkadienne comme une indication de plus qu'à l'école on récitait les séries lexicales toujours avec l'akkadien. Les tablettes qui ne contiennent que le sumérien ne sont point – au moins à l'époque paléo-babylonienne – des précurseurs unilingues mais des abréviations de listes qui étaient, par nécessité pédagogique, toujours bilingues (voir mes remarques dans *MSL* XIV p. 85). La ligne 14 contient une phrase stéréotypée qu'on retrouve ailleurs: m u d i l - d i l z i - g a n a m - d u b - s a r - r a n í g - z i - g á l - e d i n - n a z a g l ú - š u - k a - š è i - s a r e g i r - b i g ú m u - e - d ù « tu as écrit toutes les lignes prises une par une de l'art de l'écriture, (même) les formes désuètes, jusqu'à (la série) l ú = *šū*, mais après tu les as négligées » (Dialogue 1 3-5 et 55). Remarquer que dans tous les cas on a la variante textuelle l ú - g a š a m « (série) des artisans ».

16. Le terme k i - b ú r « solution, explication » introduit typiquement la solution d'une devinette (voir, par exemple, *UET* 6 340-348 et Alster, *JNES* 35 pp. 263 suiv.); ici il indique la solution correcte du problème du choix et de la lecture des signes; voir encore i n i m - i n i m - m a š à - d u b - b a e m e - g i r₁₅ - r a k i - b ú r - b i n u - e - z u « tu ne connais pas la solution (c.-à-d., l'explication correcte) de tous les mots dans les tablettes sumériennes » Dialogue III 40; š à - d u b - b a š i d n í g - k a s₇ k i - b ú r - b ú r - r a - b i i g i m u - u n - n a - a n - s i - g a - a š Edubba A 61, reproduit avec des variantes syllabiques et la traduction

5. Voir aussi E. Sollberger, *AS* 16 pp. 21 suiv. et J. Nougayrol, *ibid.* pp. 29 suiv. qui donnent des recensions « bilingues ».

6. Le nom i n a n n a - t é š est connu à Lagaš à l'époque d'Ur III (Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* 438, avec une lecture différente).

7. H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (1948) p. 213.

akkadienne *šandabakka minūt nikkassi ema* [...] *šubbišu* dans une lettre publiée par Nougayrol (*Ugaritica* 5 pp. 23 et suiv. no. 15: 9)⁸, où la traduction de *ki-búr* est malheureusement cassée; voir remarques aux lignes 28 et 36. Le verbe *KA—sì* est d'interprétation difficile à cause des nombreuses lectures possibles: *ka—sì*, *inim—sì*, *gù—sì* (« mugir » Enmerkar 307; *JAOS* 103 56: 109; L'Été et l'Hiver 91; mais le verbe a encore d'autres sens, voir *Ana ittišu* VI iv 47), *zú—sì* (dans ^{gis}*al zú—sì-ga* « houe pourvue d'une lame »), etc. On peut encore lire la racine verbale comme *sum*; voir, par ex., Gudea St. B vii 21 suiv. Voir les discussions de Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 p. 138, Jacobsen, *ZA* 52 p. 127⁸⁰, et van Dijk, *JCS* 19 p. 12. Certaines possibilités sont ici exclues par le contexte de façon qu'on n'examinera que *inim—sì* et *ka—sì*. Une lecture *inim* est assurée par la présence du complément *—ma* dans les cas où le verbe est associé avec *ša*. Il faut alors traduire par « exprimer en paroles la pensée ou les désirs »: *á-tuk u hé-kin-kin ša-ga-ni inim-ma hé-im-mi-i-b-sì-ge* « qu'il cherche quelqu'un de puissant et qu'il exprime ses désirs » CBS 6924: 4' et dupl. Lugalbanda II 6-7 (éd. Wilcke, voir p. 133): « Personne ne pouvait exprimer ses (de Lugalbanda) désirs, lui seul pouvait exprimer ses propres désirs/projets ». Lugalbanda II 163 « exprime (tes) désirs et il en sera ainsi » (Wilcke *op. cit.* p. 107)⁹. Dans Enlil et Ninlil I 78 = 104 = 130 *um u s-gá i-ni-in-ku₅-(ra) KA-gá i-ni-in-sì-ge-à[m'] šà sù-ge-da-mu ba-e-dè-si-si-in* « je vais expliquer mon plan, je vais exprimer mes désirs: j'assouvirai avec toi mes désirs insatiables »¹⁰ le mot *ša* n'est pas en évidence mais le contexte permet de supposer qu'il manque par ellipse. Une construction différente se trouve dans *a-a-ni^den-líl inim-ma bi-sì CT* 36 26: 16 et *a-a inim-ma i-sì-ga-ni* « son père qui l'a “formulé” » *SRT* 8: 27 ainsi que dans la formule *lú inim-ma si-ga^dDN-a-ke₄ Ean. 2 vii 15, 11 vi 6; Gudea St.B ii 14, D i 15; abrégée en lú inim si^dDN* dans *Urn. 26 v 5*. Cette phrase décrit un aspect du processus de création : le roi est considéré comme né de l'expression verbale d'un désir de la divinité. Un proverbe semble confirmer que l'acte verbal *inim—sì* était associé à la mythologie de la procréation: *lú dūg da b₅-ba^dnin-tu-re inim-ma n[u-mu-d]a-an-sì e-še* « celui dont “le sexe est pris” dit : Nintu ne saurait se prononcer! » *Prov. 12 ii 15'* suiv¹¹. De l'idée de l'expression des désirs on passe tout naturellement au sens de prière attesté dans les listes lexicales: *ka-sì-sì-[ga] = [suppû]* Antagal F 41 dans une section de termes pour « prière » et, en contexte textuel, *inim-sì-sì-ga: ina tēmeqi* AO 6461 rev. 11 (*Rit. Acc.* 109) et *alan-ra [in]im mu-na-a-b-bé [in]im mu-na-a-b-sì-ge* « (Siniddinam) s'adresse à

8. Avec des duplicats d'Assur et Boghazköy. Pour *šandabakku* comme traduction de *ša—du b—ba*, voir note 15. Le scribe d'Ugarit écrit *e-ia-am* pour *ema* traduisant *ki* (cette interprétation est assurée par le duplicat d'Assur) ; la traduction est en tout cas incorrecte. I.-L. Finkel a découvert un duplicat bilingue de cette lettre d'époque néo-babylonienne que nous allons publier ensemble.

9. Je ne comprends pas tout à fait la traduction donnée là: « Setze ein (kluges) Wort in den Sinn! So ist es fürwahr », la phrase *inim sa-ga-(a k)* est un génitif—traduit par *amat libbi* aux lignes 6-7— au cas zéro et représente l'objet du verbe *sì*. Remarquer qu'aux lignes 6-7 le verbe prend le locatif-terminatif. Un passage douteux est *inim 'šā'-ga-ni nu-u-m-sì-g[e] CT* 42 23 B 14; moins clair encore *níg 'šā' inim nam-ba-e-sì-ge VAS* 10 204 rev. ii 21' et dupl. Dans *SRT* 6 : 68, 71 *KA-e—sì* est à lire *gù-e—sì* pour *gù-e—sì*.

10. Traduction *ad sensum*. Voir l'édition de H. Behrens, p. 179. Je prends *ša sù-ge-da-(s u g + d + a)* dans le sens entrailles / cœur « à vider, qui ont besoin de se vider », expression des besoins sexuels physiques d'Enlil. Pour la lecture du *KA* voir la fin de cette discussion.

11. Je prends *dūg = birku* avec *da b₅* comme un euphémisme de sorte que le sens du proverbe serait qu'au moment de l'acte sexuel l'homme souhaite qu'il n'ait pas d'enfant.

la statue et lui offre une prière (litt. lui exprime ses désirs)» *JCS* 19 6: 41 et suiv. Il reste maintenant les cas où le KA de KA— si est suivi par le pronom possessif (voir aussi le passage d'Enlil et Ninlil cité ci-dessus) et où la lecture *inim* n'est nullement assurée: *gù-zal-gin₇ inim ka-na ba-an-si* «il s'exprime comme un bavard(?)»¹² *ELA* 296; *na-m-lú-níg-tuku al-me-a-gin₇ KA-na bí-in-si-ge* «il s'exprime comme s'il faisait partie des gens “de la haute”» *Dimmani* 11. Dans ces deux cas l'absence de -ma- devant le suffixe de 3^{ème} personne exclut, semble-t-il, la lecture *inim*. Le verbe de notre ligne 16 correspond à ces deux derniers passages. En tout cas le contexte demande quelque chose comme «expliquer». Remarquer l'absence du locatif dans notre passage. Comme le verbe de *Dimmani* 11 est au locatif-terminatif (*bí-<b a + *I*), le -mu cache sans doute le suffixe -e.

19. La tablette *im-šu-(a)k* est une tablette assignée à l'élève qui l'emportait chez lui au soir pour l'étudier: *mu-gub-ba-mu ma-an-gub-bu-uš kin-sig-gin₇ im-šu-mu ma-an-gub-bu-uš ... ad-da-mu im-šu-mu gù in-na-ra-dé dub-mu in-na-šid ad-da-mu im-da-húl* «ils m'ont assigné mon devoir (litt. mes lignes assignées), au soir ils m'ont assigné ma “tablette de main”; (quand je suis rentré à la maison), j'ai lu ma “tablette de main” à mon pere, je lui ai récité ma tablette, il s'en est réjoui» *Edubba A* 6-10; *gi-dù-a-zu sa-g₉-ge hu-mu-ra-gá-gá im-šu gub-ba-zu hul hé-ri-in-tuku-tuku* «que (Nidaba) rende beau ton roseau à écrire, qu'elle te fasse repérer l'erreur dans tes “tablette de main”» *ibid.* 75-76; et dans un contexte fragmentaire: *im-šu-ka-ne-ne-a KA ù-[...-dé(?)]* «après qu'ils ont lu leurs “tablettes de main” ...» Règlement de l'*Edubba* 1 rev. 3'. On retrouve le terme *im-šu* dans les colophons d'une série d'exercices métrologiques (*Neugebauer, MKT* pl. 57ff.): *x IM.ŠU DUB y KAM.MA*, où *x* est le nombre de paragraphes (ou problèmes) sur la tablette. Or, *Nippur* a donné au moins quatre petites tablettes avec des exercices assez semblables à ceux des tablettes de *MKT*¹³. La «tablette de main» serait donc sinon une lentille au moins une tablette plutôt petite avec un seul problème mathématique ou un court extrait de texte. La traduction akkadienne est probablement *qātu* (*CAD Q* 197b 14a-b, avec une traduction peut-être trop précise «list»). En tout cas *im-šu* n'est pas à confondre avec *im-šú = imšukku* qui désigne une enveloppe de tablette. Comme dans *im-šu* le *im* n'est point un déterminatif puisqu'il forme avec *šu* une construction au génitif (cf. *im-šu-ka-ne-ne-a* ci-dessous), son emprunt akkadien serait donc **imšukku*, identique à l'emprunt de *im-šú*.

20. L'édition de la recension paléo-babylonienne de *lú = šū* dans *MSL XII* ne compte pas moins de 846 lignes. Il faut prendre donc 600 comme un chiffre voulant dire «un très grand nombre». Il semble bien que la série *izi* suivait la série *lú* au moins dans certaines écoles (*MSL XII* p. 27). La série *lú* n'est donc pas le point d'aboutissement des études de l'*Edubba*. Si l'on insiste sur cette série dans notre texte c'est parce qu'elle représentait, peut-être, la fin d'une étape dans l'éducation ou bien qu'elle est simplement un exemple d'une série longue et difficile.

22. Trois jours libres par mois semble avoir été la coutume non seulement à l'école mais aussi chez les ouvriers en général, voir mes remarques dans *Aula Orientalis* 1 pp. 52 suiv.

23. Il est intéressant de comparer le nombre de fêtes de notre texte avec celui d'une inscription de Cos vers 150 avant J.-C. (*W. Dittenberger, Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* 1028) qui ne compte pas moins

12. Ou «bouffon»? *KA.NI* peut avoir plusieurs lectures et sens. Son interprétation ne change pas toutefois le sens du verbe.

13. Non des lentilles mais des tablettes carrées aux coins arrondis. Le catalogue de lentilles scolaires de R.-S. Falkowitz. *Afo* 29-30 18 pp. et suiv. ne contient aucun exemple de texte mathématique; cependant ils existent.

de sept fêtes et cinq jours d'examens et preuves pour le seul mois d'Artamisios. Malgré les énormes différences attendues dans des endroits si divers, il est vraisemblable que le nombre donné ici souligne l'intensité du travail scolaire.

26. Le mot níg-sur est rare, il réapparaît probablement à la ligne 29 dans un contexte obscur. Les autres exemples sont également obscurs ou fragmentaires: inim-inim-ma gal-gal hé-[ib]-da-'gál' níg-sur bulug a 'xxx' nu-mu-un-da-ak-e Dimmani 50-51; [... ga]l' níg-sur-ra [... z]i-sù-ud-da [...] N 2956 3'. À côté de níg-sur-ra = *habbu* (Nigga bil. B 4), les textes lexicaux ne donnent que níg-sur-ra = *mišlu* (Nigga bil. A 11')¹⁴. En partant du sens de «moitié» l'interprétation qui vient naturellement à l'esprit, est de prendre níg-sur comme une désignation de la partie de l'élève dans les tablettes classées comme étant du type II/1 dans *MSL* (voir *MSL* XII 27,51; XIII 10 ; XIV 5), c'est-à-dire, des tablettes qui ont dans leur moitié gauche le modèle de l'instructeur et à la droite, la copie de l'élève.

27. « Ne disparaîtra pas », litt. « n'est pas à emporter ».

28. Le terme šà-dub-ba apparaît dans l'hymne de Rim-Sin à Haia 20: šà-dub-ba sù-ud-da zu, où, d'après H. Steible, Haja p. 92, il désignerait une sorte de tablette particulièrement belle. Son argument, pourtant, qui se fonde sur la position de l'adjectif, n'est pas convaincant puisque šà-dub-ba doit être considéré comme un mot composé; voir la traduction *šandabakku* dans le texte d'*Ugaritica* V cité au commentaire à la ligne 16. Quoi qu'il soit le sens originel, il semble bien qu'il y a eu une désémantisation et que šà-dub-ba est devenu un simple synonyme de dub. Du moins, les textes, à mon avis, ne permettent aucune distinction. Voir encore le passage de Lipit-Ištar B 21 (*JCS* 30 36): šà-dub-ba-ka gu-sum mi-ni-in-sa_g-sa_g « elle (Nidaba) embellit les signes *sur* la tablette » qui montre que le sens ne peut pas être là « contenu », quoi que ce sens allât bien avec le contexte de l'hymne de Rim-Sin; voir la discussion de sù-ud à la ligne 62. On comparera encore le terme šà-mul traduit très littéralement par *libbi šitri* dans A.i. III ii 29 –pour lequel Landsberger, *MSL* 1 145, avait proposé « testament »— ainsi que šà-sa_g-dub-ba dans un texte juridique d'Ur III (Falkenstein, *NSG* 2 p. 213). Voici quelques exemples d'Ur III: *BE* 3 71 est une liste de faucilles dont quelques unes se trouvent dans une corbeille à l'é-dub-ba tandis que d'autres ne figurent que sur des tablettes (šà-dub-ba gál-la) ; tukum-bi šà-dub PN₁-ka 10 še gur nu-ub-sar še-bi PN₂ ib-su-su-a « il a juré que si les 10 gur d'orge n'étaient pas inscrits sur la tablette de PN₁, PN₂ les restituerait » *BE* 3 7; šà-dub-ba gar-gar-a itu-MN-ta « (des vêtements) placés sur la tablette depuis le mois de MN » Reisner, *Telloh* 278 rev. 4; gaba-ri šà-dub-ba « copie du contenu de la tablette » *JCS* 19 26 1: 5¹⁵. Un contrat paléo-babylonien donne, dans un contexte endommagé, šà-dub níg-ba PN (A 30086: 7).

29. Ligne obscure que l'on peut couper et lire de façons différentes, par exemple mu gar-gar sur nu-ù-gar-gar.

30. Comparer ^{kuš}usàn sumun-zu ^{giš}mud lá-lá-a-bi dumu gašam-e-ne dūg ha-ra-ab-ak-e « attache bien ton vieux fouet à sa manche, que les artisans te le raccommodent » Instructions au fermier 17-18.

14. Nigga 47-49 donne trois fois níg-sur-ra, sans traduction.

15. Mal compris par l'éditeur. Remarquer que la forme akkadienne *šandabakku* < šà-dub-ak, est identique à *šandabakku* < *sa-dub-ak < pi-sa-n-dub-ak.

33. Litt. « Je ne suis ficellé pour rien ». Comparer KÉŠ dans le sens de « fermer un récipient avec des ficelles »: ^{kuš}a - g á l á KÉŠ-(d a) « sac à cuir ficellé » *MVN* 3 243; *YOS* 4 562; Fish, *Cat. John Rylands* 672; Durand, *Documents cunéiformes* I 190 iv 2; etc. (voir R. M. Whiting, *JCS* 28, 174); ^{níg}-k a s₇ ì - r á - r á ^{dugš}a g a n KÉŠ-KÉŠ- r a - k e₄- n e « comptes des parfumeurs qui scellent les pots š. » *UET* 3 1399 r. 28; s a ^ún u m ú n š a g a n KÉŠ- d è « des joncs pour ficeller des pots š. » Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 p. 155, 8, avec note; ^{dug}k u r - k u - d ù KÉŠ « des jarres k. fermées » *UET* 3 1060 ii 16'; cf. *UET* 3 1399 r. 17.

34. La pratique de donner une lettre initiale que l'élève doit compléter avec d'autres lettres pour former un mot est connue de l'école hellénistique. Les listes acrographiques (*MSL* XIII 3) de la tradition mésopotamienne se prêtent tout naturellement à ce type d'exercice.

36. Les précurseurs d'*Ana ittišu* commençaient à Nippur par *ki-ulutin-bi-šè* (M. Roth, *Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law*. Ph. D. Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1979, pp. 287 suiv.). La présence du suffixe -m u- montre qu'ici la phrase doit être prise au sens propre et non comme le titre d'un texte scolaire. Le jeu de mots est toutefois évident.

41-42. Comparer la traduction de Å. Sjöberg, *AS* 20 p. 165. Il s'agit de tablettes métrologiques qui donnent la séquence des mesures déterminées, voir quelques exemples dans Neugebauer, *MKT* 1 pp. 88 suiv. C'est un type de tablette assez fréquent dans les musées mais qui n'a pas attiré suffisamment l'attention. Les historiens des mathématiques les trouvant apparemment trop simples, une étude d'ensemble manque encore. Les tablettes de notre texte semblent être plus courtes que la plupart de celles qu'on a trouvées; comparer, par exemple, *BRM* 4 41 avec le texte décrit ici à la ligne 42.

43-48. Ces lignes contiennent une liste des différents types de contrats que les futurs scribes étaient un jour appelés à rédiger dans leurs activités professionnelles. On trouve la plupart d'entre eux dans des exercices scolaires soit sur des tablettes individuelles avec un seul « contrat-modèle » soit dans des collections (voir M. Roth, op. cit.). La deuxième moitié de la ligne 44 se rapporte à la vérification des poids et mesures mentionnée parfois dans les contrats, par exemple, *kù k u r ú m - a k i - l á - e* « il payera (= pesera) avec de l'argent (au poids) vérifié »; A 30216 rey. 6'. Dans la ligne 46, le -a š de la source D est dû à l'influence de la formule complète *kù - t a g u b - b a - a š g u b*; pour un contrat-modèle de ce genre, voir *PBS* 13 39. Un très bel exemple de modèle d'adoption est CBS 11324 i 1-25.

62. *sù - (d)* « vaste, étendu », c'est-à-dire « à plusieurs sens ». Cf. *š à - sù - u d* « idée profonde » et voir le passage de Rim-Sin cité au commentaire à la ligne 28: *š à - d u b - b a sù - u d - d a z u* « connaisseur des tablettes au sens profond ». Le sumérien se sert de l'image d'extension là où nos langues préfèrent voir de la profondeur.

64. Le verbe á — g a r est traduit en akkadien par *dāšu* « malmener, traiter injustement, tromper » Nabnitu B 132, traduction qui toutefois ne rend pas la nuance précise de á — g a r en contexte. En général il faut traduire ce verbe par « l'emporter dans un combat (souvent par des ruses et de l'astuce) »: *g u d - d a - n i g u d - m u - d a 'l i r u m (S U . K A L) ' i m - d a - a b - z i g u d u n u g ^{ki} - g a - k e ₄ á b i - i b - g a r l ú - n i l ú - m u - d a u s u m (Á . K A L) i m - d a - a b - g u b l ú - u n u g ^{ki} - g a - k e ₄ á b i - i b - g a r* « son taureau s'est levé pour combattre contre mon taureau, il a vaincu le taureau d'Uruk; son champion a lutté contre mon champion, il a vaincu le champion d'Uruk » Enmerkar et Ensuhkešdanna 122-25; *e r í n - z u e r í n k ú r - r e á b i - i b - g a r* (var. *g á l*) « tes troupes ont vaincu les troupes ennemies » Enlilbani A 93-94; *m u š - s a g - k a l k u r - b i - t a e ₁₁ - d a - g i n ₇ d a - g a h a - m u - d a - a n - D U k u r - r a á h é - b i - (i n) - g a r* « comme un serpent *s a g - k a l* qui monte la montagne, j'organiserai mon armée, je serai vainqueur dans la montagne » Inanna et Ebih 84; *d a - g a n a m - k u - z u ^d l a m a á b i - i b - g a r* « la

bonne fortune (litt. l'ange) l'emporte sur l'organisation et l'ingéniosité» Prov. 1.19; du-du nam-ukú-ra á bí-ib-gar lú du-du zu in-kal ugu lú tuš-a nam-ti bí-ib-dah-e «le nomadisme a vaincu la pauvreté, celui qui sait mener une vie nomade est fort, il a plus de vie que le sédentaire» Prov. 2.28. un-bi lú(var. níg)-erím-e á bí-ib-gar «le méchant a prévalu sur la population» Lamentation sur Sumer et Akkad 384.

67. Restauration de ki-g_{i4} d'après Dialogue I 54: nam-dub-sar-ra hé-bí-šid ki-bi-šè li-bí-ib-g_{i4}-g_{i4} (vars. nu-mu-un-g_{i4}, nu-mu-ra-ab-g_{i4}) «si tu récites l'art de l'écriture, tu ne peux le répéter correctement (litt. tu ne le peux reconstruire)».

69. La lecture et le sens de la fin de la ligne restent obscurs.

Après deux lignes (72-73) trop endommagées pour être traduites, commencent les insultes –citations souvent des collections de «proverbes» ou sortes de gloses à des lignes de la série «OB Lu»– qui se poursuivent sans arrêt jusqu'à la fin de la composition. Bien qu'offrant un grand intérêt lexicographique et sociologique, ces lignes n'apportent plus de données sur les activités scolaires. Elles seront donc publiées ailleurs, leur étude demandant de longues discussions qui dépasseraient le cadre de cet article.

Feeding Dumuzi's Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration*

*Introductory Remarks*¹

A frequent rhetorical device in Sumerian literature is what could be called “enumeration.” A text may consist mainly of a listing of the terms of a lexical set. Each term is encased in a fixed repeated formula and provided with a comment. The enumeration is inserted in a narrative or laudatory frame. A classic example is the “Home of the Fish” (*Iraq* 23 154ff.) with the pattern:

“k u₆ (comment) k u₆- m u (fish name)- m u ḥ é - e n - g a - m u - e - d a - a n - k u₄- k u₄
“my (name)-fish, the fish who (comment), may he come in with you, my fish.”

The composition repeats the pattern at least nineteen times and concludes with a shorter listing of water birds of a different pattern. The formula enclosing the terms is reduced to the essentials in “Nanše and the Birds” which consists simply of an enumeration of comment + bird name patterns, while in “The Fields of Ninurta” groups of fields in the pattern a - š à (field name) (comment)- m u form sections defined by a lengthy formula.

A particular type of enumeration² is found in texts describing the building of an artifact as in “Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot” (*JAOS* 88 3ff.), “Lipit-Ištar and the Plow” (*STVC* 75 and dupl.), or “Šulgi R”

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1. Non-Assyriological works are quoted by author according to the list of references appended to this article.

2. Another example of “enumeration” can be found in the litanies of the “liturgical” texts; see, for instance, the composition e - n e - š è g u b - b a e - n e - š è t u š - a, which lists Inanna's shrines, in W-B 169 iii 5ff. (*OECT* 1 pl. 15f.) with dupls. N 3304 + Ni 9613 (*ISCT* 1 117) and the unpub. tablet quoted by van Dijk, *Acta Or.* 8 4 5. An older example is Urukagina's Lament (Ukg. 16).

(STVC 60 and dupls., description of the building of a boat).³ In these texts every single part of the artifact is listed followed by a descriptive or laudatory comment.

Some of the comments appended to the lexical terms may have been traditional ones. Two of the ED lexical lists already expand some of their entries with a brief comment, see Civil and Biggs, *RA* 60 (1966), p. 8, on a list of vegetables to which one can add now Jestin, *Šuruppak* 46, a list of wild animals.

The short poem edited here consists of an enumeration of the lexical subset of plants grazed on by sheep inserted into a lyrical frame typical of Dumuzi-Inanna poems, a frame that at present is almost completely lost. The plant names are encased in the following formula:⁴

ú-mu (comment)-mu ú-mu (plant name)-mu udu-mu ba-ma-gu₇-e
 “May my sheep eat my plant, my (plant name), which (comment).”

The comments are based on the appearance of the plant (15, 19?, 25, 27, 31, 35), its habitat (7?, 37), its properties (9, 11, 23, 33), or its uses (13, 17); 29 may have a mythological background. The rationale behind the comment remains opaque to the modern reader in many cases.

Sources

A = N 3512 + N 6322 5-37.
 B = CBS 15163 9-44.

Both sources come from Nippur and are small, single-column tablets with the upper edge broken. Of source A in addition the lower right corner and a portion of the upper part of the left edge are missing. Judging from the shape of tablet A, only four lines are missing before the first preserved line.

The tablets are written in a somewhat cursive script. They present only minor textual differences (see textual notes); thus a simple, one-line reconstruction of the text is sufficient.

Text

1-4 (broken)
 5 [x x x] im-t[a[?]]
 6 [x x] ‘x’-ga im-ta[?] -[]
 7 [x x h]a-za bùru a-šà gál-l[a-mu]
 8 ‘ú’-[mu^{gi}]^sđiḥ- mu udu-mu ḥa-m[a-gu₇-e]
 9 ‘x’ [x] ‘x’ é-a si-ga-[mu]
 10 ‘ú’-[mu š]e lá-a-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-[gu₇-e]
 11 ‘zi’ [k]alam-ma a-šà-ga gál-[la-mu]
 12 ‘ú-mu’ isin-na-<mu> udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 13 ‘nu’-síg íl-íl-mu¹ nu-mu-un-su ‘da-ri’-mu

3. Cf. J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* 41.

4. Note the close resemblance to the pattern in “Home of the Fish,” above.

- 14 ú-mu ^úsakir-ra-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 15 dub kēs-da a-šà-ga gál-la-mu
 16 ú-mu kuš₈ ti-ki-í₁-mu udu-mu [ḥa]-ma-gu₇-e
 17 sumún kaš-a lal dab₅-ba-mu
 18 ú-mu ^{gi¹}èn-bar-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 19 amar gud-da-bi-da¹ di-a-mu
 20 ú-mu ^{gi¹}ub-zal-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 21 ^{giš¹}kiri₆ ^{giš¹}ḥašhur-duru₅ ul-gùr-ru-mu
 22 ú-mu gi-zi-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 23 šim a-šà-^rga^r [là]¹ ta-ḥáb-ba-mu
 24 ú-mu ^{ú^r}munzer^r-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 25 ^{kuš}ummu dag-si lá ^rx-x^r-mu
 26 ú-mu ^úḥarub-ba-mu udu-^rmu^r ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 27 ú ^{tú^g}bar-dul₅-gin₇¹ bàra-bàra-ga-mu
 28 ú-mu ^ú[s]as-mu udu-mu ḥa-ma-g[u₇-e]¹
 29 u₄ tu-da-ta ki-en-gi ḥé-gál-[la-mu]¹
 30 ú-mu teme^{SAR¹}-mu udu-mu ^rha-ma^r-gu₇-e
 31 ^rsíg^r gíd-da ^{giš¹}ga-ríg nu-zu-mu
 32 ^rú^r-mu ^únumún-mu udu-mu ^rha^r-ma-gu₇-e
 33 [e]n-te-en nu-zu é-me-eš nu-zu-mu
 34 [ú]-mu ^úsuhúš-mu¹ udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 35 [x SA]R[?] sag₉-ga dīlib¹-e sal-sal-[mu]
 36 [ú-mu] ^úli-la-an-gi₄-<mu> udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 37 [(x) x] ^rx^r UD edin-na¹ mú-a-mu
 38 [ú-mu ^úgi¹] ^{giš¹}ḥašhur-<mu> udu-mu ḥa-ma-gu₇-e
 39 [b]í-in-gi₄ ga lál šu bí-in-gur
 40 šul SAL.UŠ.DA[M]-a-ni-ra mu-na-an-ḥum-ḥum-e
 41 am-e šùd im-ma-da-an-gub
 42 [k]ù^dinanna-ra mu-na-an-ḥum-ḥum-e
 43 [g]ú-lá mí na-bí-in-dug₄
 44 [šùd im-ma-d]a-an-gub
 45-end (broken, five lines max.)

Textual Notes

6. ^rx^r = 
 9. First [x] = , second = 
 13. 1) A: ^rnu^r-[síg í]l-í₁-mu; B: [n]u-síg í₁-.
 15. 1) A: -da; B: ^ršà[?].
 18. 1) A: ^{giš¹}; B: ^{gi¹}.
 19. 1) A: amar gud-da-bi-da; B: amar-bi (GUD unlikely) amar-bi-da.
 23. 1) t]a-ta-ḥá

25. 'x-x' = 
27. 1) A: - g i n₇; B om.
28. 1) From here on, A om. ḥ a - m a - g u₇ - e in the refrain; B writes it in full.
29. 1) A om. - l a - m u; B: g á l -[; restoration from parallels.
30. 1) B (only source) writes SAR inverted before inverted NAGA.
34. 1) B: - m u; A om.
35. 1) A: SAG×ŠID(dilīb); B: SAG×KAK/NI (inscribed in the front part of SAG).
37. 1) A: - n a; B: - e.

*Translation*⁵

- 1-4 (broken)
- 5-6 (too fragmentary for translation)
- 7-8 May my sheep eat my plant, my camel-thorn,
taken [...] in the depths of the fields.
- 9-10 May my sheep eat my plant, my winnowed barley,
[...] filling the house.
- 11-12 May my sheep eat my plant, my barley ears,
which, standing in the fields, are life for the country.
- 13-14 May my sheep eat my plant, my *šakir*-plant,
support of the orphan, sustenance of the widow.
- 15-16 May my sheep eat my plant, my colocynth,
a string of balls(?) in the fields.
- 17-18 May my sheep eat my plant, my reed shoots in the marshes,
beerwort, taken with honey.
- 19-20 May my sheep eat my plant, my reed shoots in the water,
calves following the cattle.
- 21-22 May my sheep eat my plant, my grown reeds,
an orchard with luxuriant fresh apples.
- 23-24 May my sheep eat my plant, my licorice,
aromatic of the fields, dripping with honey.
- 25-26 May my sheep eat my plant, my *harub*-pods,
waterskins hanging from the saddle, [...].
- 27-28 May my sheep eat my plant, my meadow bluegrass,
the grass spread all over like a coat.
- 29-30 May my sheep eat my plant, my kali-plant,
since its birth, abundance for Sumer.
- 31-32 May my sheep eat my plant, my bulrushes,
long hair that cannot be combed.

5. The translation of each couplet follows English syntax, i.e., the comment clause follows its topic, rather than Sumerian which has the sequence comment + topic.

- 33-34 May my sheep eat my plant, my palm offshoots,
which do not care about winter or summer.
- 35-36 May my sheep eat my plant, my *lilangi*-plant,
a beautiful [...], with a head of fine hairs.
- 37-38 May my sheep eat my plant, my apple-grass,
a white(?) [...] growing in the desert.
- 39 He [...], gathered milk and honey.
- 40 The young man was gentle toward his wife,
- 41 the Wild Bull stood up to give a blessing.
- 42 He was gentle toward holy Inanna.
- 43 Embracing [her ...]-was not he affectionate to her?
- 44 [Dumuzi] stood up to [give a blessing].
(rest broken, five lines max.)

Commentary

I will give only a few remarks on the various plants names to show the role each plant plays in the literature and to offer some suggestions for its botanical identification. The determination –based on native names– of a plant's place in the taxonomic classification is a notoriously difficult task. The interested reader will be well advised to read the caveats in Guest vff. and in Flora 1 117ff., keeping in mind that they refer to the problems encountered by researchers with access to native informants; when the information comes from ancient texts, the difficulties are often insurmountable. The plants listed in the present poem are all supposedly grazed on by sheep, but this does not make their identification any easier. Sheep will eat most plants so it would be easier to say what they do not eat. There are few lists of grazeable plants (see for one Stein 74ff.), and the floras of Iraq often point out plants of special importance for sheep, goats, or cattle, but the information remains scanty. Note, furthermore, that in a poetic context there is no guarantee that a list of such plants will reflect a realistic picture.

Lines 7ff. The reading $\text{ḫ} \text{ja} - \text{z} \text{a} \text{ b} \text{ù} \text{r} \text{u}$ is not completely certain; perhaps $\text{b} \text{ja} - \text{b} \text{a}$ would be possible, assuming a poorly formed ḫA . If $\text{b} \text{ù} \text{r} \text{u}$ is correct, it could be an allusion to the extraordinary length of the roots of the plant. The term $\text{ḡis} \text{d} \text{ì} \text{ḫ}$, or $\text{ḡis} \text{t} \text{e} \text{ḫ} \text{i}$, Akk. *baltu* with numerous synonyms, designates a thorny plant mentioned very frequently alongside $\text{ḡis} \text{k} \text{i} \text{š} \text{i}_{16}(\text{g})$, Akk. *ašāgu* (see lines 25f.), as a weed in the fields. The cutting of this plant, $\text{ḡis} \text{d} \text{ì} \text{ḫ} \text{ ku} \text{d} - (\text{r} \text{á})$, is a task frequently listed in the agricultural administrative texts of Ur III: *UCP* 9/2 41; *MVN* 4 19; Nikolski 2 206; *JCS* 16 14b; *HUCA* 29 no. 14; Boson *Tavolette* 48; *YOS* 4 225; *BIN* 5 218, 220, 231, 259-61; etc., etc. It is the most frequent weed after the $\text{ḡis} \text{k} \text{i} \text{š} \text{i}_{16}$. According to *TCL* 5 5675, 46.3% of the weed cover of the particular field(s) worked in the text was $\text{ḡis} \text{k} \text{i} \text{š} \text{i}_{16}$ and 23.1 % was $\text{ḡis} \text{d} \text{ì} \text{ḫ}$. Literary mentions of the plant are: $\text{ḡis} \text{d} \text{ì} \text{ḫ} \text{ si} \text{g}_7 - \text{si} \text{g}_7 \text{ šu} - \text{z} [\text{u}] \text{ ù} - \text{b} [\text{i} - \text{x}] \text{ á} \text{d} - \text{da} \text{ ù} - \text{b} \text{i} - \text{k} [\text{u} \text{d}]$ Emeš-Enten 149; $\text{ḡis} \text{g} \text{i} \text{n} \text{ mu} - \text{un} - \text{d} \text{i} \text{m} \text{ ḡis} \text{mud} \text{ b} [\text{a} - \dots] \text{ ḡis} \text{Ú.GIR} \text{ ḡis} \text{d} \text{ì} \text{ḫ} [\dots]$ Lipit-Ištar and the Plow 41. The identification with the “camel thorn,” *Alhagi maurorum* (syn. *A. mannifera*, *A. graecorum*), based on the data above compared with present day distribution seems fairly assured. For the plant itself, see *Flora* 3 494ff., with plate 96. When the plant is young it is eaten by sheep according to Guest 4.

Lines 11f. The different circumstances in which grazing is permissible in barley fields are explained in Poyck 52, section 2.

Lines 13f. For the specific meaning “to support a widow” of the verb *da-ri*, cf. *da-ri* = *nasû ša almatti* Nabnitu XVI 145. The name of the plant *šakir* is written *šakir* (GIŠGAL/URU×GA) up to and including the OB period. Later on it is written *šakir* (URU×GU, or KA×GU, e.g., Practical Vocabulary Assur 108).^{5a} Nabnitu W 1’f. preserves both forms. An Ur III medical prescription (*HS* 2315:3) writes ^uURU×NI+GA-ra. An alternative but much less common writing is ^uKI.^dUTU (*šakir*₄). The word is homophonous and homographic with the name of the churn. The sign GIŠGAL/URU×GA is attested already in ED as a plant name with the determinative SAR in *WVDOG* 43 58 v 8 (with dupl. Jestin *NTSŠ* 123, *OIP* 99 23 + 24, + 412 and 6N-T933), as a pot name (without determinative) in *WVDOG* 43 43 ix 16, and – presumably with only phonological value – in a town name in Geographic List 68 (*MEE* 3 232) with the syllabic variant *si-gi-ra*.⁶ The traditional translation of Akk. *šakirû* among Assyriologists (including Landsberger’s ms. of Diri) is “henbane” (*Hyoscyamus reticulatus*). This identification goes back at least to Ebeling *AGM* 14 291 and seems to be based exclusively on the similarity with Syr. *šakrōnā*, see Löw 3 359. Although it is reported that “goats and sheep graze on henbane plants without apparently bad effects” (Hooper 128, quoting an observation of Aitchison), and thus the henbane with its poisonous seeds cannot be excluded on the grounds that it would be unsuitable for grazing, the identification of the *šakir*-plant with the henbane is unlikely for several reasons. In the first place, the descriptive phrase that accompanies *šakir* – “support of the orphan, sustenance of the widow” – cannot possibly fit the henbane unless one assumes a most unlikely brand of black humor. The only reasonable inference here is that the plant *šakir* could provide food for the poor or in emergencies. Secondly, the size or shape of the branches of the *šakir* were proverbial and there is nothing remarkable about the stems of the henbane. Blessing the child, the royal nurse in Lullaby i 5 says:

^{giš}i-ri₈-na-gin₇ úr hē-gur₄-re
^ušakir-ra-gin₇ pa hē-tál-tál-e
 “may he grow stout of root like the *irina*,
 may he grow broad of crown like the *šakir*.”

In the series *šammu šikinšu* the leaves/branches of the *šakir* are used repeatedly for comparison (*STT* 93:40’, 63’). It is likely that there is some connection between the *šakir*-plant and milk processing whether it be churning or making sour milk; this point requires further investigation.

Lines 15f. The translation of *d u b - k é š - (d a)* is just a suggestion. Only two meanings are given for *d u b* as a noun in the lexical lists: “tablet” and *a/ediptu*, meaning unknown.⁷ The phrase refers presumably

5a. See W. Farber, *Ištar und Dumuzi* 200f.

6. GISGAL×GA in Gurney Iraq 31 pl. 1 vi 16 = Nagar List 105 (*MEE* 3 84), with vars. KA.SAR in Ebla and NU₁₁-*tenû*.SAG+x in Abū Šalābīkh, remains unexplained.

7. Perhaps *ediptu* is a derivation from *edēpu* “to blow (up)” and refers to a spherical shape such as that of a blown up bladder or the like; see also note 30. The explanation of *ediptu* as *šeršerratu* in Explicit Malku (= An VII 80) is most questionable, see already CAD E 33a *ediptu* and K 123a *kamītu* C. In any case, it cannot be considered as counterevidence for a possible meaning “ball”; a translation such as “spherical bead,” as a piece of jewelry, is conceivable.

to the globular fruits of the plant, see below. The name of the plant $ku\check{s}_8$ ti-ki-il (^{SAR}), Akk. *tigillû*, is written also ti-gil-la (CT 17 19:33 and Ras Shamra Hh XVII 104f., 230f.), ti-gíl-la (Hg B 211), and ti-gi-lum (Hg D 249). The root ti-ki-il is found also in the phrase šà ti-ki-il as the name of a disease, Akk. *šemru* and *emru* “bloated, distended (abdomen),” see *MSL* 12 189 ad 50,⁸ with references.⁹ The term refers thus to the shape of the fruit. The meaning of $ku\check{s}_8$ as a generic term for cucurbitaceae is well established and a large number of species and varieties are listed in the lexical and medical texts (see simply CAD Q 271 *qiššû*, lex. section). There is a passage in the series of incantations against headaches, sag-gig-ga-meš IV (CT 17 19:33f. and dupl., including *SpTU* 2 2) that allows the meaning of $ku\check{s}_8$ ti-ki-il to be determined more narrowly:

^u $ku\check{s}_8$ ti-gil-la an-edin-na dili-na (var. -a-ni) mú-a <šu u-me-ti>
tigillu ša ina šēri ēdiššišu ašû
^dutu é-a-na ku_4 -ra-na-šè sag-zu u-me-ni-dul
kīma šamaš ana bītišu erēbi šubāta qaqqadka kuttimma
^u $ku\check{s}_8$ ti-gil-la u-me-ni-dul zì u-me-ni-ḥur
tigilla kuttimma qēma eširma

“<you will take> a *tigila*-gourd, which grows alone in the desert,
 you will cover your head at sunset (lit. at the time that the Sun enters its home),
 you will cover the *tigila*-gourd, make a circle with flour,” etc.

The cucurbitacea that best fits the habitat described in this passage is *Citrullus colocynthis*, “colocynth” or “bitter apple” (Flora 1 77, 102; Reichinger 584).¹⁰ However, I have no information about sheep grazing on colocynth leaves.

Lines 17f. For $su\check{m}u\check{n}$, an infusion of crushed green malt, see *Studies Oppenheim* 76. The choice of the word is here dictated by a word play with ^{gi} $su\check{m}u\check{n}$, written also $su\check{m}u\check{n}$, a synonym of ^{gi} en -bar, see Hh VIII 16f. It is uncertain whether to read $ka\check{s}$ -a or $du\check{g}$ -a. The usage of ^{gi} en -bar (gi is a determinative since it can be omitted) shows that the word designates young reeds growing in the water of the marshes: ^{gi} en -bar a gal-la du -a-mu gu -d-dè gi r bí-in-gub “the cattle have trampled my young reeds growing in the great waters” *BE* 31 iii 9 (cf. also *ibid.* 7); ^{gi} en -bar si dili-ta è-a-ba gu -d-dè gi r-ús-sa $Gi\check{s}$ -gi 51; ^{gi} en -bar a gal-la du -a-me Gudea Cyl. A iii 12; etc. In the Fable of the Heron and the Turtle 13, the ^{gi} en -bar are said to be the “young maidens of the canebrake.”

Lines 19f. The ^{gi} u b-zal reed forms a rhetorical pair with ^{gi} en -bar in the fable just cited (line 14) where they are said to be the “young man of the canebrake.” The Akkadian translation of ^{gi} u b-zal is *qan tubuqti* Hh IX 313, and also *alittu* and *ṭubû* (meanings shared with ^{gi}a-gir₅-gir₅) Aa II/1:18’f. with

8. See now the new texts for Nabnitu VI 237 in *MSL* XVII.

9. Hg D 249 explains *tigillu* as *qissû mešrû* “Egyptian gourd.” One may wonder whether this is not a scribal confusion with *šemru*. However, if a confusion is involved it became deeply entrenched in the tradition since the term appears as $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\ \mu\epsilon\zeta\alpha\rho$ in Dioscorides, ed. Sprengel I 634, explained by the Pseudo-Apuleius as $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

10. In October 1974 I took a picture of an isolated specimen growing in the desert some 7 km. N. of Iṣān Baḥrīyāt; the trailing stems covered a radius of about 3 m. and the plant had close to fifty gourds in various stages of maturity.

commentary r. 5f. They are thus young reed offshoots growing in the water or floating on it. The carp are said to eat them (Home of the Fish 17). BM 96692:9-12 has the refrain ^{gi}u b - z a l m a - g u₇ - e; the first half of these lines is almost completely lost but the context is pastoral and the lines refer in all probability to sheep and goats. These reeds are an obstacle to the fishermen's activities according to Giš-gi 51: ^{gi}u b - z a l g i š u - ḥ a - d è k u₆ - e p a d - p a d - r á n í - z u ḥ u - m u - e - š i - d a b₅. Note the term š u - ḥ a u b₄ - z a l in NATN 300:2' (for a similar spelling, see Emeš-Enten 207f., quoted below). The ^{gi}è n - b a r and the ^{gi}u b - z a l are the young reeds cut from January to April and called in the marshes *ḥašīš* and *angar* (S. M. Salim 104ff.).

Lines 21f. The g i - z i (see Römer, *BiOr* 26 164 nt. 78 for previous Assyriological literature) is not a botanically specific reed but, like the two preceding reeds, a stage in the growth of the common reed (*Phragmites*). In contrast with the two preceding terms, which seem to be mostly literary, g i - z i,¹¹ Akk. *kīsu*, is very frequent in Ur III texts¹² which show that it is used as fodder for sheep, sometimes as a supplement for grain-fed (n i g a) sheep (Oppenheim *Eames Coll.* 19). The transportation of these reeds (g i - z i — ÍL) was an important task. The text YOS 4 301 shows the yearly consumption of such reeds with a peak in the fifth month and a progressive decline until the beginning of winter. The g i - z i reeds must therefore be older than ^{gi}è n - b a r and ^{gi}u b - z a l reeds. The use of g i - z i as summer fodder is confirmed by the following passage from Emeš-Enten 207f., a description of summer activities:

udu ùr-ra-ke₄ a-na-a ì-gu₇-e ^{gi}ub₄-zal kús-ù
lú gi-zi bar-ḥu-da zé-[dè] gin ^{gi}sumun-e dar-dar.

“What are they going to eat, the penned sheep? The young reeds are exhausted.
The man who goes to cut *zi*-reeds with the machete splits older reeds.”

Other literary texts also mention its use as fodder: g i - z i g u d - d è p a - b i z é - a n í g - g u₇ m á š - a n š e “the cattle defoliate the stems of the *zi*-reeds, fodder for (animals from) goats to donkeys” Giš-gi 189; g á - e u r u - g á g i - z i - b i l à l - a m á b - e ḥ a - m a - g u₇ - e “the *zi*-reeds of my city are sweet, may my cows eat them” Ur-Namma D 29f. Other, less informative, literary occurrences are Heron and Turtle 8, 18, 28, 75; Enki and the World 98, 165; Šulgi R 28; etc. The reasons for comparing *zi*-reeds to an apple orchard are not clear.¹³

Lines 23f. A reading [t] a - t a - ḥ á b is also possible. The first to realize the existence of a verb t a - ḥ á b (with reduplication t a - t a - ḥ á b) was Å. Sjöberg in ZA 63 45f. who, however, prefers to read it t a -

11. The late lexical tradition often writes g i - i z i instead of g i - z i, see *MSL* 7 7:6ff.; new unpub. sources show that, even within the ḤAR-ra tradition, the spelling g i - z i is preferable.

12. The absence of ^{gi}è n - b a r and ^{gi}u b - z a l from the administrative texts could be due to the fact that these reeds were not transported elsewhere but consumed in situ and thus escaped bureaucratic control.

13. Recently Gelb has questioned the translation “apple” for ḥ a š ḥ u r in Kraus AV 78f. It must be stressed that rosaceous fruits before the introduction of grafting –certainly after the OB period and probably much, much later– must have had an appearance quite different from the modern fruits and very similar to the wild forms (see Zohary and Spiegel-Roy 325⁴⁹) and therefore modern terminology may be inadequate. For wild apple remains in Mesopotamia, see Ellison et al. 172 and fig. 3. For prehistoric apples in general, see Villaret-von Rochow 205f., Helbaek 108ff., and especially J. Renfrew 136ff. I see no reason at present to reject the translation “apple.”

u b₄. In my opinion, t a - ḥ á b is identical with t a - ḥ a b and t a - t a - ḥ a b in Nabnitu XXIII 343f., and the meaning must be something like “to soak, to saturate.” Note, furthermore, that a term l à l - ḥ á b does exist and that in some cases, given the similarity of the signs LAL and TA, the choice between t a - ḥ á b and l à l - ḥ á b is ambiguous (cf. *JAOS* 103 63 ad 116). For the reading of ^uKI.^dNANNA as m u n z e r, see my note in *JCS* 20 122f. New attestations for this reading are: m u - i l - z [e-x] in Proto-Diri S v 13' (*MSL* XV), with -il- incorrect for -en- or -in-; the -r ending is made explicit in the Ur III unpublished medical prescription HS 2315: ^uKI.^dNANNA-ra d i l i - b i ù - u l - g a z “after having crushed separately ...,” and in *TuM* NF 4 11:11 (see below); and the phonetic complement m u n is found regularly in ED texts (see below); *MEE* 3 62 ii 5 gives the syllabic spelling m a r - t u which remains unexplained.¹⁴ References to the plant alone are rare; besides Ur-Namma D 36a, quoted in *JCS* 20 122, and Proverb Coll. 3.131, now published by Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* 223, there is a probable reference in *RA* 54 61:63, 62:90, written ^uGIŠ.NANNA (see my remarks, *ibid.* 68f.). The most common use of this plant's name is in the phrase á b - ^um u n z e r which is attested already in ED texts with the spelling á b.NANNA^{mun}: *OIP* 99 338 ii' 2'f.; *WVDOG* 43 39 vi 2, vii 8 (both UD.GAL.NUN texts), and Animal List A 106, for which there is the syllabic spelling m a r - t u mentioned above. Later references are: a - š à á b ^um u n z e r a - š à ^dn a n n a s a g - d ù n n u - z u - m u (Fields of Ninurta B 16), with an Ur III duplicate giving the spelling á b.^dNANNA; á b ^um u n z e r e d i n k i n u - z u - b i g ì r - k ú r b a - r a - a n - d a b ₅ - b é - e š “they took the m.-fed cows on an unusual trail, in a desert unfamiliar to them” Lament of Sumer and Ur 332; g á - b u r - r a t ù r k ù á b ^um u n z e r n i g í n - n a “the Gaburra, the holy corral where the m.-fed cows are penned” Temple Hymns 150 (see Sjöberg Temple Hymns 81); á b ^um u n z e r - r e ^dn a n n a u r u - b i a - g i n ₇ u m - t ú m Šulgi F 11 (*TuM* NF 4 11, collated from photo, note the complement -re); and the divine name ^dá b - ^um u n z e r - k i - á g An-anum III 81, a deity of Nanna's circle.

It thus appears that ^um u n z e r is an old literary term –used also in some medical or magic texts– which designates a plant that offers the following characteristics: (1) grows near the water courses (Ur-Namma D 36a), (2) is used as a sweetener (*ibid.* and Proverb 3.131), and (3) is an excellent fodder for cows (perhaps giving some favor to the milk?). A plant that fits this description is the licorice (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*, see *Flora* 3 445ff. and pl. 87). It is extremely abundant in Mesopotamia where it was the object of extensive trade until recently (Banks Bismya 284; Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook Series: Iraq and Persian Gulf 463, 490). It is said that the natives “cut and dry the licorice leaves for hay, of which their cows are very fond” (Musil 94). This identification presents two problems. The first and more important is the existence of the term ^{giš}š u š (u) (MÚŠ.ŠEŠ₄), Akk. *šūšu*, for which the meaning “licorice” is generally, and with good reasons, accepted. One can obviate this difficulty by assuming that š u š (u) was the ordinary, and more recent, designation and ^um u n z e r the older term with a literary survival. The second problem has to do with the Akkadian word *supālu*, one of the translations of ^um u n z e r in the lexical lists. Both the lexical data and the textual evidence strongly suggest that two different plants are involved; it thus seems inescapable to posit two homophones: *supālu* A = ^{giš}z a - b a - l u m, a tree (*Juniperus oxycedrus*?), and *supālu* B = ^um u n z e r.

14. Perhaps m a r - t u is not a syllabic version of the Sumerian but a Semitic translation; cf. Hh XIII 336 [á b - x] = 'x'-tu (there seems to be room for only one sign, against *MSL* 8 48), followed by á b - ^uKI^{mu-un-zèr} ^dNANNA' = [MIN].

Lines 25f. The dag-si is a part of the donkey's harness for hanging leather bags on for transportation. It frequently occurs in pairs (é-ba-a-n). The basic lexical locus (Hh VIIA 145-47) has now to be read, with the help of BM 37928:

145	^{giš} dag ^{da} -si	= <i>dak</i> -[<i>šu-u</i>] (var. ŠU- <i>u</i>)
146	^{giš} dag-si- ^{kuš} ummu	= <i>ša na-a-a-du</i> (source B omits -s i)
147	^{giš} dag-si é-pa-na	= <i>par</i> - ^ʿ x-x ^ʿ [<i>ta-pa-li</i>] ¹⁵

The use of the verb -lá in the present text and in an unpublished fragment from Ur (my notes):[...] ^{giš}dag-si l á - a - g i n₇, shows that dag-si is some kind of knob, ring, or hook for hanging the bags, not a stand (J. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 255 ad 246). The bag-shaped fruits of the ^úkis_{i16} hang in a similar way from the branches of the plant (for details, see below). Leather bags (^{kuš}l u - ú b) hanging from the dag-si were part of the soldiers' equipment, see Ur-Namma's Death 91 and TIM 6 37:2f. (written da - a - g - s i, the normal Ur III spelling). The passage *Curse of Agade* 245f. should be translated:

"Agade, may your strong man (= warrior) be deprived of his strength, may he carry no saddlebags," i.e., may he be deprived of both strength and supplies.

In Gilgames and Enkidu 260 (Shaffer p. 89) one must read:

^{kuš}ummu dag-si-(ke₄) a al-nag-nag

"he (the man with three sons) drinks from the saddle water bag," i.e., he has water wherever he goes.

The ḫarub is the fruit of the ^úkis_{i16}, Akk. *ašāgu*, *Prosopis farcta* (syn. *P. stephaniana*, *Lagonychium farctum*, etc., see Flora 3 38ff. and pl. 7)¹⁶ as shown by Hh III 439a-b (*MSL* 9 165). This plant "is of the utmost importance to the shepherd ... the sheep eat the fruit pods ... " (*Flora* 3 41). The shape of the fruits (see *Flora* 3 pl. 7 no. 4) is quite close to the shape of a water bag. As a literary parallel to lines 25f., one can quote a topos found in at least three different Dumuzi poems: A = VAS 10 123 iii' 10', B = BM 96692 (unpub.), C = VAT 1350 (+) 1387 (VAS 2 30) + NN 100 (courtesy W. G. Lambert, my join).¹⁷

A	^ʿ dug ^ʿ šà-ba x ḫarub	nu-me-a	Ú.GÍR-e	mu-na-ab-lá
B	[š]à-ba ḫarub	nu-me-a	Ú.GÍR	mu-na-ab-lá
C	[š]à-ba ù-gu-úr-ba ¹⁸	nu-me-a	ki-ši-ge	mu-na-ab-la

"His (milk) jugs, without being ḫarubs, hung from the ki š i-plants in the middle (of the desert)."

15. See AHW 837b *parzikk/qqu* for an attempt to reconstruct the Akkadian of line 147.

16. According to Guest 77f., nowadays plant and fruit are called *šōk* from Mosul to Kut and southwards, at Amarah the plant is still called *šōk* but the fruit is known as *ḫarnūb*, at Basrah the name *ḫarnūb* is applied to plant and fruit.

17. Of the fragments published under no. 30 in VAS 2, only VAT 1387 and VAT 1351 belong to the same tablet (to which NN 100 must be added), while VAT 1385 + 1386 belongs to another tablet.

18. The form ù - g u - ú r - b a < ú+ḫ a r u b+a k; note that it is quite possible to read in a similar way the form in line 26, above. The sign x in VAS 10 123 does not seem to be ú.

Proverb 4.45 (E. I. Gordon *JAOS* 77 74f.) reads: ^{giš}kiš_{i16} na m-lú-inim-ma ḥarub-ba-àm i m-ta-è-a “the *kiši*-plant is (a good example of) witnessing, what it produces are *ḥarub*’s,” i.e., it is true to itself and does not lie.

Lines 27f. When the logogram KI.KAL designates a plant it has two readings, as shown by Diri IV 20ff.:

20	[sa-as Ú.KI.KAL]	= <i>sa-as-sa-tum</i>
21	[ḥu-ri-in Ú.KI.KAL]	= [<i>l</i>]a-ar-du
22		= a-ra-an-tum

For the restoration of line 20, see *JAOS* 88 10f. where additional meanings –“sole of a sandal, floor of a chariot”– are discussed. The restoration of line 21 is based on the frequent gloss ḥu-rí-in (and also ḥi-ri-in) which accompanies ^úKI.KAL in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 327, Song of the Hoe 51, Silver and Copper B 130, *CT* 39 12:16, etc. See also Hh XVII 33ff. In view of the comparison with a spread coat in line 27, the reading ^úsa-s is preferred here. I assume this is *Poa sinaica* “meadow grass” or “bulbous bluegrass” (*Flora* 1 71f., 9 114ff. with map 2 and pl. 40) which is considered “one of the most valuable pasture plants” (ibid.) and offers a striking sight comparable to a “closed carpet over the whole terrain” (*Flora* 1 71) or to a “compact mat” (Guest 75). In the fields, however, it was considered an undesirable weed; its growth is taken as a sign of neglect in the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur 10: gán-né zi-dè ^úki.kal mú-mú-dè. In the absence of the gloss ḥu-rí-in one cannot tell whether ^úsa-s or ^úhurin is meant, for instance in Lugalbanda 1:313: ^{giš}pa še-nu ^úKI.KAL-gin₇ ú ka-ba mu-un-sim-me “(the goats) chewed with their mouths the branches of the *šenu*-tree as if they were KI.KAL-grass.”

Lines 29f. The plant teme(NAGA-inverted)^{SAR} or ^úteme –late variant ^útè– is in all likelihood, like ^úna ga, a plant of the genus *Salsola* growing on saline soils and used from Iran to the Iberian peninsula as a source of alkaline ashes. Many species are used for this purpose as reflected in the multiple Akkadian translations for teme: *mangu*, *qaqqullu*, *šāmiṭu*, etc. It is not frequent in non-lexical texts or at least it is difficult to recognize because it tends to be replaced by the regular NAGA; the inverted NAGA is a sign that often seems to have caused problems to the scribes: in Ur Lament 367 (see below) it has the variant Ú.Ú and it has the wrong gloss in Hh XVII RS 57ff. In ED times it appears as teme^{SAR} in *OIP* 99 23+ vi 10’ and dupl. A field name ul₄-ul₄ teme-gin₇ is attested from the Sargonic period (*ITT* 5 9316) and reappears in *JSOR* 3 18ff. r. 19’ (from photo) ul₄-ul₄ ^úteme-gin₇ šú-šú [...] and, possibly, in the Lamasagga hymn (*JCS* 16 165:22, my collation): íb.íb da gal ^úteme-gin₇ [...] m]e-te-gál. Note also the geographic name du₆-teme^{SAR} in *MAD* 4 66:17. Unrecognized by the modern editor, teme is found in Ur Lament 367: íd má-gur₈-re ba-ab-du₇-a-za šà-ba teme^{SAR} (var. Ú.Ú) ba-mú “the teme-plant grows in the bed of the canal that used to be suited for your large boats,” i.e., the canal bed is now dry and salted. For abandoned canals as favorable habitat for *Salsola*, see Guest 87.

Lines 31f. The opposite image to the one given in line 31f. –hair compared to rushes rather than the other way around– is found in Ur Lament 299, repeated in *AnSt* 30 7:39: síg-ni ^únumún-bur (var. búr)-gin₇ šu mu-ni-in-dúb-dúb “she tears at her hair (which is) like rushes in the ponds.” The

reading of the sign NUMÚN,¹⁹ as a designation of various types of rushes, creates more problems than the perfunctory transliteration n u m ú n –usual in Sumerological literature– would seem to indicate. The known readings, in alphabetic order, are:²⁰

- a š k i = *urbatu* Diri IV 12, Hh IV 152, Hg B 177 to Hh XVII; g i n₄ = *kuštu* Diri IV 11 (cf. OA 21 16f.);
 g u g₄ = *šišnu* CT 14 18 i 7' (Uruanna), cf. Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde* 30b iv 11', but note ^ug u g (presumably for g u g₄) = *šuppatum* Hh XVII 7 and s u b₅, below;
 n u m ú n (Emesal šu - m u - u n) = *elpetu* Hh XVII 9 [now with gloss n u - m u - u n from W 23830a], etc.;
 s u b₅ = *šuppatu* Hh XVII 7 [now with gloss s u - u b from W 23830a], Diri IV 13, Comm. A 40 to Aa 1/3, etc. cf. Proto-Ea 454.

The choice of the reading suited to each context is not an easy matter. When NUMÚN is used twice in succession the first occurrence has to be read s u b₅ and the second n u m ú n, as shown by *SBH* no. 4:127f. See *MSL* 4 23 ad 167. Other than that, only Akkadian translations or indirect evidence may guide the choice of the reading; for instance, in Emeš-Enten 162: *dub-sar tur bar-àm ní-g-gig-ga* ^uNUMÚN k i - n á - b i - š è n u - z é “the student is absent (from school) –a bad thing– no rushes are cut for his bedding,” one will prefer the reading a š k i because of Hh IV 152. In line 32 the reading n u m ú n has been selected because of the passage of Ur Lament quoted above. Botanically, one may think of *Typha* sp., “bulrush, reedmace, cattail,” Arabic *berdī*, reserving the *Juncaceae* for ^un i n n i₅, Akk. *ašlu*,²¹ note that some of the Akkadian translations –*elpetu* and *urbatu*– are common to both ^un i n n i₅, and ^uNUMÚN. For a description of *berdī* in the marshes, see Westphal-Hellbusch and Westphal 25.

Lines 33f. The meaning of line 33 is that the plant is not affected by the seasons and is green all year around. The g i š i m m a r - s u ḥ ú š (TUR) is the offshoot of the date palm, comprehensively discussed in Popenoe 62ff. For the reading see Hh III 288, with Greek transliteration [γ]σμαρ [...] = σοος in Sollberger, *Iraq* 24 66 A4 288. It is not clear whether the gloss s u ḥ ú š applies only to TUR or to the complex GIŠIMMAR.TUR. I have no information about the offshoots being grazed on, but since there is always a surplus of offshoots –even assuming that the palms are regularly reproduced from them– it is perfectly conceivable that sheep and goats may have been allowed to eat the youngest offshoots.

Lines 35f. The sign d i l i b (SAG×ŠID) is translated *uruhu* “hair of the head” in Sb I 246, confirmed by d i l i b (ŠID) = *uruhu* Proto-Izi 258b. It has a variant KA×ŠID in the medical commentary *STT* 403:23f. The meaning is assured here by the textual variant SAG×KAK/NI which in the Ebla Vocabulary 264ff. is

19. And its older forms ZI-ZI.A, A.ZI+ZI, and ZI+ZI.ÉŠ; of these ZI+ZI.A seems to be the oldest and the dominant one in ED times, A.ZI+ZI, ZI+ZI.ÉŠ and even simply ZI+ZI are still in use in Ur III texts, ZI+ZI.LAGAB is practically the only one used in OB texts and afterwards. Whether the various writings correlate with the different known readings is a matter that would deserve careful investigation.

20. Only the readings with botanical meanings are given here; thus the verb *z u k u m*, the textile terms *s u l ḥ* and *l a m a ḥ u š*, and the rare value *m u d₄* used in the divine name ^un a - m u d₄- m u d₄, are left out of the discussion.

21. See the discussion of Landsberger Date Palm 39ff., with additional information and somewhat different conclusions; note that although *elpetu* and *ḥalfā* may be etymologically connected, the latter is in Iraq a vague, quasi generic term used to designate coarse grasses (see, e.g., *Flora* 9 429, 532, etc.) and that does not agree well with ancient NUMÚN.

translated by *mu-ḥu* SAG and *gi-si-tum* SAG, i.e., *muḥḥu qaqqadi* and *qišti qaqqadi*. The term *dilīb* with the predicate *sal-sal*, “very thin hair in its head,” describes well the inflorescence of some members of the sedge family. The plant *li-la-a-n-gi₄* appears also in Nanna’s Journey 53 and 73: *ú x-x-bi^{giš} a-la-a-n-gi₄-ta^d aš-ím-babbār-ra mu-na-da-a-n-ri-a*, among supplies for building a boat.²² A poorly preserved Eršemma of Nanna echoes this passage: [...]-š *u li-la-gi-ta* TIM 9 34:16 and [...-l] *i-gi-ta* in the parallel VAS 10 146:6’. All that can be said of the plant is that it was somehow used in making boats (although it is never mentioned in Ur III boat texts), and that its inflorescence had a typical, tufted appearance. Akkadian has a plant name *lallangu* that could be a reflex of *li-la-a-n-gi₄*, although no formal lexical equation is attested for it. The plant *lallangu* is known exclusively from the unreliable Uruanna series, where it is equated with GÚ.TUR, lentils or the like. Thus although phonologically similar they may have designated quite different plants. As for *li-la-a-n-gi₄*, the present evidence seems to suggest some type of sedge (*Cyperus* sp., “galingale,” or *Scirpus* sp., “clubrush”), although there are many plants whose inflorescence could fit the description of line 35 (e.g., *Stipagrostis*) if *dilīb sal-sal* is taken to mean “feathery panicle.” The attempt of Thompson to see in *lallangu* the name for *Indigofera tinctoria*, on the basis of Iranian *līlanj*, in DAB 107 and Iraq 6 180ff., is most problematic, even from the point of view of the Iranian etymology. There is no way to tell, with the information available at present, whether there is any connection between *li-la-a-n-gi₄* and *li-gi₄-li-gi₄*, for which see Gragg, AfO 24 68 s.v.

Lines 37f. The name *ú^{giš} ḥašḥur*, Akk. *ḥašḥurakku*, lit. “apple-grass” (see comments to line 21) is a genitive without regens, to judge from the shape of the loanword, although the *ú* in the Sumerian form could be the regens, if it is not a determinative. The plant is known mainly from Ur III agricultural texts where it is a weed (YOS 4 225 ii 5ff.; Oberhuber, Florenz 82 v 4ff.; JCS 31 236: 11ff.; etc.); the weeding operation is described as SIG₇₋ *a* in the first two references and as *bù-ra* in the third. TCL 5 5675 shows that this plant covered 4.3% of the weed-infested area. I can offer no suggestions for a botanical identification.

Lines 39ff. Line 39 begins the concluding section of the poem. The first line is apparently independent and then follows an ABAB-strophe interrupted by line 43.

Line 39. There has been some confusion about the meaning of *šu—gur* and a brief discussion is in order here. The occurrences of this verb can be grouped under the following meanings.

1) “to roll up, to wrap around.”

a) reed mats. [1.1] *gi^{gi} gur₅-uš-bi mu-lu šà-gig-ga-gin₇ šu al-gur-gur-re: ḥurdušu kīma ša kis libbi ittanag[rar]* “its (the temple’s) reed mats were rolled up-like a man suffering from colic” K 4985:5’ (CAD H 250a *ḥurdu* A) and dupl. See Krecher, *Kultlyrik* 173f. [1.2] *gi^{gi} kid titab lú šu-gur-ra* “the reed mat for malt which the man has rolled up” Giš-gi 90; [1.3] *e-ne-è-m-ma-ni^{gi} m₁₂ ur₁₂ (KID.MAH)-àm ama dumu-bi šu «ba» mi-ni-íb-gur-re*, “his (Enlil’s) word is a reed mat which the mother wraps around her (dead) daughter,” a passage found in at least four different balag’s

22. Ferrara, *Studia Pohl Series Maior* 2 119 understands the term as consisting of a tree name, *giš^{gi} li*, followed by an unknown toponym *la-a-n-gi₄*. It is true that parallelism requires that the place of origin of the plant (forest or the like) at the beginning of the line be mentioned here. Therefore the translation of *li-la-a-n-gi₄* in this particular passage must be “place where the l. grow.” A decisive solution is not possible because the word at the beginning of the line is undecipherable. In VAS 10 146:6 the apparent *giš^{gi} li-la-gi* has to be read probably *é-li-la-gi-ki* etc.

and discussed at length by Landsberger (Date Palm 33);²³ [1.4] g i - g u n₄ - n a ^{gi}KID.MAH^{a-mu-ru} g i n₇ š u i m - g u r - r a - t a A - a b - b a ḥ u - l u ḥ - ḥ a 24 (R. Kutscher *YNER* 6 72) “after the holy mudhif had been rolled up like a reed mat.” In this meaning the Akkadian translation is *garāru* N in [1.1] and *ú-kap-par* with val. *ú-qa-ba-[ar]* in [1.3]; *qubburu* “to bury” would be a secondary meaning of š u — g u r induced by both the semantic relationship derived from “wrapping in a reed mat for burial” and by the phonetic similarity with š u — g u r = *kubburu* (see below). In the equation [x]-g u r = *KuB-Bu-ru* in Nabnitu XXIII 213 one can read [g u]r - g u r as well as [š]u - g u r. The form š u - g u r is certain in Erimḥuš IV 107 (*MSL* 17) in a section that is worth quoting in full:

105	š u - ḥ u m	= <i>ḥamāšu</i>
106	š u - t a b - b a	= <i>ešēpu</i> “to twine, to double”
107	š u - g u r	= <i>KuB-Bu-ru</i>
108	š u - g i ₄	= <i>ḥabāšu</i> ? “?”
109	š u - g i - a	= <i>kapāšu</i> “to bend, to curl.”

It is not easy to determine the semantic link within the section, besides the obvious initial š u. I think that one could make a good case for a meaning “to bend, to curve, to be curved” for *ḥamāšu/amāšu*.²⁴ For *ḥabāšu*,²⁵ *ḥabāšu* A being excluded, there are no data, except perhaps for a relationship with *ḥābališu* “a type of millstone” (see *MSL* 10 34:127). It seems that a meaning such as “to fold, to bend, to wrap” is the most likely semantic background for this section. š u - g u r therefore can be taken here as *qubburu* only in the restricted sense discussed above (for *kubburu*, see next section).²⁶

b) bandages, cloth, hair, etc. [1.5] ^{uḡ}b a r - s i - g e š u i m - m a - a n - t i š u i m - g u r - g u r - r e “(the divine physician) takes the bandages and then wraps them around (the wound)” *SRT* 6:17 (cf. Römer *AOAT* 1 287); [1.6] g ú - b a r z a - g i n š u¹ - g u r - r a - n i ì - l í ḥ é - i m - s ù - s ù *JCS* 16 79:19 “may her wrapped (braided?) ‘blue’ nape hair be sprinkled with oil” (cf. M. Cohen, *JAOS* 95 601); [1.7] ^{uz}m u - d u - l i - a š u - g u r - g u r - r a - b i s a g - b i - š è m u - u n - g a r : M I N (var. *mu-un-du-li-()* *ku-ba-ra ina*

23. For the many variants, not given here, see Landsberger Date Palm 33; no OB version of the topos is preserved. The original meaning of the Sumerian, required by the context which describes the destructive power of the “Word,” is: “Enlil’s word wraps together mother and daughter, like a large reed mat” (for burial). No reflection on the mother’s feelings and behavior is implied, against Landsberger’s translation “beastly mother.” Reuther’s observation, quoted by Landsberger, loc. cit., to the effect that flat mats were generally used in burials is correct according to McGuire Gibson, personal communication. This literary passage, however, describes not a normal burial but an unusually tragic situation in which perhaps only one mat was available to bury two persons.

24. See Landsberger’s discussion in *WZKM* 56 116²⁶. Note, however, that the medical references in *CAD* A/2 28a *amāšu* could very well be translated “if his (the sick man’s) fingers and toes are curled/bent (i.e., contracted) and he cannot extend them ...”; the ritual passages in Oppenheim, *Dreambook* 298 196 can refer to reeds curved/bent two or three times, not broken; the Farmer’s Instructions line quoted by Landsberger prescribes that the barley stalks should be placed straight, not bent, in the shocks; finally, *umāšu* originally means not “strength” but “hold” in wrestling –cf. von Soden’s “Klammerhaken für Ringer” in *AHw* 1412b– and the term comes from the position of the fingers when grasping the adversary.

25. The var. *ḥamāšu* from a Khorsabad source is probably incorrect; the shape of the sign -ma- is in any case anomalous, see *MSL* 17.

26. Note that *qubburu* v., *CAD* Q 292b, in liver texts could well mean “folded” or “rolled up.”

rēsišu iškun “he put on their (the eaglets’) heads coiled strips of salted meat”²⁷ Lugalbanda II 60 (cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbanda* 154); *mu-un-dul-gin₇*, *š[u] bí-i[n-gur-gur]* Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 424; the words *úgš u-gur-(ra)* “turban” (cf. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 3 164 s.v.) and *šu-gur* “(finger) ring” are derivations from this verb. The reference [1.7] gives as translation the hapax *kubāru* B; one may wonder if *kabāru* D “to make thick” was not used also in the related meaning “to fold, to wrap up (thereby increasing the thickness)” and if this would not have been the original meaning in [1.3].²⁸

2) “to pick grapes.” [2.1] *ki^{giš} geštin šu h^é-gur-r[e ...]* “in the places where grapes can be picked ...” CBS 8534:9’ and 15’; Akk. *qatāpu ša karāni* Nabnitu XVII 314.

3) “to wipe/clean the body with bread (magical rite)”. [3.1] *ninda ì-sì šu bí-ib-gur* BM 29975:42 (Kramer, *Finkelstein Mem.* Vol. 141); the dupl. *TIM* 9 15 has *ninda ba-e-sì šu [...]*; this passage is echoed in Proverb Coll. 1.38 [3.2]: *ninda ì-sì šu nu-un-gur*;²⁹ [3.3] *ninda na[m?]-lú-la-ga dugud-da-gin₇ kin mu-na-ab-ak-e, [x-x]-a-ni dub-ba um-sì-sì šu mu-dè-en-gur* *TuM* NF 4 42 vii 38f.; note the sequence of the same verbs, *sì* and *šu—gur*, in both references.³⁰ Possibly related is [3.4]:

[...] ‘x’ til-la šu-gur-gur-ru-d[è ...]
 [...] -sì ì-giš si-sì-dè^{kuš} e-sí[r ...]
 [...] ^{kuš} u]mmu ninda kaskal si-si-ge-dè [...]
 [...] -dè kaskal-e šub-bu-dè lú [...]
 [...] ‘x’ -me-dè KI.BI.GAR.R[A ...]

in K 13470:1’ (unpub.), probably describing the preparations for a trip,³¹ It is often said, e.g., *CAD* K 482a *kubāru* B, that *šu-gur-gur* = *kapāru* A. In fact, except for Labat, *TDP* 70:2, 116 ii 6 (logogram in Akkadian context) and for *šu—gur-gur* = *kupīrātu* in Šurpu 61 and *takpirtu* in *KAR* 44:8, all bilingual cases of *kuppuru* correspond not to *šu—gur* but to *gur-(gur)* (see simply *CAD* K 178 *kapāru* A, lex. section). Since all these bilinguals, however, belong to a homogeneous group of incantations, it is possible that *gur-(gur)* is a late scribal rendering of *šu—gur* along the lines of *ág = rāmu*, from *ki-ág*. Moreover, since the magic act of *kuppuru* is typically performed with dough or bread, the references [3.1] to [3.3] could very well correspond to *kapāru* A. In [3.1] and [3.2] the act is performed on a corpse; [3.3] is obscure but since the text includes a satirical description of the activities of Dimmaniusani as an incantation priest, the meaning *kuppuru* fits it well too. The final solution of the *kabāru/kapāru/qabāru* problem requires more evidence but it is doubtlessly an interesting example of bilingual semantic interference. A further example of a complex phonological and semantic interaction is the confusion

27. For a first-hand description of the process of salting meat, “slashed into long slices,” see Dickson 33f.

28. Does *kabāru* A “ingot” refer to ring or spiral shaped metal pieces rather than to lumps?

29. E. I. Cordon reads -z u instead of -g u r; my collation shows that *g u r* is perfectly possible.

30. The meaning of the verb *sì* in this particular context is not clear. It is likely that it refers to the preparation of the bread for scrubbing the body, possibly forming small lumps or balls. In the passage *TuM* NF 4 42, there is *dub* in the locative. Could *dub* have here the meaning “ball” suggested above, note 7? If so, one could translate “he makes balls from his [bread] and then rubs ... with them” (the object of the last verb is not clear).

31. Broken or obscure passages with *šu—gur*: [...] ‘x’ gar-gar-re šu-gur-bi’...’ [x]-dam Uruk Lament 1.1; šu i m - m a - a b - g u r Ni 9697:7 (*ISCT* 2 93); A.i. 7 ii 25; *CT* 17 19: 17f. is a truncated quotation of the topos in K 4985.

between šu—gur “to wipe, to clean” with šu-ùr “to erase”; see Landsberger, *Date Palm* 32 for šu-ùr-ùr = *takpirtu*, and for a replacement in the opposite direction note mu-sar-ba šu-ni ba-ab-gur-a-a “the one who with his hand makes erasures on the inscription” UET 6 192 (final curse of a royal inscription), with šu-gur instead of the regular šu—ùr.

The meaning of šu—gur in line 39 does not fit in an obvious manner into any of the categories above. Since the first hemistich is only half preserved, it cannot be decided whether ga and lâl are the object or just an instrumental phrase. The proposed translation is a mere guess inspired on meaning 2, above, but without direct lexical support.

Line 40 (and 42). Translated according to ħum = *kunnû*, but other, more concrete translations are possible, see simply A V/1:1ff.

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Sumerian Riddles: a Corpus^{*}

This article contains a critical edition of all texts designated as riddles by the ancient scribes, i. e., all the texts which end with the *ki-búr-bi*-formula which gives the solution of the riddle. This excludes the text published by R. D. Biggs in *JNES* 32 (1973) 26-33 (now republished in BM 3 no. 26) –which does not include the answers¹ and the passages from proverb collections or literary compositions that may be riddles but are not formally marked as such.

The existence of Sumerian riddles² was first discovered by E. I. Gordon in 1960 (*BiOr* 17 (1960) 124, 142) in the preliminary copies of the Ur Tablets (sources A-I, below), then still unpublished. In 1976 B. Alster published source J in *JNES* 35 (1976) 267ff. Individual riddles have been occasionally translated or commented upon (see the pertinent remarks), but so far there has been no comprehensive study of the genre³.

Each riddle is published here accompanied by a translation and a general comment that attempts to make it understandable to the non-cuneiformist (anthropologist, folklorist, or literary historian). Philological remarks justify afterwards the translation and interpretation. A special effort has been made to identify the cultural role and literary implications of the answers in order to provide clues for better interpretations to scholars more inspired or better versed in folkloric matters. The numbering of the riddles is completely arbitrary and meant only to make their quotation easy. Needless to say, the interpretation of

^{*} The present article was originally published in *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987) pp. 17-37.

1. This text consists of a four-line formula, repeated at least twenty-five times, giving the canal, the deity, the fish, and the snake titulars of a given village. These paragraphs, as already suggested by Biggs, are to be considered as didactic riddles with the answer, a village name, not given. For instance xi 2'ff: *id-bi-uri^{ki}*, *dingir-bi^dnin-ur₄-rá ú-du_g é-kur-ra*, *ku₆-bi agargar-si_{la}*, *muš-bi bar(?) -igi-gù_n* 'its canal is the Akkadian canal, its deity is Ninurra, the ghost of the Ekur, its fish is the a.-fish, its snake is the chameleon'. The name of the deity does not appear among the six *u_{du}g é-kur-ra* in An-anum 1 262ff. For the fish name, see ED Fish List 25 (MEE 3 98) and ITT 1 1408. For the "snake" name, see Hh XIV 205.

2. The only other known riddles from ancient Mesopotamia are the Akkadian ones in the tablet TIM 9 53.

3. I wish to thank Veysel Donbaz, Robert Falkowitz, and Piotr Michalowski for collations of text M, McGuire Gibson, Maurits van Loon, and Roger Moorey for useful discussions of some archeological points, and Dietz O. Edzard for constructive criticism. Text L is published by kind permission of the Director of the Nippur Expedition, McGuire Gibson.

these riddles is fraught with difficulties. Phonological ambiguities, double-entendres, and all kinds of word plays are everywhere essential features of the genre. The imperfect knowledge of the language as well as the chronological and cultural distance make the understanding of the Sumerian riddles still more difficult. Were it not for the thoughtfulness of the ancient scribes who gave the solutions alongside the riddles, most of them would have remained a complete mystery to the modern reader⁴.

Riddles are recognizable in Sumerian texts by the presence of the word *ki-búr-bi* 'its solution' at the end just before the answer. Only in source A in riddle 1 and possibly in *OECT* 5 35, a parallel to riddle 17, is this formula wanting. The Sumerian term for 'riddle' is unknown. Riddle 5 is preceded by *i-bi-lu a-da-lu*, not part of the riddle since it is omitted by two of three sources. It can very well be a nonsensical rhyming formula used as introduction –opening formulas in riddles are frequent in many cultures– but it is also possible that it hides the term for 'riddle'. The first possibility that comes to mind is the rare word *a-da*. It is mostly known in the compound *a-da-mìn* 'an ada of two, a double ada', the usual term for a verbal or symbolic 'contest'. Followed by *en* or *lugal* it is attested in lexical texts (Proto- Izi II 451f. and Proto-Kagal 402f.) and in the literature (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 147)⁵ which also includes *a-da-nun*. A meaning 'fight, contest' for *a-da* alone seems reasonable, and considering riddling as a form of contest is not without folkloric parallels⁶.

Sources

Ur texts:

A = U 17207,73 (<i>UET</i> 6 340)	1.
Lenticular tablet, 106 mm dima.	
B = U 17207,123 (<i>UET</i> 6 341)	1.
Lenticular tablet, 75 mm diam.	
C = U 17207,40 (<i>UET</i> 6 342)	2-3.
Lenticular tablet, 71 mm diam.	
D = U 17207,93 (<i>UET</i> 6 343)	4.
Lenticular tablet, 90 mm diam.	
E = U 17207,120 (<i>UET</i> 6 344)	5.

4. No discussion of the riddles from a folkloristic point of view is attempted here. The pertinent bibliography is enormous and can easily be found in folklore journals. Riddle studies fall into two main categories, collections of riddles, and structural discussions. The latest publication of the latter kind is W. J. Pepicello and Th. A. Green, *The Language of the Riddles* 1984; its bibliography can be a starting point for the interested reader.

5. Completed by the text *OECT* 5, 2. see S. N. Kramer, *Or* 39 (1970) 103ff.; *JAOS* 88 (1968) 108ff.; and J. van Dijk, *Or* 39 (1970) 305ff. The latter presents a quite different interpretation of *a-da*, which I have difficulty following. In any case, *a-da-lam* (<*i-da-lam* by vowel harmony) has nothing to do, in my opinion, with *a-da*.

6. The term *a-da lugal* appears in an obscure context at the end of an Early Dynastic text which seems to be a collection of proverbs: *WVDOG* 43 26 + *TSŠ* 124 r. iii 8ff. with duplicates *WVDOG* 4327 + *TSŠ* 327 + *NTŠŠ* 294 and *OIP* 99 255: *sag sag-gá* (var.-*ga*) *šid dug titab a-da lugal*. Is it a subscript? Note that the OB text *WB* 169:52 (*OECT* 1 pl. xiiiif.), whose beginning parallels the ED text, ends with *dug titab gu-du šà-ba gi₆-ga* 'the jar of beer mash is an anus with a dark inside'.

Lenticular tablet, 81 mm diam.	
F = U 17207,137 (<i>UET</i> 6 345)	5.
Lenticular tablet, 116 mm diam.	
G = U unnumbered (<i>UET</i> 6 346)	1.
Oblong tablet, 39 X 60 mm.	
H = U 17207, 139 (<i>UET</i> 6 347)	6.
Lenticular tablet, 65 mm diam.	
I = U unnumbered (<i>UET</i> 6 348)	7.
Lenticular tablet, 67 mm diam.	

Nippur texts:

J = CBS 9814 + 9815 (<i>JNES</i> 35 [1976] 264)	8-17.
Three-column tablet, the obverse (not copied in <i>JNES</i>) has only a few traces of col. i, see fig. 1, about one third of the reverse is preserved.	
K = N 3759 (copy, fig. 2).....	21
Lower edge of a one-column tablet, width = 50 mm, very badly preserved.	
L= 13N 146 = IM 78580 (photo fig. 3)	24-25.
Complete one-column tablet, 39×52 mm, from WA locus 22, floor 5.	
M= Ni 1306* (SLTN 148, photo fig. 4)	18-20.
Lower right corner from the reverse of a multicolumn tablet.	

Text of unknown origin:

N = Ash 1924-480 (<i>OECT</i> 5 32)	5.
Lenticular tablet, 84 mm diam.	

All Ur texts and the Nippur texts in Philadelphia have been collated by the author. Some portions of text too poorly preserved for transliteration are not included in this study: the obverse of J, the beginning and end of K, and the left column of M. For the Sumerian text of riddle 17, see the pertinent remarks.

Texts:

1. Sources A, B, and G.

A	é AN-gin ₇ ^{en}	uru ₄ ki-gar-ra
B	é AN-gin ₇	uru ₄ gar-ra
G	é [	]
A	é dub-šen-gin ₇	gada mu-un-dul
B	é dub-šen-gin ₇	gada mu-un-dul
G	é dub-š[en	]

A	é uz-gin ^{en}	ki-gal-la	gub-ba
B	é uz-gin ₇	ki-gal-la	gub-ba
G	é uz-gin ₇	‘ki-gal-la’	gub-ba

A	igi-nu-gál	ba-an-ku ₄
B	igi-nu-bad	ba-an-ku ₄
G	igi-nu-bad	ba-an-ku ₄

A	igi ì-gál	ba-an-ta-è
B	igi-bad	ba-an-ta-è
G	igi-bad	ìb-ta-è

A		é-dub-ba-àm
B	ki-búr-bi	é-dub-ba-a
G	ki-búr-bi	é-dub-ba-àm

‘A house based on a foundation like the skies,
A house one has covered with a veil like a (secret), tablet box,
A house set on a base like a ‘goose’,
One enters it blind,
Leaves it seeing.
Answer: the School’.

The two last lines, referring to the results of education, are transparent, but the first three –all echoes of literary passages– remain ambiguous and obscure. The word *du b - š e n* ‘chest’, mentioned in line 2, contains on the one hand the syllable *du b* which is the second syllable of the solution (*é - du b - ba - a*), and it is a designation for a depository of secret tablets on the other. Together with the three times repeated initial *é* it may be considered as a verbal clue.

Remarks

This riddle has been translated by E. I. Gordon in *BiOr* 17 (1960) 142, by W. Heimpel in *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur*. Roma 1968, pp. 415f., and by Å. Sjöberg in *AS* 20 (1976) 159. All three translations are based solely on source A.

1. One can read *AN* as *dingir* ‘god’, as a n ‘sky, heaven’, or as a n ‘ear of grain’, and *ENGAR* can be read as *engar* ‘farmer’, *absin* ‘furrow’, or *uru₄* ‘foundation’. A reading *dingir* seems best eliminated, unless one assumes that the genitive is not expressed in writing –which would be rather unusual in the case of the word *dingir*. This leaves two possibilities: the interpretation given above or ‘placed in a furrow like an ear of grain’. In the second explanation, note that the Ur version (*UET* 6 172) of the “Farmer’s Instructions” uses the writing *absin* instead of *ab-sin* and thus there is no objection from this side; but the locative would not be expressed in writing. A variant of the second interpretation is *engar(-e) (ki) gar-ra* ‘an ear of corn put by a farmer’, again with no overt agentive suffix. Note the spelling *-gin^{en}* in source A.

2. The key word is again ambiguous in several ways: one can read ^{uruda}š e n ‘kettle’, ^{uruda}d u r₁₀ ‘ax’, or d u b - š e n ‘treasure chest’. Gordon accepted the first translation (‘copper kettle’) with the remark ‘written DUB-š e n’; Heimpel, followed by Sjöberg, translates ‘DUB.PISAN-Gefäß’. After P. Steinkeller’s study of the word d u b - š e n in *OrAn* 20 (1981) 243ff. and 23 (1984) 39ff., and because the second sign of the line is clearly DUB in A and B, the last solution is the right one. Besides the passages identified by Steinkeller, the word appears in the following passages:

- a) ur^{ki} hé-nun-né ki-gar-ra
 šà-bi dub-šen kù abzu igi nu-bar
 ‘Ur, founded in prosperity,
 its heart is a holy treasure chest, an abyss that cannot be seen’.
 CT 36 27: 13f. (Šulgi hymn).

Note the similarity of this passage with the first two lines of the riddle.

- b) dub-šen kù dingir-re-e-ne-ke₄ ur^{ki} igi i-ni-in-bar
 ‘The Akkadians have looked into the holy treasure chest of the gods’.
 Curse of Agade 130⁷.
 c) dub-šen kù lú igi nu-bar-re-dam lú erim igi i-ni-in-bar
 ‘The enemy looked into the holy treasure chest which no one should see’.
 Lament of Sumer and Ur 447.
 d) dub-šen kù lú igi nu-b[ar-re]-da lú su^{ki} lú ha-l[am-ma-ke₄ igi i-ni]-in-bar.
 ‘Subarians and Elamites, destructive peoples, looked into the holy treasure chest which no one should see’.
 Lament of Eridu 4.9f. (M. Green, *JCS* 30 [1978] 136).

The last three passages are all instances of a literary topic characteristic of the lamentations and clearly indicate that the contents of the d u b - š e n were secret. This explains the phrase ‘covered/hidden by a veil’ in the riddle. The Akkadian occurrences of the loanword *tupšennu*, recently discussed by C. Walker in *JCS* 33 (1981) 191ff., show that its contents consisted, at least in many cases, of tablets. Not, it seems, accounts but historical records.

3. The phrase é u z - g i n₇ can be understood either as é u z^{mušen} g i n₇ ‘a house (which) like a goose...’, or as é - u z - g a - g i n₇ ‘like a uzga-house...’. The word for ‘goose’ lacks very often in the texts the bird determinative, presumably because the sign 𒄩 is part of the logogram. This can be observed already in the ED Bird List (*MEE* 3 110: 15ff.) and the Pre-OB administrative texts omit the determinative in most cases. On the other hand, é - u z - g a has always the - g a which is almost certainly part of the

7. J. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*. 1983, pp. 152 for the text, and 247f. for parallels and for the views of C. Wilcke and D. Edzard; of the sources examined, at least T, G, and B₄ have a clear DUB, not URUDA. Note that a cursive DUB is in any case difficult to ten apart from URUDA. An example in point is Dialogue II 130: d u b - š e n - g i n₇ n i - m u g á l g a - a b - t a k₄ ‘I want to open/reveal myself like a *tupšennu*-box’. One could read also ^{uruda}š e n - g i n₇ ‘like a kettle (opened after the cooking is finished)’, and the context seems to make the latter interpretation preferable, but no decision can be reached by paleography alone with the sources now available.

(loan) word. Thus while the absence of the determinative in the riddle texts can be explained, the absence of -g a cannot; the first interpretation ‘like a goose’ is therefore to be preferred even if the meaning remains enigmatic. The Kèš hymn, certainly part of the elementary curriculum, has in line 87 é UD-g i n₇ k i - g a l - l a g u b - b a ‘standing on a base like the sun(?)’. Could it be possible that the riddle includes here a scribal joke based on the similarity between u d and u z? Perhaps the young scribes had some trouble in properly keeping apart the two final consonants.

2. Source C lines 1-4.

- 1 sa im-ma sa gi-àm
- 2 mu-ri mu im-ma nu-šub
- 3 mu gi-àm nu-šub
- 4 ki-búr-bi ^{gi}bún

‘Answer: the bellows.’

The connection of some of the words of this riddle with the bellows (of the bag or concertina type, not piston-driven) is clear: g i is the reed pipe, s a the string to pull the leather diaphragm, and i m the air flow; the meaning of m u in the present context is unclear to me. The repetitive structure conveys the rhythmic effort of working the bellows. ‘It does not drop’ or ‘it does not let down (n u - š u b) may describe the constant pulling up of the string to ‘inflate’ the bellows. Other than this, a satisfactory translation is impossible at present.

Remarks

The last sign in line 4 is not clear in the copy of *UET* 6, but my collation shows an unambiguous KA×IM. The term is known from Hh IX 377⁸: ^{gi}b ú n = *nappaḥu*, which designates both the ‘bellows’ and the ‘blow pipe’; two types of bellows follow: ^{gi}b ú n - š u ‘hand bellows’ and ^{gi}b ú n - g ì r ‘feet bellows’, Hh IX 378f. For additional lexical references, see *CAD* N/1 307a *nappaḥu* and *PSD* B 181a b u n₂ B⁹. The physical structure of the bellows used in Mesopotamia is known from remains from a foundry excavated in Tell-el-Dhiba’i, studied by L. al-Gailani, *Sumer* 21 (1965) 33f., interpreted with the help of ancient Egyptian representations (e. g., P. E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara* pl. XVIII, lower left) and ethnographic parallels (Ch. J. Singer, *History of Technology* 1, 577ff. and fig. 382). If m u - r i and m u i m - m a have to be taken in the sense of ‘that distant year’ and ‘last year’, the relevance of the metaphor is not apparent.

8. Completed now by a Warka fragment, courtesy of E. von Weiher. There is an apparent variant LAGAB×IM (b u n), see Ea 191, etc. Perhaps the term g i.KA.IM in *WVDOG* 43 v 10 represents g i b ú n. The name for the clay pots used as body of the pump has not been identified; it is not b u r b ú n - d i, listed among various types of pots in Lagaš texts (see *PSD* 181 b).

9. *MEE* 4 224:229 gives KA.A.SI = *ma-ba-ḥu-um*, *na-ba-ḥu-um*; the form with *ma-* suggests that *mappaḥu* (Akk. *nappaḥu*) is intended.

3. Source C lines 5-7.

- 5 ba-an-dab₅-àm 4 in-^rx^r
 6 šu-bar-ra-àm 6 in-^rx^r
 7 ki-búr-bi^{uruda}dur₁₀-tab-ba

‘It seizes it, there [are] three,
 released, there [are] six.
 Answer: the double ax.’

Despite the broken verb in lines 5-6, noncommittally translated ‘are’, the riddle is clear. The ax can cut things in half so after cutting one has twice as many pieces as before. There is no obvious reason for the choice of the number three as against any other.

Remarks

While the traces of the verb preserved in line 6 are slightly different on the original, against the *UET* 6 copy, they are inconclusive. In any case the verbs *tuk* and *gál* are excluded. The word for ‘double ax’ is attested in Hh XI 400: *dur₁₀-tab-ba* = *paštu*, *paltu* and the reading *dur₁₀* is given by Diri VI E 79 and confirmed by the complement *-ra* in Lugalbanda II 146f. (see C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*. Wiesbaden 1969, p. 175)¹⁰. According to the administrative texts, the double ax could be ‘triple’ or ‘quintuple’ and had a handle made of bamboo (‘Magan reed’): ... *dur₁₀-tab-ba* [5-ta ...] *giš-bi gi-ma-gan^{ki} ù dur₁₀-tab-ba 3-ta gú-lá-a zabar giš-bi gi-má-gan^{ki} 2 a-a-lá sag-^rx^r-gub-ba gá-gá-dè UET 3 363*. The restoration [5-ta] is taken from the similar *UET* 3 521, see further 699¹¹. The term, with no qualifications, appears in a Pre-Sargonic list of weapons (Nikolsky 1 281, pass.) alongside *giš-gíd-da* ‘lance’ and *e-úr* ‘armor’,¹² and a letter of Lipit-ištar (B 5:6ff.) lists troops (*erín*) with spears (*giš^{is}ukur*), bows (*giš^{is}pan*), and double axes. In the Gudam tale (*PBS* 5 26:27) Inanna’s fisherman wields a double ax against the monster: *uruda dur₁₀-tab-ba mu-na-an-bar-re-ia-ka* (var. *šu h é-[in Ni 4409 [ISET 2 921]*). The double ax is mentioned twice in the “Debate between the Tree and the Reed:” [...] *dur₁₀-tab-ba i-ni-in-sig* (line 31), and *dur₁₀-tab-ba eme-bi TAR-4* (line 187). The latter occurrence in a passage where the Tree argues that reeds make no good handles for weapons, they should be of wood. More interesting is the reference to the ‘four tongues’ or ‘blades’ which helps to understand the 3-ta and 5-ta of the Ur texts, above, and ultimately gives the key for the archeological identification of the *dur₁₀-tab-ba*. It is not properly a double-edged ax. It has a blade with a normal cutting edge, but the opposite side ends in several spikes, from three to five. Textual

10. Wilcke takes *ra* as a verbal predicate; although I do not understand the metaphor, I suspect that *a* and *h* are parts or attributes of the ax and *-ra* indicates the genitive.

11. Compare 1 *ha-zi-núm šu 4 EME-su* ‘one ax with four tongues’ *MDP* 4 pl. 2 iii 14 (dedicatory inscription), which shows that this type of ax could also be designated by the more generic term *h a - z i - n*.

12. See B. L. Eichler, *JAOS* 103 (1984) 95ff., specially note 38. I assume that the word is properly *kuš e_fB_{ur}* and could be written simply *e - ù r*, like *ú n a g a^{ga}* can be written *ú - g a*.

and archeological data are in agreement in this point. See J. Deshayes, *Outils de bronze*. Paris, 1960, nos. 1362 (Ur III), 1306, 1455ff., 1469, etc. It appears also on cylinder seals, see *Iraq* 11 (1949) 105 and F. Digard *et al.*, *Répertoire analytique de cylindres orientaux*. 1975, p. 255.

4. Source D.

- 1 [b]ára-ga-ni nu-šub-ba mu-ni nu-pà-da
2. 'dingir' nam-lú-lu₇-gin₇
šu ba-an-kar-re
3. [k]i-búr-bi péš-gi

'Its throne (platform) does not fall down; its name is not invoked
it steals from god as well as from man.
Answer: the canebrake mouse'.

The canebrake mouse, much appreciated as a delicacy, is a small rodent not exactly identified (dormouse?). Here 'throne platform' designates its nest which is in a place where it cannot be toppled (underground?). Its name seems to have been taboo (there are no other attestations to confirm this fact). Only gods and kings could sit on such platform, but in contrast with them, whose names could be invoked, the mouse's name is not invoked.

Remarks

The péš-gi is translated in Akkadian as *ušummu* in Hh XIV 190¹³. The word is attested as *ù-šu-mu-um*, among other rodent names, in an animal list from Ebla (*MEE* 4 386 ii 5). In Ur III texts, this animal is listed in very small numbers among the more refined food offerings: *AnOr* 1 190:21 (n i d b a of the Moon God); 292: 12 (for the house of King Amar-Sin); Nakahara, *Sumerian Tablets Kyoto*. Kyoto 1928, 19: 15 (n i d b a of Enlil); *UET* 3 102:5; 141:6 (for the king, m á š - d a - r i - a k i - l u g a l - š è). According to Virolleaud, *Comptabilité* XXIV 16 these mice were raised in captivity and fed 4 g í n of grain (ca. 33 gr) a day. In most cases, however, they were hunted and were difficult to obtain, judging from the OB letter *TCL* 17 13. In it Šamaš-našir has sent half a dozen of these animals each to two friends. He has kept one for himself and after eating it, he declares it delicious (*mādiš tāb*) and asks his addressee to ask the gardeners to procure him¹⁴ fifteen of them. This animal appears later in a quasi standard list of food offerings in Sargon (Winckler, *Sargon* 130: 169) and Nebuchadnezzar (*VAB* 4 p. 365 sub ^(šam)šummu; *Iraq* 27 (1965) 7: 6) inscriptions and in rituals (Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc* 78:6, 79:28)¹⁵. In "Journey of Nanna to

13. One source offers instead péš-gi-A = *burmāmu*.

14. For the idiom *ina qaqqari šulū*, used here, see the note of M. Stol in *BiOr* 31 (1974) 222f. It implies special effort and difficulty in obtaining something. If the animal lived underground the idiom could be taken here quite literally. All the animals in the letter come from the same locality, pointing again to their relative rarity.

15. The passage *UET* 5 69: 10, listed in *AHw* 1443b as an occurrence of *ušummu*, probably has to be read *ú* (for *ù*) *šum-ma* 'and if'. The tablet has several irregular writings.

Nippur” 275: *peš-^{giš}gi níg kun-gíd-kun-gíd-da* ‘canebrake mice with very long tails’ are listed among the presents. A proverb (6.21) reads *a-rá^{giš}gi-a nam-mu-ná-dè-en péš-^{giš}gi-a-ke₄ [i-g]u₇-gu₇-dè-en* ‘on the road, do not sleep in a canebrake, the canebrake mice will eat you up’¹⁶. See also *WVDOG* 43 20 r. iv 11 *dug i péš-gi-a* ‘a jar of fat from a canebrake mouse’. Regarding its zoological identification, B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, pp. 107f. proposed some type of dormouse (Gartenschläfer, Heselmaus, Siebenschläfer). However, a recent study states that ‘dormice have not been proven to be present in Iraq’ (R. T. Hatt, *Mammals of Iraq*, 82), a rather surprising fact considering that they are found in all neighboring countries. Either these animals prove now to be as elusive to the modern collectors as they were to Šamaš-našir, or their zoological identity has to be sought outside the Muscardinidae. The dormice were famous as a delicate dish among the Romans who fattened them up in special *gliraria* described by Varro, *de re rustica* III 15.

5. Sources E, F, and N (twice).

1	E	i-bi-lu a-da-lu	
	FN	om.	
2	E	tur-ra-me-en	dumu sar-ra-me-en
	F	‘i’-tur-ra-me-en	[]
	N	ì-tur-ra-me-en	dumu sar-ra-me-en
3	E	bulùg-me-en	su dingir-ra-me-en
	F	[i]m-ma-gur ₄ -re-[]	dingir-re-e-ne-[]
	N	ì-gur ₄ -ra-me-en	su dingir-ra-me-en
4	E	šu-gi ₄ -me-en	a-zu kalam-me-en
	F	[a]b-ba ‘ba’-[an]-ku ₄ -re-en	[a-z]u kalam-ma-m[e-en]
	N	ab-ba-ab-ba ba-an-ku	a-zu kalam-ma-[me-e]n
5	E	ki-búr-bu gada-à[m]	
	F	[ki-b]úr-bi gada-àm	
	N	ki-búr-bi gada	

‘When I am a child, I am the son of a furrow,
when I am grown up, I am the body of a god,
when I am old, I am the physician of the country.
Answer: linen’.

The first line a source E, an introductory formula, has been discussed above. This is a straightforward riddle of a common type. The linen starts as flax in a field; once processed it is used for garments for the statues of the gods; and old linen rags are used as bandages.

16. In a broken context: *n í g - ú r - 4 [...] péš - ^{giš} g i 𒄩 [...]* CBS 6832.

Remarks

This riddle has been translated by S. N. Kramer in *OECT* 5 p. 9. Textually, there are two clear-cut versions, one represented by E, the other by F and N. The latter two while agreeing in most points against E, diverge in some details. The two versions differ a) lexically in *bu l ù g* (E): *gu r₄* and *šu - g i₄*: *ab - ba* (FN), and b) morphologically in prefixless (E) versus prefixed (FN) verbal forms. Sources F and N differ mainly in the verbal prefix in line 3, in the singular (N) versus plural (F) in the same line, and in the reduplicated plural (N) against singular (F) in line 4. Minor orthographic variants affecting all sources are: the omission of *-ma-* by E in line 4, the use of *ku* (N) for *ku₄* (F) in the same line, and the omission of *-àm* by N in line 5. The lexical variants are of some interest. Both pairs are synonymous; the two terms of the first are both translated by *kubburu* or *šamāhu*, the ones of the second by *šību*. The variation may represent a sort of lexical exercise on synonymy, two divergent Sumerian translations of an underlying Akkadian original, or, more likely, the result of oral transmission. Grammatically, the text of E is preferable to that of F and N (the prefixed verbal forms are hardly correct), and N has a worse text than F (*ku* for *ku₄* and the reduplicated *ab - ba - ab - ba*). It is noteworthy to see that E and F, despite their differences, were both found in Ur and presumably were written in the same school.

6. Source H.

- 1 [...] an-tuku
 - 2 [...] nu-tuku
 - 3 [...] ur-bar-ra
 - 4 [...] ur-maḥ
 - 5 [ki-b]úr-bi bí-za-za
- ‘It has [...]
but has no [...],
[the howls(?)] of a wolf,
[the roar(?)] of a lion.
Answer: the frog’.

One half of the tablet is missing and while no restoration can be safely proposed for the two first lines, a reasonable guess is that in the riddle the sounds of wolves and lions are compared to the croaking of the frogs.

Remarks

The references for *bí - za - za* can now be found in *PSD* B 149b s. v. The first three passages quoted there are partial quotations from different sources for the same proverb (6.13): *bí - za - za gù - dé am bar - ra me - te - bi* ‘the croaking frog belongs to the marshes’; preceded by ‘the voice of the passenger pigeon belongs to the orchards, the voice of the partridge belongs to the fields’. Figurines of frogs are known from texts (refs. *PSD* loc. cit.) and are extremely common in archeology (E. D. van Buren, *AnOr* 18 101f.). A somewhat unusual role of the frog is attested in connection with the measure

b a - a n / b á n (Akk. *sūtu*). At least once in Nippur, oil for the household of the governor is measured with the ‘frog’s measure’ (^{giš}b a - a n b í - z a - z a)¹⁷. This measure is still mentioned in Ana ittišu III i 34 in a formulation that shows that the measuring container was marked or stamped (*maḥṣat*) with a figure of a frog. For the frog as a potter’s mark in Mesopotamia, see E. Herzfeld, *Ausgrabungen von Samarra* V. p. 95, fig. 222 n. 6a-b. In line 3 one could restore something like ‘[the teeth] or [the mouth] of a wolf’. However, the howling of the wolf is a frequent literary simile: ur - b a r - r a - g i n ₇ š u b t u - t a z i - g a - n i d u m - d a m - e a k - d a ‘to howl like a wolf, when he rises in an ambush’ Pabilsag 14 (*PBS* 13 44 +); ur - b a r - r a - g i n ₇ g ú m - g a - à m i - n i - z a Lugalbanda II 242¹⁸ (see C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepon.* p. 187); ur - b a r - r a - [s i l a ₄] š u - t i - a - g i n ₇ g u n - s u n ^{ga} m u - ù - z a ‘he howled like a wolf seizing a lamb’ Ni 4511 r. 2 (*ISCT* 1 28, Šulgi fragment, see J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* p. 219); and possibly ur - m a ḥ a - š à - g a u ₄ - z a l - l a - à m m u r - m a - r a m u - u n - š a ₄ u r - b a r - r a s i l a ₄ š u - t i - a - g i n ₇ u l ₄ - u l ₄ - e i m - š a ₄ ‘(the messenger) roared like a lion in the fields at dawn, he howled like a wolf seizing a lamb’, *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdāna* 48f.¹⁹.

7. Source I.

- 1 é gál-tak₄-a
- 2 é sag-gi₄-a
- 3 igi bí-in-du
- 4 ù en-na sag ba-an-gi₄
- 5 ki-búr-bi ú-hú[b].

‘An open house,
a locked up house,
he sees it,
but even then it remains closed’.
Answer: a deaf person.

The mouth –compared to a house door– opens and closes; but to a deaf person it is as if it were always closed, even if the mouth moves.

For the metaphor ‘deaf = closed door’, see i g - n i a n - z a = <su>-uk-k[u-u]k, i g - *n i (tablet SA) a n - z a = *iš-ta-na-i* *MSL* 9 93:38, 40 (SB List of Diseases), where the Sumerian means ‘his door is closed’²⁰ i. e., ‘deaf’. Sumerian has a large number of synonyms for ‘deaf’, see the lexical section in *CAD* S 362b *sukkuku*, to which can be added the passage Proto-Lu 542ff. The term used here is by far the most

17. CBS 7625: 11 (*JCS* 36 [1984] 169 and 182). The line has been understood neither by its editor who reads ^{giš}t u k u l ^db í - z a - z a (ibid. 169) nor by *PSD* B 149b which reads ^{giš}m i t u m b í - z a - z a.

18. Vars. g ú m - g ú m m i - n i - z a and g ú m - g ú m ^{am} m i - n i - z a.

19. Uncertain; perhaps one should read d u / g e n instead of š a ₄ (for z a) and translate ‘he goes roaring ...’.

20. A verb z a ‘to close’ is otherwise unattested; its meaning is inferred from the context and from the Akkadian translation *sanā’u*. There is a slight possibility that the emendation to line 40 is unnecessary, compare perhaps s a - a z ‘deaf’, –curiously coexisting with ú - u g, even as a textual variant– which could imply a verb *s a — z a.

frequent. In the literature, concretely in the Edubba texts, several terms for ‘deaf’ (ú-ḫub, ú-ug, geštú-lá) are used metaphorically for ‘(person) difficult to teach’ or ‘obstinate’. In line 3, note igi—du for igi—du₈.

8. Source J iv 1’ (?) -4’.

- 1 ḫe-el-ṣu KA [...] á bí-in-[gar?]
- 2 gú-mu-da ḫé-[im-da-lá]
- 3 ki-búr-bi gal₄-la-[àm]

The [...] mouth (?) has vanquished the fortress,
so that I can embrace it (?)
Answer: the vagina’.

Despite the damaged text, the general idea can be recognized. If the meaning ‘mouth’ for the ambiguous sign KA is correct, the original may have had ‘[sweet] mouth/words’ or the like.

Remarks

The word ḫe-el-ṣu is a loanword from Akk. *ḫalṣu* ‘fortress’, with a by-form *ḫitṣu*. The choice of this foreign word may have been dictated by the phonetic similarity with ḫi-li-sù ‘full of (sexual) charm’. The word is otherwise attested only in Šulgi B 205: ḫi-il-ṣu^{ku} dab₅-bi elam um-ši-x’-the Elamites [...] the captured fortress’²¹. Plausible restorations after KA are [l à l] or [sa g₉-sa g₉]. The meaning ‘to prevail, to win over’ of á—gar is established in my comments to line 64 of Edubba D (*Mélanges Birot*, 78). The verb gú—lá takes either a pronominal suffix or the suffix -da after gú; this passage seems to be the only one with both; when this verb has ‘city walls’ (b à d) as object it has the idiomatic meaning ‘to peer out’ (lit. ‘stretch the neck’), see the discussion by W. Römer in *AOAT-SSLT* 1 74ff.²².

9. Source J iv 5’ -6’.

- 1 lú ki-ág ku-l[i ...]
- 2 ki-búr-bi [...].

‘A loving one, a friend [...].
Answer: [...]’.

21. The word was not recognized by the editor in G. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns*. Roma 1972, p. 52, but see the text *ibid.* fig. 12 i B, now confirmed by the new duplicate 3N-T575.

22. The data seem to allow for a more positive conclusion than Römer’s. Note further the passage a b - t a g ú b a - r a - l á - é : *ina apti uta*[...] *CT* 17 35: 67. The verb is broken in *CT* 17; partly restored from VAT 9970.

The missing answer to this short riddle may have been a sexual one, as in the preceding riddle.

10. Source J iv 7'-9'.

- 1 ÉŠ ba-an-^ʿx'-[...] šà ama-n[i ...]
- 2 ÉŠ-bi n[u-...]
- 3 [ki-búr-bi ...]

The riddle is too fragmentary to attempt any interpretation.

Remarks

The sign ÉŠ can be read zì 'flour' or éš 'rope'. The tablet has ÉŠ and so does Alster's copy, but in his transliteration he gives TÚG(?). In line 1 the sign after -a n- is not in the *JNES* copy. For other instances where the mother is mentioned in a riddle, see riddles 12 and 19 as well as the Akkadian riddle *TIM* 9 53:9-12.

11. Source J v 1'.

- 1' [ki-búr-b]i ^ʿur'-gir₁₅-ra-àm

'Answer: a dog'.

The body of the riddle is lost.

Remarks

The tablet shows the end of the sign BI, and the following sign, although damaged, is clearly UR.

12. Source J v 2'-5'.

- 1 ^ʿx' gi a kud-rá
- 2 [a?] íd-lú-ru-gú-ta DU-a
- 3 i-im-túm-ma igi ama-za-ka al-gùn
- 4 ki-búr-bi ^gníg-esir-ra

'A reed (?) away from the water,
carries [water] taken from the river of the ordeal,
and then it sparkles in front of your mother.
Answer: a washbowl'.

The washbowl was made of reeds coated with bitumen, i. e., ‘kept away’ from the water, but carried washing water, like the river of the ordeal, considered a ‘cleanser’ of legal culpability.

Remarks

The term *níg-esir-ra*, Akk. *namsû*, ‘washbowl’ is attested lexically in Hh IX 208 and Fore. Hh VIII-IX 88, but not, as far as I know, in any non-lexical context, unless the Fara text *TSŠ* 753 has to be read LAK 449×GU *níg-’esir’-ra a mu-da-gál* ‘I/you/he put water in the ...-jar and in the washbasin’²³ Containers for liquids often were made of reeds coated with bitumen, see, for instance, *Studies Oppenheim* (1964) 83. I find Alster’s tentative reading [k i] g i - d u r₅ k u d - d u ‘the place where the umbilical cord is cut’ a little too farfetched, the “connection” between lines 59 and 72 of the Nungal hymn, quoted by him as a justification, being purely accidental. Preferable would be an interpretation based on k i - d u r₅ = *raṭbu* ‘watersoaked reed’ Hh VIII 244 (unpubl. revision). My translation, tentative in any case, is based on passages like a - g à r - t a a u m - t a - k u d - a - t a Hoe-Plow Debate 83, and a - g à r - a - g à r - t a a u m - t a - k u d Winter-Summer Debate 174, ‘after the fields have driep up’, lit. ‘after the water has been cut out from the fields’. For the river of the ordeal in literary texts, see Å. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 60f.

13. Source J v 7’-11’.

- 1 šušin^{ki}-šè ì-du-dè-en-ma
- 2 egir-mu-šè i-im-gur-re-en
- 3 [ki]-’búr’-bi ^{giš}nim bar-à[m]

‘I had to go to Susa,
and then I have come back.
Answer: the date palm’.

Simple riddle based on phonological clues: Susa was the most important town in the upper country (n i m) and one of the terms for ‘back’ is b a r, thus n i m + b a r = n i m b a r ‘palm tree’.

Remarks

This explanation of the riddle hinges on the correct phonological form of the word usually transliterated *gišimmar*: the older and more reliable sources all give /nimbar/ spelled n i m - b a r (Proto-Ea 515b; Ea I 232. *PRAK* D 45*8)²⁴, n i - i n - b a - a r (M. Civil and R. Biggs, *RA* 60 (1966) 9 r. 3’), n i - i n - b a r (*VAS* 2 25 ii 52), n i m - m a r (S. N. Kramer in *Studi Volterra*. p. 196: 90, 93; *TRS* 70: 3; etc.). The form without initial n appears in Ea I 231, S^b I 175, and Voc. S^a U 17, but there is one syllabic

23. The tablet sounds more like a literary quotation than an administrative document. The sign LAK 449×GU is a) a container for flax (or a way of bundling flax), and b) a large jar, etc.

24. With a var. m e - é š - n i - [...].

attestation that seems to be OB (g i - š i - i m - [...] in ZA 45 (1939) 17: 17). Note that most forms without n keep the double š showing that there has been an assimilation (all forms except Ea I 232). Akkadian has uniformly *gišimmaru* (with simple š) since OB –no older forms seem to be known– except in Malku II 63-67 where a couple of forms with n have been preserved. In Ebla VE 399 offers g i š i m m a r (without determinative!) = *sa-ma-lum*, i. e., /šam(m)aru/ showing that the form with initial š is older than OB²⁵. Note that in line 2 the riddle avoids the direct use of b a r and uses a phrase with e g i r to make the clue less transparent. For b a r ‘back’ contrasting with i g i ‘front’, see PSD B 96b 2.1.3 and 98a 3.1.3.

14. Source J vi 1’-2’.

- 1’ ki m[u ...]
2’ ki-búr-bi é [...]

‘Answer: a house [...]’.

15. Source J vi 3’-5’.

- 1 l-àm pú al-b[a-al(?)]
2 2-àm igi am-ba[r-re (...)]
3 ki-búr-bi giš bir₄ igi-b[ar?-ra(?)]

‘One has d[ug] (or o[pened]) a well,
two look at it.

Answer: a flaccid penis in vi[ew(?)]’.

In the situation described by the answer, the woman is ready, but the couple can do nothing but stare.

Remarks

See PSD B 158 bir₂ C, with a different transliteration of line 2: min-àm aḥḥur (IGLA) AN[x] [(x)] ‘second: foam which...’²⁶. The verb at the end of line 1 could equally well be BAD. The sign b a r in the verb of line 2 is clear on the tablet. After i g i in line 3 there is the head of a low horizontal,

25. G. Pettinato, in L. Cagni, ed., *La Lingua di Ebla*. Napoli 1981, p. 259 (see also E. Zurro, *AuOr* 1/2 [1983] 268) proposes to see in g i š i m m a r a loanword from Semitic *samar* (He. *tamar*, Ar. *tamr* ‘(dried) dates’). It appears more likely that there was an original *n i m b a r or *n a m b a r, possibly Pre-Sumerian (note that the paleobotanists place the original home of the date palm in the Arabian gulf, see P. Popenoe, *The Date Palm*, 1973, pp. 3 f.) from which the Sumerian form g e š + n i m b a r ‘the n i m b a r tree’ is derived. The Semitic form would be derived from a form with -šn > šš- assimilation, possibly dialectal, by elimination of the preceding word g e š or, alternatively, by loss of the initial syllable in a form g e š + *i m b a r. For the loss of initial, n, compare i n d a and i n d á with n i n d a and n i n d á. The irregular correspondence Akk. š = He. t = Ar. t militates also against a Semitic origin of the word.

26. The reading of IGLA in the meaning ‘foam’ is i m ḥ u r, not a ḥ ḥ u r, see discussion in *MSL* XV, forthcoming. For ‘second’ one would expect m i n - k a m - m a, not m i n - à m ‘two’.

taken here as the beginning of BAR, not copied in *JNES*. *PSD* reads again IGI.[A ‘foam’ which does not fit the trace.

16. Source J vi 6’-8’.

- 1 gud su₄-a bí-g[az]
- 2 uzu-bi lib_x(ĭ.UDU) a ‘x’ [(x)]
- 3 ki-búr-bi zà-ĥi-li^{SAR}-(àm)]
‘A red/brown bull has been killed,
its meat [...] fat.
Answer: the z à - ĥ i - l i - plant’.

The seeds of the plant in the answer where crushed and used as a condiment. In addition to the visual image: seed = bull, contents of seed = fat (and meat), possible phonological clues are: su₄-a, pronounced /s a/ o r /s^w a/, is close to z à, and ‘fat’ evokes ĭ - l i ‘oil’, pointing to the rest of the word.

Remarks

In line 2 the reading lib_x comes from an unpublished gloss to Hh XV 314. The plant z à - ĥ i - l i^{SAR} provided the perhaps most frequently mentioned condiment next to g a z i. The word appears as š à - ĥ i - l i^{SAR} in ED lexical texts: *Fara* II 58 v 13²⁷, and 20 r. vii 23. On this writing, see I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 3 237 SHL. The spelling suggests a loanword, presumably from Semitic; the choice of the signs used in its writing may have been dictated by a pun with ĥ i - l i ‘delight’. Perhaps ĥ i - l i^{SAR} in *MEE* 4 317:1082 has to be considered as an attestation of the word in Ebla. Syllabic OB spellings are ĥ a - z a - ĥ i - l i (*VAS* 2 3 i 15) and ĥ a - z a - ĥ a - e (*VAS* 2 1 ii 6), representing ĥ i - i z^{SAR} z à - ĥ i - l i, as in *CT* 15 26:20²⁸. In the Ur III texts the word is written in most cases without determinative²⁹ and only the seeds (n u m u n z à - ĥ i - l i) are mentioned: *MVN* 4 70 ii 1, iii 4’, i iv 8³⁰; *RA* 55 94:5 (Sargonic?); *RA* 18 (1921) 59 vi 29; *RTC* 307 iv 8; *ITT* 2/2 892 iv 9 (in these two cases with determinative); *ITT* 3/2 5296:3; *ITT* 5 1001 iv 9; *IB* 95 ii 1’ (*Or* 17 (1925) 57); *RA* 18 (1921) 59 vi 28’; Reisner, *Telloh* 121 iii 10; Pinches, *Amherst* 69 i 7; *UET* 3 900: 6: 1082 ii’ 11’; 1188:1’. The seeds were crushed: z à - ĥ i - l i - a s u — r a - r a = *maḥāṣu ša sahlê* Nabnitu XXI 42. Several names of the paraphernalia for processing the condiment are known: 1) a mortar, ^{na4}n a - z à - ĥ i - l i^{SAR} = *uršu* = *masūtktu*, and its pestle, ^{na4}ṣ u - n a - z à - ĥ i - l i^{SAR} = *elit urši/masūkti*, Hh XVI 309f.

27. Dupl. *Fara* II 67 ii’ 4 and *OIP* 99 23 + 24 + 412 viii 7’. Other duplicates of *Fara* II 58, but with this line not preserved, are *NTSŠ* 123, 6N-T933, 6N-T676, and CBS 7094 (*RA* 60 9).

28. See A. Falkenstein, *Afo* 16 (1952-53) 60ff.

29. In late texts it may occasionally have the determinative ^u in front, e. g., *CT* 16 49:306, 4R 58 i 33. Note also that an - a is sometimes added at the end in post-Ur III texts. This - a, when found in Akkadian texts, should be considered part of the logogram and thus the problem discussed by W. von Soden, *Or* 23 (1954) 343f. simply disappears.

30. Obtained k i n u -^{giš}k i r i₆ a k s a k^{ki}-ta, or, assuming a haplography of Giš, u m m a (<Giš>.u]ĥ)^{ki}. Most Ur III references are inventories with no indication of provenience or destination.

and Hg XVI 137f. 2) a small spoon, *m a r z à - ħ i - l i*, made of ivory *UET 3 675:4; 768:8; 1498 i 10*³¹; and 3) an unidentified implement, ^{giš}*GAR z à - ħ i - [l i]*, *UET 3 835: 1*³². From Akkadian hemerologies it appears that using this condiment on certain days was taboo (see references in *CAD S 62b*). According to a proverb, this prohibition is associated with the better known one of not eating fish and leeks:

Ni 4210 + (*ISCT 2 107f.*):

en-e ku₆ an-gi₄ ga-raš^{SAR} an-gi₄

ù zà-ħi-li-a ħé-da-an-gi₄

*UET 6/3 *357*:

en-e ku₆ an-gig ga-raš an-gig

ù zà-ħi-[l]i an-gig

OECT 5 35:5f.:

en-e ku₆ an-gu₇ ga-raš^{SAR} mu-un-gu₇

zà-ħi-li-a^{SAR} mu-un-da-an-gig

‘The lord dislikes fish, dislikes leeks,

and even dislikes z à - ħ i - l i’³³.

The dictionaries translate z à - ħ i - l i /*saḥlû* by ‘cress’, [*Lepidium sativum*] *CAD S 62a* with nuancing comments 64b³⁴, *AHW 1009b*, with question mark. This translation goes back to B. Landsberger, *OLZ 25* (1922) 343, and is based on etymological parallels with Hebrew and Aramaic, amply discussed in I. Löw, *Flora der Juden* 1. Wien 1924, pp. 506ff. It was adopted by R. C. Thompson, *DAB 1949*, p. 56. It fits, albeit not too well, the mustard-like uses of the plant attested in the texts. There is, however, a passage in Maqlu V 32 *kîma saḥlê lišulšî* ‘may it (the sorcery) prick her like s.’, which seems to imply that it was a prickly plant. Thompson (loc. cit.) obviated the problem by having the phrase refer to the “pungency” of the plant. A text not yet known to Thompson from the botanic series Šamnu šikinšu (F. Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde* 33: 13) describes the lethally poisonous plant *namḥarû* –in all likelihood *Datura stramonium*, thorn-apple, with its prickly fruits– as having ‘spines (GIŠ.KU = *kakku*) like the spines of the *saḥlû* plant’³⁵. The possible relation of *saḥlû* with *saḥālu* ‘to prick’ tends to confirm that the texts refer to a spinous plant. If so, the presence of thorns excludes the cruciferae proposed by the translation ‘cress’³⁶. It

31. In the last reference the copy has GAL instead of MAL, but since it certainly refers to the same item listed in the other two texts I assume a modern miscopy.

32. It is unlikely that this g a r stands for m a r since the same tablet has ^{giš}m a r in line 3’.

33. See S. N. Kramer in *OECT 5* p. 37, with a different translation motivated by his preference for the readings of *OECT 5* 35. My translation is based on the first two sources, which give g i g ‘to hate’ or g i₄ ‘to make take back, reject’.

34. The explanation offered there seems to confuse cardamon (*Elettaria*, of the ginger family, imported from India), the genus *Cardamine* (bitter cress), and the *kārdamon* of the ancient Greeks of uncertain botanic identity.

35. Akkadian text in *CAD N/1 229a* and *S 62a*.

36. Note that all this hinges on a meaning ‘thorn’ for the logogram GIŠ.KU (*kakku*), see *CAD K 56b d*). This meaning is, on the one hand, limited to botanical texts (*Šamnu šikinšu*, references to be added to *CAD loc. cit.*, and once in Uruanna) and one would expect *šillû* or the like to be used for thorn, on the other. If GIŠ.KU were to designate ‘coarse stiff hairs’ (the ‘hispid’ of botanical descriptions) the difficulty disappears since both *Brassica nigra* and *Sinapis arvensis*, very common types of mustard growing freely in Lower Iraq, can be said to have ‘hispid’ leaves. In this case the identification of *Datura*, based on its prickly

seems better to leave the botanical identification open. Many plants could have been used as spices in antiquity and later replaced by similar, more suitable ones. A candidate, among many others, could be the wild safflower, *Carthamus oxyacanthus* (see E. Guest, *Notes on Plants*. p. 19 and *Flora I* p. 93), Ar. *kassūb*.

17. Source J vi 9'ff.

On the tablet there is a very clear dividing line, after the answer of riddle 16, not copied in the *JNES* edition. The following text, whose last line is missing, is known from many duplicates belonging to several proverb collections and has been edited and discussed by R. Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections*. 1980, pp. 232ff. To keep the length of this article within limits, the reader is referred to Falkowitz' book for the Sumerian text and textual apparatus³⁷. It may be simply a text used here as filler at the end of the tablet and not a formal riddle, but, judging from its structure and contents, it may very well be a genuine riddle. The source *OECT* 5 35: 1ff. adds a final line not found in the other sources, except for a late duplicate (*BWL* 263); I would propose to see in this line the answer to the riddle (see remarks, below).

‘It became cloudy, but it did not rain;
it rained, but the sandals were not untied;
the Tigris roiled with the rising waters, but the fields were not filled.
[Answer:] it rained within the river banks, the land did not get a drop’.

The answer refers to a localized downpour with the aggravating circumstance that the rain falls on the river and therefore it is useless to the farmer from whose mouth the riddle presumably comes.

Remarks

The translation of the third line could also be ‘water roiled in its (the river’s) mouth’. I take *zur* = *nazarbubu*. Other proposed solutions –not based on the line given above– are ‘snowy weather’ (Alster, *JNES* 35 (1976) 266) and ‘sandstorm’ (Falkowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 233). This riddle was also discussed by S. N. Kramer (*OECT* 5 p. 36f.) who could not be aware at the time that it could be a riddle. Note that the presumed answer is found alone in Ni 4210+ ii 10’f. (*ISCT* 2 1020), but it is preceded there by an entry that can be restored from Ni 9752 iii’ 8’ (*ISCT* 2 98) and from *BWL* 263:9f.: *en gar i gi šeš-a a-na-àm x ak x* (*BWL* *ak-na*) ‘what did the farmer with vigilant eyes³⁸ do (= say)?’ This interrogative

fruits, would be questionable. Note also that there is a xerophytic subspecies of *Lepidium* called *spinescens* which has the fruiting racemes ending in a spiny point (E. Guest *et al.*, *Flora of Iraq* 4 888), but its spines are too inconspicuous, it would seem, to give the name to the plant.

37. Quoted according to the University Microfilms edition (8018543); the book is now in press at Eisenbraun’s.

38. Reading *ur i*, or ‘bitter, disappointed eyes’, reading *šeš*.

sentence cannot stand alone and is to be considered an introduction to the ‘riddle’. And thus in Ni 4210 + the ‘answer’ replaces the complete riddle³⁹.

18. Source Mil ‘-5’.

The text is very poorly preserved and no transliteration of the first three lines is attempted here. The solution is:

5 ki-búr-bi ú kù-ga bir₄^{mušen}-àm

‘Answer: the clean food of the sparrows’.

19. Source M i 7’-9’.

1 ama-mu é ma-an-dù-ù-ma
2 ab ta-àm ab-ta-è e-še
3 ab ta-àm àm-ku₄-ku₄-dè e-še
4 ki-búr-bi zì ki-sì-ga lú-‘ù’ mu-e-tùm-m[a]

‘My mother built me a house;
“window, what comes out?” she said,
“window, what comes in?” she said.

Answer: the flour of a funeral offering which someone brings’.

Another possible translation is ‘it comes out through a window, it comes in through a window’. The graves had a pipe and/or a window (a b) through which libations and solid offerings were put into it. The riddle seems to imply that someone may remove the funeral offerings after they have been placed in the grave.

Remarks

Since the text is in the Emesal dialect, t a - à m stands for a - n a - à m, and this makes the phrase ambiguous for it can also stand for ablative - t a + à m. Note also that a b ‘window’ with the verb k u₄ in the meaning ‘to enter through the window’ takes elsewhere the suffix - t a: a b - t a (*ina apti*) n a m - m u - u n - d a - k u₄ - k u₄ - d è *AOAT* 1 10:166. The ‘window of the grave’ is known from the same text (line 173): a b u r u g a l - l a - a - t a⁴⁰. It is not clear whether it is different from the a - p a₄ = *arūtu* a clay pipe

39. There is no foundation for the sexual interpretation of the ‘answer’ proposed in *OECT* 5 37⁵; the ‘girdle’ is nonexistent (the sign BU is malformed on the tablet and resembles an IB), and the z u is the result of a gratuitous emendation to the *OECT* text which reads IM n u - b a - e ‘(the land) has not received its share of rain’.

40. Restored by H. Hunger, *SpBTU* 2 26a:8’.

through which water and beer were poured into the grave⁴¹. These drains are known already in Sargonic times when the word is written É×PAP (LAK 736), e. g., É×PAP e n - e n - n e ‘the funerary pipes of the ancestors’ A 985:6 (Adab text) and passim in the Ebla texts. It may be the same as ’à - p a₄ = ’à-ra-tum, àr-ra-tum in Ebla (MEE 4 234:315).

20. Source M i 10-11’.

- 1 [x-D]U a-ri-a ba-an-til
- 2 [ki-búr-b]i íd-da-àm

‘[It co]mes(?), puts an end to the desert.
[Answ]er: a river’.

The initial word is perhaps a verbal form. The general meaning is clear: where there is a river, there is no desert.

At the beginning restore [i-D]U ‘it comes/came’, or even [a-t] ú m ‘(it) brings water’, the latter perhaps too transparent a clue. The term a - r i - a, Akk. *namû A*, *harbu/hurbu*, designates a waste land, the desert; it has in most cases a variant é - r i - a and, less frequently, a - r á, cf. In-nin-ša-gur-ra 16 and Lugale 436. If the initial verb is to be read - r á, one can assume a word play, or at least assonance, between the two first words of the line.

21-23. Source K.

Poorly preserved remains of three riddles, the second of which deals with cows:

- 1 áb x ’tur x’ a-kam?
- 2 unù [...] i-bi-[da] [...]
- 3 ki-búr-bi ’x x’ [...].

Although some words are recognizable, a b ‘cow’, u n ù ‘cattleman’, i - b i ‘its butter’, the text is too damaged for translation.

24. Source L obv.

- 1 en-e gá éš-da mu- un- íl
- 1 2 3 4. 5 6 7 8
- 2 ku₆ hu- mu- un- lá

41. For the word, see Å. Sjöberg, *AS* 16, pp. 63f. Vertical drains found in quantity in Ur were interpreted by the excavators as libation drains (see E. Burrows, *Or* 1 (1932) 231). This interpretation was generally rejected later on by the archeologists, but recent excavations in the Hamrin valley tend to confirm the validity of the former interpretation (personal communication by McG. Gibson).

	1	2	3	4	5					
3	dumu-	aš	ki-	gi ₄ -	gi ₄ -	ra	nu-	tuku		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
4	nam-	me	i-	ak-	e					
	1	2	3	4	5					
5	ki-	búr-	bi							
6	gá-e	ki	nam-	ra-	aš-	ak-me-	en			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
7	ki-mu-	šè	ḥu-	mu-	gi ₄ -	gi ₄				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			

‘The lord carried me with a rope,
he caught a fish.
To the only son who has no place to go back to,
what will he do?
Answer: I am in a place of captivity,
let me go back to my place!

A purely literary riddle, all the cuneiform signs used to write the answer are found in a different sequence in the body of the riddle. The ‘lord’ is described as a fisherman who has taken the speaker captive. The riddle is similar to the type called ‘neck-riddles’ in which life and freedom depend on the ability of the victim to solve a riddle. This riddle was no doubt the kernel of a short story telling how someone won his freedom by composing a clever riddle.

To show the sign correspondences, the following table gives the signs of the answer and their place in the body of the riddle. The first digit gives the line, the second the place of each sign in the line:

6.1 = 1.3	6.5 = 3.6	6.9 = 1.1	7.4 = 2.2
6.2 = 4.5	6.6 = 3.2	7.1 = 3.3	7.5 = 1.6
6.3 = 3.3	6.7 = 4.4	7.2 = 2.3	7.6 = 3.4
6.4 = 4.1	6.8 = 4.2	7.3 = 1.4	7.7 = 3.5

In 7.3 = 1.4 -éš and -šè are considered equivalents. In 3.2 one would expect a reading -d i l i rather than -a š, but the latter is required by 6.6. The grammar is incorrect in line 3 where the -r a is expected to be after t u k u, and -d è or -d a should follow -g i₄-g i₄; in line 6 -m e -e n is correct only if the k i is disregarded (‘I am a captive’); if there is a locative construction (‘I am in a place of captivity’), one should have had another verb. The word n a m -r a -a š refers of course not to any captivity but precisely to a capture in war (I. J. Gelb, *JNES* 32 [1973] 76).

25. Source L rev.

1	lú-dingir-da-nisag-a-ka
2	mu lugal-tur-e ḥé-sa ₄
3	[ki-búr]-bi lugal-nisag-a dumu lú- ^d da ^r -mu

‘If Lu-dingir-da-nisag-a
were named Lugal-tur-e.

Answer: (he would be) Lugal-nisag-a son of Lu-Damu’.

This riddle, written in a much more cursive script than the preceding one, appears to be a scribal joke using the same techniques of sign rearrangement of riddle 24.

Remarks

The sign transliterated *n i s a g* is the one usually and incorrectly transliterated *m u r u b₄* (in the name *l u g a l* -“*m u r u b₄*”-e and in the month name) in Ur III literature. For the value *n i s a g*, see the remarks of J. van Dijk in *JCS* 19 (1965) 19ff. Correctly written the sign has a whole vertical at the end, while *MURUB₄* has a broken vertical. In some OB texts there may be at times some confusion between the two. LAK 159 is one of the ancestors of ŠID and has, besides the value *n i s a g*, the values *z à g* and *s a g₅*; the latter being preferable and much better attested by Proto-Ea 557, Ea VII iii 14’, Proto-Izi 248, etc. The sign LAK 159 is used until Ur III. In Proto-Ea the reading *s a g₅* is already attributed to ŠID thus completing the merger with the similar sounding LAK 711 = *s a n g a* (see Proto-Ea 559).



Fig 1. CBS 9814 + 9815 obv. (Source J)

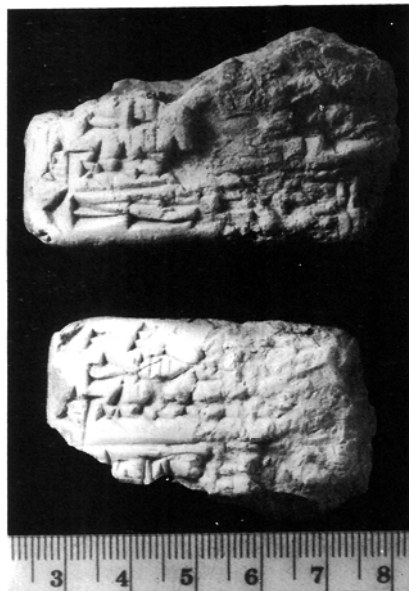
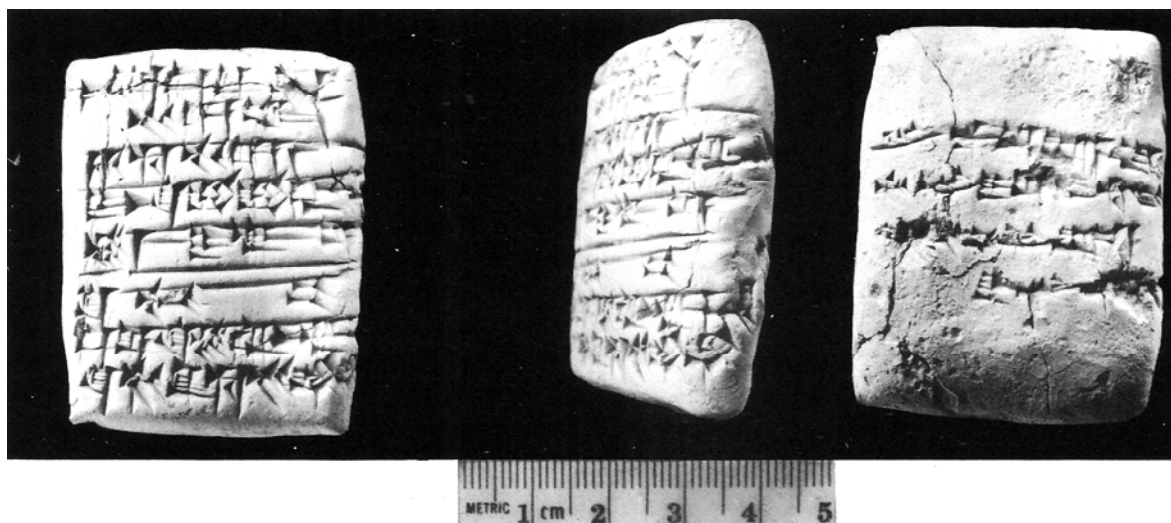


Fig 2. N 3759 (Source K). From the authors archive.



II.21

The Statue of Šulgi-ki-ur₅-sag₉-kalam-ma Part One: The Inscription^{*}

1. Preliminary Remarks

When the late A.L. Oppenheim was studying, more than forty years ago, the Eames tablet collection in the New York Free Library, he came across an inscribed stone statuette of Ur III times. Some twenty years ago he gave me his preliminary transliteration and notes on the subject for further study and publication. Although the dossier included four good 7×11 inch prints,¹ some portions of the inscription were not clearly visible and, before publication, an examination of the original was imperative. I had some difficulty in locating the original, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and only in Fall 1982 was I able, through the good offices of Prof. E. Porada and R. Zettler, to gain access to it. The statuette had been clumsily repaired by antique dealers and restoration was necessary, which further delayed its overdue publication. Further details on the acquisition and restoration of the statuette, along with its physical description, are provided by R. Zettler in the second part of this study.²

^{*} The present article was originally published in H. Behrens - D. Loding - M.T. Roth (eds.), *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphia 1989, pp. 49-64.

1. In addition to the photos and a transliteration by A.L. Oppenheim, the dossier includes a rough copy of unknown hand –possibly the work of Banks or Earnes– and a letter from S.N. Kramer to A. L. Oppenheim, dated 2/5/45, with comments on the transliteration.

2. The authors wish to thank the direction of the Wilberforce Eames Collection, Rare Books and Manuscript Division, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations, and the authorities and curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to publish this interesting object. M. Civil is thankful to Prof. E. Porada, for her help in locating the statuette, and to M. W. Green, for collations. R. L. Zettler wishes special thanks to P. Harper and H. Pittman for their help in

2. Structure of the Inscription

The inscription, divided into four horizontal columns, runs around the lower part of the body, below the waist, and must be considered complete in itself, except naturally for the damaged spots. The upper part of the body is missing and with it any other cartouche or inscription that may have been engraved in the shoulders or back of the figure. It is a dedication to Nin-dara, for the life of the king, by Šulgi-ki-ur₅-sag₉-kalam-ma, an otherwise unknown royal retainer³ with cultic duties (l u₂-g i š -t a g -g a). After the dedication proper, the text has lists of the rights, duties, and privileges of the artisans (g a š a m) at the service of Nin-dara. The contents of the inscription are most unusual for the Ur III period, although an inscription of Šu-Suen (6N-351, published in Appendix 1) deals also with n i g₂-d a b₅ for a statue and thus has some similarity to the present inscription. The text can be divided as follows:

- 1) 1-20: dedication and name of the statuette.
- 2) 21-44: gifts (n i g₂-b a) of the artisans.
- 3) 45-50: various duties and rights of the artisans.
- 4) 51-74: supplies (n i g₂-d a b₅) and services provided by the same.
- 5) 75-80: list of the fields cultivated by the artisans or from which they draw a share.
- 6) 81-83: further supplies (n i g₂-d a b₅).
- 7) 84-88: conclusion.

The engraver committed a number of errors, omitting, inserting, and confusing signs or inverting the correct sequence. They are pointed out in the commentary.

3. The God Nin-dara

The reading of the second part of the name (both g u n₃ and d a r are theoretically possible) is established by puns on the name of the deity and objects sacred to him: g i š d a r -k a k, d a -r a, and a l -d a r -r a, in lines 33 and 35 of the text, and dar^{mušen} in Hendursagga Hymn 25.⁴

According to the literary texts, Nin-dara is the husband of Nanše.⁵ A third passage, only mentioned by Falkenstein, is now worth quoting in full:⁶

pa₄-zu en ab ku₃-ga dar^{mušen}
^dnin-dar-a lugal lagaš^{ki}-ra

3. A similar name Šulgi-ki-ur₅-sag₉ appears in two lists of musicians: Barton, *HLC* 10 pl. 53 ii 11 (from Girsu, dated Šulgi 40) and BM 12939 ii 6 (*CT* 7, 13, from Guabba, dated Šulgi 47). It is unlikely that this person, or one of them, if they are two different persons, is the same as the official of the inscription.

4. A putative spelling n i n -d a -r a appears in a statuette of Ibbi-Suen's time, according to Thureau-Dangin, *MP* 27 (1924) 108ff., with photo 109. Neither this photo nor the one published by Meissner, *AfO* 5 (1928-29) pl. vi 2 allows a verification of this reading.

5. See VAS 10, 199 iv 19f. and Enki and Ninhursag 274, quoted in Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 88 note 6.

6. Hendursagga Hymn 25-30, see Edzard and Wilcke, *AOAT* 25, 144f.

^{ab2}šilam ku₃-ge i₃ mu-na-ab-tum₃ ga mu-na-ab-tum₃
 itu zag-mu u₄ sa₂-du-ga-[k]am
^dnin-dar-a e₂-za nig₂-mi₂-us₂-s[a₂-zu(?)]
 in-nin ama ^dnanše ša-mu-ra-da-ab-ak-e
 For your ancestor, the Lord of the holy sea, the d a r-bird,
 Nin-dara, the king of Lagaš,
 sacred cows bring cream, bring milk.
 (Every) month and the New Year are times to provide food.
 Nindara, in your temple, the betrothal gifts
 are made to you, together with mother Nanše, the queen.

The ED God List from Abu-Salabikh mentions ^dn i n - d a r a b, Nin-dara of the sea,⁷ but he does not rate a strophe in the Zami-hymns. Nin-dara is often mentioned in administrative documents from Pre-Sargonic Lagaš, with Nanše in milk offerings,⁸ with most of the Lagaš pantheon in tablets dealing with Nanše's chariot trips,⁹ on occasion of a m a r - a - a - s i activities,¹⁰ and on other occasions.¹¹ He is mentioned by Gudea, St. B ii 12.¹² Nin-dara frequently appears in Ur III texts.¹³ Most of the texts of this period deal with agricultural activities of Nin-dara's temple. His sanga-official is frequently mentioned, and he had a nin-dingir priestess according to *ITT* 2/1, 2786:9. He was strictly a local deity, references to him being limited to the Lagaš area. He is listed, next to Nanše, in OB God lists,¹⁴ but in canonical An = Anum III 59 Nin-dara is identified with Suen and, although still close to Nanše (III 61), the relationship between the two deities is not given. Nin-dara is finally absorbed into Nanna's circle and becomes a cattle deity; thus in Udug-hul V¹⁵ he is called u n u₃ a b₂-l u - l u - a (*re'i utullāti*). Indications of a special affinity between Nin-dara and cattle are already present in Ur III texts, see below; note also line 27 of the Hendursagga Hymn, just quoted.

4. The Temple of Nin-dara

The oldest temple of Nin-dara on record is the one restored by Enannatum I: ^dn i n - d a r , l u g a l u r u₁₆-ra, e₂-n i , k i - b i m u - n a - g i₄-(a).¹⁶ It is not known in what town it was located but the next mention of a temple of Nin-dara is of one in Ki-es, destroyed by the Umma invaders: k i - e s^{ki}, e₂ ^dn i n - d a r - k a , š u b i - t i l , k u₃ z a - g i n₃-b i , b a - t a - k e š₂-k e š₂ "in Ki-es they desecrated the temple of Nin-

7. *OIP* 99, 82 iii 9.

8. *DP* 52, 65, 204, *VAS* 14, 17.

9. *TSA* 1, *DP* 204, *RTC* 47, *Nik* 1, 23.

10. *Nik* 1, 27, *DP* 60.

11. References in Deimel, *Or* 28 (1959) 60.

12. See Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 88f.

13. Schneider, *AnOr* 19, 47f. no. 364.

14. E.g., *TCL* 15, 10:295.

15. *CT* 16, 13 ii 40f.

16. *En.* I 20 I 11f. and *AOAT* 25, 39 (= *BiMes* 3, 3) iv 7f.

dara, took away its precious metals (and) stones” (Ukg.16 v 3ff.). A temple of Nin-dara is listed among the constructions of Ur-Bau: e₂ ^dnin-dara lugal uru₁₆-ra e₂-ni mu-na-du₃ (St. v 2f.). The date formula for the 10th year of Gudea mentions the (re)construction of a temple of Nin-dara.¹⁷ Brick A of Gudea¹⁸ speaks of a temple of Nin-dara in Girsu while stone tablet E¹⁹ records the (re)construction of the temple in Ki-es and gives its name as e₂-la₃-tum₂. The existence, in the Ur III period, of the two temples, implied in lines 54f. of the new inscription under discussion, is confirmed by Virolleaud (*TEL* 114:7, 15 [cf. *ITT* 5, 6877 i 4]). A possible third temple may have been situated in Nina.²⁰

Genouillac²¹ claims to have uncovered the temple of Nin-dara in Girsu, among three small buildings excavated in the SW corner of the tell in “chantier IX,”²² the other two being the Meslamtaea shrine built by Gudea, and Nanše’s temple built by Šulgi. Genouillac, however, makes no further mention of these temples in his book *Fouilles de Telloh*, and Parrot, describing the SW corner of the tell in *Tello* p. 30, states with obvious skepticism that “Genouillac croit y trouver trois petits sanctuaires.” The matter thus remains uncertain and its clarification must wait for the eventual publication of the records of the last French campaigns at Tello. As far as the Ki-es temple is concerned, not even the location of the town is known.²³

5. *Nin-dara’s Artisans*

The inscription can be considered, in a sense, a charter for the artisans (gašam) working in Nin-dara’s estate and in cultic activities taking place in it. BM 12232 (unpubl.) is a listing of the personnel of this estate: ni₂-ka₅-ak₇ erin₃ un-il₂ ša₃-gud ugula sanga ^dnin-dar-a, dated to Šulgi 37. It lists 292 persons, only two of them females, divided as follows:

a) High officials (ab-ba-ab-ba). and their aides (šeš-ta-b-ba): the sanga and his son, seven bodyguards (uk-u-s₂), one archivist (pi-sa-n-dub-ba) and his aide, one cadaster official (sa-g-du₃) and his aide, one master of the silos (ka-gur₇), one šar₂-ra-ab-du official and his aide, one elder (ab-ba-uru, possibly the representative of the town’s authorities) and his aide, and one scribe for agricultural accounts (dub-sar gud apin), for a total of 19 persons.

b) Farming experts and management (sa-ga-pi-n-me), not including seasonal workers and the like: one scribe for “oxen accounts” (dub-sar gud 10), five superintendents (nu-ba₃-da₃ gud, three of them with two assistants and one with one), twenty farmers (engar), twenty oxen drivers, and four persons whose activities are not preserved, for a total of 57 persons.

c) Sheep and cattle personnel (subscript lost): one superintendent with two overseers (ugula), each with one assistant, twenty cattlemen, seven gud₄ (a profession dealing with temple sheep), and a

17. *RTC* 195, 199, *ITT* 4, 7565, Pinches, *Amherst* 13.

18. Sources in *AnOr* 29A 66 B A.

19. *UET* 1, 28.

20. For additional documentation on Nindara’s temples, see Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 154 22; 162 2; and 168 20.

21. *RA* 27 (1930) 182.

22. See map in Parrot, *Tello* fig. 5.

23. *RGTC* 1, 88; 2, 48, 98.

number of e r i n₂-workers. The total is uncertain because of breaks in the tablet, but the team of the first overseer has 63 people, the one of the second, upwards of 46.

d) Miscellaneous personnel, no subscript. The beginning of the section is lost, which is unfortunate since it started with the artisans, of whom only the last, the mat-weaver (a d - k i d) is preserved. The broken lines listing artisans are five or six. Following are three people in charge of arboriculture, two for tamarisks and one for g i š - a b - b a -trees, one chief of boatmen (u g u l a m a₂-[l a h₄]) with one aide, the overseer of the residents (u g u l a g a n - t u š - u₃-[n e]), one vegetable grower (l u₂-n i s [i g_x (SAR)]), six people taking care of oil, two chief porters, and assorted workers with no activities given. Among them there must be the domestics (doormen, firewood carriers, fishermen, etc.) listed in a text studied by Grégoire.²⁴

These are the persons said to be present (g u b - b a). In addition, nineteen people have been removed (z i - g a) and charged to other accounts (a - g u₃- g a₂- g a₂): sixteen to do orchard work, two to various Girsu temples (e s₃-d i l - d i l), one with the sanga of Dumuzi, and one to carry feed for pigs (u₂-i l₂ š a h₂ u r₃-r a - š e₃). Finally, there is one dead employee and sixteen deserters.

The missing section of artisans can be reconstructed both from the daily rosters (k u r₇- a k g a š a m - e - n e) of the artisans of the Ur court, studied by D. Loding,²⁵ and from a text which specifically lists the artisans assigned to Nin-dara's household. The latter, *ITT* 2, 3488,²⁶ lists two carpenters (n a g a r) and two reed weavers (a d - k i d) working on Nin-dara's boat, and additionally six leather workers (a š g a b) and six silversmiths (k u₃-d i m₂) engaged in exactly the same type of work described in line 47, and implied in line 31, of the inscription. A further reference to Nin-dara's artisans is A 1176 iii' 18' (Appendix 2); see comment to line 36f. The same text A 1176 provides information about other curious activities that may have been performed by the artisans, although the subscripts are broken and certainty is impossible. In ii' 15'ff., there are cereals (z i z₂ and š e) used a b₂-b e₂ s u r - d a m "to be divided among the cows," or "poured over(?),"²⁷ and oil k u n a b₂-k e₄ a k "to anoint the cow's tail." Later, in iv' 1'ff., oil is used to anoint parts of a boat (^{gis}m a₂-u s₂ and ^{gis}h u m), a statue (a l a n), and other objects. The symbolic or magic actions on the cows could be alluded to in line 24.

6. Transliteration and Translation

col. i

1	^d ni[n]-dar-a [lu]gal urun (EN) [lu]g[al ...]	To Nindara, king of the calm waters, king of [...],

24. AAS 178. The five musicians, one snake charmer, and one gala-cantor of Nindara listed in BM 14618 (I. J. Gelb, *StOr* 46, 45) may also have been included.

25. A Craft Archive (unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1974) 197ff.

26. Transliterated by Kutscher, *ASJ* 5 (1980) 61f.

27. I take s u r here as the same that appears in š e - g i n₇— s u r, see Sjöberg, *Nanna-Suen* 1 19; k a₅— s u r "to brew beer" (to give to the cows?) does not fit grammatically.

col. ii	5	[lugal-a-ni] [nam-ti-la-ni-še ₃] [u ₃ nam-ti] [^d šul-gi] [ni]ta kala-g[a] lu[g]al uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma	5	[his king], [for his own life] [and the life] [of Šulgi], the strong man, king of Ur,
	10	lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri-ka-še ₃ ^d šul-gi-ki-ur ₅ -sag ₉ -kalam-ma-ka lu ₂ giš-tag-ga-ni alan-a-ni mu-tu	10	king of Sumer and Akkad, Šulgi-ki-ur-sag-kalam-ma, his official in charge of offerings,
	15	alan-ba	14	made
			13	his statue.
			16	“Šulgi, who has been given strength by Nin-dara, is the breath of life of the city”.
[20]	5	^d šul-gi [a ₂ -šum ₂ -ma] [^d l]nin-dar-[a] [z]i-ša ₃ -[gal ₂] uru ^{ki}	20	is the name
			15	on this statue.
			21	[...] the cattle [...], the ... of the bowl, to handle the cows in “An’s place.”
			25	In the day of the festival, in Nin-mar’s temple, to take charge of the “heads” in the courtyard.
				5 jugs of di-da-beer, 7 jugs of beer,
[25]	10	u ₄ ezen-ma-ka e ₂ ^d nin-mar ^{ki} -ka sag kisal-la dab ₅ -ba 5 dug di-da (U ₂ .SA) 7 dug kaš	30	1 royal cloak of linen, 1 linen awning, 1 linen cloth for the throne, weaving pins of cedar and da-ra-pegs of cedar –twice 7 manas (of them)–
[30]	15	*bar-dul ₅ lugal 1 gada ga-dul ₉ 1 gada gu-za ^{giš} dar-kak ^{giš} erin u ₃ *da-ra ^{giš} erin 7 ma-na a-ra ₂ 2-am ₃	35	1200 split fish, 1 royal gu of salt,
[35]	20	1200 ku ₆ al-dar-ra 1 mun gur lugal		
col. iii				
[40]		1 naga gu[r] [g]a sila ₃ ku ₃ -g[a] [x] [] [] []	40	1 gu of soda pitchers of holy milk, [...] [...]

5	[] 'giš'-ab-[b]a(?) ḥa[r] ku ₃ -[babbar] '1(?)' dug i ₃ libir-[r]a nig ₂ -ba gašam-[ka]m gir ₂ -su ^{ki} <itu> še 'il ₂ '-la-ka [45] 10 ma ₂ šu-du ₇ -a gu ₂ ab-ba ^{ki} -ta du ₈ -dam nam-lu ₂ -pi-lu ₅ -da e ₂ -ta-izi 'la ₂ -a'	[...] of g i š - a b - b a -wood, silver rings, 1 jug of aged oil, (these are) the gifts of the artisans. 45 In Girsu, at the <month> of "transporting the barley," to fully equip the boat, (which is) to be caulked when back from Guabba, the office of master of ceremonies, (and) bringing the fire out of the temple,
[50]	gašam-kam 15 bal u ₄ 10 u ₃ igi-3-gal ₂ e ₂ ki-es ₃ -sa ₂ -ga e ₂ gir ₂ -su ^{ki} -ka igi-3-gal ₂	50 belong to the artisans. A ten-day turn of office, and a one-third (prebend) in Ki-es, one-third in Girsu,
[55]	ma ₂ AB.MI.NI 20 u ₃ ma ₂ kar bur-šum-da-bi nig ₂ 'itu' 5/6-ša-bi ma ₂ LAL.SAR-bar-še ₃ du-a-bi nig ₂ -dab ₅ lu ₂ [n]u-da-[tu]ku	56 the (post of) senior officer 55 of the boat of the MI-NI-shrine(?) 56 and of the boat in the pier, 57 a thing (which takes) five-sixths of the month, to take the boat to Usur-bar-ra —a contribution which did not belong to anyone—
[60]	ur ₂ gud udu 'e ₂ -gal' e ₂ -sag 25 u ₃ bara ₂ ^d nin-[mu]g(?) col iv nam-šita ₄ KI.UD kur ₈ a-LI-bi e ₂ -sag udu e ₂ -gal	60 the legs of beef (and) mutton of the palace and the storehouse, and the dais of Nin-[mu]g(?), the function of n a m - š i t a ₄ , the threshing floor(?), the shares, and ..., the storehouse of the palace's sheep,
[65]	ur ₂ udu AMA DIB 5 5 sila ₃ i ₃ -nun 60 zu ₂ -lum lugal [] + 10 [sila ₃] ga-a[r ₃] 0.0.1 g[a]	65 the mutton legs of . . . , 5 sila of butter, 60 royal sila of dates, [x] + 20 (sila) of cheese, 10 (sila) of milk,
[70]	10 'sila ₃ ' geštin 10 [x ^{gi}] ^š peš ₃ še-[er-gu] '4' ^{giš} *ḥašḥur še-[er-gu] ninda kaskal N[E]-dib nig ₂ -dab ₅ gašam-kam	70 10 sila of wine, [x] strings of figs, [x] strings of apples, provisions for the trip ... (these are) the supplies of the artisans.
[75]	a-ša ₃ ambar-tur 15 a-ša ₃ ki-mu-ra a-ša ₃ giš-gi-banda ₃	75 The field Ambar-tur, the field Kimura, the field Giš-gi-banda,

[80]	20	a-ša ₃ a-geštin-na a-ša ₃ ʾxʾ-gi ₄ -a gir ₃ -gin-na gašam-kam udu e ₂ laḥ ₅ maš inim-ma nig ₂ -dab ₅ gašam-kam u ₄ ul-li ₂ -a-še ₃	80	the field A-geštin-na, (and) the field x-gi-a, (this is) the list (of fields) of the artisans. To drive the sheep to the temple, (and) the goats of the “word,” (is) a contribution of the artisans. Forever, of the man who stokes his oven with wood, let me be his protective genie. May he invoke my name! May he take care of me!
[85]	25	lu ₂ giš udun-*na-ni SUM-da lu ₂ -ba ʿlama-a-ni ḥe ₂ -me mu-mu ḥe ₂ -pa ₃ -de ₃ en ₃ -mu ḥe ₂ -<tar>-re (remainder, if any, broken)	85	

7. Commentary

Section 1 (lines 1-20): The structure of the dedicatory part of the inscription (“votive” type in W. W. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 [1962] 15f.) follows entirely the usual style of the period.

Line 2: The epitheton lu ga l EN is the most common title of Nin-dara and has a counterpart in the title ni n EN of his spouse Nanše. The reading of EN is in this case u r u₁₆ or, more precisely, u r u n, and was first proposed by A. Falkenstein –following a suggestion of B. Landsberger– in *ZA* 52 (1957) 72 note 2; a full discussion, with references, is found in Å. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 62f., 107f. As for its meaning, a commentary to Aa V/4 recently published by von Weiher, *SbTU* 2, no. 54:2,²⁸ shows that u r u₁₆/u r u n basically has three meanings: a) *šapsu*, *dannu*, “strong,” b) *naklu*, “cleaver,” and c) *tanīḫu ša agī*, “calm waters.” The first meaning is attested in n a m -EN- n a (Izi Q 291, *Hh* XIII 74, XIX 32); *dannu* must be understood as a comment to *šapsu*, compare Lambert *BWL* 72 and 43. For the second, besides the references in Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 63,²⁹ see Charpin *clergé* 399. The reading u r u n in the third acceptance was already suspected by Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 (1961) 80, in the case of a -g i₆-u r u n -n a, and its meaning (which is not “high” nor “Riese”) is now provided by Aa V/4. The translation, however, is *tanīḫu* “calm(ing)” from *nāḫu*, not *tānēḫu* “lament” from *anāḫu* (as suggested in *AHw* 1319a). In the case of Nin-dara and Nanše, the first meaning, very vague, cannot be excluded a priori, but there is nothing in the personality of the two deities to specially recommend it. For the second meaning, one could adduce that both deities are connected to Enki, the lord of wisdom. I would prefer, however, to take u r u n in its third meaning since it fits particularly well these deities specifically related to sea waters.

Line 3: After lu ga l, one can restore g i r₂-s u^{ki}, n i n a^{ki}, or a -a b -b a.

28. The sign there is a simple EN, given in a pseudo-archaic form.

29. Not all references to u₁₈-r u given there by Sjöberg have to be explained by these three meanings; some belong to a different word /u r u/.

Section 2 (lines 21-44): The section ends with the subscript *n i g₂-b a g a š a m-k a m*. While this label fits well the contents from line 28 on, the contents of the first, poorly preserved, lines can hardly be summed up as *n i g₂-b a*. They may be the description of some activities assigned to the artisans or, perhaps more likely, the occasions on which the presents had to be made.

Lines 21 and 22 are too damaged for interpretation. The first sign of line 21 looks like the beginning of *GIŠ* or the like, not of *UD*, and thus the beginning of a temporal clause is excluded. There does not seem to be enough room in 22 to restore one of the logograms of *s a m a n*, “leading rope (for oxen).”

Lines 23-24: The first sign seems to be *KA* (or *KA×X?*), rather than *s a g*, on the statuette. I cannot propose any satisfactory interpretation beyond the literal “mouth(?) of the bowl” or “words(?) of the *b u r*-priest.”³⁰ If the “handling” of the cows refers to the magic actions mentioned above (5, end), the *b u r* of line 23 could be the container for the oil or the grain. In which case, this line would be the object of *š u-t u m₃*. *K i-a n-n a*, as the similar *k i-d u t u*, *k i-d s u e n*, and *k i-d i š k u r*, designates a cultic place and a ceremony therein performed. Compare Lambert *BWL* 160: 1ff., with parallel Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4, no. 783:32’ff., for what took place in the *k i-d s u e n*. It is noteworthy that all the deities in the *k i-DN*-constructions are either astral or atmospheric.³¹ Besides other things, e.g., fruits (*ITT* 3, 5280 i 6f.), animals –like in the present text– were brought into or for the *k i-a n-n a*, e.g., sheep *k i-a n-n a-š e₃ k u₄-r a*, *Or* 47-49 (1930) 372:8. The verb *š u—t u m₂/t u m₃* has two main meanings³²: a) “to apply oneself to a task,” “to set to work,” as in *d u b-s a r t u r š u-n i i b-š i-i n-t u m₃ i m b i₂-i b-s a r-a*, “the young scribe went to work, wrote a tablet” *TCL* 16, 88 v 28, or in *JAOS* 88 (1968) 4:6. b) “to touch something,” often with implications of a beneficial or prejudicial effect, e.g., when the object is *b a n š u r*, “table.” The *-b a* after a *b₂* should be the locative. This passage shows a connection between *Nin-dara* and cattle that may explain why this god was later absorbed into *Nanna*’s circle.

Lines 25-27: For *Nin-mar*,³³ the daughter of *Nin-dara* and *Nanše*, see Ch.-F. Jean *Réligion sumérienne* 99f. and A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, 106f. and 27f. for her temple. *Ninmar*’s temple was where the people of the *Lagaš* area used to take their oaths (Falkenstein *NSG* 1, 66). Many of these oaths are in declarations that refer to animals (*ITT* 4, 7805; 5, 6913, 8231, *TLB* 3, 108, *HLC* 3, pl. 151, 395, etc.), some to slaves (*NSG* nos. 123, 126), at least one to dead people (*ITT* 5, 9174), and one to lost, unspecified property (*NSG* no. 114). The word *s a g*, “head,” in line 27 can designate house slaves or animals. Were the oaths taken on the occasion of a festivity? Does the present passage refer to it? The answer has to wait for additional sources or further investigation.³⁴

30. If it is one of the several mistakes of the lapidary and the sign had to be *SAG*, then the word would be *s a g-b u r-(r a)*, for which see lexical references in Behrens and Steible, *FAOS* 6, 285f. s.v. Note that the translation *abr/lu* is also given to *b u r* alone (*PSD* B 185f. *b u r C*). Additional references, such as *š u s a g-b u r-r a-k e₄ l u g a l-m u i [g i] n u-m u-’u n’-[x]-d [u₈(?)]*, “my king has not seen (?) the hand of the ...” (3N-T429:4, proverbs), do not clarify the problem. Since it is far from clear that *s a g-b u r* is present in this passage, the study of this word –which would have to include an investigation of a possible link with the name *Sagburru*– will not be further pursued here.

31. Note, however, *k i-d i n a n n a*, e.g., *UET* 3, 216; is it the astral *Inanna*? *K i-d u t u* is also the designation of a literary type.

32. At times, the existence of the homograph *š u—g u b* complicates the analysis; cf. *Ana ittišu II ii* 28f.

33. Latest discussion of the reading in Whiting, *ZA* 75 (1985) 1ff.

34. P. Steinkeller (p.c.) suggests that the passage could include a direct reference to the oaths, cf. *s a g = tamītu*.

Lines 28-43 contain the list of gifts. For line 31, see Lafont *Tello* p.77 ad 249; in most instances it seems to be a tarpaulin or awning for boats, compare *ITT* 2, 3488 where making (?) it is the task of Nin-dara's artisans (of the *t u g₂-d u₈* of line 13?), but in the present context I do not know what to do about the *g a*. It is remarkable that the items in lines 33 and 35 all contain the syllable *d a r*, doubtless a pun with the name of Nin-dara (see above, section 3). The *g^{is} k a k -d a r* is a peg or pin used in relatively large quantities to secure warp and woof in the loom. It is listed among loom parts in Ur III texts, see Waetzoldt *Neusumerische Textilindustrie* 134ff. Note still 24 e š₂ *g^{is} d a r -k a k* *RTC* 221 xi' 10'. The personal names *ur-g^{is} d a r -k a k* and *g e m e₂-g^{is} d a r -k a k*, to be compared to names like *ur-g^{is} g i g i r* or *ur-g^{is} t u k u l*, show that these pins had some ritual or sacred value. The term *d a -r a* –the text incorrectly has *KAB* for *d a*– is in all likelihood something similar to the preceding item. Note, furthermore, that both are weighed, not counted. The text *HSS* 4/2, 6 vii 14 lists, among parts of the loom, 60 *g^{is} KIB* (or *GIŠ×GIŠ*) that must be the same³⁵ as *g^{is} d a r a₅* or *g^{is} t u g₂-d a r a₅* translated as *kibsu*, *bittu*, and *parriku* in *Ḫḫ VII* 143f. (with new source BM 37928), *Ea IV* 213f., and *Diri I* 102f., cf. also *MSL* 6, 151:106f-g.³⁶ The only Ur III reference I know is 22 *g^{is} d a -r a* *UD* in *A* 31236 v 15, after *k a k -š i b i r*, unless the term *d a -r a -a k* which appears in agricultural contexts (*YOS* 4, 252:3f., *AnOr* 1, 59:4) is related to this *d a -r a*. Curse of Agade 74 reads *g^{is} d a r -k a k k u₃ i m -d u₃-d u₃-a -b i*; no text actually has *MA₂.KAK = d a r g u l* (and vars.), as the reading *t a r k u l* and the translation of the editor imply (Cooper *Curse of Agade* p.242). It is possible that *d a r - (k a k)* meant “anchoring peg” in a loom and “mooring pole” in a quay.³⁷ Perhaps, the sacred *d a r -k a k*, the ones in the personal names, were not the ones in the loom but the others, whether mooring poles or pegs delimiting an area, which Enki removes in the Curse of Agade. The amounts of *m u n* and *n a g a* in lines 36f. are exactly the same as those listed by the administrative text *A* 1176 iii' 16'ff. as coming from Nin-dara's artisans. For line 41, note the man in charge of *g i š -a b -b a*-trees, among the personnel of Nin-dara's temple, in *BM* 12232 (see section 5, d). There is no numeral in front of *ḫ a r* in line 42, indicating an indefinite number.³⁸

Section 3 (lines 45-50): Various duties and privileges of the artisans.

Lines 45-47: I assume that the engraver erroneously omitted *i t u* –otherwise the genitive before the locative makes no sense– and thus line 45 places the action in the last month of the Girsu calendar. The passage refers to a trip in which the boat had to be fully equipped in Girsu and caulked at its return from Guabba.

The verb *š u —d u₇* (line 46) means “to equip in full” and is said of chariots (*ITT* 5, 6875), statues (*TLB* 3, 163 r. 2, see Edzard, *OLZ* [1973] 554), and boats (*MVN* 8, 249); note still *e š₂-g a l m a₂ g i d₂-š e₃*

35. The term *g^{is} d a r a₅* has to be distinguished from the almost homograph *g^{is} u l₃ - (l a)*, a part of the harness, mentioned, e.g., in *ITT* 5, 6762, *MVN* 5, 42, *RA* 18 (1921) 98. There may have been, however, some connection between the two, as shown by the place of *g^{is} d a r a₅* in *Ḫḫ VII A* just before saddle bags.

36. For *bittu*, see O. Rouault, *Iraq* 39 (1977), 150:40, 46, and my comments to line 95 of “Farmer's Instructions” (forthcoming).

37. Thus the etymology of *d a r g u l* is confined as *d a r -g u -l a*—as suggested by S. Lieberman, *Sumerian Loanwords* no. 132—a word attested in an Ur III letter (Sollberger, *TCS* 1, 355).

38. For the role of silver rings in Ur III, see Michalowski, *SMS* 2/3, and, more generally as currency, Powell, *Matouš Festschrift* 2 211ff.

^{giš}š u - g u d - t a š u - d u₇ - a, “thick rapes, provided by ..., to tow boats” *ITT* 3/2, 6341:9ff. Compare the related term a₂-š u - d u₇ - a (also written a₂-š i t a₄), “equipment,” *JAOS* 88 (1968) 7. The verb d u₈ in the sense of “to caulk” is said mostly of boats (*RTC* 393:9, *HSS* 4/2, 1 I 9, 154, BM 18390 [CT 7, 31]; *UET* 3, 76 r. ii, *MVN* 5, 162, *ITT* 2, 3488; 5, 6871, etc.), but is also used in the case of socles (k i - g a l) of statues (*ITT* 2, 795:5), graves (k i - m a h, *WMAH* 3, vi 11), and wells (reeds and bitumen p u₂ i m - m a e₂-d u b - b a - k a b a - r a - a b - d u₈ *UET* 3, 837). The caulking of Nin-dara’s boat, among others, is mentioned in *ITT* 2, 3488:18 and in T. Gomi, *Orient* 16 (1980) 77 no. 112 i 8. For the trip, see comments to line 58.

Line 49: The term e₂-t a N E l a₂-a seems to designate a rite or at least an activity related to temples and festivals. *TCL* 5, 6040 repeatedly lists small amounts of grain and oil with the subscript e₂-t a N E l a₂-a, in the context of various festivities. Examples of other occurrences are: oil and fruits s i a b₂-b a g a b a - a - l a₂, e₂-t a N E l a₂-a *CT* 7, 15 iv 1f.; flour e₂^dn a n š e - t a N E l a₂-a *MVN* 7, 7; see still *MVN* 6, 412:23, transliterated by its editors ‘i t u’ - t a b i l₄-l a₂-a. The reading of NE is uncertain,³⁹ but AO 4209:6 (*NFT* p. 185) mentions m a₂ g i - i z i - l a₂-a^dn a n š e “the boat of Nanše’s torches,” and the transliteration of *MVN* 6, 412, if correct, implies g i š - i z i (b i l₄). These two instances show a form not completely identical to e₂-t a N E l a₂-a; in the latter the presence of -t a seems to require a strictly verbal meaning for l a₂.⁴⁰ A provisory translation “to carry fire out of the temple,” where “fire” can very well designate torches, seems the best at this time.

Section 4 (lines 51-74): This section is a list of prebends and related services and of supplies for the artisans. The term n i g₂-d a b₅ is usually translated “materials, supplies,” following Oppenheim, *AOS* 32, 92f. It is a synonym of PAD.^dINANNA (n i n d a b a) –compare simply Lu I 132ff. with OB Lu A 427– both being translated by Akk. *nindabû* and variants. PAD.^dINANNA is almost never used in Ur III, except in the archive of the Inanna temple in Nippur and in a few other counted occasions, and n i g₂-d a b₅- (b a) is used instead. Although it is most frequently used followed by a genitive indicating the destination (religious festivals, temples, etc.), it is at times followed by a genitive designating persons, e.g., n a r - e - n e *TCL* 5, 6040 iv 10, l u k u r - e - n e *TCL* 5, 6040 i 5’, l u₂-u r₃-r a - l u g a l - k a *Or* 47-49 (1930) 403:12, in which case the persons receive the supplies. The supplies designated as n i g₂-d a b₅ are most frequently edibles: cattle, sheep and goats, flour, fruits, etc., but they can be practically anything. Note, for instance, gypsum and n a g a for cleaning or finishing royal garments in *STA* 23 ii 20ff., 31ff., bitumen for a reed-screen door, *STA* 23 ii 28ff., or ^{kuš}e - s i r₂ e₂-b a - a n n i g₂ d a b₅ g e m e₂ u n - i l₂ “pairs of sandals, supplies for the female porters,” *UET* 3, 1278:1ff. In 6N-351 (Appendix 1), n i g₂-d a b₅ designates the food supplies, drawn from the temple offerings, assigned to Šu-Suen’s statue.

Lines 55-56: It is not known what the “post of senior officer” of a boat exactly implies. The only other reference to it is 3N-T273+, an Isin period legal case, used as a model in schools, see M.T. Roth,

39. R. Kutscher, *ASJ* 5 (1980) 59ff. translates “torch-light” with no discussion.

40. Cf. N I H U B₂- e a l a₂-a, *TCL* 5, 6040 iii 12, iv 19, apparently some sort of cultic activity, in the same textual slot as e₂-t a N E l a₂-a. A parsing e - a is unlikely if e meant “dike,” since in this case the scribe should have written e - g a. The verb is probably a — l a₂ “to draw water” or “to carry water.” N I H U B₂ is an older writing of U D . S A L . H U B₂ = e m a r a h, a wooden bowl for liquids, see my remarks in L. Cagni, ed., *Ebla* 1975-1985 136 note 7. Compare ^{giš}N I H U B₂ t u₇ in the practical vocabulary *RA* 18 (1921) 65×37 with ^{giš}U D . S A L H U B₂ t u₇ of H h IV 219f. The meaning “to carry water in wooden bowls” is thus perfectly acceptable.

JAOS 103 (1983) 282. In any case it seems to be a prebend related to religious trips of a boat and to its mooring (cf. the “office of head boatman of the pier” in 3N-T273 iii 4). Note that the inscription omits the expected -r a; compare the lack of genitive after e₂-g a l, etc. in line 60. AB-MI-NI is a term of uncertain reading -e š₃-g i₆-z a l?—designating some kind of cultic activity of unknown nature; (beer) AB-MI-NI-š e₃ k i (copy error for š a₃?) a₂-k i-t i g a-e š^{ki} UET 3, 134 (cf. UET 9, 854), (sheep) AB-MI-NI š a₃ u n u g^{ki}-g a TRU 275:7, see also Reisner, *Telloh* 114 iv 22, Watson, *BCT* 1 88:4, UET 9, 412:4'.⁴¹ The Lagaš personal name e₂-MI-NI-š e₃ (Limet, *Anthroponymie* 404) almost assures a reading e š₃ for the first sign.

Line 58: LAL.SAR-b a r-(r a), in all likelihood to be read u s a/u r-b a r-r a,⁴² is a riverain locality, a stop in the ceremonial trip of the boat of Nanše and Nindara, as shown by AO 4209 (*NFT* p. 185).

Lines 60-61: It is not clear whether these lines give the legs of beef and mutton of the palace and storehouse, or only their handling, to the artisans; cf. line 65. The name of the deity after b a r a₂ is uncertain, but there is only room for a short sign. Does b a r a₂ here mean “sack”?

Lines 62-63: The term n a m-š i t a₄ designates a religious post or function, see D. Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur* 257ff. KI.UD can be “threshing floor” or “empty lot” (mostly urban), but in Ur III k i-s u₇ is the regular term for the first, except in Nippur and Lagaš (see commentary to Farmer’s Instructions 94, in press). I cannot offer any suggestion for a-LI-b i, after PAD/k u r₆ “share.” The equation of dubious pedigree a-l i = *ruqqû* Antagal G 296, something done to oil, is of little help, unless the line refers to oil supplies, repeatedly mentioned in the texts dealing with the artisans.

Lines 64-65: As in other passages of the inscription, cf. lines 56 and 60, the genitives are not explicitly indicated here, if a translation “the storehouse of (the feed for?) the sheep of the palace” is correct; does e₂-s a g have some other meaning here? I cannot offer any suggestion for AMA DIB.

Lines 71-73: The inscription has p e š₃(MA) in 71 and 72. Unless there was some specification after š e-e r-g u such as size, or d u r₅ and ḥ a d₂ (they, however, would be expected right after p e š₃), the second MA has to be emended to MA-gunû. Against such emendation is the fact that strings of apples are very rare in Ur III—only 6N-T282 and 618, and, perhaps *MVN* 6, 32, have both figs and apples; see my contribution in *Or* 56 (1987) 243. For š e-e r-g u in general see I. J. Gelb, *Kraus Festschrift* 67ff. In line 73, n i n d a (or n i g₂) k a s k a l = *šidîtu* “travel provisions.”

Section 5 (lines 75-80): This section is a list of field names with a subscript “g i r₃-g i n-n a of the artisans.” The word g i r₃-g i n-n a has been recently discussed by Steinkeller, *RA* 74 (1980) 7 note 8, but the meaning proposed by him does not fit the present context. Starting from a meaning “fixed succession,” “series (of texts)” seemingly required by the literary catalogue *TMH* NF 3, 55:8, 16, 19f.,⁴³ and by the passages from Šulgi hymns (for which see, provisionally, Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns* 141f.), one can assume that the fields listed in the text are the ones which the artisans had to cultivate—presumably receiving shares—taking turns in a fixed succession, alternating, one would imagine, with other individuals

41. Šulgi X 32 (Klein *Šulgi* 136) mentions m a₂-MI-NI in parallel to m a₂-s a l-l a. Note, however, that NI there can very well be the possessive suffix. Is m a₂-s a l an error for m a₂-u₄-z a l?

42. The skepticism of Kutscher, *ASJ* 5 (1980) 63f. is, in my opinion, unwarranted, see *RGTC* 2, 295. For u₃-s u r, see my commentary to “Farmer’s Instructions,” in press.

43. Wilcke *Kollationen* 42, would prefer “ritual,” but the passages from Šulgi quoted in the text seem to speak against his proposal.

or officials. This interpretation can be supported by BM 12942 (CT 7, 17). This text is a series of statements about a case of unlawful use of irrigation water. The šabra in charge declares (lines 8ff.): bar gir₃-gin-na-bi nu in-na-a-du-ga-ke₄-e[š₂ ki-ba bi₂-in-sig₃ “because he (the šabra) had told him (Dana) that it was not its (this water’s) turn ...” (what seems to be a punishment follows); compare line 5: a-bi id₂ gir₃-bi nu-me-a bi₂-da b₅ “(Dana) took this water without being the canal of turn.” In this text, gir₃-gin-na –and gir₃ alone!– seem to designate the order in which the different farmers were entitled to use water from a given canal. It is thus possible that in the case of the artisans the inscription does not imply cultivation in general, as suggested above, but that the “turns” of the artisans are restricted to water rights. The specific meanings of gir₃-gin-na “series, collection (of songs)” and “ordered succession” are most likely derived from the steps of a journey (note the use of gir₃ alone in the same sense).⁴⁴ The field names reappear, with the exception of the second and the fifth, in other Lagaš texts, see Pettinato, *UNL* 1, nos. 87, 386, and 39, respectively.

Section 6 (lines 81-83): Further contributions of the artisans: the sheep brought to the temple and the kids “of the ‘word’”; the latter term is unknown in lexical and administrative texts.

Section 7 (lines 84-88): These lines include a blessing and final wishes. There is no way to tell whether the inscription was continued on the base or socle of the statuette. In line 85 it is assumed that the sequence -ni-na of the text is an error for -na-ni. This sentence has no known parallels. It must designate, by synecdoche, all the cult activities for the ceremonial maintenance of the statuette and for the rites for which Šulgi-ki-ur-sag-kalam-ma was responsible. In line 88 the engraver forgot the sign t a r.

Appendix

1. The Šu-Suen Inscription 6N-351

The block of diorite (fig. 2) registered under 6N-351 was found in Nippur in January 1958 during the excavations in the Inanna temple (locus SB 53). It is part of the circular base of a human statue, with the outline of the left foot still visible. The stone had been used as a door socket in the main gate of the Parthian temple (L II) and had previously served as a grinding stone. The original diameter must have been ca. 63 cm. An inscription, running clockwise as seen from above, is engraved along the horizontal edge of the base. The text, as far as preserved, is identical with a Šu-Suen inscription included in a collection of copies (*HS* 2009) published by D.O. Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1960) 14 col. ix’ 16-37. From measures taken on the photo, it appears that the text started in the back of the base at a point ca. 20° from the axis of the statue. Assuming that the text was arranged symmetrically, one can assume that it extended twenty to twenty-four lines beyond the last presently preserved line (both 6N-351 and *HS* 2009 break off at the same point). Since the text is clearly visible on the photo, I give here the combined text (6N-351 has lines 2-3(?) and 11-22; line 1 = *HS* 2009 xi’ 16).

44. Of the instances discussed by Steinkeller, the Ur III l u₂-g i r₃-g i n - n a - k e₄- n e can very well be paraphrased “the men whose turn it was” (to cultivate the field, or the like); in Pre-Ur III texts, the original meaning “journey” seems to make more sense. For A 1014, see now Zhi Yang, *A Sargonic Archive from Adab* (unpub. Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1986) 389.

- 2^ˆ sila₃ ninda
 2 sila₃ lal₃
 1 sila kurun
 1 sila₃ kaš
 5 1^ˆ ma-la-gum₂ udu
 [nig₂-d]ab₅ itu-da-ka
 [g]i₅š banšur
^den-lil₂
 lugal-[ga₂-ta]
 10 1^ˆ gin₂ ˆx (x)^ˆ
 1 sila₃ i₃-du-ga
 nig₂-dab₅ itu-da-(ka)
 e₂ ^dnin-lil₂
 nin-ga₂-t[a]
 15 ^dšu-^dsuen
 ki-ag₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂
 lugal ^den-lil₂-le
 ki-ag₂ ša₃-ga-na
 in-pa₃
 20 lugal kalag-ga
 lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma
 lu[ga]l ^{an}ub-[da 4]-ke₄
 (continuation lost, ca. 20-24 lines)

Two silas of bread, two silas of honey, one sila of wine, one sila of beer, one *malaku* of mutton, monthly assignment from the table of Enlil, my King; one shekel of [...], one sila of perfume, monthly assignment from the house of Ninlil, my queen, Šu-Suen, who loves Enlil, the king beloved and chosen by Enlil, powerful king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters [assigned, gave (or the like)].

The only textual difference between the original text and its copy is the addition of -ka in line 12 (6N-351 is not preserved in line 6). Both omit the relative -a (-da) in line 19. Lines 1-14 form the direct object of the lost main verb.

The figures before sila₃ are inferred from the spacing in HS 2009 as seen on the photo (the copy does not preserve the correct spacing). For *malaku*, (or *malaqu?*), and its meaning “one-tenth of a sheep” in line 5, see D. Charpin, *Le clergé d’Ur* 323.

2. A 1176

The fragment A 1176 is a portion of the reverse(?) of a large multicolumn tablet from Girsu.⁴⁵ Its contents are relevant to the activities of the artisans described in the statue under study.

col. i'

Only traces of beginnings of lines.

col. ii'

[x] zi₃-sig₁₅

5 sila₃ zu₂-lum

e₂-ta izi-la₂-a

0.0.2 kaš 30

5' 2 gir₃-lam 3 sila₃

2 gu₂ nisig hi-a

e₂ bara₂-si-ga hu-rim₃^{ki}

1 maš₂ a-gub-ba

9 udu

10' 0.0.1 zi₃-sig₁₅

0.0.1 zi₃-gu

0.0.2.4 sila₃ zi₃-dub-dub

0.0.1.5 sila₃ nig₂-ar₃-ra imgaga

0.3.2 kaš 30

15' 0.1 ziz₂

0.1 še

ab₂ kaš sur-dam

1/3 sila₃ i₃-nun-dug₃-ga

kun ab₂-ke₄ ak

20' 540 ku₆ gi-^rx'

rest broken

col iii'

[x z]i₃-sig₁₅

[x] gu₂ nisig hi-a

0.0.4 kaš 30

5' 0.2.2 kaš 20

1(gur) zi₃-sig₁₅

0.0.3 nig₂-ar₃-ra si

0.0.4 zi₃-dub-dub

45. A copy will be published in a projected volume of Ur III texts in the Oriental Institute by M. Sigrist.

- 10' sizkur lugal
0.1.1 zi₃-gu
bur-sag-ta
0.1.1 kaš 30
-
- 15' e₂ bappir?-ab-ta
[x]+2 kaš-dida 20
e₂-gal-ta
1 mun gur
1 naga gur
gašam^d nin-dar-a
1 kaš-dida 20
- 20' 0.0.2 dabin
ʿe₂?^d nin-dar-a
rest broken
- col. iv'
[a]k
[]^{giš} ma₂-us₂ ak
[x sila₃] i₃-nun^{giš} ħum ak
[x sila₃] i₃-nun^{giš} gir₃-gub ak
- 5' [x si]la₃ i₃-nun bur-šagan ak
1/2 sila₃ i₃-nun alan ak
0.1.3 naga
ʿnig₂?-dab₅ a-tu₅-a
[x sila₃] i₃-nun
- 10' [x sila₃] zu₂-lum
[x] ga-ar₃
[x] ʿx^{giš} u₃-suĥ₅
traces of two lines
rest broken

Addenda

Final collations could not be made until the article was already in press.

Line 38: the first sign is DUG rather than GA and k u₃- g [a] is uncertain.

Line 41: ʿdⁿ a n[š e]-ʿx^ʿ is also possible.

Line 43: l i b i r is written U₃.

Line 53: insert k i between s a₂ and g a.

Line 61: read perhaps ^dn i n -[ĥ u]r(?)-[s a]g(?).

The copy is based on a cylindrical projection, independent for each column. Given the flared conical shape, only the tops of the columns are aligned across columns.

Fig. 1

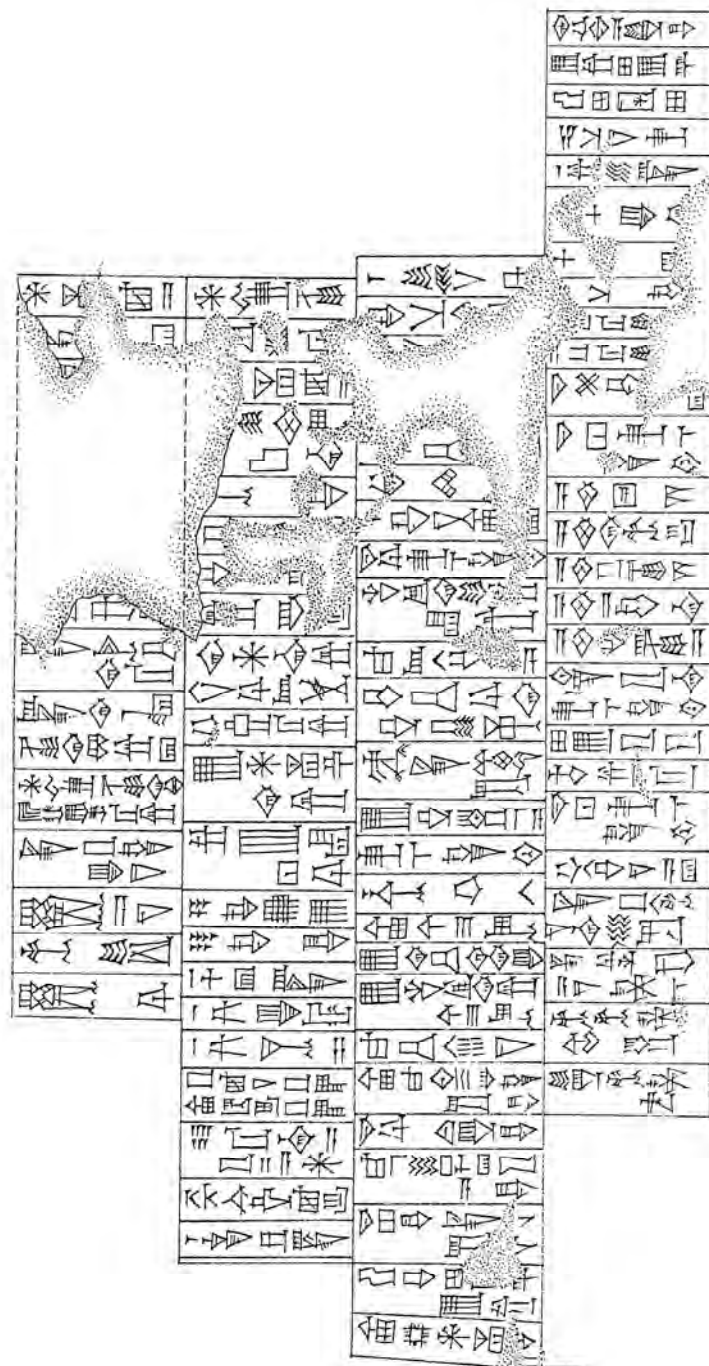


Fig. 2

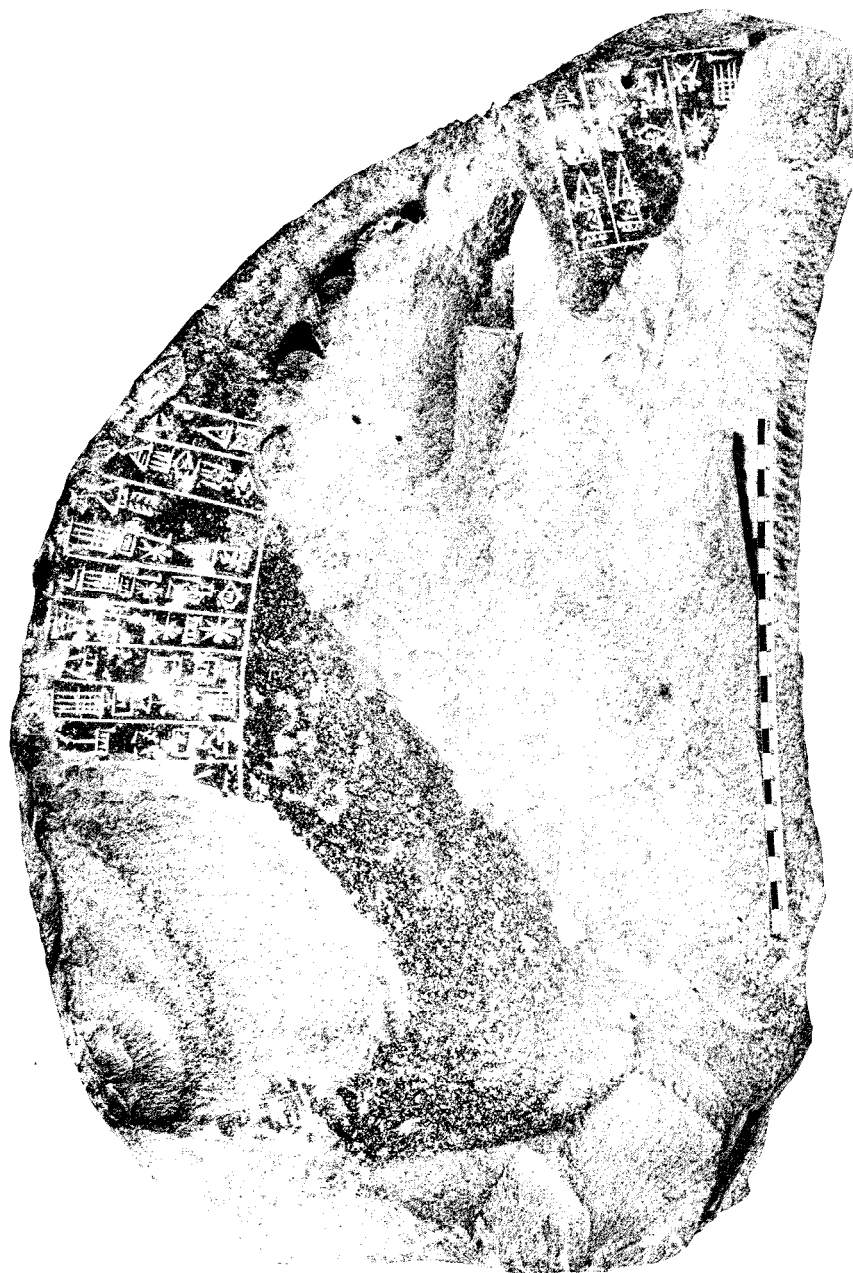


Fig. 2 6N-351

On Mesopotamian Jails and Their Lady Warden^{*}

This study attempts to clarify the general meaning and some points of detail of the composition é u₄ ħ u š a n - k i, published under the title “Nungal in the Ekur” by Å.W. Sjöberg in 1973.¹ It is dedicated to my colleague W.W. Hallo, who years ago devoted his attention to a lexical point –not unrelated to the present notes– of the composition.² Most of the improvements proposed here stem from a reexamination of Sumerian terms designating jails and capital offenses. Others are due to the normal progress of Sumerian studies during the intervening years between the fundamental edition of Sjöberg’s and the present time. The interpretation proposed here is based on the following premises: (1) é - k u r means ‘prison’, and so does é - é š, and (2) NIR - d a means ‘capital offense’ and, by extension, ‘capital punishment’. The justification for these statements will be found in sections 2 and 3 respectively.

1. *The Nungal Hymn*

1. 1. The author of the Nungal text appears to have been, in all likelihood, a scribe who found himself accused of a capital offense. Before his sentencing, and in the hope of being given a jail sentence instead of being executed, he sings the praises of Nungal, the divine Warden, of her prison, and of its rehabilitating effects. He is not the only scribe known to have faced the rigors of incarceration. Centuries later, Rībi-Dagan, an Emar scribe, tells us that he spent his time while he was “in chains” writing a tablet with the S^a Vocabulary.³ Whatever may have been the fate of our anonymous scribe, his brief poem became one of the “classics” of the Nippur literary curriculum and has been preserved in some fifty-four tablets and fragments. The only thing which can be said about the date of composition of this text is that it

^{*} The present article was originally published in M.E. Cohen – D.C. Snell – D.B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda 1993, pp. 72-78.

1. *AfO* 24 (1973) 19ff.; additional material in *JCS* 29 (1977) 3ff. The text used here is a complete revision prepared in the Oriental Institute for the hypertext corpus of Sumerian literary texts (file NU.HW3). Studies on the Nungal text: T.S. Frymer, *JESHO* 20 (1977) 78ff.; G. Komoróczy, *Acta Antiqua* 23 (1975) 153ff.

2. *JCS* 31 (1979) 161ff.

3. M. Civil, *AuOr* 7 (1989) 7.

already was in existence –like almost all Sumerian literary productions– in the first half of the 18th century B.C. The text abounds in literary devices, but has no discernible poetic patterns. The disorganized style and confusing images may perhaps be attributed to the straits the author found himself in at the time he composed the text.

1.2. The opening lines (1-26) describe –with the help of rather baroque, mixed metaphors– the prison itself, stressing (see 2.1) the solidity of the building and of its doors, as well as its capabilities for the capture and restraint of enemies and criminals. Next, the Lady in charge is briefly introduced (27-33) and the transport and jailing of the accused is described in some detail (34-57). The trial and the sentencing, a public affair with airs of a festival, and the subsequent imprisonment start with line 58 and continue until line 116; this section takes one-half of the text length and constitutes the heart of the composition. After line 62 the description comes from Nungal’s own mouth and is embedded in a self-praise of the goddess, introduced with the traditional formulas. Lines 117-121 are a brief closing doxology. To keep this article within reasonable limits, only a translation of the crucial passages will be given here.

1.3. *Translation*

- 27 Nungal, its (of the prison) Lady, a powerful goddess whose aura covers heaven and earth,
takes a seat on its great august dais,
she resides in the precinct of the House, she rules the land,
30 looks at the king in the middle of the council.
She secures the “beam” over her enemies, her vigilance never ends.
Great House, trap laying in wait for the enemy, (but) giving good advice to the land.
Fearsome waves, onrush of a flood that overflows the river banks.
When an individual is brought in, he cannot resist her aura.
35 The gods of the universe have to bow down towards the tribunal.
The Lady-of-the-Great-House sits down, high on the lapis lazuli dais.
She keeps her eyes on judgments and decisions, she knows true from false.
For her, they throw over the land her casting net of cleverly woven mesh;
the evildoer who does not follow her path does not escape its reach.
40 The gate of the great House is an angry storm, a flood which reaches everybody,
when a man of whom his god disapproves reaches it (the gate),
he is delivered to the august hands of Nungal, the warden of the prison;
this man is held by a painful grip, like a wild ox with spread forelegs.
She makes him go to the house of sorrow,
45 she blindfolds him, she walks him in darkness,
he forgets his way, is caught in a wide street.
His acquaintances do not address him, they keep away (from him).
No powerful one knows (how to say) “open up this door!,” incantations for it are ineffective.
(This door) opens over a city in ruins, its layout destroyed.
50 The men in there, like sparrows held by the talons of the big owl,
look towards the opening like to the rising sun.
Brother counts for brother the days of misfortune, (but) their calculations get utterly confused.

- A man does not recognize his fellow men, they have become strangers.
 A man does not return the password of his fellow men, their looks are so changed.
 55 The interior of the House gives rise to weeping, laments, and cries.
 Its brick walls crush the evil ones, but give birth to honest men.
 The angry hearts spend there the days in weeping and laments.
 When the time (for the trial) has come, the Prison is made up as for a public festival.
 The gods are present at the place of interrogation, at the River Ordeal,
 60 separating the honest from the evildoer, it gives birth to a just one.
 She clamps down on her enemy, he does not escape her reach.
 At that moment, the Lady praises herself,
 63 the powerful goddess, holy Nungal, congratulates herself.

* * *

- 75 “Pity and compassion are mine, I put pressure on no one.
 I keep the black-headed people under my sight, they are under surveillance.
 I hold in my hands the tablets of life, I write down the honest ones.
 No evildoer escapes my reach, I know about his actions.
 All countries look towards me, as to their own mother-goddess.
 80 I temper severe punishments, I am a compassionate mother.
 I cool down the angriest hearts, pouring (on them) cool water.
 I calm down the wounded hearts, I snatch men from the jaws of destruction.
 I built my House on compassion, I am a life-giving lady.
 Its shadow is like an oak forest growing on a clean place,
 85 Birtum, my husband, the very strong one, takes a seat there with me.
 He sits down on the great august dais, gives important orders.
 The spirits of my House, the angels of beautiful eyes, urge the men (to come).
 My head superintendent, Igalimma, is the “beam” of my hand.
 He has been promoted caretaker of my House –they urge the men (to come).
 90 My messenger does not forget anything, he is the pride of the palace.
 In the city named after/by Enlil, I know true from false.
 Ninharrana brings the news, they are put before me.
 My chief barber sets my litter in the awesome House.
 Nezilla organizes the joyous occasion.
 95 When the individual has been brought to the great House, the man is accused of a capital offense;
 My chief prosecutor, Ninmug, extends his arm (in accusation).
 The man receives the death sentence, (but) he is not executed.
 This man (instead) is snatched from the jaws of destruction,
 brought into my “House of Life” (and) kept under guard
 100 No one wears clean clothes in my dusty House.
 My House falls, like some drunkard, upon the man.
 He is listening for snakes and scorpions in the darkness of the House.

- My House gives birth to a just person, terminates the liar.
 I filled its brick walls, (which are like?) a womb, with tears, (but) I (also) built it with compassion.
 105 I soothe this man's heart, I cool him down.
 Once I have appeased for him his god's heart,
 burnished (this man) like precious metal, made him shine from among the dust,
 washed out the dirt, like the best metal applied to a holy body,
 I return him to the good hands of his god,
 110 so that this man's god be praised forever,
 so that this man may praise me (and) tell about my greatness.”

1.4. *Commentary*⁴

31. “Beam” translates ^{giš}r a b, Akk. *rappu*, a literary term referring to some kind of restraining device used to control or curb (š u — r i = *lātu* A). Since GIŠ.RAB.GAL, and possibly GIŠ.RAB, have a reading /g u š u r/ (like g i š - ù r), one can imagine some sort of heavy log or pole that immobilized the miscreants attached to it.

32. The transition from the trap metaphor to n a - d e₃ is somewhat surprising. This term has three meanings: (1) ‘to purify’ (*elūlu*), (2) ‘to advise’ (*ašāru*), and (3) ‘to fell trees’ (*maqātu*, or the like). The second meaning seems to be indicated here: the danger of being caught by the trap makes people alert to their ways.

34. The accused man is also called s a g in line 95.

35. ‘Have to’ renders the verbal infix -d-, stylistically associated with some verbs, one of them g a m/g ú r.

38. Because of the infix -n a-, one has to assume either an indeterminate 3rd person agent or that -n a- can have a reflexive meaning when it refers to the agent (‘for herself’).

43. š u — s i - i l remains obscure but it must describe some way of immobilizing the forelegs(?) of a wild animal, perhaps ‘forcibly spread’?

45. The second part is ambiguous; the variant š à - s ù - g a requires a translation ‘walks hungry’, while š à - s i g - g a probably means ‘walks (as) in a dark, narrow place’. References for š à - s i g in *TCS* 3 70f.

46. The second clause must mean that, blindfolded, he gets lost even in a broad street; the precise translation of KU/dab₅ is not clear.

48. The translation takes n í g - g i g ‘sick’ in the sense of ‘weak’.

49. If one could open the door one would see inside only ruins; strange image, comparing the insides of the jail to an outside landscape.

59. It is not clear whether the trial is metaphorically compared to a River Ordeal, or an ordeal effectively takes place.

75. Here u l₄ = *urruhu*, as recognized by Sjöberg; however, I prefer the meaning ‘to harass, to put pressure on’, derived from ‘to hurry’ (trans.), in agreement with the regular meaning of *arāhu* A. The

4. These remarks, kept to a minimum, have to be considered a companion to Sjöberg’s commentary. Additional information will be found there or, in the case of Akkadian, in the pertinent dictionary entries.

parallelism with *ḥu-luḥ* does not contradict this nuance. Here, because of the presence of -d-, perhaps one should translate “I do not need to hurry anyone.” See also line 87.

84. This is an example of the equative constructions which have the postposition after the subject/agent rather than after the predicate. Here the implication seems to be that the trial takes place outdoors, next to the prison, in a pleasantly shaded spot. All this, furthermore, is next to the royal palace (line 95), and speaks for jails being an annex of the palace, rather than of a temple.

90. Seven or eight messengers (*kin-gi₄-a*, instead of *ra-ga-ba*) of Nungal are listed in *An = anum* (*CT* 25 4:15ff.; *CT* 24 35:22ff.), all with names of instruments of restraint or torture; the last is ‘sleeplessness’ (*ḏu-nu-ku*).

91. Is this a way to mention Nippur?

92. It is doubtful that *Nin-ḥar-ra-an-na*, the *maškim* *sag* of Nungal, should be identified with Pabilsag (var. of *CT* 24 47:32, against *CT* 25 4:9); I think that *BÍL* is just a mistake for *DU-šeššig*.

94. *ḏe-zi-il-la* is the herald (*nimgir*) of Nungal in *CT* 25 4:23, where the name is written *ḏnin-en-‘zil’-lá* (tablet, or copy?, PA). There is a deity *ḏNE-zil-lá* in an astrological context in *5R* 46:9, most likely the same. The alternation *NE : en* recommends the reading *en-zi-il*. A single source (K) has *níg-kal(?)* ‘something difficult/precious’ before *šà*, otherwise the object of *si — sá* has to be *šà-ḥú-l-la*, referring to the trial (called ‘festival’ in line 58).

96. *Nin-dingul*, ‘Lady/Lord-Mooring-Pole’, is the *sukkal* of Nungal in *An = anum* (*CT* 25 4:8). The duties of the *gal₃-lá*, an officer of the court, are unknown, but he had an odious reputation –like the *maškim*– as shown, e.g., by the *Inanna* and *Dumuzi* literature. ‘Prosecutor’ is a provisional translation that seems to fit the context and the reputation of the office. The term is common until *Ur III* times, when it becomes quite rare. It may very well be identical to *Akk. kallû*, ‘messenger’ or the like. The term is unknown in *OB* (except *Mari*) and attested from *MB* on.

97. This is a crucial line for the interpretation of *NIR-da*; see section 2. The expression *ka NIR-da* should mean ‘death sentence’; cf. *tīdi ina pī šērti pana babāla* “you know how to pardon in case of a death sentence” (Lambert, *AfO* 19 [1959/60] 56:13, 15).

104. The third sign of the line is preserved only in source I, where it is unmistakably *GÁ×SAL*, not *iti ma* (*GÁ×MI*); see photo in *AfO* 24 (1973) 21.

109. Stock phrase to indicate, in incantations, the full recovery of physical or “moral” health; for parallels, see A. Falkenstein *Haupttypen* 65.

2. On Some Sumerian Terms for Jail

2.1. é-kur

It is generally assumed that the *é-kur* mentioned in the Nungal hymn is the *Ekur* temple of *Enlil* in *Nippur*. The title of *Sjöberg*’s edition (Nungal in *the Ekur* [emphasis mine]) and statements by commentators of the text, such as “the *Ekur* complex in *Nippur* served such a function [sc. of prison]”, or “das *Ekur* [of the text] ist das Heiligtum *Enlils* in *Nippur*,”⁵ leave no doubt about it. Frymer, noticing the

5. T.S. Frymer, *JESHO* 20 (1977) 78 and G. Komoróczy, *Acta Antiqua* 23 (1975) 159, respectively.

prison function, assumed thus that there was a jail in the Ekur. Already Sjöberg (p. 24) sensed the existence of the problem, without directly addressing it. One can prove, I believe, that this é - k u r has nothing in common, besides homonymy, with Enlil's sanctuary.

There is, in the first place, the equation é - k u r - r a = *šibittu* 'prison'.⁶ It is found in a late prayer, but there is no serious reason to doubt its correctness. An examination of the description of the é - k u r in the Nungal text (lines 1-26) shows that it is radically different from any description of Enlil's Ekur (e.g., Temple Hymns 25-38, or the text é g a l k u r - r a - à m g a l [Kramer, *RSO* 32 (1957) 95ff.]). There is no mention of Enlil or Ninlil, nor of any known architectural part of the Ekur, or of the religious role of Enlil's sanctuary.⁷ The epitheta and explanatory terms that accompany é - k u r, such as é - é š, e n - n u - u n, é NIR - d a (see below), point to something quite different from the great sanctuary. The main motifs of the description are: (a) capture and restrain (traps, nets); (b) solidity of doors and locks; (c) darkness and terror; and (d) separation of good and evil. Finally, in the two passages where é - k u r is found in the Nungal text (lines 2 and 115) it is explained by é - é š, a term for prison (see 2.2). A meaning 'prison' for é - k u r is thus the most natural in the Nungal text.

2.2. é - é š

This term appears also in Nungal, line 2, but was omitted in Sjöberg's critical text, despite being –with a single exception– in all manuscripts. It reappears in line 115. In both instances it follows é - k u r, as an epitheton. P. Steinkeller has in press an article proving that é - é š means 'jail', based on Urukagina 4 xi 20-29 = 5 xii 13-22 and on several Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic passages.⁸

2.3. e n - n u - u n (and variants)

The use of this word to designate 'imprisonment' is well-known in Ur III and Sargonic texts. Already Th. Fish, *JRAS* (1939) 29ff., collected sufficient passages proving this meaning. More recent studies, however, e.g., J.-P. Grégoire, *AAS* (1970) 33ff., seem reluctant to accept this meaning. The word e n - n u - u n has three semantically related meanings: (1) 'watch, guard'; (2) 'watch' (as a division of night time); and (3) 'imprisonment' and, when designating a place, 'prison'. An examination of the administrative texts where this word appears shows that although meaning 1 is known in Ur III texts, meaning 3 is more frequent. Whenever e n - n u - u n is used in the locative with the verbs t i - (l) or t u š, or the subject is qualified of l ú - d a b₅ - b a, and in most instances of the construction š à e n - n u - u n - g á - (me), the meaning is undoubtedly 'detention' or 'jail'. Often, the reason for the imprisonment is given: theft (*NATN* 32), desertion (*TENS* 259, *TJAMC* pl. 57 [*JOS* 40]), or the duration of the detention is specified (from 7 to

6. S.M. Maul *Herzberuhigungsklagen* no. 57 r. 6, with comments p. 266; Maul considers the term a designation for the Netherworld.

7. The mention of Enlil as name-giver, or namesake, of the "town" (line 91) does not refer in any way to the é - k u r = jail.

8. Steinkeller kindly communicated to me proofs of his article; since his conclusions are identical to, but better supported than mine, there is here neither need nor space to repeat his arguments. See also B. Alster and C.B.F. Walker in Sjöberg Vol. 9f.

450 days are attested). There are instances of “forced labor” at times when there is a pressing need for manpower: harvest (*TENS* 419) and flood season (*TENS* 196:Sff., *STA* 2 iv 30f.).⁹

2.4. There are other terms which, one way or another, mean ‘prison’, or are descriptive epitheta of ‘prison’. They will not be discussed here, but note in the Nungal text: é NIR- d a, é a - n i r - r a, é - g u - l a, etc.¹⁰

3. NIR- d a ‘Capital Offense’

3.1. Form and etymology

The origin of the word NIR- d a is not clear. The Emesal form is š e - e r - d a or š è r - d a in Post-OB texts (see 3.2.4 for references). The Akkadian translation is consistently *šērtu*. Assuming that NIR- d a is an early loanword from *šērtu*, one would expect a main dialect form š e r - d a, thus identical with the Emesal one. The writings with š e - e r - and š è r - would be in this case a kind of hypercorrection. However, there is no proof for a main dialect Š other than the assumption of a loanword. The presumed existence of an Akkadian *nerdû*, loanword from Sum. *n e r - d a, hardly proves anything since this word should, in my opinion, be eliminated from the dictionaries: it is nothing but the logogram NIR.DA with an extra A (compare the writing in [3.6]). More appropriate would be to assume that *n e r - d a comes from Akk. *nērtu*. But this would require a semantic shift from murder, as a crime, to legal execution. Furthermore there is no basis in the lexical tradition for this hypothesis. Note, however, that such shifts are known in the earliest lexical texts.¹¹ The meaning ‘capital offense’ has thus to be inferred from contextual evidence.

3.2. References

Follow the main passages with this word, with the translations suggested by the new proposed meaning.

3.2.1. Pre- Ur III

[1.1] giš-su mu-du₈ giš-gír mu-zi ú-gur₅ mu-gar inim-dug₄-ga bí-gi₄ NIR-da é-ba im-ma-a-n-gi₄ “(Gudea) opened manacles, removed fetters, established ..., legal

9. The conclusions accepted here and the references supporting them are given in detail in a recent term paper by Ms. Fumi Karahashi; its use is gratefully acknowledged here.

10. See, for instance, W.W. Hallo’s note on é g u - l a ‘big house’ as a colloquial term for prison in *JCS* 31 (1979) 161ff. A term which in certain circumstances seems to mean ‘jail’ –and not necessarily ‘debtor’s prison’– is é - u r₅ - r a.

11. See the remarks in L. Cagni, ed., *Bilinguismo a Ebla* 86ff. Note the existence of n e - r u = *ba-la-gu-um* (*palāqu*) ‘to slaughter’ in the Ebla Vocabulary (*MEE* 4 295:852), with a loanword from Semitic in the left column. A proposed n e - r a - a k ‘to murder’ (*Or* 54 [1985] 28 ii’ 9’) is in all likelihood wrong. Rare occurrences of this term in Ur III documents suggest that n e - r a - (aš) — a k is simply a variant writing of n a m - r a - (aš) — a k. Compare, for instance, 30 g e m é ... n e - r a - a š - a k ḫ u - ḫ u - n u - r i^{ki} (Sigrist *Rochester* 151:18ff. (= *JAOS* 33 [1912] 30!)), and 130 s a g i s á - d u g₄ g e m é n e - r a - a k - n e (Charpin and Durand *Strasbourg* 52: 1ff.), with occurrences of n a m - r a - a k followed by a toponym (e.g., *TrD* 86:15, *TCL* 2 5485, 5545:4, etc.), and with š à - g a l g e m é n a m - r a - a k (Nikolski 2 329 iv 6) or g e m é n a m - r a - a k - m e (*TUT* 159 v 7’), respectively. In any case, the Ur III passages exclude a meaning ‘to kill’.

complaints were rejected; he locked up (the ones guilty of) capital offenses” (instead of executing them) Gudea Cyl. A xii 24ff.¹²

3.2.2. *Ur III*

[2.1] u₄ ba-zag-de-na-gá NIR-da hé-a bí-in-du_g “he declared: ‘if I were to desert (again), let it be a capital offense’” (*BE* 3 1:5ff. (guarantee document)).

[2.2] tukum-bi nu-ág NIR-da lu_gal-a-mu in-na-du_g “he declared to him: ‘if I do not pay back, it will be my capital offense against the king’” (*NATN* 366:3ff.).

[2.3] u₄ kin-a-na a-ba-na-da NIR-he-a “If he abandons (da = ta_k) his duties, it will be a capital offense” (*YOS* 4 14:3ff.).

[2.4] tukum-bi di bí-in-du_g NIR-da i-me-a “if the case goes to court, it will be a capital offense” (*JCS* 12 106 = *WMAH* 1:11ff.).

2.5] PN₁ dam-gàr-ra dumu PN₂ PN₃ in-ni-RI-a-šè ba-hul NIR-da-aš “PN₃ had caused harm to the merchant PN₁, son of PN₂, by (or: ‘up to’) ..., (enough) to (constitute) a capital offense” (*MTN* 3 342).

[2.6] PN šabra-ni ensí-ke₄ NIR-da-bi ga-mu-gá-gá in-na-an-du_g “PN said to his temple administrator: ‘let the governor establish (whether there has been) a capital offense in this matter’” (Gomi & Sato, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Texts from the British Museum* 373; a slave had been discovered with stolen meat (uzu zu_h-a) from two sheep of his master and there had been no compensation for the stolen sheep (zi-iš-da udu zu_h-a-šè in-na)).¹³

[2.7] tukum-bi ad-da-ni in-gu₇(?) NIR-da nu-ub-tuku tukum-bi egir_x(MUR₇) ab-ba-na-ta-àm PN-e sag kur₆-ra ba-ra-an-ta_k PN NIR-da-àm “if his father consumes it (a share of grain crops), he will not be guilty of a capital offense. But if PN, after his father’s (death), takes away the best part of the share, (for) PN it will be a capital offense” (Falkenstein *NSGU* no. 215:9ff. [*TCL* 5 6048]).

[2.8] 12 iku sag GÁN-gud-ka engar PN-ke₄ in-uru₄-a PN sanga ba-an-su-a ‘x’¹⁴-ba NIR-da in-ni-gar-ra [še]-bi é-gal ba-an-ku₄-ra “12 iku, at the narrow end(?) of an ‘oxen-field’, farmer(s) of PN had plowed and seeded, this (part of the field) has been returned to (or by(?)) PN, the temple administrator; a capital offense was established for/in its ...(?), the [grain] went to the palace” (Falkenstein *NSGU* no. 213:1ff. [*ITT* 211 924]). This obscure passage is a sworn declaration by

12. The passage is reasonably clear within a context of amnesty (to provide manpower for the building of the temple) and suspension of judicial activities. I assume that in giš gir the second sign stands for gir ‘foot’. A translation “he pulled out the camel thorn” does not fit the context, except perhaps in a metaphoric, unparalleled way. I prefer to see here a scribal “jeux de signes.” The scribe then would have continued in the same vein with the puzzling ú-gu_r₅. A translation “he cut off the grass” (Sjöberg *TCS* 3 133) is grammatically and contextually unacceptable. Perhaps one could read bu₁₁-gu_r₅ and assume a loanword (*puquru*); it is a desperate solution, but I do not see another one. For the last sentence, compare ní-g-e-rím é-ba im-ma-a n-gi₄ “he locked up evil” (Cyl. B xviii 3, St. B vii 36). The meaning of the last clause could also be simply “he suspended capital punishment.”

13. The editors have copied UZU but read su_hur. For zi-iš-da, see P. Steinkeller’s note in *RA* 74 (1980) 178f., now to be slightly modified. The rest of the document deals with the governor’s request for the master to produce a related document.

14. Falkenstein restores [g á] n, possible but not certain.

the temple administrator himself; there was, it seems, a prohibition, under death penalty, on some form of cultivation of a part of a field; it resulted in the confiscation of the crops by the palace. But nothing is said about the guilty party and his fate.

[2.9] NIR-^da -^db a - ú - í b - g u - u l (Jacobsen *CTNMC* 54 i 29) is not, I believe, a personal name; the NIR-^da part is probably a scribal notation and not part of the name, leaving an otherwise well-known ^db a - ú - í b - g u - u l as the onomastic part. Thus NIR-^da is here a notation similar to BAD, t u - (r a), or z à ḫ, before a personal name.

3.2.3. *OB literary texts*

[3.1] ^dnun-g[al ...]¹⁵
^dnun-gal kùl-la-a[t ...] r[i-...]
 é NIR-^da [...] *bi-it še-er-ti-i*[m ...] t[i- ...]
^{giš}tukul erím 'x' [...] -gu₇]
kà-kà-am a-ki-il [...] i[m-...]
 za-ra mu-ra-a[n- ...]
a-ku-a-ši-im i-di-'x' [...]

“Nungal [...] all of the [...], the ‘house of capital offense’ [...], weapon that devours the evil one, to you ... [...]” (AO 4332 ii 1ff. [*NFT* 212]).

This passage appears to be an early OB text addressed to Nungal.

[3.2] 269. NIR-da i-gá-gá zi n[u-m]u-ra-ab-sum-mu
 270. um-ma sag-bur-ra maš-maš-e unkin(?) -né inim(?) -ma-ni mu-ni-in-sig
 271. šaga-a-ni gú ^{id}buranun-na-ka i-ni-in-šub

“She established that it was a capital offense (of the diviner), ‘I am not pardoning your life’ (she said). The old lady Sagburra ... her decision, about the diviner, in the assembly(?). She threw her prisoner from the banks of the Euphrates (and he drowned)” (Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna 269ff.).¹⁶

Note that once the offense is established, there is a possibility of pardon, but a swift execution is equally possible.

[3.3] NIR-^da mu-^dú b su mu-un-sig-sig “I strike against (the ones guilty of) capital offenses, the flesh trembles” (Ur-Namma C 32 [*ZA* 53 (1959) 118]). The context describes other judicial activities.

15. The first sign, here and in line 2', looks like MAŠ, but it must be a simplified AN; most texts of this group write AN with two consecutive horizontals (like the late form of the sign) rather than in the older star-shaped form.

16. See A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna* p. 58; text collated and revised. The second verbal form is restored from R: 'n u' - r a - a b - s u m - m u, X: - m] u - r a - a b - s u m - m u. I do not know how to translate line 270: source R has at the end K[A]-'n i? x?' - š u b. The sign LÚ×GÁN-*tenû*, not LÚ×BAD, is certain at the beginning of 271.

[3.4] NIR-da KA-ni DU-DU-gá (Šulgi B 228); obscure context, the assembly (p u-ú ħ-r u-u m) is mentioned in the preceding lines.¹⁷

[3.5] NIR-da gu-la-ni su-ni-ta ù-mu-e-ni-in-gar (Inninšagurra 80 [ZA 65 (1975) 184, revised]) “when she (Inanna) has charged her (the rejected woman) with the greatest mortal sin against her (Inanna), in her (the woman’s) flesh.”¹⁸ The passage describes the fate of the woman who has been rejected by Inanna (“she treats most harshly the woman she rejects,” line 76). The punishment is described in lines 81-82: “she makes her perform an act of submission, calls her ‘vilest’ (a term for ‘eunuch’), cuts her with the tip (of a dagger), and, as if she were a man, delivers a weapon to her heart” (an allusion to the self-inflicted punishments of Inanna’s male devotees).

[3.6] nam-tag-ga du₈-ù tu-lu-bi mu-e-zu NIR-da-a sag giš nu-ub-ra-ra-an “I release from punishment, I know how to temper it, I do not kill the one (guilty) of a capital offense” (Enlilbani A 8 1ff.).

[3.7] lugal mu-zu lul-e-eš pà-dè-dè sag im-ma-ab-sum-mu-a ki NIR-da^did-lú-ru-gú kalam-ma garáš ki úš bal-bal-e-ba ní la-ba-da-ab-te-gá-e-a nam-tag dugud-ta nu-e₁₁-dè e-ne-ra íl “The king who rushes to falsely swear in your name, who is not afraid of the place of execution, of the River of Ordeal of the land, of the defeat where blood is shed, he does not escape heavy punishment, it is imposed on him” (*OECT* 5 8:75ff. (completed by UM 29-13-704), see *ibid.* p. 23 (Iddin-Dagan war-song)).

[3.8] NIR-da uru-za-ka im-šub-bé dingir ħuš-ni NE [...] na-ak (Lugale 598, composite text, with the Akkadian translation partly preserved: *ana šerti a[li ...]*; obscure context).

[3.9] anše lú a-ga-dè^{ki} 2-àm ú-gu ba-an-dé al-du u₄ za-ħa-al-ak-e ul-tuš NIR-da-àm “Two Akkadians have lost an ass, one walks and gets lost (too), the other sits down and becomes (guilty of) a capital crime” (Proverb Coll. 2:82). This proverb is obviously based on a wordplay between ú-gu-dé = *ħalāqu* and (za)-ħa-al-ak¹⁹; the gist of the proverb is that there are situations where no matter what one does the consequences are bad.

17. Line 227 seems to read: zu ħ-a X-gi n₇ unú-ba dar-ra-ba “when a thief has tunneled like a ... into the dining hall”(?).

18. The possessive after NIR-da gu-la refers in this case to the person against whom the fault has been committed, as shown by the parallel line 250f.: NIR-da gu-la-zu su-mu/gá ba-e-zu-zu a-nir ní-g-gig-ga igi ma-lib la-ra-a ħ si-il-ta-àm “I recognize in my flesh a great mortal sin against you; sad laments keep me awake, with splitting sharp pains.”

19. The term u₄-za-ħa-al-(ak) itself is glossed once by *ħalāqu*: ní-g-e-rím u₄-za-ħa-al-ak^{tu-ħa-la-aq} “you make evil disappear” (*VAS* 1738:32). In Proto-Izi I 383, one ms. has u₄-za-ħa-a[l-(ak?)] between entries designating pits and holes in the ground, and graves. Otherwise, it is found in: [si]-sá kù-si g₁₇ mu-e-zalag-ge si nu-sá u₄-za-ħa-al-ak-e (var. u₄-za-ħ[a-al]) “you make shine like gold what is just, make what is unjust disappear” (Enlilbani A 75ff. [*ZA* 59 (1969) 78]); u₄-za-ħa-al-ak-ba gur-ru-bi sá ma-ab-[du g₄?] “the return of what had disappeared has ... me” (*TRS* 57= 14; text uncertain, very poorly written school tablet). The morphology of this word is uncertain; it is found in parallel with finite verbal forms, but the term itself is not inflected.

3.2-4. *Post-OB*

The occurrences of NIR-*d a*, after OB, are in penitential prayers; see CAD Š/2 324, and S.M. Maul *Herzberuhigungsklagen* 446 sub š e - e r - d a, š è r - d a. (NIR-*d a* does not appear in this corpus). They will not be discussed here.

3.3. *Meaning*

For purposes of exegesis of the Nungal text, it is sufficient to prove that the semantic field of NIR-*d a* includes the meaning ‘capital crime’, *i.e.*, punishable by death. The assertion, in Nungal 97 and in [3.6], that the man who is guilty of NIR-*d a*, thanks to a compassionate deity or ruler, sometimes was not executed, shows that NIR-*d a* implied, if not always at least in some cases, punishment by death. The same conclusion can be inferred from [3.2], since the guilty party could be pardoned, lit. “given life” (*z i - s u m*). While there is no direct proof that all NIR-*d a* offenses were punishable by death, it is clear that the crimes punished by execution were classified as NIR-*d a*. Pertinent questions such as what crimes could belong to these two categories, to what extent the legal terminology fits the penal practice, who can impose the death penalty, to what extent the term applies to theological capital sins, to what extent it is used metaphorically, *etc.* deserve a study that cannot be pursued here. Suffice it to say that a comparison of the NIR-*d a* crimes with the crimes for which the death penalty is explicitly mentioned in Ur III times corroborates the proposed meaning of NIR-*d a*.²⁰

20. Leaving aside the instances of *g a z* in the law codes, (*Or* 50 (1981) 87ff.), the court record *RA* 71 (1977) 125ff. (see also M. Roth and R. Zettler *AfO* 31 [1984] 9ff.) uses *g a z - d è b a - s u m* “was given the death sentence,” lit. “was delivered to be executed” (lines 6, 25). The pardon is expressed by *l u g a l - e i n - n a - t i* “the king gave him life” (line 8), compare *z i - s u m*, above [3.2]. In a standard type of sworn declaration about the use of irrigation waters without government permission (*ITT* 3 4847, 5395, *MVN* 10 152), the farmer states that his failure to comply will result in his own execution: *i - g a z - (d a) b i - d u g*₄; compare *n i r - d a h é - a b i - d u g*₄, and variants, above [2.1-2]. A contract (*Finkelstein Mem.* Vol. 159ff.) has the clause *t u k u m n u - n a - á g g a z - d a* “if he does not repay (the grain), he has to be executed”; the objections of S. Lieberman, *JCS* 30 (1978) 91ff. are unconvincing (note, among other points, that in Ur III texts ‘to break/annul a tablet’ is *z i - i r*, not *g a z*). A Sargonic text (*MCS* 9 [1964] 252) reads *a - g a - d è^{ki} l u g a l - à m l ú n a - b i - g a z - e* “there is a king in Agade, you cannot execute an Agade citizen,” which I take to indicate a conflict of jurisdiction: only the king can impose the death penalty upon his subjects. It is not within the powers of the addressee of the letter. This interpretation differs somewhat from the ones proposed before, see M. Lambert, *RSO* 49 (1975) 163, B. Foster, *Iraq* 39 (1977) 41, C. Wilcke, *JCS* 29 (1977) 185f., with the rejoinder of Foster, *RA* 73 (1979) 179. Since some cases of negligence can be a capital offense, it may be worth quoting here the puzzling text *NRVN* 6: *PN engar en - nu - ta é di - dam! t u k u m - b i á g á - l a - d a g - g a i m - m a - g u b é k i m u - t ú m - m u - a* “PN, a farmer, has to go home from jail; if he (again) performs (his) duties with negligence, he will be immured in the house.” I propose this translation with the utmost caution; against it is the existence of a *PN é - k i* (a farmer in *TMH* NF 1 142 r. 5’) and the questionable *- d a m* (Waetzoldt’s collations in *OrAn* 14 [1975] 310 have no remark at this point). In any case, I am reluctant to follow the proposal of H. Sauren to translate *é k i n i n*(?) “(wegen seine) Schwester Eki (freigelassen)” and then inserting <š u - d u₈- a> (*ZA* 60 [1970] 78; see also C. Wilcke, *ZA* 68 [1978] 213¹²).

4. *Why a Lady Warden?*

Leaving without comment many other interesting points of the text, one question at least deserves an answer. Why the Warden of Mesopotamian jails is a woman, and not a strong man capable of keeping the inmates under control? From the perspective of the author of the text, a prison sentence is a compassionate alternative to the death penalty, and compassion in Mesopotamia is mainly a female attribute. Nungal herself is described as compassionate in several passages. But there is more. The metaphors of the text insist on the darkness of the jail and on its solid enclosure. The prison's gate is a source of light. All this points to the underlying metaphor of the jail as a womb from which a new, rehabilitated man will, after expiating his crime, emerge to the light of day. The text itself explicitly says that the jail "gives birth" (ù - t u) to an honest, just man (lines 56, 60, 103). If it has been correctly understood above, line 104 may even directly equate the solid brick walls of the jail with the womb. The metaphor has a lexical foundation which ties together the aspects of compassion and rebirth: the term for 'womb' and the term for 'compassion' are identical both in Sumerian and in Akkadian.²¹

21. a r ḫ u š, u r_x = *rēmu*; see E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des parties du corps en hébreu et en accadien* (1923) pp. 134ff. Other Semitic parallels in H. Holma Kt 104. I want to thank Dr. Jenai H. Wu for a productive discussion of the literary images of the text.

II.23

Literary Texts About Ur-Namma^{*}

During the examination of an otherwise unremarkable small group of administrative Ur III tablets in private hands, it turned out that one of the texts was a sort of hymn mentioning Ur-Namma. Approximately the lower half of the tablet is preserved. The break has been flattened out by some dealer with the naive purpose of giving the impression of a complete tablet. The present maximum dimensions are $80 \times 76 \times 26$ mm. The surface is heavily pitted and quite difficult to read, the enclosed copy by the author would have to be heavily shaded all over. Almost all signs, however, can be identified with confidence. The writing is unmistakably that of Ur III times.¹

Text

col. i

- 1' [...] / dingir-ra-na-kam
 - 2' inim-ma-an-ni / kúr-kúr-re / bí-in-SI.A
 - 3' inim šà-ga-na-ke₄ sa bí-in-dug₄
 - 4' nam-mah-a-ni / ki-en-gi-re / bí-in-[x]
 - 5' ^dutu lugal / igi-ni-šè ba-DU
 - 6' 'é?' in-nun-na-ke₄ / 'ki? mi x x'
- (end of col.)

col. ii

- 1' (traces)
- 2' KÁ.GAL 'x' [x (x)] / u₆ 'ba-ni?'-[x]
- 3' lugal mes babbar / ur^{ki}-ma / ki dūg-ge / mú-a
- 4' ḡiš an-dùl / pa gal-gal-la / 'igi' an-na gub-ba

^{*} The present article was originally published in *AuOr* 14 (1996) pp. 163-167.

1. Another contemporary copy of a Ur-Namma text is published in *Or* 59 (1985) 34ff. It seems now likely that that text, with its OB duplicate *TCL* 38 (see A. Cavigneaux *ASJ* 9 [1987] 49ff., 60), was originally an independent, complete, short piece, later incorporated into Ur-Namma's hymn B:52-68.

5' gissu-zu-uš / mu-ri mu hé-gál-la / kúr-kúr-ra dul₄-la

6' an-né igi-sag₉ / 'x'-bar / KA húl-la' ma?'x'-[x]

(end of col.)

col. iii

1 ur-^dnamma / dumu ^dnin-sumún-ke₄

2 lugal ^den-líl-le / á sum-ma

3 ^dnin-líl-le / mí zi-dè-eš / dug₄-ga'

4 ^dnin-hur-saĝ inim'-/ma <x>-ga-na / 'huĝ'-ĝá

5 ^den-ki-ke₄ / ĝeštú ma[h (x)] / sum-ma-[a?]

6 ^dnin-x x' [...]

(rest of col. broken)

col. iv

1 'ama tu-da'-zu / ^dnin-sumún / é-kiš-nu-ĝál-la / gaba-na hé-im-tab

(end)

Translation

col. i

1' He is the [...] of his god(dess).

2' All the foreign countries are full of his fame.

3' He accomplishes his projects.

4' Sumer is [...]ed by his greatness.

5' The Sun marches before the king.

6' . . .

col. ii

2' [At] the gate [of ...] is object of admiration

3' Oh King, white cedar growing in a pleasant spot in Ur.

4' A canopy of very large branches, facing the sky.

5' I(?) will keep close to your shade. Years of abundance extend over all foreign countries.

6' An is looking with a favorable eye, ... a joyful sound.

col. iii

1 Ur-Namma, son of Nin-sumun,

2 the king given strength by Enlil,

3 tenderly loved by Ninlil,

4 enthroned by the designs of Nin-hursag,

5 provided with a gre[at] intelligence by Enki.

6 The goddess(?) x [. . .]

col. iv

1 May Nin-sumun, the mother that gave you birth, hold you against her chest in the Ekišnugal.

Remarks

In the first column, the king appears in the third person, while he is directly addressed in the rest of the text. The occasion for the composition of this text cannot be inferred from its preserved parts.

col. i

2'. An interpretation reading a n - n é, instead of - a n - n i, seems forced, but of course the writing - a n - n i for the 3rd person possessive is most unusual. The tablet writes k ú r instead of k u r; taking k ú r literally as “enemy” does not seem to fit the context since, especially in ii 5', there is no implication of hostility.

3'. “Project” translates i n i m š à - g a “the words of/from the heart”; one could equally well translate “intentions” or “thoughts”, see also iii 4. The writing s a — d u g₄ instead of s á — d u g₄ is sparsely attested elsewhere, see P. Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* 632ff.; note also s a - g a r for s á - g a r in the Ibbi-Suen inscription *UET* 1 125:10.

4'. There is a deep hole in the place of the last sign, and no restoration is possible from the tablet alone.

5'. The position of l u g a l, after ^du t u, precludes taking it as an epitheton of the Sun (“The Sun, king, marches before him [Ur-Namma]”), and it is better to take the - n i as anaphoric of the immediately preceding l u g a l.

col. ii

3'. The tree mes-babbar = Akk. *tijāl/ru*, “Weisszeder” (*AHW* 1353), “conifer” (*CAD* T, forthcoming), with a synonym erin-babbar. The latter is found in Pre-Sargonic (En I 2 ii 2, 6), in Gudea Cyl A xiv 15, xxii 4; B xii 22, and in Lugalbanda II 59. The translations above are based on this synonymy. One wonders, however, if the cones of a tree of the pine family would be called g u r u n by the scribes, as in the following passage: 'x x' ^{gis}mes babbar-gin₇ gurun il-la sig₇-ga-àm “they bear fruit and are green like a *mes-babbar*-tree” (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 27) and therefore the identification as a conifer is not valid. However, the fact that a true cedar would hardly have prospered in the Ur climate (its lumber was imported, according to En I 2 ii 2) cannot be used to bolster this objection; the passage is likely to be purely metaphoric and based, not on a local tree, but on a semi-legendary, exotic one.

4'f. The passage nicely illustrates the difference between a n - d ù l “canopy, awning” giving shelter from above (and of course shade) and g i s s u, simply “shade.” It is not clear who is the subject of m u - r i: I, or: one = they = people? If the translation of the first half of the line is correct, the “logical” connection with the second half is not apparent.

6'. The x before b a r may be an optical illusion. I cannot restore the verb, but if m a - includes here the 1st person dative, then one would have to assume that the subject of m u - r i in line 5' is “I.”

col. iii

2. The pattern of the reduced clauses is here: *Agent-e Verb-a*, favored by the Ur III kings (cf. ^de n - l í l - l e m u - p à - d a in Amar-Suen 8, 9, 10, etc.),² against the pattern *Verb-a Agent-a k* used in Pre-Sargonic and Gudea (e.g. š à - g e p à - d a ^dn i n - g í r - s u - k a - k e₄ Gudea St. B ii 8ff.).

2. Note, however, (e n) k i - á g ^dn a n š e - k a - k e₄ in Šulgi 29:10.

4. Without assuming that a sign has been omitted before *ga-na*, the line does not make sense. The translation assumes that the missing sign is *ša* (cf. i 3'), but then the *-ma* seems unwarranted. The sign before *ga-* is clearly *MA*, not *DA*.

col. iv

1. The construction *gabab — tab* “to hold against the chest” is normally used with a small animal, a lamb or a kid, as the object, in which case it has the verbal prefix *im-mi-* or *i-im-*. It describes the actual presentation by a king or a hero (Gilgameš, e.g.) of the animal to a deity, or, symbolically, in the formula *máš-kadra*, “gifts and presents.” Visual representations of the scene are frequent in cylinder seals and elsewhere (C. Suter, *JCS* 43-45 [1991-93] 66ff.). Here, however, the agent is a mother goddess and the patient (despite the uncertainty created by the preceding lacuna) in all probability the king. The presentation of Ur-Namma by Nin-sumun to another deity, in keeping with the common meaning of the verbal construction and along the lines of Eannatum 1 iv 24ff., seems here far-fetched³. The exceptional use of *gabab — tab* in: *gabab im-ma-an-tab ne im-ma-an-sub* “(Enki) embraced her and kissed her” (Enki and Ninhursag 100 = 120, *ZA* 74 [1984] 18),⁴ with overt sexual connotations, is not suitable here neither. It does not seem likely that *gabab — tab* would be used here in the sense of “to nurse”, “to suckle”.⁵ It may be a simple equivalent of “sitting on the lap;”⁶ but if so a connection with adoption seems excluded since Nin-sumun is explicitly qualified of *ma-tu-da* “biological mother.”⁷ The only viable interpretation left by elimination is that “holding against the breast” is here, exceptionally, a symbol of legitimization. The image of the king held against the chest of a goddess is not found in Mesopotamian iconography, while it is frequent in Egyptian art.⁸

3. A scene in a questionable cylinder seal from Susa: M. Böhmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik* (1965) pl. xli no. 483, can hardly be interpreted this way.

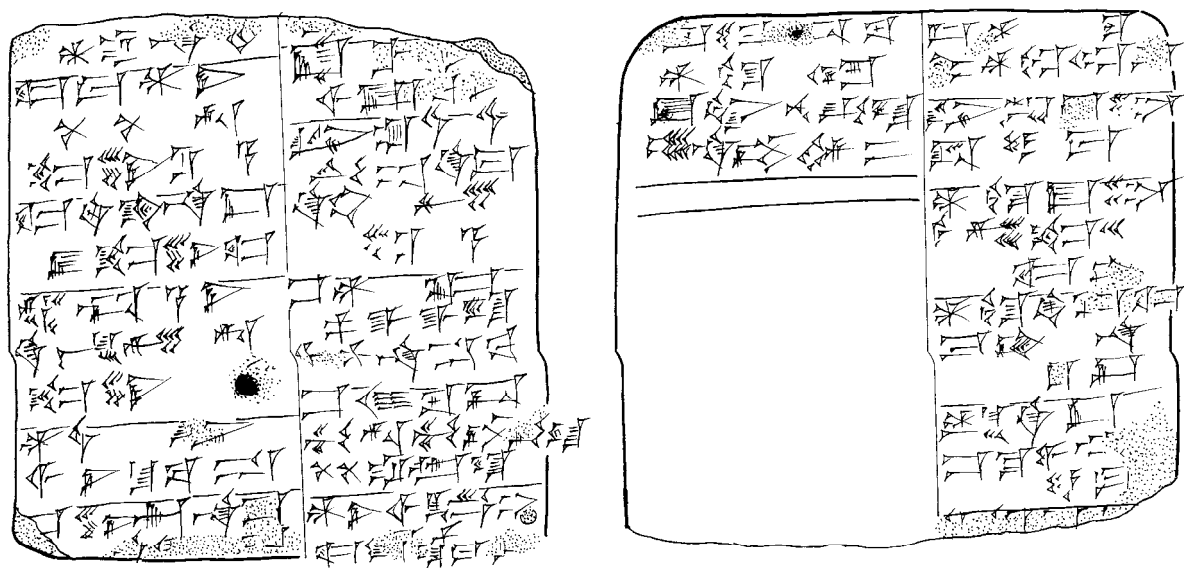
4. Source C (ibid. 18 C 13) writes *da b₃* instead of *tab*.

5. Allusions to the king being nursed by a deity are well-known, e.g., Ean. 1 iv 27f.; Lipit-eštar D 6 (Römer *SKIZ* 6:6). Closer to our text, there are references to suckling or at least to the holy breasts (*ubúr kù*) of Nin-sumun in Šulgi P b 16, 25 (Klein *PAPS* 71/1 [1981] 35).

6. Cf. *úr kù-mu-a mu-ni-íb-bu lù ĝ-èn* “I (= Nin-sumun) have raised you (= Šulgi) on my holy lap,” Šulgi P b 24 (Klein, *op. cit.*). See, for the visual representations, J.V. Canby, “The Child in Hittite Iconography” in J.V. Canby, et al., eds. *Ancient Anatolia* (M.J. Mellink Festschrift) 1986, 68 note 25.

7. See Å. Sjöberg “Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher” *OrSu* 21 (1972) 87-112; and C. Wilcke “Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit” *CRRAI* 19 (1971) 177-232, for the divine filiation and legitimization of Ur III kings.

8. In the upper register of the Ur-Namma stele, one can see two small feet of a child(?) sitting on the lap of a male deity, and there is a fragmentary relief from Tello with an adult female deity sitting on the lap of a male deity (reproduced in J.V. Canby, *Expedition* 29/1 [1987] 59, fig. 8, and 61, fig. 11, respectively), but they contribute nothing to illustrate the present text. Terry Wilfong kindly informs me that in Egypt there are a number of representations of kings sitting in the laps of either goddesses or their mother, an outstanding example is an alabaster statue of Pepy II and his mother (ca. 2350 B.C.) in the Brooklyn Museum (R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* [1974] p. 31, no. 19). Reliefs of kings being suckled on the lap of a goddess are not uncommon and appear as early as the Fifth Dynasty. Such images seem to occur most frequently when the reigning king is a minor.



The Instructions of King Ur-Ninurta: a New Fragment^{*1}

1. In 1913, H. Zimmern published the copy of a large tablet (*VAS* 10 204, with photo of the reverse in pl. 1).² Its text was later identified as the “Contest between the Bird and the Fish” and another composition, or compositions, now called “The Instructions of Ur-Ninurta,” or the like. Not until 1948 was an attempt made to translate this tablet: M. Witzel, “Ein Stück sumerischer ‘Weisheit’” (*Or* 17, pp. 1-16). While recognizing the text’s gnomic character, Witzel was unable to tell the two compositions apart and his study naturally suffers from the imperfect knowledge of literary Sumerian pervasive at the time. J. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-akkadienne* pp. 102-12 offered in 1953 a tentative, but much better translation of the “wisdom” part. In *Sumer* 11 (1955) pl. 13ff., he published a duplicate from the Iraq Museum (IM 55403), then recently excavated in Tell Harmal,³ and he later provided a revised copy of the same tablet in *TIM* 9, 1 (1976). Further duplicates were listed by the author in *Or* 41 (1972) 88f. Finally, B. Alster edited and commented the first 71 lines, using all the available duplicates, in *Or* 60 (1991) 141-57.⁴ The remainder of the “wisdom” text has not yet been the object of an up-to-date edition, doubtlessly due to its difficult textual condition: even sources from the same time and place (such as *VAS* 10 204 and 205) exhibit extreme textual variations, and the language is ungrammatical at places. The latest addition to the dossier is CBS 11945, published recently by A. Cavigneaux (*Limet Festschrift* [1996] 18-21). The

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1. És amb gran plaer i satisfacció que tinc l’honor d’oferir aquest petit treball sobre el primer fragment literari sumeri que va passar per les meves mans, ja fa uns cinquanta anys, al P. Guiu Camps a qui tant deuen els estudis bíblics i orientalistes catalans.

2. The texts *VAS* 205 and 206 are also partial duplicates of 204; see list of sources later in this article.

3. W.F. Geers had previously made a transliteration of this tablet, when studying the Tell Harmal tablets for the *CAD* project.

4. Additions in *NABU* 1992 no. 83.

tablet, probably of Middle Babylonian date,⁵ is bilingual, but unfortunately not much of its Akkadian is preserved.

2. MM 487b is a fragment (ca. 100 x 80 mm) from close to the left side of the obverse (the reverse is destroyed) of a multi-column tablet, with two columns preserved. Its original size is uncertain: the tablet had, by comparison of the text of both columns, a minimum of 35 lines per column, to which at least the two lines 30a-b have to be added. A length of only 37 lines, corresponding to ca. 180 mm, however, is somewhat surprising for a tablet that, if it had two columns per side, must have been only ca. 160 mm wide. With a total of four columns the complete tablet must have had something like 148 (= 37 x 4) lines.⁶ There are several Akkadian glosses, and two marginal marks, a short vertical wedge, of unknown significance, on col. ii 2' and 6'. The script is Middle Babylonian (cf. for instance the form of the sign HAR in ii 8f., as well as the use of šá in the glosses in i 8f.). The place of origin is likely to be, like some other tablets in the Montserrat collection, Babylon itself. The edition below, due to space limitations, covers only the lines present in some way in MM 487b.

3. For reference, a list of sources is provided here:

A	IM 55403 (translit. by F.W. Geers, <i>Sumer</i> 11 pl. xiii-xv, <i>TIM</i> 9 1) Tell Harmal. One-column tablet, complete. The text is syllabic, of low quality, and divided in three sections with partial totals at their end; last line: šu-nigín ⁷ 71 mu-bi.	= 1-71.
B	Ni 4035 (<i>SLTN</i> 137) Nippur. Center fragment of a one-column tablet of the same length as A (lines 1-71).	= 17-32, 44-61.
C	VAT 6977 + 6978 (<i>VAS</i> 2 204) Sippar. Six-column tablet, see reconstruction in <i>Or</i> 41 (1972) 88f.	= 29a?-62, 65-93, 147-86, 231-57.
D	UM 29-13-419A (photo p. 53) Nippur. Fragment from the left side of a six-column tablet with 45-50 lines per column. The lower left part appears to have been squeezed when still wet (or erased?); the reverse surface is perfectly preserved.	= 23-37, 70-79, 274'-96'.

⁵. Its editor prefers a Neo-Babylonian date. The continuing lamentable state of cuneiform paleographic studies and the ensuing need to rely on impressionistic criteria, make such disagreements inescapable.

⁶. The end would thus fall around the place where a hypothetical section D₂ starts in the reconstruction in *Or* 41 (1972) 88.

⁷. Thus and not šID, as in *Or* 60 (1991) 149. The total of the first section is barely visible on the *TIM* 9 1 copy.

- E MM 487b* (photo p. 53) = 20-33, 56-68.
Babylon(?). Four(?) -column tablet, see description above.
- The following sources of the “Instructions” do not preserve the section 1-71:
- F UM 29-15-979 (*OrSuec* 23-24 [1976] 166f., photo 180) = 84-100, 102-18.
Nippur. Most of a one-column tablet.
- G Ni 4193 (*ISCT* 1 78) = 143-52, 209-19.
Nippur. Right edge fragment of a one-column tablet.
- H VAT 6448 (+) 6479 + 6503 (*VAS* 10 205) = 154-78, 212-247, ?,
Sippur. Two large fragments of a four-column tablet of
ca. 50 lines per column.
- I VAT 6464 + 6604* (*VAS* 10 206) = 117-30, ii unplaced.
Sippur. Small center fragment of a four-column tablet.
- J CBS 11945 (A. Cavigneaux, *Limet Festschrift* 18) = 156-65, ca. 210-24.
Nippur. One-column tablet, bilingual.

4. Transliteration.

Note. The upper lines give a *free* restoration, showing how the original text may have looked. Only the lines present in MM 478 are treated here.

- 20 ní-te-a-ni dingir mu-un-da-[ab-sá-e]
A ní-[t]a-a-ni dingir [m]u-un-da-[x-r]a? im-mi?-e [(x)]
B ní []
E [] ^{im-hu-x} mu-un-da-[x-x-(x)]
- 21 ... sizkur-ra im-ma-an-gá-gá-a
A [(x)-t]a? KA.AN.NE sizkur-re im-ma-gá-gá-[(x)]
B [] sizkur-ra im-m[a-]
E [x x x] ^{sá} s[iz]kur-ra ^{i-na-aq-qú-ú} im-ma-an-g[á-gá-a]
- 22 mu dingir-ra-na mu-un-na-kal-la
A mu dingir-ra mu-un-na-[ka]l-la
B [] mu-un-n[a-]
E [-r]a-na ^{šu-qú-ru-šu} mu-un-na-kal-[la]

- 23 nam-erím ku₅-ru-da im-ma-da-ab-te-gá-a
 A nam-erím x-a-ni ib-di-da-^ˈx-^ˈ-e
 B *om.*
 D [-d]è im-ma-[]
 E [].RU-da ku₅-ru-da ^{dup-ru} im-ma-da-ab-te-gá-a
- 24 ki dingir-ra-ni-ta si-sá-bi ì-dib-bé
 A ki dingir-ra-ta si-sá-bi i-da-bé
 B [] si-sá-bi ì-[]
 C ^ˈki? ^ˈ []
 D [] si-sá-bi []
 E [-r]a-ni-ta si-sá-bi ì-dib-bé
- 25 ní-g-ú-gu-dé-a-ni in-na-ab-su-su
 A ní-g-u-gù-a-ni ní-g ab-si-^ˈsi!^ˈ
 B [] in-na-a[b-]
 C ní-g ^ˈú-^ˈ-[]
 D [] in-na-a[b!-]
 E [ní-g-ú-g]u-dé-a-ni in-na-ab-su-su
- 26 u₄-da-ni-šè u₄ mu-un-da-an-dah-e
 A ^ˈu₄-da-a-ni u₄ mu-un-dah
 B [] mu-da-an-[]
 C *om.*
 D [] u₄ mu-da-^ˈan-dah^ˈ-(x)
 E [-n]i-šè ^{ana u₄-mi-šu} u₄ mu-un-da-an-dah-e
- 27 mu tuku-a-ni mu bí-íb-diri-diri-ge
 A mu tuku-a-ni mu im-ma-^ˈsi?^ˈ
 B [m]u mu íb-[]
 C *om.*
 D [-n]i mu mu-a íb-diri-diri-[(x)]
 E [-r]a-na ^{ša-na-a-tim} mu bí-íb-diri-diri-ge
- 28 egir-ra-ni šu-gi₄-a bí-íb-gíd-gíd
 A egir-a-ni šu un-di-ib-gi₄-gi₄
 B []-gi₄-a ^ˈbí?^ˈ-[]
 C *om.*
 D [-n]i šu-gi₄ bí-íb-sud-sud
 E [egir-r]a-na ^{ú-ša-al!-la-am} šu mu-ub-gi₄-gi₄

- 29 ibila-a-ni a mu-un-na-dé-e
 A ibila-a-ni a mu-un-na-de-^{re}
 B [] a mu-un-na-d[é-e]
 C ibila-[]
 D [-n]i a mu-na-^{re}dé!'-e
 E []-^{re}a'-ni a mu-na-an-dé-e

29a-c *om. by E, attested in BC²D.*

- 30 lú níg dingir-ra-na ní-te-ge₂₆-e nu-mu-un-zu-a
 A lú-^{re}lú? níg dingir-ka ní-it-te-èn-bi nu-mu-un-[zu]-^{re}a'
 D []-^{re}x'-ni ní-te-ge₂₆ nu-mu-un-zu-a
 E [] níg dingir-ra'-na ní-te-ge₂₆-e nu-mu-un-zu-a

30a [(ni-te-a-ni dingir] nu-mu-un-da-ab-sá-e-a

30b [... sizkur-r]a? nu-um-ma-an-gá-gá-a

- 31 šu-pe-el-lá-bi nu-mu-un-na-kal-la
 A šu-up-la-bi nu-mu-na-kal-la
 B [] nu-mu-un-na-[]
 C šu-pe-e[l]
 D []-bi nu-mu-na-kal-le
 E [] nu-mu-un-na-kal-la

- 32 nam-erím ku₅-ru-da nu-mu-na-gig-ga
 A nam-erím ^{re}un-ni-ib-bé' nu-mu-un-na-te-gi₆-e
 B [] nu-mu-u[n-]
 C nam-er[ím]
 D [R]U ku₅-ru-da nu-mu-na-gig-ga
 E [nu-m]u-un-na-gig-ga

32a *only in D, see note.*

- 33 u₄ ti-la-ni si nu-sá-e
 A u₄ ti-la-a-ni ^{re}si' in-nu-sa-na-^{re}e?'
 C u₄ til-la-[]
 D [-l]a-ni si nu-sá-e
 E []-^{re}e'

(break in E)

56

A diri-šè á-šè mu-ri-gar-gar
 B [] hu-mu-ra-an-gá-[gá]
 C diri-šè ugu lú []
 E [S]I.A-š[è]

57

A ʿgúʿ-e-da hé-ri-ʿdu₈ a-sì-gaʿ-àm a-šà-ge ʿsi-si-eʿ-
 B []-da sì-ke-bi a a-šà-zu sá-sá-dè
 C gud-gin₇ da? hé-[]
 E gud-da []

58

A a-ia-aš-túb a-gàr [di]-di-te
 B [] x x x-e-dè
 C a-eštub a-gàr-e []
 E a-eštub []

59

A šu-ni-in-ta a-šà-zu a ha-ra-ab-si?
 B [] a ha-ra-ab-si
 C šu-nim-ta a-š[à-]
 E šu-nim-ta []

60

A ki e-da-ka pa-zu ha-ʿxʿ-ni-zu bí-ib-si
 B [] pa₅-zu ha-ra-ʿxʿ-[x(x)]
 C ki a-dé-k[a]
 E ki a-dug₄-ga []

61

A ʿxʿ su-zu KU-na-àm ʿšeʿ-zu [d]ah-ba-ab
 B [] x še-zu []
 C ʿsu₇ʿ-[]
 E su₇-za x KU *ku-ur-rxʿ-(...)* []

62

A šu na-ab-ta-ta [g]án še-zu ʿxʿ [tu]r?-tur-e
 C na[m?-[]
 E šu na-ab-tag-tag []

- 63 mur i-me-àm kin-gá-àm hé-en-zu
 A mu-ri-me-àm kin-ga-àm hé-[m]e?-en-zu
 E mur i-me-àm []
- 63a mur i-me-àm []
 E mur i-me-àm []
 A *om.*
- 64
 A a-ʿxʿ á? engar [-x-(x)]
 E á-ág-gá []
- A 27 mu-bi
 E *dividing line only.*
- 65 lú ní-te-a-ni ki mu-un-za-za
 A [l]ú ní-ta-a-ni ki mu-un-za-ʿzaʿ
 C ʿxʿ []
 E lú ní-te-a-ni []
- 66 lugal ere^{ki}-na-ka ní-te-gá-bi mu-un-zu
 A lú ere^{ki}-na-ka mi-it-te-èn-bi mu-un-z[u]
 C lugal erín []
 E lugal ere-na-ka []
- 67 šu-kin-dab₅-ba hé-en-zu ki-su-ub-ba hé-en-zu
 A šu-ku-un-di-ip-pa hé-en-zu ki-su-pa hé-en-ʿzuʿ
 C šu KU? []
 E šu-kin-dab₅-ba hé-[]
- 68 sun₅-sun₅-na hé-en-zu gub-bu hé-en-zu tuš-ù nu-zu-a
 A su-un-sú-na hé-en-zu gu-bu hé-en-zu tuš-šè nu-zu-ʿaʿ
 C sun₅-sun₅-[na]
 E ʿsun₅-sun₅-naʿ []

E ii breaks off here, A, B, and C continue for three more lines, followed in A by the subscript:

7 mu-bi
 šu-nigín 71 mu-bi

5. *Translation*

- (The one who knows how to respect the matters of his god:)
- 20 he voluntarily [has pleased(?)] god,
the rites he performs [...],
the name of his god is sacred to him,
he keeps away from swearing,
goes regularly to his god's place,
- 25 what he lost will be returned to him,
days will be added to his days,
years will be added to the years he has,
his descendants will be safe,
his heir will pour a libation for him.
- 30 But the one who does not know how to respect the matters of his god:
30a does not [(willingly)] please(?) god,
30b he does not perform [the rites ...],
he, despicably, considers nothing sacred,
swearing does not bother him,
the days of his life are not right,
(*break*)
- 56-64, *see comments*.
(*break*)
- 65 A man will prostrate himself,
he should know how to respect the ruler of his town,
he should know how to bow down, he should know how to kiss the ground,
- 68 he should know how to be most humble, he should know how to serve, he will not rest.
(*break*)

6. *Comments*

The first 71 lines are divided into three sections of 37, 27, and 7 lines, respectively. The last line of each section gives its “title”: “precepts” (á - á g - g á) of god (lines 1-37), “precepts” of the farmer (lines 38-64); and the very last line, preserved only in A in a syllabic form, gives something like “the one who gives orders, at the gate(?) (or inside?), of the palace, should know how ‘to wake up’ (people)” as a subscript for lines 65-71. The first section starts with an imitation of the opening lines of an epic tale, and then introduces a speaker (not identifiable because of the poor state of the text) who in order to establish a just order in the kingdom of Ur-Ninurta describes, in Nippur, “the ancient city,”⁸ the difference between the man who fears god and the one who does not. The tone and style of the precepts can be seen in the portions translated (lines 20-33), introduced by line 19 reading “the one who knows how to respect the matters of his god,” the positive counterpart of line 30. The recurring motif is the respect or fear (n í - t e -

⁸. Reading [n i b r u^{ki}] u r u ʾ u l - l a m u - u n ʾ - [...] in source B, line 1ʾ.

g á) of the deity; it is what separates the pious man from the evil one. The second section gives advice, in very general, non-technical terms, on agriculture, mostly the preparation of the fields and their irrigation. The text of this section is provided almost exclusively by A, and is thus practically untranslatable without more orthodox parallels. No continuous translation is provided here. Suggestions for translation are given in the comments. In the third section, one is requested to be extremely humble and submissive to authority. Beyond this third section, the text speaks of a king building a palace, and of his administration of justice, in terms reminiscent of the hymn to Nungal (she is actually mentioned in line 95), the divine Lady-Warden of the Mesopotamian jails.⁹ Somewhere in the gap in lines 130-34, or perhaps even before, the tone changes, and someone gives ethical advice, in an address in the second person singular. The contents of this extremely long section is quite similar to the traditional “counsels of wisdom” (see B. Alster’s remarks in *Or* 60 [1991] 142ff.).

20. The verb is restored from the presumed parallel in line 30a). The translation is based on the assumption that the gloss reads *im-hu-u[r]* (the traces of the last sign are uncertain on the tablet). Other nuances of *mahāru* are possible in the context. Among the thirty or so Sumerian translations of this verb, the equation *s á = mahāru* is attested only in A.i. II i 25, 30, with a meaning unsuitable to the present passage.

21. The beginning of the line cannot be restored; perhaps it had an adverbial of time. Line 30b is an antithetic parallel to 21.

23. The equation *t e - g á = duppuru* is attested elsewhere (Aa VIII/1:191; Izi E 96); it seems to belong to the lexical entries with antithetic meanings (see *AS* 20 133). In the basic Nippur corpus,¹⁰ *t e* appears with the comitative infix a few times with *n í* (GH:168; ŠA:070; InB:087; LSU:178), and a couple of times with *i z i* (LSU:168; GH:102); in the first case it is a true comitative, often found with verbs of emotion or states of mind (Gragg, *Infixes* 62f.); in the second, it is a case of *- d a - < - t a -* (cf. “to put *out* the fire”). Whether this *- t a - / - d a -* is the element that gives to *t e - g á* the meaning “*not* to approach” cannot be ascertained due to lack of parallel references.

24. The *- t a* is here an Akkadianism (late texts often take *- t a* as Akk. *ina*). In older texts *- t a* is sometimes used as a locative of remote deixis.

27. Translation “years” for *m u* according to the gloss in E and the context of the preceding line. Otherwise, a translation “his reputation will be vastly superior to (any other) reputation” would be perfectly defensible. Note that E must have had something other than *mu-tuku-a-ni* at the beginning.

28. There is a depression on the tablet, after the *- n a*, that looks a little bit like a U-sign, – it is just a surface pit. The verb *š u — g i₍₄₎ = šullumu*: Nigga bil. B 139; *i n i m a b - b a - š è g e š t ú^{ú-te-di-a-am} a k - d è, n í š u - a g i₄ - g i₄ - d è^{ra-ma-an-šu šu-lu-ma-am}* “inform yourself of the sayings of the elders, improve yourself” *UET* 6 371:1–3 (= Enlil Hymn 33); also Cohen, *Eršemma* 140:20ff.; Lambert, *BWL* 252 ii 3. Source D may represent a quite distinct reading: “his descendants will last long time in their old age.”

29. On careful examination, the verbal stem in D seems to be a damaged *d é* (cf. line i 18’, *ibid.*).

⁹. See M. Civil, “On Mesopotamian Jails and their Lady Warden”, in: *Hallo Festschrift* (1993) 72-78.

¹⁰. I.e., in the compositions listed in the Nippur literary catalogue. Abbreviations: GH = Gilgameš and Huwawa, InB = Ninmešarra, LSU = Lament of Sumer and Ur.

29a-c. These lines are found in the Nippur sources (B and D) and perhaps in the outside C source. Alster corrected in *NABU* 1992 no. 83 some of the imprecisions, relating to these lines, in his *Or* 60 (1991) article. Present state of these lines:

- 29a B [-n]i igi-ba-an-[]
 D [(x) x-r]a?-ni igi mu-un-ši-bar-re
 C 'x' (like ŠE?) []
- 29b B [geš]tú hé-im-m[a-]
 D [(x) x] geštú hé-bí-íb-gub-b[é] ki-bi DI-e-dè
 C níg šu? []
- 29c B [] igi ba-an-[]
 D [x x x]-ni igi ba-ni-in-suh-a
 C ibila []

Note that while the Nippur sources, despite the differences in the verbal forms, go together, there is no guarantee that C fits these lines as indicated. There is a double dividing line in D between 29b and 29c.

30. The second l ú may be erased.

30a-b. Restored from 20-21.

31. There is no clear antecedent for the - b i, and thus the nominal phrase is better taken as an adverb. The negative counterpart of line 22 is 32a, not the present line.

32. The form - t e - g e₆ in A should not be considered an attempt to render gig in a syllabic form, but rather it represents - t e - g á, by parallelism with the antithetic line 23. This syllabic writing is one argument more in favor of the reading /ĝe/ of GÁ, proposed by Edzard. Note also: g i₄- i n - m è n “I am a (female) servant” (Emesal), with a gloss GÁ- e n to - m è n (*UET* 6 386). D has a line 32a: [...] - r a - n i n u - m u - n a - k a l - e (possibly the negative counterpart of line 22).

56. Perhaps: “Let him put an effort harder than anyone else.” The optative + 2nd person dative is reminiscent of the verbal patterns of the “Farmer’s Instructions” (*AuOr Suppl.* 5 p. 24). Despite the copy in *TIM* 9, the line ends in two GAR, not one. This late passage should not be construed as invalidating the distinction, often forgotten in the Sumerological literature, between the two verbs: (a) ĝ a r / ĝ á - ĝ á “to put,” versus (b) g a r / g a r - g a r “to pile up,” as shown by passages like: g á n - n é - g á n z i - d è š e ĝ á - ĝ á ní ĝ - n a m g a r - g a r “to put barley in all the good fields, to pile up (stores of) everything” Summer and Winter 24. (b) alternates with (g ú)—g u r and is a synonym of it, but not (a). The difference between (a) and (b) explains the puzzling insistence of Ur III scribes of adding reading complements (ĝ á and/or a r) to such a common verb as ĝ a r.

57. Although one can make sense of isolated words, no satisfactory interpretation of the line seems possible at present.

58. “To have the carp-flood reach(?) the fields.” The “carp-flood” designates that time in early Spring when, after the water temperature has reached at least 16° C, the large carps spawn, with spectacular splashing, in the shallowest edges of ponds, marshes, and rivers; see B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949) 281f., and his lengthy discussion in *MSL* 8/2:97ff.¹¹ In A, the fourth sign is - t ú b, not - t u m, according to collation.

¹¹. The vexing problem of the apparent coexistence of the readings g u d and e š t u b for the same fish, can be solved in two ways: one can simply assume scribal ignorance (the logogram was given its most common reading by scribes unacquainted with

59. See Alster's comments, *Or* 60 (1991) 155.

60. "In the flooded places let your ditches be full of water," presumably referring to drainage. The reading /dak/, alongside /duk/, of KA is of unknown significance, but well attested, e.g.: da - a g Ea III 70, Prov. 5.55; da - g RA 11 144:5, VAS 2 51:8ff., UET 6 392:20; tag CT 16 38 ii 4 (compared with BIN 2 22:198).¹²

61. "Do ... in your threshing floor, add more of your grain," meaning? A verb KU is found in a similar context in Farmer's Instructions 98; here the gloss is unclear. The sign x in E, is like a NA with an indented horizontal on top, something like KU₇ in Neo-Assyrian.

62f. "And so it is! he should know about working." Cf. OBGT 1:879. The reading mu r (inferred from mu - r(i) in A) agrees with the somewhat problematic entry Aa V/2:255, and is at variance with other evidence. e.g., S^a Voc. A 9'.

62. "Do not ..., the field will be short of grain."

65. This line and line 67 accumulate synonyms for physical expressions of submission: ki - za - za and ki - su - u b are both = *šukênu* (Izi C ii 18ff.), and šu - ki n - da b₅ (discussed in JCS 28 [1976] 184-87), translated mostly by *kamāsu* "to bow down," is in fact etymologically related to the Semitic form *šukênu*. The first sign of the line in E is lú, and not lu ga l as erroneously suggested by me in *Or* 41 (1972) 88.

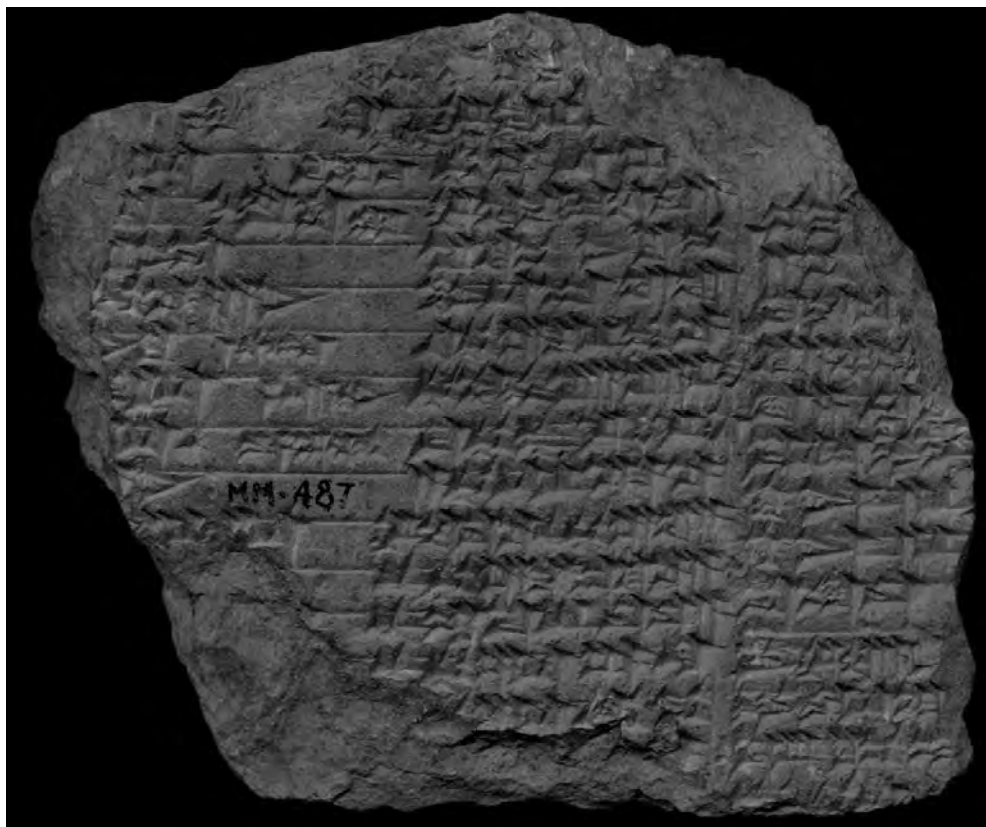
the fish names of Lower Mesopotamia), or hypothesize that the more common name of the giant carp was "bull-fish" (g u d), and only in Spring was the same fish called e š t u b, so that the latter should properly be translated "Spring carp." Note that the same word e š t u b (which does not need to mean exactly "Spring," but only something associated with it) is used as a qualification of barley ("Spring barley").

¹². P. Attinger, *Éléments de Linguistique* pp. 321 and 403, mentions these a-forms, with no elaboration beyond classifying them as "non-standard."



UM 29-13-419A (CDLI P255385)

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MM 487b (CDLI P432823)

Bilingual Teaching^{*}

The fragment published here is part of a rather unusual text: on the obverse, there is a dialogue in which one person, presumably a teacher, asks another to translate from Akkadian to Sumerian, and vice versa. Lines 5-10 contain Akkadian imperatives, translated into Sumerian in lines 13-20. These imperatives refer to making tablets. On the reverse, after line 9', someone is giving advice on how to behave in a court of law. I hope that Rykle Borger, who has taught us all so much and has made so many joins, will appreciate this rare glimpse into the didactic methods of the Old Babylonian schools.

1 *Text*

BM 54746¹ is a long fragment close to the left and bottom edges, approximately the lower half of a two(?) -column tablet.

Obv.

col. i

(gap)

1' [-r]i-du₄-[]

2' f. [(x) x x eme-uri-t]a' èn ga-ra-a[b-tar] eme-gir₁₅-bi d[ug₄-ga-ab]

4' [èn] tar-r[a-ab]

5' [ár-ḥi]-i² al-² kam² ṭi-da-am l[e-qé-e]

6' [ma-ḥ]a-a[s] ru-uq-qí-[iq]

7' [x x]-bi² -il ku-up-pí-[it]

8' [pi-si]-il² e-pu-[uś]

9' []-x²-ku²-du² ke-ši-ip du-[]

^{*} The present article was originally published in Maul, S.M. (ed.), *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994. tikiṣ santakki mala bašmu ...*, CM 10, Groningen 1998, pp. 1-7.

1. I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this text, and Dr. S. Maul for valuable suggestions.

- 10' [ak]-lam i-ši-am ku-ús-sí-[ip (?)]
 11' [] 'x' eme-gir₁₅-bi du[g₄-ga-ab]
 12' [(x) x g]a-ra-ab-[]
 13' [ul₄] 'le[?]'-eš []
 14' [i]m 'šu[?]' te-ma-[ab]
 15' [si]g-ga-ab sal-l[a-ab]
 16' [x]-'x'-a-ab gur-[ra-ab]
 17' [x š]a-kal-la-ga-ab dí-m-[ma-ab]
 18' 'x' bal-bal-a-ab HAR-[]
 19' 'ul₄-ul₄'-la-ab HI-[]
 20' [x x] il-ma-ab g[a[?]-]
 21' [(x) x x] sag₉-ga-aš d[ug₄-x-(x)]
 22' [x x]-'e[?]' eme-gir₁₅-ta èn g[a-ra-ab-tar] eme-uri-bi du[g₄-ga-ab]
 23' 'èn' tar-[ra-ab]
 24' [] ÉŠ []
 (short gap to end of col.)

Rev.

- col. iv (?) 1' [tu]kum-bi gá-e 'x x' [...] ba-e-ŠEŠ-'x'-[x-(x)]
 2' [x]-'a'-ur₄ pu-úh-rum-šè 'x' [...]
 3' [x-t]a[?]-mu inim l-àm ga-ra-ab-dug₄ KU ga 'x' [...]
 4' 'x' ab-bé-en-na-mu dug₄-ma-ab gá-e ad g[a-mu-ra-ab-gi₄]
 5' [ga]-mu-ra-ab-[dug₄[?]]
 6' [(x) x]-e LÚ×GÁ[?]tenû-a ì-gál ù LÚ×GÁ[?]tenû-a ì-[x x]
 7' [x]-'x'-mu inim l-àm ga-ra-ab-d[ug₄] gizzal h́e-em-š[i-ak]
 8' [x x] 'x' dí-m-ma-ba za-e ba-e-gar-ra-[x]
 9' [tuku]m-bi di-šè ì-du-[dè-en]
 10' [x x x] garzá lú á-ág-gá x [(x)] igi-za na-an-da-gá-g[á]
 11' [x x x] 'x' kadra ní-g-gig-bi za-e igi ba-gar-[]
 12' [x x x x]-ta ma-ni-íb-è-dè-gin₇ za-e m[i[?]-]
 13' [x x] 'x'-bi dingir-gin₇ di si-sá ku₅-ku₅-[]
 14' [dⁱ]d-lú-ru-gú-gin₇-nam á-ág[?]-gá[?] u₆ bí-in-[dug₄]
 15' [x x]-ne di si-sá ša-mu-ra-ab-su-'x'-[x]
 16' [x] 'x'-a si-ga kalag-ga-gin₇ ì-dí[m]
 17' [x] 'x-ne' bar-tam-me lú-lul-la-ne z[i] mi-ni-in-su[h-...]
 18' [x x x]-'e[?]' šeš-a-ne-ne 'x'-[]
 19' [ig]i[?] h́e-ti-e-e[n]
 20' traces (= colophon?): [... n] 'mu-bi' [...]

2. Translation

- T(eacher): 2'f I want to ask you [...] in Akkadian, [say] it in Sumerian!
 P(upil): 4' Ask!

- T (Akkadian): 5' "[quick], come here, take the clay,
6' knead it, flatten it,
7' [mix(?) it], roll it (like a ball),
8' make it thick, make (the tablet).
9' ...
10' bring me the ...-clay, cut it!"
- (Sumerian): 11' [... (now)] say it in Sumerian!
- P (Sumerian): 12' I will say it to you!
13' "[qu]ick, [come here],
14' take the clay,
15' knead it, flatten it,
16' [mix(?) it], roll it (like a ball),
17' make it thick, make (the tablet),
18' ...
19' hurry, ...
20' bring me [the ...-clay], [cut it]!"
- T (Sumerian): 21' [...] beautifully said!
- 22' I want to ask you [...] in Sumerian, say it in Akkadian:
- P (Sumerian): 23' Ask!
(break)

Rev. (= col. iv?)

- T (Sumerian): 1' If I [...], you are going to feel sorry.
2' The [...] gathered for the Assembly,
3' I am going to tell you only once, [...].
4' Say to me what I am saying, I want to give you counsel,
5' I want to [tell] you:
6' Whether there is a prisoner or whether [...] a prisoner,
7' I am to tell you only once, pay attention!
8' You will be informed(?) about the thoughts of [...].
9' If you have to go to court,
10' [...], do not consider the position of the people in power,
11' [...], you will consider the evils of the bribes.
12' [...] when he appears, you [...],
13' giving a just sentence about the [...], like a god,
14' the commands will be admired like (those of) the River of the Ordeal.
15' The [...] will [...] for you a just sentence,
16' treating the weak the same as the powerful in [...],
17' the [...] will separate the liars from the righteous ones,
18' [...] your brothers [...]
19' so you will live [...].

3. Commentary

Col. i, 2'-4' are an introductory formula in which the teacher requests the student to repeat in Sumerian what he is going to say in Akkadian. This formula is repeated in 22'-23', but this time going from Sumerian to Akkadian. Lines 5'-10' contain instructions to make tablets. A parallel list of similar terms appears in the revised version of OBGT III 74ff (see section 4). The reconstruction of the beginning of line 5' follows a suggestion of Stefan Maul. The first verb in line 7' is perhaps [šu]-⁷bi⁷-il or [šu-up]-⁷pi⁷-il; the Sumerian translation in line 16' is broken, and OBGT III offers no plausible term in this place; for the reading of the second verb of line 7' note: Hh X 434: i m - g u r - g u r = *kupputu*. The first verb in line 9' remains undeciphered; *kešēpu* is a verb of unclear meaning, with no known Sumerian equivalent; and there is a third, broken, term at the end of the line. The reading [ak]-*lam* in line 10' is based on Hh X 403, as corrected in *MSL* 9 193: i m-KAL = *ak-lu*.

Rev. (col. iv?), 1'. This line is similar to Dialogue 3:3: na-a-n-ga-ma um-mi-a-me ba-zu-zu-ma mu-e-da-ni-ŠEŠ-e-n-dè-en "furthermore, if our master is informed, we all are going to feel sorry (lit. "bitter") about it." To understand what follows, one must be aware that the scribes played a role in the legal system, not only as court recorders but also giving decisions in certain matters (acting perhaps in a capacity that could be described as "justices of the peace"): di i-du-g₄ egir-bi-šè nu-mu-un-ti-l-le-en "you sit in judgement, but afterwards you do not give a final sentence" Dialogue 1:52 (describing the incompetence of a scribe).

Rev. (col. iv?), 3'. The first preserved traces in the line, end like -t]a, -l]i, etc. ([ku-l]i - seems unlikely). Then follows a standard formula to underline the importance of the following statement, found, e.g., in the Song of the Plowing Oxen 57. It appears again below, line 7', followed by its normal continuation "please pay attention!"; I cannot explain the last verb in line 3': the sign after ga- does not seem to be -ra-; umu š(TÚG) is excluded, the sign is clearly KU.

Rev. (col. iv?), 6'. Text ambiguous: "... (either) set free (lit. "open" gál-ù) his prisoner (or) [...] his prisoner", reading LÚ×GÁN^{tenû}-a-ni gál-ù, or "... (whether) there is a prisoner or [...] a prisoner", reading LÚ×GÁN^{tenû}-a i-gál ù Note that the -a is most likely part of the logogram, pointing to a reading /š a g a/.

4. Notes on OBGT III

OBGT III (*MSL* 4 68ff) is preserved in two large sources: A = CBS 9053¹ (*PBS* 5 142), and B = Ni 10293. Several small fragments may join or duplicate these sources. Since source B, and some of the small pieces are not directly available to me at this moment, I will limit my remarks to N 4217 + N 6939, a fragment which joins B, and specially to the section parallel to lines obv. 5'-8' and 14'-17' of BM 54746. The first preserved column (= col. ii) of N 4217 + belongs in the gap 67-82 of OBGT III and restores its lines 74-81²:

74	[im ga-ab-sig]	lu am- <i>ha</i> -[aš]
75	[i]m al-sig-ge-en	a-ma-a ^h - <i>ha</i> -aš

2. N 4217 and N 6939 are transliterated in J. A. Black, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, Rome 1984, 151f, without benefit of collation and with no indication of the join; see already *MSL* SS 1, 91.

76	im nu-sìg-ge-en	ú-ul a-maḥ-aš
77	im *ḥé-sìg-ge	lu maḥ-aš
78	im' nu-sìg-ge	ú-ul i-maḥ-aš
79	'x' sal-la-ab	ru-uq-qì-iq
80	[ša]-'kalag'-ga-ab	pi-si-i[l]
81	[x]-'ak'-(x)-ab',	'ru-uq-qì'-i[q]
82	sag-bal gar-ni	'x x x x' [(x x)]

These entries include verbs used in describing the manufacture of tablets. The word *im*, “clay” must have appeared before line 74 and thus it is not translated in the Akkadian subcolumn, following the style of *OBGT* III.

Remarks

77) The tablet has a *l* -, instead of *h é* -.

79) The first sign is neither *im* nor *sal* - (against *MSL* SS 1, 91).

80) Compare *ḪḪ* X 435, now to be read *pisiltu* rather than *pišiltu*.

81) The unreadable Sumerian must have had one of the many synonyms of *sal*-(*sal*) listed in *Ni* 10269 (J. A. Black, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, 153).³

Col. iii of *N* 4217+ preserves only part of the Sumerian of five lines to be placed towards the end of the gap 109-50 of *OBGT* III:

1'	[x]-mu-ni-[x]
2'	dab ₅ -ba-ni-ib
3'	sar-ra-ab
4'	ga-sar
5'	ab-...]

Col. iv duplicates, with many variants, the Sumerian of *OBGT* III 154-71; on the right, the text of source A (*MSL* 4 72):

	B	A
155	nu-[x-x]	nu-ḥúl-ḥúl-e-ne
155a	na-a[n-x-x]	
155b	ḥé-p[eš-...]	
155c	al-peš-[peš]	
155d	nu-peš-p[eš]	
156	ḥé-ḪA-peš-[peš]	ḥé-ḪA-ḪA-e-ne
159	(omitted)	(blank)

3. Where naturally one must read *ru*-[*uq-qì-iq*] in line 6'.

160	al-búr-[búr]	al-gar-gar ^{ga-ga-ra}
161	nu-búr-b[úr]	nu-gar-gar
162	h́é-búr-bú[r]	h́é-gar-gar
163	na-an-búr-búr	na-an-gar-gar
164-67	(omitted)	al-zi-in-zi-im - <i>section</i>
168	al-gùn-gùn	al-gú-gú
169	al-sag ₁₁ -sag ₁₁	al-sa-sa
170	šu an-[x]	šu an-tál
171	šu- ^r ni x ^r -[x]	šu-ni al-íl

155b ff. The reading /p e š/ for *ubbu* is well attested: l ú - a l - p e š - p e š = *u-bu-ṭu-um* OB Lu A 84; p e š₆-p e š₆-e - n e = *ub-bi-ṭu Šurpu* VII 23; p e - e š - p e - [e š UD.UD = *ub-bu*]-ṭu Aa III/3:86⁴ etc. Note the extra ḪA in line 156 of B.

160ff. The g a r of A, with the gloss ga-ga-ra, is presumably based on k á r = *napāḫu*, while b ú r is also translated by *napāḫu* (and *namāru*), with variants b u - (r), b u₇ (and b a_{r7}, b i_{r9}), k u r.⁵

168. Insufficient data prevent an explanation of the variant g ú : g ù n; note, however, that g ú is not normally used as a verbal root.

169. Note l ú - a l - KIN- a = *zaqtu* OB Lu B iii 30; in view of the readings s a g₁₁ and s i g₁₈ of KIN (M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions*, *AuOr* Supplementa 5, Barcelona 1994, 169f), the writing s a must go back to /s a g/.

The fragment U 30643 (= *UET* 6/3 *618) from Ur, the upper left corner of a tablet with blank reverse, is a variant recension of OBG T III:

1	im ḫa ¹ -za-a[b]	[ṭi-dam ṣa-bi-it]
2	im IM.TAK ₄ -ab-ta	[ki-ri-iš]
3	im si-g-a	[ma-ḫi-iš]
4	sal-sal-la-ab	ru-[uq-qì-iq]
5	sag ¹ -bal gar-ni	šu- [...]
6	ša-ka-la-ga-ab	pi-[si-il]
7	dub dí-ma-a[b]	[e-pu-uš]
8	BU-BU mu-a-[ab?]	[]
9	ab sag [...]	[]
10	sar-[ra-ab]	[šu-ṭu-ur]
11	gub-b[a-ab]	[šu-ṭu-ur]
	(rest broken)	

4. Restored [*na-ba*]-ṭu in *CAD* N/1 22.

5. Note the synonym writings a n -NE, a n -NE- k á r, and a n - k á r in Proto-Izi I 14ff, bil. B 2ff; etc. (incorrectly given as - g á n in *MSL* 13 16, 36) for *mušlālu* and *kararū* “noon”. It is a typical case of multiple writings for apparently the same lexical entry; are all these forms to be interpreted as a single phonological shape?

BM 54746

Obv.

Rev.



Reading Gilgameš*

These are a series of “low level” remarks on the Sumerian Gilgameš narratives. They eschew the high level discussions about literary genre and structure, such as whether a composition has the shape of an eight or a “sablier,” about poetic and rhetorical forms (the reader should not expect to be delightfully surprised by the discovery of a new chiasmus), or even about historicity. The present remarks deal mostly with lexical and grammatical points, and, if they go at all into the structure and organization of the text, they follow the views of discourse grammar, rather than those, of a more impressionistic nature, familiar to the historians of literature. Questions of textual criticism are considered only when germane for the discussion of a particular point.¹

The relatively complete state of preservation and the moderate length of this epic tale make it an ideal case study not only of the multiple problems raised by the ancient Sumerian narratives, but also of the various methodologies, good and occasionally not so good, with which modern scholars tackle these problems. To keep these remarks brief, the reader is referred to the bibliography given in Dina Katz, *Gilgameš and Akka*, LOT 1, Groningen 1993. Recent additions to it are:

- Black, J.A., “Real and Unreal Conditional Sentences in Sumerian”, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 15-39, esp. 26-28.
- Lafont, B., “Review of Katz *Gilgameš and Akka*”, *BiOr* 53 (1996) 107-10.
- Pettinato G., *La saga di Gilgamesh*, Milano 1992, pp. 307-11, 399-401.
- Pettinato, G., “Il bicameralismo a Sumer: un topos letterario assunto a realtà storica”, *Rendiconti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Ser. 9, 5 (1994) 47-85.
- Shaffer, A. - Tournay, R.-J., *L’épopée de Gilgamesh*, Paris 1994, pp. 282-91.

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1. These remarks are not intended either as a critical review of previous works; not every point of disagreement is mentioned, and, regrettably, my predecessors do not always get here explicitly the praise they deserve, but they can be assured of my gratitude.

Bibliography of a mere historical interest, not listed in Katz, *Gilgameš and Akka*, can be found in:

- W.H.Ph. Römer, *Das sumerische Kurzepos "Gilgameš und Akka"*, AOAT 209/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980.

After this paper (read at the American Oriental Society Meeting in New Orleans, 1997) was written, there has been a new important contribution:²

- Wilcke, C., "Zu 'Gilgameš und Akka'. Überlegungen zur Zeit von Entstehung und Niederschrift, wie auch zum Text des Epos mit einem Exkurs zur Überlieferung von 'Šulgi A' und von 'Lugalbanda II'", M. Dietrich - O. Loretz (eds.), *Dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik. Festschrift für Willem H.Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, AOAT 253, Münster 1998, pp. 457-485.

See also:

- Yuhong, Wu, "The earliest War for the Water in Mesopotamia: Gilgameš and Agga", *NABU* 1998:103.

Wilcke (*Fs. Römer*, pp. 484-85) publishes N 3591 (which joins CBS 10355) and N 3563. I have seen a one-column tablet in private hands with the first sixty lines of the composition. It is mentioned sporadically in the following comments as text Z.

The textual transmission of GA is possibly the most thoroughly studied in the Sumerian literary corpus: Römer (*Bilgameš und Akka*), Cooper (*JCS* 33 [1981] 224-241), Vanstiphout (*AuOr* 5 [1987] 129-141), and Katz (*Gilgameš and Akka*), all elaborate in considerable detail on the manuscript transmission. None of them explicitly addresses the theoretical problems of textual history, and no discussion, which would necessarily be lengthy, of the methods will be attempted here. Suffice it to say, that matters such as the distinction between phenetic and genetic variants, the parallelism between oral and written texts (discussed below), are still in need of clarification, as is the evaluation of the scribes acceptance of, and tolerance for variability.³ A hypothesis outlined at the end of the present section could make practically impossible to establish a stemma.⁴

GA offers numerous examples of discourse ellipsis, of essential information left unsaid. A very clear case is encountered already in the first two lines: they imply that the envoys brought a diplomatic message whose contents are never made explicit. The text jumps right away to Uruk's reaction to the message.

2. These contributions, unfortunately, could not be taken into account in the text on time.

3. Important contributions to the oral vs. written question can be found in H.L.J. Vanstiphout (ed.), *Mesopotamian Epic Literature. Oral or Aural?*, Lewiston - Queenston - Lampeter 1992.

4. A couple of remarks. Sources N and J, a "perfect fit" according to Vanstiphout *AuOr* 5 (1987) 131, cannot join since they overlap in line 35. The reassignment of sigla in Vanstiphout, *NABU* 1989:99 is thus premature, and can contribute only confusion. The notion of one being able to use the tablet "cores" as a criterium in making indirect joins (*ibid.* and 133) is mostly illusory. There are a few tablets, exceedingly few, with clear traces of layering in the interior clay structure, in the great majority of cases, however, the clay is sufficiently homogenous to prevent any conclusion. Analysis of trace elements in the clay, if it turns out to be sufficiently discriminatory, could provide some help; meantime, the clues for non-immediate joins are paleographic (ductus, tablet shape, etc.) on the one hand, and orthographic and grammatical on the other.

Attempts to explain why range from an imprecise “it [the content] was given by the context” (Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once...*, Yale 1987, p. 346, note 1), to the assumption that GA continues a previous literary composition (Shaffer - Tournay, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, p. 283), or, more realistically, to the assumption of “extra-textual information that we do not possess” (Cooper, *JCS* 33 [1981] 224). In fact, it is a quite common trick for a performer-narrator to rely on common knowledge in order to establish an empathic connection with his audience. It flatters its members, implicitly complimenting them for their familiarity with the society's traditions, and contributes to make them feel part of a given social group. Appeals to this extra-textual information, understood as a general knowledge (mostly unwritten) of beliefs, tales, and traditions, are found elsewhere in Sumerian texts. In the opening line of the “Song of the Hoe,” to give an example, the predicate contains the conjunctive *-i n g a-* with no preceding text to connect to. The connection is with the world of deeds of Enlil, a word present in the mind of the audience: “The Lord has *once more* manifested himself with an everlasting deed.” Otherwise, suddenly starting a tale in medias res is accepted practice in universal folklore and poetry, there is no need to postulate a lost “Gilgameš and Akka I” and assume that what we have is its sequel.⁵ I will skip here the discussion of the nature of the assemblies; the bi-cameral congress, and similar over-interpretations. The most realistic solution, it seems to me, is to imagine a sort of, possibly customary, town meeting, or rather two divided along age lines. Nothing in the text, however, not even the adjective *g a r - r a* applied to *u n k i n*, demands the exclusion of the idea of simple, informal gatherings, one of old people, the other of youth. The assumption that Gilgameš could not act alone without the approval of the assembly is again over-interpretation. He could not go to war all by himself, did he?

Line 4, and parallels. *i n i m i - k i ĝ - k i ĝ - e*, an imperfective simultaneous with the perfective *b a - a n - g a r*, implies a deliberate choice of words; (cf. *é - m e - e š d u₁₄ n a - m u - u n - [ĝ a r]* in *l a - g a b a - a n - k i ĝ - [k i ĝ]* “Winter did not fight (yet) he kept looking for nasty insults” Winter and Sumer 154; see also ELA 237 and EEm 117; NšA 205); one can paraphrase it: G. presented the question, carefully choosing the (his own) words. Jacobsen (*The Harps that Once...*), with “was seeking, seeking for words,” seems to agree with this proposal; “en l'exposant ainsi” of Shaffer and Tournay (*L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, p. 282) is too free and colorless; Kramer (*AJA* 53 [1949] 10) “seeks out (their) word,” accepted by most translators, is somewhat pedestrian: presenting a question already implies the expectation of an answer.

Lines 5-7, and parallels. All translators understand the sentences of these lines as adverbial subordinates of purpose: “to complete ...,” “zu vollenden ...,” “pour en finir ...,” as if the suffix were *- d è*, instead of *- d a* (or *- d a m*), which forms nominalized or relative clauses with obligation: “who/which has to ...”.⁶ Note that there is no main clause from which a subordinate adverbial clause could hang from.⁷

5. Introductory passages in Sumerian literature are still in need of a systematic treatment, a little along the lines of Wilcke, “Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen”, *ZA* 67 (1977) 153-216 (for Akkadian). Such an investigation would need to consider a wide cross-cultural range of introductions. For instance, the, usually mistranslated, opening lines of the “Marriage of Martu”: “Ninab was Ninab (but) Kirtab was not yet Kirtab” (thus and not “was (not) existing”, confusing the verbs *m e* and *g á l*) has striking parallels in the world folk literature. Compare it with the opening “això era i no era” in Mallorca fairy tales.

6. In the discussions about the suffix *- d è*, appended to non-finite verbal forms in subordinate clauses, its role is not always clearly stated. It has in subordinate clauses the same role that *- š è* has in nominal phrases: to *é - š è g a - ĝ e n* “I want to go home,” corresponds *é - b a - e - d è g a - ĝ e n* “I want to go to divide an estate”. This *- d è* is typically found with verbs of intention, movement to, etc. The suffix *- d a* similarly added to a non-finite verbal form represents *- d è* plus the relative suffix *- a*.

Some translations give, unintendedly perhaps, the false impression that lines 5-7 are subordinates with their main clause(s) in line 8 (“to finish wells ... we must not submit ...”). Such translations are one of the sources of the unfounded assumption that Kish wanted to exact corvée work from the Uruk people. One must translate 5-7:

“(Oh) there are many wells that have to be finished, many wells of the land are yet to be finished,
many shallow wells of the land have yet to be finished,
many deep wells (and their) windlasses are yet to be finished.”

The connection of these words with the general discourse has been so far left unexplained, or attributed to quite unlikely reasons: Kish needed clay from Uruk (Shaffer - Tournay, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*); does it make any sense to have boats carry clay 200 miles upstream to Kish? Aka's demands concerned “irrigation works” (Katz, *Gilgamesh and Akka*, p. 17); if they were in the Uruk area, what would Kish care about irrigation 100 miles away, as the crow flies, and specially *downstream*? If Aka needed manpower in Kish itself, something would have been said about corvée work. I would propose that the mention of wells is ultimately an echo of a quite credible historico-geographic event. In its secular meanderings, the Euphrates once (and quite likely more than once) drifted away from Uruk. To keep enjoying a sufficient water supply, the habitants of the town were reduced to dig wells. Similar situations have been described by last century travelers in Southern Mesopotamia. At the beginning of the century, H.W. Cadoux, who visited the area in 1903, found that the traditional bed of the Euphrates was completely dry from al-Mussayyib all the way to 5 or 6 miles upstream from Samawa, a distance of over 150 miles, the water being carried exclusively by the al-Hindiyah canal. And he adds “numerous holes were being dug in the deepest part of the [old, dry M.C.] bed for supplying the inhabitants and soldiers with drinking-water.”⁸ It is quite likely that, already in ancient times, the westernward drift of the Euphrates bed took the river in a course away from the city.⁹ Our text suggests that its inhabitants tried to remediate the lack of water by digging wells. The folklore attributed these wells, perhaps still visible in later times, to an

Contrast é d ù - d è “to build a house” with é d ù - d a “the house which has to be built.” The combination of similar forms, but a different function, with personal pronouns, e.g. ḡ a r - r a - z u - d è is a case by itself not discussed here. Note, finally, that given the orthographic vagaries of the texts, one can sporadically find - d è where one expects - d a, and viceversa, without affecting the validity of the interpretations proposed above.

7. There is a translation ambiguity with English *to* which can mark the goal but also the simple infinitive.

8. H.W. Cadoux, “Recent Changes in the Course of the Lower Euphrates”, *The Geographic Journal: Royal Geographic Society* 28 (1906) 266-77. According to Cadoux, at that time the German Expedition to Babylon had to dig wells too. Some Sumerian lamentation passages are likely descriptions of similar conditions. Curiously, Cadoux's descriptions are at times extremely similar to those of the ancient laments; for instance, “the bridge of boats, which in ordinary times gave [to the town] an appearance of importance, was lying ignominiously on the sand of the river-bed” (p. 274). Without going into the geomorphological aspects, note only that F.R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850 (reprinted, Greenwood: New York 1969) map ix, shows a dry river bed leaving the Euphrates at Lamlum, passing next to the Warka ruins, and rejoining the Euphrates a few miles downstream from Samawa. For general information on the area, see R.M. Adams - H.J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside*, Chicago 1972.

9. The puzzling role of Uruk in Ur III times, when the town seems to play the role of a very important religious center, but not of a town with significant administrative and commercial activities, is perhaps to be explained by the lack at the time of direct access to water courses. Note that in the royal travels, going by boat from Ur to Nippur, the river stop in Uruk could have been a place giving access to the town, but not sufficiently close to feed its water needs.

initiative of Gilgamesh. There is a definite, albeit not too explicit, tradition of Gilgamesh as a well digger in the Akkadian epic (Gilg. IV i 5; Y vi 268; Meissner frag. i 3f.). After finishing a well, according to *šumma ālu*, one had to recite the now lost incantation “The Well of Gilgamesh” (Caplice, *Or* 42 [1973] 513f.).¹⁰ Later on, the dry wells, perhaps by then taken for clay pits (*issû*), were still a feature of the Uruk landscape: “one sar (of Uruk) is city buildings, one sar is orchards, and one sar clay/sand pits” (Gilg. XI 306). Finally, the interpretation proposed here could provide a motivation for a choice between *nagbu* A “source” and *nagbu* B “everything” in the opening line of Akkadian Gilgamesh: *ša nagba īmuru* would mean “the one who found out / located the water sources,” rather than the more philosophical “the one who saw everything.”¹¹ In this scenario, the mention of the wells makes sense, they had an obvious strategic importance. No resistance would be possible if the waterless town were besieged, and in any case war would delay the pressing search for essential water. Lines 5-7, and parallels, are exclamatory phrases, syntactically, but not pragmatically, unconnected with the context, tersely giving an essential factor in the choice of war or peace.

The “wells of the land” appear unexpectedly as a textual variant in Proverb 2.69 (Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Philadelphia 1949, pp. 224ff., with the addition of N 5177 and 3N-T915m). In the text, more of a minifable than a proverb, a fox calls his mate to go to Uruk and “crush it like a leek,” to go to Kulaba and step on it “like with a sandal”; they were barely 3,6 Km (var. 360 m) from the city that the city dogs started barking; and the fox said: “Geme-Tummal, Geme-Tummal (the name of the wixen), go back to your lair! evil things are roaring.” For “go back to your lair,” seven mss. have (a), but one has (b) “the wells of the land”:

- (a) dūr-zu-šè gá-nam-ma-da
- (b) túl-túl kalam-ma-ke₄.

There is an undeniable phonological resemblance,¹² but the interesting point is: how did the idea come to the head of the schoolboy writing the tablet with the variant? He must have been thinking of the legendary wells of Uruk. One could even wonder if the fable was seen as a parody of GA (“when Aka went to Uruk” equalling “when Ka went to Uruk”). Incidentally, one learns from the variant to read *túl* rather than *pú* in these lines of GA.

Line 8. The verbal forms of the formula in line 8, repeated with alternations in 14, 23, and 29, seem to have already caused trouble to the ancient scribes, to say nothing of the modern translators. A very detailed discussion of preceding opinions is found in Pettinato, *Rendiconti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Ser. 9, 5 (1994) 59ff. (add Katz, *Gilgamesh and Akka*, pp. 34ff.). The root of the trouble is first morphosyntactic: neither the deontic modal function of *na* - (prohibition or negative exhortation), nor its epistemic assertive function in narratives seem to account for the forms present in the text. There are no

10. The connection between G. and wells was noticed by Römer, *Bilgameš und Akka*, p. 48, but without drawing further conclusions.

11. A semantic play between the two meanings cannot, of course, be excluded.

12. Note that UN has a variant reading /k a n a m/ in main dialect, according to Ea IV 51 and TRS 38:10, as well as the Ebla Sign List 45: g e - n e - m (u - u m).

similar forms of deontic *na* - with 1st plural in the Nippur corpus.¹³ Secondly, some logical assumptions of the modern reader are in conflict with the transmitted text. In an attempt to cast new light on the difficulties of these lines, I would suggest (1) to leave completely aside the non-Nippurian source A; experience shows that it is a good rule of thumb the one that recommends to first group the Nippur sources together and reconstruct the text from them alone, before comparing them with non-Nippurian sources; and (2) that the readings of the tablets should be harmonized and preserved as much as possible, before proposing any emendation. The choice of variants accepted by the translators is essentially the same made by Kramer (*AJA* 53 [1949] 7). It mixes Nippur sources with A in lines 8 and 14, but otherwise does not emend sources. Only Vanstiphout (*AuOr* 5 [1987] 139), followed by Katz, boldly emends lines 23 and 29 to put them in step with the logic of the modern reader. And, finally, (3) to take into account all the possibilities: inclusion and exclusion of the addressees in the sphere of the speaker (1st person plural versus 2nd person plural), and assertion versus interrogation.

All translations so far assume that the two clauses of lines 8 and 23 are joined by a tacit adversative conjunction: “let us submit BUT not fight,” or “let us not submit BUT fight.” G.’s words seem much more natural if the two clauses are considered a disjunction. Paraphrasing: “what is your answer going to be? we do not want to submit OR we do not want to fight?”¹⁴ G. *consults* the assemblies, offering a choice and seeking agreement, he does not try to dictate a plan of action. By the use of the 1st person plural, G. makes himself a member of the age group of the elders (*ad captandam benevolentiam*), contrast this with his address to the gathered young men, line 23; G. uses there the 2nd person plural, as if deeming them his inferiors. Keeping in mind that source A will be ignored in what follows, the only significant discord¹⁵ among Nippur sources in line 8 is the 2pl. in F, a really minor and easily explainable point.

Line 14. The disagreement among Nippur sources is again minor: *ga-àm* - (“we want to become subjects ...”) in C, versus *ba-an* - (“we will become subjects ...”) in B.

Line 17. “Did not approve” (Cooper), “grieves” (Vanstiphout, *OLP* 17 [1986] 34) do not render precisely the sense of the text; “ne prit pas à coeur” (Shaffer - Tournay) is better. The phrase *ša-še nu — gíd* means “not to take seriously,” and is used of a person who is not bothered by an apparently unpleasant situation, it connotes indifference.

Line 23. Similar to line 8, but with the suffix of the 2pl. in all sources. B omits *nam* - in the first clause, like in line 14 (and 29). In the second clause, C has 1pl. (restored because of *ga-àm* -), the rest (F, J, and even B) have *nam-ba* -, J with 2pl., B with 1pl., written *-ge-[d]è-en* (an occasional abbreviated writing of *-en-dè-en*). F has an identical reading in Langdon’s copy, but the line is broken away after *sig* in the photo in *AJA* 53 pl. ii. Presumably it is an error of Langdon who took the signs from the similar line 29. Examining the spot around 1960, it did not look to me at all like a recent break. In the first half, G. does not identify himself with the social group he addresses, as he did in line 8, in the second half the sources are divided.

13. The opening lines of Enlil and Ninlil I, have also the 1st plural suffix, but the *na* - there is epistemic.

14. I must admit that the negative formulation is puzzling. If it were used only when addressing the old men, one could imagine a subtle mockery of a general negative attitude of older people, but line 23, where G. addresses the young people has the same negative pattern. The matter needs further study.

15. I disregard for the moment the alternation between *hamtu* and *marû*.

Lines 25-28. No matter what strategy is going to be used, the young men are full of energy and enthusiasm, and ready. These lines contain again *disjunctive* clauses:

“as they say: the ones who stand up OR the ones who sit down,
the ones who ride with princes OR
the ones who hold onto the haunches of a donkey,
who will have the courage for this? (i.e., to fight)”

The first members of the disjunctions describe the young men, the second disparagingly the old men, an age contrast that parallels the opposition in the attitudes of the two assemblies. The obvious conclusion is that only youth has enough courage to fight if necessary. Note that one must read -e-ne, instead of -e-dè, the forms being plural participles: The existence of “plural” roots for gub and tuš does not militate against this interpretation. Cross-linguistically, the plural in a verbal stem is not simply the result of an agreement with a plural noun phrase in the sentence, but can be an inherent plurality of the verbal stem itself. Thus one can have “pluralized singulars” and “singularized plurals” and this obtains in Sumerian where one can have not only dúr-dúr-ra-zu-dè (Farmer Instr. 98), and tuš-tuš-ù (Dialogue 5:112), but the general plural-marking forms can be added: compare à m-mi-ni-in-gub-gub-bu (Lugalbanda I 258), im-mi-ib-gub-bu-ne (Enki and the World 145), and the frequent -su₈-su₈-ge-eš.¹⁶ In line 27, the verb háš/háš₄-da b₅, lit. “to grab the thighs/haunches” seems to mean “to grab firmly someone, preventing him from escaping,” “to hold tight(?)” za-e zabar-da b₅ ù nar-gal-e PN₁ a bulla-mah-a háš₄ da b₅-bé-‘x’-en-zé-en “you, the master-of-the-cups and the chief musician, grab PN₁ at the Great Gate! (before he has a chance to escape)”; I take the verb as an imperative plural¹⁷ (Michalowski, *JCS* 30 [1978] 115:4); ga l₅-lá-e-ne háš₄-a-na i-im-da b₅-bé-eš “the gallas held him (Dumuzi) by his hips(?)” (Innanas’s Desc. 350). This line depicts the old men atop donkeys, precariously holding onto their mounts, trying to keep themselves from falling down.¹⁸

Line 29. Leaving aside B, whose scribe seems to have had problems with his verbs, the first clause has 2 pl., the second 1 pl., and, as far as one can tell, both had na m-ba-. A free translation would thus be: “you, the old men, do not have / should not submit, but we, the young ones, do not need not fight either.” In other words, neither submission nor armed conflict are inevitable. The statement adds an unpredictable twist to the plot, and creates a modicum of suspense. How are the Urukians going to get out

16. One can have, of course, at the same time intensive reduplication. A discussion here would require too much space. See M. Durie, “The Grammaticalization of Number as a Verbal Category”, *Proc. 12th Meeting of the Berkeley Ling. Soc.*, Berkeley 1986, pp. 355-70, and M. Mithun, “Lexical Categories and the Evolution of Number Marking”, M. Hammond - M. Noonan (eds.), *Theoretical Morphology*, San Diego 1988, pp. 211-34. For Sumerian, previous, somewhat incomplete, studies include J. Krecher, *WO* 4 (1968) 1-11; P. Steinkeller, *Or* 48 (1979) 54-67; and M. Yoshikawa, *ASJ* 3 (1981) 111-124.

17. The interpretation proposed there by Michalowski deserves also serious consideration.

18. Alster, *Studies in Sumerian Proverbs*, Copenhagen 1975, p. 92:28. It seems unlikely that one has to translate “holding the reins.” The term for this is zib gid: en-e zib mu-un-gid dūr^{ur} mu-dúr-ru-(un), Lugale 154 (completed by Borger, *Or* 55 [1986] 448), quoted in Comm. C to Aa II/5 r. 17’: [...] ‘x’.MEŠ: ap-pa-a-tú šá ANŠE: en zib mu-un-gid-i anše NITÁ^{ur} [‘r mu-dúr-ru-(un) : ...]; 4 lá-e zib mu-un-gid-i “holds the reins of a four-donkey team” Innana-Ebih 72f.; i-bí zi-da-zu zi-ib^{ib}EB×EŠ-ni ba-a-n-gid^{gi-id} “the one in front of your right side holds his reins” *CT* 15 14:14 (Eršemma 164).

of their predicament? The prosaic solution that simply emends the text and reads *g a - à m* - does not give sufficient credit to the storytelling skills of the ancient author, and has not understood the nature of the *drôle de guerre* that follows. The clouds of war gather at the beginning, but there is no *real* war in GA. The conflict will be resolved by the supernatural powers, manifested in the magic rays (*m e - l á m*), of the hero Gilgameš on which the young men put their confidence.

Lines 30ff. The assembled youth start singing what could be called the “Uruk national anthem.” It will be repeated towards the end (lines 107ff.). Follows an optimistic preview of the fate that awaits Aka and his hosts (lines 37-39).

Line 36. Two translations have been proposed for *s a g LUM-LUM*: one, “smasher of heads” (Cooper, Jacobsen, Katz),¹⁹ the other, based on *unnubu*, gives “Üppig gewachsener Mann” (Römer), “tête splendide” (Shaffer - Tournay). I believe that the expression cannot be kept separate from *ì - a l u m - l u m ù - l u h - h a s ù - s ù* of Gilgameš and Huwawa B (= GH B) 1, etc. It is a metaphor based on the growing vegetation, to be translated by something like “exuberant,” (cf. Civil, *The Farmer’s Instructions*, p. 88, note 90).

Line 37. *ġ e n - a - n i*, the pronoun refers to Aka, not mentioned since line 1, an extremely long anaphoric distance; for this concept and its importance in discourse structure, see T. Givón *Syntax II*, Philadelphia 1990, pp. 910ff., and Id., *Voice and Inversion*, Philadelphia 1994, pp. 9ff. The phrase *n í m u - n i - i n - t e* has to have G. (the addressee) as agent because of the *m u -* prefix.

Line 38. The suffix *- b i* is probably here a demonstrative “that army” (Cooper), although Kish cannot be excluded as antecedent, given the anaphoric perspective of the author; cf. precedent line and also the following line 39.

Line 45. First mention of the *m e - l á m*, the “radiating aura,” the superhuman power that will be ultimately the instrument of victory.

Line 53. The verb has been variously translated: “frown” (Kramer), implicitly based on *ì g i — s u h = nekelmû*, but incongruent in the context; “lassen die Augen (vor Wut fast) heraustreten” (Römer), inspired on *ì g i — s u h = balāšu*, hardly better fitting; “look worried” (Cooper, lexical source unspecified) inspired “look despondent” (Vanstiphout), and “look alarmed” (Katz), and, presumably, “vous êtes troublés” (Shaffer - Tournay); “are all frowning” (Jacobsen), *balāšu* again. No one seems to have noticed that C+ N 1250 has [*ì g i m u - u n*]-*z à g - z à g - e n - z é - e n* “I have chosen you”;²⁰ source Z has similarly *ì g i z à g - z à g - e - e n - x - e n*. The verb is *ì g i — z à g = nasāqu A* “to select,” and still better = *bêru A* “to select,” typically said of elite troupes. The variant with *ì g i — s u h* must have here a similar meaning, since *suh* is also *nasāqu A*. The suffix *- ù - n e* in B and I, “my warriors! (I have chosen *them*!)” would be an (ironical) aside, of the type found in the school dialogues. The form *ì g i m u - u n - s u h - s u h - e n - z é - e n* in Vanstiphout (*OLP* 17 [1986] 44; *AuOr* 5 [1987] 139) is a manufactured hybrid not given by any source.

19. It is difficult to tell on which lexical equation this is based: LUM has no less than 73 entries in Aa V/1.

20. The provisional transliteration in Cooper, *JCS* 33 (1981) 234 is misleading at this point.

Line 55. For the personal name, compare perhaps the implement ^{gi8}BIR-DU-tur-ra *MSL* 6 152:113, after bird traps, but of meaning unknown. Text Z has in all instances what looks like a sign DA, instead of HAR. The official's name is obviously humoristic, based on an implement but susceptible perhaps of a word play: "kidney" (ellaĝ), or "butterfly" (giriš) (Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, Cambridge 1970 [1957], p. 382). Such wordplays, of course, would enter into consideration only as visual, graphic, not phonic plays. The office of sag-lugal "head of the royal household(?)" is treated in sources F and M here as a compound, in C, and now in Z, as a genitival construction. In Enki and Ninmah (CT 42 28:13) it is treated, if it is the same thing, as a genitival construction.

Line 56. Lit. "pleased his king," in the sense that he tried to do something to please him, is preferable to "said enthusiastically" (Cooper), or "praised" (Jacobsen, Katz). The meaning of mī—du_g is essentially "to do something nice for someone," "to treat something nicely" (e.g. "to decorate").

Line 57. Fragment N 1250 adds a line [...]-na-gu₄-gu₄-ud, something like "I will go prancing towards him."

Line 62. Compare sukud = *kapāšu* in Comm. to Aa 8/3:20f. I suspect that this *kapāšu* is only a variant of *kabāšu* and thus sukud means here some sort of headgear or crest (*kubšu*). Note also sukud = *šapāru ša qarni*, next to sukud = *kapāšu* Comm. to Aa 8/3 *ibid.*; this is *šapāru* B in CAD, to be translated by something like "to adorn the horns with streamers", and identical with the *šepēru* that gives *šipru* "crest" and the like. Some kind of ornate headgear, indicative of his rank, is forcibly removed from the official's head. The implication here is that it is an humiliating act. In any case, translations such as "they beat from head to toe" (Cooper), "gave a thorough beating" (Katz), and especially, with subject switch, "(the official) had to pound down and pound down his bludgeon" (Jacobsen, misreading ZUGUD instead of SUKUD, and followed by Shaffer and Tournay) are unwarranted, as are all the translations based on an old misreading of SUKUD as UZU. In any case, a physical beating, expressly mentioned in line 82, is here excluded.

Line 69. The final vowel after -zu marks the interrogative, and this is one of the exceptional cases with a written indication that questions had, not surprisingly, a special intonation; see my remarks in *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mél. Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, p. 73.

Lines 71ff. These lines are discussed in Black, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 26ff. (see previously Klein, *JAOS* 103 [1983] 201-203); my interpretation differs: I assume that line 71 is a conditional expressing a hypothesis contrary to fact, and that lines 72-75 describe the consequences that would obtain if the hypothesis were true. Lines 76ff. describe, with negative clauses *in the indicative*, the factual situation resulting from the non-truth of the premise in line 71. Shaffer and Tournay translate correctly 71 and 72-75, but take 76ff. as interrogative clauses. I would translate:

- 71 If that man over there were my king,
- 72 his forehead would be terrifying, etc.
- 76 (but) no multitudes have fallen down, etc.

Thus lines 72-75 are not syntactic parallels to line 71, but form a complex, coordinated apodosis. The transformation of NP₁-a ni NP₂ into NP₁ NP₂-a ni (which gives lit. "a terrifying forehead would be his")

is discussed in Klein, *JAOS* 103 [1983] 201-203; the peculiar syntax, however, does not invalidate for these lines²¹ a translation “his NP₁ would be (of) NP₂”

Line 98. South Mesopotamian boats had typically extremely high end tips at bow and stern, to the point that a boat may be compared to a moon crescent, and vice versa, in the literature. It is believed that this facilitated the handling of the craft among tall aquatic vegetation, but the practical or symbolic consequences of breaking the “horns” of a boat are not clear but certainly bad. It could be a simple synecdoche implying the total breaking of a boat.

Lines 101ff. G. could do anything of Aka. He could make him his subject, assigning him to any rank he wanted, from lowly u g u l a (more “sargent” than “lieutenant”) to general of the army, but instead sets him free, purportedly in gratitude for a previous favor, but it is clear that Aka is completely paralyzed and defeated, he would have no chance against the superhuman powers of G., were he foolish enough to attempt a new attack. The nature of the favor, unfortunately, is a matter of speculation.

Line 104. Note that the variant of C, with the infrequent form m u - e - s u m, should not be translated “you have given me.” The omission of the dative and object infixes, as well as the prefix m u - e -, topicalize the agent and, secondarily, the action itself (Edzard, *WO* 8/2 [1976] 177 calls such forms “der völlig absolute Gebrauch”); one could paraphrase “you are a (life) giver.” The text (m a - a n -) of L and O, of course, authorizes the translation “you gave me.”

Lines 107-10. It is generally assumed that the words of the “Uruk national anthem” are uttered by Aka. It seems better to leave it to the audience of courtiers and armed men that thus celebrates the victory. The “singing” does not really interrupt G.’s speech, it is simultaneous with it: “G. said to Aka: ... (meantime the entourage said): ‘Uruk, workshop of the gods ...’.” A modern writer would say something like “at the shouts of ‘Long life Uruk!,’ Gilgameš, etc.” G.’s speech flows with no interruption from lines 106 to 111.

Line 110. The restoration in source C: š u - m[u g i₄ - m a - a b] (Vanstiphout, *AuOr* 5 [1987] 141; Katz, *Gilgameš and Akka*, p. 45) does not have any syntactic parallel in the Nippur corpus. š u — g i₄ “to return” does not have such a construction: š u, followed by a personal pronoun or not, is in the locative.

The whole point of the tale is to show the supernatural powers of G. He alone, by its sole presence, appearing with his radiating aura at the top of the city wall, overwhelms the Kish army (lines 84ff.). All the previous episodes are there to make clear how no one can truly help him, he acts all alone, self-sufficient, like a true epic hero.

- (1) He does not need the support of the elders of the city.
- (2) The young men enthusiastically follow the hero, but they are inexperienced and ineffectual.
- (3) The s a g - l u g a l offers help (to negotiate or in a singular combat?); he fails miserably.
- (4) Enkidu and the Uruk militia prepare a sortie, but they are not needed.

These themes form a sort of crescendo from the less significant (the approval and support of the elders) to the potentially most powerful, the armed assistance of his companion Enkidu and of his men. A secondary and synchronous narrative layer (including the mistaken identification of z a b a r - d a b₅) aims

21. This statement does not apply to all passages adduced by Klein, they represent more than one syntactic construction.

in the same direction: guides the interest of the audience to the place in the landscape of the tale where G. and his magic rays will appear. If the people of Uruk, its soldiers, and weapons are mentioned it is simply to show that they alone could not win. The ridiculous attempt of BIRHURt u r underlines the lack of military savoir-faire, and if Enkidu and the Uruk militia get ready for a sortie it is only to show that they are not really needed to win the day.

As for the general tone of the tale, I believe that it is full of humorous touches: the ridiculous old men, BIRHURt u r²² coming out of the gates dancing (see above comment to line 57), having the possibly pompous hat and insignia unceremoniously removed, his inept handling of the situation and his beating, etc. even the conclusion itself. After the defeat, G. lets Aka go, (in a sporty gesture not unlike the fisherman putting back in the water the “big one”). We may discuss solemnly the value of GA as historical source (about the same of the “Chanson de Roland,” in my opinion) and what it reveals about political history (the old generation and the young do not agree, not really a revelation ...). Most of the humor is not recoverable, and, as usual, dissecting what is accessible kills it. I suspect that the entertainment value of the tale was considerable, perhaps it could be compared to a libretto for a zarzuela ... even if we cannot enjoy it as such. In conclusion, we have here a comedy intended to lift up the spirits of the Urukians finding themselves in some particular trying circumstances.

Reading GA one gets the impression that a recitation limited to the text as written on the tablet would have resulted in a short, flat, and lackluster performance indeed. It seems unlikely that the text of the tablets is all that there is to the GA story. No matter how artificially narrated, the performance of reading or singing the text itself would have lasted no more than a few minutes. At this point, a hypothesis comes to mind. As it is now generally accepted, the “literary” texts, at least the narrative ones, were above all traditional oral compositions, meant to be recited or sung in public performances, accompanied some times by a musical instrument. I would suggest that the written texts of the same compositions are secondary in the sense that they were *abbreviated* versions whose purpose was (a) the training of singers and similar performers in special centers, and (b) the preservation of the composition themselves; they were not intended to be “read” in any usual sense. The main point here is that oral and written versions of the same composition were in principle *different*. Oral texts were not in all cases simply a link in the transmission of the written text, but were autonomous entities having a life of their own. Once in a while some were written down. The situation is enormously complex for several reasons and the rules must have been quite different according to the various text genres. The “popularity” of different texts may have been very variable: some may have had an existence limited to very ritualized performances in a cultural or royal court setting, others may have had repeated, informal performances in settings that could be called private. The first would tend to have a stable textual history, the latter would be more changeable, with all kinds of gradations in between. Furthermore, a text forgotten in the oral tradition may have been “discovered” on an old tablet and brought back to life. There are, for instance, in OB times, adaptations of ED texts from rediscovered tablets, the scribe trying to reproduce, not always successfully, the obsolete signs, and adding glosses to try to give the ancient pronunciation. The examples are mostly lexical, and none so far narrative, but there is no reason whatsoever why this may not have happened to an “epic” story too.

22. There is something fishy about this character: would s a g - l u g a l be here a euphemism for “eunuch”, patterned after s a g - u r - s a g?

If the hypothesis that written texts were abbreviated is correct, it is extremely important to determine, if possible, the criteria governing the compression of a relatively lengthy performance to fit the space of a few tablet columns. If the tablet was only a learning tool or a mnemonic help delineating the essentials of a composition, the instances when an important change of scene or a long trip are reduced to half a line of text, or the silences that hide apparently momentous events (some of the ones in GA have been pointed out above) become explainable. These holes could be filled in during the performance with “the tools of the trade”: stock phrases and the traditional formulae so dear to literary historians. Why, on the other hand, are repetitions given in full? First, there may be hidden repetitions with only the first and perhaps the last line given, repetitions that are now undetectable. When the repetition involves changes of dialect, as in G. and Enkidu, or some of the lines are altered, no explanation is needed. More difficult to justify are identically worded repetitions. Perhaps faithfulness in the repetitions was seen as the hallmark of a narrators skill, perhaps the audience repeated the text along with the performer and was very demanding, refusing any changes.

The existence side by side of a long, living oral version and a short written one would create a constant feeding and counterfeeding of textual variants. Without getting into details, it is easy to see how this could complicate in unexpected, and undetectable ways the genealogy of the manuscripts.

There is more to the matter that I could possibly explain here. I am not denying that there may have been tablets meant to be written texts and nothing else, not only the copies of the Ekur inscriptions in Nippur, and also many short lyrical poems, for instance. Each genre has its own rules. I am convinced, however, that despite the impression given by the existence itself of a writing system, and by the abundance of tablets, the literary culture of Mesopotamia, at least up to the end of the OB period, was a culture of the spoken word, not of the written word.

Finally, if my proposed interpretation of the passage about the wells is correct, it shows that the Sumerologist must pay attention to the concrete, physical circumstances surrounding the creation of the text. A further example can be found in the tale of “Gilgameš and Huwawa.” At the very end of the story G. and Enkidu had brought Huwawa’s head in a sack, and presented it to Enlil who is displeased and asks why they have acted this way. And Enlil tells them (line 189ff.): “he will dwell before your eyes, he will be fed what you eat, he will be given to drink what you drink, he will be placed as a fitting ornament in the temple(s) of the great gods!” The first three lines are given here according to Edzard’s edition,²³ but the last one (192) is based on a different reading of sources NiC and NiI (+ NIA). Instead of [d^hu]-w a - w a ..., I believe that NiI has to be read: [é d i n g i r] g a l^l-g a l^l-, and, combined with NiC,²⁴ the line can be restored:

[é dingir] gal^l-gal^l-e-ne-ka me-te-aš hé-em-mi-ĝá[l]

“it (H.’s head) will be placed as an ornament in the temple of the great gods.”

23. D.O. Edzard, “Gilgameš und Huwawa A. II. Teil”, *ZA* 81 (1991) 229-230.

24. I cannot see the -z] u at the beginning of the line in NiC; - k a is found only in this source and is omitted by NiI.

The topos *me-te-(aš)—ĝál* is well-known and said mostly of locations, buildings or parts thereof. A stone head of Huwawa was found in situ in Tell al-Rimah next to or as part of a gate in an OB temple (Iraq 27 72 and pl. 16a)²⁵. The relation with the literary passage is obvious.

25. A very good overview of the visual representations (and everything else on the subject) of Huwawa is given by C. Wilcke, *RLA* 4 (1972-75) 535. The Tell al-Rimah heads are mentioned there, but without relating them to textual materials. Major additions for representations: J.-L. Huot, “Le meurtre de Humbaba”, *Larsa: travaux de 1985*, Paris 1989, pp. 163-73; W.G. Lambert, “Gilgamesh in Literature and Art: The Second and First Millennia”, A.E. Farkas *et al.* (eds.), *Monsters and demons in the ancient and medieval worlds: papers presented in honor of Edith Porada*, Mainz on Rhine 1987, pp. 37-52.

Reading Gilgameš II: Gilgameš and Huwawa*

What follows are a few disjointed remarks on the tale “Gilgameš and Huwawa”, on the same vein than the ones on “Gilgameš and Aka” in *AuOr* 17/18 (1999/2000) 179-89.¹ It is a pleasure to offer them to Claus Wilcke to whom we owe so many thorough studies and deep insights into the cuneiform world.

“Gilgameš and Huwawa” (GH) is quite different, both textually and structurally, from “Gilgameš and Aka” (GA), and its analysis is much more complex. The latter I see as a sort of political play to amuse the Urukeans and lift their spirits in a crisis, its author a sort of distant predecessor of Aristophanes who in “The Frogs” tries to lift the spirits of the Athenians during the crisis of 411-407 B.C. and proposes Alcibiades as their savior, while the first is a typical folktale² whose survival into the Hellenic world could be anecdotally illustrated, for instance, by the metope in the Palermo Museum representing Perseus killing Medusa.^{2a} As a living folktale, GH was constantly changing and this is reflected in its textual complexity. D. O. Edzard has given a painstaking reconstruction of the entangled textual tradition that will be the basis for all future studies.³ There is no room here for a general overview of the text of the tale and its problems, and only a few remarks, mostly on version A, will be made.

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1. Some of the comments, especially those to line 106, were made before, in the Web in the “Sumerian Lexical Archive” (henceforth SLA). They are repeated here in an updated and revised form because of the limited diffusion of the electronic version.

2. N. Forsyth, *ASJ* 3 (1981) 13-29, places the story within the by now classic folk tale typologies of Propp and Aarne-Thompson. The plot needs reevaluation within the folk tale frame: one can hardly say that in GH the hero emerges victorious.

2a. See most recently B. Gufler, *Orientalische Wurzeln griechischer Gorgo-Darstellungen*, in: M. Schuol et al. (eds.), *Grenzüberschreitungen. Formen des Kontaktes zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum* (Stuttgart 2002) 61-81.

3. Version A: *ZA* 80 (1990) 165-203; 81 (1991) 165-233; Version B: *SBAW* 1993/4. Whenever a source is quoted I use Edzard’s sigla, except that letter repetitions are replaced by numbers, e.g. NiFFF = NiF3. Note in Edzard’s source list that NiI (Ni 9904 [ISET 2 46]) joins NiA (see discussion of lines 193ff.). NiK = YBC! 9857 is not from Nippur. Note the translations of A. Shaffer in: R. J. Toumay/A. Shaffer, *L’épopée de Gilgamesh* (Paris 1994) 292-305; A. R. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (London 1999) 149-166; J. A. Black, in: id. et al., *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk), Oxford 2000.

26.⁴ “I contemplate the corpses drift(ing) in the water, the river” (as a result of an epidemic, a flood, or a battle) would perhaps be better than “make almost overflow” (*ETCSL*), “treiben” or “bringen ... schier zum Überlaufen” (Edzard); “flottaient” (Tournay/Shaffer) is better. The first half of the parallel line in B 8 seems grammatically preferable, the endless *íd* being somewhat of a problem in A. Perhaps *íb-dirige₄* (B, source A) > *íd-dirige*, by assimilation in some point in the tradition. It is likely that there is here a word play between a *d₆-dirig* “drifting corpses” and a *d-dirig* “rafts going downstream”.

36-44. The seven brother warriors should not be considered some sort of monsters. The description of each warrior is a metaphorical one pointing out his abilities as guide and protector of the traveler. The text is at present impossible to restore in detail: the Nippur sources are almost totally lost, and the sources from Kish and Ur give only fragmentary lines. The repetition of the row in A 59 abbreviates the enumeration by giving only the first line. In any case, as the text stands now, the lion paws and eagle talons are a stereotyped allusion to physical strength (in our case, protection of the travelers or caravan, and mountain climbing), the snakes refer to the ability to slip through difficult spots of the road, the fourth is expert on lighting fires, the sixth knows how to handle the onrushing river waters, and the seventh knows how to face stormy weather (“at his side no one will turn back”). Everything points to travel in the mountains rather than in the desert. The conclusion of the enumeration is hopelessly lost in version A, ending in “they will be able to show the way”. Version B 47-49 expands the theme in three lines ending in *zu-me-eš*: “they know the shortcuts, like traveling merchants, they know the ‘windows’ (= cave openings) of the mountain, like pigeons.” A 44e = B 45 (expanded in 46), “in the sky they are (guiding) stars, in the earth they know the way.”⁵ The theme of traveling on land guided by the constellations is very sparsely alluded to in the Sumerian literature. In ELA 161f. the royal messenger “at night walks (guided) by the stars, in daylight he walks by (the position) of the Sun in the sky”. Perhaps the difficult end of the final section of Lugalbanda I refers to the stars under this angle. The help of the stars in the sea is described in EWO 287-89:

- 287) ab šà-bi gu-sùh-a níĝ lú nu-zu-a
 288) [ab?] ‘sig?’ du-bi ^{mul}iku du-a
 289) [ab] kù-ga igi-nim-ma du-bi ^{mul}gigir-šè ì-du

The heart of the sea is a confusing matter⁶ that men do not know,
 The [sea] traveler that goes South is going by the Field constellation (= Pegasus),
 The holy sea’s traveler⁷ going North, goes by the Chariot constellation.

4. Note that in the preceding line in B 7, source C has clearly *u g u - m u*, for *g ú - m u*.

5. Note the mention of Nidaba in A 44d. Was Nidaba an expert on astronomical matters, besides writing? The passage Gudea cyl. A v 25-vi 1, as well as the use of *m u l* “star” to designate cuneiform writing, could point in that direction. Cf. also Lugal 726: “Nidaba, the good woman, consulting the stars of heaven”. The stars seem already to appear, together with Nidaba, in an Early Dynastic sort of colophon studied by J. Krecher, *BiOr* 35 (1978) 158. Going back to the esoteric angle, was the knowledge of the stars as traveling guide secret lore? Perhaps it was something like the secret charts of the pilots of the Portuguese and Spanish ships navigating in the Far East waters in the XVIth century. On the other hand, it could have been the opposite, an ancient knowledge, with prehistoric roots, so widespread and culturally entrenched that it is taken for granted in the texts.

6. Lit. “entangled threads”.

It would be interesting to investigate whether to each of the seven brothers corresponds a star or constellation, but so little is known about the most ancient, i. e. before the middle of the second millennium, astronomical knowledge and the attendant mythology, that this would require a long investigation likely to end with unrewarding results.

45 (= 60 = B 50). The beginning of the line *má-ùr-má-ùr ħur-saĝ-ĝá-ka* is more problematic than the quasi unanimity of translations leads one to suspect:

“Schlucht” (Edzard 1991), “défilé” (Tournay/Shaffer 1994), “mountain passes” (George 1999), “valleys” (*ETCSL* 2000), etc. No justification has been provided, so far as I know, for these translations. They seem to be an intuition inferred from the context, perhaps under the unconscious influence of the assonance with *á-úr* “a hidden place”, said sometimes of a place in the mountains (see simply *PSD* A 1/2 116 s.v.).

Despite the absence of the determinative *ĝiš*, I believe that *má* has to be taken in its normal meaning of “boat”. The difficulty resides in finding out what boats may be doing in the mountains. The clue for the solution is provided by two field names in the Nippur Forerunner to *Hh* XX-XXII:

143) *a-ša-a-má-ùr-ùr*

144) *a-ša-a-má-su-su*

These lines were preserved, with a few unimportant changes in the late tradition: *Hh* XX 5: 1-2 *a-ša^{giš}má ru-r[u-gú]*, *a-ša^{giš}má su-su*. The Akkadian column is broken in the *MSL* 11 edition, but partially preserved now in Gesche, *AOAT* 275 592 (BM 72143: 1'-2'), collated by I. L. Finkel. The text can now be restored:

1' *a-ša^{giš}má ru-r[u-gú]* = [*m*]u!-uš!-[...]

2' *a-ša^{giš}má su-su* = [*e*]q-lu mu-ti[r (...)]e-le!p!⁸

The reconstruction of the Akkadian is tricky, see below. The verbs *ùr* and *su* are antonyms with the meaning “to refloat” or “to pull (a sunken boat) out of the water”, and “to sink”, respectively. The verb *su* “to sink” is uncontroversial, but the particular meaning of *ùr* required here does not seem to have been pointed out so far. In the Ur III texts, the operation of raising a sunken boat (*má su-a*)⁹ out of the water is expressed by the verb *ùr*: *x gur uš u₄ y-šè má su-a a-ta ùr-ra* “x workmen for y days to pull out of the water a sunken boat” Nik 2 115, A 2215 (unpub.), Sigrist Yale 1551, 1154, etc. The operation *ùr* has two phases: bailing out the water (*ba-a*l), and pulling out the refloated boat (*a-ta tùm/túm-ma*), see Nik 2 112 and *MVN* 16 785. Cf. also *MVN* 19 500: 4f. There is a proverb (Alster Proverbs: SP 1.88, see also SP 3.157 and 7.21) that reads: *ĝišmá ħa-ba-su-su bára ga-ba-ra-a b-ùr* “if the boat sinks, I want to pull out the sacks,” i. e., “I want to save the cargo.”¹⁰

7. The -bi after *du* goes back to *ab kù-ga* (inverted genitive): “of the the holy sea, its traveler (going) North”.

8. Required by the MIN of the two following lines.

9. The term for “empty boat” is in Ur III *má su-d*, in some cases written *má-su*, thus creating a potential confusion with “sunken boat”.

10. Alster, following Jacobsen apud Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs* (Philadelphia 1959) 463, translates “let me throw overboard”.

Once the general meaning of $\dot{u}r$ is established as “to raise a boat out of the water”, it can be assumed that it can happen that the boat in question either sank by accident, or had to be raised out of the water for some other reason. Navigating in rivers of no great depth one will reach sooner or later spots so shallow that continuation by water is no longer possible; the boats have either to be abandoned or hauled overland until the water is again deep enough. This is the operation designed by the word “portage”,¹¹ and the place where these conditions appear is designed in Sumerian by $\acute{m}\acute{a}-\dot{u}r-\acute{m}\acute{a}-\dot{u}r \quad \dot{h}ur-sa\acute{g}-\acute{g}\acute{a}$. Thus the sense of the line, to be freely translated “they will take you to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be taken out of the water”,¹² is that Gilgameš and his companions, traveling by boat, will be led upstream by the seven warriors up to a point where progress by water is no longer possible, the boat(s) will have to be abandoned and the trip will continue by land across the mountains. In the elliptic style of the epic narratives, the fact that the expedition travels by boat to the Cedar Mountains is simply implied by the line under discussion. A similar trip to the mountains by boat is described in Enmerkar and Ensuhuškešdanna 148-49 // 161-62: $unug^{ki}-ge \quad n\acute{i}\acute{g}-gur_{11} \quad n\acute{i}-ba-ta$ (var.- ke_4) $\acute{g}is\acute{m}\acute{a} \quad \dot{h}\acute{e}-em-da-g\acute{i}d-d\acute{e}$, $\acute{g}is\acute{m}\acute{a} \quad \dot{h}\acute{e}-em-da-l\acute{a}-e \quad \acute{e}-za-g\acute{i}n \quad aratta^{ki}-\acute{s}\acute{h}\acute{e}$ (vars. - ka , - a) “the people of Uruk will tow boat(s) with their own goods, they will haul the boats (or “they will make rafts”) in the direction of the Ezagin of Aratta”.¹³ One could imagine one such a route, partly fluvial, partly across mountains, following, for instance, the Diyala and then the Abbassan, or the like.

The passage of canonical $\dot{H}\dot{h}$ XX can now be considered. The Sumerian of line 1’ has $ru-ru$ instead of $\dot{u}r-\dot{u}r$, not too serious a problem in itself, but then seems to add a $g\acute{u}$, incompatible with the original $\dot{u}r-\dot{u}r$. A possible explanation is a confusion of the original form $\acute{m}\acute{a}-\dot{u}r-\dot{u}r$ with $\acute{m}\acute{a}-ru-g\acute{u}$ “a boat sailing upstream” (Akk. *māhirtu*). This confusion is evident in $\acute{g}is\acute{m}\acute{a} \quad ru-ru-g\acute{u} = \acute{s}aq\acute{u} \acute{s}a \quad eleppi$ “to raise a (sunken) boat” Nabnitu XXV 263, with the Sumerian practically identical to our line 1’ and very likely a quotation of it. The Akkadian of this line, however, remains of unclear restoration. The Akkadian of line 2’, only of indirect relevance for the discussion, seems to be based again on a misunderstanding: $su-su$ is not translated by the expected *tebū* “to sink”, the scribe takes instead $su-su$ in its meaning “to return, to replace” (Akk. *rābu, turru*), inappropriate in our context, resulting in *mutirru*.

55. The reading $\acute{a}-sur$ proposed in SLA is possibly incorrect. BM 85983,¹⁴ an unpublished Forerunner to $\dot{H}\dot{h}$ XI-XII gives in iv 24f.: $uruda\acute{a}-a\acute{s}-ga-r = \acute{a}-a\acute{s}-g\acute{a}-ru, \quad nap-ta-q\acute{u}$.

106. $lu\acute{2} \quad nu-ti-l-e$ ($\acute{g}is$) $\acute{m}\acute{a}-da-l\acute{a} \quad nu-su-su$ “two will not be annihilated, a bundle of reeds (= a raft) will not sink”. The term $\acute{g}is\acute{m}\acute{a}-da-l\acute{a}$, not to be confused with $\acute{g}is\acute{m}\acute{a}-la-l$, the dominant term for “raft” in the Ur III texts, designates the thick bundles of reeds used to make barges or rafts (different from the rafts assembled from tree trunks and used to carry lumber downstream), and metonymically the whole

11. This particular meaning of “portage” is a XVIIth century innovation of American English (see Oxford English Dictionary s. v. II 5). Toponyms with “portage” are frequent in North America.

12. But not “they will carry you across (locative) the ‘portages’ of the mountain(s)”. The hauling of boats across a portage is expressed by the verb $ba-l$ in Ur III texts.

13. In the Akkadian Gilgameš, with so many nautical episodes, the passage *terranni ana kāri š[a Uruk]* Gilg. Yale v 219 can be construed as a very elliptical indication that the first part of the trip to the Cedar Mountain was by water.

14. Courtesy N. Velhuis.

raft.¹⁵ The Akkadian term is *qan tillati* (Hh IX 332 ff.; Hg to Hh VIII-IX 10 [revised] MIN (= *qanû*) *til-la-ti* = *gi-šal-li*).¹⁶ In the Ur III texts it is found mainly in the formula *x sa gi má-da-lá-šè* “*x* bundles of reeds for a m.,” e. g., *MVN* 13 48; *TCL* 5 6030 x 8; destined for the king’s barge in *RTC* 306 v 9, Alep 135. Besides reeds one could use rushes: ZI+ZILAGAB (*RTC* 306 v 8) or *ḫinnis* (*ITT* 3 6351: 5), and could be recovered with bitumen (*ibid.*).¹⁷ Note 8 *guruš u₄ 2-šè gi má-da-lá-a ù éš má-a si-ga* Sigrist *SAT* 3 2220: 1ff. It can have the determinative *ḫis*: *UET* 3 372 iii 4 = vi 10’. Besides the present line, the term is rarely found in literary texts: *‘é²-u du’ gú id-da-ka lá-a ḫis má-da-lá su-su* “a ... spread over the canal banks, sinking the rafts”¹⁸ *JCS* 24 (1972) 107: 10; *id gal-gal-e má-da-l[á ...]* *JSOR* 3 18ff. I 8 (from photo, Aruru text), and *lú ‘2 im-ma’-an-GAM ḫis má-da-lá im-ma-a-n-‘x’* *HAV* 15 iii 5’.¹⁹ The metaphorical meaning suggested by the present passage is well attested in the native lists: Proto-Lu 780 lists *má-da-lá* between *gi₄-me-a-aš* “colleague” and *tab-ba* “companion”, and OB Lu B v 21 has *lú má-da-lá = ša tillatim*, at the end of a series of terms denoting acquaintance.²⁰ It is thus the function of the reeds bundled together giving buoyancy to the craft that is stressed and used as an image of tight cooperation (cf. the following line “one cannot cut a three-ply rope”). The notion of “assistance”, “(military) support” of Akk. *tillatu* rests on the metaphor of something tightly bound, or on “what keeps afloat”, rather than on the image of a “stanchion”. The translations “wer ans Boot gebunden ist” (Edzard), “l’homme relié à son bateau” (Tournay/Shaffer), “boat under tow” (George), and “grappling pole” are all based on a too literal etymologization of the word.²¹ See also remarks on line 114.

108-09. “Waters cannot cover a man on (top of) a wall, fire cannot be put out in a reed hut.” The context requires something having to do with mutual help. However, how these images, doubtlessly

15. The illustrations in Th. Heyerdahl, *The Tigris Expedition* (1982), and to a lesser extent the ancient Mesopotamian boat representations, give an excellent idea of the compact bundles of large diameter, tightly tied at intervals with ropes, that form a big barge. On rafts, and concretely the term *a d* (mostly replaced by *má-la-l* in Ur III), see G. Marchesi, *Or* 68 (1999) 105-108. Both *PSD* A/3 98 ad B and Marchesi overlook a crucial instance of the word. A fragment of a Gudea Stele mentioned in *NFT* 296 already in 1910 shows part of what is unmistakably a raft with the legend: *a d ḫis er[i n]*, see C. Suter, *Gudea’s Temple Building* (Groningen 2000) 165 with note 18 and p. 354. Thureau-Dangin had read *ḫis su* (*NFT* loc. cit), but *ḫis er[i n]* makes obviously much better sense in view of the textual data from Gudea’s inscriptions. It is one of the unfortunately too few cases where the meaning of a word is confirmed by visual data. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (1850, reimp. 1969) 633-47, is a colorful chapter on rafts and all kinds of floating devices (all of them millennia old) used in Mesopotamia in the middle of the XIXth century.

16. An Ugarit text of Hh IV has *ḫis má-tillat* (KASKAL.KUR) = (*elip*) *di-la-ti* (see *MSL* 4 173). Could *má-da-lá* be read also **ma-tillat* in OB times? If so, perhaps there is a word play with the preceding *nu-ti-l-e*.

17. The text *CT* 7 30 gives the materials needed for the construction of one(?) of these barges/rafts.

18. Sjöberg loc. cit. translates: “... lying (idly) on the bank of the river, (allowing) a ship to sink with its crew”.

19. The last sign looks like the upper part of NIGIN. The meaning of the passage is not clear: “one man dies, the lament over him is painful; two men die, the companionship is ..., three men die, the lament (a k k i l?)”, etc.

20. Contrast with *lú má-la-l* “raftsman”, in OB Lu A 168.

21. I have no idea where the translation “a grappling-pole does not sink” of *ETCSL* 2000 comes from. A. Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 29, considered *má-da-lá* a sort of rope, A. Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge* 119, translated “die Ziehbänder der Treidelmannschaft”. Landsberger, *Date Palm* 40, discussed the term at some length, basically keeping “towing rope”, but concluding “the exact nature escapes us”. All these meanings are based on the implicit assumption that *lá* in this term means “to pull” rather than “to tie”, and, secondarily, on a misinterpretation of *TCL* 5 6531, and can now be disregarded.

proverbial, of water and fire fit this purpose here is not easy to tell. Perhaps the city wall is taken as an image of strength coming from many bricks tightly joined. The fire in the reed hut cannot be put out because there are so many reeds burning together.

114. One Nippur text and the Ur and Kish sources have here again *má-dá-lá* as variant of simple *má*. The predicate has at least three different forms uncorrelated with this variant. Central to the interpretation of this line is the meaning of ^{ĝi}*má zi-šà-gál-la*. I would suggest “lifeboat”. Compare ^{ĝi}*má-ti-la* = *muballittu* Hh IV 268. There is no objection, even in remote times, to the eminently practical use of small boats or rafts, on board or towed by seagoing ships, for harbor operations or in an emergency. Of the variants of the verbal phrase, NiN2 has simply “it did not sink”, UrA, KiA, and, apparently, NiA have “it kept the contents”, a third variant *dá-šè* [...] in NiL2 is incomplete. I would thus suggest for lines 111-14:

After the sinking, after the sinking,
after the Magan ship had sunk,
after the *magilum*-cargo ship had sunk,
the raft, a lifeboat, did not sink (var. it kept the cargo).

These lines, perhaps a folk song or a proverb, follow immediately the offer of help. No matter what adversity brings, the friendly help (*tillatu* = “raft” and “help”, see above) will save the day. A variation on the theme of line 106.

130. Compare the interpretation proposed in Civil, *AuOr* Suppl. 5 (1994) 89. A translation “scepter” (Edzard, Tournay/Shaffer, *ETCSL*) for *ù-luḥ* is incorrect, “sapling” (George) is to be preferred. Incidentally, the whole concept of scepter as royal emblem in Mesopotamia needs reexamination, see the suggestion in Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building* (2000) 291f.

176-77. Read *lú ḥun-ĝá šà-gal ní-ba-šè egir gaba-ri ús-sa inim mu-na-ḥul-ḥul* “hired hand, following the adversary for his own food, you have said very bad words against him”. Cf. the similar *lú ḥun-ĝá šà-gal ní-ba-šè gán kalam-ma níĝin* “hired hand wandering for his own food in all the fields of the country” Emeš and Enten 152. The reading *im-ma-ḥun* goes back to van Dijk, *CRR* 7 (1960) 71 ad 95. In fact the sources give:

	lú ḥun-ĝá šà-gal ní-ba-šè					egir gaba-ri ús-sa				
NiA	+	+	+	+	+	ní=ba=šè	+	+	+	+
NiE	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
NiG	o	o	o	o	o	] = šè	+	+	+	+
NiT2	+	+	.	+	+	ní=ba=šè	+	o	o	o
UrC	o	o	o	o	o	] = ba=šè	+	+	+	o
KiA	+	+	+	+	+	ip=pa=aš!=še!	+	+	+	+
SiC	o	+	+	+	+	ní=ba=x	+	+	+	+
UnB	+	+	-	+	+	ní=ba!=šè	+	+	+	+

192. An improved reading for this line is proposed in *AuOr* 17/18 (1999/2000) 189. Reading [é digir]-gal-gal, instead of [h u]-wa-wa, gives “it (Huwawa’s head)²² will be placed as an ornament in the temples of the great gods”. The sources give:²³

192	[é digir]	gal-gal-e-ne-ka	me-te-aš	hé-im-mi-g[ál]
NiA	o o	+ + + + - + .	o o o o	
NiC	o o	o x + + + + + aš	+ + + .	
NiT2	o o	o o o o ! + a=aš	. o o o	
IsD	traces			

Allusion to a practice attested by an archeological find in Tell al-Rimah: a stone head of Huwawa was part of a gate of an OB temple (Iraq 27 [1965] 72 and pl. 16a).

193-99. The passage, characterized as “extremely confused” by *ETCSL* 2000, is not as bad as it appears at first glance once (1) the various sources are grouped by origin, and (2) the source NiI is joined to NiA. All Nippur sources (see tabulation in the Appendix) agree now in the following sequence, with the exception of NiT2²⁴ that interchanges 5 and 6:

- 1 a-ša
- 2 id-da
- 3 ġiš-gi
- 4 ur-maḥ
- 5 tir-tir
- 6 é-gal²⁵
- 7 ní-te-a-ni

Compared with Nippur, Isin seems to have (only a few traces preserved): 4 = 2, 5 = 6, 6 = 4. Notice that Isin, as far as preserved, changes the order but does not have unusual items. Of the items in the source UnB only the fourth, ur-maḥ = Nippur 4, and perhaps the first, í[d = Nippur 2, are common, the rest are idiosyncratic. The question of where the “magic rays”²⁶ go, and its rationale, has no easy answer. The key to the understanding of these lines is found in Proverb 6.3 (simplified text):²⁷ é-gal tir-ra-àm lugal ur-maḥ-e^dnun-gal (var. ^dnin-é-gal) sa-šú-uš-gal guruš (var. lú) dul-dul-e “the big house/jail is a forest, the king a lion, Nungal (or Ninegal) a net thrown over the man/men”. The proverb sounds almost like a commentary to the present passage, or at least both texts elaborate on the same beliefs. It appears that Enlil wants to neutralize, as it were, the troublesome rays so that no further

22. A typo in the *AuOr* loc. cit. article gives (*G[ilgameš]’s head*), instead of (*H[uwawa]’s head*).

23. The signs from NiT2 r. 1’, assigned by Edzard to a variant of 192, are damaged and perhaps even half erased, but the traces seem compatible with line 192 as restored above: [...] m e¹ t e¹-a-a š h [é-...].

24. Note that in the table labeled “Verteilung der Auren” (*ZA* 81 [1991] 231) the items from NiT2 should all be moved one case to the left.

25. A restoration [^dh u n] - g a l, instead of [é] - g a l, in the Nippur sources seems unlikely given the spacing of the signs.

26. This “modern”, non-committal translation seems to me preferable to “aura” (these “rays”, with a luminous component, seem nevertheless capable of physical effects), or “terrors” (the terror they cause seems a secondary consequence of their power).

27. For textual details, see Alster, *Proverbs* 147. The proverb was correctly interpreted already by W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 39 (1979) 161-66.

mischievous can be committed with them. The first three are dispersed all over the landscape, fields, rivers and canals,²⁸ and marshes. One must conclude that the rest, except for the seventh,²⁹ are locked up in jail. W. W. Hallo *JCS* 39 (1979) 161-66, commenting on this proverb, is right in assuming that é-gal is here a term for prison. The forest, the lion, and the big house are all a metaphorical allusion to imprisonment. The relationship between jail and forest is unclear but textually assured. In view of the passage *nir-gam-ma-bi* ^d*tir-an-na-gin*₇ *ní-ḥuš im-da-ri* “its vault (of the ‘big house’ = jail) spreads terror, like a rainbow”, one could wonder whether the jail was an underground vaulted room. The *tir* would be added to clarify that é-gal is here the jail and not the palace. The variant recension UnB, however, suggests a different explanation, while confirming that this passage of GH refers actually to jail. The theme becomes explicit with the presence of Nungal, the divine warden, and of the term *za-áš-da* in the sense of something like “punitive slavery”, frequently for theft. The text introduces this term, Akk. *kiššātu*, because of its similarity with “forests” Akk. *qišātu* (note the reduplicated form *tir-tir*, denoting plural, in the Nippur sources).³⁰ The lion/king must be here not the country’s ruler but the “boss”, the chief of the prison, or, less likely, the owner victim of the theft. The passage represents thus the logical conclusion of the plot of the story. The Gilgameš-Ḫuwawa incident should not be repeated. The magic rays should be put out of reach even of heroes like Gilgameš. In most of the story, Gilgameš behaves like the typical hero, in the conclusion, however, he fades out, not at all emerging victorious as it is to be expected of the protagonist of an heroic tale.

28. The preceding Proverb 6.2 mentions a river/canal, but this is probably a coincidence.

29. It is not obvious to whom the anaphoric reflexive *ní-te-a-ni* refers: is *me-lám* here personified? If so, the seventh ray would be allowed to “live” by “him”self. If the pronoun refers to Enlil, he would keep it for himself (not likely in the context). The Nippur text starts the series of “rays” immediately after line 192, with no indication of agent, since the existence of the line “192 variant” in Nippur is improbable, see note 23.

30. Implying, at least at times, prison? If so, this could explain the connection between “big house” and “forests”. The word, with its various writings (*zi-iš-da*, *ziz-da*), is discussed in Wilcke, *RA* 73 (1979) 95-96, and *NABU* 1991 no. 16 (see also *Afo* 25 119, note 36); Steinkeller, *RA* 74 (1980) 178-79.

Appendix

193	[me-lám]-a-	ni	1-àm	a-šà-šè	ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	a +	+ àm	o o o o	. .
NiC	o o	o o	o à]m	+	+
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	+	+
IsD	o o	o o	o o	o o	o o
UnB	+	+	ma +	l kam=ma	a=[o o o o
194	[me-lám]-a-	ni	2-kam-ma	id-da-šè	ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	a +	+	+	+
NiC	o o	o o	o .	+	+
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	+	+
IsD	o o	o +	o o	o o	o o
UnB	+	+	ma +	+	+
195	[me-lám-a-	ni	3-kam-ma	giš-gi-	šè ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	o +	!	o o	+
NiC	o o	o o	o o	+	+
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	+	+
IsD	o o	ma +	+	o o	o o
UnB	+	+	ma +	+	+
196	[me-lám-a-	ni	4-kam-ma]	ur-mah-šè	ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	o o	o o	o	=m]ah +
NiC	o o	o o	o o	.	ur=mah +
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	o	ur=mah +
IsD	o o	o .	+	+	i[d o o o o
UnB	+	+	+	+	ur=mah +
197	[me-lám-a-	ni	5-kam-ma]	tir-tir-	šè ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	o o	o o	o	ti]r=tir šè?+
NiC	o o	o o	o o	o	o x +
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	o	é=gal šè +
IsD	o o	o o	o .	+	é=[o o o o
UnB	+	+	ma +	.	+
198	[me-lám-a-	ni	6-kam-ma]	é-gal-	šè ba-an-sum
NiA	o o	o o	o o	o	] =gal +
NiC	o o	o o	o o	o	=g]al! +
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	o	tir=tir +
NiD3	o o	ma .	.	à[m o	o o
IsD	o o	o o	o o	.	ur=[+
UnB	+	+	ma +	o o	.
199	[me-lám-a-	ni	7-kam-ma]	ní-te-a-ni	ba-an-ti
NiA	o o	o o	o o	o	n]í=te=a=ni +
NiC	o o	o o	o o	o	o +
NiT2	o o	o o	o o	.	ní=te=a=ni +
NiD3	o +	ma +	!	à[m	o o o o
SiB	+	+	x o	o o	o o o o
UnB	+	+	ma +	o o	+

From the Epistolary of the Edubba*

1. Introduction

This is a case study of how a short letter, used as a school exercise in eighteenth-century Nippur, almost doubled its size while enjoying a long life in faraway scribal circles, at Ugarit, Boğazköy, and Assur, and survived until late Babylonian times, almost a millennium and a half later. It illustrates the way scribes, no longer capable of originality, put together “new” texts and tried, often ineffectually, to preserve a literary tradition. This reconstruction of the words of ancient Edubba teachers is offered as a token of appreciation to a scholar whom all of us, present day cuneiformists, are pleased to consider a master.¹

Letters were a favourite source of exercises for the pupils of ancient, traditional schools, including the ones in Mesopotamia. More than seventy “literary” letters in Sumerian² are now known, ranging from the purported correspondence of Ur III kings to letter-prayers to deities. A couple of letters, besides the ones published here, deal directly with scribal matters. One [Let. 3.3.23] is a letter to Nudimmudsig from his “father” Igmil-Sin.³ the sender is going to Dunnum ([d u]-n u-u m^{ki} g ú í d a m a[r -^ds u e n - k]a - š è) as governor (n a m - š a k k a n - b i - š è) and he has had the local schools write for him all kinds of tablets and put them in carrying baskets, apparently to send to the addressee, who in exchange, as it seems, will send

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1. The abbreviations are those of *CAD* and *PSD*. The numerical code designating the letters is the one used in the hypertext Sumerian corpus in the Oriental Institute. I am most grateful to Irving L. Finkel for having called the BM texts of Letter 3.3.17 to my attention and for having provided excellent copies of them. They are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

2. F. A. Ali, *Sumerian Letters* (1964) is an edition of an exercise book with short texts, most of them letters. P. Michalowski is preparing a corpus of Sumerian letters. For a few Akkadian exercise letters, see D. Charpin, *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi* (Hautes Études Orientales 22; Genève, 1986) 462ff., and Michalowski, *JCS* 35 (1983) 222ff.

3. CBS 4575 (*PBS* XII 32, poor copy, collated). The sender is possibly a well-known Ur teacher (Charpin, *Clergé*, 259ff.), or at least bears his name; the addressee is ^dn u - d í m - m u d - s i g₇- g a = Ea-bani or, perhaps better, Ibni-Ea? (cf. ^dn u - d í m - m u d - b a - n i, *UET* V 709:2).

back the tablets of the *balag urú à m - m a - i r - r a - b i*.⁴ The letter had some thirty-one lines, but there is a gap of *circa* ten lines in the middle that prevents a satisfactory understanding of the entire message; the following lines are worth quoting:

- 6 lú me-me-ta lú dub dil-di[l]-šè
- 7 lú a-rá-ta níg-kas₇-ne-ne-šè
- 8 lú inim-inim-ma lú èn-du ʾbúrʾ-búr-ra
- 9 u₄-da zal-la-bi bí-ʾsarʾ
- 10 im-dub-ba-ne-ne im-gíd-da-ne-ne im-šu-ka-ne-ne
- 11 ^{gi}pisan-šu-gá bí-[gar]

From the ones at the *m e - m e* (level)⁵ to the ones (who write) individual tablets, from the ones (writing) multiplication tables to the ones (working on) their accounts, some (working) on word lists,⁶ others interpreting songs, (all of them) have been writing all day long. Their large tablets, their one-column tablets, their “hand-tablets”⁷ have been put in my carrying baskets.

Another, quite different letter [Let 3.3.18] comes from the scribe Nabi-Enlil and is addressed to Šilli-Eštar(?).⁸ In it, the sender tells how it is impossible to learn the scribal arts anywhere but in Nippur:

- 7 The place where they (the children) used to live, was a teacher’s home, but, in my opinion, not a nice place.
- 10 Where they live now there is no proper school either.
- 11 They cannot learn the scribal art.
- 12 One cannot recite twenty or thirty times the lexical entries,
- 13 one cannot interpret the songs ten or twenty times.
- 15 You do not know that there is in Nippur a unique school!
- 16 I asked you, [but you] did not know; I had to follow the reputation,

4. Civil, *RA* 68 (1974) 95f. For the text of this *balag*, see K. Volk, *FAOS* 18, and Cohen, *Lamentations*, 536ff.

5. This is the title (incipit) of a traditional, very elementary syllabic exercise, see Civil, *Mélanges Birot*, 73f. Note that this is the title of the non-Nippur version; the Nippur one started with *a - a, m e - m e*.

6. One could read *k a - i n i m - m a* ‘incantation’, instead of *i n i m - i n i m - m a* ‘(all) the words’, but the latter seems to fit better in school contexts. The same consideration applies to line 19 of the following letter.

7. For these types of tablets, see Civil, *Mélanges Birot*, 75; A. R. George, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 70f.

8. Edited by J. van Dijk, *Or* 58 (1989) 448ff. The name of the addressee is somewhat uncertain; it seems to be AN.DÙL-*ʾeštar*!?’ in *VAS* XVII 44 ii 28’, but Ni 972 has [...]-ʾxʾ-ta? Van Dijk, *Or* 55 (1986) 449 n. 11 reads *Ilum-puzur₄-ra*, admitting that it is “wohl sehr ungewöhnlich.” Šilli-Eštar and Nabi-Enlil are both names attested in OB Nippur (Stone, *Nippur*, 263, 279), and the latter is the name of the sender of two other letters: (1) to “my colleagues” (*g i₄- m e - a - a š - m u - n e*): Ni 4491 (*ISCT* II 121 = ? Ni 4433 [*ISCT* I 122]), and (2) a letter to a king: CBS 14041+N 2740, 3N-T 901, 48 (Heimerdinger, *Nippur*, pl. 23), 3N-T 919, 455 (*ibid.*, pl. 23), CBS 7875b 3ff., and *UET* VI/3 *425. The translation follows in general van Dijk’s, with some modifications. The lines not found in the Nippur sources have been omitted; note my reading *b a - d u - d è - e n*, instead of *i - e₁₁ - d è - e n* in line 16.

- 18 asking the whole of Nippur and Isin
 17 about a [place] for my [child(ren)] where they could learn the scribal arts.
 19 I want them to learn the vocabularies, the songs, the inscriptions, the Sumerian ...,
 20 all the way to the art of the cantor.⁹

The letter is a most obvious propaganda piece for a Nippur school.

The letters just discussed, with the possible exception of Let. 3.3.23, and the letters published below are all school exercises, not without humour, touching on eternal school themes: the student who wants to be excused from class without parental approval, and the competition between different schools. In other words, these are not real-life letters mentioning students and schools,¹⁰ but artificial didactic texts. This does not completely exclude, of course, the possibility of them being more or less remotely based on real anecdotes. As a corollary, it would probably be futile to try seriously to identify senders and addressees; their names may or may not be based on historical characters, although names of local people somehow related to the school could very well have been used.

2. Letter from Pu-Inanna To Lugal-Ibila (B 20)

2.0. Introduction

This is a simple twelve-line letter of one teacher warning another against the trickery of some pupil, or pupils, scheming to be released from school, a subject most apt to provide an amusing writing exercise for school children. The sender of letter B 20 is also the sender of B19, a letter that mentions several u m - m i - a. The addressee has the same name as the sender of letter 3.3.17 (see 3).¹¹

2.1. Sources

- A UM 29-16-139+ (Ali, *Letters*, pl. 25)..... 1-12
 Four-column tablet with the entire "Collection B."
 B 3N-T 917, 362 (Ali, *Letters*, pl. 42; Heimerdinger, *Nippur*, pl. 26) 1-7, 12
 Small one-column tablet with damaged edges. From TA 191 X.
 C Ni 9706 rev. ii 1'-12' (*ISCT* II 112; *Or* 22 pl. 39; *UMB* 17/2 fig. 4) 2-12
 Four-column tablet with a collection of letters, mostly from Ur III kings.
 Poorly written tablet.

9. The two following lines underline the humorous tone of the letter, even if the modern reader may fail to see the point:

21 [...] I will put one talent of silver in their account.

22 I want to put (the school) on a pedestal like a [goose(?)].

The second line has been restored according to Riddle 1:3 (Civil, *AuOr* 5 [1987] 19ff.).

10. Contrast, for instance, the texts in Cl. Præaux, "Lettres privées grecques d'Égypte relatives à l'éducation," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 8 (1929) 757ff.

11. The present letter seems to be listed in line 27 of the catalogue W 17259 an, according to van Dijk, *Or* 58 (1989) 446; I would prefer, however, to read there l u g a l (erasure)- m e l - r a and see in it letter B 11, the counterpart of B 10, which itself is listed in line 28 of the Warka catalogue.

- D CBS 15079* (unpubl., translit. M. Civil) 1–11
One-column tablet with broken lower edge; rev. destroyed, probably blank.
- E Ashm. 1922–258 A 1–14 (*OECT V* 25) 1–12
Origin unknown (Weld-Blundell collection). Four-sided prism with letters,
mostly from Larsa kings.
- F 3N-T 904, 169 (Heimerdinger, *Nippur*, pl. 22) 5–12
Lower right corner of a one-column tablet. From TA 205 XI 2.

All sources come from Nippur, except E. The letter is found alone in one-column tablets B, D, and F, and together with other letters in sources A, C, and E. The textual matrices are found in the Appendix.

2.2. Text

- 1 ^mlugal-ibila ù-na-dug₄
- 2 ^mKA-^dinanna-ke₄ na-ab-bé-a
- 3 eme-gir₁₅-šè gú-zu na-ab-šub-bé-en
- 4 mìn-kam-ma-šè eme si-sá-bi lú mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
- 5 lú tur igi-zu-šè al-durun^{un}-na
- 6 é-dub-ba-a-ta na-ab-ta-è-en
- 7 na-an-ga-ma lú na-me lul i-ri-ib-si-ke
- 8 ugu ad-da-na-šè ga-àm-gin a-ra-ab-bé-a
- 9 en-na giskim gá-e ù za-e ka ì-bal-en-da-na
- 10 lú-ù mu-e-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
- 11 lú tur šu nam-bí-bar-re-en
- 12 [silim(?) - m]a(?) bí-tuku a-ma-ru-kam

2.3. Translation

Pu-Inanna addresses Lugal-ibila and says to him:

“Do not neglect Sumerian! Once again I am sending you a message in correct language. The child(ren) who sit(s) before you must not leave school! Above all, do not let anyone deceive you, telling you ‘I want to go,’ to his father’s. Until you and I discuss a password (and) someone brings it to you, do not let the child(ren) out free. Salutations(?), it’s urgent.”

2.4. Commentary

This letter has been previously edited and translated in Ali, *Letters*, 153ff.; see also S. N. Kramer in O. R. Gurney, *OECT V*, p. 5 n. 19.

4. It is assumed here that eme si-sá-bi is a single nominal phrase with an adverbial function indicating manner: the sender underscores his ability to compose a letter in correct Sumerian. A parallel is provided by inim si-sá-bi in Nanše hymn 224ff.; unfortunately the passage is damaged but it

certainly ended with a verb of saying, i.e., “in correct words,” although the implication there is that those are “just,” ethical words, not, as here, grammatically correct ones. Otherwise, *e m e s i - s á* has a technical meaning, proposed in *MSL SS I 75*. Combining the Ugarit and the Nippur versions of MBGT I–II, the following equations result:

e - n e	= šū	EME.GAL
l ú	= šū	EME.GALAM
n a	= šū	EME.SUḪ
b a	= šū	EME.TI.NÁ
b i	= šū	EME.TI.NÁ
a - n i	= šū	EME.SI.SÁ

Note that line 10 of the Ugarit version, with a tautological š u, has been omitted to adjust the number of its entries to the number of EMEs in the Nippur text. If this proposal is correct, the enigma of the EMEs is solved: they do not designate “dialects” but are grammatical terms (for other occurrences, see *MSL SS I*, loc. cit.) classifying various morphological forms of the same morpholexical item. The Akkadian translations of these terms in *Sag A 36ff.* are simply Akkadianized versions of the Sumerian forms, except for *e m e s i - s á*, which is translated in *Sag B 237f.* not only by *emesisū* but also by *išartu*.¹²

5. Source A has the verb in the plural, D, E, and F in the singular. The expression “to sit before somebody” means to be a pupil of someone.

7. The verb is l u l — s i “to deceive” (Akk. *dāṣu*, *ṣelū* B). The prefixes include the 2nd person dative combined with a locative-terminative.

8. One would expect u g u a d - d a - m u - š è “to my father’s”; the translation attempts to render the peculiar concord of the text. The present-future has here a prohibitive force.

9. A g i s k i m (Akk. *ittu*, *giškimmu*) is an agreed-upon “sign” by which two or more parties recognize each other. The parties who share a g i s k i m are said to be in the confidence of each other, hence the Akkadian translations *qāpu* and *takālu* and their derivatives, and the relationship between g i s k i m and n i r — g á l; the ability to recognize somebody as a partner or ally through a g i s k i m is at the root of the translations *atū*, *uddū*, etc. For the practice of sending passwords through letters, see Owen, *Nippur*, 913: PN-ra ù - n a - a - d u g ₄ g i s k i m š u m a - a n - t a k ₄ - a - n i ḥ a - b a - i - n a - s u m “say to PN that his password that he sent me should also be given to him ...” The tablet breaks off at this point and it is unclear to whom the second verb refers. I translate ‘password’ since it is sent by letter, but the nature of the g i s k i m is in almost all cases uncertain; besides a word it could have been a gesture, an object, perhaps even a tattoo (as in Gudea Cyl. A xii 10), etc. A detailed discussion of the term was given by B. Landsberger, *WO 3* (1964) 69ff. I read k a — b a l rather than i n i m — b a l from *Sag A iii 27*.

12. There is room for only two or three signs before the verb in sources A and C; E has a variant line: [l] ú t u r s i l i m - m a - n i a d - d a - [n i] K A - z a i n - t u k u “the welfare of the child [his] father has put in your ‘words’.” It appears that a short, possibly unusual, form of salutation was replaced by a more explicit one in the textual tradition. See line 21 of the following letter.

12. In any case, the proposal of C. Wilcke, commenting on the present letter, that here *e m e s i - s á* “nur ‘Akkadisch’ heissen kann” (*CRRAI* 19, 226 n. 48) seems, in my opinion, to miss the mark.

3. *Letter of Lugal-Ibila to Lugal-Nisag (Let. 3.3.17)*3.1. *Sources*

- A BM 32300 = 76–11–17, 2028 (copy by I. L. Finkel, fig. 1) 1–6, 18–21
NB, Babylon. Upper left corner of an oblong tablet, bilingual.
- B *KUB* IV 39 i 1–7
Boğazköy. Four-sided prism: sides ii and iii broken, side iv with uncertain contents; presumably bilingual with the Akkadian, not preserved, in a separate sub-column
- C VAT 10365 (*LKA* 65) + 11777 (copy by F. Köcher) 3–18
Assur. Fragment, with the lower edge preserved, of an oblong tablet, bilingual.
- D RS 17.10 and RS 17.80 (*Ugaritica* V 376; photos) 1–13, 20–21
Ugarit. Two one-column tablets, one with the Sumerian text (syllabic), the other with the Akkadian translation. Left and lower edges missing. Findspots: residential quarter of the North Palace; RS 17.10: 582, depth not recorded, RS 17.80: 991 at -0.80 m. Edited by J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V, 23ff., with variants from sources B and C (*LKA* 65 only). Cf. J. Krecher, *UF* 1 (1969) 152ff.
- E BM 130460 (copy I. L. Finkel, fig. 2) 7–14
NB, Ur. Fragment of a lower left corner, bilingual. There are traces of three lines at the end, see copy.

3.2. *Text*

- 01 A [luga]l-^ˈnisag^ˈ {ki} ^ˈdur^ˈ-an-ki-a ^ˈù^ˈ-[na-(a)-dug₄]
A a-na MIN ni-ip-pu-ri-i []
B ^dlugal-nisag ^ˈx^ˈ [] ^ˈù-na-[]
D [] ^ˈx^ˈ ni-pu-ri-ia
- 02 A lugal-TUR UŠ ŠEŠ.UNUG^{ki}-ke₄ []
A um-ma MIN ú-ru-[]
B ^dlugal-ibila lú ŠEŠ. ^ˈx^ˈ [] na-bé-[a]
D [] ^ˈx x^ˈ []
D [i-b]i-i-la ^{uru}u-ru-ma-ak-ku
- 03 A inim-mu-šē^{še} kin-gi₄-a-zu gal-le-eš []
A a-na a-mat áš-pu-rak-ka ra-biš []
B inim-mu-un-šē gi-na-z[u] gal-eš gú-zu na-an-šub-[]
C [] kin-n[a]
C []-mat áš-pu-ra[k-ka]
D []-a]n-zu [] a]n-šub-ba

- D [] *áš-pu-ra-ku ra-biš aḥ-ka* [*ta*]-*na-an-di*
- 04 A *ù lú-tur igi-zu-šè na-an-tuš-en* 'gú' []
 A *ù a-^{*}na ṣa-aḥ-ri šá i-na maḥ-ri-ka áš-bu a[ḥ-*]
 B *lú-tur-ra igi-zu-šè al-tuš-[] 'gú'-zu na-an-šub-[*]
 C *[x l]ú-tur igi-zu-šè n[a-*]
 C *'ù' a-na ṣi-iḥ-ri šá ina 'x' [*]
 D [*u*]-*še al-du-uš-ša-a* [*n*]-*a-an-šub-ba*
 D [*i*]-*na!* *IGI-ka a-ši-ib [aḥ-k]a la-a ta-na-an-di*
- 05 A *[na]m-dub-sar-ra ki níg galam-galam-ma!-bi mu-ri-i[n-*]
 A *[tu]p-šar-ú-tu e-ma 'nik'-la-ti-šu [*]
 B *nam-dub-sar ki níg galam-galam-[] mu-un-ne-pà-pà-[...]*
 C [*s*]-*ar-ra-šè níg-galam-bi :* []
 C *tup-šar-ru-t[u*]
 D [*'x'* *nim-[k]alam!-kalam-ab-bi []-ba-ba-ta*
 D [*me*]-*'e'-ia-am ki-it-mi-ti-šu []-šu*
- 06 A *[šà-dub]-ba šid níg-šID ki-búr-'búr'-ra-b[i*]
 A *[šá-a]n-da-bak-ka m[i-*]
 B *šà-dup-pa šid níg-šID [-b]úr-búr-ra-[mu-u]n-na-an-šen-še[n-*]
 C [*]*-*ba šid níg-šID ki-búr-búr-[*]
 C *[šá]-an-da-bak-ku mi-nu-ut nik-kà[s-si*]
 D [*'x'* *šid ni-ik-sá [-b]i i-ki mu-un-sà-an-sà-a [] 'x'-di*
 D [*-ba*]-*k-ka mi-nu-ut NÍG.šID me-e-ia-am [(x)] šú-ub-bi-šu*
- 07 B *[x x x] ki!-dul-dul-[mu-u]n-'na'-UD-D[U]*
 C *[gu-sum u]l-la ki-dul-dul-bi :* []
 C *mi-ḥi-il-ta 'ú'-[ul-li-ta(?)*]
 D [*da*]-*dal-bi dal mu-un-na-an-te-'e'*
 D [*k*]-*i-ti-in-ta šu-pí-šú-'x'*
 E *traces*
 E *mi-ḥi-il-ti 'u'-u[l-*]
- 08 C *[gi a]l-gaz-za kuš al-ḥi-a im-ḥi-a [*]
 C *[q]a-nu-ú de-e-ku maš-ku le-[tu-u*]
 D [*]* *KA al-ḥi-a im-ḥi-a DI en u[š r]i-iq-qa*
 D [*di*]-*i-ku KUS le-^{*}te IM maḥ-šu [] 'x' ša-ri-ik*
 E *gi-al-gaz-za kuš al-'ḥi'-a [*]
 E *qa-nu-ú di-i-ku maš-ku l[e-*]
- 09 C *[a-šà giš-ù]r-ra giš-gi₄-a [*]
 C [*]* *'x' šak-ku šeb-ru šu-[*]
 D [*-r*]-*a na-aš-ki na-aš-bi-^{*}za [-u]n-túm*
 D [*-k*]-*u ma-aš-lum ù šu-ul-lu-š[u]-'x'-bal*
 E *a-šà giš-ùr-ra giš-gi₄-a giš-peš-[a*]
 E *eq-lu šak-ku še-eb-ru šu-l[u-*]
- 10 C [*-u*]-*n-zu na-ba-an ki a [*]

- C [ù k]i-i še-eḫ-ri šá i-[na]
D [-u]n-na-an-ti ki-aš ki!-k[i! za]-‘e’ nu-uz-za-a
D [-r]i a-na ša-pa-ri ù n[a- ...] at-ta ul ti-i-de₄-‘e’
E ù lú-tur BÚR na-an-z[u]
E ù ki ša-aḫ-ru ‘x’ []
- 11 C *traces*
D [na]m-dub-sar-re-eš-še [gú-zu] na-an-šub-ba
D [m]e?-e IM ‘tup-sar’-[ru-ti aḫ-ka l]a-a ta-[na-an-dì]
E K1.NE du₈-ù-da []
- 12 C []-eš a ki []
D [] ‘x’ bi ‘x’ []
D [] ‘x’ ki-am []
E sag lú ní-gu₇-ù-da é []
E i-na aš-[ta-pi-ri (?)]
- 13 C [] ‘x’ []
D []
D [-k]a l [i-] ‘x’ []
E gír lú ná-a [] ‘x’ []
E nam-ḫa-a-‘x x’ []
- 14 C [] ‘kin!-gub-bu x’ []
C []-ri ka-ma-su ú-zu-[]
E é-‘x’ []
- 15 C [] ‘x’ gu dili e ‘dè?’ dingir ^dlama ḫ[é-tuku]
C [] ‘x’ DINGIR ù la-mas-si li-ir-ši []
- 16 C [] ‘x’-a-àm ^{túg}gú-è ^{túg}bar-sig ‘x’ []
C [] ‘x’-te na-aḫ-lap-tú šu-b[a-tu]
- 17 C []-i]b-sì-ga ugu ad-ni-šè []
C [a-na] še-er a-bi-šu lu-t[al-ka]
- 18 A ‘x x x x x’ []
A ‘a’-di a-šap-pa-rak-ku ina É.D[UB.BA]
C *traces*
- 19 A ‘en-na’ giskim gá-e ù za-e ‘ka bal’ i-[]
A [a-d]i it-ti šá a-na-ku ù ka-a-šá ni-ta-mu-‘ú’ []
- 20 A lú-tur-ra šu n[u-]
A ša-aḫ-ru l[a]
D [-r]a šu ‘x-bar!’-r[e]
- 21 A lú-tur-ra silim-ma-bi ad-da-a-ni ‘x’ []
D []-ni at-ta-an-ni []-at-ku
D [] ‘x x x’

3.3. *Translation*¹³

Lugal-nisag of Nippur addresses Lugal-ibila of Ur and says to him:

“Do not neglect so much my message sent to you! Do not neglect the child who sits before you. You will explain to him all the fine points of the scribal art, you will show him the solutions of the tablets with calculations and accounts, you will make clear for him all the secrets of the ancient cuneiform signs. He will be offered the cut reed, the leather strips, and the compacted clay. He will [...] the triple harrowing of the field. Do you not know that [...] like a child? When baking at the kiln, do not neglect the clay of the scribal art. The servants, the food [...]. The feet of the sleeping man [...]...[...]. Putting [...] on one string, he will have god-given luck and a divine protector. [...] a cloak and a light garment [...]. [Do not let anyone dec]eive you (saying) [that he has to go] to his father’s. Until I send you in the Ed[ubba ...], until the sign about which you and I discussed [...], do not let the child out free. His father [has] put the child’s welfare [in your hands].”

3.4. *Commentary*

The text is based on letter B 20 with a twelve-line passage, built from materials drawn from other compositions dealing with the Edubba, interpolated after line 6 (see below on individual lines). This “medley” system of composition is known from another Edubba text, of Old Babylonian date, represented by *UET* VI 165 and 166, *TLB* II 7 iii–iv, and *KBo* 57 126 (see *NABU* 1987/47). The pattern of textual diffusion suggests that this letter must have taken its present form in the late, post-Samsuiluna Old Babylonian period.

1-2. The correspondents of the letters have been changed; the addressee of B 20 has become the sender of 3.3.17, the sender of the former has disappeared, and the addressee of the latter is new. Nothing in 3.3.17, however, allows one to take it as a distinct letter, following or preceding B 20. The name of the addressee of 3.3.17, which used to be incorrectly transliterated *l u g a l - m u r u b₄ - (e)*, is taken from the letter collections, where it is well known; a Lugal-nisag-e, son of Nippur, wrote two petitions to an unnamed king (B 7 and B 8), and he could be the same as the sender of B 16 who calls himself *n u - è š* of Enlil and son of Zuzu, *u m - m i - a* of Nippur, and who also dedicated a dog to Nintinugga (B 18). For persons of this name at Nippur in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, see Stone, *Nippur*, 260. Attempts to ascertain the historicity of these names will prove, in all likelihood, futile. The gentilic *urumakku*, in line 2, is an Akkadianized *u r í - m a - a (k)*; the scribe’s genitive is, of course, incorrect.

3-4. These lines are loosely based on B 20:3–6. The term *e m e - g i r₁₅* has been taken as *i n i m - š è* and the text of B 20:3, senseless after this misinterpretation, has been modified by the insertion of the possessive *- m u*, of the grammatically incorrect “verb” *k i n - g i₄ - a - z u = ašpurakku*, and of the adverb *g a l - l e - e š*. The line B 20:4 is omitted. In line 4, sources B and D keep the prefix *a l -*, replaced in A and C by an incorrect *n a - a n -*. Line 6 of B 20 is replaced by the second half of the preceding line. It seems

13. This is a tentative, relatively free translation of what the late OB original text may have sounded like, to give the reader an idea of the contents.

that the scribe, when facing a line he did not readily understand, mechanically added the expression g ú - z u n a - a n - š u b, see line 11.

5-7. These lines reproduce lines 60–62 of EdA:

- 60 nam-dub-sar-ra ní-galam-gal-ma-bi mu-ni-in-pà-pà-dè-en
 61 šà-dub-ba šid ní-gkas₇ ki-búr-búr-ra-bi igi mu-un-na-an-si-ga-aš
 62 gu-sum-ma ki-dul-dul-la-bi dalla mu-na-an-è

I kept explaining to him all the fine points of the scribal art.
 To show him the solutions of the tablets with calculations and accounts,
 I clarified for him all the secrets of the cuneiform signs.

The ki in A (line 5), which results in *ēma* in A itself and in *(me)-e-ja-am* in the Ugarit source,¹⁴ has been inserted before n a m - d u b - s a r - r a by false analogy with the ki of ki - b ú r - b ú r and ki - d u l - d u l in lines 6 and 7. For the erroneous translation *šandabakku* (line 6), see my remarks in *Mélanges Birot*, 76ff. Note the peculiar writings š e n (B) and s à - a n (D) corresponding to s i - g.

8–16. With the exception of line 14, it is unknown from which OB model(s) this passage was compiled.

8. The three terms –describing the basic writing materials of the scribe: reed stylus, leather strips, and clay– appear in *Hh* VIII 266, XI 90 (in *MSL* IX, 198, where the Akkadian must be now corrected to *letû*), and X 430 (with slightly different Sumerian), respectively. Source D has *-bu* instead of *-te*, an understandable sign confusion. This line may very well be the oldest mention of leather strips as a medium for writing in Mesopotamia.

9. These are the three stages of harrowing a field; for the terminology, see my commentary to Instructions of a Farmer 32 (Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions* [Barcelona, 1994] 77ff.). At the end, a form, probably negative, of *abālu* A must be restored.

10. I cannot harmonize the different sources of this line; ki - a š ki - ki may represent kin - š è g i₄ - g i₄.

11. There is no direct evidence that sources D and E had here the same line. There are several readings for the logogram KI.NE when meaning “kiln” (see *Diri* IV 278–93); in any case neither KI.NE nor its normal translation *kinūnu* are regular designations for a kiln to fire tablets or for a bread oven. The choice of a kiln for tablets seems more suitable to the context (but see next line), and therefore it is preferable to read *-m]e-e IM* rather than *m]e-e-em*. Would the Ugarit scribe's knowledge of Akkadian be so poor that he would say *ina e-p]e!-e* for “baking” a tablet?

12. This line possibly refers to the distribution of food; the restoration *aštapiru* would require in correct Sumerian the logogram s a g - g e m é - a r a d.

14. This *me-e-ja-am* I assume to be the West Semitic interrogative *mija*, with an unclear function in the present context; note that in line 6 it seems to translate the ki in i - k i (in fact a syllabic writing of i g i!). Nougayrol took the ME in line 6 as a graphic plural marker appended to NÍG.ŠID; this marker, however, is quite infrequent in Ugarit, see J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, 84, 405 (no. 532).

13. An obscure line, whose Akkadian translation (read *sim-ḥa?*) does not seem to fit the “feet of a sleeping man” of the Sumerian; note, however, *ná-a-ra sag-gá mu-na-gub gír mu-TAG-TAG-e* Gudea Cyl. A ix 5f., if there *gír* stands for *gír*.

15. The first half includes *gu-dili-a—è* (written here *e*) “to string together on a single thread”. This idiom appears in the Song of the Hoe 30 *sag-bi gu-dili-a mu-un-è-dè* “these persons whom he ‘strings together on a single thread’”. The meaning of the passage is clarified by Nanše hymn 101 (Nidaba takes the stylus) and “organizes the population ‘on a single thread’ for Nanše” (*sag-e gu-dili-a si mu-na-ab-sá-e*): it refers to the tally of workmen and population census. It is clear that here the “stringing on one string” is a trope based more on some preliterate method of accounting – beads on a string – than on the necklace as a personal adornment. Any doubts about this interpretation are dispelled by the following passage in which the parallel line 212 confirms that a counting device to keep track of people is meant:

211 nita munus-bi gu-dili-^a mi-ri-è-dè ní-g₄-da-ka-ne-ne-a ^aigi¹-zu-šè bí-íb-ta-lá
 212 [u]n šár-ra-zu kur₇-ak-da-bi ^dutu-gin₇ igi-zu-šè ì-dib-bé-ne
 In-nin-šà-gur₄-ra 211f.¹⁵

You “string together” men and women on a single cord, their daily status hangs
 down your eyes.
 Your numerous people parade before your eyes, like (before) the Sun, for
 their inspection.

A gloss to this line indicates that here *è* = *šakāku*; a classic passage for this meaning of *è* is *STVC* 16 rev. 1f. (incantation): ^{na4}kišib á-šuba šu ù-me-ti ḥe-me-da ù-me-ni-è “you take a seal of jasper, you string it on red yarn”. It is thus clear that among the primitive counting devices used in Mesopotamia, alongside clay tokens, pebbles and tally sticks, one must include strings on which “beads” were threaded.¹⁶ The assumptions that beads were used, making this device a sort of abacus, rests on the

15. Å. W. Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 (1975) 198f., modified. D = Ni 9801 (*ISET* I 8ff.); Sa = 3N-T 556; F₁ = CBS 15203.

211	nita	munus-	bi	gu-	dili-	^a	mi-	ri-	è-dè	ní-g ₄ -	u ₄	da-	ka-	ne-ne-a	^a igi ¹ -	zu-šè	bí-	íb-	ta-	lá
D	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	?	+	+	+	+	ni	o	o	x	+	+	+
Sa	+	+	+	+	+	-	gú	+	+	+	+	+	+	ni	.	+	+	+	+	+
F ₁	o	o	o	o	o	.	mi	+	++	+	+	+	+	ne=ne=a	-	-	-	+	o	o

212	[u]n	šár	-ra-zu	kur ₇ -	ak-	da-	bi	^d utu-	gin ₇	igi-	zu-šè	ì-	díb-	bé-ne
D	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	-	ni	++	+	+	++	+
Sa	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	bi	++	+	+	++	+
F ₁	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	a	bi	++	+	+	+	o

The var. *g ú* for *mi* in 211 is due to a confusion with the relatively frequent verb *g ú—è*. The singular suffix *-ni* (probably a preferable reading) has to be translated “each person’s daily deeds”, instead of “their”, with no appreciable change in meaning. Glosses:] *x x x iš-te-en ša-ak-* in 211, and *ki-ma* ^dUTU *i-na maḥ-ri-* in 212, from F₁.

16. For perforated tokens, see D. Schmandt-Besserat, *Before Writing* I, 108f.

usual meaning of è = *šakāku*. The quotation from In-nin-ša-gur₄-ra shows that these strings were kept hanging down. All passages point to a primary use in counting heads for census purposes.¹⁷ Knots on a string, in the manner of Inca *quipus*, seem less likely. It is uncertain whether the “counting cloth” ^{túg}NÍG.ŠID, also written ^{túg}ú-tu-gu-u_m,¹⁸ Akk. *māḥiṣātu*, *uttuk(k)u*, was based on knots, and we know nothing about the nature of ^{giš}NÍG.ŠID, with the same Akkadian translations plus *išši minūti*; could the latter have been a frame on which to hang the above mentioned strings?

16. The purpose of the mention of garments is not apparent in this broken line. Cf. Hunger, *Uruk I* 170. Among Edubba-texts, in EdA: 65, 68 a generic garment is given as a “graduation” present; in a quite different context, a woman’s incompetence is thus described: ^{uruda}gín ^{uruda}gín-sal ^{túg}bar-si ^{túg}síg-sal-la èm i-bí-zu-uš gilim-ba na-ma-ab-tak₄-tak₄ “you can never keep apart an ax and a hatchet, a scarf and a light garment, these things are confused in your eyes,” Dialogue 7 A:27’f.¹⁹

17–21. This final section follows quite closely B 20:7–12. Line 7 contains the end of B 20:7, with -si-ga instead of -si-ke, followed by the beginning of B 20:8. The text inverts the sequence of B 20:9–10. In line 21, sources A and D of 3.3.17 have the variant line already known from source E of B 20.

Addendum: A new source for Letter 3.3.17, CBS 1642, has just been published by A. Cavigneaux in O. Tunca and D. Deheselle (eds.), *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d’Akkad: Mélanges ... Finet* (Liège, 1996), 12ff.

17. A broken passage in a Nanna hymn from Išme-Dagan’s time (*ISCT* I 38:7): [x x it]u? u₄-sakar gu-a gi-né m u k i - g a r [...], which perhaps could be translated “to correctly put the new moon on a string”, could possibly be taken as an indication that strings were also used to count time (unless they were part of an instrument for astronomical observation). For parallels to this passage, see M. Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God*. Ph.D. Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1985 (University Microfilms 8603645) 808f.

18. š á ħ ^{túg}ú-tu-gu-u_m a l - t u k₅- t u k₅ “a pig weaving a ‘counting cloth’ ” Dialogue 1:16.

19. Misquoted in *PSD* B, 126 a 1.2.

*Appendix: Textual Matrices of B 20²⁰*01 ^mlugal- ibila ù - na- dug₄

A	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	+
B	o	+	.	o	o	o	o	o
D	+	+	+	-	+	+	o	o
E	o	o	.	ra	.	.	a	o

02 ^mKA- ^dinanna- ke₄ na- ab- bé- a

A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
B	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o
C	<i>traces</i>							
E	o	o	o	.	.	+	+	+

03 eme- gir₁₅- šè gú- zu na- ab- šub- bé- en

A	+	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	+	+
B	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o
C	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	o	o	o
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
E	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

04a [x x x x] ḥé- gál

ABCD om.

E	o	o	o	o	+	+

04 mìn-kam- ma- šè eme si- sá- bi lú mu- e ši- in- gi₄-gi₄

A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	o	o	?	+	+
B	.	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	o
C	+	+	+	+	+	!	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	šè	+	+	+	+	o	o
E	o	o	.	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	.

05 lú tur igi- zu-šè al- durun un- na

A	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	un	na
B	.	+	+	+	+	+	o	o	o

20. This Appendix follows the system of the Oriental Institute hypertext corpus of Sumerian:

- + = sign present,
- = sign omitted, o = sign broken,
- .

equal signs join transliterated signs which must be treated as a single variant.

C	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	o	o
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	ù	na
E	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	ù	nam
F	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ù	nam

06 é- dub-ba-a- ta na-ab-ta- è- en

A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	en
B	.	+	+	+	o	+	+	+	.	o
C	o	o	o	+	+	.	.	o	o	o
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	e
E	+	o	o	o	o	+	+	.	+	-
F	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	-

07	na-	an-	ga-	ma	lú	na-	me	lul	i-	ri-	ib-	si-	ke
A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	.	o	o	k]e -
B	o	+	+	+	+	o	o	.	e?	+	+	o	o o
C	!	!	+	+	+	+	+	!	o	o	o	si	ke -
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	i	+	+	si	ke -
E	+	.	.	o	.	+	.	o	i	+	+	si	ke ma
F	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	o	sag ₉	ge -

08	ugu	ad-	da-	na-	šè	ga-	àm-	gin	a-	ra-	ab-	bé-	a
A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	x	o
C	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	DU	+	+	!	o o
D	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	DU=DU	+	+	+	o	o o
E	+	.	o	o	o	.	o	o	.	.	+	e	a
F	o	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	+	+	+	bé	en=ma

09	en-	na	giskim	gá-	e	ù	za-	e	inim	i-	bal-		en-	da-	na
A	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	en=	da= na
*C	.	+	!	+	+	+	+	.	!	-	+	e	da	-	
D	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	o	o	o	
E	.	.	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	.	e	dè	en=	dè= en
F	o	o	o	o	o	.	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	]=	da= na

*C adds: a - r a - a b - b é - a (repeating end of line 08)

10	lú-	ù	mu-	e-	ši-	in-	gi ₄ -	gi ₄							
A	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-						
C	o	.	+	-	+	+	o	o	o						
D	o	o	+	+	+	-	o	o	o						
E	.	-	.	o	o	o	+	+	a						
F	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	ma						

11	lú	tur	šu	nam-	bí-	bar-	re-	en
A	+	+	+	+	bí	+	+	-
C	o	o	.	+	bí	+	.	+
D	<i>traces</i>							
E	o	.	+	+	ba=e	+	+	+
F	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	-
12	[silim(?)-	m]a(?)	bí-tuku	a-	ma-	ru-	kam	
A	o	o	bí	+	+	+	+	+
B	<i>traces</i>						+	o
C	o	m]a?	bí	+	+	+	+	+
*E	<i>see note</i>		in	+	+	+	+	+
F	o	o	o	+	o	o	o	+

*E has [l]ú tur silim-ma-ni a d-da-[x-(x)] KA-z a at the beginning.

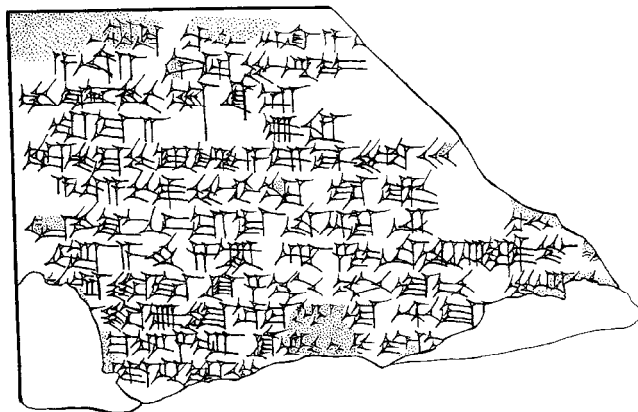


Fig. 1 (left). BM 32300.

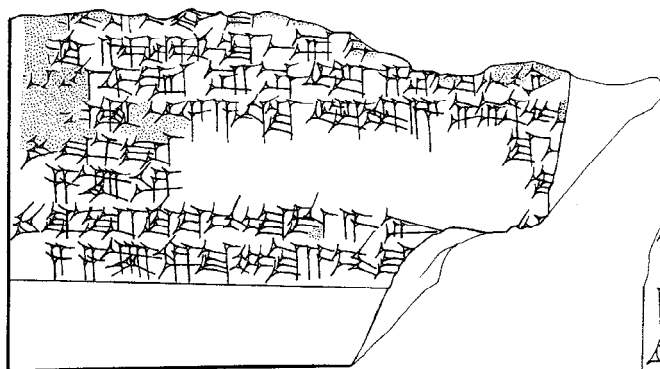
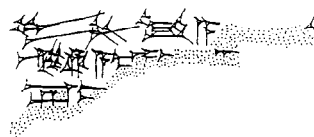
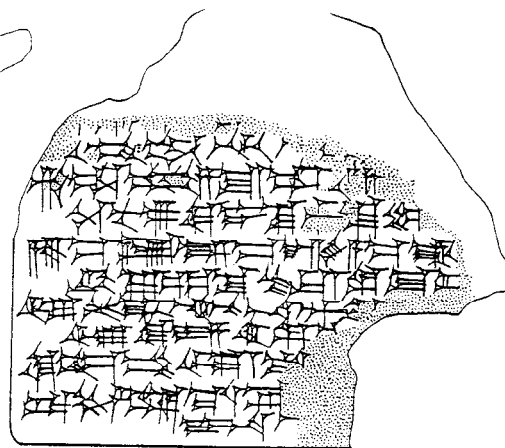


Fig. 2 (right). BM 130460.



The Song of the Millstone^{*}

0. *Introductory remarks*

This article presents a brief composition of a popular style, apparently a work song of the women working in a flour mill. The text can be restored only partially and the understanding of its contents remains far from satisfactory. It is always useful, however, to take stock of what is known about a particular text, no matter how fragmentary, in the hope that something useful can be gleaned from it. And, optimistically, be ready to incorporate new material, if and when it appears. Despite the meager results, I dare to offer these notes to my colleague Joaquín Sanmartín who knows firsthand the agony and the extasis of dealing with tiny cuneiform fragments.

1. *Literary genre*

The first mention of this text and the first suggestion about its literary genre is due to S.N. Kramer, who tentatively stated “it is not impossible [that is] a brief debate between the millstone and the g u l - g u l stone” (Kramer 1951:122). E.I. Gordon in his survey of “Wisdom” texts lists the composition, with no reservations, among the disputations (Gordon 1960:146), and this opinion has prevailed until now; see, for instance, Stol 1979:89. However, as far as one can tell, none of the essential characteristics of the debate (a - d a - m ì n) is present in the text. It seems to belong, instead, to a loosely defined and poorly attested genre that can be called “work song.” The native designation was e - e l - l u, e - l a - l u, i - l u (with many variants)¹ and its best example would be the “Song of the Plowing Oxen” (Civil 1976), a composition, however, in which its agricultural themes are combined with a marked ceremonial component,² something

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1. See Civil 1976:90.

2. Whether the t e r m a - d a - m ì n (–d u g₄/e) could be used to describe the activities of the text is another matter. The answer is quite possible affirmative. Besides designating a formal debate that follows certain artistic and social rules, the verb is

that cannot be detected in our song, despite the puzzling mention of Enlil in the opening lines. Our text (B₂ 13') calls explicitly the song e-l a-l u: "my millstone, I want to say your e-l a-l u," and the term appears in the very first line of the composition. A proverb (MS 2065) in Emesal and with a syllabic version, offers the variant i-l u-l u, with a somewhat unexpected translation:

i-lu-lu nu-zu ú-gu da-an-dé-e šà-mu nu-gig-ga e-še

i-lu-lu nu-zu ú-gu da-an-de-e šà-mu nu-gi-ga e-še

e-ri-i qé-mi ú-ul i-di-e ú-ha-al-la-⁷aq⁷-(ma) ú-ul i-ma-ar-ra-[aš] li-ib-[bi]

As they say: I do not know the work song, if it (the millstone) gets lost, I will not suffer (Sum.)

I do not know the flour millstone, if it gets lost, my heart will not be sick (Akk.)

Instead of an Akkadian equivalent of i-l u-l u, such as *elilu* (CAD E 90a s.v.) or *elēlu* (CAD E 80a s.v.),³ the translator, afraid that the implication that the word song was that of a miller would be lost, provides a translation ad sensum: 'the flour millstone'. The proverb is a reference to the feelings of the miller wishing to be free of the physically hard work of grinding, accompanied obviously by rhythmic songs. The proverb is in the Emesal dialect as shown by the subjunctive/optative da- for h é-/h a-. The song edited here, as well as the text edited in the Appendix 1, are also in Emesal; the workers in the flour mills, with the exception of the cadres and auxiliary personnel, were women, as shown by the administrative texts.

2. The "protagonists"

2.1. Since there is no real action, one can hardly speak of protagonists. Provisionally, and until more is known of the beginning and end of the text, one can assume that the speaker is a girl miller who, in the only more or less satisfactorily preserved part (section B₂), reports a dialogue between the personifications of the millstone and the mill-sharpening stone. The "hostility" between these two items was clearly a popular theme, present also in the text edited in Appendix 1, and in the section of Lugale 448-62 (Appendix 3). As it will become apparent below, the girl had a vested interest on having the millstone in a sharp condition enabling her to fulfill her work quota. This required the frequent intervention of the mill-sharpening stone.

2.2. The Mesopotamian millstone, ^{na4}k i n k i n (k i k k i n with assimilation), Akk. *erû*, is a relatively well-known entity. Suffice it to remind the reader that the Mesopotamian millstones consisted of a saddle-

used in a figurative sense describing the intensive use of implements or tools; "to compete" would be a fairly close translation. See, for instance, the example from the Debate between the Hoe and the Plow 181-84 quoted below in the comments to gap A 1'ff. To mention another case, line 84 of "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot" (Civil, JAOS 88 4¹⁹): [^{gis}a]l - e ^{gis}a p i n - e + g i š ± n a m - e r i n a - d a - m i n h a - m u - r a - a n - e "the hoe and the plow, the tools of the working class, will compete before you" can be simply a description of intensive agricultural activity rather than an allusion to a performance of the literary debate, as suggested in JAOS 88 4¹⁹.

3. A more precise translation in CAD would be 'song of jubilation'. The word is onomatopoeic, and not a verbal infinitive, while *alēlu* B can be considered a denominative. The forms *alēla*, *elēlu*, *elūlu*, etc. are simply variants.

shaped stone slab, i.e. were of the metate type, with a “pounder” or “hammerstone,” a spherical or cylindrical stone called šu ‘hand’.⁴ The rotary mill appears only very late in Seleucid, or perhaps even Parthian, times (Moorey 1999:72; Ellis 1995:404). Appendix 2 discusses some terminological problems associated with the millstone.

2.3. The term ^{na4}g ul - g ul requires some clarification, and the usual translation “lower millstone” (e.g., Stol 1979:89, Milano 1995:395) is in all probability incorrect. The Ur III accounts of the Girsu flour mills list among the personnel assigned to them the ^{na4}k in k in - g ul - g ul. Two of them work in the “new flour mill” (Telloh 154 ii 13ff.) alongside two scribes, seven guards/doormen, three mat and basket makers, one carpenter, four potters, etc. It is an infrequent profession: only three men engaged in it are known by name in all documents related to the Girsu flour mills.⁵ No mention of this profession seems to be known from other Ur III archives, at least not with the express designation ^{na4}k in k in - g ul - g ul. The Old Babylonian story, edited in Appendix 1, has as a central figure a lú - ^{na4}k in k in - g ul - g ul. As for the meaning, both archeological and lexical evidence point to “man who reconditions the millstone surface.” To work efficiently, the surface of the millstone needs to be rough, this is made by making pockmarks on the surface of the stone (the millstones found in Mesopotamia are pitted rather than grooved). “The best [millstones] require a surface that should not wear smooth, but should retain a rough texture” (Moorey 1999:72). Charles 1939:142 (quoted by Stol 1979:90) explains that in the Middle Euphrates the millstones⁶ “on les repique ..., *yinaggirû*, tous les trois jours; elles font trois ou quatre ans d’usage.” The ancient term is g ul = *naqāru ša erī* Antagal 3:199 (the Akkadian root here is precisely the same Semitic one quoted by Charles).⁷ The Nippur Forerunner to Hh XVI (*MSL* 10 58) gives: 100 n a₄.g ul - g ul, 101 n a₄.s u!⁸ - g ul - g ul, preceded by n a₄.s a g - k a l and n a₄.s a g - g a r, and followed by n a₄.s a g - d u, and then by the n a₄.k in k in section. Despite the reading problem in line 101, the canonical Hh XVI (*MSL* 10 11) has š u - g ul - g ul in lines 245 and 250, and the Ugarit version (*MSL* 10 45, revised by D. Kennedy,⁹ unpublished) has:

213	na ₄ .šu-uš	<i>nār-ka-bu</i>
214	na ₄ .šu-uš-gul	<i>mu-qu-rum</i>
215	na ₄ .šu-uš-gul-gul	<i>mu-qu-ri-rum</i>

4. Reading Stol 1979, one wonders at times if he was implicitly thinking of a rotary mill.

5. e n-KA- u₅ is mentioned quite often: *Telloh* 140 i 5; 149:10⁷; *CT* 3 pl. 33:158; *CT* 10 pl. 26 i 12; *HLC* 1 pl. 2 379 i 12 (now A 32030). The ones working in the “new flour mill” are U r - ^db a - ú and U r - ^da l - l a (*Telloh* 154 ii 13 ff.). For the first name, *CT* 3 and 10 give the second sign as DÜL; A 32030 (the only text I could collate) has a clear KA.

6. Note that Charles is describing a mechanical, water-driven mill.

7. See simply Wehr 1961:990b s.v., for the Arabic. See also Stol 1979:90.

8. The sign cannot be šU. It is not SAG either, as the copy in *SLT* 179 iii 15 would suggest. In A 30228 (source V15), the surface is worn, but the sign is just 4.8 mm long while the SAG signs in lines 98, 99, and 102 are 6-6.2 mm long. The other sources were collated by Michalowski.

9. In *MSL* 10 44 line 191 is to be deleted, and 196 is a free restoration, based on the canonical recension.

For the added -uš, see Appendix 2.3. The Akkadian morphology of 214f., undoubtedly originally derivations of *naqāru*,¹⁰ must be a mistake of the Ugarit scribe. In conclusion, the term designating the stone tool used to make pockmarks on the millstone is *na₄.gul-gul*, with a less well attested variant *na₄.šu-gul-gul*, i.e., šu ‘pounder’ + *gul-gul*. The passage Lugale 448-62 deals with the *sag-kal* stone in relation with the pitting hammerstone (*na₄.gul-gul*) and the millstone, poetically designated as *na₄.sag-gar*. For details, see Appendix 3.

3. Sources¹¹

A	Ni 3023 (<i>SLTN</i> 131) + Ni 4144 (<i>ISET</i> 2 123) + Ni 4452 (<i>ISET</i> 2 121) + Ni 4473 (<i>ISET</i> 2 22) + Ni 4483 (<i>ISET</i> 1 101) + Ni 4484 (<i>ISET</i> 1 67) i 17'-iii 4' (fig. 1) Eight-column tablet with miscellaneous compositions; for the joins and contents, see Civil 1972:89. Ni 4144 was joined to <i>SLTN</i> 131 by E.I. Gordon, the other fragments by the author. An old, but good, photo of Ni 3023 was available, H.G. Güterbock and V. Dombaz provided some collations. ¹²	A 1-3, B 1'-22', C 5'-6'.
B	CBS 8213 (fig. 2) Upper left corner of the obverse of a type II exercise tablet, with a little less than one-half preserved; the reverse is metrological. Surface in poor condition.	B 10'-21'.
C	UCLM 9-1824* (<i>JCS</i> 28 [1976] 101, 104) Small fragment of a tablet of unknown size, from Tutub. A collation of the last line, kindly provided by D. Foxvog, ¹³ shows that the “Song of the Millstone” was followed in UCLM 9-1824 by the same composition that follows it in <i>SLTN</i> 131.	C 1'-6'.
D	CBS 4862 (fig. 3) Upper left corner of the obverse of a type II exercise tablet; the reverse is uninscribed.	gap A.

10. The passage is not preserved in the Emar texts.

11. The poorly preserved fragment Ni 9829 rev. (*ISET* 2 113) could perhaps be part of the Song.

12. When this article was already finished, Piotr Michalowski kindly provided me with a recent set of excellent photos of Ni 3023.

13. Letter of 7/15/1977.

4. *Text*

Section A (source A i)

- 1 +x GAR?±^{na4}kinkin e-la-[l]u
 2 [...] ^dmu-ul-líl-[lá]
 3 [...] ^{+na4?~}[gul?]-+gul?±-[x]

Gap A of at least 14 single lines. Source D belongs probably here; it can overlap the beginning of section.

Section B₁ (source D).

- 1' gış-gana [...]
 2' gi₄-mu-d[a ...]
 3' ^{giš}šu-sal ʾNIʾ [...]
 4' ^{giš}ša-an-[sur ...]
 5' [g]i₄-mu-[da ...]
 6' [x] šu sag₉ [...]
 7' [x] +x± me mu-[...]

Section B₂ (sources A ii and B)

- 01' A [...-g]i₄
 02' A [...]-bi / [...-g]i₄-gi₄
 03' A [... gi₄-m]u-da
 04' A [... g]i₄-mu-da
 05' A ʾšà sig₄ʾ [... s]ag₉-sag₉ / HAR ʾxʾ [... gi₄]-mu-da
 06' A za tur-tur za g[ú]-nu-zu-mu / ^{gi}ma-a[n-s]im gi₄-mu-da
 07' A za gal-gal za mu-lu-ug-ga-mu
 08' A ^{gi}ma-an-sim níg-àr-ra gi₄-mu-da

- 09' A gissu gú^{im}šu-rin-na-ka gub-ba
- 10' A dili-ni^{na4} gul-gul-e / [(x) n]am?-mu-da-gi₄-gi₄-in
- 11' A [x] ʾxʾ-mu bí-in-gi₄-gi₄ / KA-mu bí-in-gi₄-gi₄
 B []-in-gi₄-gi₄ / [x]-ʾmuʾ bí- in-gi₄-gi₄
- 12' A ʾxʾ KA-mu bí- in-gi₄-gi₄
 B ʾxʾ KA-mu bí- in-gi₄-gi₄
- 13' A ^{na4}kinkin-mu e-la-lu-zu ga-àm-dug₄
 B ^{na4}kinkin -ʾmuʾ i-lu-ʾlamʾ | ga-àm-ʾdug₄ʾ | ba-e-gar-ra á?-da-na
 A a-ba-àm níg e-da-an-tuku |
 B a-ba níg mu-da-du₈ |
- 14' A ^{na4}kinkin-e ^{na4}gul-gul-la gù mu-na-dé-e
 B ^{na4}kinkin-e ^{na4}gul-gul-ʾeʾ mu-un-+na-ni±-ib-gi₄-gi₄
- 15' A ama-mu hu-mu-un-tu-ud-en
 B ama-AŠ hé-me-ʾenʾ-tu-ud-dè-en
- 16' A digir-mu hu-mu-un-dím-dím^{di-im-di-im}-en
 B digir-AŠ hé-me-ʾenʾ-dím-me-dè-e[n]
- 17' A ʾur₅ʾ-re-tu-tu hé-me-en-dè-en
 B om.
- 18' A dugud-a ga-gu₇ hé-me-en-dè-en
 B om.
- 19' A za-e a-na-aš-àm igi-gá bí-kúr-re / kir₄-gá bí-kúr-re |
 B za-ʾeʾ ta-àm igi-gá bí-ku₄-r[e] | [ki]-ri-gá bí-ʾku₄ʾ-r[e]
- 20' A [(x)-x]-ʾxʾ-mu ʾbarʾʾ-búr-ra-zu-šè
 B traces
- 21' A [x x x x] ʾxʾ-na-zu-šè
- 22' A traces
 Gap of at least 6 lines in A

Section C (sources A and C)

- 1' C [... N]E 'x' [...]
 2' C [x x x x]-za níg DI NI [...] / [^{na4}gul]-gul-e šà-m[u? ...]
 3' C [x x x] šà-mu hé-e[m-...] / šà-mu ba-ra-b[i-...]
 4' C [x x]-'x'-mu kur-re [...] / [š]u?-mu ur₄-re nu-ub-š[i-x]
 5' A [x x x]-'mu x x x ba' [...] / [š]u?-mu ur₄-re nu-ub-ši-+x±
 C [x x]-'x'-mu ki!-bal a-ba [...] / [š]u?-mu ur₄-re nu-ub-š[i-x]
 6' A [^{na4}kinkin-mu DU-a DU-a kar-ka[r] / lum-ma lum-m[a]
 C []-mu DU-a kar-kar / lum-ma lum-m[a]

(end)

Translation

(Only the satisfactorily preserved lines are translated)

- B₂
 06' Oh, my small stones, rare necklace beads ...
 Work with the sieve!
 07' Oh my larger stones, stones for a neck ornament ...
 08' Work with the grits sieve!
 09' Standing close to the fire, in the shadows,
 10' by itself, you, sharpening stone, are not working.
 11' My mouth is working on,
 12' my ... is working on.
 13' My Millstone, I want to sing your song, who can sing something about you?
 15' The Millstone says to the Sharpening stone:
 16' My mother gave you birth,
 17' my god fashioned you.
 18' If we are siblings,
 19' if we have been nursed (together) in abundance,
 20' why do you change my face?
 21' why do you change my nose?

Section C

6' My millstone, go, go! run, run! bite, bite!

5. Comments

Section A.

Lines 1-2. The initial words are uttered by the miller girl, as shown by the Emesal form of Enlil's name. The traces of the first signs in the copy of Ni 4473 (*ISCT* 2 22) seem compatible with 's a g - g a r', in the photo, however, the traces are more indistinct. On the term s a g - g a r, a poetic term for millstone and, possibly, the millstone deity (although here there is no room here for an initial AN or NA₄), see Appendix 2. On line 2, the regens of the genitive ^dm u - u l - l í l - l á could be something like "the miller" (of Enlil), or perhaps "the temple," or "the town." (cf. Appendix 1, line 4). A word for son is probably excluded.

Section B.

There is almost certainly an overlap between the text of D and the beginning of A col. ii. The s a g₉ sign of D 6' and the ones of A ii 5' may very well be the same, see below. The text follows the pattern X Y g i₄ - m u - d a, where X is a descriptive phrase, and Y the name of an implement used in the processing of the grain. In B₁ the tools are the g i š - g a n - n a and the ^{giš}š a - a n - s u r, in B₂ two varieties of ^{gi}m a - a n - s i m, all tools used in the pounding and sifting of grain. The tools appear in the same sequence in a description of the tumultuous processing of grain in AA 182-84:

^{na4}kinkin ma-ná ^{giš}naga₄ ma-du₇-du₇

giš-gan-na-ta tu₁₀ mu-un-ak-e

^{giš}š a - a n - s u r ^{gi}ma-an-sim-bi a-da-min-bi mu-un-ak

(one says) 'the millstone has been laid down for me!' (the other) 'the mortar is made ready for me!'

they pound with the pestle,

they compete with sieves ...

g i š - g a n - n a, Akk. *bukānu* 'pestle'. Photos taken by the early Pennsylvania expeditions show a hollowed tree trunk, 40-50 cm high, used as a mortar (^{giš}n a g a₄). The mortar is a thick wooden stick, 100-120 cm long, with a heavy transversal piece of wood on top (or clay?) to increase its weight.

^{giš}š a - (a n) - s u r,¹⁴ Akk. *nappû* (Nabn. 14:96), a type of sieve, is an infrequent lexical item, not found next to ^{gi}m a - a n - s i m in Hh, and apparently not used in Ur III texts.¹⁵ ^{giš}š a - s u r n u - u b - r a - a h - a z í d -

14. Variant -zar, instead of -sur in AA 184.

n i n u - š u b - b é ‘the flour of the one who does not shake the sieve will not drop down’ Proverb 3.174 (Alster 1997:109).¹⁶

^{gi}m a - a n - s i m,¹⁷ Akk. *nappû* and *nappītu*, is the regular term for sieve, amply attested in lexical and administrative texts in various types, one of which is the ^{gi}m a - a n - s i m - n í g - à r - r a (n í g - à r - r a = Akk. *mundu* ‘groats’, or ‘grits’?), frequent in Ur III: Nikolski 2 232:4; *YOS* 4 316; *TEN* 242:3; *UTAMI* 5 3163:3; etc. etc. It was some times impregnated with bitumen (e s í r s u - b a): *TCL* 5 6036 x 19, xi 26; Nikolski 2 231; etc.

The line B₂ 5’ (possibly identical with B₁ 6’), presently ununderstandable, must refer to some operation immediately preceding sifting.

Lines B₂ 6’-7’. These lines include a stereotyped formula known from “liturgical” texts, from where may have been taken here. Alternatively, both, liturgical texts and the present composition may have borrowed it from some type of folk song.

za TUR-TUR za gal-gal	za g[ú]-nu-zu-mu za mu-lu-ug-ga-mu	
[...]-+de±-el [...]-gal	za ku-+nu-zu-zu± za ma-la-ga-zu	AO 4328 r. iii’ 1’f. (<i>NFT</i> p. [206])
za TUR-TUR za-gal-gal	za gu-nu-zu-zu za ma/ba-la-ga-zu	<i>VAS</i> 2 32 i 5’f.
na ₄ TUR-TUR : di!-ra na ₄ gal-gal	na ₄ gú-nu-zu-mu na ₄ mu-lu-ug-ga-mu	Sm 537 (<i>BL</i> 34) + Rm 540 (<i>BL</i> 88):8’f.

Your/my small stones, rare necklace beads,
your/my large stones, stones for a neck ornament.

The problematic word here is m u - l u - u g. Note that no source has b u l u g, and that all sources are Emesal. Other instances of m u - l u - u g are: Love Song C₁ (see below), and Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi

15. Probably represented in these texts by the Ur III item ^{gi}s u₇(r) - s u₇(r) (mistransliterated at times as z a r - z a r), often quoted next to ^{gi}m a - a n - s i m.

16. With slightly different translation. I take the first half to be a headless relative clause with undetermined agent (‘someone’, ‘they’) antecedent of the possessive -n i.

17. Written ma-sim already in ED (AHD xxiii 04’) and regularly before Ur III, (e.g., *DP* 492 pass., 507 ii 10, etc.), and even occasionally in Ur III (*SACT* 2 203). The form an-sim in *TPTS* 233 is exceptional.

2000:35 M₄ 4 (in broken context). It is found, as a variant, in the topos *bulug kù-(sig₁₇)^(na4)kišib za-gìn-na* (*SRT* 23:11; *PRAK* 2 c 118 r. i 10') "a golden/silver chisel¹⁸ and a lapislazuli seal," the Emesal duplicate *BE* 30 6 iv 6 has *mu-lu-ug kù-mu kišib za-gìn-mu*. Other Emesal texts have *bulug*, even with glosses: ^{bu}*bulug-bulug-ga* *SBH* 106 56:62f., ^{bu-lu-ug}*bulug* *RA* 11 (1914) 148:16; in both cases, however, with the meaning 'boundary marker'. An alternation main dialect [b] : Emesal [m] is otherwise unknown (no examples in Schretter 1990). Furthermore, there are no attestations of a variation u/a for the word *bulug*. The meaning 'chisel' seems excluded, a translation "stones of a chisel," in the sense of stones suitable to be engraved with one's name, being too forced. In the Nippur Foreunner to Hh XVI 31 (*MSL* 10 55) among the objects made of lapis lazuli there is a *na₄.mu-lu-ug-za-gìn*, commented as *na₄.mul-ug = illūku = [...]* in HAR-gud to Hh XVI 99 (*MSL* 10 32), just before terms for neck decorations:¹⁹ *tiqnu*, *sudduru/sudūru*, *udūru*, *erimmatu*, and *nīru* B. Therefore *illūku* is not a type of stone, but something made of stones (bigger than beads) and/or cloth,²⁰ and worn around the neck. In the love song C₁ ii 14f. (Sefati 1998:288, with comments 298) Inanna dresses up before her wedding:

^{tug}*palà-mah bar-ra nam-mi-in-dul*
 ù *mu-lu-ga-ni šu ba-an-ti*
^{na4}*za-gìn gú-a si bí-ib-sá-sá-e*
^{na4}*kišib šu-ni-a ba-ni-in-du₈*

she covers her back with the lofty garment,
 even takes her neck ornament,
 straightens up all lapis lazuli beads on the neck,
 she holds the seal in her hands.

In Lugale 625 there seems to be a ^{na4}*mul-ug*, but in a broken, ununderstandable, context. The word *illūku* is a Sumerian loanword according to *CAD* I/J 86b s.v. This is quite possible (*muluk* > **wuluk* > **uluk*), but it is perhaps more reasonable to assign to Sumerian and Akkadian a common origin.²¹ In conclusion, *mulug* (with a variant *malag*) is a word in its own right, distinct from *bulug*. The spelling in *BE* 30 6, above, as a variant of *bulug*, is thus due to a scribal confusion. The physical aspect of a *mulug* cannot, unfortunately, be determined beyond the imprecise 'neck ornament'.

18. *PSD* B 174b (followed by Sefati 1998:298) translates 'pin', presumably thinking of the central axe of a cylinder seal. Passages like *UET* 3 399:1, 617, 752 ii 9', among others, show that *bulug* is the tool to inscribe a text or carve a seal.

19. The place of the restorations of Hh XVI 374ff. in *MSL* 10 is incorrect.

20. Note that *illūku*, as shown by the lexical references in *CAD* I/J 86b s.v., could also be made of cloth (the same applies probably also to *sudduru*, equated to *illūku* in a synonym list). It designates therefore a decoration worn around the neck that could be made of stones and/or cloth (see also *nīru* B in *CAD* N/2 265a s.v.). The translation "a sumptuous garment" is thus an unsupported hypothesis.

21. The ù before *mu-lu-g*, above, should not be taken as an "intermediate" form: it is probably a mere "filler" since the poem has octosyllabic lines. Sefati 1998:298, following Hallo, assumes that Akk. *mulgu*, something similar to 'dowry' (*CAD* M/2 193b), comes from Sum. *mulug*.

The verb $g i_4$, here in the imperative $g i_4 - m u - d a$, is attested with $g i_4 m a - a n - s i m$ in: 30 $g e m é u_4$ 1-šè $d a b i n - n a g i_4 m a - a n - s i m g i_4 - a$ *TLC* 5 5670 iii 18f. and *SAT* 2 580;²² 1 $m a - a n - s i m z i d - g u z i d - d a m a - a n - s i m g i_4 - g i_4 - d è$ *UTAMI* 4 2406. B_1 here shows that it could be used also with the mortar as object. Given the polysemy of $g i_4$, it is not easy to determine the precise meaning: perhaps it means simply ‘to work’, or, more precisely, ‘to work manually with repetitious movements’, as in pounding or sifting.

In B_2 6’ff., I assume that the first part expresses what the milling girl has in mind, longing of a better situation, and that her thoughts are interrupted by the supervisor barking “work!”

Line B_2 9’ff. Did fire play any role on the sharpening of the millstone?

Line B_2 14’. Note the different verbs in sources A and B. Does the $g i_4 - g i_4$ in the latter imply that in the version represented by B there was a previous address of the $na^4 g u l - g u l$ to the $na^4 k i n k i n$?

B_2 17’. The term “sibling” translates $H A R - r a - t u - t u$ ²³ (possibly $u r_5 - r a - t u - t u$), lit. ‘born together’, found in Proto-Lu 368 in the section of newborns and infants. It is not known if the term is limited to the narrower meaning “twins,” or if it simply means “children of the same mother.” The only bilingual lexical reference is a non committal: $H A R - r a - d ù - d ù = Š U - u$ Lu III 39.²⁴

Section C

No verbs are preserved in this section, only the last line is translatable.

Line 6’. The translation of $k a r$ is based on $k a r = l a s ā m u$ ‘to run’. Among the readings of LUM ending in $-m$, $g ū m = g / k a š ā š u$ Ea 5/1:48 (presumably a variant of $g / k u m = h a š ā l u$, said of grain, Nabn. 20:232, etc.) provides a satisfactory meaning ‘to crush’, ‘to bite’, said of the action of a well pitted millstone.

Appendices

1. A folktale about grain milling

A school tablet (type II) in the Museo Egizio of Turin (Archi et al. 1999 n. 781, here fig. 4) has on its flat side (II/1), (with the right column erased, as is often the case with these tablets) a short story about a millstone sharpener. The other side has multiplication tables.²⁵ Only about 2/3 of the text are preserved. It has been read from a photo, I have had no chance to study the tablet directly. The text is very difficult, but seems to deal with the payment (in grain) of the work done by the millstone sharpener.

22. Read $g i_4 m a - a n - s i m g i_4 - g i_4 - d è$ in *SAT* 2 pp. 565 and 577 s.v. This tablet is resumed in *TCL* 5 5670 iii 18f.

23. Var. $- t u - d a$ for $t u - t u$; written $H A R - r a - d ù - d ù$ in Proto-Lu Ugarit 261’. Uncertain context occurrence in proverb Ni 5271:5’ (*ISCT* 2 105).

24. *AHw* 1433a *urradudû* ‘ein Händler’?

25. Published by A. Archi *SMEA* 18 (1977) pl. II fig. 4.

- 01 lú^{na4}kinkin-gul-g[ul ...]
 02 ^{na4}kinkin ga-[x]
 03 gù ba-an-dé
 04 munus si-sá nibru^{ki}-ke₄
 05 ^{na4}kinkin-gul-gul-lu-mu
 06 šà é-gal +kù?±-mu
 07 me-na-à[m ...] +x±
 08 ʾHARʾ ba-ab-zé-[èṁ ...]
 09 lú-ri nam-si-sá ʾx xʾ
 10 ʾ(x) xʾ ba-ni-in-ʾdug₄ʾ
 11 lugal é gál-tak₄-a
 12 1 gur 1+x? gur-ta
 13 še ma-ab-sum-mu
 14 dumu ʾlugalʾ gù mu-ʾnaʾ-[dé?]
 15 ne-šè še-bi a-sag? mu-si
 16 zé-èṁ-+ma±-ab
 17 na₄[...] ʾx xʾ [x]
 18 še ʾxʾ [...]
 (rest, ca. 6 lines, broken)

The man who reconditions millstones said: “I want to ... the millstone.” The rightful woman from Nippur, (said); “My millstone reconditioner, when will the palace ... give me my pay(?)” That man will say “. . . in justice, once the house is open, the king will give me one gur out of one+ gur ...” I (?) will say to the king’s son: “now they filled the storeroom with grain, give it to me!” (rest broken)

2. Notes on the terminology of the millstone

There are some misconceptions about the terminology of the millstone, this section tries to straighten out some of them, without attempting an exhaustive study.

2.1. The name of the millstone is preferably *k i n k i n* (written indifferently HAR or HAR.HAR),²⁶ a reduplicated form reflecting the repetitive action of the instrument; *k i k k i n*, with assimilation, is also acceptable: *k i - i n - k i - i n* Proto-Ea 384, Diri 2:67, CBS 7094; *k i - i k - k i - i n* Ea 5:130; *k i - i n - k i n* MSL 14 144:12^a; *k i - i k - k i n* S^a:006; *k i - i k - k e - e n* S^b 1:30; etc. A competing reading *à r*, *a r à* seems better reserved for the verb ‘to grind’. There is some conflicting lexical evidence, e.g., in Diri 2:67 the translation of *k i n k i n* is *ṭēnu* ‘to grind’, rather than *erû*. Possibly the translation should be ‘grinder’, see

26. Note, e.g., *gemé HAR - n a - k e₄* in BIN 5 172, and *g e m é HAR.HAR - n a - k e₄* in 173. Cf. the frequent simplification of repeated signs, as exemplified by UD and UD.UD. The simple HAR should be transliterated as a reduplicated form:

below. A reading àr (and similar ones, even h a r) for the millstone is, however, a reasonable one, since it would reflect Akk. *erû*, or even perhaps directly Semitic *rĥ*, with metathesis.

2.2. In Ur III, the term for ‘grain milling girl’ is *gemé kinkin-na* ‘the servant(s) of the millstone’ (e.g. *UTAMI* 5 3123:2-3; *MVN* 21 14:1; etc.), but often without - n a. The arguments adduced in Oppenheim 1948 W 30 for a possible reading àr - (àr) are incorrect or insufficient.²⁷ Beginning at least in Old Babylonian times, there is, however, solid evidence for a reading àr - àr. See simply the lexical references and passages quoted in *CAD* A/2 233b *ararru* (a loanword from Sumerian). An unpublished MB tablet of Proto-Lu, not always reliable, gives:

5:43	a-àr	a-ra-ar	<i>a-ra-rum</i>
5:44	SAL.a-àr	mu-nu-ús-a-ra-ar	<i>a-ra-ar-[tum]</i>
5:45	ur ₅ -ur ₅	ur-ur	<i>te₄-i-nu</i>
5:46	SAL.ur ₅ -ur ₅	mu-nu-ús-ur-ur	<i>te₄-in-tum</i>
5:47	šu-HAR	šu-ur-su-ur	<i>sa-mi-du</i>

It is perfectly natural to have a designation ‘milling girl’ alongside ‘girl of the millstone’.

Although HAR.(HAR) is followed some times by - n a, genitive as in *u g u l a HAR - n a* *AUCT* 2 206:3, *ugula HAR-na-ke₄* *UTAMI* 4 2319:3, or locative as in *má HAR-na ba-a-gar* *UTAMI* 3 2085:12, much more frequently the expected -a (genitive or locative) is not written. One may wonder if the word itself ends in a vowel (**kinkina*), or is a headless genitive (**kinkin - a k*), see above. HAR.HAR alone is found with no ending in: (1) the name of the miller’s occupation, as in PN HAR.HAR ^d*nin-gír-su* ‘PN miller of Ningirsu’ (in seals, e.g. *MVN* 12 87, 280), or designating the women millers themselves in distribution lists; (2) in the term *má HAR.HAR*, found sometimes with - n a, as in (mats) *má HAR - n a - k a b a - a - d u l₉* *UTAMI* 4 2367:9 (see also 3 2085:12 above), but with no endings in the great majority of cases; (3) the same can be said of *é - HAR.(HAR)* ‘the mill building’. Of course, one could suppose that this is due to an alternative reading **a r a r a* (see above), but this either would be undetectable, or a careful investigation of the distribution of the competing forms is needed.

2.3. The pounding stone, or muller, is called *šu* ‘hand’ in Sumerian and *narkabu* (lit. ‘the rider’) in Akkadian, see *CAD* N/1 s.v.²⁸ Besides the lexical references quoted in note, a clear passage is Arnaud 1987 no. 553:117’, 119’, as completed in Civil 1989:17:

27. The “puzzling” spelling *gemé ar-na* in *TCL* 5 5670 iii 21 is a scribal error for *ar - <za> - n a*, as shown by the parallel *TCL* 5 5668 iii 6. The *àr - ri* ‘to grind’ in *ITT* 5 6973 is in fact [(x) h a] - m u - n a - HAR - r e, with uncertain meaning (cf. *ibid.* line 8), in the letter *TCS* 1 117:5. The spelling *a - r a* in: (goats) *sizkur má lugal é a - r a - a - a* *AOS* 32 O 11:2; (oxen and sheep) *kaš - dé - a a - r a - NE é dingir - re - e - ne - ke₄* *Or* 47-49 iii 10; *šá - gal gan - KU HAR - re - ne* *ITT* 5 6885, is found in passages that in all likelihood have nothing to do with grain mills.

28. Where the lexical references from *MSL* 10 11:244, 252, 265, 23 ad 244, and 44f.:192, 197, 212 have been forgotten. In *MSL* 10 44:191 *zi - bu šu - zi - ga* is a Sumerian gloss to *su - si - ga* of line 192.

- 117' [kinkin] zi-bu šu-si-ga *e-ri zi-bu a-di nàr-ka-bi-šu*
 119' kinkin ad-bar šu-si-g[a] *e-ri ad-ba-ri a-di nàr-ka-bi-šu*

The expression is already found in Early Dynastic, in the so-called “Archaic HAR-ra” (Civil 1987:144:92, 93, revised, and p. 157):

- 92 HAR+HAR²⁹ šu-šu *HAR mar-ga-bi-sù AN.ŠÈ*
 93 HAR+HAR šè-bu šu-šu *HAR na NE a ak mar-<ga>-bi-sù AN.ŠÈ-sù*

The first line is relatively clear, its Semitic part adds apparently the verb ‘to have’, and reads literally “millstone a pounding stone (*markabu*) above.”³⁰ In the second, it is difficult to see how *na NE a ak* can correspond to šè - b u (= *zību*). In any case, the entries show unambiguously that the names of the muller in both languages goes back to Early Dynastic. In PreSargonic and Ur III texts one finds *kinkin šu si/si-ga* ‘millstone provided with a muller’,³¹ contrasting with *kinkin šu nu-tuku* ‘millstone that has no muller’ (*ITT* 3/2 6184, *UET* 3 272 iv 38, etc.). The only term used for the muller is thus ^(na4)š u. There are indications, however, that point to a pronunciation /š u š/. The passage ^{na4}*kinkin dam-a-ni* ^{na4}š u - š ú d u₅ - m u - n i - i m “the grinding slab is her husband, the muller her son” Dialogue 5:99; among imports from Magan, *UET* 6 1 ii 9 (= Enki and Ninhursag) lists *na4.KAL* ^{na4}U (= š u š?) ^{na4}š u - m i n; the ^{na4}š u - U of Lugal 435,³² and the repeated ŠU.ŠU in the Early Dynastic passage quoted above, all could be taken as reasons to suspect an ending -š. If so, either the word is not really “hand,” or it is š u + qualification of unknown meaning. Perhaps *š u š < š u + a š ‘a single pounding stone’, opposed to š u - m i n ‘a double pounding stone.’

A competing term *na4-š u - (a)k*, lit. ‘stone of the hand’ has created some confusion (Stol 1979:94). The corresponding Akkadian term is *sû*. Since *CAD* S 337a *sû* A has the correct interpretation, no discussion is now necessary. Suffice it to say that *na4-š u - (a)k* is a stone used as a hammer to work on the anvil, it is thus essentially a tool of the metal smith (see references in *CAD* S 337 a) 2’). The term is used metaphorically to describe a heavy downpour of hailstones (during a trip of Enki’s boat): *tur-tur-bi na4-š u - (a) - k a m* (Gilgameš and Enkidu 19 = 62 = 106), or slingstones raining on the enemy: *im-dug-ge na4-š u - gin₇ murgu-ba dub-da-ab ha-ma-ab-[za]* “the slingstones pound noisily their backs like hammers” Šulgi D 184f. (Klein 1981:78). The Early Dynastic entry *na4-simug* = *zu-wu-um* (Civil:1987:145:98) is the first Semitic attestation of the term. The related *na4-š u - m i n* ‘the

29. Abu Salabikh has HAR over HAR (mistranslated previously as NUNUZ), Ebla only one HAR.

30. *a n - š è* = *a-i-núm* />*al’num*/ ‘above’ (adv.), Akk. *el’ūnu* (Conti 1990:190). For details, see my forthcoming edition of the list.

31. Misunderstood at times: “finger-ring” (*TCS* 1 p. 131 *h a r*, with reservations), and even “one bunch of shredded onions” (*SET* 177:1)!

32. Cursed in 441: *giriš-gin₇ šu ha-ba-e-en-zé-en* “may you be stricken/broken (*š u - d u g₄*), like butterflies,” i.e., may you be shattered and fly away in chips, like butterflies, obviously the worst fate that can happen to a hammer.

double hammer stone³³ (Akk. *šumēnu/šuminnu* and *makkasu*) is equally old: *na₄-š u = NA₄ ŠU.2* (ibid. line 95). Literary references are: *na₄.š u - mìn - e u₄ - da - à m sig₄ mu - na - ab - gi₄ na₄ ka la g na₄ - š u - k e₄* (continuation broken) “the double hammer roars like a storm, the hard stone, the hammer stone ...” Gudea Cyl. A xvi 30ff.; *ur si mu g - k e₄ na₄.š u - mìn - e nu - mu - un - zi* “the dog of the metalsmith could not displace the double hammer/anvil” Proverb 2.112 (Alster 1997:68).

3. On *Lugale* 448-62

Eclectic text based on van Dijk 1983:125-27.

- 448 lugal-mu na₄.sag-kal-e ba-gub
 449 [n]a₄.gul-gul [^{na₄}sag]-gar-ra gu ba-an-dé
 450 ^d[n]in-urta dum[u ^den]-líl-[l]á-ke₄ [nam àm-mi-n]i-ib-tar-re
 451 [...] ‘x’ ma-RI-a-na-gin₇
 452 na₄.gul-gul KA-kéš-da ma-an-b[úr?-bú]r?-[r]e-na-gin₇
 453 ^{na₄}sag-gar sag mu-e-tuk₄-tuk₄-a-gin₇
 454 en-me-en zú gá-ra mu-e-súd-súd-da-gin₇
 455 ^{na₄}sag-gar na₄ sag-kal-e hé-si-ge
 456 šul zi na₄.gul-gul-e hé-gul-e
 457 sag nu-kal-la si-ig ha-b[a]-ra-an-zé-è m
 458 šà-gar kalam-ma-šè gar-ba-ni-ib šu uru^{ki}-za hé-eb-si
 459 sag hé-sal ur-sag gemé-e-ne hé-me-en
 460 ul₄-ab sar-ra-ab hu-mu-ra-ab-bé mu-bi hé-é[b]-sa₄
 461 i-ne-éš nam-tar-ra ^dnin-urta-ka
 462 u₄-da un-e kin-gig-di-šè ur₅ hé-na-nam-me

- 448 My king! the hard stones are present,
 449 The Reconditioning stone (na₄.gul-gul) and the Millstone (sag-gar) have been summoned,
 450 Ninurta, the son of Enlil, will decide their fate:
 451 because ...,
 452 because you, the Sharpening stone, have broken(?) the pact with me,
 453 because you have shaken up the Millstone,
 454 because you have sunk your teeth on it, against me, I am your Lord!,
 455 a hard stone will strike the Millstone,

33. Or “symmetrical”? i.e., a real hammer with two heads and a central handle. On the other hand, one could suspect that the term (“the two stones”?) designates the hammer *plus* the anvil, and also, perhaps, the anvil alone. The matter requires further study.

- 456 a good warrior will destroy the Sharpening stone.
 457 A worthless, feeble person will be given to you,
 458 be put for the hunger of the country! that you may fill the hands of your town,
 459 you will worthless! you will be the champion of the servant girls!
 460 they will tell you: “quick! faster!” they will give you this name.
 461 And now the fate decreed by Ninurta:
 462 “Today, the people (has) to do a painful work, let it be so!”

Only some relevant remarks on the already mentioned conflict between the two stones are given here. 449. On the stone *s a g g a r* see Stol 1979:92,³⁴ and Prechel 1999. It is a poetic, symbolic designation of the grinding slab, and possibly of its divine personification: [*s a g - g a r HAR*] = ^d*sa-an-[gar]*, just before *k i - i k - k i - i n* = *erû* (Ea 5:129). A male deity *Sag-gar* appears in *An = anum* IV:

272	^d <i>taš-me-zi-ik-ru</i>	SAL <i>sukkal</i> ^d <i>be-let-bi-ri-ke₄</i>
273	^d <i>sag-gar</i>	<i>dam-bi</i>
274	^d <i>MIN₁HAR</i>	MIN
275	^d <i>al-ma-nu</i>	MIN
276	^d <i>aš-ta-me-er</i>	MIN

The theological context is obscure, but the connection with the millstone is obvious. 452. The traces in *C₂* seem better suited to *BÚR* than to *GÍR*, and give a satisfactory sense. If so, however, I do not know how to restore the Akkadian verb in *h₂* (copy not available), one would expect a form of *paṭāru*. Note the “dative of interest” in the verbal prefix. 453-54. Reference to the work of the Reconditioning Stone. 457-59. These words must be addressed to the Millstone, The worthless, feeble person is the female grinder. Word play in line 458 between *s a g - g a r* and *š à - g a r*. Grain milling will keep the population busy. 460. The reason for the “name” is not apparent; the imperatives must refer to the shouts of the supervisor urging the girls to work. 462. *k i n - g i g* is a word play with *k i n k i n*. The *ḍ i - š è*, is presumably part of a verbal construction **k i n - g i g - ḍ u g₄*.

34. Note that his translation “upper millstone” should be disregarded.

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35. There is a previous article "Getreidemühle" by B. Hrouda in *RLA* 3:318, of a lesser import.

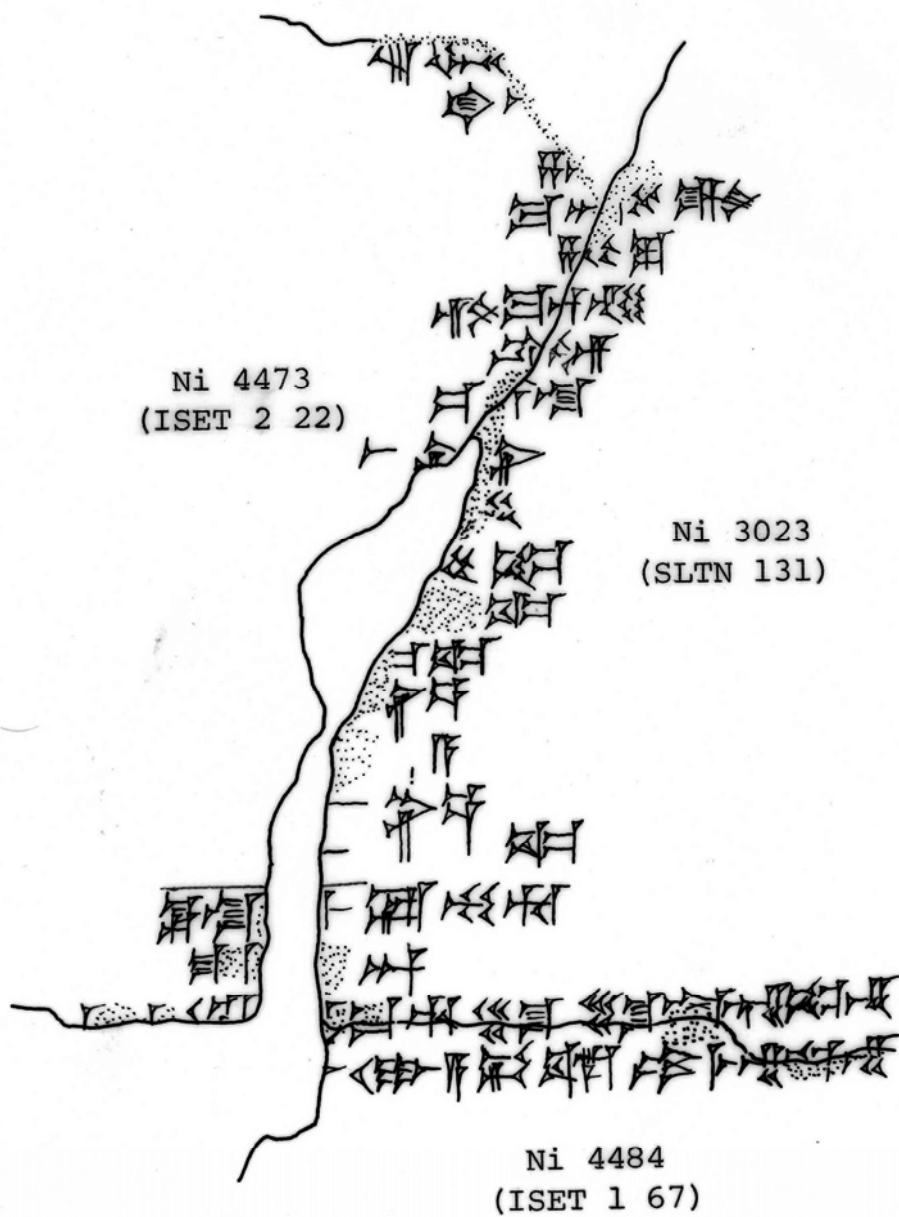


Figure 1.



Figure 2 (CBS 8213).

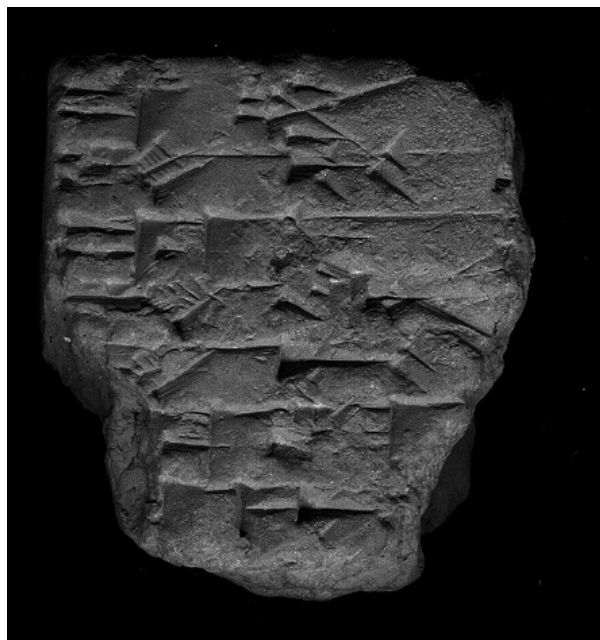


Figure 3 (CBS 4862).



Figure 4

III.1

Les limites de l'information textuelle*

Quand nous faisons appel à des textes anciens comme sources informatives pour la reconstruction d'une société disparue, de sa technologie, de ses institutions sociales, de son sens esthétique ou religieux, nous devons surmonter d'abord des obstacles bien connus : reconstruction matérielle du texte, déchiffrement de la langue, traduction, etc. Ce n'est qu'après avoir compris le sens littéral du texte que commence le vrai travail du chercheur ethnographe. Trop souvent, au moins chez les assyriologues, le point de départ est tout simplement ce sens littéral. On analyse les données textuelles en suivant des procédés qui ont l'air d'avoir une objectivité parfaite et une rigueur déductive inattaquable. La recette, on hésite à dire la méthode, comporte à peu près les étapes suivantes :

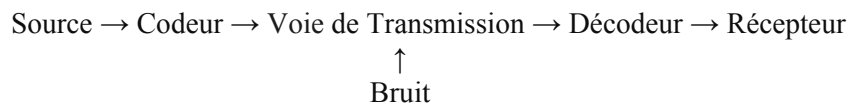
- 1) lisez d'abord attentivement tous les textes et extrayez-en les données qui se rapportent au sujet de vos recherches,
- 2) mettez soigneusement ces données sur fichier,
- 3) organisez et classez votre fichier,
- 4) exprimez les conclusions qui peuvent se déduire logiquement de votre matériel.

À première vue la recette garantit des résultats rigoureusement scientifiques fondés exclusivement sur l'induction. En pratique malheureusement on se sentira souvent déçu par la pauvreté et la maigreur des résultats. Quand les conclusions offrent un intérêt véritable, quand elles ouvrent des perspectives nouvelles, on s'aperçoit vite que, sans le vouloir, le chercheur a instinctivement ajouté des ingrédients qui ne figuraient pas sur la recette originale : des hypothèses sur la nature des faits, du matériel comparatif, etc. Or, si le succès des recherches dépend de ces ingrédients clandestins, il semble qu'il vaille la peine de nous arrêter à les examiner de près pour reconnaître leur nature, et pour décider quel rôle explicite ils doivent jouer dans nos méthodes. Parmi ces ingrédients clandestins figurent en premier plan l'élément déductif, les modèles, les hypothèses à prouver, dont l'importance a été mise en relief par exemple par Popper et Hempel. Le rôle de la déduction est désormais reconnu dans les discussions récentes sur les

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méthodes de l'anthropologie, mais il ne semble pas avoir attiré suffisamment l'attention de nos collègues assyriologues. En tout cas, et malgré son importance, cet aspect épistémologique de la recherche n'est pas le sujet central de ma communication. La question qui m'a été posée par les organisateurs de ce colloque est la suivante : «Pensez-vous que l'on peut espérer trouver dans les textes suméro-akkadiens des renseignements qui mettraient en lumière des facteurs sociaux, économiques, culturels, restés 'anonymes' parce qu'ils n'étaient pas perçus par les scribes ? » Ma réponse sera qu'il y a des renseignements, souvent essentiels pour la solution de nos problèmes, qui ne figurent pas dans les textes non parce qu'ils n'étaient point *perçus* par les scribes mais tout au contraire parce qu'ils étaient *trop connus* des scribes. Autrement dit, un des mystérieux ingrédients d'une bonne recette est la réalisation par le chercheur qu'il y a des données pertinentes, voire essentielles, pour la solution de son problème qu'il ne doit pas s'attendre normalement à voir formulées explicitement par le scribe. Je ne nierais pas évidemment que l'anthropologue ne puisse arriver, en partant des textes, à des conclusions sur des tendances économiques, sur la structure sociale, ou sur des changements écologiques, qui dépassent nettement les perspectives géographiques, chronologiques ou sociales du scribe. Mais je ne vois pas là des problèmes méthodologiques aussi sérieux que ceux qui résultent d'une détection incomplète des données textuelles implicites.

Tout texte, même le plus simple tel qu'une étiquette avec le nom d'une seule personne, tout texte de n'importe quel genre, créé par un bureaucrate ou par un poète, est porteur d'un message codé avec des signes linguistiques. Son but c'est de transmettre de l'information. La transmission de l'information a été l'objet de recherches très poussées entreprises par Hartley il y a plus de cinquante ans et poursuivies par Shannon qui en a donné la formulation définitive dans ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la « théorie de l'information ». Dans sa forme mathématique rigoureuse elle est un instrument précieux pour l'ingénieur qui construit des réseaux téléphoniques ou des ordinateurs. Pour nous il suffira de signaler informellement certains points de la théorie qui éclairent la structure et l'interprétation des textes. Un système permettant la transmission de l'information peut être représenté grossièrement par le schéma suivant :



Dans notre cas le message est composé de signes linguistiques et les signes peuvent être étudiés sous trois points de vue. On peut considérer les relations

- a) entre les signes eux-mêmes (syntaxe),
- b) entre les signes et leurs signifiés (sémantique),
- c) entre les signes et leur usage (pragmatique).

Bien que la réalité, ou monde des signifiés, ne figure pas explicitement dans le schéma ci-dessus, sa reconstitution est le principal objet de nos travaux et comme le mode de représentation de cette réalité dépend de l'usage des signes par ceux qui participent à l'acte de communication, ce sera surtout l'aspect pragmatique qui retiendra notre attention. Nous signalerons d'abord certaines caractéristiques formelles ou techniques qui sont pertinentes pour notre problème, en laissant de côté d'autres considérations très

intéressantes (la capacité de la voie, les moyens de corriger les fautes de transmission, etc.) qui nous amèneraient trop loin. Ces caractéristiques sont :

- 1) Source et récepteur (ou expéditeur et destinataire) doivent se servir d'un code commun.
- 2) Il est important que la voie de transmission soit utilisée de la façon la plus économique possible.

Plus important sont certains postulats qui se rapportent au *contenu* des messages :

1) Déterminisme : la réalité est organisée de telle façon que certains phénomènes ont des conditions nécessaires ou des causes qui opèrent de telle sorte que tous les événements n'ont pas la même probabilité.

2) Source et destinataire se servent d'un modèle identique, ou presque identique, de leur monde de sorte qu'ils partagent une somme de mémoires communes et leur prognose de l'avenir est à peu près la même.

3) La transmission de l'information implique que la source communique des données *nouvelles* au destinataire.

4) Les éléments connus par la source et par le destinataire peuvent être éliminés du message sans perte d'information. Le contenu du message est donc fonction des connaissances du destinataire. (Pour plus de détails voir Rezvina et Rezvin, 1975).

Pour certains genres de textes ce dernier postulat doit être nuancé : les textes poétiques tolèrent un degré qui peut être considérable, de redondance; les textes purement didactiques contiennent des éléments qui sont censés connus et seraient éliminés dans une communication normale.

De ces postulats et des caractéristiques techniques découlent les deux principes qui vont guider nos discussions:

1) Le message, pour des raisons d'économie, omettra tout ce qui est déjà connu du destinataire.

2) Dans le cas des textes anciens nous ne sommes pas les vrais destinataires du message. Le deuxième postulat du contenu, en conséquence, n'est plus applicable au sens strict.

Les textes commémoratifs, tels que les inscriptions historiques ou certains hymnes royaux, ont en principe comme destinataire la postérité. Comme le dit le poète, auteur de l'hymne *B* de Šulgi :

« (Cet hymne) est l'éloge de sa force, le chant à son pouvoir,
le souvenir éternel du sage qui réussit en toute chose,
pour que cette réputation soit passée de main en main aux générations de l'avenir. »

Toutefois il est évident que malgré l'ambition du poète nous ne partageons que très imparfaitement son monde, comme le savent bien ceux qui ont essayé de traduire cet hymne difficile. Nous partageons avec l'auteur ancien sa condition humaine. C'est là que réside pour nous l'espoir de comprendre son message, mais c'est là aussi où se cache le danger de l'ethnocentrisme naïf.

Il y a encore d'autres aspects pragmatiques bien moins étudiés qui ont attiré l'attention de philosophes et linguistes pendant ces dernières années sous les titres de « postulats de la conversation » (Lakoff, 1971) ou « logique de la conversation » (Grice, 1975). Par exemple, la phrase « il fait froid » peut représenter dans des conditions déterminées une requête de fermer une fenêtre ou d'allumer le chauffage. Une question peut représenter un jugement défavorable, et ainsi de suite. Étroitement liée à la logique de la conversation est la « logique des textes » ou « grammaire textuelle » dont l'étude est maintenant très en vogue dans certains cercles philosophico-linguistiques. Contrairement à l'opinion courante chez les

linguistes, de Bloomfield à Chomsky, et qu'on trouve formulée dans des déclarations comme « une phrase ne peut donc pas servir d'intégrant à un autre type d'unité » (Benveniste) ou « rien ne se trouve dans le discours que ne soit déjà dans la phrase » (Martinet), on s'est aperçu que non seulement il y avait dans la phrase des phénomènes syntactiques qui sont fonction d'éléments qui se trouvent ailleurs dans le texte, mais que le texte lui-même avait une structure contrôlée par des règles différentes de celles qui gouvernent la syntaxe de la phrase¹.

Nous admettrons ici qu'il y a deux sortes de relations entre les données explicites du texte et ses éléments sous-entendus : il peut s'agir d'une relation logique (implication, ou présupposition) ou d'une relation ou association accidentelle. Si un texte mentionne le feu nous pouvons en déduire qu'on savait comment l'allumer, mais les détails non mentionnés d'un rite, ou le cadre géographique d'un récit, n'ont dans la plupart des cas qu'une relation tout arbitraire avec les données explicites. Pour les éléments logiquement impliqués, une analyse soignée du texte suffira à leur découverte. Pour les éléments dont la relation est arbitraire nous devons faire appel à une méthodologie assez compliquée fondée sur le raisonnement analogique, sur des modèles, etc... Il s'agit d'un problème central des sciences anthropologiques dont les détails ne peuvent être discutés ici. Il suffira de dire qu'en partant du principe que le nombre de solutions possibles d'un problème culturel doit être limité, on tâchera d'établir une typologie des solutions attestées dans l'ethnographie, et ensuite on essayera de trouver parmi ces solutions celle qui s'harmonise le mieux avec les données textuelles fragmentaires. En revenant au très simple exemple du feu, les mésopotamiens savaient évidemment l'allumer, mais comment le faisaient-ils ? Un passage de la compilation lexicale HAR-ra IV nous indique qu'ils se servaient d'instruments en bois (dont nous ignorons la forme); des considérations écologiques pointent dans la même direction. On peut établir donc comme conclusion provisoire qu'on allumait le feu en frottant des pièces de bois, même si les données textuelles explicites nous manquent. Quand le nombre de solutions possibles est très élevé la réponse devient très difficile, voire impossible. Prenons par exemple les rites de mariage. Puisque nous n'avons pas de texte descriptif du rite (et les chances d'en retrouver un sont très minces), il ne nous reste que de maigres allusions à des détails rituels dans des documents judiciaires, tout à fait insuffisantes pour une reconstruction satisfaisante. Remarquez qu'en suivant la règle que seuls les éléments que les destinataires ne peuvent pas prédire figurent dans le texte, il y a de très bonnes chances que ces détails rituels soient mentionnés parce qu'il y avait eu des irrégularités dans leur exécution ou parce qu'il s'agissait de détails inusités. Nous disposons encore d'informations sur des cérémonies nuptiales dans les récits littéraires, par exemple dans l'histoire du mariage d'Enlil et Sud, mais là aussi il est vraisemblable qu'on les mentionne parce qu'il y avait quelque chose d'inhabituel dans les noces de ces êtres divins. On ne saurait prendre comme des descriptions objectives de la vie quotidienne les données des textes littéraires. Dans un récit épique, Lugabanda allume le feu avec du silex (^{na4}zú-sal-la izi bí-in-

1. Ces questions sont étudiées en Amérique sous la rubrique de « discourse structure » (voir la vue d'ensemble de Grimes, 1975), en Europe on préfère le terme « Textgrammatik ». Les tendances sont aussi différentes : les travaux américains ont jusqu'ici un caractère empirique et se fondent sur l'analyse de textes préférablement en langues exotiques –notamment dans le projet « Cross Language Study of Discourse Structures » de l'Université Cornell qui a conduit des travaux pratiques au Brésil, en Nouvelle-Guinée, à la Côte d'Ivoire, etc... – tandis qu'en Europe on tâche surtout de formuler une logique symbolique, qu'on désigne comme logique naturelle par opposition à la logique formelle, capable d'exprimer les relations entre les éléments du discours d'une façon précise et rigoureuse (Van Dijk 1973, ont exemple).

[m ú/l á]), On se tromperait en prenant cet épisode comme une description de la façon normale d'allumer le feu chez les mésopotamiens : n'oublions pas que Lugalbanda se trouve à ce moment dans les montagnes, loin du milieu géographique de la Mésopotamie propre. Une fois de plus, c'est l'inusité qui est décrit, non l'ordinaire connu de tout le monde (mésopotamien, bien entendu). Une conclusion assez pessimiste s'impose : plus un fait culturel se situe près du noyau central d'activités humaines, moins il y a de chances qu'il apparaisse dans les textes. Heureusement c'est pour ces faits culturels de base que le matériel comparatif sera plus riche. En tout cas, nous devons nous résigner à accepter qu'il y ait des textes, dans la correspondance privée par exemple, que nous ne pourrions jamais comprendre, sauf dans le sens plus littéral et banal du terme.

Le reste de ma communication essaiera de montrer comment tirer le maximum de profit des données textuelles, en illustrant en même temps par des exemples plus développés la présence de données sous-entendues.

A. Comme condition préliminaire, on devra établir le sens littéral du texte avec autant de précision que possible. Les limitations grammaticales sont considérables : les questions qui portent sur le prédicat d'une proposition ne sont pas ouvertement marquées, le style direct très souvent n'est pas indiqué comme tel, la langue manque de conjonctions adversatives, la disjonction peut se confondre avec la conjonction, on peut souligner la pauvreté ou même le manque total de verbes qui expriment des jugements subjectifs tels que « croire, douter, ou espérer », et ainsi de suite. Ces observations ne s'appliquent pas seulement au sumérien, l'akkadien souffrant de pareilles limitations, même si sa grammaire est beaucoup mieux connue. Il est inutile de souligner l'importance de la sémantique. Si l'on prend NAG-du g₄-g a comme « terrain cultivé d'une façon spéciale », quand en fait il désigne (en lisant k á b - d u g₄-g a) « une sorte d'impôt » (Civil, 1978), les résultats seront immanquablement faussés. Il est dangereux d'extrapoler diachroniquement le sens d'un mot, surtout s'il désigne une institution. Il suffira de rappeler l'histoire de e n s i₂ / i š š a k u. On n'oubliera pas non plus les usages idiomatiques et les possibles euphémismes ou tabous linguistiques. Pourquoi l'on ne trouve pratiquement que des formes négatives pour ù — k u / k u₄ « dormir » qui est remplacé dans les formes positives par n á / n ú « se coucher » ? On profitera aussi au maximum de la critique textuelle avant de formuler des conclusions. Un texte littéraire commémore, d'après son éditeur, le couronnement d'Ur-Nammu (Halla, 1966). Or, la comparaison des différentes branches de la tradition textuelle montre que la seule mention d'une couronne se trouve dans un stéréotype des hymnes royaux dont l'interpolation n'apparaît que dans une seule famille de manuscrits.

B. L'identification correcte de l'auteur, ou source du message, est souvent précieuse pour les indications qu'elle peut fournir sur les données que le texte contient implicitement. D'habitude on attribue à Enheduanna, la fille de Sargon d'Akkad, tous les textes qui mentionnent son nom. Parmi ces textes se trouve l'hymne i n - n i n s a - g u r₄-r a récemment publié (Sjöberg, 1975). L'examen de sa langue et de son vocabulaire me fait soupçonner que le texte date de l'époque de Larsa. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, Enheduanna était à cette époque un nom générique pour désigner la prêtresse de Sîn à Ur. Les implications de cet hymne seront très différentes selon qu'il se rapporte à une fille de Sargon ou à une fille de Rim-Sîn. Des remarques récemment publiées sur l'inscription de Lugalannemundu (Curchin, 1977) supposent que le texte a été rédigé à Nippur. Les conclusions que l'auteur tire de son hypothèse s'avèrent extrêmement douteuses des que l'on s'aperçoit que toutes les sources connues jusqu'ici (PBS 5 75 et BE 6/2 130, auxquelles on ajoutera l'inédit CBS 342 que je viens d'identifier) ne viennent pas de Nippur.

C. Plus importante encore que l'identification de l'auteur est celle du destinataire ou auditoire. Ce sont ses connaissances, ou celles qu'on lui attribue, qui déterminent les éléments omis dans le texte. On met souvent l'accent sur le style répétitif des narrations sumériennes. Je trouve plus significatif le trait opposé : combien de liens essentiels entre épisodes sont omis pour être suppléés par l'auditoire ! L'analyse de la trame d'une narration simple, telle que l'histoire de Gilgameš et Agga, montre combien ce procédé est courant dans les récits mésopotamiens.

D. Dans le message même il y a au moins trois points à considérer :

1) La perspective sous laquelle on voit le contenu du message. Ce point de vue conditionne le choix des données admises dans le texte, et naturellement son interprétation. Nous avons plusieurs textes qui décrivent les activités pédagogiques de l'é-dub-ba ou école. Leur date *ante quem* de composition est la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Représentent-ils fidèlement le système d'enseignement de l'époque ? La plupart de ces textes commencent par *dumu é-dub-ba u₄ ul-la-àm* « un jeune scribe aux jours d'antan ». La phrase n'est pas liée syntactiquement à ce qui suit. Il s'agit donc d'une formule introductive stéréotypée qui place l'action à une époque lointaine où les écoles étaient plus près de l'idéal qu'à présent. Les textes décrivent une situation, non telle qu'elle est, mais telle qu'elle devrait être. Une autre interprétation est naturellement possible : les choses n'ont pas changé, mais il y a des pressions économiques ou sociales qui poussent vers un changement; il s'agirait dans ce cas de défendre le *statu quo* en prouvant que les pratiques actuelles ont derrière elles une tradition vénérable. Les mêmes considérations s'appliquent aux « Instructions du Fermier » qui commencent « Aux jours de jadis il y avait un fermier qui donnait ses instructions à son fils ». C'est donc la description d'une ferme idéale. Les données du texte ne peuvent être utilisées telles quelles pour la reconstruction des pratiques agricoles de l'époque sans être vérifiées par des sources indépendantes. Un autre exemple : l'hymne A de Šulgi raconte comment ce roi a fait le voyage aller-retour d'Ur à Nippur (150 km environ à vol d'oiseau) en un seul jour. Certains voudraient donner à ce texte un sens « rituel » et, en quelque sorte historique, confirmé par la formule de la 7^e année de Šulgi : *mu lugal-e ur₅^{ki}-ta nibru^{ki}-šè (šu) in-nigin₂*. J'y verrais plutôt une chanson facétieuse –sans doute pour amuser les courtisans après un copieux repas royal– fondée sur le fait qu'à cause du déphasage des calendriers locaux le roi est retourné à Ur dans ce que l'on a pu considérer comme une seule journée (même si en fait c'était un mois après). Je ne nierais pas cependant non plus que la randonnée de Šulgi soit au fond un fait historique.

2) Le but du message est étroitement lié à la perspective. La finalité de la liste royale sumérienne, par exemple, semble être la légitimation des revendications territoriales de la faible dynastie d'Isin. Les arguments avancés pour prouver une date de composition moins tardive (Jacobsen, 1939) ne semblent plus aujourd'hui très convaincants. L'histoire du Tummal, par contre, n'est qu'une légende locale sans ambition qui raconte les vicissitudes de ce petit sanctuaire mal connu. Le texte même nous dit qu'il a été écrit sous la dictée de Lu-Inanna, un artisan assigné au temple d'Enlil, apparemment pendant le règne d'Išbi-Era. Vouloir tirer de ce texte des renseignements dignes de confiance sur la chronologie des plus anciennes dynasties mésopotamiennes (Kramer, 1960) dépasse nettement les intentions du narrateur. Si l'on veut se servir des soi-disant tablettes « rondes » (Pettinato, 1969) pour évaluer la production agricole pendant la troisième dynastie d'Ur, on tombe sur des résultats assez invraisemblables jusqu'à ce qu'on s'aperçoive qu'il s'agit en toute probabilité d'évaluations fiscales des récoltes futures. La disparité entre les valeurs réelles et les valeurs imposables semble être un principe universel dans l'histoire des impôts. Curieusement, on a fait la même erreur dans l'étude de la production annuelle de blé et d'orge dans l'Iraq

islamique aux IX^e et X^e siècles de notre ère, en prenant les chiffres des *‘ibra* officiels du fisc pour les figures effectives du rendement des champs (El-Sāmarrāie 1972).

3) Il est rare qu'un texte soit un échantillon unique d'un genre littéraire ou bureaucratique. La comparaison avec les autres textes du même genre permettra souvent de déceler des données qui seraient autrement passées inaperçues. Ceci est vrai surtout des textes administratifs. La valeur informative d'un texte administratif isolé est presque nulle. Ce n'est qu'en lui assignant sa place dans l'ensemble des textes d'une unité administrative ou des archives d'une famille qu'il deviendra une source de renseignements utiles. Je passerai rapidement en revue les fils conducteurs qui permettent de grouper les textes d'une façon cohérente et significative. En ordre décroissant d'utilité nous avons :

- a) des documents qui donnent des directives administratives;
- b) des bilans annuels ou arrêtés de comptes (n í g - k a s₇[ŠID]);
- c) des étiquettes des paniers à tablettes (p i s a n - d u b - b a);
- d) le classement thématique des documents;
- e) la prosopographie.

Les textes qui donnent des directives administratives sont malheureusement extrêmement rares. Les archives présargoniques des pêcheurs de Girsu nous en donnent toutefois un joli exemple. Un peu plus de 10 % (soit plus de 160 tablettes) des textes administratifs de la maison de la reine se rapportent directement à la pêche. Les textes qui énumèrent le personnel qui reçoit des rations d'orge et de laine distribuées parmi les membres de la maisonnée donnent une information supplémentaire sur la composition des équipes de pêcheurs. Nous avons deux textes, l'un datant de l'année d'accession de Lugalanda (*TSA* 33), l'autre de la deuxième année de Uruinimgina (*DP* 294) qui donnent le nombre de poissons que les pêcheurs étaient censés apporter périodiquement au palais. Dans le premier document on nous apprend que chaque pêcheur devait livrer un certain nombre de poissons (k u₆ b a n š u r - r a) par mois, et en plus un nombre plus considérable dans deux occasions spéciales (k u₆-ÍL), aux mois de la fête «de manger du malt» et de la fête de «manger de l'orge». Dans le texte de Lugalanda on indique les espèces de poissons et leur nombre. Il ressort des tablettes qui nous restent que les pêcheurs étaient souvent incapables, ou bien d'apporter des poissons des espèces voulues, ou de les apporter dans la quantité prescrite. Il y a souvent des délais, ils se voient obligés de livrer une espèce de poisson à la place d'une autre, et même, en une occasion au moins, de remplacer la livraison par un paiement en argent. Pour parer à ces difficultés, Uruinimgina simplifie les ordonnances de son prédécesseur en les rendant plus flexibles : chaque pêcheur devra dorénavant faire une seule livraison k u₆-ÍL à la fête de la nouvelle année et une livraison de k u₆ b a n š u r - r a tous les deux mois. On n'insiste plus sur des espèces particulières, sauf dans les cas des grosses carpes et des tortues. Ces deux textes nous permettent d'abord d'arranger d'une façon satisfaisante la plupart des textes de ces archives. Ensuite, ce qui est plus intéressant, ils nous permettent de faire une estimation du rapport entre le nombre de textes conservés et le nombre théorique de textes rédigés par les scribes, ce que j'appelle le « coefficient of completeness » de l'information pour un groupe déterminé et homogène de textes. Je veux souligner à ce point combien de questions qui, pour l'anthropologue, sont d'une importance capitale restent sans réponse, même si pour les scribes leur réponse était absolument évidente. Les poissons livrés au palais représentent-ils la totalité des poissons pris ? Si non, comment les pêcheurs pourraient-ils disposer du reste ? Dans un marché libre ? Pour des

usages rigoureusement contrôlés par l'administration ? Quelle était la relation entre les pêcheurs et le palais ? Étaient-ils des serfs ou étaient-ils des agents libres liés au palais par quelque sorte de contrat ? Et ainsi de suite. Si un petit groupe de textes, relativement facile à articuler, d'une extension chronologique de moins d'une quinzaine d'années, dont les activités ont lieu dans une niche écologique connue dans ses traits essentiels, laisse tellement de questions irrésolues, on peut imaginer aisément les problèmes posés par des ensembles de textes administratifs mal conservés ou par des tablettes isolées. C'est ici que les modèles et les explications hypothétiques entrent en jeu.

Les bilans annuels (níg-ka₇), et d'autres documents analogues, comme par exemple certains *kurum₇-ak* « inspections », ou certains *sag-níg-ga-ra* comme *UET 3 1498* avec des comptes annuels des ateliers des artisans d'Ur, résument d'une part des douzaines de documents rarement conservés, nous montrent leur place dans l'ensemble du système de comptabilité, et donnent aussi la mesure du « coefficient of completeness » pour une période donnée. Ce coefficient peut être très variable : tandis qu'au moins 30 tablettes individuelles qui font partie des comptes de *UET 3 1498* ont été trouvées, je ne connais que trois tablettes conservées des trente-huit ou quarante qui sont résumées dans *TCL 5 6036*, un níg-ka₇ qui se rapporte à la manufacture d'objets faits de roseaux. Même si les directives bureaucratiques ne sont pas formulées dans cette sorte de textes, leur réalisation pratique est là. Un corpus de ces bilans annuels est l'une des nécessités les plus urgentes dans les études de la société mésopotamienne.

Les étiquettes des paniers de tablettes nous donnent le classement « émique » (en suivant la terminologie de Pike, 1966), ou indigène, des textes administratifs. Comme dans toutes les études d'une société qui n'est pas la nôtre, la reconstruction de ses catégories et taxonomies, et leur comparaison avec nos classifications « étiques » est essentielle pour comprendre cette société, sans entraves ethnocentriques.

Quand toutes les autres ressources manquent, on peut encore classer les textes par sujet, ou en faisant appel à la prosopographie. En combinant ces deux méthodes, on peut réussir des restaurations qui, même incomplètes, offrent un intérêt indéniable. En mettant ensemble, par exemple, tous les textes, qui se rapportent à des distributions d'armes et ceux qui mentionnent Dajān-mīšar (*AASF 92 635*, *Fish CSTJRL 372*, *RA 8 184 n° 2*, *TCL 2 5488*, *5565*, *TIM 6 33-43*, etc... etc...) on parvient à mettre en lumière des données nouvelles sur une institution presque inconnue : l'armée de l'empire de la troisième dynastie d'Ur. C'est surtout dans le domaine de la loi : contrats, procès, etc... que la prosopographie joue un rôle central. Le texte difficile d'un procès récemment publié (Durand, 1977), égaré sans doute pendant les fouilles de Nippur vers 1956, serait devenu un tout petit peu plus clair si l'on avait mis plus explicitement la tablette dans son contexte, les archives du temple d'Inanna à Nippur. Malheureusement les données de cette dernière source n'étaient pas tous accessibles à l'éditeur du procès.

Les types de textes à notre disposition couvrent une gamme qui va du nom isolé d'une personne, autrement inconnue, aux instructions détaillées pour fabriquer du verre (Oppenheim, 1970), de la poésie lyrique à un message aussi prosaïque que « quatre chèvres et six moutons ». Sauf dans des cas exceptionnels tels que des inventaires et manuels techniques, où les difficultés sont uniquement sémantiques ou technologiques, les textes sont incomplets et ils ont tous plus ou moins besoin d'une interprétation attentive fondée sur des présuppositions et des hypothèses. Puisque nous ne pouvons nous en passer, il vaut mieux, je crois, nous en servir avec les yeux bien ouverts, en formulant très explicitement nos méthodes et leurs limites.

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III.2

Ur III Bureaucracy: Quantitative Aspects^{*}

1. Introduction

In this paper I will assume that “bureaucracy” is simply another term for “administration,” adding to the latter such pejorative connotations as rigidity, slowness, lack of realism, proliferation of useless rules, etc. A bureaucracy can be studied from a structural point of view or in its quantitative aspects. In an economy a bureaucratic system, by definition, adversely modifies the flow of goods. In this paper I will attempt to answer the question of whether it is possible, with the available evidence, to conduct quantitative studies of the administration of the Ur III empire. Only when the question has been answered will it be possible to say in what measure the bureaucracy –if it turns out that the Ur III administration deserves this label– hindered the flow of goods or diverted them from their reasonable destinations. Note that only the role of bureaucracy in the production and distribution of goods will be considered here, leaving aside its legal and political functions. In the present state of the art it seems wise to limit the inquiry to the possibility of conducting quantitative studies in a productive and meaningful way.

The reader is asked to keep in mind, in the first place, that this is a methodological essay and not a study *per se* of the flow of goods as such. As well, he should be aware that there is more to a quantitative analysis than drawing a pie chart. The textual data are to be viewed as more or less representative samples of the actual circulation of goods.

The administrative archives of Ur III appear very promising both in the extent of information and in precision of detail. Three years ago –the last time I made a count– there were 22,980 documents published for a period that covers a little over four decades at the end of the third millennium. The texts available today certainly exceed 25,000. Mesopotamia has a long and fascinating administrative tradition, but nowhere is the accounting so fastidiously detailed and explicit as in the Ur III archives. One can find many references to collecting and using reeds –a traditional Mesopotamian activity– in most periods, but nowhere else do we have over 600 texts dealing with reeds which in one case are weighed with a precision

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of one part in 48,000. This is thus a preliminary exploration of the archives to see in what measure the size of the economy and of the institutions that controlled and recorded it can be reconstructed.

I am not aware of any formal discussion of this problem among Sumerologists. There are examples, of course, of quantitative evaluations, but none with explicit statistical justification. Tom Jones, a historian, sensed the importance of numerical data and gave some examples in a brief essay,¹ but he concluded –with a priori pessimism it would seem– that of the bodies of documents from different sites “none can be called representative of Ur III.” Whether the label “representative,” in its technical, statistical sense, can be applied to these archives is the subject of this inquiry.

2. *Samples from the Same Archive*

The following discussion starts with the hypotheses (1) that Ur III administrative texts were preserved in large archive rooms of the type found, for instance, in Ebla, or discarded en masse in a single fill or dump, and (2) that the clandestine diggers of the texts did their best to get all of them out of the ground. I selected three independent samples of the same Drehem archive: (1) all tablets published before 1954 as listed by Fish, *MCS 5/4*, (2) tablets published in Çiğ-Kızılyay-Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte* (Helsinki, 1954), and (3) tablets published in Keiser, *BIN 3* and Kang, *SACT 1*. Plotting the number of dated tablets for each year (fig. 1), the graph shows² that the samples are not random and that the dispersal of the tablets at the hands of the dealers and in the museums did not disrupt their chronological distribution to any large degree. In the counter example of the Tello archive that led Jones to his pessimistic conclusion, the second initial hypothesis does not hold. The native diggers removed most of the texts from Šulgi 44 to Amar-Sin 5, the French excavators the rest.

3. *Samples from Different Archives*

Figure 2 shows the chronological distribution of dated tablets from Djoha, Drehem, and Tello, three independent sites, up to the fifth year of Amar-Sin. Once more the distribution is not random. Considering how many factors are in operation here, the trends are remarkably similar. One can conclude that the samples are sufficiently representative so that global factors affecting the bureaucratic output show through. Before further discussion, the main factors of variation in the yearly number of tablets should be mentioned.

1) Factors affecting the number of tablets drafted:

- a) Changes in the level of business activity, due to climatic (e.g., drought) or political (e.g., war or civil strife) reasons.
- b) Changes in accounting practices either global, affecting the whole of the Ur III empire and presumably emanating from directives from the central administration, or local (perhaps this is the case of the cadaster texts from Tello, which date from Šulgi 47, Amar-Sin 7-8, or Ibbi-Sin 2-3, with apparently no texts from intervening years).

1. Tom B. Jones, “Sumerian Administrative Documents: An Essay,” *Sumerological Studies Jacobsen*, pp. 41-61.

2. The years marked by an asterisk have been omitted because of ambiguities in their date formulas.

- c) Changes due to the nature of particular subsections of a general archive (as in the just mentioned case of cadaster texts or the artisan archives in the capital, Ur), or to the presence of texts autonomous to a certain degree from the central bureaucracy (family archives in Nippur).

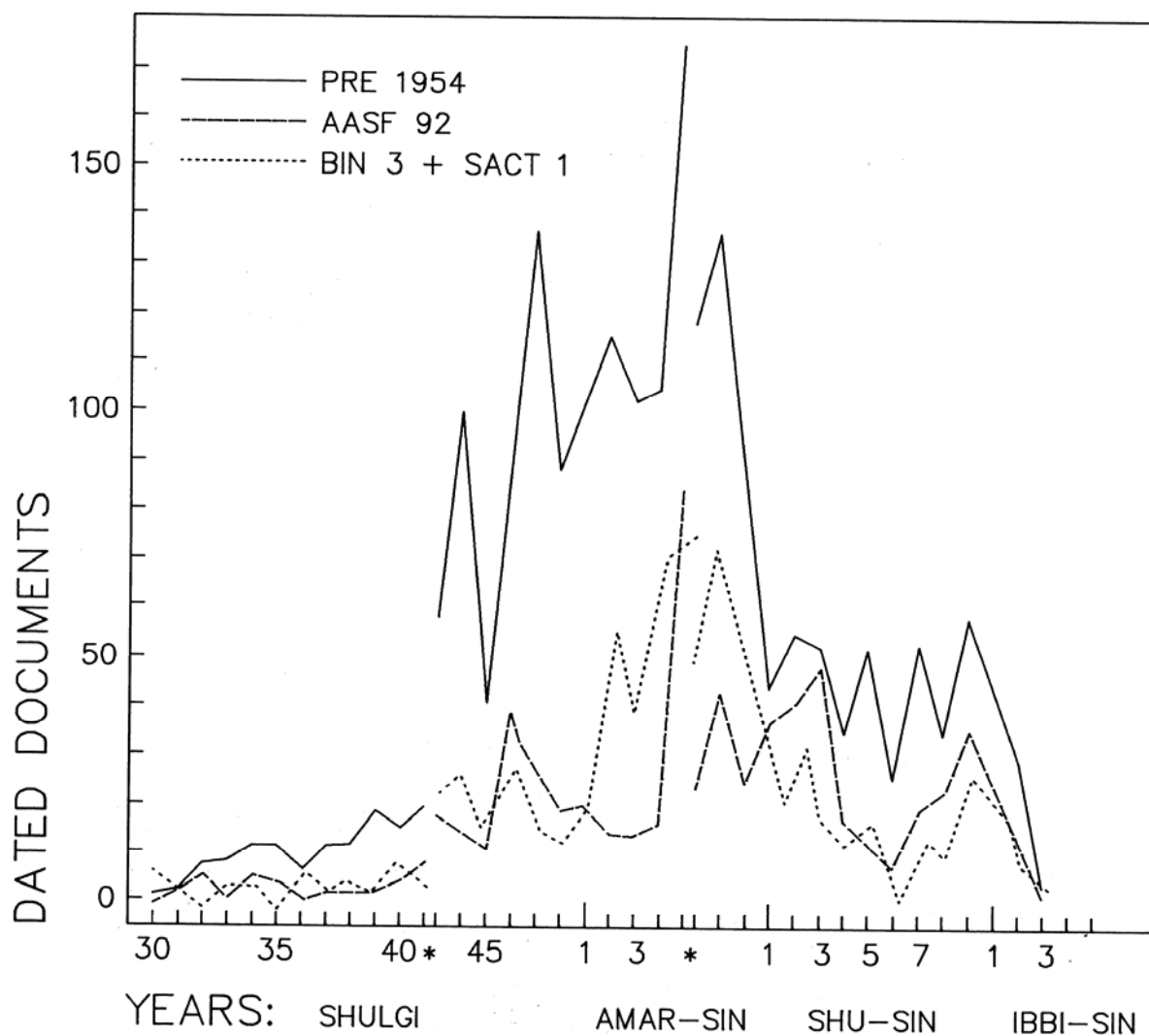


Fig.1. Chronological distribution of three groups of dated tablets from Drehem

2) Factors affecting the number of tablets preserved:

- a) Purposeful destruction of documents in antiquity, required by the nature of the text (e.g., loan tablets) or due to the disposal of obsolete documents (the rules for discarding tablets in general are not known, see also b).
- b) The “catastrophe” factor: the greater number of recovered texts from a given archive date always to the time immediately preceding the destruction or conquest of a town (Pre-Sargonic Lagash, Ebla, Old Babylonian Nippur).³ Two explanations may account for the latter factor. One, the number of old documents in an archive declined gradually through the years by elimination of valueless documents; there are more texts from the final period because this process of attrition had not yet had time to operate. Second, there exists something which could be called “bureaucratic cycle”; it starts with a moderate amount of document drafting but then the number of documents increases through the years until the sheer weight of the bureaucracy chokes the economy that crumbles when faced with a political or economic crisis.
- c) Loss of documents after excavation. Some tablets were broken and therefore discarded by the clandestine diggers or by the dealers; others have disappeared into private collections or small museums and can be considered temporarily lost.

The interpretation of time series is a notoriously difficult task. Note that the sign of a variation is more important than its size. What is attempted here is only to investigate the possibility of this type of study and I cannot possibly go into details of interpretation. Points to keep in mind for further research include an evaluation of the error size (obviously one cannot define a “depression” by an average drop of only three tablets), an analysis of the local variations and possible correlations between sections (e.g., agriculture and river traffic) within the same archive, and studies of documents that would seem to be particularly sensitive to economic changes (e.g., loan documents).⁴

Figure 3 gives a comparison between two geographically close sites, Nippur and Drehem, to illustrate the importance of local factors; note, among other points, 1) how the Drehem expansion at the beginning of Amar-Sin’s reign fails to affect Nippur, 2) the remarkable agreement between the sites for the years 4 to 9 of Amar-Sin, and 3) the influence of the “catastrophe factor,” moderately visible in Drehem, very marked in Nippur.

The inclusion of texts from the capital –the space and time allocated to this paper do not allow a necessarily long discussion of them– would be still more instructive and illustrate at the same time some of the problems. Besides the effects of the “catastrophe factor,” relatively trivial from a methodological point of view, but of very large size and historical significance, the peaks and dips during the reign of Šu-Sin lag one year behind those detected in Nippur and Drehem, either due to accounting delays in the administrative center or to the more likely possibility that economic changes in the periphery affected the capital only sometime later.

3. See my remarks in *MSL* 14, p. 7.

4. If the loan documents were destroyed after repayment, the number of preserved documents would indicate not the number of loans made, but the number of unpaid loans. Could the debtor keep a copy after payment? Could the creditor?

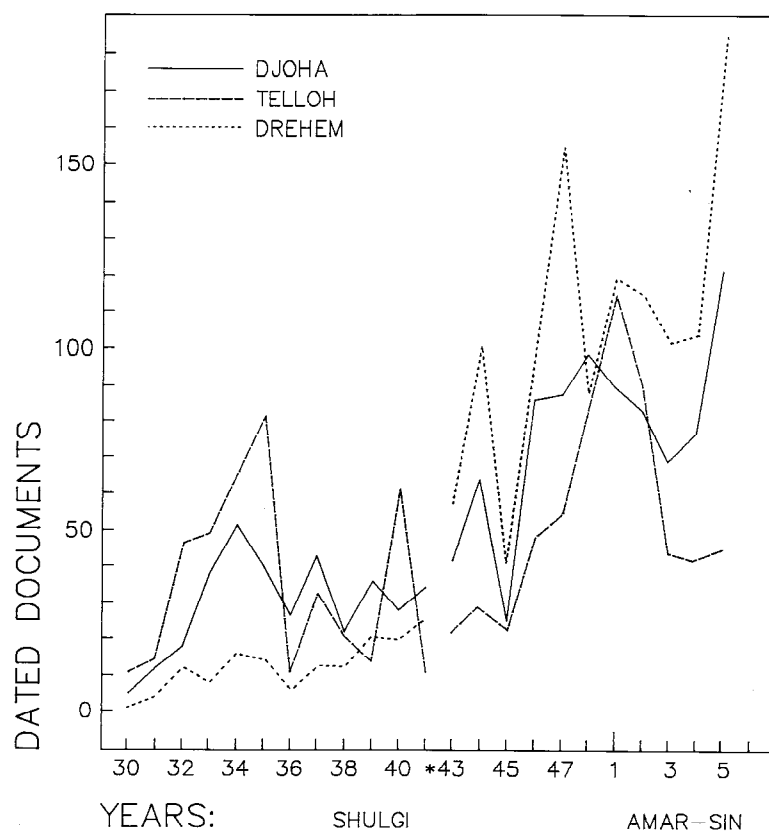


Fig. 2.- Chronological distribution of dated tablets from three different sites

Before ending this discussion of the chronological distribution of documents, I would like to stress that in the available text editions there are a relatively large number of mistakes both in the dating and in the attribution to sites. Nippur, for instance, has tablets dated by the Drehem calendar, a fact that went unnoticed until recently. Once again, the reader is asked to keep in mind that this is an exploratory essay and that a more rigorous and detailed examination of the data is needed before drawing conclusions for economic or political history.

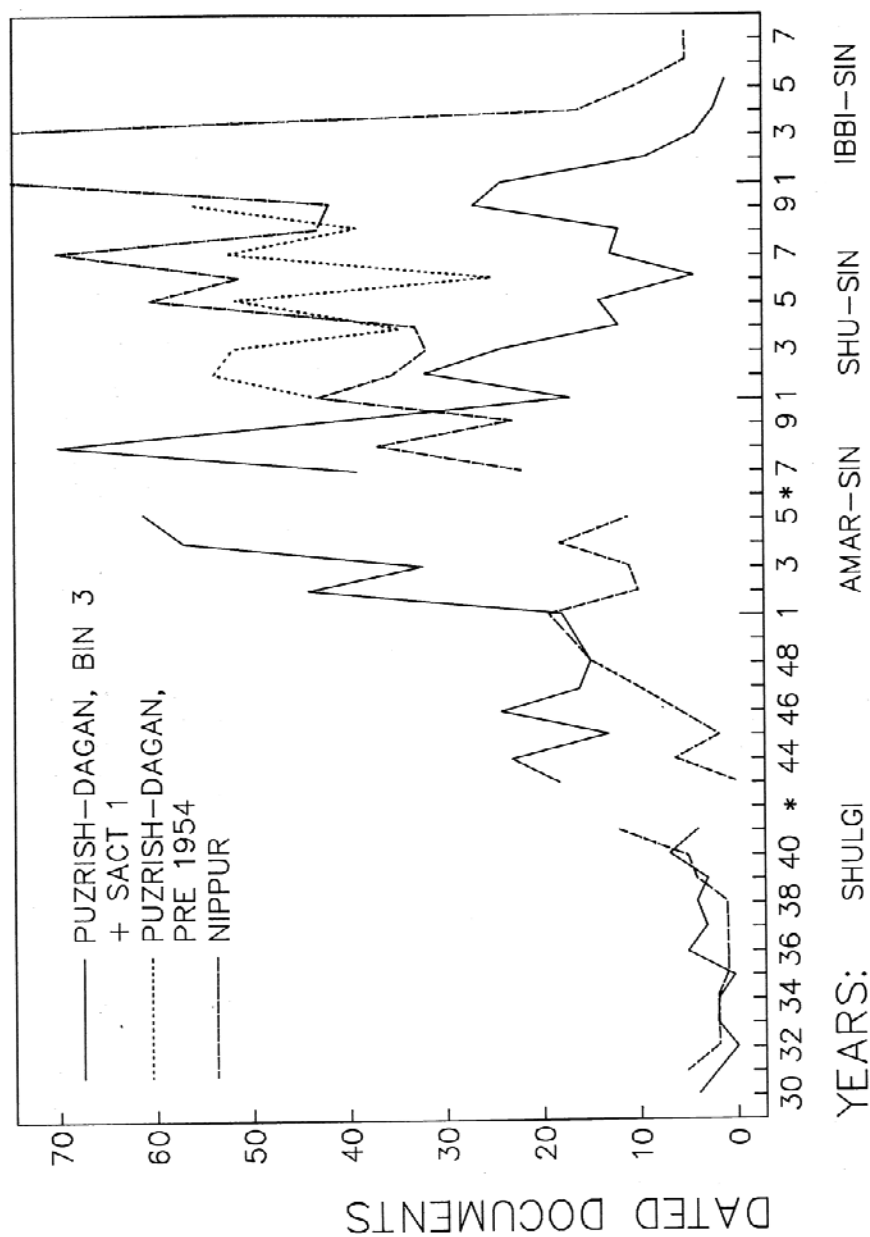


Fig. 3. Comparative chronological distribution of dated tablets from Nippur and Dreheim

4. Field Sizes and Agrarian Reform

On three occasions that we know of, extensive field surveys were conducted in the Lagash region during the 47th year of Šulgi, the 7th and 8th years of Amar-Sin, and the 2d and 3d years of Ibbi-Sin.⁵ The pertinent documents are conveniently collected by Pettinato, *AnOr* 45 (1969). Examining first the plot sizes in the Amar-Sin surveys (fig. 4), it is obvious that the size distribution does not follow a normal, random distribution. The sizes cluster with a frequency much higher than expected⁶ around a central value of about 100 ikus. The conclusion that the administration assigned plots of an ideal size of 100 ikus is a legitimate one. The other values represent odd-sized plots resulting from the physical configuration of the fields, possibly taking into account not only geometry but also other factors such as access to water. The conclusion about the “standard” size of 100 ikus is reinforced by a comparison with the average plot size in the Šulgi cadaster: its plots are on the average twice the size of those in the Amar-Sin cadaster. A comparison between Ibbi-Sin’s field surveys and previous ones (fig. 5) gives information of another nature. The graph gives the amount of fallow land (s ù) in each plot. One can detect a change from larger plots with about 2/3 of the land left fallow (Šulgi), to smaller plots with between 1/3 and 1/2 left fallow (Amar-Sin), and finally to plots of the same size but with only 1/5 (sometimes nothing) left fallow. This suggests an intensification of cultivation, the reasons for which are left to the historian to investigate. A demographic increase of the whole population of the empire or perhaps only of the number of persons eligible to receive land could account for the changes. An alternative, or perhaps concurrent, factor would be a decrease in land available for cultivation due to a shrinkage of the borders under pressure from neighboring powers (at least in Ibbi-Sin’s time). One may ask as well why these “agrarian reforms” are attested only in the Lagaš-Girsu region. In any case, a quantitative study of the cadasters gives some hints about the administrative decisions that governed land distribution. The decisions themselves were either never written down or are lost.

5. Other Applications

Quantitative studies can help not only economic and administrative history but also assist in the lexicographer’s task, thus increasing our understanding of the texts. The article “Hacke” in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* explains that “working with the hoe” was called either a l — a k (often abbreviated to a l) or a l — d ù. If one reads the texts with numbers and sizes in mind, however, it appears that a l — a k is done on areas of from 3.3 to 10 s a r at a time (the average being 5.5 s a r) while a l - d ù is done on areas of from 10 to 30 s a r (average 15.5 s a r) and thus the two verbs must designate two different tasks, the latter three times less time consuming than the first.

5. The reasons for these particular dates are not known. If the field surveys were conducted every seven years, we should have some traces of such surveys around the 5th year of Šu-Sin. Possibly they were reforms with no periodicity.

6. Skewness = 1.478, kurtosis = 4.688.

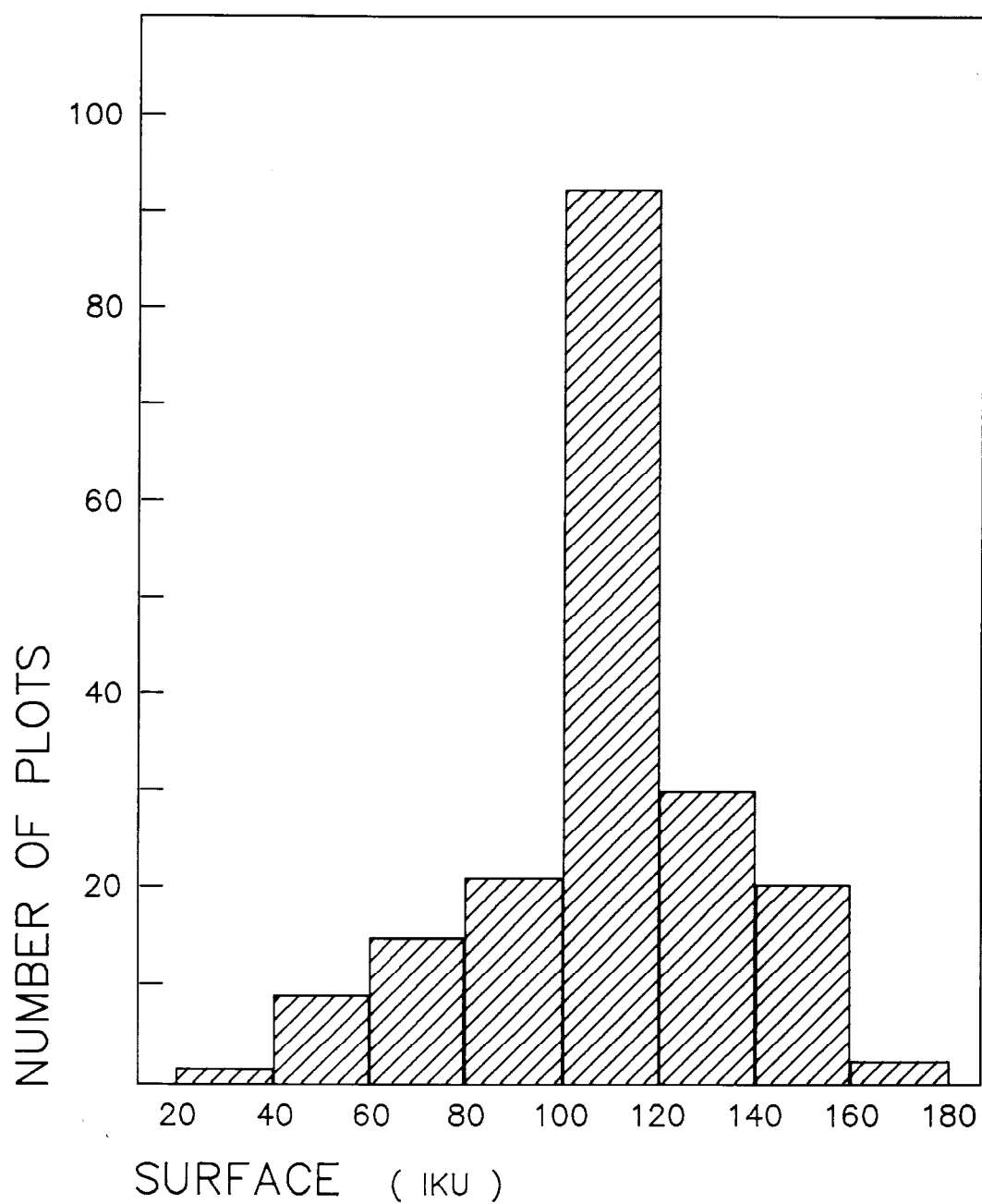


Fig. 4. Plot sizes in land surveys in years 7 and 8 of Amar-Sin

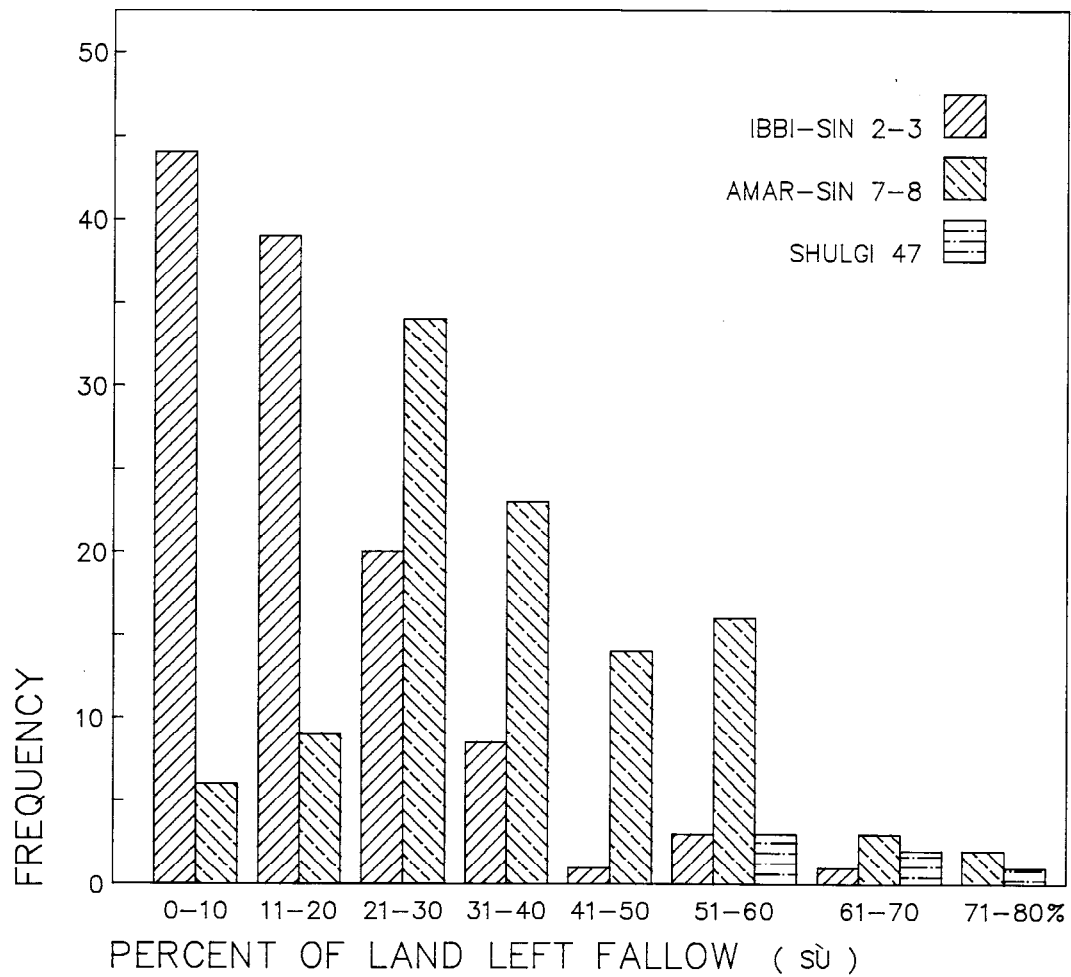


Fig. 5. Comparative amounts of fallow land in three land surveys

A feeling for numbers and sizes can prevent mistranslations such as “large container” for an object (a l - l a -LUM) that weighs 3 shekels and 12 grains (ca. 13.85 gr.),⁷ or “nail tip” for an object (k u n -KAK) that weighs 1 mina and 17 shekels (ca. 641.4 gr.).

An Umma text from the fourth year of Šu-Sin about agricultural work provides information about the relative extent of weed infestation (“weed” is perhaps not the best word since some of these plants were used for fodder or fuel); see table 1. Comparison of the ancient data with present-day weed cover confirms the identification, obtained by other means, of the first listed plant with *Prosopis farcta*, “mesquite” or “false carob,” and of the second with *Alhagi maurorum*, “camel thorn”; see Civil, “Feeding Dumuzi’s Sheep: The Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration,” in F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, AOS 67 (New Haven, 1987) 41.

	Plant	Surface	Percent
1.	úkiš ₁₆	6,115 sar	45.3
2.	giš ₁₆ dih	3,120	23.1
3.	úgiš ₁₆ hašhur	590	4.3
4.	úLAK175-na	1,082	8.0
5.	ú-kul	1,120	8.2
6.	Mixture of 1-4	660	4.8
7.	Mixture of 3-4	807	5.9

Table 1-Weed coverage of a field in Umma in the 4th year of Šu-Sin (TCL 5 5675).

6. Final Considerations

One important matter relevant to the study of bureaucracy which could not be discussed here is the determination of the extent of coverage of any particular activity. Often we have documents covering a very concrete type of production or service involving specific individuals, but only for a very restricted period or periods of time. For instance, for ten months of the first year of Šu-Sin there is a text (YOS 4 301) that lists –in order to compute wages– the amount of g i - z i-reeds (a particular stage in the growth of the common reed fed to sheep and goats) collected at the Tell of Murula (d u₆- m u - r u - l a^{ki}). There is one text (Nesbit, *SRD*, no. 26) for the second month of the following year. There is nothing before these dates, and the subject does not reappear until eight years later: two texts in Ibbi-Sin 1 (*BIN* 3 329 and 465), and one text the following year (*BIN* 3 265). In this case the relatively sudden retreat of the central administration at the beginning of Ibbi-Sin’s reign is sufficient explanation for the ensuing silence, but the

7. Read *al-la-núm* “acorn-shaped bead.” The examples are taken from H. Limet, *Le Travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la III^e dynastie d’Ur* (Paris, 1960), a book that attempts to study the terminology of metal objects with no recourse whatsoever to archaeology.

sudden appearance of the account and the eight-year-gap remain unexplained. One could quote many more similar cases in which the cessation of bureaucratic control cannot be explained by the decline of the Ur III empire. Besides the obvious, but hardly satisfying, assumption that other documents relating to the matter in question have been lost, one could reasonably ask whether the bureaucracy did not constantly try to expand its control over more and more activities of the population, but often had to desist due to practical difficulties or the resistance of the parties involved. The matter deserves careful investigation. The cadasters discussed above were almost certainly activities that took place only at distant intervals.

In conclusion, the application of quantitative methods in general and statistical analysis in particular to ancient administrative texts is not only possible but is the only way of extracting meaningful data in order to reconstruct the economic institutions. As a side benefit we would also gain a better understanding of the vocabulary. The meticulous accounting of the ancient scribes deserves a proper quantitative treatment. It is not an easy task. Tables and graphs are only a way of presenting raw data. To interpret the information statistically, finding probabilities and margins of error, is another matter. Quantitative methods, being in a sense more powerful than philological ones, require an explicit analysis of basic assumptions and demand rigorous methods coupled with common sense lest we be accused of “counting without thinking” after being guilty of “thinking without counting”.

III.3

The Mesopotamian Lexical Lists: Authors and Commentators^{*}

While the role of lexical lists in the training of scribes has received a fair amount of attention (see, e.g., *MSL* 14:4-6, Veldhuis 1997, Robson 2001, Proust 2007), the authorship of the lists and their everyday use by and among the teachers has hardly been discussed. The present notes examine a few indications that, very indirectly, cast some light on this aspect of Mesopotamian scholarship. This study is dedicated to Jorge Silva, friend and colleague, who, in circumstances not always favorable, has pursued enthusiastically his Assyriological endeavors.¹

1. *Authors and scholars*

The cuneiform written record is almost completely anonymous and lexical texts are no exception. When the colophons of tablets (Hunger 1968) give personal names they are the names of the scribes who copied the tablet, or of its owners and collectors, not of their creators. There is, however, a significant exception: many Early Dynastic (henceforth ED) tablets from Fāra and Tell Abū Šalābīkh have at the end a colophon (Mander 1984, Krebernik 1998:325-35) consisting of a list, often very long, of names accompanied by the name of profession *u m b i s a ḡ* “scribe.”² The *Animal List D*, from Fāra,³ has, for instance, a colophon listing no fewer than twelve names of scribes.⁴ One of them, like in other similar

^{*} The present article was originally published in D. A. Barreyra Fracaroli – G. del Olmo Lete (eds.), *Reconstruyendo el Pasado Remoto. Estudios sobre el Próximo Oriente Antiguo en homenaje a Jorge R. Silva Castillo / Reconstructing a Distant Past. Ancient Near Eastern Essays in Tribute to Jorge Silva Castillo, AuOr-Supplementa* 25. Sabadell 2009, pp. 63-69.

1. This article is an excerpt from a chapter of an aborted book on Mesopotamian lexicography. Some of the concepts expressed here were explained in my “El arte de escuchar voces lejanas” [the art of listening to faraway voices] in Montero *et al.* 2001.

2. The slightly more recent colophons from Ebla name in most cases only three persons: the one who wrote the tablet, *d u b (m u) - s a r*, the one who “taught” (or “knew”) the tablet, *d u b z u - z u*, and the master, *u m m i a* (Mander 1984). This seems to reflect a mere process of copy, not necessarily involving consultation or deliberation.

3. = *TSS* 46 (pl. clxxxiii), collated by R.D. Biggs and studied in Sjöberg 2000.

4. *SF* 39 may have had as many as eighteen names.

cases, is said to be the one who materially wrote the tablet (d u b m u - s a r), the rest are just names. What was the role of these individuals? One may reasonably wonder whether the ED scribes did not work collegially like, for instance, their counterparts in VIth century A.D. China. The scholar Lu Fayan tells in the preface to a rhyme dictionary how he would get together with eight of his friends and “in the evening, after having enjoyed our wine, our discussions always turned to phonology” (quoted in Malmqvist 1994:11). Are these ED lexical lists a collective work of scribes who before writing a lexical list, or creating a new one, would discuss together the most appropriate form of the entries, and finally put down their own names at the end of the tablets as a seal of approval? Animal List D seems to be a unique compilation, outside the mainstream of ED lists, and thus the named scholars may very well have to be called its authors. The practice of collective scholarship must have continued into later times, in the majority of cases leaving no clear written traces. Besides this interaction, of unknown frequency, between teachers, the training of the scribes certainly required constant explanations of vocabulary and spellings. The transition, before the middle of the XIIth century B.C., from the high variability and often low quality of the late OB lists to the relative stability and more acceptable quality of the “canonical” lists, required no doubt discussions and decisions by scholars. It seems unlikely that it was a one-man decision. The late first millennium commentaries may reflect some interaction between scholars, but they seem to be mainly the product of dialogue between them and their pupils.

2. Early explanatory texts

The oldest text with clearly explanatory material is from Pre-Sargonic Lagaš (Civil 1983). The exercise tablet is divided into paragraphs devoted to a particular sign or sign group. Within a paragraph there are obvious examples of logogram readings, but there are also short phrases exemplifying the use of the sign. A unique feature of the tablet is the addition of what seems to be phonological detail indicated by the presence or absence of the suffix -a m₆, (or -d a m)⁵ and the insertion of the term SAG×HA, both of unknown significance. The following paragraph, for instance, deals with the sign DU:

NI-DU, ṛi`-ṛe<sub>6</sub>-né, i-ṛe<sub>6</sub>`-[x], eren-A, i-DU, u₅-du

“What is written with the signs NI and DU is read /iṛen(e)/, ...,
(but in another instance like) ‘Mr. Eren-A comes (i-DU)’,
(the imperfective form is pronounced) /u - d u/.”⁶ (2:10-3:3)

5. The suffix -a m₆ appears also in the ED Metal List. A good deal of its entries are repeated twice, the second time with the suffix, the first without. It is hardly a phonological notation, it could perhaps be an indication of bilingualism, an early form of bilingual list: the same entry would have been read in school first in one language and then in another. In *SF* 72 every single entry has the notation A, or MIN, and the text has been interpreted as a list of water courses (in ED the logogram A can function as /i d/ “river, canal”), cf. Krebernik 1998:316. There are there thematic groups, e.g., 2:3-5: ù - k u “to sleep,” ù - [n u] - k u “not to sleep,” and ù - l u l - k u “to pretend to be sleep” (lit. “to sleep falsely”), or sign groups like 5:7-12 with š e - g u, that point to a lexical list other than a list of river/canal toponymy.

6. If correctly interpreted as e/i - d u > u₅ - d u (*j u - d u/), this would be an indication of vocalic assimilation in the verb that goes one step further in the expression of the well-known Lagaš alternation /i/ : /e/.

A text, of about the same time, the *Ebla Sign List* (ESL) preserved in two tablets from Ebla (definitive edition in Archi 1987)⁷ clearly includes annotations for or from textual exegesis. Lines 1-56 of this compilation identify isolated signs from the very archaic list ED Lu A (a fact first detected by Arcari 1983), a list which seems to have had a special significance, possibly even extra-linguistic, and created special difficulties for the scribes already before Sargonic times.⁸ The signs are identified by a sign name consisting of the Sumerian reading, in the local orthography, and then semiticized by the suffixation of *-um*. Thus the sign read GÁN is named *ga-na-um*, the sign SUHUR, *šu-hu-ru₁₂-um*, and so on. The sequence of signs follows in general that of the ED Lu A entries, but skips some of them. The explanatory nature of the text is detectable from the following features: (a) From an entry consisting of several signs only *one* is generally selected for inclusion in ESL. This observation is of practical import when attempting to define the reading of the entire entry; for instance, of the three signs of the very first entry, ŠITA.DIŠ.NÁM, only the sign ŠITA is defined. The reading /t i š t a(n)/ attributed to it, therefore, cannot legitimately be used to infer the reading of the whole group.⁹ (b) ESL does not give always the logogram's reading most appropriate for the entry, but only a more common or general one. (c) ESL inserts, between entries extracted from ED Lu A, some signs which do not correspond to any entry of the latter. The function of such additional signs is to show distinctions or contrasts of a graphic or phonological nature. Line 125 of ED Lu A, for instance, has the term g a l - b a h á r "master potter" whose main sign is properly identified as *ba-ha-ru₁₂-um*:

ESL 54	BAHÁR	=	<i>ba-ha-ru₁₂-um</i>
ESL 55	EDIN	=	<i>ì-dì-núm</i>

Immediately after BAHÁR, the scribe adds EDIN = *ì-dì-núm* "desert," foreign to the ED Lu A text, but introduced here because the two signs BAHÁR and EDIN are exceedingly similar. The teacher at this point explained no doubt how to tell them apart. Lines 14-15 illustrate how the insertion of IGI into GIŠGAL converts the latter in SILIG (that it is not part of ED Lu A):

ESL 14	GIŠGAL×IGI	=	<i>si-la-ga-um</i>
ESL 15	GIŠGAL	=	<i>giš-ga[l-lum]</i>

Another example: the entries in lines 17-19 of ESL contain three signs, not included in ED Lu A, which have to be read /k (u m)/, /k a m/, and /g a n/:

ESL 16	SANGA	=	<i>'ub'-bí-sa-ga-im</i>
ESL 17	KUM	=	<i>k u m</i>
ESL 18	KAM ₄	=	<i>ga-mu-um</i>
ESL 19	GAN	=	<i>g a n</i>

7. With copy and photos; previously published in *MEE* 3 51-52 with photos in *MEE* 3/A pl. 26-27.

8. There exist a number of OB copies with glosses: *SLT* 14 (Green 1984), *UET* 6/3 682, *UET* 7 86, Cotsen 129, and BM 58680.

9. Cf., however, š i t e n (KI.DU.KAK) = *mā laku* A, assuming a logogram substitution.

Their insertion is prompted by the preceding entry: SANGA = *'ub'-bí-sa-ga-im*, the only instance of an Akkadian genitive suffix *-im*, instead of nominative *-um*, in the whole ESL. The Sumerian word is also a headless genitive: /^mb i s a ŋ - a k/ “the one of the tablet basket”,¹⁰ with the genitive suffix - a k not overtly expressed in writing. This time the discussion dealt obviously with writing coventions: the teacher explained the phonological form (/k (u m)/, /k a (m)/, or /g a (n)/) of the unwritten genitive element /- a k/. Line 51 gives the sign TAK₄, which has the same shape as the sign ŠU but turned 90° to the right; the sign is named *šu-wu-um*, i.e., /š u/, followed by a slanted cuneiform wedge, which is no doubt the forerunner of the later notation *tenû* “slanted.”

The signs taken from ED Lu A end with line 56 of the ESL list, lines 57-63 have a few signs from ED Animal List A:¹¹

ESL	EDA A
57 ÛR,	79
58 DARA ₄ ,	76
59 KUN,	70
60 MUNSUB _a ,	97
61 MUNSUB _b ,	97
62 MUN,	----
63 NAGA,	114

ESL 60-61 may point to an explanation of two very similar signs (see remark in Archi 1987:100); the glosses in Animal A show that the correct reading there was /u š/, in agreement with ESL 61 *ù-sum*₆. The insertion of 62 may be prompted by MUNSUB. In the rest of ESL there are a number of signs (65, 67, 68, 74, 85, 86, 87, 95, 98) found in Animal B, but in no particular sequence and interspersed with a large number of unparalleled ones. It is not clear from where the remaining signs of the second half of ESL come.

3. Old Babylonian commentaries.

Except for the cases above, no commentaries seem to have been preserved before OB times, when among the various types of texts subsumed under the label OBGT, next to paradigms and procedural texts (*MSL* SS 1 72), there are bilingual tablets in which the entries do not show an arrangement by subject matter or by morphological criteria. A closer examination shows that they are comments on literary compositions, although unidentifiable in the majority of cases.

10. Less likely seems an etymological interpretation /d u b - s a ŋ - a k/ “the one of the main (or first) tablet;” in any case, this would also be a genitive and it would not affect the discussion.

11. Krecher 1978, Krispijn 1981-82. Most of the signs are repeated several times in ED Animal A, but only a single reference is given here.

A tablet from Ur (*UET* 7 94) has entries that give words found in the literary letter B 16 (edited in Ali 1964). The commentary tablet reads:

01	[bar]-zàg ^{bar-sag}	<i>tú-up-l[um?]</i>	insult	B 16:14
02	ˁníˁ-bàr ^{ni-bar}	<i>pu-uq-qum</i>	to pay attention	B 16:15
03	mah	<i>šu-qú-ú-um</i>	high	B 16:13
04	šu-dag	<i>ka-du-um</i>	to be distressed	B 16:15
05	en-na-bé-eš	<i>a-di i-ˁxˁ</i>	until ...	
06	u ₄ -da šú-uš-bé-eš	<i>u₄-mu-um k[a]-ˁxˁ</i>	a ... time	
07	dub-sar geštú-ak!-a	<i>tup-šar pe-tu-um</i>	an attentive scribe	(B 16:16)
08	en-na-me-šè	<i>a-di ma-ti</i>	until when?	
09	NAM	<i>ši-ih-tum</i>	laughter	B 16:12
10	i-si-iš	<i>ši-ih-tum</i>	laughter	B 16:12
11	ÍL ^{il?}	<i>ˁsaˁ-a-ú-um</i>	to hiccup(?)	
12	šu-kár	<i>tú-pu-ul-lu-um</i>	to calumniate	
13	[s]u-lum-mar	<i>tú-pu-lu-um</i>	calumny	
14	[gi]š-hur	<i>e-še-hu-um</i>	to incise	
15	[la-r]a-ah *	<i>pu-uš-qum</i>	narrowness	
16	[giš.g]az	<i>ma-aš-ka-šum</i>	a cutting tool	
17	[giš.h]aš	<i>ma-aš-ka-šum</i>	a cutting tool	
18	[...]-ˁxˁ ^{ˁzu-ú}	<i>i-du-um</i>	to know(?)	

* follows an ununderstandable remark: 6 d u b 5 s i k?, perhaps indicating a text location.

Letter B 16 is preserved in multiple copies because it was used as a writing exercise in school; besides eight copies from Nippur, there are two from Ur: $U_1 = UET$ 6 175 and $U_2 = UET$ 6 176, both from the same findspot as the commentary tablet (Charpin 1986:441, 451). The Ur texts show some divergent readings, have Sumerian pronunciation glosses and partial Akkadian translations that differ from the ones proposed by the commentary. The scribe of *UET* 6 176 ends by giving a full Akkadian translation of the passage under discussion at the end of his tablet (see below). It is obvious that for the Ur scribes had difficulties and disagreements about the textual tradition of this letter that resulted in divergent interpretations accompanied no doubt by discussions.¹² Terms from the letter are discussed in lines 1 to 10 of *UET* 7 94, interrupted, in lines 5, 6, and 8, by three expressions roughly translatable by “until when?”¹³ The verb šu ba-e-dag (with variant šu bé-dag) in line 15 of the letter is glossed by *ab-tu-uq* in U_1 , and translated by *kādu* in the commentary. The verb šu—dag with the ablative normally means “to wander away from” (Akk. *rapādu*, and the like), the verb *batāqu* “to (be) cut off” is an acceptable gloss. However, *kādu* B “to be distressed” is a psychological explanation, not a semantic one, of the emotional

12. The scholarship of the Ur scribes is not always outstanding: for an example of a very poorly written letter from Ur, see Civil 1994:180, source G.

13. Could these lines, including line 07, an imperative in Sumerian, be taken as an expression of impatience on the part of the master, inserted here for a jocular effect?

state of the sender away from home, and would be applicable to the whole of the letter. The lexical equations of the commentaries, therefore, should be interpreted on the light of the full context, lest phantom meanings be attributed to the ancient scribes. In the same line, the first sign IM is read *ní* by the commentary, but read *šeg₇* by the scribe of U₂, (who writes correctly *šeg₉* on the tablet); the reading *ní* is obviously incorrect since the Sumerian equivalent of *puqu* should be *šeg₉-(bar)*—a.k. Note, however, that a Nippur source (CBS 13307) has also IM-*bar*. NAM (line 09) is to be read *bír₅*, as a (partial) variant of *zú—bír* ‘to laugh.’ In line 10, U₁ glosses *i-si-iš* by *ta-as-lim!-tu-ka* “your derision.” Line 11, with an unparalleled equation, may be meant to clarify the phonology of the root *šiāhu* ‘to laugh’. Lines 12-13 go back to the theme *tupullu* of line 1: a verbal form in 12 (where the Sumerian should read *šu-kár-kár* with reduplication), a nominal one in 13 (cf. the Ur proverbs UET 6 286, 292). The reason for the rest of the entries is not obvious, lines 14-17 could refer to some manual process (engraving?). Finally, the Akkadian translation inserted by Nanna-meša at the end of his tablet reads:¹⁴

<i>na-zi-iq-ka uš-ta-mi-ta-an-ni</i>	your whining kills me,
<i>qú-lum i-na áš!-ri-ia uš-te-si-ra-an-ni</i>	the silence keeps me fenced in in my place.
<i>uz-na-a-ia i-ba-áš-ša!-ku-um-ma</i>	I will pay attention
<i>aq-ta-na-al</i>	and keep quiet

Another example: the second column of BM 23331 (Civil 1994:205), a similar bilingual commentary text, lists Sumerian agricultural expressions, first some starting with *a-šà* ‘field’ and then others with initial in “straw,” in between there are quotations from *The Farmer’s Instructions*, lines 48, 49, and 52 (the latter, a difficult one, unfortunately without its Akkadian translation).

These commentaries were designated in the OB schools with the colloquial technical term *níṇ-zí-ṇál-edin-na*, lit. “the animals of the desert” (Akk. *šātu*), although the term does not seem to be attested so far as a subscript on any OB tablet. In centuries to come, the practice of explaining, commenting, and discussing texts will continue and be better documented, a large number of tablets labelled *šātu šūt pí u maš’altu ša pí ummānu* “comments, traditional statements, and questions of the master” have been preserved.

APPENDIX

Reconstruction of lines 12-16 of the letter UET 6 175 and 176. The siglum N designates an eclectic text from the Nippur sources.

12	<i>bir₅-zu íb-gu₇-en</i>	<i>i-si-iš-zu íb-si-ge-en</i>
U ₁	+ + + +	+ + + + + + + - <i>ta-as-lim!-tu-ka</i>
U ₂	+ + + +	+ + + + + + + +
N	+ + + + +	+ + + + + + + +

“your laughter eats me inside, your derision overwhelms me”

14. Irving Finkel and Jon Taylor kindly provided photos of this part of the tablet and contributed to the clarification of the passage.

13 mah-zu íb-sur-re-en

U₁ + + + + - + *is-ú-ka*

U + + + + + +

N + + + + + +

“your power breaks me apart”

14 bar-šèṅ-ḡá- zu íb- úš-en

U₁ o zàṅ TA LA zu + bu + + *tu-pu-ul-ka*

U bar šèṅ ḡá e + + - + +

N bar šèṅ ḡá e + + - + +

“your calumnies kill me”

15 šeg₉-bar ki- mu-ta šu ba-e-dagU₁ o o k]i + + + bé + *ab-tu-uq*

U + + + + + + ba=e +

N IM + + + + + ba=e +

“(your) vigilance keeps me away from my place”

16 geštú šà-tuku-tuku lib ba-ḡar

U₁ *om.*U₂ + + + + + + + +

N + + + + + + + +

“I will pay attention, and keep quiet”

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Miguel (or Miquel) Civil's oeuvre has been unanimously acclaimed by the entire Assyriological community, from his first contributions in the 1960s to the most recent publications today. This volume gathers together his principal articles, which have been published in the most prestigious series and periodicals in the field of cuneiform studies. Every expert in the civilizations of ancient Mesopotamia has been influenced by Civil's profound researches: the perspicacity of his proposals, the novelty of his suggestions and the originality of his solutions. Cuneiform studies would be a completely different discipline were it not for the stimulus and impact of the work of a scholar who created his own school, and who will be leaving a mark on many generations to come.



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