

Jacob Klein



“AN EXPERIENCED SCRIBE  
WHO NEGLECTS NOTHING”

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES  
IN HONOR OF JACOB KLEIN

edited by

Yitschak Sefati,  
Pinhas Artzi,  
Chaim Cohen,  
Barry L. Eichler  
and Victor A. Hurowitz

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## PREFACE

The editors take great pleasure in presenting this Festschrift to our dear friend and colleague Professor Jacob Klein as a gift for his seventieth birthday, and as a token of recognition for his substantial contributions to our knowledge of Sumerian and ancient Near Eastern cultures. On this happy occasion, we wish to extend our deepest thanks to all those who made its production possible.

First and foremost, we thank all those scholars, working in the various areas of Jacob's interests, who have contributed from the fruits of their research to this volume. They hail from three different continents, thus making this Festschrift a truly international tribute to our jubilarian. We are deeply saddened by the passing of two contributors, Jeremy Black and Dietz Otto Edzard. These two great scholars will be sorely missed.

Thanks are also due to those members of the Bar-Ilan University faculty who provided generous financial support toward the publication of this book from funds at their disposal: Professor Joshua Schwartz, Dean of the Faculty of Jewish Studies; Mr. Yitzhak Kerner, Administrative Head of the Faculty; and Professor Hanan Eshel, Director of the Jeselsohn Epigraphy Center of Jewish History. We are also grateful to Bar-Ilan University's Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies for its significant financial contribution, and for making its facilities available to our staff for the necessary editorial and secretarial work.

Finally, we express our gratitude to Jacob's students, Ms. Etana Glushko and Ms. Karine Vartsky-Volk, who labored tirelessly and with great dedication, computerizing the edited manuscripts, transferring them to the publisher, distributing proofs to the authors, and helping solve numerous problems.

עליהם תבוא ברכה-טוב

"May blessings of good alight upon them" (Proverbs 24:25)

Tishre 5765 (September 2004)

## JACOB KLEIN: AN APPRECIATION

dub-sar ġál taka<sub>4</sub>-a níġ-e nu-dib-bé

“An experienced scribe who neglects nothing” (Šulgi B 20)

BARRY L. EICHLER

*University of Pennsylvania*

### I.

Jacob Klein's contribution to Sumerian hymnography is part of a tradition of scholarly excellence that began with the appearance of Adam Falkenstein's articles in 1950<sup>1</sup> and the subsequent publication of his *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* in 1953.<sup>2</sup> In the next decade, W. H. Ph. Römer presented a comprehensive overview and classification of Isin royal hymnography, based on Falkenstein's earlier pioneering works, and edited representative selections of the Sumerian royal hymns of Isin.<sup>3</sup> When Jacob Klein began his scholarly career as a Sumerologist almost forty years ago, the royal hymns of Šulgi, king of Ur, were relatively “neglected” in comparison with the Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian royal hymns of other kings.<sup>4</sup> As Jacob explained, this was due to the fragmentary state of many of the Šulgi compositions, as well as to their “unique religious ideas and episodes, expressed in rich and archaic poetic style, written at times in a peculiar archaizing orthography,”<sup>5</sup> which hindered their translation and interpretation. Despite these difficulties, Jacob

- 
1. A. Falkenstein, “Sumerische religiöse Texte,” *ZA NF* 15 (1950): 80–150.
  2. A. Falkenstein – W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich 1953).
  3. W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isinzeit* (Leiden 1965).
  4. From over twenty Šulgi hymns identified by then, only three relatively small hymns (Šulgi A, Y, and Z) were published in reliable editions (cf. A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* 16 [1952]: 61–91; idem, *Iraq* 22 [1960]: 139–50; S.N. Kramer, *Iraq* 31 [1960]: 18–23). In contrast, a significant number of Urnammu and Šu-Sin hymns were previously edited (see bibliography in J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* [Ramat-Gan, 1981], 226–27), as well as a great many of the royal hymns of the Isin Dynasty (see preceding note).
  5. J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, p. 11

understood that the publication of the Šulgi hymns was a scholarly desideratum, essential for the understanding of the origins and evolution of Sumerian royal hymnography. Much of Jacob's scholarly input has been devoted to this goal.

Beginning with his doctoral dissertation,<sup>6</sup> Jacob began the arduous task of editing the royal hymns of Šulgi. In his *Three Šulgi Hymns*, in which he provided excellent editions of Šulgi D, Šulgi X, and Šulgi A, Jacob also presented a general overview of the genre and its typology, as well as a detailed survey of the Šulgi hymns, including an extensive catalogue of the texts. He also published critical editions of Šulgi O,<sup>7</sup> Šulgi P,<sup>8</sup> Šulgi R,<sup>9</sup> Šulgi G,<sup>10</sup> and Šulgi V,<sup>11</sup> and prepared manuscript editions of many of the other Šulgi hymns for the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary Project during his post-doctoral<sup>12</sup> and sabbatical<sup>13</sup> work in the Babylonian Section's Tablet Room of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.<sup>14</sup> His text editions are comprehensive and overarch-

6. J. Klein, *Šulgi D: A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn* (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1968).
7. "Šulgi and Gilgameš: The Two Brother-Peers," in B.L. Eichler (ed.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976), 271–92.
8. *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 71, part 7 (Philadelphia 1981), 21–42.
9. "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian Royal Hymnology," in J. Klein and A. Skaist (eds.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture, Publications of the Bar-Ilan University Institute of Assyriology (Ramat-Gan 1990), 65–136.
10. "The Coronation and Consecration of Šulgi in the Ekur (Šulgi G)," in M. Cogan and I. Ephal (eds.), *Ah Assyria...: Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography, Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, Scripta Hierosolymitana 33 (Jerusalem 1991), 292–313.
11. "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Runners in the Service of the Gods (SRT 13)," *Beer-Sheva 2*, (1985): 7\*–38\*.
12. Jacob completed his dissertation and received his Ph.D. degree in May 1968. He spent that summer at Yale University, copying Sumerian royal hymns for William W. Hallo. He then returned to Penn's Museum, where he worked in the Tablet Room as a post-doctoral research fellow for two years (1968–1970).
13. His 1976–1977 sabbatical stay was extended for two years until 1979, during which he served as a research fellow on the staff of the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary Project. Jacob's work greatly benefited from the voluminous card files and erudition of Åke W. Sjöberg, the Project's director, whom Jacob fondly remembers as the most friendly and generous supervisor he ever had. During his 1987–1988 and 2002–2003 sabbaticals, he worked exclusively in the Museum. His sabbatical year 1997–1998 was spent as a Research Fellow in Penn's Center for Advanced Jewish Studies, but he worked during his free time at the Museum's Tablet Room.
14. Additionally, Jacob produced revised editions of Išmedagan J, Išmedagan I, and

ing. They contain a detailed description of the tablets and text types, based on physical features, and orthographic and phonological peculiarities, thus serving as a bridge between the work of Falkenstein, Jacobsen, and Kramer, and the current treatments of text typology, orthography, and scribal transmission. The excellent hand copies, accompanying the editions, reveal a keen eye and fine hand. The text editions also contain exemplary commentaries, which reflect Jacob's literary sensitivity to textual nuances, philological acumen, and careful attention to issues of grammar and syntax. But Jacob's interest in the text is much broader than the search for meaning in purely philological terms. He has strong interests in the literary, historical, and cultural issues that emerge from the text. Hence, the editions also contain insightful discussions of the cultic-historical settings of the hymns, their use in temple liturgy and court ceremonies, the implications of the texts for understanding the nature of divine kingship, the multifaceted role of the king in the Neo-Sumerian period, and the literary influences exhibited on subsequent compositions. Most importantly, Jacob's text editions have served as models of excellence for a new generation of Sumerologists who recognize that, although many have contributed to our knowledge of Sumerian royal hymns, "it is undoubtedly J. Klein, who should be credited for the progress in Sumerian hymnography."<sup>15</sup>

Jacob's scholarly contributions to cuneiform studies are also to be found in his numerous articles on Sumerian and Akkadian language and lexicography,<sup>16</sup> religion,<sup>17</sup> history,<sup>18</sup> and literature.<sup>19</sup> But Jacob's research interests have extended beyond cuneiform studies to embrace the study of the Bible in its ancient Near Eastern context. Academically speaking, the Bible has been Jacob's "first love," beginning his scholarly career with an M. A. thesis entitled "Prophecy in Israel and Similar Phenomena in the Ancient Near East." His comparative studies have enriched our understanding of biblical terminology, religio-legal conceptions, and thought.<sup>20</sup> As an editor and contributor to the biblical books of Genesis, Job, and the Five Megilloth in the encyclopedic commentary series *World of the Bible*,<sup>21</sup>

- Urnammu B (see "Articles and Varia" Nos. 17 and 42, in his Bibliography below).
15. Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnammu of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 166 (Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 10.
16. Nos. 1, 7, 9, 36, 37, 63. Note that the numbers in footnotes 16–20, refer to the enumerations found in "Articles and Varia" in his Bibliography below.
17. Nos. 11, 25, 26, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 51.
18. Nos. 20, 27, 33, 38, 46, 51, 53, 55, 57.
19. Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 32, 35, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 54, 56.
20. Nos. 4, 6, 16, 39, 52, 58, 59.
21. Nos. 3, 5, 7. Note that the numbers refer to the enumerations found in "books authored and edited" in his Bibliography below.

Jacob also has brought his erudition in biblical and cuneiform studies to the Hebrew-reading public.

## II.

Jacob's early life is typical of a European Jewish child who survived the Holocaust and found a home and haven in Israel. Born in Szarvas, Hungary on May 19, 1934 to Abraham (Árpád) and Hanna (Adél) Klein,<sup>22</sup> Jacob experienced a relatively peaceful early childhood in his home town, where he attended the Orthodox Jewish elementary school from 1941–1944, supplementing his Torah studies in the afternoon community *Cheder*. His father was called to Hungarian military service in 1942, never again to return to his family.<sup>23</sup> With the German occupation of Hungary in 1944, Jacob, his mother, and brother were deported to Austria, where they were subjected to forced labor until the end of the war.<sup>24</sup> Shortly after their return to Szarvas, Jacob's mother decided to immigrate to Israel (then the British Mandate of Palestine). In the winter of 1946, they left Hungary as part of a Zionist youth group via Yugoslavia. There they embarked on an old cargo ship named "Kneset-Israel," which took them from a Yugoslavian port to Haifa. The ship was intercepted by the British navy off the coast of Palestine, and its passengers were deported to Cyprus. In the winter of 1947, Jacob arrived in Palestine from a nine-month-long stay in a British deportation camp.

Jacob spent the rest of his childhood in Kfar Batya, a foster home and educational institution supported by the Mizrahi Women's Organization. There, for the first time since 1944, he had access to regular and formal schooling, completing his elementary and high school studies.<sup>25</sup> In the years 1953–1955, Jacob performed military service in the Israel Defense Forces, and subsequently enrolled at the newly established Bar-Ilan University, for undergraduate studies in the Departments of Bible and Talmud.

22. Jacob's father was an accountant, known for his honesty and trustworthiness. His mother (née Klein but unrelated to her husband), a free-lance seamstress, was descended from an illustrious rabbinic family that originated in medieval Spain.
23. According to the testimony of two of his brothers, Abraham Klein died in the concentration camp Mauthausen, Austria two months before the end of World War II.
24. Jacob's mother and her fellow prisoners first did agricultural work in Oberwaltersdorf and then worked for the Bad-Vöslau Electric Company.
25. Jacob owes much of his ability in analytical thinking, as well as his skills in teaching, to the then Director of Kfar Batya, Hayim Zvi Enoch, a master of pedagogy, who trained his students in strict logical thinking and clear accurate expression.

## III.

Jacob's scholarly career has been profoundly influenced by the nurturing tutelage of his teachers and mentors. At Bar-Ilan, Jacob met Pinhas Artzi, then a young and enthusiastic Assyriologist and historian of the ancient Near East. Artzi fondly recalls him as "a very skinny, ever optimistic, and extremely gifted young student"<sup>26</sup> whom he and his wife, Fanny, welcomed into their home and hearts. Artzi was Jacob's first mentor who initiated him into the world of Assyriological scholarship, serving as his academic advisor and supervisor of his M.A. thesis.<sup>27</sup> Throughout Jacob's career, Artzi has been a staunch admirer, supportive colleague, and good friend. Recognizing Jacob's linguistic prowess, critical acumen, and excellent analytical and organizational skills, Artzi encouraged Jacob to pursue doctoral work in Bible and Assyriology. In the academic year 1961–1962, Jacob studied at The Hebrew University, taking courses with Hayim Tadmor in Codex Hammurabi and Neo-Assyrian history. There he met Moshe Greenberg, a Guggenheim Fellow who was a visiting lecturer in Bible. Upon Greenberg's judicious advice, reaffirming Artzi's previous suggestion, Jacob decided to continue his doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1962, Jacob arrived in Philadelphia, where he studied Assyriology and Semitic linguistics with E. A. Speiser, Bible with Moshe Greenberg, and Sumerology with S. N. Kramer in Penn's Department of Oriental Studies.<sup>28</sup> All three mentors had a profound impact upon Jacob's scholarly growth. At first, he concentrated on Assyriology and Bible, and thrived in an atmosphere that shared his own belief that the Bible is best understood in light of its ancient Near Eastern context. From Speiser and his student Moshe Greenberg, he learned that it was imperative to perceive and acknowledge the cultural, spiritual, and intellectual legacy upon which biblical tradition continually drew in order to better understand and appreciate the Bible's unique value system.<sup>29</sup> Jacob admired the faithful rendering and literary excellence of Speiser's translation of ancient texts, which became the standard for him to emulate in his own career. He

26. Written communication from Professor Artzi.

27. Jacob received a B.A. in Bible and Talmud in 1960 and was awarded an M. A. degree from Bar-Ilan University in 1961.

28. During these years at Penn, Jacob studied together with Yochanan Muffs, Shalom Paul, Aaron Shaffer, Barry Eichler, Jonathan Paradise, Louis Levine, Adele Berlin, Mordechai Cogan, Richard Steiner, and Sid Leiman, who became his colleagues and dear friends.

29. See J. J. Finkelstein, "E. A. Speiser: An Appreciation," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies—Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser* (eds. J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, 1967), 606–7. See further Jacob's own statement to this effect in Sh. Shifra and J. Klein, *In Those Distant Days* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, 1996), 662.

benefited from Greenberg's passionate devotion to teaching,<sup>30</sup> which allowed him to attain new levels of methodological rigor and scholastic exactitude. Jacob was particularly drawn to Speiser's acumen as a Semitic grammarian, and after three years of intensive study, Speiser suggested that Jacob undertake a study of the hollow verb in Semitics for his doctoral thesis. But it was not to be. Due to Speiser's untimely death in 1965, Jacob accepted Kramer's invitation to embark upon a dissertation in Sumerian literature. Kramer introduced him to the mysteries and joy of his own central interest: the editing of Sumerian literary texts. Jacob responded warmly to Kramer's generosity in teaching him the art of the Sumerian scribe and they entered into a lifelong relationship of mutual respect and deep affection.

## IV.

Jacob appreciated deeply the excellent and supportive mentoring that he had received from his teachers during the formative period of his academic career and he has repaid this debt in kind. Upon his return to Israel, his own students<sup>31</sup> and colleagues benefited greatly from Jacob's generosity of spirit, patient tutelage, wise counsel, and warm friendship. Jacob soon became a leader and active participant in the academic growth of cuneiform studies in Israel. He returned to Bar-Ilan University in 1970, at the invitation of M. Z. Kaddari, then chair of the Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, where he offered courses in Sumerian and Akkadian grammar and literature. He also was appointed a member of the Department of Bible, where he taught biblical texts in their ancient Near Eastern context, with special emphasis on poetry and wisdom literature.<sup>32</sup> At Bar-Ilan, he spearheaded the development of a serious cuneiform studies program together with his colleagues, Pinhas Artzi, Aaron Skaist, and Amnon Altman, which culminated in the creation of the Bar-Ilan University Institute of Assyriology in 1980. Jacob worked tirelessly to develop its goals and mission and headed the Institute for more than ten years.<sup>33</sup>

30. "Moshe Greenberg: An Appreciation," in M. Cogan, B.L. Eichler, J.H. Tigay (eds.), *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (Winona Lake, Ind. 1997), xiii.

31. During his long career at Bar-Ilan, a number of dissertations in Assyriology were written under his supervision. The most important of these dissertations was written on Dumuzi-Inanna love songs by his dear student and colleague, Yitschak Sefati, which was published in 1998 under the title *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature*.

32. In addition to his teaching duties, Jacob served as head of the Center for Basic Judaic Studies (1995–1997) and as chair of the Bible Department (1999–2000).

33. He headed the Institute during the academic years 1983–1987, 1989–1994, 1995–1997, and 2000–2001.

Under his guidance, the Institute inaugurated a scholarly series, *Publications of the Bar-Ilan University Institute of Assyriology*.<sup>34</sup> Jacob's efforts to promote Assyriological research in Israel were morally supported by his mentor, Professor Kramer, who bequeathed his valuable research library to the institute. Consequently, in 1982 the Institute was renamed The Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. The dedication of the Kramer library, which took place in the summer of 1996, was marked by an international conference on "Mesopotamian Literature: Restoration, Translation and Interpretation." Jacob also played a central role in the establishment of the Israel Association of Assyriology, and together with his Bar-Ilan colleagues, Pinhas Artzi and Michael Sokoloff, worked hard to make the association a reality. In June 18, 1997, the Israel Association of Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies was formally established, and subsequently, has held annual meetings.

Jacob's mentors also imbued within him an appreciation of the significance of the contribution of biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies to humanity's intellectual and spiritual achievements. Like his mentors, Jacob also realized that one's scholarship remains incomplete unless it informs and enlightens the present reality. With this in mind, Jacob embarked upon a twelve-year project to translate the major Sumerian and Akkadian classical literary compositions into poetic Hebrew, in collaboration with the Israeli poetess, Shin Shifra. This project resulted in the publication of *In Those Distant Days: Anthology of Mesopotamian Literature in Hebrew* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved Publishers, 1996). The volume offers an historical and cultural appreciation of ancient Mesopotamian literature, as well as a wealth of explanatory notes for the unfamiliar reader, and detailed commentary with full bibliographic references. The translations are based on the most recent scientific editions of the texts, including some unpublished materials. The enthusiastic reception of this volume by the Israeli public testifies to Jacob's successful dissemination of cuneiform scholarship to a wider general audience. The volume was heralded as a major literary and cultural work in Israel, garnishing the prestigious Saul Tschernikhovski Prize in literature. Thus, like his mentor, S. N. Kramer, Jacob has brought "the spiritual and cultural achievements of one of man's earliest and most creative civilizations"<sup>35</sup> to wider circles in Israel, and has

34. J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (1981); J. Klein and A. Skaist (eds.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* (1990); A. Skaist, *The Old Babylonian Loan Contract – Its History and Geography* (1994); Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature – Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs* (1998); A. Altman, "The 'Historical Prologue' of the Hittite 'Vassal-Treaties' – An Inquiry into the Concepts and Rules of the Inter-State Law of the Ancient Near East" (2004).

35. S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Co. 1956), vii.

contributed greatly “toward creating a sense of harmony and a climate of cooperation”<sup>36</sup> amongst Israeli scholars of the ancient Near East.

## V.

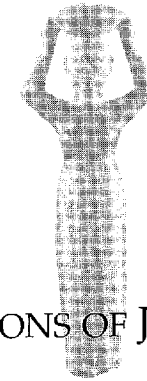
On a personal level, Jacob has always appreciated and acknowledged the moral support and constant encouragement that he has received from his beloved wife, Ahuvah (née Mintz). She too is a graduate of Bar-Ilan University and is a gifted high-school and college teacher of Bible and Jewish Philosophy. They were married in 1966, during his student years at the University of Pennsylvania, having met during one of his vacation visits to Israel. Ahuvah has provided Jacob with the warm, orderly, and stable home that had eluded him from his early youth. She has dotingly taken care of his physical needs, and has shared his academic goals, vision, and dreams. With her help and indulgence, Jacob has been able to achieve his scholarly agenda. Their two sons, Avinoam and Yuval, who are a source of great pride to Jacob and Ahuvah, have added a new dimension to their parents’ lives, as they begin to establish their own homes in Israel.<sup>37</sup>

After thirty-two years of teaching at Bar-Ilan University, Jacob retired in 2002 as a professor emeritus. He continues to teach part-time in the Departments of Bible, and Hebrew and Semitic Languages, to supervise doctoral dissertations, and to complete his many projects in Sumerology and Bible. He also remains an active member of the Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. In this volume, we join together with all his students, colleagues, and friends in wishing Jacob the “bane of humanity”<sup>38</sup> to actively pursue his academic goals in good health and happiness. He truly personifies the experienced Sumerian scribe who has neglected nothing!

36. J. Jacobsen, in B. L. Eichler (ed.), *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976), xv.

37. Avinoam married Yifat Liphstiz in 2002, and they have given Jacob and Ahuvah their first grandchild, named Yoav. In 2004, Yuval married Vered Goldberg.

38. mu 2 šu-ši mu-me-eš nam-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu / níĝ-gig-bi ħé-a “One hundred twenty years (are) the years of mankind – verily it is their bane” (J. Klein, “The Bane of Humanity: A Lifespan of One Hundred Twenty Years,” *Acta Sumerologica* 12 [1990]: 58).



## PUBLICATIONS OF JACOB KLEIN

## BOOKS AUTHORED AND EDITED

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2. *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 71, part 7), Philadelphia 1981.
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4. *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* (Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture, Publications of the Bar-Ilan University Institute of Assyriology), Ramat-Gan 1990 (edited with Aaron Skaist).
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8. "The Reading and Pronunciation of the Sumerian Word for Monkey," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 31 (1979), 149–60.
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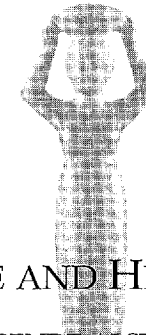
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## NANŠE AND HER FISH \*

BENDT ALSTER  
Helsingør, Denmark

THE GODDESS Nanše is known in particular from the environment of Lagaš as a goddess of fish and birds, a goddess of justice, and a divine dream interpreter. Among the literary compositions in which she is in focus are the beginning of Gudea's cylinder A, the Nanše hymn (A) (edited by W. Heimpel 1981), the compositions *The Home of the Fish* (in which her name is admittedly restored) (Civil 1961), *Nanše and the Birds*, as well as several passages in other literary compositions.<sup>1</sup> In the glyptic art Nanše has been regarded as identical with "die Göttin auf Gänsetron," or generally a female deity depicted with waterfowl, found mainly, but not exclusively, in the Lagaš area. In introductory scenes on Neo-Sumerian cylinder seals, a goddess seated on a throne with waterfowl (geese or swans?) in front, often in combination with a scorpion, is sometimes thought to be Nanše.<sup>2</sup>

\* Literally a few hours after the completed manuscript had been dispatched to the editor, I got the message that W.H.Ph. Römer has recently edited the Nanše Hymn published in VS 10, 199 rev. iii 42–iv 23 in his article: "Ein Lied über die Göttin Nanshe," in *Hymnen und Klagedieder in sumerischer Sprache*, AOAT 276 (Münster 2001), 175–85. In view of the fact that the text has received little attention since it was first published nearly a century ago, my hope is that the readers will forgive me for leaving the text as I wrote it, considering that the field has always benefited from having access to as many opinions as possible.

1. "Nanše and the Birds" is now best available on the Internet, in an edition basically prepared by Niek Veldhuis: <http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk/under4:NanšeC>.
2. See the basic articles by Heimpel and Braun-Holzinger in RIA 9, N, 152–60; 160–62. The symbolic bird of Nanše, the u<sub>5</sub>-bird, is likely to be a swan; cf. Heimpel p. 153. See further the contribution by L. Feldt, below for more details. The u<sub>5</sub>-bird is the emblem of Nanše, mentioned in Gudea Cyl. A xiv 23, as Heimpel points out (p. 153). The bird is traditionally understood as a swan, which I still consider more likely, but it has more recently be understood as a pelican (thus in the etcs1-edition of *Nanše and the Birds*). C. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building* (Groningen: Styx, 2000), 177 considers the u<sub>5</sub>-bird a "sacred gull."

Here an attempt is made to edit two lesser known Nanše compositions in Emesal.<sup>3</sup> A number of lines common to both texts are here seen as reflections of a common background for both, a cultic journey by boat accompanied by music and song. Nanše's boat is described in terms full of allusions whose implications mostly escape us. Particularly interesting are two partly parallel sequences in which Nanše and her boat are associated with fish in a way that, if taken at face value, is so awkward that some sort of explanation is called for. What is meant, e.g., when it is said that a fish roars like a bull? An explanation previously offered is that such utterly unrealistic descriptions simply testify to how far Sumerian hymns could be removed from reality.<sup>4</sup> Another is to read this as realistic descriptions of utterly amazing zoological phenomena, which actually might make such scenes plausible.<sup>5</sup> An explanation could be that such descriptions might relate to visible images or representations of semi-human fish associated with bovine as well as human characteristics. These may have accompanied the goddess during a ritual, and this would explain the remarkable mingling of realistic and unrealistic features in the text. Yet, we are faced with a problem on a larger scale: Why would such creatures be described at all in a hymn to the goddess, and how could they contribute to her honor? Descriptions of remarkable species of fish and birds are well attested in *The Home of the Fish* and *Nanše and the Birds*, with much emphasis on the mingling of features resembling birds among fish, and vice versa, with great attention to sound plays and visual effects. Such descriptions also occur in Sumerian proverbs, and are attested as early as in the Pre-Sargonic riddles from Lagaš.<sup>6</sup>

3. I am grateful to Laura Feldt, whose interest in fish-related symbols in the Mesopotamian world inspired me to take up this subject, and who suggested a number of improvements. Laura Feldt's study of Scheil's archaeological references follows as the continuation of this one (see below pp. 116ff.). I am grateful to Niek Veldhuis for some very useful comments and readings relating to VS 10 199 iii 42–iv 6, of which he had prepared a preliminary edition.
4. A. Falkenstein, ZA 47 (1941): 210, on text B iv 5 commented: "ein deutliches Beispiel, wie bedenklich weit sich die sumerischen Hymnen von der Wirklichkeit entfernen können." A. Salonen, *Fischerei*, p. 188, following Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 46, seemingly solved the problem by a different reading, which, however, did not better the credibility. Cf. below, comment on Scheil line 9.
5. Holma 1913. Commenting, p. 51f., on a creature mentioned in our Text B iv 12, he compared the "swallow-fish" mentioned there to Arabic *buhārūn*, a swallow, but also, according to Forskål a fish that emits a grumbling sound, similar to a song. Also, still according to Forskål, in Turkish, *qyrlanğhydj* denotes a swallow, but also a fish that can move on land and, when taken on land, emits a song-like grumbling sound. Holma further points to Arabic *watwātun*, both a swallow and a bat, but also a springing fish, *piscis volatilis*, *exocoetus volitans*, that can jump high with its strong breast fins. He even goes as far as considering the Akkadian *simnūnu* a flying fish.
6. Civil, JCS 50 (1998), treating CBS 2220, now Alster, *Proverbs I*, p. 172, and the unusual

Although I do not dare to venture any definite answer, my aim is to see the phenomena in connection with the specific natural environment in the marsh areas, which abounded in fascinating wild animals that obviously, since time immemorial, appealed to the creative fantasy of the ancients. Their imaginative fantasy may have gone hand-in-hand with the inventions appearing in rituals performed during festivals.

Our knowledge of such rituals is by necessity very limited. Yet, ceremonial journeys by boat relating to Nanše are attested in Girsu in a text dated to Šulgi's ninth year, in the form of a torchlight festival of Nanše.<sup>7</sup> The most detailed description of a ceremonial boat ride known to us is, however, that of King Šulgi's own ceremonial barge for Ninlil, edited by Jacob Klein, to whom this study is respectfully dedicated.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Scheil's Poissons*

The first of the two texts to be treated here was published by V. Scheil, "La déesse Nina et ses poissons," RA 15 (1918): 127–34, with a copy of the text p. 128. According to p. 127, the copy was made "au Musée de Constantinople vers 1895," but no museum number is given. To the best of my knowledge, the original tablet has unfortunately not been traced since.<sup>9</sup>

The tablet is a single-column tablet of unknown provenance, dating presumably to the Isin-Larsa or early Old Babylonian period. It is an Emesal *kirugu* composition, of which only the first *kirugu* and the first line of the second is preserved. The copy shows 22 lines on the obverse, of which lines 15 and 16, as well as 22, are blank, each marked off by a single separating line. The reverse shows 25 lines, of which the first is blank. There is a separating line before the indented line 24, which denotes the end of the first *kirugu*. The tablet thus appears to belong to a composition that may have been considerably longer.

bilingual N 3395, probably Kassite, Lambert WGL 272–73, now Alster, *Proverbs I*, 288–90. For the Pre-Sargonic Riddles from Lagaš, see Biggs 1973. This is a text that relates which canals, deities, fish and snakes were associated with each city in the Lagaš area, with many examples of the type [ku<sub>6</sub>]-bi m uš<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> [mu]š-bi si-mú "its fish is «the snake fish»; its snake is «the horned snake»" (p. 28, l. 9).

7. AO 4209, edited by Kutscher 1983. Sallaberger 1993, 283–87, dates the torch festival of Nanše to the fifth month, and seeks to connect it with the bringing of bridal gifts to Nanše by her husband Nindar.
8. Šulgi Hymn R has been edited by Jacob Klein (Klein 1990).
9. The tablet is unfortunately in great need of collation. Scheil is known to have copied and published a number of tablets from the antiquities market that have since been dispersed to various collections, so maybe his information on the data is not too reliable. A previous edition was by Witzel, AnOr 10 (1935), 426–27.

## TRANSLITERATION OF SCHEIL'S TEXT

OBV.

- 1 ù-a el-lu ù-a el-lu  
 2 nin maḥ<sup>d</sup>nanše a-gi<sub>6</sub> zi-ga-dá  
 3 nin i-zi abzu a-gi<sub>6</sub> zi-ga-dá  
 4 nin gù-an-né-si a-gi<sub>6</sub> zi-ga-dá ní-šè il-'le'(?)  
 5 ul gùr-ru-a-dá ul gùr-ru-a-dá  
 6 nin maḥ<sup>d</sup>nanše ul gùr-ru-a-dá  
 7 nin i-zi abzu ul gùr-ru-a-dá  
 8 nin gù an-né-si ul gùr-ru-a(! copy: LÁL)-dá  
 9 ku<sub>6</sub> gud-dam gù-nun mu-ni-[ib-bé]  
 10 ku<sub>6</sub> men sag-gá mu-[ni-ib-lá]  
 11 ku<sub>6</sub> túg-ba<sub>13</sub> šà-ga na[m-mi-in-lá]  
 12 [ku<sub>6</sub>] gidru šu-na na-mu-[un-gál]  
 13 [ku<sub>6</sub>] kuš-e-sír me-re-na na-[mu-un-si]  
 14 [bára(?)-kù(?)]-ga dúr nam-mi-[in-gar]  
 15-16 (blank)  
 17 nam-ti lugal(? so Scheil, copy looks like zíb)-la pa im da-[è]  
 18 é ki-bi gi<sub>4</sub>-a pa im-da-[è]  
 19 sag-sag (or: KA-KA?) ni-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga pa im-da-[è]  
 20 me-re ki-a si-ga pa im-da-[è]  
 21 šu-um-du-um x (copied like ÁB)-re-ba pa im-da-[è]  
 22 (blank)

REV.

- 1 (blank)  
 2 [ù-a e]l-lu nin uru<sub>12</sub>(EN)-nu nin enku(ZAG.ĤA)  
 3 [nam]-en<sup>d</sup>nanše a-ba na-mu-un-'sa<sub>4</sub>'(?)  
 4 [½ line] a-ba na-mu-un-[sa<sub>4</sub>]  
 5 [½ line] a-ba na-mu-un-[s]a<sub>4</sub>  
 6 ga-ša-an-mèn [½ line]  
 (7 lines destroyed)  
 14 má giri<sub>17</sub>-zal-l[a ½ line]  
 15 má ul(?)-zé má a-[zu (ca. 3 signs)]  
 16 má kù-ga má a-zu [(ca. 3 signs)]  
 17 má inim níg-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga má a-zu [(ca. 3 signs)]  
 18 má pap-ḥal-'la'(? má a-zu [(ca. 3 signs)]  
 19 má nu-gig sa<sub>6</sub>-ga má a-zu [(ca. 3 signs)]  
 20 ku<sub>6</sub> a-[ab]-ba a-DU e-zu [ x ]  
 21 má dul(?) [ ... ]

- 22 má NAR-a nu-ú(?)'diri'(?)-diri  
 23 ku<sub>6</sub> kuš (!)-e(!)-sír(!) me-re-ni gar-ra-me  
 24 ki-ru-gú diš-kam-ma  
 25 ga-ša-an-mèn a-gi<sub>6</sub> zi-ga-dá ní 'x'-'x'(?)

## TRANSLATION

OBV.

- 1 *Ua ellu, ua ellu,*  
 2 Supreme lady, Nanše, when the flood rises,  
 3 Lady, when the swell of the Abzu, the flood, rises,  
 4 Lady, when the "Wave," the flood rises, she rises by herself!  
 5 When she brings joy, when she brings joy,  
 6 the supreme lady, Nanshe, when she brings joy,  
 7 the lady, when she brings the swell of the Abzu,  
 when she brings joy,  
 8 the lady, when she brings the "wave," when she brings joy,  
 9 a fish is roaring like an ox with a loud voice,  
 10 a fish [has tied] a tiara around (its) head,  
 11 a fish [has wrapped] a festival dress around (its) body,  
 12 [she holds a fish] (as a) scepter in her hand,  
 13 [she ties a fish] (as) a sandal on her feet,  
 14 [and then takes] her seat [upon her holy throne].  
 15-16 (blank)  
 17 The king's life is made resplendent.  
 18 The restored temple is made resplendent.  
 19-21 (too uncertain for translation).  
 22 (blank)  
 REV.  
 1 (blank)  
 2 [ua el]lu, the mighty lady, queen of the tax-collectors,  
 3 (As to) lady[ship] who compares with Nanše?  
 4 [As to ... ] who compares [with Nanše?]  
 5 [As to ... ] who compares [with Nanše?]  
 6 I am the lady, ...  
 (7 lines destroyed)  
 14 The boat of joy ...  
 15 The boat of ...  
 16 The pure boat, the ...

- 17 The boat of the favorable word, the boat of ...  
 18 The restless boat, the boat of ...  
 19 The boat of the favorable sacred one, the boat of ...  
 20 The boat of the sea, ...  
 21 The boat ...  
 22 The boat of the singer, floating on ...  
 23 I am the one who has bound a fish like a sandal(?) around her feet.

- 24 *This is the first kirugu.*  
 25 I am the lady, when the flood rises, it ... itself.

## COMMENTS

Although this is an Emesal text, Emesal is not used consistently. Examples of words that occur in their standard Sumerian forms are obv. 2ff.: nin, instead of ga-ša-an.

Obv. 2–3: -dÁ(TA) is probably an Emesal writing for -/eda/. Similarly lines 5–8.

Obv. 3 and 7: i-zi is here understood as = *agû*, “flood,” which is lexically well attested: Proto-Izi 368: i<sup>a-gu-û</sup>zi; cf. refs. in Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3 106, quoting Civil, now MSL 13, p. 29.<sup>10</sup> Heimpel, RIA 9, 153–54, understands i-zi as “swells,” which is accepted here, and a-gi<sub>6</sub>-zi-ga as “rising dark water.” The reason for not accepting the latter is that “dark water” would require a-gi<sub>6</sub>-ga, excluding the Akkadian equivalent *agû*, whereas a-gi<sub>6</sub>(-a) would mean, lit., “water of night.”

The scenery described here is reminiscent of a passage in *Enki and the World Order*, in which the wide expanse of the sea is entrusted to Nanše’s care (EWO 301–2):

10. i-zi = iz-zi, *igārum*, “wall,” is hardly relevant here. A more likely alternative is that i-zi is a phonetic writing for izi, “fire”; cf. Text B iv 3 and 11: ku<sub>6</sub> izi. In that case “fire of the Abzu” might be an allusion to the torch festival of Nanše described by R. Kutscher 1983. Such a reference might indeed be intended, at least as a word play. PSD A/II, 189, gives a different reading of lines 3 and 7: dumu-zi-abzu, “faithful daughter of the abzu.” From what follows it appears that PSD connects this to the well-known divine name <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-abzu. There are three reasons for not accepting this interpretation: (1) the first sign is not dumu, but i. Although Scheil’s copy is far from perfect, it would certainly have required a question-mark, had there been strong reasons for reading dumu; (2) had the name dumu-zi-abzu been intended, it would in all probability have occurred in its Emesal form here: \*du<sub>5</sub>-mu-zi-abzu; (3) the use of dumu-zi abzu as an epithet of Nanše would be otherwise unparalleled. <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-abzu is the name of a minor female deity of the Lagaš area. The notion “daughter of the abzu” parallels the epithet dumu-

a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub>-gal-la engur-[ra]-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 i-zi-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa kur-ku-ab-ba [...] ‘x’ [...]  
 “the big mighty flood of the deep waters,  
 the frightening swell, the waves of the sea ...”<sup>11</sup>

Although such descriptions may give the impression of the open sea rather than the marsh area, the distinction may not have to be drawn so sharply. The fear of inundations was always very real because of the high rising of the rivers, so it is not unlikely that the setting was the marshes around the Lagaš area, where there may well have been rather large spaces of relatively open waters. Yet, since, as Heimpel points out, *Enki and the World Order*, 300–7 speaks of the “sea in its wide expanse” (307: a-ab-ba ki nig-dagal-la-ba) and saving a person from the danger of drowning (305: zi-pa-ág-ta è [...]), etc., I agree with Heimpel that the open sea is, indeed, what the description is most likely to aim at.

Obv. 4 and 8: I understand GÛ.AN.NÉ.SI, lit., “the voice that fills the heavens,” as a graphic circumlocution or pun on kur-ku = *agû*, “flood,” the meaning of which is well attested (see Sjöberg, TCS 3, 153 and AS 16, 66–70 with references to the writing of KA.AN.NI.SI for kur-ku). Whether it was read as a logogram for kur-ku or spelled out as gû-an-né-si in our text is difficult to say, but in view of the syllabic character of the text, the latter seems more likely. It is here more precisely understood as “wave,” following Heimpel, RIA 9, 153.

Obv. 6ff.: ul gûr = *ulša nāšiat, minûtu*, (AHw, s.v. II: “Liebesverlangen,” from *menû* VI, “lieben”). Otherwise it occurs with ḥi-li gûr, denoting physical and sexual joy, such as symbolized by flowers. Cf. Sefati 1998, 258. In this case it refers rather to the joy and excitement caused by a ceremonial barge arriving with a sudden outburst of waves, which implies that the latter are not really seen as frightful, but just awe-inspiring.

Obv. 9: ku<sub>6</sub> gud-dam was understood as “as an ox” by A. Falkenstein, quoted below under the comments to VS 10, 199 iv 5. Salonen 1970,

abzu, “son of abzu,” said of Girra. In these cases abzu merely represents a poetic name for Enki’s abode, and not a personal deity. Unlike the much later tradition of *Enūma Eliš*, abzu is never personified in Sumerian tradition. Cunningham, 1997, p. 17, lists two Early Dynastic occurrences of the deity NE.DAG being called dumu-NUN<sup>ki</sup>, “child of Eridu”: Texts 12b vi 4 (TSS 170 vii 4–viii 5) and 14 ix 6 (SF 54 viii 5–ix 7). This apparently parallels the epithet dumu eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga, “daughter of Eridu,” said of Nanše.

11. Heimpel, following Civil, 1989, 55, understands uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) as “calming down”; cf. the comments on rev. 2, below.

188, read *gú-bí-ġa*, connecting this to "Home of the Fish" 79: *gú-bí<sup>ku6</sup>*, var. *kun-bí<sup>ku6</sup>*, "der Aal sagt ihm hohe Laute." Landsberger's identification of that fish as an eel is no doubt correct,<sup>12</sup> but, because of the variant -dam in our text, which can hardly be explained as an error, our *gù-NE* cannot be a writing for *gú-bí*.

M. Civil, *Aula Orientalis* 15 (1997): 52, commenting on *a-eštub*, *mīlum ħarpum*, translates literally "carp-flood," and explains that this designates the time in spring when the water temperature reaches 16° C, which enables the large carps to spawn, "with spectacular splashings" (cf. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 [1949]: 281ff. and *MSL* 8/2 97ff.). This may throw some light on the unusual descriptions of fish in our text in which the fish are said to behave like a bull. Civil, in his note 11, comments on the fact that the same sign, *gud* = *eštub*, is used for both "bull(-fish)" and "spring carp." This double meaning of the sign may have played a role in our hymns and elsewhere.

Obv. 10–13: To whom do these lines apply? Is it Nanše herself who is said to hold a tiara on her own head and to wrap a garment around herself, as on Scheil's illustration 3, or is it the fish that are said to do the same on their own "body"?<sup>13</sup> Since only lines 12 and 13 include the personal suffix -na (12: *šu-na*; 13: *me-re-na*; paralleled in text B iv 1: *šu-na*; iv 2: *gì-ri-na*), this suggests that lines 10–11 apply to the fish themselves, and 12–13 to the Nanše, as suggested in the translation above. In this case it might be possible to see these features as natural characteristics of species of fish, in other words, fish that naturally appear as if they wore a crown and a garment around themselves. A parallel in the Inanna hymn inscribed on the same tablet as text B, VS 10, 199 iii 17–20 (W. Römer, *Or* 38 [1969] 97–114) points, however, in a different direction:

an men sag-gá mu-ni-in-ma-al  
 ki kuš-e-sír me-re-gá mu-ni-in-si  
 túg-ba<sub>13</sub> su-gá mu-ni-in-lá  
 mu-dur<sub>x</sub>(PA) kù šu-gá mu-ni-in-ma-al

"(Enlil) put heaven as a crown on my (= Inanna's) head,  
 he put earth as a shoe on my feet,  
 he wrapped a festival dress around my body,  
 he put a pure scepter in my hand."

12. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 46. Cf. Civil 1961, 171.

13. This is not totally unlikely, and to be understood figuratively, of course. Cf. Pre-Sargonic Riddles from Lagaš col. v 5' (Biggs 1973, 29): *ku<sub>6</sub>-bi níg-sag-lá*, "its fish has something wrapped around its head."

This suggests that Nanše herself is the subject in all four lines of our text. Yet, how she could use a fish as a crown and as a dress is difficult to imagine. Nanše using a fish as a shoe might be easier to understand, in view of the well-known glyptic images of Inanna stepping on lions. Yet, the glyptic representations that may be related to Nanše rather depict birds *under* the deity, and what would a fish as a scepter in her hand be like?<sup>14</sup> A third possibility is that these are descriptions of artificial creatures (Mischwesen) that combined features belonging to both the realms of gods and animals. This was the explanation suggested by Scheil, who substantiated his view by means of six drawings of such creatures. The study by Laura Feldt appended to this one shows, however, that Scheil's drawings are not too reliable. He admittedly combined "genuine" features, but these stem from very different sources and periods. So, for the time being, it is hoped that future progress in the identification of fish species mentioned in cuneiform texts, and the possible identification of glyptic representations, whether of real fish or Mischwesen, will throw more light on the question.

Obv. 11: *TÚG.ME* = *túg.ba<sub>13</sub>*, *nalbašu*, "fine clothe," cf. EA I 240, *MSL* 14, 188.

Obv. 11–14: The verbal prefix *na-* has been discussed by Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 (1942): 181–223; cf. his study of *ša*, *ZA* 48 (1944): 69–118. The two verbal prefixes *na* and *ša* seem to be virtually interchangeable when used in similar functions, so it is reasonable to ask whether they are not simply two phonetic renderings stemming from of one single grammatical element. Th. Jacobsen, 1965, 73, used the term "contrapunctive" of *ša*, whereas most other descriptions see it as an affirmative marker, which combines with the perfective aspect (unlike the prohibitive negative *na-*, which is constructed with the imperfective aspect). The reason for the interchangeability of *na* and *ša* may be that in Early Dynastic Sumerian these may have represented two variants of the same phoneme, which might have been a palatal nasal /n/, articulated very close to a palatal sibilant /š/. This palatal nasal may later have disappeared from Sumerian as an independent phoneme, with the result that in the second millennium B.C.E. this /na/, written originally either *na* or *NÁM* (*TÚG*) = *nám/šè*, was represented by either *n* or *š*.<sup>15</sup> It is remarkable, though, that the prefix was occasionally written with the

14. There is a clear reference to this in "Nanše and the Birds," 22: *u<sub>5</sub><sup>mušen</sup> kù-ga gírini ba-an-dúr-ru*, "she settled the holy swan at her foot."

15. Cf. Schretter 1990, 68–69, treats the well-known examples of standard Sumerian /n/ corresponding with Emesal /š/, considering the possibility that there was an original /nš/ phoneme in Sumerian.

ši-sign, both in Early Dynastic Sumerian and even in standard Sumerian.<sup>16</sup>

Obv. 17–21: The text is too uncertain to warrant reliable interpretation.

Obv. 17: Could one really say, “The king’s life is made resplendent,” or similar? One would expect “lasts long” or similar, so any interpretation here, as well as in the following lines, is to be considered very tentative.

Obv. 19: sag-sag, lit., “heads,” what could it be here? Possibly “personnel.”

Obv. 20: me-re ki-a si-ga, probably related to gir-sè-ga, lit., “Feet set on the ground,” denoting a class of personnel who played a role in a ritual for Nanše.

Obv. 21: A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 (1942): 210, saw a parallel in VS 10, 199 iv 4, which can now be read sur<sub>9</sub>-re, cf. the comments on Text B below (Falkenstein: x-ri). It is, however, doubtful whether the two lines are to be connected at all. Scheil read áb ri-ba. Scheil’s copy admittedly looks like áb, but this might indeed be a miscopy from the same sign sequence as in VS 10, 199.

Rev. 2: nin uru<sub>16</sub>(EN)-nu = nin uru<sub>16</sub>(EN)-na. When used as an epithet of Nanše, this equals the epithet lugal-uru<sub>16</sub>, referring to Nindara. nin-uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) occurs for the first time as an epithet of Nanše in the Abū Šalābiḥ temple hymns, OIP 99, p. 49 line 49; also in Urnanše 25.<sup>17</sup> This is usually understood as “strong” (Falkenstein: “Gewaltige Herrin” *AnOr* 30, 85–86). M. Civil, 1989, 55, however, advocated a translation “calm down,” (on p. 53, l. 2, he translates: lugal urun(EN) as “king of the calm waters”). He cites three meanings for uru<sub>16</sub>(-n), from a late Babylonian commentary from Uruk to Aa V/4, Weiher, SbTU 2, no. 54:2: (1) šapsu, dannu, “strong”; (2) naklu, “clever”; (3) tanīḫu ša agī. He derives the latter from nāḫu, “calm(ing),” rather than tănēḫu, “lament” (suggested in AHw 1319a), and rejects the meanings “high” and “rise,” considered by Sjöberg, TCS 3, 63. Of the three, Civil prefers the third for uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) when related to deities connected with

16. Cf., e.g., *Instructions of Šuruppak* 17: un-e ša-re-eb-ḫul-ḫul; var. ši-; var. Early Dynastic version: šē-mu-ra-ḫul. Even in the Early Dynastic version ši is sometimes used for šē, e.g., line 21: ED ši-sù; ši-su-su = OB ša-re-eb-su-su, making it very unlikely that Old Babylonian ša owes its existence to a graphic misunderstanding of Early Dynastic sources, from a time when the sign NAM<sub>2</sub> was no longer used for šē. [See Endnote.]

17. It occurs also in the Pre-Sargonic Riddles from Lagaš, col. i, 2 (Biggs 1973, 27). Not directly as an epithet to Nanše, but clearly in a context related to her, it occurs in an Early Dynastic myth from Adab, OIP 14:53 ii 3; iii 1; iii 3, regrettably insufficiently preserved to give a clear impression of the contents.

sea waters, i.e., basically Nanše and Nindara, although not *a priori* excluding the meaning “strong” (but, being “very vague ... there is nothing in the personality of the two deities to specially recommend it”). I would, however, maintain that uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) in lugal/nin-uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) means the same as in a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub>(-n), and, because of the parallelism in such texts as EWO 301–2, cited above under the commentary to obv. 2, “strong” certainly fits best. The traditional interpretation “high tide” is upheld in PSD A/1, 84–87, s.v. a-gi<sub>16</sub>. This is based on SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN XXV 165 (MSL 16, 228): a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub>-na = a-gu-u e-lu-u (cf. PSD A/1, 87, Lex. 4, translating “high tide,” “high flood,” or “flood-wave,” cf. p. 86.5). A classic example is a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub> nam-mul ní gùr-gùr, “the flashing mighty flood-wave, spreading awe,” (or: alternatively ní il-il, “rising by itself”) (Gudea Cyl A i 8).<sup>18</sup> Rather than seeing the two as strict alternatives that exclude each other, I would suggest that in origin uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) meant “strong.” Since in a way of thinking characteristic of the Mesopotamian world, the deity who had the power to cause a flood wave was the same as had the power to calm it down, thus explaining why it was later understood as such in a late lexical commentary.<sup>19</sup>

Rev. 3–25: The poor state of preservation precludes satisfactory interpretations.

Rev. 3: sa<sub>4</sub>, only 𒀠 is preserved of the compound sign 𒀠+NA, apparently a phonetic writing for sá.

Rev. 14ff.: a-zu might, of course, mean “your water” or, reading dur<sub>5</sub>-zu, “your wet ...,” but would it make sense here?

Rev. 15: Reading ul-la is tempting, but the second sign is clearly copied as zé.

Rev. 23: Scheil’s copy shows ku<sub>6</sub> si-si-BU, but he already suggested the highly likely emendation to ku<sub>6</sub> kuš-e-sir, in view of VS 10, 199 iv 2.

Rev. 25: It is tempting to suggest ní-šè il-le(?), from obv. 4, but the traces point rather to ní ‘DU’-‘DU’(?).

18. Since Gudea’s Cylinder A starts with the inundation caused by the high rising of the rivers, uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) might indeed make sense in the context if understood as the benefit of Enlil’s power to clam down the natural forces he himself had provoked. However, the immediate impression from a number of references remains that a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub>(-n) denotes the rising waters.

19. Another reference, “Nanše and the Birds,” 14, describing the u<sub>5</sub>-bird, is regrettably partly broken, but might be decisive: a-gi<sub>6</sub>-uru<sub>16</sub>-da zag àm-da-‘x’-[x], “the swan [stands up against] the flood-waves.” (etcsl: a pelican ... “with the towering flood ...”). Here a flood-wave would probably fit better than calm waters.

*Nanše Hymn B: VS 10, 199 iii 42–iv 23*

Nanše hymn B, the second of the two texts to be treated here, was recognized already by Scheil as a partial duplicate to the one treated above: VS 10 199 iii 42–iv 6. It belongs to a *Sammeltablet*, also inscribed with two royal hymns to kings Lipitištar and Urninurta of Isin and a hymn to Inanna.<sup>20</sup>

Nanše hymn B starts in iii 42 and continues through the rest of the tablet. Apart from the few signs left of the first two lines, approximately eight to ten lines are completely destroyed at the very beginning of the composition. The better-preserved part is the 22 lines in col. iv, ending with the subscript *bal-bal-e* <sup>d</sup>*nanše-kam*, “it is a *bal-bal-e* song of Nanše.”<sup>21</sup> The complete composition must thus have contained approximately thirty lines.

TRANSLITERATION

(Beginning of composition: iii 42)

iii 42 [ ... ]-ni'(?)-šè šu du<sub>7</sub>-a

iii 43 [ ... -ni-šè(?) šu d]u<sub>7</sub>-a

...

(Approximately 10 lines missing on rev. iii)

[iii 50] [ku<sub>6</sub> men sag-gá-na na-mu-un-gál me(-te-aš im-mi-ib-gál)]

iv 1 ku<sub>6</sub> gidru(!) šu-na na(! text: ki)-mu-un-gál me(-te-aš im-mi-ib-gál)

iv 2 ku<sub>6</sub> kuš-e-sír giri-na na-mu-un-si me(-...)

iv 3 ku<sub>6</sub> izi ab šà-ga na-mu-un-zalag-ge me(-...)

iv 4 ku<sub>6</sub> sur<sub>9</sub>-re mu-na-an-du<sub>12</sub>-àm

iv 5 ku<sub>6</sub> gud-dè gù-nun mu-na-ab-bé

iv 6 ku<sub>6</sub> túg-ba<sub>13</sub> šà-ge<sub>4</sub> nam-mi-in-lá

iv 7 kaš<sub>4</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub><sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e kaš<sub>4</sub> mu-na-ab-kar-re

iv 8 gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub><sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e ab mu-na-ab-gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>

iv 9 gir<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e ab mu-na-an-gír-gír

iv 10 agargara<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> zar(!)-ri-eš mu-na-ab-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>

iv 11 ku<sub>6</sub>-izi ab-ba mu-na-ab-mú-mú

20. The contents of VS 10, 199 are as follows: obv. i and ii: a hymn to Lipitištar (Römer, *Königshymnen*, 10–17; 60–61); obv. ii 9–iii 7: a hymn to Urninurta of Isin (E = Römer, *Königshymnen*, 15–17; 61–62). (rev.) iii: a hymn to Inanna (F. W. Römer, *Or* 38 [1969]: 97–114; cf. S. Tinney, *JCS* 59 [2000]: 23–30); Nanše Hymn B text starts in iii 42 and covers the rest of the tablet.

21. Previous treatments are: M. Witzel, *AnOr* 10 (1935), 426–27. A photograph of the tablet is available on Tafel 2 in Zimmern 1916.

iv 12 ku<sub>6</sub>-sim<sup>mušen</sup> mu-na-ab-dal-dal-le-dè  
 iv 13 ga-ša-an-mèn<sup>giš</sup> má-gur<sub>8</sub>-šè da-an-u<sub>5</sub>  
                   me-e é-šè da-an-u<sub>5</sub>  
 iv 14 giš má si-ga(?) da-an-u<sub>5</sub> me-e é-šè da-an-u<sub>5</sub>  
 iv 15 á-sumur(LAK 672)-bi kù-si<sub>17</sub> šim<sup>giš</sup> erin-da  
 iv 16 ab-ba ša-mu-na-ab-gír-gír-re-dam  
 iv 17 giš<sup>giš</sup> hum-bi iti<sub>x</sub>-gír<sub>17</sub>-zal-àm  
 iv 18 ab-ba ša-mu-un-na-ab-zala-zala-ge  
 iv 19 mu-ud-na-mu mu-un-ku<sub>5</sub>-ab-ba-ka  
 iv 19 x (erased line: 'ù-mu-x-a-mu x')  
 iv 20 ù-mu-un-'dar'-a mu-un-ku<sub>5</sub>-ab-ba-ka  
 iv 21 é(?) UD-bi (rest of the line blank)  
 iv 22 a-a (rest of the line blank)

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iv 23 bal-bal-e <sup>d</sup>*nanše-kam*

TRANSLATION

iii 50 [She holds a crown on her head, it is there as an emblem.]  
 iv 1 She holds a fish like a staff in her hand,  
                   it is (there as an emblem).  
 iv 2 She has strapped a fish as a sandal on her foot,  
                   it is (there as an emblem).  
 iv 3 A fish as fire illuminates the middle of the sea,  
                   it is (there as an emblem).  
 iv 4 A fish as a *sur*-priest plays an instrument for her.  
 iv 5 A fish is roaring as an ox for her,  
 iv 6 A fish has wrapped a festival dress around (its?) body,  
 iv 7 A “running fish” runs for her,  
 iv 8 A “circling-fish” circles for her,  
 iv 9 A “sliding-fish” slides on the sea for her,  
 iv 10 An *agargara*-fish makes heaps of straw for her,  
 iv 11 A “fire-fish” kindles a fire in the sea for her,  
 iv 12 A “swallow-fish” keeps flying around for her.  
 iv 13 I am the lady, let me embark the barge!  
                   Let me sail to the temple!  
 iv 14 Let me embark the barge of ... Let me sail to the temple!  
 iv 15 The sides of its cabin are gold—with fragrant cedar wood.  
 iv 16 As it is sliding along the sea for her,  
 iv 17 its cabin is the exuberant moonlight

- iv 18 lighting up the sea.  
 iv 19 My husband, the tax-collector of the sea,  
 iv 20 Nindara, the tax-collector of the sea,  
 iv 21 ... (?) ... (½ line blank)  
 iv 22 a-ya (½ line blank)

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iv 23 It is a *balbale*-song of Nanše.

#### COMMENTS

- iii – iv 6: seven lines, i.e., the last line of iii–iv 6, were transliterated and translated by A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 (1941): 209–10.
- iv i–3: A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 (1941): 210 understood me as the beginning of a refrain that cannot be restored. It could perhaps be understood as me(-en), “I am.” More likely is, however, a reconstruction me(-te-aš im-mi-ib-gál) or similar, suggested by Niek Veldhuis.
- iv 3: ku<sub>6</sub> izi must mean approximately the same here as in iv 11.
- iv 1–4: Heimpel, *RIA* 9, 153, translates “she holds the scepter fish in her hand, the sandal fish is by her feet, the fire fish illuminates for her the deep sea, the bull fish calls out loudly to her.” ku<sub>6</sub>, as written here, preceding the name of the fish, can hardly be the fish determinative, which is always written as a postdeterminer. Yet, there are many examples of ku<sub>6</sub> used as a pre-modifier in administrative texts (see Englund 1990, index, p. 240, passim).
- iv 4: The reading sur<sub>9</sub> and the translation follows a suggestion by Gabor Zólyomi. The sign sur<sub>9</sub> was discussed in detail by Veldhuis 1998, to whose very detailed list this reference can now be added. A number of variants are attested, of which the one represented here seems to be ÛZ+LIŠ (or perhaps ÛZ+UD).
- iv 5–6: The text does not have sur<sub>9</sub>-gim or gud-gim, so translations “like a sur<sub>9</sub>-priest” and “like an ox” do not quite do justice to the text, which rather suggests an apposition indicating a closer identification, “a fish, being a sur-priest” and “a fish, being an ox,” etc.
- iv 7: The kaš<sub>4</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub><sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> fish is probably a word play on the ku<sub>6</sub> gir<sub>5</sub>-gir<sub>5</sub> fish attested in Ur III texts; see Englund 1993, 214, where I consider the reading kaš<sub>4</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub> to be more likely. Cf. Pre-Sargonic Riddles from Lagaš, col. ix, 1' (Biggs 1973, 30): muš-bi muš-kaš<sub>4</sub>, “its snake is «the running snake».”
- iv 9: Cf. Pre-Sargonic Riddles from Lagaš, col. ix, 4' (Biggs 1973, 30): ku<sub>6</sub>-bi gir.
- iv 11: ku<sub>6</sub>-izi cannot here mean “gebratenes Fish” or similar. Cf. iv 3 above.

- iv 12: The strange mingling of bird and fish is not easy to explain. Holma 1913 took these descriptions quite literally; cf. note 5 above.
- iv 15: I am indebted to Niek Veldhuis for having suggested the reading á sumur(munšub = LAK 672) for the first two signs, as well as the tentative meaning “side of the reed canopy.” The sign with the readings sumur and suḫur, their variants KA-(r) and SAG-gunû and their meaning was first discussed by M. Civil, *RA* 61 (1967): 66. The evidence points to a cover of reeds or similar protecting the center of a boat against the sun. The discussion by Römer 1993, 388 adds little new. He referred to our line on p. 386, reading (á-)amaš, and translated “Sein á-amaš soll (?) ihr mit Gold (und) Zedern-Duftstoff im Meere immer wieder aufleuchten (?).”
- iv 20: mu-un-ku<sub>5</sub>-ab-ba-ka: according to *Enki and the World Order*, 419, the function of tax-collector of the sea was assigned to Nanše. In Temple Hymns 290 it is assigned to <sup>d</sup>nin-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a. nin enku: Cf. Text A rev. 2; cf. also Gudea, Cyl B xii 5: <sup>d</sup>lama-enku-e gú-edinna; Cyl B xv 1.
- iv 21–22: Too uncertain for comments.

#### The Scenery

Scheil's text can be read as mirroring a ritual that started with Nanše's arrival by boat to her cult place, presumably a temple in the Lagaš region. Upon her arrival, she took her seat upon a throne, and a ritual connected with the restoration of a temple and a prayer for the life of a king may have followed. The text is not dated and the name of the king is not preserved, but a reasonable surmise is that it was a ruler of the Isin-Larsa dynasties, possibly imitating a ritual of the Ur III dynasty. From what remains of the continuation, no connected sequence can be reconstructed, but it seems that Nanše and her boat continued to be the focus.

#### Visual Representations?

In modern times the old tradition of cultic processions has survived in the Mediterranean world, where sacred statues of saints often are carried in procession. A less sacred development is the show of spectacular dolls or living human beings dressed up like various kinds of fanciful monsters, transported in lively processions on vehicles—nowadays mostly lorries—on the occasion of various festivals. Is it not a similar situation that is reflected in our texts? To answer the question, the role played by visual representations of deities must be taken into account on a larger scale.



*On Cultic Representations of Sumerian Deities*

On of the most persistent and peculiar features of Mesopotamian religion was the constant need to provide cultic representations of deities with food and clothes.<sup>22</sup> It is remarkable, therefore, that the existence of such images in the third millennium B.C.E. constantly has been denied in the scholarly literature.<sup>23</sup> One of the main arguments is that no statues of gods from the third millennium have been found. This is not surprising, however, considering that such statues must have been made of precious materials, such as wood covered with gold, in other words, easily exposed to looting. The existence of divine statues is, however, indirectly attested in Early Dynastic texts from Lagaš. The oldest unambiguous evidence is Ur-Nanše's Tafel B, which records the erection of statues of, i.a., Nanše, Šulšaga, and Gatumdu.<sup>24</sup> Most explicit is the ovale platte of Urukagina 16 iv 3–4, which describes the invasion of Lagaš by Lugalzagesi of Umma and, with horror, the destruction of the statues of the temple (alam-bi ì-gul-gul). Among these, the statue of the goddess <sup>d</sup>ama-geštin is said to be deprived of its jewelry and thrown into a pit.<sup>25</sup> Images, or at least other types of representations of deities, such as statuettes, are attested also in texts from Ebla in the third millennium B.C.E.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it is highly likely that cultic representations of deities were used long before they show up physically in the archaeological finds.

22. Oppenheim 1964 is still a fundamental study of the subject.

23. Cf., i.a., Spycket 1968, cf. Spycket 1995, and Hallo 1983, versus Selz 1993 and Braun-Holzinger 1977. Jacobsen in his study "The Graven Image" (Jacobsen 1983) deals in some detail with the problem of how cultic representations relate to the actual deities, and how they were fabricated. Remarkably, he doesn't comment on the historical issues, since his own writings have served to promulgate the evolutionistic concept that in historical times deities developed from being "powers" into being personal deities.

24. Thureau-Dangin, SAKI, 2–4. The Sumerian term used is mu-tu, lit., "gave birth to." This is a normal technical expression reflecting the fact that the statues were considered living to some extent, at least. Thureau-Dangin translated "meißelte." Cf. the discussion by Selz 1992, 259, n. 6.

25. The arguments that have been proposed in order to avoid taking this plain and unambiguous statement literally, such as that the priestess who represented the goddess was deprived in person of her jewelry, which was then thrown into the pit, have gone to the point of being, with Selz's words, "recht absurd" (Selz 1992, 260, n. 11).

26. See Waetzoldt 2001, discussing the term an-dùl, which in texts from Ebla has mostly been understood as a statue. Waetzoldt points out that the term an-dùl also designates smaller representations, such as statuettes, "Bildnis," and "Bildwerk," often fitted with a thin layer of sheet-metal such as gold or silver, but also carnelian and other stones were used. Both deities and humans were depicted. The texts from Ebla give many glimpses of how such images were made and whom they depicted.

*Conclusion: Apsu in Sumerian Texts*

Our texts describe phenomena that took place in the abzu and were related to the heartland of Sumerian civilization. So what is the abzu? The most detailed treatment of the Sumerian term can be found in the PSD A/II, 184–202, with a short conclusion p. 202. P. 184 recognizes the following primary meanings: "1. The abzu as Enki's shrine/temple in Eridu. 2. the abzu in locations other than Eridu. 3. the abzu as a (partly?) subterranean structure. 4. the abzu as a mythical place where the life influencing powers reside ... 5. the abzu described as incomprehensible, unfathomable, secret. 6. the abzu as a place providing raw materials." Furthermore, abzu is used as part of divine names, etc. The short conclusion on p. 202 deals mainly with the related meanings of abzu and engur. The two terms were later confounded, which is seen as explaining why in Akkadian texts abzu tends to denote the waters as the habitat of fish, a meaning allegedly originally restricted to engur.

Remarkably, the explanation as a late confusion of two terms draws attention away from the reason abzu came to play such a dominant role in later mythology. Abzu might, indeed, have denoted the waters of the marsh areas, as they were available for fishing and traffic by boat, basically without any cosmological connotations, as it appears in our texts. So maybe the common understanding of Abzu primarily as a cosmic entity in Sumerian texts is to be modified. The marshes and their fish and fowl, after all, were fascinating enough in themselves without cosmic mythology. The Sumerian civilization emerged from there, at least to some extent.

A short, but highly informative, recent study is W.G. Lambert, "The Apsû," (Lambert 1999). Lambert rightly criticizes the commonly held opinion that *abzû* was "a lower level of cosmic water" as opposed to the *a-ab-ba*, "sea" (*tâmtu*, etc.), generally thought to represent the salty waters in the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, and some big lakes such as the Van Sea. There is, in fact, no evidence that the Mesopotamians contrasted the fresh and the salt waters in this way. All rivers carried potentially salt water, which might be fatal to agriculture if left as standing waters with no outlet.

In our case, it is difficult to draw a clear line between the abzu and *a-ab-ba*, which undoubtedly denoted "the Sea" as the salty Persian Gulf, but also large open spaces of water in the marshes of southern Iraq. Fishing undoubtedly took place in both, and the salty sea was not too far away to be reached from the Lagaš region. It is unfortunate that we cannot locate precisely where the coastline was in antiquity. However, it is obvious that it was the unusual environmental surroundings of the marsh areas that gave birth to the fascinations that come to light in the texts related to the goddess Nanše.

ENDNOTE: The question of the origin of na- and ša- will be discussed in detail by Alster, *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*, Chap. 1.9 (forthcoming), who points out that the ED sign used for šè is not identical to the sign used for nám. This makes the theory of a later confusion of a single ED sign less likely.

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## GUDEA-STUDIEN

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SEIT RUND 120 JAHREN, beginnend mit den Arbeiten von Jules Oppert und Arthur Amiaud, beschäftigen die Inschriften Gudeas die Assyriologie. Ja selbst das wegweisende Werk von François Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, Paris 1905, das allerdings in seiner deutschen Übersetzung als *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig 1907, weitere Verbreitung fand, ist schon fast 100 Jahre alt. Da mag man sich zunächst wundern, dass selbst in der neuesten Bearbeitung des Textmaterials durch D.O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, RIME 3/1, Toronto 1997, noch so viele Lücken klaffen. Die gegenwärtig noch nicht verständlichen Stellen oder Ausdrücke werden dort in der Übersetzung wie üblich durch Auslassungspunkte, Zweifelhafes durch Fragezeichen deutlich gekennzeichnet.

Viel gefährlicher—jedenfalls für den Laien—sind jene Stellen, die durch ihren normalen Satz ein gesichertes Verständnis anzeigen, bei denen aber eine abweichende, unter Umständen ältere Auffassung vorzuziehen ist. Davon sollen im folgenden einige behandelt werden.

1. *Der Gesang der tigilu-Vögel*

Die Gudea-Zeile Zyl. A V 9 // VI 10 behandelte der Verf. im Anschluss an A. Falkenstein kurz in seiner AoN Nr. 28, 1985. Zwei Jahre später erschien eine in wichtigen Punkten abweichende Deutung von M. Civil, *NABU* 1987, Nr. 48. Dieser Auffassung folgt auch D.O. Edzard, *RIME* 3/1, 72.

Der Verf. bleibt, da ihn die Interpretation Civils nicht überzeugt hat, bei seiner Erklärung und dies aus folgenden Gründen:

1. An beiden oben genannten Stellen folgt das Determinativ mušen auf die Zeichen TI.BU. Es steht also noch vor LÚ. Es gibt vor- und nachgestellte Determinative, nur ein in die Zeichenfolge einer syllabischen Schreibung eingestelltes Hinweiszeichen sollte es nicht geben. Denn von wenigen

offensichtlichen Fehlern abgesehen, stehen die Zeichen der Gudea-Zeit in der Abfolge ihrer Lesung<sup>1</sup>.

Der verkürzte Vogelname ti-gi<sub>27</sub>(BU)-mušen geht eine Form ti-gíd-lu/lú-mušen zurück, wie Civil, a.a.O. nachgewiesen hat<sup>2</sup>. Doch zeigt bereits die etwas jüngere in Lagaš geschriebene neusumerische lexikalische Liste ITT 2/2, 5898 II 3' (bearbeitet von G. Pettinato, MEE 3, 109–18) mit ti-gi<sub>4</sub>-lu-mušen eine jüngere Lautform, wie sie auch in den altbabylonischen Nippur-Listen SLT 65 III 6 // 69 IV 4 wiederkehrt.

Verf. meint nun, dass es leichter ist, in einem frühneusumerischen \*ti-gíd-lú-mušen eine historische Schreibung zu sehen, die in späterer neusumerischer Zeit der tatsächlichen Aussprache angepasst wurde, als zu beweisen, dass die Vereinfachung der Konsonantengruppe -dl- > -l- zwischen der Zeit Gudeas und der Abfassungszeit von ITT 2/2, 5898 stattfand.

2. Der komplexe Vorgang der Vereinfachung von Konsonantengruppen im Sumerischen kann und soll in diesem Rahmen nicht behandelt werden. Man vergleiche dazu A. Falkenstein, ZA 55, 43; J. Krecher, ZA 58, 48 und M. Civil, *OrAnt* 21, 24. Einzelne Beispiele für ihn finden sich früh, nämlich bereits in der Fara-Zeit. So entspricht šà ħu-gig šè-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> (IAS 256+ Rs. V 2) Šuruppak und Ziusudra Z. 239: šà ħul-gig du<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>12</sub> oder die Schreibung des Namens der Göttin <sup>d</sup>nin-ka<sup>a</sup>15kaš-si der gleichzeitigen und späteren <sup>d</sup>nin-ka-si<sup>4</sup>. Man denke auch an die Vereinfachung der Doppelkonsonanz im Beinamen des Gottes Enki <sup>d</sup>nu-te-mud (IAS S. 47, 32) < <sup>d</sup>nu-dím-mud. Dabei geben diese Beispiele, wie vor allem die Schreibung des Göttinnennamens mit Lauter in der früheren Wiedergabe und der Vergleich beider Namensformen nahelegen, Sprachwirklichkeit wieder, während daneben, besonders im Altsumerischen, mit der Auslassung von silbenschiessenden Konsonanten als einem grafischen Prinzip gerechnet werden muss. S. dazu M. Civil, *OrAnt* 21, 23–24.

3. Der Vorschlag Civils lässt ein einzelnes a übrig, das als Äquivalent für ein "'a' rufend" oder "unter/mit 'a'" zu wenig ist. Diesen Mangel hat auch Civil bemerkt, der es als aus a-a verkürzt erklärt.

1. Die Schreibung EN<sup>ki</sup>.LÍL für Nippur auf dem Schaft eines Tonnagels mit der Inschrift Enlilbani 4, 5 (Zählung nach D. Frayne, RIME 4) erweist sich gerade dadurch als Schreibfehler, dass sie auf dem Kopf desselben Tonnagels nicht wiederholt wird. Dort steht das übliche EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup>. S.A. Livingstone, JCS 40, 55 und 56.

Der Wechsel von RI-GI-mušen (MVN 13, 740, 1) RI-mušen-GI (RA 8, 189: 8, 10) ist mir unklar.

2. Weitere Formen des Vogelnamens finden sich bei A. Salonen, *Vögel*, 270 und M. Civil, a.a.O.

3. Beide Stellen nach B. Alster, RA 85, 9.

4. Zur Lesung des Namens wie zum Wesen der Göttin überhaupt, s. zuletzt M. Krebernik, RIA 9, 442–44.

Bei der von Falkenstein initiierten Interpretation der Gudea-Zeile fällt es zunächst schwer, das Vorkommen einer haploglogischen Silbenellipse zu akzeptieren, obwohl diese Erscheinung wahrscheinlich häufiger gewesen ist, als sie wegen der konventionellen Schreibung des Sumerischen greifbar wird. Th. Jacobsen, ZA 52, 128 Anm. 82 nahm sie bei der Erklärung der Schreibungen und Etymologie des Königsnamens lugal-ki-gen-né-éš-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> an. D.O. Edzard, HSAO 37 griff bei der Deutung von Formen wie á-è-dam < á-è-dè-dam auf sie zurück, dem M. Civil, JNES 31, 221 ausdrücklich zustimmte. C. Wilcke, FS Moran, 457–59 benennt sie bei der Auslassung des Dativs -ra nach der Silbe -ra < -r+ak. Seine Bedenken, es könne sich nur um eine Haplografie handeln, sind mit Blick auf Fülle und Verschiedenheit der Beispiele unbegründet, obwohl nie auszuschließen ist, dass es sich im Einzelfall auch schlicht um einen Schreibfehler handeln kann.

Zur Erscheinung der Haplografie sollen hier noch einige eher zufällig gefundene Beispiele folgen, die selbstverständlich eine gründliche Untersuchung des Phänomens, die bisher fehlt, nicht ersetzen können. Allgemein stimmt man darin überein, dass ga-ša-an-na < ga-ša-an-an-na verkürzt ist.

Für die von C. Wilcke behandelte Vereinfachung von \*-ra-ra > -ra lassen sich weitere Beispiele anführen: <sup>d</sup>lamar-tar-sír-sír-ra (Ur-BaU 8, 1–2 = RIME 3/1, 22), <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra (Inanas Gang zur Unterwelt Z. 28 u.ö.). Ein seltenes Gegenbeispiel ist <sup>d</sup>nin-SAR gír-lá é-kur-ra-ra (Šulgi 2 I 1–2 = RIME 3/2, 112).

Ähnlich wie beim Dativ verfährt man auch beim Ablativ. Im Lugalbandaepos 2, 356 erwartet man parallel zu uru-ta in Z. 355 ein \*aratta<sup>ki</sup>-ta, geschrieben ist nur aratta<sup>ki</sup> und in UET 6/2, 297, 1 (s. B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* 1, 316) steht das erste sukud-da nach dem kù-zu-ta der 2. Zeile offenbar für \*sukud-a-ta.

i<sub>7</sub>-dè-na erklärte bereits H. Sauren, ZA 59, 55 als \*i<sub>7</sub>-eden-na, genauer \*id-eden-na.

In Der Mensch und sein Gott Z. 37 steht inim-gi na-ma-ab-bé (A = STVC 1 II 15) einem inim-gi-na na-ma-ab-bé<sup>1</sup> (B = STVC 2 I 10) gegenüber.

še-gu nu-gál in der Klage über Sumer und Ur, Z. 129F ist sicherlich mit P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, S. 131 als še-gu-nu nu-gál zu nehmen.

Nach A. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, 26 ist gu<sub>4</sub>-du in Gudea, Fragment 2 III 3 als gu<sub>4</sub>-udu, genauer gud-udu, zu verstehen. D.O. Edzard hat sich dem in RIME 3/1, 106 Col. IV' 3' angeschlossen.

ú-uru<sub>18</sub> (Zyl. A VIII 26) ist vielleicht als "cities(?)" (D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 74 und PSD 1/1, 110b) auf ein uru-uru zurückzuführen, gewiss aber nicht auf ein \*iri-iri.

Gudea, Zyl. B XVI 12 wird von D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 97 zu <sup>d</sup>nin-gír-su <su->zi mu-ÍL-àm verbessert.

Und Formen wie ir-ra-ne, die in SAT 2, 913, 5 und TRU 334, 4 belegt sind, oder in syllabischer Schreibung als e-ra-ne in UET 3, 1054, 7; 1229, 3; 9, 889 I 15, sind als Formen der pronominalen Konjugation aus \*ir-ra-ne-ne verkürzt.

Auch die bereits in vorsargonischer Zeit beginnende und dann neu-sumerisch regelmässige Setzung des einfachen anstelle des zweifachen Genetivs zur Vermeidung von Silbendopplungen wie -ka-ka und -ka-ke<sub>4</sub> kann man unter diesem Gesichtspunkt betrachten.

Zu einem weiteren Beispiel s. unten Abschnitt 3.

Schliesslich wird auch eine Zeile wie Gudea, Zyl. B XV 2 ohne Annahme einer Silbenellipse nicht verständlich: a-gal-gal-e še si-si-a <-da> emendieren PSD 1/1, 75a-b "that grain will fill great waters" und D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 96 "that barley might be filled in (and shipped) on the great waters". Das Ganze kann doch nur heissen, wobei ohne Verbesserung von si-si-a in si-si-a<-da> auszukommen ist: "(Dass) die mit Gerste über und über gefüllten Fluren ...(aufhäufen)". Also ist \*a-gār-gal-gal-e wegen dreier hintereinander stehender fast gleichklingender Silben zu a-gal-gal-e vereinfacht. Zum Inhaltlichen vergleiche man die in PSD 1/1, 79 unter 4. aufgeführten Belege.

## 2. Hochgeschätztes

Las A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30/1, 86 in Gudea, Zyl. A IV 8 (Nanše) "die Herrin der hochgeschätzten Kultordnungen" (nin me-an-kal-an-kal-la, vgl. auch AnOr 28, 72), so hat D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 71 dies nach dem Vorgang von Th. Jacobsen, Harps, 392 in ein nin-išib <sup>d</sup>lama diğir-kal-la umgewandelt.

Übergehen wir die schwierige theologische Frage, ob Nanše als Schutzgöttheit bezeichnet werden konnte, aber halten wir mit A. Falkenstein, a.a.O. Anm. 2 fest, dass die Göttin in ihrer grossen Hymne Zeile 9 (Ed. W. Heimpel, JCS 33, 82) das Epitheton nin me-kal-kal-la führt. So bleibt darauf hinzuweisen, dass kal auch an anderen Stellen ein an vorangestellt wird: ki-an-kal-kal (VS 10, 190, 7) oder <sup>d</sup>alad (Randglosse a-la-ad) an-kal-an-kal-la-mu (UET 6/2, 175, 6 = Lugalnisag und Enlilmassu Z. 4 nach PSD 1/3, 167b).

M. Civil hat jüngst in seiner Rezension von H. Behrens, Die Ninegalla-Hymne in JAOS 120, 674–76 das Problem des "verlierbaren" an gestreift, ohne zu einer eindeutigen Lösung zu kommen. Er führt dazu auf S. 674b (an-)bar/bir<sub>7</sub>, (an-)ú-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na, (an-)ub-da-4<sup>5</sup> und (an-)zib als Bei-

5. Vgl. auch das einmalige ub-da-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> in zerstörtem Kontext (Šusîn 1 VI 42 = RIME 3/2, 299).

spiele an. Es gibt noch einige Verbindungen mehr, die mal mit, mal ohne an geschrieben werden und bei denen das an kaum als Gottesdeterminativ erklärt werden kann.

tu<sup>1</sup>-mu-an-mi-ra (Glosse in CT 42, 4 II 14; Y. Sefati, *Love Songs*, 302: tu<sup>1</sup>-mu <sup>d</sup>mi-ra),

an-muru<sub>9</sub> (s. Å. Sjöberg, JCS 21, 279),

an-<sup>u</sup>naga<sup>g</sup>a-ku<sub>6</sub> (s. Verf., BiOr 50, 180),

iti-an-še-sag-kud (RA 25, 45, 6),

an-usan-na (Enm. 269), an-an-usan(-na) (SRT 1 I 11. III 16) und nin-an-an-usan(-na) (SRT 1 III 12. 14. 17. 35. 37). Der Paralleltext Or NS 22 t 43–44 hat dafür in Z. III 4' und 27' nin-an-an-usan-an-na. S. dazu Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 71 zu 93 und E. Flückiger-Hawker, OBO 166, 164 zu 8–9 mit weiteren Belegen.

an-zu<sub>x</sub>(MI)-mušen u.a. Schreibungen (s. zuletzt B. Alster, RA 85, 1–5).

Dagegen ist AN-da-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> sicherlich als <sup>d</sup>da-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> zu verstehen. Der Göttername liegt vor in ASJ 9, 272: 83, 30; MVN 21, 325, 4; TCL 5, 5672 I 16. III 13, ferner im PN gēm-~ (BCT 2, 229 IV 13') und in der Berufsbezeichnung gud<sub>4</sub>-~ (MVN 16, 670, 2; 681, 10; UTI 5, 3469 II 11). Der Göttername wird erweitert zu <sup>d</sup>nin-da-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> (ASJ 18, 86: 22, 15; TENS 487, 26 <LA>; YOS 4, 207 IV 103) und <sup>d</sup>nin-<sup>d</sup>da-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> (UTI 3, 2155, 11; YOS 4, 260 II 26–27).

AN-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na, nach J. Finkel, CM 10, 83 "the red of the evening sky", ist wohl ebenfalls als <sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-an-na aufzufassen. Es liegt in folgenden Varianten vor: <sup>d</sup>si-an-na, <sup>d</sup>si-na, <sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-a-na, <sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-an-na, <sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-na, si-an-na und si<sub>4</sub>-an-na (vgl. P. Steinkeller, FAOS 17, 244).

ur-<sup>d</sup>si-an-na PN (TMHNF 1/2, 83 Siegel),

ur-<sup>d</sup>si-na PN (YOS 4, 39, 4),

ur-<sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-a-na PN (AUCT 1, 511, 2),

<sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-an-na (TCL 2, 5521+5522, 2), é-~ (TU 112 Rs. II 4), lú-~ PN (UET 9, 787, 2) und ur-~ PN (ASJ 18, 72; FAOS 17, 371; MVN 20, 119 Rs. I 3),

<sup>d</sup>nin-<sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-an-na (Šulgi 7, 1; Amarzuena 14, 2, Zählung nach D. Frayne, RIME 3/2; MVN 16, 658, 6; TCL 5, 6053 III 8), gud<sub>4</sub>-~ (TU 125, 16),

ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-<sup>d</sup>si<sub>4</sub>-na PN (BIN 3, 491, 5),

<sup>d</sup>nin-si-an-na (SLT 122 III 30), ur-~ PN (TMHNF 1/2, 83, 4),

<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na (An IV 172; AUCT 2, 97, 35; Rimsin 18, 1, nach D. Frayne, RIME 4 und TCL 15, 10, 252), mu<sub>1</sub>-~ (CT 42, 6 III 18), ur-~ PN (AUCT 1, 369, 2; 3, 314, 2; 406, 2).

Die von H. Sauren, ZA 59, 34 angenommene Nebenform <sup>(d)</sup>ši-an-na möchte Verf. nicht übernehmen. Er bleibt bei der von A. Pohl, TMHNF 1/2, S. 20 gegebenen Lesung <sup>(d)</sup>igi-an-na. Der Wechsel von kur<sub>6</sub> <sup>d</sup>igi-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-zu (TMHNF 1/2, 250, 2) und igi-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-zu (Z. 5) ist sicher als ausnahmsweise Setzung des Götterdeterminativs zu erklären.

Der von H. Waetzoldt und F. Yildiz, MVN 16, S. 175 und F. D'Agostino, MVN 20, S. 71 lú-AN-si<sub>4</sub>-an-ka, bzw. lú-an-si<sub>4</sub>-an-ka wieder-gegebene PN bedarf der Kollation. Die Auslassung des -na- vor -ka ist charakteristisch für die mit den Götternamen <sup>d</sup>nám-an und <sup>d</sup>nám-nun gebildeten Namen.

Auch der PN amar-AN-sübi (s. Verf., BiOr 50, 176), der genetivisch gefügt ist und "Kalb des Glänzenden (Mond- oder Sonnengottes)" bedeutet, enthält das Götterdeterminativ.

Gänzlich unklar bleibt einmaliges gur-AN-zabar in SAT 1, 97, 2; s. dazu T. Gomi, AfO 42/43, 230b.

Dass das Element an gesetzt werden oder auch fortbleiben kann, verbindet es mit den Determinativen. Aber es ist gesprochen worden, wie die beiden Formen an-zu<sub>x</sub>(MI)- und zu<sub>x</sub>-mušen und ihre akkadischen Entsprechungen und das Vorkommen des an in einer Glosse nahelegen. Es ist deshalb eher als bedeutungshinweisender Zusatz zu verstehen. S. dazu zuletzt Verf., OBO 160/1, 498; 504–5; 521 und WO 30, 170. Diese sprachlichen Zusätze mögen das Vorbild für die grafischen Determinative gewesen sein.

### 3. Opfer und Gebet

Innerhalb der Gudea-Zylinder kommt das Wort a-rá-zu "Gebet" nur in den Schreibungen rá-zu (7-mal) und ra-zu (1-mal) vor, vgl. A. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, 41. Wenn zur Zeit Gudeas nicht überhaupt von einer Form mit verlorenem Anfangsvokal auszugehen ist, sondern auch hier eine Normalform a-rá-zu vorausgesetzt werden kann, so lassen sich die folgenden Regeln für die Verkürzung des Wortes erkennen: In 6 Fällen folgt das Gebet auf das Opfer (sískur): A II 21; IV 1; XIV 3; B I 14 (ra-zu); III 3 (rá<-zu>); VIII 12. Dabei wird ein \*/siskurárazu/ haplologisch zu /siskurázu/ verkürzt, wobei wahrscheinlich die Silbe /ra/ ausgeschieden wurde. Darauf deutet das einmalige Vorkommen von ra-zu (B I 14) mit wahrscheinlich richtiger Darstellung des erhaltenen r-Lautes hin. Das fünfmalige rá-zu ist demgegenüber als konventionelle Schreibung, d.h. als Schreibung, die den Augenkontakt zur Grafie der Vollform a-rá-zu wahr, zu werten.

Ähnlich wie r und ř scheinen auch die Laute š und r nah beieinander gelegen zu haben, so dass in A XVII 29 ein \*/elibirašarazu/ zu /elibirašazu/ wurde. In Anlehnung an sískur ra-zu (B I 14) könnte man dies

geradezu é-libir-ra-áš ša<sub>4</sub>-zu umschreiben, wenn dies nicht den Schreibkonventionen widerspräche.

Dieselbe Verkürzung zeigen bereits Fara-zeitliche Schreibungen nach -d:

šùd rá-zu (IAS 283 V 19. Zeilen V 16–19 // 133 II 3'–6'),

šùd rá-zu<sub>5</sub> (SF 40 IX 11) und

šùd ra<sub>x</sub>(LAGAB)-zu<sub>5</sub> (IAS 133 II 6' // 194 I' 1').

Diese Belege fehlen in PSD 1/1, 140–44.

Die noch verbleibende Stelle B I 15 lautet ... dingir-uru-na-ke<sub>4</sub> rá-zu ... Hier wird offensichtlich die Vokalfolge \*-e-a->-e vereinfacht. Es ist der im Sumerischen hinreichend bezeugte Vorgang, dass beim Zusammentreffen zweier Vokale—auch über die Grenze der Syntagmen hinweg—einer verlorengeht. Dabei ist schwer vorausagbar, welcher Vokal erhalten bleibt:

-bi-a > -ba,

-(a-)ni-a > -(a-)na,

niga < níg-kú-a,

ur-<sup>d</sup>igi-ma-šè (PN) < ur-<sup>d</sup>igi-ama-šè,

a-ba-ne-gim (PN) (MVN 21, 223, 12) < a-ba-a-ne-gim,

ama-ad giš-eren ... (SEM 58 I 8 = Martus Hochzeit) < ama-ad-da giš-eren

u<sub>4</sub>-dè mar-ru<sub>10</sub>-gim (Klage über Sumer und Ur Z. 2 = 113) < \*/ude amarugim/ und

eri<sup>(ki)</sup> ga-àm neben eri<sup>(ki)</sup> in-ga-àm (Keš-Tempelhymne Z. 58 und 59).

Lassen wir die Folgerungen daraus für den in Sumerischen angenommenen Glottalverschlusslaut vor Vokal ausser Betracht, so schliesst sich daran eine allgemeinere Frage an: Kannte das Sumerische eine Vokalkontraktion? Bei dieser allen von den indogermanischen und semitischen Sprachen wohlbekannteren Erscheinung geht eine Vokalqualität verloren, während die Vokalquantitäten addiert werden. Oder gehört das Sumerische in den Kreis jener Sprachen, die nur eine Vokalausdrängung kennen, bei der sowohl Qualität als auch Quantität eines Vokals verloren gehen? Die Benutzung des Begriffs Kontraktion in den Grammatiken des Sumerischen hält Verf. für einen Semitismus (oder Indogermanismus).

6. Altsumer. Belege: DP 32 VII 1; 113 VIII 9; 114 VIII 6; 115 VIII 7; 133 III 3; 135 X 8; 177 IV 8; 563 III 1.—Akkad-Zeit: OSP 1, 121 III' 7'. Für die Ur III-Zeit s. H. Limet, Anthr., 504.

## 4. Funktionierendes(?)

Die von Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 22, 116, und J.S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 139 zu 193 und 166, begründete Lesung *níg-ul* hat sich D. O. Edzard nicht zueigen gemacht, sondern ist bei *níg-du<sub>7</sub>* geblieben (RIME 3/1, 18 Ur-Bau 4 I 9; 32 Gudea StB V 14 und pass.). Doch lässt sich, wie Verf. meint, die Lesung *níg-ul* durch ein weiteres Argument stützen.

In dem OSP 2, 69, 4 und 70 II 4 belegten Personennamen *níg-ú-pa-è* sieht Verf. eine abweichende Schreibung des häufigen Namens *níg-ul-pa-è<sup>6</sup>*, bei der nur *-ú-* für zu erwartendes *-ù-* auffällt. Nach der bekannten Regel<sup>7</sup> über die Vereinfachung von Konsonantengruppen kann die angeführte Form zwar auf ein *níg-u(l)-pa-è*, nicht aber auf ein *\*níg-(d)u<sub>7</sub>-pa-è* zurückgehen, das ein *\*nì-du<sub>7</sub>-pa-è* ergeben hätte.

Zum Verlust von silbenschiessendem l vor Konsonant bei s/šul s. A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 55, 43 und füge *šu-pa-è* (PDT 1, 588, 9) für *dšul-pa-è* und das von J. Klein, *PAPS* 71, 42 zu *su<sub>17</sub>/zu<sub>7</sub>-gi-r* für *s/šul-gi-r* Ausgeführte hinzu. S. ferner noch *ge<sub>9</sub>-sá-bi* für *gisal-bi* (CT 44, 14, 18, parallel zu *gi-mu-uš-mu* für *gi-muš-mu* in Z. 19<sup>8</sup>).

Dass l und p im Personennamen aneinander stossen, ist Folge einer Univerbierung; denn im Satzgefüge tritt, wie zu erwarten, *níg-ul* vor *pa è* in den Lokativ-Terminativ, was in morphophonetischer Schreibweise<sup>9</sup> als *níg-ul-e pa è* wiedergegeben wird<sup>10</sup>. Das -e des Lokativ-Terminativs wird jedoch nach u-haltiger Basis zu -u. Ein *\*níg-/ulu/* aber wird in der defektiven Schreibung der alt- und neusumerischen Zeit vom unerweiterten Wort nicht unterschieden. So findet sich auch *níg-ul pa è* belegt<sup>11</sup>.

Es fällt auf, dass die Wendung bei Gudea nur in Inschriften an die beiden staatstragenden Götter Ningirsu und Nanše verwendet wird.

Neben dem behandelten Namen *níg-ú-pa-è* enthält das Akkad-zeitliche Material aus Nippur noch einige ähnlich gebildete Personennamen. Da gibt es solche mit dem Element KWU 509 wie *KWU 509-pa-è* (ECTJ 29 II 12; OSP 2, 76, 7) und *níg-KWU 509-pa-è* (OSP 2, 83, 3)<sup>12</sup>, verkürzt *níg-KWU 509* (OSP 2, 98 IV 4). Hier können die von M. Civil, *Or NS* 52, 233–40 und besonders P. Michalowski, *JCS* 40, 159 ermittelten Lesewerte *nigur<sub>x</sub>*

7. S. oben Abschnitt 1, S. 2.

8. Eine Umschrift des Textes findet sich bei W.G. Lambert, *JNES* 33, 293.

9. S.P. Attinger, *ELS* 133–36.

10. Stat. B V 14. VIII 35; D II 6; F I 8; 25, 8; 26 II 1; 27, 8; 37 II 1; 40, 7; 41, 8; 43, 8; 45, 8; 47, 7; 55, 8; 59, 7; vgl. auch *níg-ul uru-na-ke<sub>4</sub> pa è* (Zyl. B XVII 12) und *níg-ul-e vor gù dé* (Zyl. A VIII 20).

11. *níg-ul pa è* ist belegt in Stat. B VII 6; E III 10; Zyl. A I 4 und XVIII 25.

12. Auch in BIN 8, 181, 3 ist *níg-KWU 509<sup>l</sup>-pa-è* zu lesen. G.G. Hackman, *BIN* 8, S. 48: X-pa-è.

und *gur<sub>x</sub>* des Zeichens KWU 509 = LAK 384 eingesetzt werden. Dabei ist *níg-gur<sub>x</sub>* oder *nigur<sub>x</sub>* sicher nicht als lautliche Variante von *níg-ul* anzusehen, sondern die ältere Schreibung des später *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>* wiedergegebenen Wortes "Besitz". Der Personennamen ist in jüngerer Zeit nicht mehr zu belegen.

Auch in den Namen *níg-U.TA* (OSP 1, 23 X 18(?); OSP 2, 69, 20; 70 III 4) und *lugal-níg-U.TA* (OSP 2, 45 III 5; 48 II 19) könnte U.TA *gur<sub>x</sub>* zu lesen sein, wenn U.TA als vereinfachte Form des Zeichens KWU 509 anzusehen ist.

Eine weitere Variante des Zeichens kommt noch in der Zeile OSP 2, 186, 11 vor. Sie ist mit Wahrscheinlichkeit zu *é-níg-gu[r<sub>x</sub>-k]a* zu ergänzen.

## 5. War die šarur-Keule ein Vogel?

Gudea berichtet in Stat. B VI 45–50: *gu-bi-in<sup>ki</sup>*, *kur-giš-ħa-lu-úb-ta*, *giš-ħa-lu-úb*, *im-ta-e<sub>11</sub>*, *ĤU šár-úr-šé*, *mu-na-dím*. Und H. Steible, *FAOS* 9/1, 168 wie D.O. Edzard, *RIME* 3/1, 34 geben das *ĤU* in Zeile 49 als *mušen* "Vogel" bzw. "bird(?)" wieder. Eine Auffassung, die wohl letztlich auf Th. Paffrath, *OLZ* 16 (1913): 355–56 zurückgeht: "und zu der Vogelgestalt auf dem šar-úr verarbeitete er es."

Nun kann eine in der Schlacht herniedersausende Keule mit einem Vogel verglichen werden: *mušen-gim ì-dal-e kur mu-na-ab-zukum-e*, *nu-še-ga tùm-dé á-dúb ì-ak-e* (J. van Dijk, *Lugal ud me-lám-bi nir-ġál* 1, 66; 110–11 bzw. 2, 61, s. auch *PSD* 1/2, 8b; 1/3, 77a). "Wie ein Vogel fliegt sie (die Waffe), stürzt sich auf das Bergland, die Unbotmässigen hinwegzufegen, schlägt sie mit den Flügeln". Aber bei genauerem Hinschauen erweist sich der Textzusammenhang bei Gudea als äusserst prosaisch. Er folgt wie die Passagen vor und nach ihm dem Schema: Aus einem bestimmten fernen Land wird ein Rohmaterial herbeigeschafft und zu einem Weihengegenstand oder einem Teil davon verarbeitet. Das *ĤU* wird also aus *ħalub*-Holz hergestellt.

Da der Kopf einer Keule aus Stein oder Metall besteht und für den hölzernen Stiel ein einfaches *giš* zu erwarten wäre, müssen wir uns nach einem anderen Zubehör umsehen, das aus Holz gefertigt wurde. Dabei fällt der Blick auf hölzerne Geräte wie *giš-ĤU gur<sub>8</sub>* (FT 2 t 45a I 12) oder *giš-ĤU ná* (FT 2 t 45b I 5). Zwei grosse Kiefernstämmen von 8 Ellen Länge werden zu einem *giš-ĤU ig* verarbeitet (ITT 5, 8232, 3–4). Möglicherweise ist sogar das Mass für Feigen, *ĤU* (Stat. E V 12. VI 26; Stat. G IV 6. V 20), mit in die Überlegungen einzubeziehen. Der Verf. vermutet in (*giš-*)*ĤU* einen "Rahmen", ein "Gestell", eine "Stellage" oder etwas ähnliches.

## 6. Ebenholz

In der Statueninschrift B VI 26–28 ist zu lesen: kur me-luḥ-ḫa, giš-esi im-ta-e<sub>11</sub>, mu-na-dù. H. Steible, FAOS 9/1, 167 übersetzt dies als "(Aus) dem Bergland Meluḫḫa hat er Ebenholz herabgebracht (und) hat (es) für ihn zum Bauen verwendet". Dieselbe Stelle lautet bei D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 34 in Übersetzung: "From the land of Meluḫḫa he brought down diorite, used it to build <...> (for Ningirsu)". Es befriedigt weder die eine noch die andere Lösung. Nur übersetzt Steible richtig mit "Ebenholz", während Edzard entgegen der eigenen Umschrift GIŠ.esi von "Diorit" spricht.

Bei dem ähnlichen Bau dieser oder vergleichbarer Passagen in der Statueninschrift B V 28–VI 63 ist davon auszugehen, dass der zitierte Absatz sich noch auf die Unmittelbar vorher (VI 24) genannte Waffe šita ub-e nu-íl bezieht. Nun bedeutet dù wörtlich nicht "bauen", sondern "aufrichten". Gudea, Zyl. A VIII 12 lässt Rauch von Zedernharz sich erheben (i-bí-bi mu-dù)<sup>13</sup>. Man steckt jemandem keinen Ring an den Finger, sondern man "richtet den Ring an seiner Hand auf" (ḫar šu-na bí-in-dù, Edubba 1 = Schultage Z. 68) und man schäftet die Peitsche nicht, sondern "richtet die Peitsche an einem Stiel auf" (ùsan giš-a dù-a, RTC 203 Rs. 2). So ist in Stat. B VI 26–28 wahrscheinlich davon die Rede, dass Gudea die Waffe Ningirsus mit einem Stiel aus Ebenholz versieht. Genau das hatte Gudea bereits von anderen Keulen und Waffen des Gottes berichtet, vgl. mu-na-dù in den Zeilen V 38. 40. 42. 44.

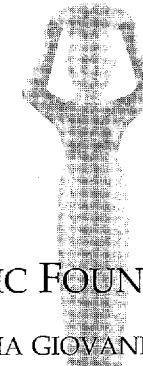
## 7. "Löwen(?), die zum Laufen bestimmt sind"

Die Zeile Zyl. A VII 20 gibt D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 73 in Anlehnung an die Übersetzung A. Falkensteins, SAHG S. 145 als ŠUL.ÜR-bi piriḡ kas<sub>4</sub>-e pà-da "stallions, the lions-summoned-for-running" wieder.

Nun soll nicht bestritten werden, dass Löwen schnell und ausdauernd laufen können, wenn sie müssen. Für gewöhnlich aber tun das die Löwinen als Jägerinnen des Rudels bei der Verfolgung der Beute, während sich Löwen eher wegen ihres hoheitsvollen Ruhens möglichst auf einem hervorgehobenen Platz einprägen. Sollten die Sumerer das ganz anders gesehen haben?

Wie dem auch sei, Verf. möchte das PIRIG der Zeile mit der Gleichung anše-PIRIG = *nisqu* (AHw, 795; CAD N/2, 272) verbinden und statt "Löwen" schlicht "auserlesene (Tiere)" übersetzen. Für PIRIG ist in Antagal F 46, zitiert bei CAD N/2, 272, die Lesung niskum<sub>x</sub> belegt. Die syllabische Schreibung ni-is-ku steht mit Bezug auf einen Eselhengst in Zyl. A VI 13, s. dazu A. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, 47–48 Anm. 5, und ist weiterhin auch in Zyl. A XIV 25 nachweisbar.

13. Die Lesung i-bí ist sicher, s. CAD Q, 326 s.v. *qutru*. RIME 3/1, 74: i-izi.



## A SARGONIC FOUNDATION CONE

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IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION in Rome<sup>1</sup> there is a large clay cone,<sup>2</sup> probably a foundation cone, inscribed in the upper zone with a Sumerian votive inscription three columns long. The object has a central hole with an additional hole at the midsection of the shaft; the center hole is long and extends to the middle of the cone. The object is perfectly preserved, as is the cuneiform script, which is very elegant and clear.

The inscription records the foundation and dedication of a temple to the goddess Damgalnunna by Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME when Lugal-amu was ensi of Adab.

The inscription has three columns, twelve lines per column and reads:

1. I am indebted to the owner of the clay cone for giving me the opportunity to study the tablets and objects with cuneiform inscriptions in the collection, including this important cone that provides new data on Adab in the Sargonic period.

It is my great pleasure to dedicate this study of the Sumerian inscription of the cone to Jacob Klein, a so important scholar who has devoted his life to the study of the Sumerian language, literature, and culture.

For their illuminating suggestions, my thanks go to R. Kovacs, G. Marchesi, M.E. Milone, M. Molina, F. Pomponio, P. Steinkeller, A. Westenholz. Molina and Westenholz provided me with their own transcription and translation of the cone. P. Steinkeller accurately revised my manuscript, providing me with precious translations, corrections, and suggestions. I am deeply indebted to him and owe him many thanks. Any errors are, clearly, entirely my responsibility.

2. The cone is 40,6 cm long and has a diameter of 13,5 cm. A photograph of the piece appeared, as P. Steinkeller kindly informed me, in Christie's auction catalogue, New York, May 30, 1997.

Thanks to information from R. Kovacs and P. Steinkeller, I have seen photographs of a very similar cone in a private collection in Oslo, the Schøyen Collection. From these it would appear that the text is probably the same but is divided differently, having three columns of 10, 10, and 12 lines.



## Col. i.

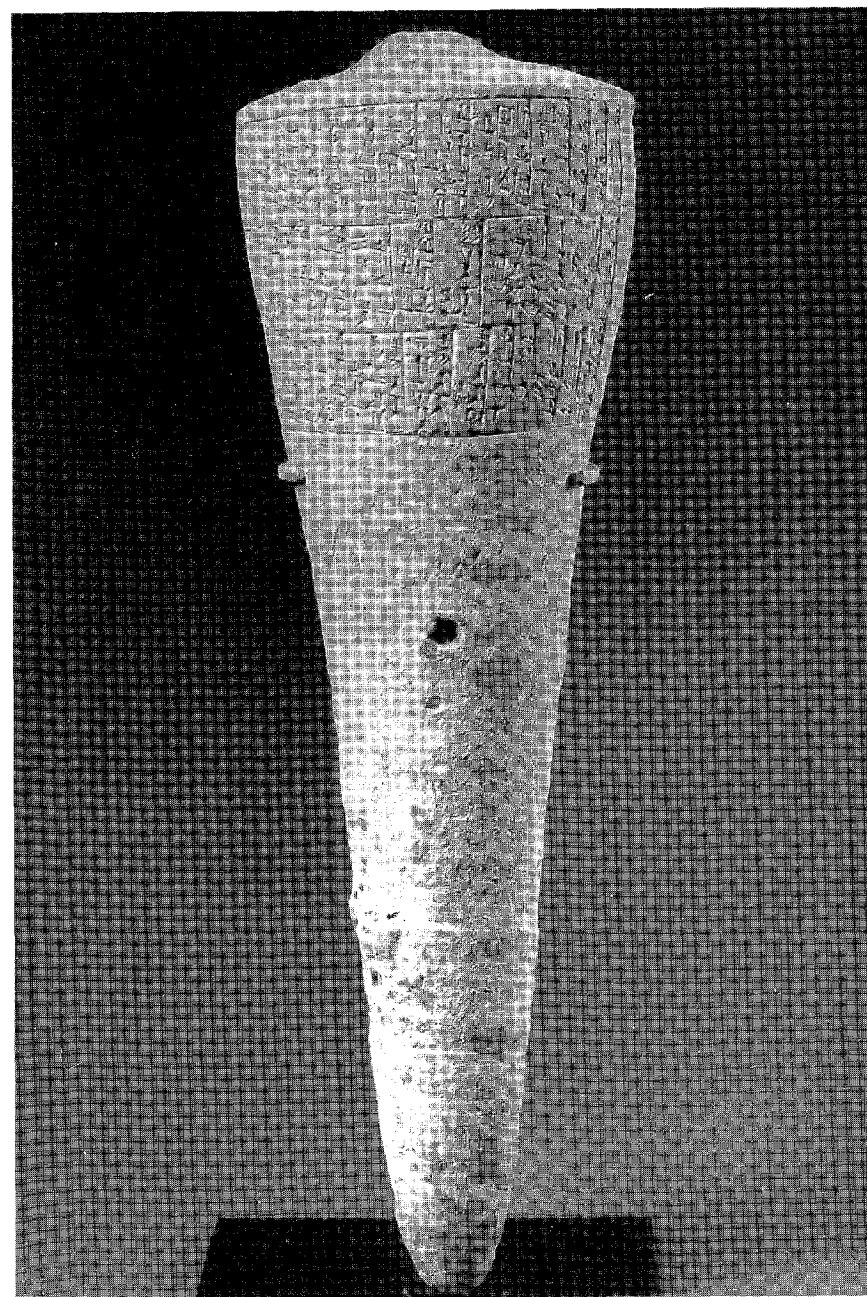
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. u <sub>4</sub> Lugal-a-mu                                       | When Lugal-amu,   |
| 2. sanga- <sup>d</sup> Iškur(IM)-ke <sub>4</sub>                   | the temple administrator of Iškur                           |
| 3. nam-ensí  | the ensí-ship   |
| 4. Adab <sup>ki</sup> (UD.NUN)-in-ak-a                             | of Adab exercised,  |
| 5. Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME                     | Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME,                |
| ama-tu-kalag-ga  | the strong one conceived                                    |
| 6. <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na-ka-ke <sub>4</sub>                  | by Damgalnunna,   |
| 7. ir <sub>11</sub> -kalag-ga- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> | the strong servant of                                       |
| +ME-ke <sub>4</sub>  | <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME                     |
| 8. X-la-kalag-ga   | the strong ...  |
| 9. Lugal-nù-barag <sub>x</sub> (BAD)-du <sub>10</sub>              | of Lugal-nù-barag <sub>x</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> ...,       |
| IGLNAGAR-ke <sub>4</sub>   |   |
| 10. u <sub>4</sub> Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME     | when Damgalnunna  |
| <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na-ke <sub>4</sub>                        | had selected Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME in |
| 11. šà kù-ga-ni ba-an-pà-da  | her holy heart  |
|  | and "Build my temple for me"                                |
| 12. é-mu dù-ma   |   |

## Col. ii.

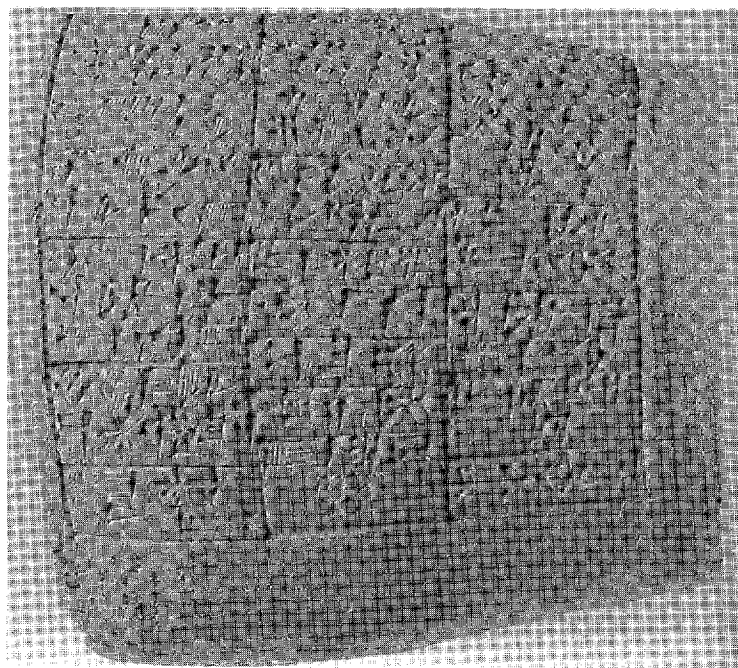
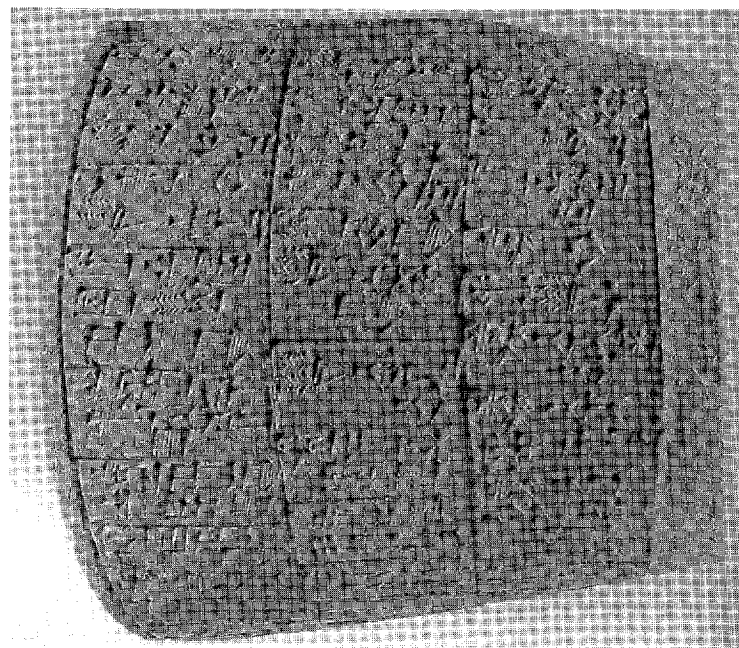
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. in-na-du <sub>11</sub> -ga                                  | told him  |
| 2. Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME-ke <sub>4</sub> | and Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME         |
| <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na-ra                                 | Damgalnunna   |
| 3. inim šà-ga in-na-du <sub>11</sub> -ga                       | told of his intentions                                  |
| 4. in-na-gin-na  | and went up to her,                                     |
| 5. u <sub>4</sub> -ba Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub>  | on that day Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME |
| +ME-ke <sub>4</sub>  |   |
| 6. ús-bi 6 kùš 1 ŠU.BAD  | its foundation six cubits and a half                    |
| 7. ki-ta im-ta-è   | raised from the ground.                                 |
| 8. Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME-ke <sub>4</sub> | Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME             |
| 9. nu-èš   | with a nu-èš-priest,                                    |
| 10. sagi   | a steward   |
| 11. ir <sub>11</sub> géme                                      | and male and female servants.                           |
| 12. é-e ba-sum   | provided the temple.                                    |

## Col. iii.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na-ke <sub>4</sub>    | Damgalnunna                                     |
| 2. bar-bi-a                                       | on account of this                              |
| 3. Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME-ra | for Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME |
| 4. nam-du <sub>10</sub>                           | a good fate                                     |
| 5. mu-IN-tar                                      | decreed   |
| 6. nam-ti ama-na                                  | and life for his mother,                        |
| 7. nam-ti dam-dumu-na                             | life for his wife and child(ren),               |
| 8. nam-ti šeš-a-ne-ne                             | life for his brothers                           |







- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 9.  | al <sub>6</sub> im-ma-na-du <sub>11</sub>      | requested for him.                              |
| 10. | <sup>d</sup> Dam-gal-nun-na                    | Damgalnunna                                     |
| 11. | Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME-ra | for Ur- <sup>d</sup> LAGAB×SIG <sub>7</sub> +ME |
| 12. | mu-na-gub.                                     | stood.  |

## COMMENTARY

*Chronology of the Cone*

This inscribed clay cone bears the text of a typical building inscription. It is undoubtedly a foundation cone<sup>3</sup> and its place of origin is probably the city of Adab or a center very close to Adab. It is useful to reconstruct a small segment of the history of Adab in the Sargonic period.

The inscription begins with a chronological formula that records that Lugal-amu, the sanga administrator of the god Iškur, was ensi of the city of Adab. An ensi of Adab named Lugal-amu has not been previously attested.

Adab was a very important center in Mesopotamia of the third millennium B.C.E. It was an independent state for part of the Early Dynastic period, as proved by the Sumerian King List and by Pre-Sargonic inscriptions of rulers who called themselves "king" of Adab and ensi-GAR.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of Adab in the Pre-Sargonic period is also emerging from the information contained in the Ebla archives. In fact, apart from Kiš, which is by far the most frequently cited Mesopotamian state, only two other Mesopotamian cities are mentioned in the Ebla tablets: Adab and Akšak, probably independent states.<sup>5</sup> At that time, as pointed out by Frayne,<sup>6</sup> according to Adams, Adab was "arguably the largest urban concentration yet known within the Old Akkadian realm."

Adab was part of Lugalzagesi's realm and then part of Sargon's empire. Royal inscriptions and a large number of published archival texts of the Sargonic period<sup>7</sup> and some as yet unpublished large groups of Sar-

3. Cf. J.S. Cooper, "Medium and Message: Inscribed Clay Cones and Vessels from Presargonic Sumer," *RA* 79 (1985): 97-114.

4. Cf. H. Steible, *Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften, Teil II* (Wiesbaden, 1982) 187-98. J.S. Cooper, *SARI* 1 (New Haven 1986), 15-16.

5. See A. Archi, P. Piacentini, F. Pomponio, *ARES* II, 147; M. Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, 15; for an evaluation of the data from Ebla, see now A. Archi-M.G. Biga, "A Victory on Mari and the Fall of Ebla," *JCS* 55 (2003): 1-44.

6. D.R. Frayne, *RIM 2, Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, (Toronto, 1993), 252.

The entire region is the object of a detailed and exhaustive study by P. Steinkeller, "New Light on the Hydrology and Topography of Southern Babylonia in the Third Millennium," *ZA* 91 (2001): 22-84.

7. Many texts from Adab were published by D.D. Luckenbill, *OIP* 14 (Chicago, 1930); Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab* (Changchun, 1989). It is extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to establish from which type of building the archival

gonic texts from Adab (and held in important collections such as those of the Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid, the Banca d'Italia in Rome, Cornell University, and the Schøyen Collection in Oslo)<sup>8</sup> show the importance of Adab in the Sargonic period. There is no doubt that these texts come from Adab, as they use the lunar calendar of Adab. Moreover, they can be attributed to the Sargonic period on the basis of the paleography and the use of the Akkadian weight system.

The new unpublished texts and the inscription on the cone enable us to reconstruct a list of three ensí's of Adab in the Middle Sargonic period.

In a text of the Real Academia de Historia de Madrid (RAH 43) and in another from Cornell University (48-06-108) (both still unpublished), an ensí of Adab named *Sar-ru-URU.KI-li* is quoted; in the Madrid text the name of the governor is followed by the name of Lugal-amu, sanga of Iškur. We do not know in which temple of Iškur Lugal-amu<sup>9</sup> was priest.

While SarruURU.KI-li was ensí of Adab, Lugal-amu was still administrator of a temple of Iškur and, as our foundation cone shows in its introductory chronological formula, Lugal-amu succeeded SarruURU.KI-li as ensí of Adab. The governor Lugal-amu is also attested in two other unpublished texts from Adab.<sup>10</sup>

One of the texts mentioning SarruURU.KI-li has a year-name of Naram-Sin and it is possible to ascribe the cone with certainty to the Naram-Sin period.<sup>11</sup>

The archaeological finds at Adab do not prove the existence of a temple for Iškur, but in the published texts from Adab, Iškur receives frequent offerings and the name of the god appears in some PNs.

texts came; cf. B. Foster, *ZA* 72 (1982): 4–5; M. Liverani, "La scoperta del mattone. Muri e archivi nell'archeologia mesopotamica," *VO* 12 (2000): 1–17.

8. I have to thank very much M. Molina, F. Pomponio, and M.E. Milone, who gave me a great deal of information on these still unpublished tablets. The reconstruction of the history of Adab in Sargonic times is in preparation by F. Pomponio as the introduction to his volume on the tablets of Banca d'Italia.
9. Lugal-amu is a PN attested in Adab also from Pre-Sargonic texts (see I.J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, R.M. Whiting, *OIP* 104 [Chicago, 1991], 33 ii 8') and also in texts from Nippur from the time of Naram-Sin and Šarkališarri; see A. Westenholz, *OSP* 2 (Copenhagen, 1987) 119 i 2.  
P. Steinkeller pointed out that Karkar was the only significant center of Iškur's cult in the region; see P. Steinkeller, *ZA* 91 (2001): 44, 71–74; for this reason the sanga of Iškur named here must be that of Karkar. For all the data concerning the temple of Iškur and priests and priestesses of the temple in Adab in Pre-Sargonic times, see now D. Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 131.
10. RAH 211, Schøyen Collection 4233; cf. F. Pomponio, *La storia politica di Adab*, work in progress on tablets of the Banca d'Italia.
11. A. Westenholz, on a paleographic basis, suggested dating this to precisely the early years of Naram-Sin.

i 5ff. The inscription records the foundation of a new temple for the goddess Damgalnunna by Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME. It is not clear where the temple of Damgalnunna was built, who Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME was, or his native town. He was clearly, however, a very important functionary, devoted to the goddess Damgalnunna and to the deity LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME, as he says in ll. 5–7.

The reading of the deity's name, which composes the PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME, is a problem. The sign is LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME; within LAGAB we have the two signs SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME.

To my knowledge, there is no mention of a PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME in the published and still unpublished Adab texts. A PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME is attested in a Pre-Sargonic text from Adab, OIP 14, 59 i 4; J. van Dijk proposed in *AfO* 23 (1970): 64 n. 8 a reading ur-<sup>d</sup>egime. In an unpublished tablet from Adab in the Banca d'Italia collection of cuneiform tablets (BI 33, Early Sargonic period) appears a PN read by the authors: <sup>d</sup>Šara<sub>x</sub>-bād, where the sign for Šara<sub>x</sub> is written <sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME. This could be another local scribal variant of the writing <sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME of our cone. A PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šára is quoted in a Sargonic text from Adab, A 929<sup>12</sup> which reads: gal<sub>5</sub>-lá-gal ábba-uru Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šára [dumu] Da-da Ur-s[a<sub>6</sub>], but there are no elements to connect this Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šára<sup>13</sup> with Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME of our cone. The name of the god Šara is written <sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub> in the Fara and Abu Šalabikh texts.<sup>14</sup> Also in Pre-Sargonic Adab, the name of this god is written <sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>.<sup>15</sup>

In the Ebla tablet 75.2271, a text which lists the mu-DU during 17 years of the vizier Ibbi-zikir in rev. II 2–4, there is: 3 ma-na ša-pi 8 bar<sub>6</sub>;kù/ GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>.ME GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>.ME/ 1 TÚG-du<sub>8</sub>, but the sign ME is outside GÁ and never with the divine determinative; at least the sign is GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub> and not LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub> as in our cone. The name of the goddess

12. See Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab* (Changchun, 1989), 350. A PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šára is attested in some texts from the Sargonic period from Nippur; see A. Westenholz, *OSP* 1 (Malibu, 1975), T 56 i 2 (Ur-<sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>).
13. <sup>d</sup>Šára is a deity attested in PNs in Sargonic times; see, e.g., A. Westenholz, *OSP* 2: Lú-<sup>d</sup>Šára (a PN from Zabala). Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šára is a well-known PN in texts of the Ur III period, particularly from Umma; see for some examples R. A. Di Vito, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names* (Rome, 1993), 49.
14. Cf. P. Mander, *Il Pantheon di Abu-Salabikh* (Napoli, 1986), where Šára is attested in SF 1 r. I 17 and IAS.GL.
15. See D.A. Foxvog, *Death in Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen, 1980), 67–75; in a document of a Pre-Sargonic governor of Adab, BÍl-làl-la, which concerns the funeral of a deceased temple administrator of Kēš and his wife, a PN in l. VI 79: <sup>d</sup>Šára-men is attested; for this text see also OIP 104, 99–103.

Išhara<sup>16</sup> is written, in Ebla texts, <sup>d</sup>LAGAB×SIG<sub>7</sub>, <sup>d</sup>SIG<sub>7</sub>.AMA, <sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>, <sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>-ra, <sup>d</sup>GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>-iš, with the phonetic complement. <sup>d</sup>Išhara is a very important female deity in Ebla's pantheon.

It is more probable, as P. Steinkeller suggested to me, to suppose here the mention of a different deity whose name is written <sup>d</sup>LAGAB/GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME and the reading of whose name remains difficult.

- i 5 As P. Steinkeller and G. Marchesi pointed out to me, in this context and referring to a ruler who very probably wanted to share a special relationship with the goddess, it is difficult to translate ama-tu as "house-born slave." I follow here the translation suggested to me by P. Steinkeller.
- i 6 It is impossible to know whether the temple for Damgalnunna built by Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB/GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME was a new one or a reconstruction, or if it was really a temple or a chapel. It could have been a small temple. What is certain is that the foundation cones celebrating this construction are very large!

There is no evidence from the text of the inscription regarding the location of this temple, probably built in Adab itself or in a center close to Adab and under this city's control. Some inscriptions of the Sargonic period from other centers north of the city of Adab, such as Šarrākum, are known to us.<sup>17</sup>

Damgalnunna, one of the Sumerian mother-goddesses, received offerings in Pre-Sargonic times in Lagaš and Umma and had a temple in Nippur during the Ur III period. However, in the published and unpublished texts from Adab of the Sargonic period, there are no indications of a temple for her in Adab or elsewhere in the neighboring territory.

Kēš was the cult center for the mother-goddess Ninḫursag, and a temple of the goddess is well known; a zà-mí hymn from Abu Šalabikh<sup>18</sup> relates that the cult center of Nintu (or Ninḫursag) was Kēš and the deity of Adab was Ašgi. Yang Zhi proposed<sup>19</sup> that the center for the cult of Ninḫursag was formally transferred from Kēš to Adab

16. Cf. D. Prechel, *Die Göttin Išhara*, (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996); cf. also F. Pomponio-P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla* (AOAT 245; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997), 202–17. Probably <sup>d</sup>AMA-ra does not stand for Išhara; cf. A. Archi, "Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon: The Case of Išhara," in K.A. Yener-H.A. Hoffner (eds.) *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History* (Winona Lake, 2002), 21–33, particularly 27–28 and n. 34.

17. See D.R. Frayne, *RII* 2, 249–51.

18. See R.D. Biggs, *OIP* 99 (Chicago, 1974), 43.

19. Yang Zhi, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab* (Changchun, 1989), 103.

during the Sargonic period, marking the end of Kēš as a cult center. According to composition 29 of the Temple Hymns of Enḫeduanna, the main temple of Adab was the é-maḫ of Nintu. Perhaps Damgalnunna of our text is just another name for Ninḫursag used in Adab.

i 8–9 These lines are difficult to understand.

i 8 The reading of the sign is uncertain. Initially, I tried to read the sign as UL, but it does not appear to be UL and, as P. Steinkeller pointed out, no meaning of ul fits this context.

i 9 In the Sargonic texts from Adab held in the Banca d'Italia collection, a PN Lugal-nì-barag<sub>x</sub>(BAD)-du<sub>10</sub> is attested twice (in BI 6 and 10), but his role and profession remain unknown.<sup>20</sup> Lugal-nì-barag<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> is a common PN at Nippur,<sup>21</sup> but in our passage we cannot be certain that we are dealing with a PN. The designation IGI.NAGAR remains a problem.

ii 6–7 In a Pre-Sargonic foundation inscription from Adab, the ruler of Adab, Eiginimpae, says that he built the temple Emaḫ and "buried foundation deposits beneath its base." In his commentary, J.S. Cooper<sup>22</sup> quotes the opinion of T. Jacobsen that the "base" (úr) is a replica of the temple built above the foundation (ús), and that the base is filled with earth to form the temple-terrace (temen) upon which the actual temple is then built. It is possible that our inscription describes a similar situation, with a 3.25 m high platform on which the temple was built.

There is no archaeological evidence of such a temple from Adab. In Mound V in Bismaya, which Banks called "the temple mound," there may have been a ziggurat. The inscriptions on the foundation deposits from Mound V mention a temple é-maḫ, which, according to Banks, was "the largest and most important one ever built on this site." Another temple é-sar is attested by inscriptions.<sup>23</sup>

20. I thank M.E. Milone for these references; as she pointed out to me, this PN is quoted also in G. Pettinato, *L'uomo cominciò a scrivere* (Collection Michail) (Milano, 1997), t. 7 obv. I 2.

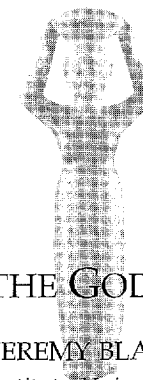
21. See A. Westenholz, *OSP* 1, 90; I.J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, R.M. Whiting, *OIP* 104, texts 14 iii 4 and 182a ii 20. Lugal-nì-BAD-du<sub>10</sub> is a name for the people of Isin, a city with close political and cultural ties with Nippur.

For the reading of the name as Lugal-nì-barag<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, see P. Steinkeller, *Revue of A. Westenholz, OSP* 2, in *JNES* 52 (1993): 144.

22. See J.S. Cooper, *SARI* 1, 16.

23. See Yang Zhi, "The Excavation of Adab," *Journal of Ancient Excavations* 3 (1988): 1–21.

- ii 6 ŠU.BAD is the Sumerian writing of zipaḥ, according to M. Powell, "Masse und Gewichte," RIA 7, 461.
- iii 6–8 This is an extraordinarily complete list of blessings for the entire family of Ur-<sup>d</sup>LAGAB/GÁ×SIG<sub>7</sub>+ME. In a dedication of a plaque by Šaraigubisin, apparently an independent ruler of Šarrākum (a center probably close to Adab) in late Sargonic-Gutian times, there is a request for blessings for the lives of his wife (and) children.<sup>24</sup>



## SONGS OF THE GODDESS ARURU

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THE IDEA of a Mesopotamian "mother goddess" is complex, made more so by the ubiquitous use of the term in discussions of ancient religions and animistic religions generally. For Mesopotamia, at any rate, there is evidence of cults to deities associated both with day-to-day human pregnancy and with the original creation of mankind; also of a mother of the gods.

Arguably to write an article taking such a goddess as its theme is a methodological infelicity. The gods and goddesses of ancient religions existed only as constructs within the belief systems of ancient peoples, the evidence for which includes cultic behavior as recorded in documents and archaeological material, and works of religious literature—phenomena of the history of religion. Yet it is undoubtedly a phenomenon of modern scholarship that the history of religion in Mesopotamia is written using as a shorthand a set of anthropomorphic metaphors borrowed from the beliefs of the Mesopotamians themselves: the conception of their deities in almost exclusively human form. Certainly, for dictionaries or dictionary-like collections of information about Mesopotamian religious matters, it is desirable and necessary to gather and organize lucidly all the evidence, from all periods. But it can be all too tempting then, in the case of deities, to shape that information into stable clusters of essentialist characteristics and a pantheon peopled with coherent anthropomorphic personalities; any serious pockets of disagreement can be dismissed as regional or chronological divergences.

Needless to say, there are inevitable shortcomings with such a procedure. To represent a deity as if it had a homogeneous person-like core encounters fundamental problems. A human being does not live for 3000 years; but clearly the cults themselves led persistent and durable lives. The survival of divine names and religious practices, and the evidence for religious ideas, may well extend over several millennia. At the same time, their regional and diachronic manifestations are far from uniform; cults

24. See D.R. Frayne, RIM 2, 249–51.

and beliefs must be expected to vary locally, and with time to change beyond recognition. The history of religion, insofar as it is a chronicle of human cultic activity, behavior, and ideas should be a chronicle of continuous change.

This paper looks at the nature of the cult of the goddess Aruru in Old Babylonian and earlier Sumerian sources, and I hope that such an offering will be of interest to Professor Jacob Klein, who has contributed such an immense amount to studies of Sumerian literature and religion during his long career, inspiring us all to emulate his achievements.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Manfred Krebernik has provided an excellent synopsis of relevant information concerning the theology and cult of the “mother goddess” in a wide-ranging fifteen-page article (1997), which I am grateful to draw on here.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the idea that this authoritative reference work on Mesopotamia should have an article entitled “Muttergöttin” is a decision of the editors. There is no Sumerian or Akkadian word for “mother goddess” to determine the attribution of deities to this category; but there were various goddesses associated with aspects of motherhood. Krebernik proposes the term as identifying that concrete form (*Gestalt*) in the Mesopotamian pantheon that the Mesopotamian lists of gods refer to under various names, including Aruru, Diğirmaḥ (“august deity”), Mama/Mami; Nin-diğirene, and Bēlet-ilī (both meaning “lady of the gods”), Ninḥursağa (“lady of the hills”), Ninmaḥ (“august lady”), Ninmena (“lady of the crown”), Nintud (probably “lady of giving birth”) and so on.

It is indeed plausible enough to link these names together, and there is good enough reason to think that the compilers of the ancient lists of gods (by the early second millennium B.C.E.) already treated the functions of

1. I do not attempt to go into the post-Old Babylonian traditions here; at any rate the cult of a mother goddess appears to have become less important after the early second millennium B.C.E. W.W. Hallo has studied this in “Nippur Originals,” where he draws attention (p. 247) to the incipit of a first-millennium *eršema* listed in the catalogue 4R 53 and duplicates, iii 40 *egir*<sub>2</sub> maḥ<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru. Other later evidence (e.g., SB Gilgamesh, tablet I) is also left aside here; for instance, I do not attempt to discuss the curious first-millennium geographical list MSL XI, 54ff., where *bad*<sub>3</sub> *zimbir*-<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru<sup>ki</sup> (line 26, equated with *Dūr-Šarru-kin*) presumably derives from the Old Babylonian toponym Sippir-Yaḥrūrūm. The goddess Aruru is interpreted as Bēlet-ilī of *zimbir*-<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru<sup>ki</sup> in the (first-millennium) so-called Enlil-Bēlet-ilī List (Pinches, PSBA 33 [1911]: 77–95 with plates XI). Sumerian literary compositions are referred to here by their catalogue numbers in the *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (Black et al., 1998–); I am grateful for helpful discussion to my colleagues Graham Cunningham, Eleanor Robson, and Jon Taylor.
2. Krebernik 1997.

these goddesses as overlapping if not fully interchangeable.<sup>3</sup> Some mainstream literary compositions of the early second millennium B.C.E., both Sumerian and Akkadian, also do so. Certainly by the mid-second millennium B.C.E. a single “mother goddess” can be recognized, referred to by a variety of wholly interchangeable names. As Thorkild Jacobsen wrote, “Names turn into mere epithets, epithets turn into names; a name may be but one of many designating a given deity and yet may prove also to be that of a separate, different minor deity in his or her entourage.”<sup>4</sup> We are invited to accept the historical reconstruction that there were in early periods a number of independent cults to various goddesses.<sup>5</sup> With the gradual political and cultural unification of Mesopotamia, these cults would have mingled together.

Now I do not intend to deny this gradual syncretism. But the lists of gods belong within an intricate scribal tradition and aimed to make sense of the data by organizing and categorizing it in complex ways. We should not necessarily expect the records of actual cultic practice and cultic songs from the early second millennium B.C.E. to reflect or confirm this systematization. In fact, those records do preserve some vestiges of earlier, separate cults, and my aim here is to follow the traces of the cult and attributes of the goddess Aruru in particular. This will also involve consideration of some Sumerian Emesal songs addressed to Aruru (and Diğirmaḥ).<sup>6</sup>

3. With the exception of Ninḥursağa (and possibly Ninmaḥ), none of the names listed above occurs in god-lists as early as the ED III god-lists from Šuruppag or Abū Šalābiḥ. For Ninḥursağa, see list SF 1, vi 18 (Krebernik, ZA 76 [1986]: 161–204); Ninmaḥ possibly appears as <sup>d</sup>nin-maḥ<sub>2</sub>(AL), vi 22. Possibly <sup>d</sup>nin-GA<sub>2</sub>.EN.LAMMA in SF 1 ii 2 is Ninmena; it is very uncertain whether <sup>d</sup>TU (SF 1, i 19) is Nintud. Krebernik 1997:504 raises the possibility that <sup>d</sup>A.RU in an Abū Šalābiḥ god-list (IAS 82 v 14 // 86 iv' 8') might be connected with the name Aruru.

- Ninḥursağa is central to the myth recorded on the Late ED III “Barton Cylinder,” see Alster and Westenholz 1994; Nintud and her temple at Keš are addressed in one of the ED III *zame* hymns, see no. 20 in the list below. Nisaba is called a-ru<sub>12</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub> kalam-ma “the Aruru of the Land” already in the Ur III version of the Nisaba hymn 4.1.6.1, Ur III version:8 (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru kalam-ma in the Old Babylonian version:8). This and the Ur III PN Ur-Aruru are probably the earliest attestations of Aruru.
4. Jacobsen 1973:295.
5. Krebernik 1997 §1.
6. Hallo writes of “Nintu in her guise as Aruru” (1989:240). Jacobsen 1973, while noting that Ninḥursağa and Nintud seem to have been distinct in Akkadian and possibly still in Ur III times (1973:285), proposes that Aruru is an epithet of the syncretized mother goddess: “The name that specifically designates the goddess as setting birth-giving going would seem to be <sup>d</sup>A-ru-ru, a name that may be interpreted as ‘The germ loosener.’” This interpretation was retracted in Jacobsen 1985:45 and n.10 in favor of “The outflow of water (i.e., the amniotic fluid),” based on SB *aruru* “outlet of a canal”; it is certainly wrong: “outlet” not “outflow.”

### Cultic Evidence

The best evidence for the existence of a cult is the records of cultic activity—separately from any “literary” evidence, which is always equivocal since it issues from a self-referent written milieu. It is necessary, then, to collect the limited documentary evidence for a distinct cult of Aruru in southern Mesopotamia. In fact, there seems to be rather little surviving evidence for the cult of any mother goddess in those cities of southern Babylonia from which most written records survive.

There is no doubt that the principal cult centers of this deity (under the names Ninḫursaġa, Nintud, Ninmaḥ, Bēlet-ilī) were the two temples both called E-maḥ in the cities of Keš and Adab—the temple of Keš also called simply E-Keš or Egal-Keš.<sup>7</sup> Keš seems to have been the more important. But about ten other towns in southern Babylonia had shrines to mother goddesses, almost always under the name Ninḫursaġa or Bēlet-ilī.<sup>8</sup> The town represented by the site Tell el-'Ubaid should be mentioned, known only for an impressive temple of Ninḫursaġa built by the Early Dynastic III ruler of Ur, A-ane-pada, and so probably the earliest recorded site of the cult of Ninḫursaġa.<sup>9</sup> There was a temple of Ninmaḥ at Lagaš, built by Enmetena and plundered by Lugal-zage-si.<sup>10</sup> A temple of the goddess Diġirmaḥ is recorded as built at Malgium by its ruler Ipiq-Eštar,<sup>11</sup> and there may have been a cult of Nintud at Diniktum.<sup>12</sup>

But the very fact that the main centers were Keš and Adab means that there is, therefore, almost no documentary evidence of the sort we have for cultic activity at other cities such as Ur, Nippur, Isin, Uruk, and Larsa. Keš has not yet been definitively localized, although it is very likely to be Tell al-Wilayah. Some small administrative mercantile archives are possibly attributable to Keš, and one month-name from the reconstructed Keš calendar occurs on a tablet from Tell al-Wilayah.<sup>13</sup> Sources from Adab are limited apart from one substantial Late Sargonic archive, and from Ur III and later periods there are only small numbers of tablets; all these yield lit-

7. Krebernik 1997:511; Moran 1976:338; George 1993 nos. 315, 578, 713, 714.

8. Details recorded in Krebernik 1997 §5 and George 1993. Add to these the Akkadian-period temple of Ninḫursaġa at ḪA.A<sup>ki</sup> (Al-Rawi and Black 1993), and the evidence for the cult of Ninḫursaġa at Ereš provided by the list of treasure edited by Hilgert (1998, no. 483 and pp. 18–19).

9. See Hall and Woolley 1927; Steible FAOS 5/2:273–76, nos. 2–4.

10. Name unknown: George 1993, no. 1393.

11. RIME 4, E4.11.1.

12. Krebernik 1997 §5.4; George 1993, no. 426.

13. Postgate 1976:89ff.; Van De Mierop 1986; Cohen 1993:207–8. Also the name Aški (= Ašgi, the god of Keš) occurs in some of the personal names from the Tūram-ili and Tell al-Wilayah archives.

tle information about the cult of these goddesses. There is nothing about offerings to Aruru or Diġirmaḥ.<sup>14</sup>

In the literary *Lament for Eridug*, Aruru is mentioned together with “her” city Iri-saġrig.<sup>15</sup> Iri-saġrig (also known by the Akkadian name Āl-šarrākī) was probably located a little upstream from Adab.<sup>16</sup> An incomplete dedicatory inscription to Ninmaḥ (probably attributable to Warad-Šin) may also be connected with this city.<sup>17</sup>

Personal devotion is indicated by, among other evidence, personal names and inscribed dedicated objects. Only a very few personal names including the elements Aruru or Diġirmaḥ are so far attested (all Ur III), for example ur-<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru (1 occurrence only, at Ur), ur-diġir-maḥ (1 occurrence only, at Puzriš-Dagan), ur-diġir-maḥ-DI.AN (2 occurrences, Ur and Puzriš-Dagan).<sup>18</sup> Several surviving inscriptions and inscribed objects are dedicated to Ninḫursaġa (with Statue A of Gudea also mentioning Nintud). There are several inscribed objects dedicated to Diġirmaḥ by an Early Dynastic *ensi* of Adab, E-iginim-paed,<sup>19</sup> and one stone bowl also dedicated to Diġirmaḥ for the life of Šulgi by a governor (possibly of Adab);<sup>20</sup> none to Aruru.

Public cultic activity, on the other hand, is evidenced by the names of months and the records of festivals and ceremonies. During the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, only Ninḫursaġa appears to be honored in this way in the available documentation. In the Ur III material concerning cyclic, repeated festivals collected by W. Sallaberger (1993), which, as the author explains, is necessarily based mainly on documents excavated at Ġirsu, Ur, and Nippur, or robbed from Puzriš-Dagan or Umma, neither Aruru nor Diġirmaḥ (or Ninmaḥ) features at all.<sup>21</sup> In Ur III Nippur, Ninḫursaġa was worshipped in the temple of Ninlil, but also had a sepa-

14. Cohen 1993:201–5; Yang Zhi 1989b:60 and fn. 13. The supposititious inscription of Lugal-ane-mundu king of Adab survives in three Old Babylonian copies: it is dedicated to Nintud, who is also referred to as “Diġirmaḥ my lady”; see Güterbock 1934:40–47; Yang Zhi 1989b. It may perhaps be more appropriately viewed as literary. The personal name ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-tud appears in a Late Sargonic field tax receipt (A 1121) from the Adab archive in Chicago published by Yang Zhi 1989a. A letter from this archive addressed to Šar-kali-šarri addresses him as “beloved of Diġirmaḥ” (ki-aġ<sub>2</sub> diġir-maḥ, A 874:4). Approximately 600 more Sargonic tablets from Adab are in Istanbul, see Yang Zhi 1989a:3.

15. ETCSL 2.2.6, Version 1 C9–14.

16. See Wilcke 1972:55–59.

17. RIME 4, E4.2.13.1002.

18. Limet 1968.

19. See Steible FAOS 5/2:189–91.

20. RIME 3/2.1.2.2004.

21. Sallaberger 1993, 1; table 88; pp. 100, 104.



rate shrine of her own, where her husband Šul-paed was honored too; and Nintud also received a (probably separate) cult there. But by Old Babylonian times, there seems to be virtually no evidence of the cult of a mother goddess under any of these names at Nippur.

The study of T. Richter (1999) covers the Isin-Larsa-Old Babylonian evidence of offerings and festivals at Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Larsa, and Ur. On the basis of this, Aruru seems unknown outside Keš and Adab during the whole of the Isin-Larsa-Old Babylonian period. For Old Babylonian Ur (continuing from Ur III times), there is some evidence of cults to a mother goddess under the names Ninḫursaġa and Ninmaḫ.<sup>22</sup> In Old Babylonian Isin there seems to be almost no trace of a cult of any mother goddess, and none at Old Babylonian Uruk.<sup>23</sup> However, in Old Babylonian Larsa, there is (limited) evidence for offerings to Ninḫursaġa in the reign of Sumu-el, and several indications of a cult to Diġirmaḫ during Rīm-Sîn's reign (continuing as late as Samsu-ilūna).<sup>24</sup> At least five *gudu*-priests of Diġirmaḫ act as witnesses in a Larsa document dated in Rīm-Sîn year 6, while at Nippur there were *gala*- and *gudu*-priests in a temple of Diġirmaḫ in the reign of Samsu-ilūna.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Barag-ule-Ĝara*

The cult of the minor god Barag-ule-ġara is of interest. Year name 6 of Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa refers to building work on the temple of Barag-ule-ġara at Adab (mu e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>barag-ul-e-ġar-ra šag<sub>4</sub> adab<sup>ki</sup> mu-un-du<sub>3</sub>-a). This deity is treated in the god-lists as a son of the syncretized mother goddess and is grouped with several other names, including Pap-niġin-ġara (<sup>d</sup>pap-niġin<sub>3</sub>-ġar-ra) together with his spouse Nin-pap-niġin-ġara.<sup>26</sup> Before Rīm-Sîn's work on the temple at Adab, the king appears also to have had a shrine established to Barag-ule-ġara at Zarbilum, located north or northeast of Larsa.<sup>27</sup> Evidently there was a relatively active cult of this deity in the Larsa area at the time. His cult was perhaps fused with that of Pap-niġin-ġara, although the two deities are named separately in compo-

22. Richter 1999:119ff. and 422f.

23. Richter 1999:215.

24. Richter 1999:331f.

25. Richter 1999:120 fn. 496.

26. Krebernik 1997, §4.3.6. Some details in Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 128–30. BM 96936 (CT 58 20) is a *balaġ* addressed to Nin-niġin-ġara (ga-ša-an-niġin<sub>3</sub>-ġar-ra), probably identical with Nin-pap-niġin-ġara. Possibly Barag-ul-e-ġar-ra is to be associated also with the deity or cult object <sup>d</sup>barag-<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-ġar-ra mentioned in connection with the E-maḫ in a Late Sargonic offering list from Adab; see Yang Zhi 1989a:383 A1092, as well as in UET 8 no. 53.

27. Richter 1999:333, fn. 1328; Van De Mierop 1993:51.

sition no. 5 below;<sup>28</sup> and with Pap-ule-ġara, who is connected with Diġirmaḫ and the shrine of Keš in the three Old Babylonian hymns composed in hymnic-epic register (no. 17 below).

In fact, the existence of a cult to Barag-ule-ġara in the kingdom of Larsa under Rīm-Sîn is of considerable relevance, since (as has not previously been noticed) in song(s) addressed to Aruru (no. 9 below) the deity Barag-ule-ġara is associated explicitly with Aruru and features as part of the entourage of his mother Aruru at Keš (not Adab); and the tablet concerned was dated in Rīm-Sîn year 9 (and was therefore written within the kingdom of Larsa). This seems to be the only mention of Barag-ule-ġara in a Sumerian literary context so far. It is tempting to conclude that there is a connection between the importance of the cult of Barag-ule-ġara from the very beginning of Rīm-Sîn's reign (the shrine at Zarbilum) until at least year 5 (sufficient to feature in the year name of the following year) and his mention in a religious song written down in Rīm-Sîn year 9. This may (by implication) indicate a cult of Aruru also in the Larsa region in this period.<sup>29</sup>

#### *The Songs of Aruru*

In mainstream Sumerian and Akkadian literature, the "mother goddess" figure is most commonly Ninḫursaġa or Nintud, occasionally referred to by the names Ninmaḫ or Aruru. The best-known examples are *Enki and Ninḫursaġa* (1.1.1) and *Enki and Ninmaḫ* (1.1.2). In *Enki and the World Order* (1.1.3) Nintud and Ninḫursaġa are named adjacently and may well be identical (77f.); and Aruru "Enlil's sister" is clearly identical with Nintud (395–96).<sup>30</sup> In *Enlil and Sud* (1.2.2), the title Nintud is bestowed on Enlil's sister Aruru.<sup>31</sup> In the Sumerian *Flood Story* (1.7.4), Nintud and Ninḫursaġa appear to be distinct. In Akkadian sources she is also called Bēlet-ilī or Mami.

It is certainly true that in these compositions, which may be considered to emanate from the "mainstream" (literary/school) background, and in the later Babylonian tradition, the several names of the mother goddess are used interchangeably or sequentially and synonymously. But this is not always the case. There exist some songs addressed to Aruru exclusively, or that mention Aruru and no other "mother goddess" names. All these use

28. The god-list An=Anum places them together (AA II 60–62).

29. This does not exclude the association of Ninmaḫ with Keš evidenced by the name of the third year of Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa (see Sigrist and Damerow 2001).

30. Ninḫursaġa is now seen not to be mentioned in these lines; cf. Sjöberg 1969:73.

31. Vers. A A71, 100, 146; Vers. B5.

the Emesal literary register.<sup>32</sup> In their way, they are among the most difficult of all Sumerian compositions to study, because most are written in a rhapsodic, mystical, and disconnected style that is almost impossible to translate (and because sometimes they also use a phonetic orthography)—even leaving aside the difficulties of the vocabulary and references, and their often fragmentary state.<sup>33</sup> There are some repeated phrases that are echoed among them. They can probably be considered as belonging within the tradition of cultic performance rather than within that of scribal education. Like most religious songs of the Emesal tradition, they are usually preserved in unique manuscripts; three, possibly four (nos. 4–7 below) are from Kiš, and two (nos. 2 and 9) are from Larsa.

In a study of the later, first-millennium Sumerian tradition of Nippur, W.W. Hallo (1989:246f.) briefly listed songs addressed to Aruru, commenting that this material “deserves treatment in its own right.” Here I have tried to build on his work by collecting the Old Babylonian songs together, and examining along with these certain other compositions either addressed principally to or concerning members of Aruru’s circle. The details are presented as Appendix A below. There do not appear to be any other hymns addressed to or involving “mother goddess” deities in the mainstream Sumerian literary corpus. None of the royal praise poetry is concerned with them; there is only the *tigi* to Nintud-Aruru (no. 10 below).

#### The “Character” of Aruru

The question that arises very clearly from consideration of these songs is whether Aruru can be described as really or originally a mother goddess. It would be very easy to assume that she is simply a form of “the mother goddess” and, therefore, shares all her characteristics.<sup>34</sup> However, examination of only those songs addressed to or mentioning exclusively Aruru (nos. 1–8 below) shows that none refers to her as a mother goddess at all.

In more detail, no. 1 refers only to lamenting, mentioning Aruru as the “older sister of Enlil.” She is clearly not identical with Ninmaḥ: “Ninmaḥ went to Aruru but could not calm her” (line 22).

32. The statement that a composition is “in Emesal” normally means only that certain Emesal forms are written, where such forms exist. But the density of usage of the Emesal register varies from composition to composition (or manuscript to manuscript) in ways that are not yet fully explicable. For example, no. 9 here (CT 36, 47–49) writes <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub> consistently, but not e-ne-eḡ<sub>3</sub> or de<sub>3</sub>- (for ḥe<sub>2</sub>-). Of course, it may depend also on the amount of women’s speech in the composition.

33. For the use of the term “phonetic,” see Black and Zólyomi, introduction to *ASJ* 22 (2000). Most of these compositions could benefit from collation and detailed new editions.

34. See in general Sjöberg 1969:72–73 and 161–63.

No. 2 is typical of the *balaḡ* idiom, with Aruru as the ama er<sub>2</sub>-ra “weeping woman” (lit. “mother of weeping”), and edin lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> “the haunted desert.” Note the apple tree (ḥašḥur, rev. 24).<sup>35</sup> According to the subscript, this composition is “a *balaḡ* of Diḡirmaḥ.”

No. 3 is an *eršema* lament, with Aruru described as queen of the foreign lands, of Zabalam and Larag. Unug is mentioned. Several times she is referred to as (ama-)mu-gi<sub>17</sub>-ib “mistress,” and also as Ezina-Kusu (line 8). Although Aruru is the only deity mentioned in nos. 2 and 3, the subscripts in both cases appear to identify her with Diḡirmaḥ. The references to Zabalam and Unug, and the titles mu-gi<sub>17</sub>-ib and ga-ša-an kur-kur, seem more appropriate to Inana.<sup>36</sup>

No. 4 mentions several shrines, including Ur. Aruru is called “older sister of Enlil” (nin<sub>9</sub><sup>1</sup> gal<sup>1</sup> mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>, obv. i 15). The tone is, again, that of lamentation. The desert (edin) is frequently referred to; poplars, date-palms, the thorny shrub *Prosopis furcata* and the alkaline plant *teme* are all mentioned (rev. iv 13–18).<sup>37</sup>

No. 5 is fragmentary, but on the obverse enumerates various deities worshipped in Adab. The beginning of the song to Aruru on the reverse mentions Enlil and “those days, those nights.” No. 6 is also extremely fragmentary, mentioning Aruru and Enlil.

No. 7 has frequent references to plants: poplars and date-palms, and again *prosopis* and *teme* plants (rev iv, 12–17). Aruru is again described as a powerful goddess (note especially “a bull in the rebel lands,” col. v 7; paralleled in no. 11, i 5–7), and as “sister of Enlil” (v 4). No. 8 also refers to the “sister of Enlil.”

Of the other songs, in which she is addressed as Aruru as well as by other names, no. 9 is addressed to Aruru, “older sister of Enlil” (line 2) and šag<sub>4</sub>-zu maḥ nin<sub>9</sub> gal-gal-la “exalted midwife of the Great Sisters” (line 3), but in this song she is addressed as Ninḥursaḡa, too. She is also called ama kalam-ma “mother of the Land” (ii 1) and ama-ḡu<sub>10</sub> “my mother.” In iii 28 Ezina-Kusu is mentioned; it is not entirely clear whether she is identical with Aruru, but this seems likely. In iii 29f. she “examines the exta” (cf. no. 7, col. ii, where Šul-paed is most likely to be the subject). In iv 10f. she is called ama zu<sub>2</sub>-lum-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> “mother of dates” and ama ḡi<sup>is</sup>ḥašḥur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> “mother of apples.” Both the *edin* and Aruru’s garden are constant themes in this composition, with the repeated phrase “The

35. The most recent discussion concludes that in third-millennium sources the ḥašḥur is likely “on balance” to be the apple; see Postgate 1987:116–19.

36. See Zgoll 1997.

37. In rev. iv 18 read [te]-me<sup>sar</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub>. For *prosopis* and *teme*, see Civil 1987:47ff. and Volk 1990:37 n. 54.



garden of Aruru is august terrain" (<sup>d</sup>a-ru<sub>13</sub>-a-ru<sub>13</sub> kiri<sub>6</sub>-ni gan<sub>2</sub> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>). The theme of destruction is frequent.

No. 10 (which belongs within the mainstream literary tradition and is written in Emegir with no Emesal forms) describes Nintud as "great mother of the foreign lands" (ama maḥ kur-kur-ra; cf. no. 3:5) who "gave birth" (tud) to various priests (en, lagar) and the king; she is also referred to by the name "lady Aruru of Keš."

No. 11 describes Aruru as a powerful goddess (using the images "bull in the rebel lands" and "viper"),<sup>38</sup> who has "killed" (the word is restored, but plausibly) the young shepherd in the fields, devastated the cattle pen and ruined the sheepfold (rev. 9f.). Here she is also addressed as Ninḥursaḡa. Again, prosopis, *teme*, the fruit tree *marmah*, and cedar are mentioned (rev. ii 18–21).<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusion

Particularly interesting in these songs is the apparent use of the title Ezina-Kusu for Aruru (nos. 3 and 8). <sup>d</sup>e zina<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> is usually a title of Nisaba in her aspect as a vegetation deity.<sup>40</sup> Conversely, in *A Hymn to Nisaba* (Nisaba A)(4.16.1), Nisaba is called by the title <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru kalam-ma "Aruru of the Land of Sumer."

The evidence suggests much more a powerful, violent goddess,<sup>41</sup> as well as one closely associated with vegetation (garden; apples, date-palms, dates, poplars, cedar, prosopis, *teme*, *marmah*), not a mother goddess concerned with human birth or creation. Mere use of the word ama ("mother," but also "female," "venerable woman") does not by any means imply a "mother goddess" in itself; after all, Inana is sometimes called "mother Inana" (ama <sup>d</sup>inana) although she is not in any sense a mother goddess.

38. I do not think I agree with the comments of Landsberger, *Fauna*, 57, on this passage: he proposed that the fragmentary reference was to Aruru as slayer of the muš-šag<sub>4</sub>-tur<sub>3</sub>, not as being identified with it.

39. For the *marmah* fruit tree, see Volk 1992:14f.

40. For the occurrence of this title or deity elsewhere in litanies in Sumerian cultic songs, see Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 54 ii 15, pp. 119–21 and 132–34. There is evidence of a cult of Ezina (Akk. Ašnan) in Ur III Nippur and Ur; see Richter 1999:134 and 358. It is possible that this is connected with the minor cult of the goddess Kusu in Old Babylonian Nippur; see Richter 1999:82.

41. Note too the description of Aruru "whose divine powers cannot be overturned, ..... an awesome tempest" (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru me sag<sub>2</sub> nu-di u<sub>13</sub>-lu ḥuš-a ḥe<sub>2</sub>-X) in ETCSL 2.5.3.4 *A namerima* (?) for Iddin-Dagan (Iddin-Dagan D). The phrase <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru me sag<sub>2</sub> nu-di is present on the left edge of the Ashmolean tablet 1937.646 and was copied by Gurney, but omitted by Kramer in the edition, OECT 5 no. 8; the last preserved section of the composition is supplied from a tablet in the University Museum, Philadelphia.

Also it is primarily Aruru who has the close connection with Enlil and who is regularly called the older sister of Enlil.<sup>42</sup> (In *Enlil and Sud*, Aruru is Enlil's older sister, but it is Sud [Enlil's bride] who becomes Ezina.)<sup>43</sup>

To summarize, I conclude that there exists a vestigial tradition of Aruru as a powerful goddess, associated with vegetation, and that this is preserved exclusively in songs in the Emesal register. (No. 10, notably, is quite distinct from these.) The tradition is not present in "mainstream" Sumerian narrative poetry in Emegir, nor in contemporary Old Babylonian Akkadian, nor in the later periods. It seems likely also that Diḡirmaḥ is mostly used as an epithet of this Aruru.

So probably Aruru should not be referred to vaguely as a "mother goddess." The only contexts in which she is referred to unequivocally as such (i.e., as mother of gods, or of humans, or as a divine midwife) are when she is mentioned with other goddesses or with other names, i.e., in contexts where she is syncretized with those mother goddesses. Otherwise, she is likely to have been a (minor) goddess of Keš, Adab, and perhaps Iri-saḡrig (Āl-šarrākī). Perhaps she still had her own cult there in Old Babylonian times, where her own characteristics were emphasized, especially the association with certain plants. Aruru could be a pre-Sumerian name, but it is incautious to speculate about that; the name is not attested in any source before Ur III. Her cult was (I propose) assimilated to the cult of Ninḥursaḡa of Keš and Adab and thereby she became a mother goddess. A thousand years later, when she appears in tablet I of the Standard Babylonian epic of Gilgameš as the creator of Enkidu, Aruru is merely another name for the generic "mother goddess."

### APPENDIX A

The surviving songs addressed to Aruru are as follows.

1. Song to Aruru, in Emesal. The goddess is addressed only as Aruru in this 41-line composition. A goddess Ninmaḥ is mentioned, but it is clear that here this name refers to a deity separate from Aruru, obv. 18ff.:

42. See also Sjöberg 1969:74. However, the title "sister of Enlil" is not restricted to Aruru, and as early as the late Early Dynastic "Barton Cylinder," Ninḥursaḡa is unequivocally referred to by it (ii 1–6): igi zid gal an-na / nin gal <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saḡ / igi zid gal an-na / nin gal <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub> / <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saḡ-ra (note the phonetic spelling of egir<sub>2</sub> as igi and nin<sub>3</sub> as nin); see Alster and Westenholz 1994:18. If Krebernik is correct that the UD.GAL.NUN fragment IAS 174 is a parallel to this same passage, then the title "older sister" (written nin gal) occurs even earlier (Krebernik 1997 §4.3).

43. ETCSL 1.2.2: version A:A158 = version B:17. Compare the interpretations by Civil and Lambert in Civil 1983:64, 66.

An went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Enlil went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Ninlil went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Enki went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Ninmaḥ (<sup>d</sup>nin-maḥ) went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Nanna went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 Utu went to Aruru but could not calm her.  
 The Anuna went to her.

The temple E-maḥ and the city of Keš are also mentioned.

The tablet (recorded as Tablet 45), probably from Nippur, is in Philadelphia, and was published by S.H. Langdon as PBS 10/2, 2 and pp. 115–17; see also M. Witzel, *Tammuz*, 302–5.

2. *balaḡ* to Aruru, in Emesal. Aruru is the only deity mentioned in the preserved part of the composition, apart from the subscript *balaḡ diḡir-maḥ* “a *balaḡ* of Diḡirmaḥ.” Parts of the 3rd, 4th, 8th, 9th, and 10th *kirugus* are preserved. The god Lil, one of her sons, is also mentioned, as are the temple E-maḥ and the city of Keš.

The tablet, said to be from Larsa, was published by V. Scheil in *RA* 17 (1920): 45–50 without any indication of a museum number. Its current whereabouts must be considered uncertain.<sup>44</sup> See also Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 142, and M. Witzel, *Tammuz*, 218–22. In Black 1987:76, I was unable to relate it to any otherwise known *balaḡ* compositions.

3. *eršema* to Aruru, in Emesal. Aruru is the only goddess mentioned in the preserved part of the 50-line composition, apart from the subscript [...] *er-se-ma diḡir-maḥ* [...] “an *eršema* of Diḡirmaḥ” (phonetic orthography). The temple E-maḥ is mentioned, as are the cities of Zabalam and Larag; the goddess is called “queen of the foreign lands” ([ga]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-an kur-kur, l. 5; cf. no. 10:6) and also referred to by the titles Ezina-kusu and Gašan-ašte.<sup>45</sup>

The tablet (O.17), of unknown provenance, is in Brussels, and was published by Speleers in *RIAA*, no. 189 (p. 19); see also Zimmern, *ZA* 32 (1918/19): 56–57 and Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 119. At my request, Dr. Anne Goddeeris was kind enough to collate the tablet. The text has recently been republished by H. Limet, *Akkadica* 117, p. 19 (with editions on pp. 3–8).

44. Mme. Béatrice André-Salvini was kind enough to inform me that it is not in the Louvre’s collections.

45. For this title (= \*Nin-guza), associated with Larag, see Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 131f. On pp. 119–34 Krecher shows the similarity of this passage to certain litanies in other cult songs.

4. Song to Aruru, in Emesal. Aruru is the only deity mentioned in the (substantially complete) text, apart from her spouse Šul-paed. The temples called E-maḥ in both Keš and Adab are mentioned, and Ur.

The tablet, from Kiš, is in the Louvre, and was published as PRAK B 471. See also Yang Zhi 1989a:81–83. One passage in the text (rev. iv 4–18) duplicates part of no. 7 (rev. iv 3–17, written in phonetic orthography); lines rev. iv 16–18 also duplicate no. 11 rev. ii. 18’–19’.

5. Song(s) to Aruru, in Emesal(?). Parts of 11 lines are preserved on the obverse. Falkenstein 1962:23 n. 78 refers to the enumeration of deities worshipped in Adab mentioned in obv. lines 4–9, including <sup>d</sup>lu<sub>2</sub>-lil, <sup>d</sup>zu<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub>-mu, <sup>d</sup>za-ar-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>, <sup>daš</sup>aš<sub>7</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>, <sup>d</sup>pa<sub>5</sub>-niḡin<sub>3</sub>-[ḡar-ra] and (separately) <sup>d</sup>barag-ul-e-[ḡar-ra], <sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>, and <sup>d</sup>dam-ki-na.<sup>46</sup>

On the reverse, 2 lines of text are followed by a ruling, and then:

\_\_\_\_\_  
<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru me-e [...]
   
ud re ud re ḡi<sub>6</sub> re <sup>r</sup>ḡi<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup> [re ...]
   
[X] a mi e mu-un-[...]
   
[X X <sup>d</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-le [...]
   
[...] im-me uru<sub>2</sub> X [...]
   
[...] im-me X [...]
   
[...] X [...]
   
(unknown no. of lines missing)

This section, at any rate, is likely to be a fragmentary song to Aruru. Enlil is the only other deity mentioned.

The tablet, from Kiš, is in the Louvre, and was published as PRAK C 56. De Genouillac described it as “Fragment religieux sémitique: pourrait être un hymne à Aruru qui est nommé au revers” (p. 37). Rev. 4’ parallels no. 9 i 26–7.<sup>47</sup>

6. Song(s) to Aruru, in Emesal. The preserved text has two lines followed by a ruling, then a 15-line section beginning: [...]’edin<sup>1</sup>-na ki X [...], followed by a further ruling. Six lines of the next section are preserved, beginning: [... <sup>d</sup>a-ru]-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> [...]. On the reverse, 7 lines are preserved, ending la-ba-an-ḡul-e (indented). After a double ruling and colophon (<sup>r</sup>lu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> TUG<sub>2</sub> X (X) KA.KEŠ<sub>2</sub>), there is a catchline (?): [(...)]<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru-<sup>r</sup>ke<sub>4</sub>?<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru [...]; cf. the incipits of no. 9, a <sup>d</sup>a-ru<sub>13</sub>-ru<sub>13</sub> e <sup>d</sup>a-

46. <sup>d</sup>zu-ur-mu-zar-mu is apparently one deity in An=Anum, see Krebernik 1997 §4.3.21.

47. This passage consists of the standard phrase “Since those days, since those distant days, since those nights, since those distant nights”; see Black 1992:93–95.

ru<sub>13</sub>-ru<sub>13</sub> and of no. 7 v 3ff., <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru 'a' <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru. The remainder is blank. The tablet appears to contain a song or songs to Aruru in at least three sections. Apart from Aruru, Enlil is mentioned.

The one-column tablet, VAT 3589, probably from northern Babylonia, was published by H. Zimmern as VS 10 173. In addition to the main piece there are 29 small fragments. It was assigned by Zimmern to the group of less carefully made tablets with one or two compositions only, which he regarded as possibly school tablets (Tafelgattung B).

7. Song(s) to Aruru, in Emesal. In the preserved text, there are rulings at the end of col. iii (end of the obverse) and on the reverse after col. v line 2. The goddess's husband Šul-paed is mentioned in the text on the obverse, the whole of which could be a single song addressed to him. On the reverse, parts of at least two songs are preserved: iv 1ff. (i-lu X [...] X[X] X X [(...)] and v 3ff. (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru 'a' <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru). In these the goddess is addressed principally as Aruru, and twice as Diğirmaḥ. Her temples E-maḥ in both Keš and Adab are also mentioned.

The three-column tablet (1930-362), from Ingharra, Kiš, is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a copy was published by Gurney and Kramer as OECT 5, no. 10 and plate I. I have collated this tablet, and a transliteration and partial translation is presented below. Some of the text is written in phonetic orthography; the scribe's hand was poor and some signs are badly formed. See also Yang Zhi 1989a:81–83. One passage in the text (rev. iv 3–17, in phonetic orthography) duplicates part of no. 4 (rev. iv 4–18), and lines rev. iv 15–17 also duplicate no. 11, rev. ii 18'–19'. Another passage (rev. v 5–7) parallels no. 11, i 5–7 (see TCS 3:187). For the incipit of the section v 3ff., cf. the catchline of no. 6.

8. *eršema* to Aruru, in Emesal. The preserved text of 58 lines is followed by the subscript er<sub>2</sub>-šem<sub>5</sub><sup>?</sup>-ma <sup>d</sup>X [...]; Zimmern, in ZA 32 (1918/19): 57–58, could not read the name of the deity to whom the composition is addressed. However, it is probable that in line 4 [<sup>d</sup>a-ru]-ru nin<sub>9</sub><sup>!</sup> <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-[lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ...] is to be read (not <sup>d</sup>am <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-[lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>], as Zimmern), on the basis of other contexts where Aruru is described as the sister of Enlil.<sup>48</sup>

The tablet (O.53), of unknown provenance, is in Brussels, and was published by Speleers in RIAA, no. 203 (p. 21); see also Zimmern, ZA 32 (1918/19): 57–58 and Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 81. The text recently has been republished by H. Limet, *Akkadica* 117, p. 20 (with editions on pp. 8–14).

In nos. 9–13 below, the goddess is referred to by various names, including Aruru.<sup>49</sup>

48. So already Falkenstein 1962:15 n. 23.

49. In addition, Aruru is named among other goddesses in litanies, for example in the fragment VS 2 23:5; see Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, 207.

9. Song(s) to Aruru in Emesal; there are at least eight sections separated by rulings. The mother goddess is referred to mostly as Aruru in this 122-line composition; but also three times as Ninḫursaġa. She is mentioned together with (but only possibly equated with) Nintud (iii 14).<sup>50</sup> Her sons, the deities Ašgi and Barag-ule-ġara (<sup>d</sup>barag-ul-e-ġar-ra, iii 30), are also mentioned, as is the city of Keš. Note the unusual spellings of Aruru's name <sup>d</sup>a-ru<sub>13</sub>-a-ru<sub>13</sub> (i 38f.) and <sup>d</sup>a-ru<sub>12</sub>-a-ru<sub>12</sub> (ii 5f.).

The tablet (BM 96681), dated Rim-Sîn year 9, is from the kingdom of Larsa. It was published as CT 36, 47–50, and was collated and edited by S.N. Kramer as "Keš and Its Fate: Laments, Blessings, Omens" (1971); collated again by JAB. There is a photo in RA 65 (1971): 181–83. For the incipit, cf. the catchline of no. 6. obv. i 26–27 parallels no. 5, rev. 4." Rev. ii 15 parallels no. 11 obv. 10–11.

10. *tigi* to Nintud / Aruru, written in Emegir with no Emesal forms. The tightly structured 42-line composition is divided into sa-gi<sub>2</sub>-da and sa-ġar-ra sections, with the subscript: tigi [<sup>d</sup>]nin-tu-ra-kam "a *tigi* of Nintud." Throughout, the mother goddess is referred to repeatedly as Nintud (21 times + subscript) and only twice (in lines 1 and 4) as Aruru, evidently synonymously; the subject-matter primarily concerns giving birth.

The tablet (HS 1606a), possibly from Nippur, is in Jena, and was published as TMH NF 4, 86; it was edited by Wilcke in AS 20 (1976), 235–39 and Kollationen 85; more recently ETCSL 4.26.1. This "mainstream" composition (not in Emesal) survived into the later tradition. An almost identical later (first-millennium) version exists of it, on a tablet in five fragments (rejoined) from Nineveh with an Aššurbanipal colophon (identified independently by Civil and Hallo), which were published by S.H. Langdon [as BL 95 (= K.6110), BL 97 (= K.7787), BL 102 (= K.2489), BL 111 (K.9040) and BL 127 (= K.13557); treated by Wilcke as variants to the Old Babylonian text]. The Nineveh tablet has been copied and discussed by Hallo 1989.

11. Song to Aruru, in Emesal; the 45 lines preserved represent less than half of the original. The mother goddess is addressed initially as Aruru, and subsequently several times as Ninḫursaġa. A reference to "your Atu" may imply one of the deities Atu-gula or Atu-banda, both regarded as children of the mother goddess. The city of Keš is mentioned.

50. The line reads: <sup>d</sup>nin-ḫur-saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-ulu<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-tud <sup>d</sup>nin-tud-ra / šu-zu im-ma-an-šum<sub>2</sub> "He has placed mankind in your hands, O Ninḫursaġa (?), Nintud, Nintud!" Kramer translated: "Ninḫursag, he has placed mankind (fashioned by) the Nintu-goddesses in your hand" (Kramer 1971:173). However, the second <sup>d</sup>nin-tud-ra here is written on the edge of the tablet, and Sjöberg 1969:73 fn. 34 plausibly regarded this as accidental dittography and translated: "Ninḫursaġa gave mankind ..... to Nintu."

The tablet (MMA no. 86.11.62), of uncertain provenance, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and was first published by John A. Maynard as "A Lamentation to Aruru" (1919); see also Landsberger, *Fauna* 57. It has been completely re-edited by K. Volk as "No. 1, An Old Babylonian Hymn," in CTMMA 2 (forthcoming).<sup>51</sup> Volk notes that it contains features typical of an Old Babylonian *balaḡ* (though there is no subscript to confirm this). Col. i 5–7 parallels no. 7 (OECT 5) rev. v 5–7; i 10–11 parallels no. 9 rev. ii 15; and rev. ii 18'–19' duplicates no. 7 rev. iv 15–17 and no. 4 rev. iv 16–18.

12. The temple hymns. In the seventh hymn, to the temple of Ninḫursaḡa of Keš, the deities Ninḫursaḡa, Nintud, and Aruru "sister of Enlil" are mentioned in such a way as to imply that all three are identical. In the 29th, to the temple of Ninḫursaḡa at Adab, Ninḫursaḡa and Nintud are mentioned together, along with Ašgi (the goddess's son). See Sjöberg 1969:72. ETCSL 4.80.1:363–78.

13. Hymn to the goddess Mama in Old Babylonian Akkadian (hymnic-epic register). She is addressed as Mama (<sup>d</sup>ma-ma) and as Aruru (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru), and by the epithet *bé-le-et* GA-ZU-tim ša-du-i u<sub>3</sub> ḫu-ur-sa-ni (iii 12', 14') "lady of the savage ones" (so AHW)? Perhaps "mistress of gypsum(?), of mountains and hills" (see Wasserman 2003:47). The city of Keš is mentioned as her home.

The tablet (HS 175, now HS 1884), of unknown provenance, is in Jena and is unpublished. I am grateful to Prof. Manfred Krebernik for information. See von Soden 1957/8:119 and 1958:132.

In the following compositions, Aruru is not mentioned, but the subject-matter concerns the "mother goddess" under other names, and/or other deities of her circle.

14. Song in Emesal about the mother goddess; 37 lines; fragmentary. The name of Diḡirmaḡ is preserved in the subscript, [...] diḡir-maḡ-a-kam [...] "... of Diḡirmaḡ"; other names, including Ninḫursaḡa, occur in the body of the composition. Possibly an *eršema*.

The tablet (VAT 5448), perhaps from northern Babylonia (?), is in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, and was published as VS 10, 198. See also Kramer, *JCS* 18:46 and Jacobsen 1973:283.

15. Song in Emesal about the mother goddess. The only deity's name that actually occurs in the almost completely preserved text is that of Ninḫursaḡa in the subscript, er<sub>2</sub>-šem<sub>3</sub>-ma <sup>d</sup>nin-ḫur-saḡ-ḡa<sub>2</sub> "eršema to Ninḫursaḡa."

51. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Volk for letting me see his manuscript.

The tablet (BM 98396), of unknown provenance, is in the British Museum and was published as CT 58, 5 and edited by S.N. Kramer as "BM 98396: A Sumerian Prototype of the *Mater-dolorosa*" (1982).

16. Lament in Emesal addressed to the god Lu-lil (written m-u-lu-lil), a son of the mother goddess, by one of his sisters, Egir-ME (egir<sub>2</sub>-me), whose name appears elsewhere as Egir-la (egir<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>), see Moran 1976:340–42. The mother goddess is mentioned under the names Ninmaḡ and Ninḫursaḡa only. Her temples called E-maḡ in both Keš and Adab are mentioned, as are Aški (another son) and Atu-banda (another daughter).

The tablet (AO 3023), of unknown provenance, but probably dating from the "Isin period" (so Thureau-Dangin), is in the Louvre, and was published by Thureau-Dangin as "La passion du dieu Lillu" (1922). See also Falkenstein 1962:24; Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, 159–60, sub 7, and Yang Zhi 1989a:81–83.

17. Three songs addressed to Pap-ule-ḡara, a son of the mother goddess, in Old Babylonian Akkadian (hymnic-epic register), described at the beginning and in the subscript as: 1 *pārum ana Pap-ule-gara*, 2 *zamār tanittim ana Pap-ule-gara*, 3 *zamār Pap-ule-gara*. The city of Keš is mentioned, and in the third song (vi 21f.):

a-na <sup>d</sup>KA.KI ga-gi-a-am li-še<sub>20</sub>-e-pi-iš  
a-na dingir-maḡ li-še<sub>20</sub>-pi-iš re-e-ma-am

"Let him have a cloister built for <sup>d</sup>KA.KI, let him have a dwelling built for Diḡirmaḡ," suggesting that these two deities are to be identified with each other. A goddess <sup>d</sup>KA.KI is otherwise unknown; possibly <sup>d</sup>KA.DI (Ištaran) was intended.

The tablet, of unknown provenance, was published by T.G. Pinches as "Hymns to Pap-ule-gara" (1924), and is now registered at the British Museum as BM 139964 (1985-10-6,1), acquired as part of the Amherst Collection (see Finkel 1996). See also Groneberg 1972:14 and Römer/Hecker 1989:728–31.

18. hymn to Bēlet-ilī in Old Babylonian Akkadian (hymnic-epic register). Bēlet-ilī is also addressed as Mama; Lillum, Šakkan and Ištara are mentioned.

The tablet (BM 87535), of unknown provenance, is in the British Museum, and was published as CT 15, 1–2 and edited by Römer 1967:12–28. See also Groneberg 1972:11.

19. Hymn to Adad in Old Babylonian Akkadian (hymnic-epic register). It concerns Adad and Bēlet-ilī.

The tablet (BM 93828), of unknown provenance, is in the British Museum, and was published as CT 15, 3–4, and edited by Römer 1967:185–99.

20. The Keš temple hymn. The goddess is referred to mostly as Nintud, occasionally as Ninḥursaġa. Her son Ašgi is also prominent in this composition. The names Aruru, Diġirmaḥ, and Ninmaḥ are not mentioned. See Gragg in Sjöberg 1969, esp. pp. 157–64; also Geller, ZA 86 (1996): 68–79; ETCSL 4.80.2.

21. Old Sumerian *zame* hymns from Abū Šalābiḥ. The hymn to Nintud of Keš mentions only the name Nintud, see Biggs 1974:45–56, esp. p. 48, lines 75–77.

22. Cult song, in Emesal. (Part of) the second *kiruġu* is preserved. It includes references to the “sister of Enlil” (three times, written NIN; to be understood as referring to Aruru), and to a “deserted temple” (e<sub>2</sub>-e lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>).

The tablet, from Uruk, was published by A. Cavigneaux (1966: 70, no. 135), with a copy by A. Falkenstein. Only a tiny fragment of the upper right corner is preserved.

#### Appendix B

Transliteration of no. 7, song(s) to Šul-paed and Aruru (Ash. 1930-362 = OECT 5:10). The tablet was collated by JAB (and I am grateful for some helpful observations made by Gábor Zólyomi). I estimate that approximately the upper half of the tablet is preserved. Eighty lines of text survive, so it can be estimated that the tablet contained originally up to 288 lines, and may have included more than three compositions. Certain rulings survive on the preserved portions, as indicated, to mark breaks between sections or compositions.

OBV.

(i) (unknown no. of lines missing)

(ii) (unknown no. of lines missing)

- 1 [...] X X bu<sup>?</sup> [...]
- 2 [...] X še<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup> maš<sub>2</sub> šu mu-un-<sup>?</sup>gi-/ di
- 3 [...] AŠ<sup>?</sup> DU-a-ba <sup>?</sup>maš<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> šu mu-un-gi-/ di
- 4 [...] ni AŠ DU-ba-ba maš<sub>2</sub> šu mu-un-gi-/ di
- 5 [...] X-ka-na maš<sub>2</sub> šu <sup>?</sup>mu-un<sup>?</sup>-gi-di
- 6 [...] <sup>?</sup>DU<sup>?</sup>-a-na <sup>?</sup>maš<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> [š<sup>?</sup>u mu-un]-<sup>?</sup>gi<sup>?</sup>-di
- 7 [...] <sup>?</sup>IG<sup>?</sup> meš<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup> a <sup>?</sup>ka<sup>?</sup> [...] <sup>?</sup>bi<sup>?</sup>
- 8 [...] IG meš<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup> a ka X [X] X X [X]
- 9 [...] X <sup>?</sup>bu<sup>?</sup> maš<sub>2</sub> šu gid<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup>maš<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> za-ta X / <sup>?</sup>šu<sup>?</sup> [(...)]

- 10 [...] X maš<sub>2</sub> šu<sup>?</sup> mi-ni-gi-da-a
- 11 [...] ta<sup>?</sup> a me me ri zu / šu<sup>?</sup> la
- 12 [...] X mu ḥu-mu-kuš<sub>2</sub><sup>\*</sup>-u<sub>3</sub> za a na-aġ<sub>2</sub> / ḥu-mu-kuš<sub>2</sub><sup>\*</sup>-u<sub>3</sub>

(iii)

(unknown no. of lines missing)

- 1 [...] X X [...]
- 2 X [...] X še ka [...]
- 3 iti<sup>?</sup> [...] X sar<sup>?</sup>-ra <sup>?</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> pad<sup>?</sup> [...]
- 4 e<sub>2</sub> ga sa ka ra zu saġ<sup>?</sup> [...] <sup>?</sup>gi<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>
- 5 lugal<sup>?</sup> šaġ<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> kur-kur-ra-me-en mu-zu ḥé-pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
- 6 šaġ<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> tuku<sup>\*</sup> igi du<sub>8</sub>-a ġal<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-zu zid-de<sub>3</sub>-eš-<sup>?</sup>am<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup>
- 7 ul<sup>?</sup>\* bi tur<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup> ga<sup>\*</sup> a nam ba-ni-ib-tar-re
- 8 <sup>?</sup>ur-saġ<sup>?</sup> <sup>?</sup>šul-pa-ed<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>3</sub><sup>\*</sup> im šu daġal-<sup>?</sup>la<sup>?</sup>
- 9 ul<sup>?</sup>\* bi amaš<sup>\*</sup> ga<sup>\*</sup> a nam ba-ni-ib-tar-re
- 10 u<sub>3</sub> al/MES<sup>?</sup> la<sub>2</sub> lugal<sup>?</sup>-ġu<sub>10</sub> amaš<sup>?</sup>\* im<sup>\*</sup> šu<sup>\*</sup> daġal<sup>\*</sup>-la
- 11 ud<sup>?</sup>\* a-ri-a a ri-ḥu-tum-ma
- 12 ia-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>?</sup> ud<sup>?</sup>\* a-ri-a a ri-ḥu-tum-ma

REV.

(iv)

- 1 i-lu X [...] X [X] X X [(...)]
- 2 uru<sub>2</sub>-me-a gi saġ zu ni ma / zu<sup>?</sup> X [(...)]
- 3 <sup>?</sup>a-ru-ru e<sub>2</sub>-zu e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>
- 4 diġir-maḥ uru<sub>2</sub>-zu uru<sub>2</sub> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>
- 5 <sup>?</sup>a-ru-ru-am<sub>3</sub> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>
- 6 diġir-maḥ dam<sup>\*</sup>(error for: nin<sup>?</sup>)-zu nin<sup>\*</sup> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>
- 7 e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> a-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>?</sup>\* aš mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup>
- 8 še-eb uru<sub>2</sub> keš<sub>2</sub><sup>\*</sup>-ka<sup>\*</sup>-zu
- 9 še-eb a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-ka-zu
- 10 a gu<sub>3</sub> i dim-gal-a-zu
- 11 e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-zu
- 12 a-sa-al du-a-ta
- 13 ni-mi-mar<sup>?</sup>(source: rad) du-a-ta
- 14 tug<sub>2</sub>/eš<sub>2</sub><sup>\*</sup> mu ki a du-a-ta
- 15 kiš<sub>16</sub>-kiš<sub>16</sub> tur-a-ta
- 16 kiš<sub>16</sub>-kiš<sub>16</sub> maḥ-a-ta
- 17 kiš<sub>16</sub>-kiš<sub>16</sub> de-me-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-a-ta
- 18 e<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> i-sig<sub>7</sub>-sig<sub>7</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> <sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup> X X
- 19 e<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> i-sig<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup>-sig<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup>-ga<sup>\*</sup> e<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>\*</sup> X [...]

- 20 gud gal-gal mu-ra-za-gin<sub>7</sub>\* 'gud\* mu' [...]  
 21 'e<sub>2</sub><sup>21</sup>-muš<sub>3</sub> za-gin<sub>3</sub>-ta za-gin<sub>7</sub>\* 'mu' X [...]  
 22 [...]'da' lu<sub>2</sub> zu/ur/šag<sub>4</sub>\* za-gin<sub>7</sub> X X [...]  
 23 [...] ru lu/ur<sup>2\*</sup> za X mu [...]  
 24 X X [X] X [...]

(unknown no. of lines missing)

(v)

- 1 šag<sub>4</sub>-zu šag<sub>4</sub> a-a-zu/ma<sup>2</sup> gid<sub>2</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> X-bi ḥa-ma-gi-gi  
 2 ama tud-da a-a di uru<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> e<sub>2</sub> 'ki'-bi ḥa-ma-gi-gi
- 
- 3 <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru 'a' <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru  
 4 egi<sub>2</sub>(SAL+EŠ<sub>2</sub>)\* zid gal an-na [(X)] 'nin<sub>9</sub>\* gal\*<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>  
 5 <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru mu-lu 'nu-a'<sup>1</sup>-ni me si 'nu'<sup>1</sup>-a  
 6 <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru mu-lu zig<sub>3</sub>-ga-ni mar-'uru<sub>5</sub> zig<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ga  
 7 gu<sub>3</sub>-da ki 'bal'-X ušumgal 'šu'<sup>1</sup> X X nu-a  
 8 li<sup>2</sup> X sig<sub>9</sub>-ga X la<sub>2</sub> mu X X 'du'<sup>21</sup> X  
 9 X X ra ḥur-saḡ-ḡa<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub> X ba<sup>2</sup>-ir<sup>2</sup>-a  
 10 X bi DU gu nim\* ba-an-da gu<sup>2\*</sup> X a  
 11 [X] gu u<sub>2</sub> gid<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>-da-zu<sup>2\*</sup> e bu ri a X (X)  
 12 [X (X)] X šag<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup> /ru<sup>2\*</sup>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> in ga 5 mu in ga [X (X)]  
 13 [...] X kug-ga tuku<sup>2</sup> /kiḡ<sub>2</sub>\* na il<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> /suḥuš bi DU ga<sup>2\*</sup> 'a'  
 14 [...] X X šu bi<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ma-ab-du<sub>7</sub>  
 15 [...] bi tuš<sup>2</sup> a-bi nu-'na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 16 [...] ba<sup>2</sup> še-bi nu-'gu<sub>7</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 17 [...] ur<sub>2</sub> saḡ<sup>2</sup> bi X X [X (X)]  
 18 [...] X 'ba<sup>2\*</sup> al bi<sub>2</sub>-in<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 19 [...] X [...]  
 20 [...] X

(unknown no. of lines missing)

(vi)

- 1 [...] X-zu<sup>2</sup>  
 2 [...] X-zu<sup>2</sup>  
 3 [...] 'a'-zu<sup>2</sup>  
 4 [...] ri ni a-zu<sup>2</sup>  
 5 [...] zu<sup>2</sup>-me-en igi mu-zu  
 6 [...] [lu<sub>2</sub>/lugal<sup>21</sup>-zu  
 7 [...] [lu<sub>2</sub>/lugal<sup>21</sup>-zu  
 8 [...] X

- 9 [...] mu ba<sup>2</sup> 'na<sup>21</sup>  
 10 [...] šu mu ba  
 11 [...] x zu<sup>2</sup> X  
 12 [...] X  
 (unknown no. of lines missing)

ATTEMPTED TRANSLATION (PARTIAL ONLY)

OBV.

(i)

(unknown no. of lines missing)

(ii)

(unknown no. of lines missing)

(1 line fragmentary)

- 2 ..... he will examine the exta .....  
 3 ..... he will examine the exta .....  
 4 ..... he will examine the exta .....  
 5 ..... he will examine the exta .....  
 6 ..... he will examine .....  
 (2 lines fragmentary)  
 9 ..... diviner .....  
 (2 lines fragmentary)  
 12 ..... may he become weary ..... may he become weary .....

(iii)

(unknown no. of lines missing)

(3 lines fragmentary)

(1 line unclear)

- 5 You are the merciful king of the foreign lands; may your name be called upon.  
 6 ..... merciful .....; your name is righteous.  
 7 ..... he will determine the fate .....  
 8 Warrior Šul-paed ..... cattle pen .....  
 9 ..... sheepfold ..... he will determine the fate .....  
 10 ..... my king ..... sheepfold .....  
 (2 lines unclear)

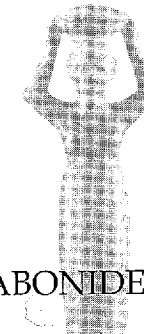
- OBV.  
(iv)
- 1 A lament .....
  - 2 In our (?) city .....
  - 3 Aruru, your house is the E-maḥ.
  - 4 Diḡirmaḥ, your city is an exalted city.
  - 5 It is Aruru who is the exalted one!
  - 6 Diḡirmaḥ, your lady (?), is an exalted lady.
  - 7 How the palace of Keš is ..... for you!
  - 8 Your brick-built city of Keš,
  - 9 Your brick-built Adab,
  - 10 On the river bank, your mooring post,
  - 11 E-maḥ of your Adab.
  - 12 Among the planted poplar trees .....
  - 13 Among the planted palm trees .....
  - 14 Among the planted .....
  - 15 Among the low prosopis (?) plants,
  - 16 Among the tall prosopis (?) plants,
  - 17 Among the prosopis (?) plants overturned like *teme* plants,
  - 18 It is very pleasant as a house, as a house .....
  - 19 It is very pleasant as a house, as a house .....
  - 20 Great bulls .....
- (1 line unclear)  
(3 lines fragmentary)  
(unknown no. of lines missing)
- (v)
- 1 Your heart, your father's (?) heart: may he restore the temple for me!
  - 2 The mother who bore, the father who .....: may he restore the city  
and temple for me!
- 
- 3 Aruru, ah Aruru!
  - 4 Good great princess of An, older sister of Enlil!
  - 5 When Aruru lies down, slander rests,
  - 6 When Aruru rises up, a hurricane rises,
  - 7 A bull in the rebel lands, a dragon .....
- (1 line fragmentary)
- 9 ..... in the hills .....
- (1 line fragmentary)
- 11 ..... your long grass .....
- (2 lines unclear)

- (1 line fragmentary)
- 15 ..... not drink its water .....
  - 16 ..... not eat its grain .....
- (4 lines fragmentary)  
(unknown no. of lines missing)
- (vi)
- 1 ..... your .....
  - 2 ..... your .....
  - 3 ..... your .....
  - 4 ..... your (?) .....
  - 5 ..... your .....
  - 6 ..... your .....
  - 7 ..... your .....
- (5 lines fragmentary)  
(unknown no. of lines missing)

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## ŠULGI, NABONIDE, ET LES GRECS

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A L'ENTERREMENT DE Šulgi, on chanta sans doute de longues déplorations, et on vit son étoile apparaître au ciel<sup>1</sup>, mais tout n'était pas dit. Par ses œuvres littéraires, auxquelles Jacob Klein a consacré tant d'importantes éditions, Šulgi avait lui-même travaillé à son mémorial. Qu'en ont fait les générations qui se sont succédées au cours des 2000 ans à venir, avant l'oubli de 2000 ans qui devait suivre? Un texte comme TIM 9, 35<sup>2</sup> montre que les scribes ont étudié ses inscriptions, comme celles des rois d'Akkad, et qu'on s'en est servi pour l'éducation. Pour le reste, les sources écrites sont assez peu nombreuses.

En dehors de la Liste Royale Sumérienne, qui n'ajoute aucun commentaire pour ce règne, Šulgi semble avoir laissé une image parfois négative, celle peut-être que laissent les règnes trop longs. Un petit nombre d'apodoses hépatoscopiques le mentionnent, entre autres le foie de Mari n° 5: *amūt šul-gi šá a-ga-a-šu in-TI-NI (in-dì-u<sub>x</sub>?)* "présage de Šulgi, qui laissa tomber (?) sa couronne"<sup>3</sup>. On rencontre quelques autres mentions de Šulgi dans les traités divinatoires<sup>4</sup> et dans la Lettre apocryphe d'un roi d'Isin<sup>5</sup>; mais nous en reparlerons. Nous possédons aussi un texte remarquable, difficile à comprendre mais suggérant bien de quelle manière la légende de

1. Voir M. Yoshikawa, *Acta Sumerologica* 9 (1987): 320–21; C. Wilcke, "Šulgis Himmelfahrt", *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 1 (1988): 250.
2. D.R. Frayne, *RIME* (1997) 3/2.1.2.38 (pp. 145–46).
3. M. Rutten, *RA* 35 (1940/41): 55; J.-W. Meyer, *Untersuchungen zu den Tonlebermodellen*, AOAT 39 (1987), 194.
4. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947): 259–60.
5. Ou "Chronique Weidner", A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5 (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1975), Chronique 19, pour laquelle l'édition de référence est maintenant F.N.H. Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 52 (1990): 1–13.



Šulgi s'est maintenue, avec la Prophétie de Šulgi<sup>6</sup>, rédigée peut-être vers l'époque de Nabuchodonosor I. Le texte le plus récent que je connaisse a été publié par H. Hunger, SpTU 1,2<sup>7</sup>. En voici la traduction:

- (1) [Par la parole d'Anu et d'Antu] puisse tout ce que j'entreprends réussir et puissé-je en profiter pleinement.
  - (2) [A Ur(?)] le roi Ur-Namma exerça 18 ans.
- 
- (3) [Š]ulgi, roi d'Ur, fils d'Ur-Namma,
  - (4) exerça la [ro]yauté sur tous les pays
  - (5) Il domina [...]bangar et Rabsisi, rois du pays de Subartu.
  - (6) Il(?) pillà (/ils pillèrent) les [...] du pays ennemi<sup>8</sup>
  - (7) [Les bi]ens de l'Esagil et de Babylone il fit sortir par sacrilège (*šillatu*)<sup>9</sup>
  - (8) Il (re)construisit complètement [l'E]gišnugal, le temple de Sîn à Ur.
  - (9) Il (re)fit les murailles d'Ur et consolida les fondations d'Ur.
  - (10) Šulgi, (le) fils de la fille d'Utuḫégál, roi d'Uruk,
  - (11) et Lu-Nanna, l'aveugle, [son] expert conseiller (*ummānu*)

6. R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten", *BiOr* 28 (1971): 3–24; traduction dans B. Foster, *Before the Muses* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 270–72; R.D. Biggs, *NABU* 1996/108 et id., "Šulgi in Simurru", in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons*, Studies Astour, G.D. Young et al., eds. (Bethesda Md.: CDL Press, 1997), 169–76, suggère l'attribution des trois fragments CTN 4, 64, 65 et 69 à la Prophétie de Šulgi.
7. H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Teil I* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1976), 2 (pp. 19–20), partiellement retranscrit et étudié par C. Wilcke dans son compte-rendu du livre, *BiOr* 39 (1982): 143–44. Wilcke s'intéresse surtout à l'impact du texte sur l'interprétation de l'histoire de Šulgi; les mêmes préoccupations animent W.W. Hallo dans deux de ses articles, "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier", *RHA* 36 (1978): 75–76 et "The Death of Kings", in *Ah, Assyria*, Studies H. Tadmor, M. Cogan and I. Eph'al, eds. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991), 157–59. D'importantes observations ont été faites surtout par P.-A. Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy", in *The Tablet and the Scroll*, Studies Hallo, M. Cohen et al., eds. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 50 b, qui situe la composition dans le contexte de la reconstruction du temple d'Anu à Uruk et y voit une "pseudo-historical literary fabrication concocted in the wake of the reorganization of the cult of Anu by the priesthood of the Bit Rēš in the third century".
8. Au début de la ligne on pourrait restaurer [*iš-te-n*]*iš* "ensemble", ce qui donnerait "ils pillèrent ensemble le pays ennemi".
9. Faut-il comprendre *šillatu* ou *šallatu*? Le problème est soulevé par A.K. Grayson, *TCS* 5, 175 ad iv 5, qui refuse la traduction de Weidner "in Vermessenheit" et propose "amid the booty".

- (12) un dessein mauvais naquit en leur cœur [et]<sup>10</sup>
  - (13) le rite du culte d'Anu, les règles d'Uruk,
  - (14) le secret réservé aux experts, il le dévoya de manière inconvenante,
  - (15) en l'attribuant à Sîn, seigneur d'Ur<sup>11</sup>.
  - (16) [Au cours de] son règne il rédigea une inscription mensongère, une tablette blasphématoire
  - (17) [concernant l]e rite de purification divin et la laissa (à la postérité).
  - (18) Le roi [Anu?], dont les déterminations sont suprêmes, lui jeta un regard furieux
  - (19) .. sa grande faute/son grand châtement.
  - (20) [De la maladie ...] il couvrit son corps.
  - (21) ...
- REV.
- (1') ...
  - (2') [...] Présage d'Aku[ki] qui n'eut pas [de rival(?)]<sup>12</sup>.
  - (3') [x ré]gna [x] années.

[Amar]-Suena régna 9?(12?)<sup>13</sup> années.

Colophon: écrit, collationné et recompté d'après l'original; copie d'un *pinax* des collections d'Anu et Antu; tablette d'Anu-aḫa-ušabši fils de Kidin-Ani, descendant d'Ekur-zakir, exorciste d'Anu et Antu, grand-prêtre du Rēš, l'Urukéen. Main de Anu-balassu-iqbi son fils. Pour son enseignement, pour prolonger ses jours, pour survivre et affermir ses fondations, il l'a rédigée et placée à Uruk et dans le Rēš, Sa demeure seigneuriale. Uruk, le 21 Ab, l'an soixante et un d'Anti-ochos, roi de tous les pays.

Beaucoup d'observations importantes pour replacer les brefs énoncés dans leur contexte ont déjà été faites par Hunger dans son commentaire à l'editio princeps. Je les reprends à mon compte sans citer systématiquement ma source.

10. [*le*]mattu ina libbišunu ibbaš[ī]-ma], lecture que Wilcke suggère dans *BiOr* 39, 143, n. 3, mais pour en préférer une autre.
11. [*a-n*]a Sîn ... ištur.
12. Pour cette lecture voir W.G. Lambert, *Afo* 26 (1978/79): 111.
13. Lecture incertaine, cf. le commentaire de Hunger (l'original semble avoir 12 (1xU.2xDIŠ), mais Amar-Suena n'a régné que 9 ans; on peut donc essayer de lire 1xU [LAL]xDIŠ = 9.) et ci-dessous dans le texte.

Date et provenance: la copie est datée, au jour près, du 21 Ab 61 Sél.= 15 août 251. Cette tablette, W 22289, provient de la villa parthe<sup>14</sup> et se rattache à une série de tablettes d'Anu-aḥ-ušabši, fils de Kidin-Ani, comprenant des textes astrologiques et des textes liturgiques du culte d'Anu, ce qui n'est pas surprenant, puisque le propriétaire était prêtre dans le temple d'Anu<sup>15</sup>, ce qui justifie aussi son intérêt pour le rite d'Uruk (*paraš anūti*)<sup>16</sup>. Copiée sur un *pinax* (*lē'u*) des collections du Temple, elle était destinée à être exposée à la fois en ville et au Temple<sup>17</sup>. Dans la publication de Hunger, elle est rapprochée du n° 3, prophétie dont l'interprétation a été souvent entreprise, dernièrement dans un article magistral de P.-A. Beaulieu "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," in *The Tablet and the Scroll*, Studies Hallo, M.E. Cohen et al., eds. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 41–52. La Prophétie fait partie des archives d'Anu-ikšur<sup>18</sup>. Les deux tablettes proviennent de contextes archéologiques différents, mais P.-A. Beaulieu a donné de bons arguments pour dater la Prophétie dans la première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, peut-être durant la corégence de Séleucos I et d'Antiochos (294/3–281) ou durant le règne d'Antiochos I (281–261) avec corégence de ses deux fils successivement, c'est à dire peu avant la rédaction de SpTU 1, 2<sup>19</sup>.

Genre littéraire: le style est évidemment celui de la Liste Royale Sumérienne, citée explicitement dans la langue originale dès la première ligne<sup>20</sup>. Nous mettons ainsi dès le premier pas le doigt sur une étrangeté du texte, qui semble avoir deux lignes d'appel: la première, qui renvoie à ce qui précède (Ur-Namma), la dernière (rev. 4'), renvoyant à ce qui suit (Amar-Suena)<sup>21</sup>. Cette dernière ligne est, elle, en akkadien, comme rev. 3', qui clôt

14. Voir H. Hunger, UVB 26/27, 81.

15. Voir J. Oelsner, *OLZ* 78 (1983): 249–50.

16. Sur l'importance de ce concept (aussi, secondairement, pour la datation du texte), voir P.-A. Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," 48a.

17. Rev. 9' [*ina Uruk*].KI *u re-eš bit bēlātišu ukīn*. Faut-il prendre *u* au sens propre ("et", ce qui impliquerait deux exemplaires), ou bien comme "et même"? Il s'agit sans doute plutôt d'un va-et-vient entre maison et temple, ce qui explique peut-être qu'on ait retrouvé le texte dans le quartier d'habitation.

18. Elle fait partie du Sammelbund W 22307, moitié Sud de la tranchée Ue 18,1.

19. E. Heinrich, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer*, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1982), 301, rattachait déjà ce texte à la dédicace des temples Rēš et Irigal.

20. Face 2: mu 18 in-ak. Pour la restauration du début de la ligne, on attend [uri<sub>5</sub>.ki-m]a "à Ur", mais les traces du signe préservé ne permettent pas cette restitution, peut-être [uri<sub>5</sub>.k]i.

21. En fait seul [...]dSuen-na est préservé. Nous suivons l'interprétation de Hunger, qui admet sans autre qu'il s'agit d'Amar-Suena, bien que la durée du règne pose un problème (9 ans ou 12 ans?), et ne fait aucun commentaire explicite sur l'estimation de la lacune, qui semble assez brève. En toute rigueur reconnaissons

le règne de Šulgi<sup>22</sup>. Cela semble correspondre à la tendance idéologique du texte, où la citation littérale cède de plus en plus le pas à l'interprétation<sup>23</sup>. On a donc un extrait de la Liste Royale Sumérienne partiellement traduit, ou plus exactement trois lignes de cette œuvre, la deuxième recevant un développement exceptionnel. On peut donc définir SpTU 2<sup>24</sup> comme un *targoum* de la Liste Royale Sumérienne, puisque, comme les *targoumim* araméens de la Bible, il peut soit rester littéral, soit développer et enrichir sa source à sa guise. Par ailleurs il ne constitue pas une narration suivie, mais juxtapose des œuvres de la tradition littéraire (surtout divinatoire, par exemple rev. 2', mais sans doute pas uniquement), et des récits historiques où transparait très clairement un jugement de valeur<sup>25</sup>. Il ne relève donc pas du genre mésopotamien du commentaire, à caractère philologique, dont il n'a ni la terminologie, ni l'intitulé; c'est plutôt un commentaire homilétique. Comme enfin il se consacre presque exclusivement à l'unique image de Šulgi<sup>26</sup>, on peut soupçonner qu'il s'agit non pas d'un extrait d'un *targoum* plus ample, mais d'une sorte d'essai, de variation sur un thème historique, que l'auteur a voulu rattacher à la tradition de la Liste Royale. Dans ce cas le cryptage est exponentiel, et les chances de percer à jour les motivations de l'auteur diminuent d'autant.

Face 2. Dans la brève lacune, il semble qu'on doive restituer un élément adverbial temporel ("en ce temps-là") ou plus vraisemblablement local ("à Ur" [*ina uri<sub>2</sub>.K*]I? s'accorde mal avec les traces).

Face 5. L'allusion concrète aux rois [...]bangar et Rabsisi de Subartu est tirée du corpus divinatoire<sup>27</sup>. La tradition divinatoire a gardé la mémoire d'un Tappandarrah vaincu par Šulgi<sup>28</sup>. W.W. Hallo a montré l'existence de l'homme et donc le fondement historique<sup>29</sup>, mais l'équation [...]bangar =

qu'un doute subsiste, puisque rien ne prouve que rev. 3' concerne encore le règne de Šulgi.

22. Toujours en suivant l'interprétation de Hunger.

23. On retrouve le même flottement dans la version récente de la Liste Royale Sumérienne (= Chronicle 18, A.K.Grayson, TCS 5 p. 139–44 + I.L. Finkel, *JCS* 32 [1980]: 65–72), qui est, selon les passages, en sumérien, bilingue, et en seul akkadien.

24. Et, dans une certaine mesure, la version récente de la Liste Royale.

25. Cf. *lā simat* "inconvenance" (face 14), *surrat*, *šillat* "mensonge, blasphème" (face 16).

26. Toujours avec la réserve évoquée plus haut (notes 21 et 22): si l'interprétation de Hunger, que nous suivons, est juste.

27. Voir l'apodose hépatoscopique CT 51, 152 (BM 122643) rev. 14 sq. [...]ba-gar à rab-si-si MAN.MEŠ šá x [...] / [...]x-su-nu-ti-ma ŠEŠ ŠEŠ-šú GAZ, notée par Hunger. Il est important de noter que cette sentence précède celle qui concerne Utuhégal, étudiée par E. Reiner, *Mél. Güterbock* 260. Dans la Lettre apocryphe du roi d'Isin, Utuhégal précède naturellement Šulgi. Il semble que l'important soit le non-dit qui les sépare, peut-être une guerre fratricide que nous supposons, mais que nulle source n'avoue.

28. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1948): 259–60.

29. *RHA* 36 (1978): 75–76.

Tappandarah, proposée par W.W. Hallo et admise par D.R. Frayne<sup>30</sup>, n'est pas prouvée et n'est pas au dessus de tout soupçon<sup>31</sup>. La Prophétie de Šulgi semble avoir gardé avec force détails le souvenir des campagnes de Šulgi contre Simurru, mais, même si la lecture Tappandarah s'avérait juste, son association avec le Subartu serait une approximation. Subartu fait partie de l'horizon de l'empire d'Ur III, mais l'attribuer à l'empire est un anachronisme. On ne le trouve mentionné que dans des sources littéraires plus récentes, les lettres de la correspondance royale<sup>32</sup>.

Face 10–16. Il faut essayer d'interpréter la phrase littéralement: Šulgi n'est pas défini par sa parenté avec Ur-Namma (peut-être même n'est-il pas fils d'Ur-Namma), mais avec Utuhégal, dont il est le petit-fils par la fille. On peut subodorer un thème de légende de succession, où la royauté passe à un petit-fils illégitime. Mais le texte est ambigu. Il n'est pas sûr que "fils de la fille d'Utuhégal" soit attribut de Šulgi. C'est même assez invraisemblable dans la mesure où on attendrait une telle déclaration au début des énoncés concernant Šulgi. Par contre il se pourrait que l'auteur ait voulu dire "bien qu'il fût le fils de la fille d'Utuhégal" (donc a priori dévôt d'Anu). Quoi qu'il en soit, il pourrait y avoir un troisième larron en jeu. Si Ur-Namma était vraiment frère d'Utuhégal, ce serait son petit-cousin, mais, comme on va le voir, on peut suivre d'autres pistes.

Face 11. Lú-dNanna, le dernier des quatre *apkallū* de naissance humaine, ou plutôt seulement "*apkallu* pour les deux tiers de son être, qui fit sortir un dragon du temple É-Nin-ki-ág-nun-na<sup>33</sup>, c'est à dire Ištar de la Maison de Šulgi<sup>34</sup>; cet amphibie plus proche de l'homme que les autres *apkallū* (il a aussi lú "homme" dans son nom) est donc également dans la

30. "On the Location of Simurru", in *Studies Astour*, 250. R.D. Biggs, *ibid.*, 171, mentionne d'autres attestations de Tappandarah.
31. Il est possible que [...]bangar soit le résultat d'une sumérisation artificielle d'un nom étranger (fondant sur une étymologie populaire comme \*tab bangar "il a placé le partenaire"?).
32. On notera cependant que Simurru et Subartu sont associés (x si-mu-ur-ru-um ma-da su-bir<sub>4</sub>ki-ta) dans une lettre d'Aradmu au roi, RCU 4, P. Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, Ph. D. (Yale University, 1976), 168; voir maintenant sur la question F. Huber, *ZA* 91 (2001): 202–5.
33. La variante Nin-kar-nun-na (un dieu du cercle de Ninurta) me semble fautive. Comme nous ne connaissons pas l'histoire du texte, il est sans doute pédant de conjecturer Nin-kù-nun-na, qui irait mieux avec Ur et Inanna (voir le *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* s.vv.).
34. C'est ainsi qu'il est évoqué dans un texte de la série exorcistique *Bit Mēseri*, SpTU 2, 8 et E. Reiner, *Or* 30 (1961): 5; cf. aussi C. Wilcke, "Göttliche und menschliche Weisheit im Alten Orient" in *Weisheit*, A. Assmann, ed. (München: Fink, 1991), 265–66.

tradition exorcistique associé à Ur<sup>35</sup> et à Šulgi<sup>36</sup>; d'après le catalogue édité en dernier lieu par W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 16 (1962): 66, K 9717+, 11, il fut aussi l'auteur d'Étana. Comme l'a remarqué Wilcke<sup>37</sup>, ces *apkallū*, à commencer par Adapa et jusqu'au nôtre, ont souvent agi de manière à irriter les dieux, auxquels ils surent parfois forcer la main, sans doute en fin de compte pour le bien de l'humanité, un peu comme Prométhée. De manière tout à fait logique, puisqu'il est associé à un roi "historique", notre "chronique" fait de Lú-dNanna un *ummānu* et non un *apkallu*.

Face 12–17. L'impiété de Šulgi: ce n'est pas la seule fois que la tradition babylonienne voit en Šulgi un impie. La Chronique des rois d'antan<sup>38</sup>, comme l'a suggéré H. Hunger, semble avoir directement inspiré SpTU 1, 2: "Šulgi, fils d'Ur-Namma, pourvut abondamment Eridu, qui est au bord de la mer, mais il chercha le mal et fit sortir de manière sacrilège les biens de l'Esagil et de Babylone (*makkur Esagil u Bābili ina šillat ušteši*). Bēl ... fit dévorer son cadavre...". "Faire sortir les biens de l'Esagil et de Babylone *ina šillat*" est lieu commun de la littérature historique<sup>39</sup>. La Lettre apocryphe (voir n. 5) dit à peu près la même chose: "Il (Marduk) donna à Šulgi, fils d'Ur-Namma la royauté du monde, mais il n'accomplit pas toutes Ses prescriptions rituelles, il souilla Ses rites de lustration et sa faute (/son châtiement) il plaça sur son corps"<sup>40</sup>. Il semble qu'on ait dans notre passage une narration accusatrice évoquant un événement historique. Si on reprend le texte à partir de la ligne 7, il est impossible de ne pas penser à Nabonide: qui d'autre a favorisé Sîn aux dépens de Marduk? Et qui d'autre a suscité des textes reflétant de manière aussi claire la controverse théologique?

Pour rev. 2' nous suivons la suggestion de W.G. Lambert, qui n'est pas assurée, mais a pour elle une certaine vraisemblance. Parmi les trois sentences divinatoires<sup>41</sup> où apparaît Akuki, aucune ne l'associe explicitement à Šulgi. Il n'est pas sûr qu'il s'agisse d'un personnage réel; les apodoses où il apparaît pourraient reposer sur de sexPLICITATIONS controuvées: toutes

35. *niširti* Lú-dNanna *apkal Uri* "secret de Lu-Nanna, l'*apkallu* d'Ur", est dit d'un remède contre l'épilepsie (K 8080 = *BAM* 5, 476 rev. 11', cité par E. Reiner, *Or* 30 [1961]: 8).
36. E. Reiner, *Or* 30 (1961): 8 rapproche *niširti* Lú-dNanna de *niširti* Šulgi, *KAR* 384 rev. 45. Il semble que la science du vizir ait été attribuée au prince. On notera qu'un des fils de Šulgi s'appelait Lú-dNanna (*RIME* 3, p. 168).
37. Wilcke, in *Weisheit*, 266.
38. Chronique 20 A, 28–30 (A.K. Grayson, *TCS* 5, p. 154).
39. Par exemple A.K. Grayson, *TCS* 5, 175 iv 5.
40. La lecture du témoin S rev. 29 (Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 52 [1990]: 7) est incertaine. C'est peut-être forcer les données que de rapprocher *annu, zumru* (Lettre apocryphe, rev. 29) de *šertu, zumuršu* (SpTU 2, 2 face 19 sq.), mais on est tenté d'y retrouver l'écho du même thème.
41. Relevées par J. Nougayrol, *JAOS* 70 (1950): 113.

contiennent *mātum* = KI; *ša mātam ikulu* "qui mangea le pays" (YOS 10, 46 i 40) pourrait s'expliquer par A = *ša*, KI = *mātum*, KU ≈ KŪ = *akālu*; un *notarikon* pour désigner le tyran par excellence?

#### CONCLUSION

De tout ce qui est attribué à Šulgi, rien ne semble emprunté aux inscriptions authentiques de ce roi. Quelques rares données sont empruntées aux traditions littéraires anciennes, mais rien n'est "historique". La seule chose compatible avec la vérité épigraphique, c'est la victoire sur Subartu (si on veut bien le prendre au sens très large de N, N-E de Sumer) et le soin apporté à Ur, capitale de l'empire. Le contrôle de Subartu (= l'Assyrie) pourraient s'appliquer aussi à Nabopolassar ou à Nabuchodonozor, à condition d'enjamber les siècles. Si on se place au VI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, Subartu pourrait désigner aussi les Mèdes. Les travaux effectués à Ur peuvent s'appliquer à Šulgi, mais aussi à bien d'autres rois, particulièrement Nabonide, qui ne manque pas lui-même de faire référence à ses deux prédécesseurs de la dynastie d'Ur III dans ses propres inscriptions<sup>42</sup>.

Certains anachronismes sont patents, mais il faut relever surtout le parallélisme suivant: actes hostiles à Marduk de Babylone (l. 7), mais favorables à Šin et à Ur (l. 8 et 9); actes hostiles à Anu d'Uruk (l.13 et 14), mais favorables à Šin d'Ur (l. 15). Dans le premier cas, il nous a semblé évident qu'il ne peut être fait allusion qu'à Nabonide, cette figure royale qui fut, dès son époque, l'objet d'une polémique si intense<sup>43</sup>. Notre texte présente clairement le deuxième cas comme un parallèle du premier, mais la clef reste cachée; le souci du "rite d'Anu", du *paraš anūti*, ne nous donne qu'une vague indication chronologique (III<sup>ème</sup> siècle?). Ce texte, qui semble d'une innocente limpidité, repose sur un complexe système d'allusions, de pseudonymes, de substitutions. Sans doute les fondements historiques ne manquent-ils pas. Nabonide lui-même a repris consciemment la tradition des rois d'Ur en nommant sa fille prêtresse de Šin à Ur. Il se réclame explicitement de Nabuchodonozor Ier<sup>44</sup>, mais il était évidemment conscient de s'inscrire dans une tradition bien plus ancienne encore, puisqu'il mentionne Kudur-Mabuk<sup>45</sup>, et les rois d'Ur III Ur-Namma et Šulgi (voir ci-dessus).

42. Voir P.-A. Beaulieu *The Reign of Nabonidus*, Yale Near Eastern Researches 10 (New Haven/London, 1989), 35-38. L'inscription n° 17 mentionne que Nabonide a retrouvé et consulté les inscriptions d'Ur-Namma et Šulgi avant de reconstruire la ziqqurat.

43. Voir P. Machinist et H. Tadmor, "Heavenly Wisdom", *Studies Hallo*, 146-50.

44. YOS 1, 45 i 29-31.

45. YOS 1, 45 ii 2.

Quant aux rapports de Nabonide avec Uruk: dès le début de son règne il a modifié les structures administratives de l'Eanna<sup>46</sup>, et est intervenu, semble-t-il, à nouveau dans sa treizième année pour diverses nominations de nouveaux fonctionnaires<sup>47</sup>. Devant la menace perse il a organisé le transfert de la statue d'Ištar d'Uruk (avec celui d'autres divinités) à Babylone<sup>48</sup>, ce qui ne fut sans doute guère apprécié des indigènes. C'est peut-être Nabonide qui était représenté sur la stèle abrasée et indéchiffrable retrouvée à Uruk<sup>49</sup>.

Nabonide lui-même a marqué son respect de la divination, y compris de l'extispicine et de son sens religieux historique, par exemple dans YOS 1, 45<sup>50</sup>. Ses adversaires ont violemment contesté sa science et la justesse de ses interprétations<sup>51</sup>. Cela fournit au moins un contexte favorable à l'interprétation de son histoire à l'aide de sentences divinatoires explicites ou implicites.

La maladie, qui se manifeste par une éruption cutanée, rappelle celle dont Nabonide a été frappé, dans une histoire édifiante conservée sur quelques fragments araméens de Qumran<sup>52</sup>. Il me semble qu'on peut aussi entrevoir, dans ce texte d'Uruk, l'origine de la conflation des images de Nabuchodonozor et de Nabonide, telle qu'on la trouve dans le livre de Daniel. Nabonide lui-même avait déjà préparé le terrain pour cette identification, puisqu'il se réclame de Nabuchodonozor avec insistance, particulièrement pour le culte d'Ištar d'Uruk<sup>53</sup>. Pour les gens d'Uruk, les deux rois ont dû être déjà associés dès le VI<sup>ème</sup> dans un souvenir positif, puisqu'ils ont tous deux contribué à rétablir les pratiques cultuelles authentiques du culte d'Ištar.

46. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, 121; G. Frame, "Nabonidus, Nabû-šuma-ušur and the Eanna Temple", *ZA* 81 (1991): 37-86, particulièrement 79-80.

47. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, 162.

48. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus*, 232, et id., "An Episode of the Fall of Babylon ...", *JNES* 52 (1993): 241-61.

49. A. Becker, *Uruk, Kleinfunde 1* (Mainz am Rhein: v. Zabern, 1993) n° 794. Sur la photo, pl. 49, il me semble distinguer, à droite de l'image royale, un croissant lunaire effacé.

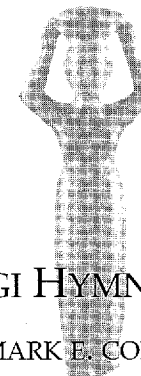
50. Traduction anglaise récente dans E. Reiner, *Your Thwarts in Pieces* (University of Michigan, 1985), 2-5.

51. Voir le pamphlet rimé ("Verse Account") v 8'-22'.

52. La Prière de Nabonide, que je cite d'après A. Steudel et al. *Die Texte aus Qumran II* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001), 159-65.

53. P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus* 106, 123; id., *Studios Hallo*, 45-46. Cette référence à Nabuchodonozor est attestée par ailleurs, par exemple dans l'inscription de Nabonide YOS 1, 45 i 29 et l'Épopée nabonidienne publiée par W.G. Lambert, "A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus", *AfO* 22 (1968/69): 6, iii-iv 6. Qu'ils s'agisse ici de Nabuchodonozor Ier n'a pas d'importance pour notre propos.

Il me semble indéniable que derrière Šulgi se profile au moins Nabonide. Mais quel sens a l'évocation de Šulgi et Nabonide dans l'Uruk de 251? Quel message contient-elle, et pour qui? Je vois peu d'indices concrets pour répondre, mais la date de la tablette et l'analogie de la Prophétie d'Uruk—telle qu'elle a été interprétée par Beaulieu—suggèrent une interprétation cryptée d'événements conflictuels qui se déroulaient au début de la domination séleucide en Babylonie. Comme à Hunger et Beaulieu, ces deux textes—la Prophétie d'Uruk et SpTU 1, 2—littérairement si différents, me semblent apparentés; si SpTU 1, 2, donne une interprétation plus savante et pessimiste<sup>54</sup>, les deux compositions relèvent de l'histoire religieuse et moralisante, utilisant le cryptage comme technique d'adaptation à la réalité contemporaine. Il est beaucoup plus risqué de tenter des identifications précises et concrètes: il pourrait être question de cet Antiochos (I?), qui, d'après la Chronique 11, face 6–9<sup>55</sup> fut actif à Ur dans l'Egiš-nugal. Voulait-on le dissuader d'accorder ses faveurs à Ur, pour qu'il les reportât sur Uruk? Si je ne craignais d'être exclu de la communauté des savants, je proposerais l'équation: Séleucos (I) = Šulgi (la ressemblance des "racines" [SLK ~ ŠLG] aurait pu motiver le choix de Šulgi). J'admets volontiers la débilite de l'argument; pour le supporter, je pourrais seulement dire qu'il permettrait d'expliquer les douze(?)<sup>56</sup> années de [Amar-]Suena par les douze années de corégence d'Antiochos I (293–281) avec Séleucos; mais si Šulgi = Antiochos I actif à Ur, alors Amar-Suena = Séleucos, corégent de 279 à 267. Akuki, le dévoreur de pays, pourrait être Cyrus ou Alexandre. Le petit-fils d'Utuhégal pourrait être un prince séleucide fils d'une mère issue de l'aristocratie urukéenne. Šulgi n'est qu'un masque, qui cache et révèle tout à la fois, après 2000 ans, l'effort des intellectuels d'Uruk pour reconstruire leur passé et changer le présent. Tout comme à Babylone, et comme dans d'autres villes de la Mésopotamie du Sud, les débats ont dû être enflammés sur la politique à adopter pour faire vivre Uruk. Aujourd'hui encore les tumuli de Nufedji et de Frēhāt Nufedji marquent dans le désert au Nord d'Uruk la présence macédonienne, mais leur témoignage n'est guère moins obscur que celui de nos pseudochroniques.



## A SHULGI HYMN TO ENKI \*

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IN THE TABLET COLLECTION in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University there is an Old Babylonian copy of a *tigi*-hymn to Enki on behalf of King Shulgi of Ur. Unfortunately the first line is very poorly preserved—after the first two signs there are just faint traces of the signs. However, the traces could well fit an incipit in an Old Babylonian catalogue from Ur (U3 obv. 10): en me-kù-kù-ga.

Our *tigi*-hymn consists of a *sagidda* (ll. 1–26) and a *sagarra* (ll. 28–43). Most other *tigi*-hymns contain other sections—the *gišgigal*, *barsud*, and *šabatuk*. Only the *tigi*-hymn of Ibbi-Suen to the moon-god contains just a *sagidda* and a *sagarra*. The structure of our hymn differs from them all in that it concludes with one line after the *sagarra* that is not labeled as being a poetic section: "Let praise faithfully resound for its prince!"

The only known major cultic event concerning Enki during the reign of Shulgi was the installation of the *en*-priest of Enki in Eridu in Shulgi's twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year, which provided the name for year twenty-eight: mu <sup>d</sup>Šul-gi lugal Úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> en nam-šita<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> ba-gub-ba-šè nam-gudu<sub>4</sub> ù nam-ugula-é šùd-sag en <sup>d</sup>Enki Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-šè in-ḥun-gá.<sup>1</sup> Thus, perhaps this work was authored in

54. On peut rapprocher l'ésotérisme du texte de *ana aḥāzišū* "pour son enseignement" du colophon.

55. A.K. Grayson, TCS 5, p. 120.

56. SpTU 1, 2, rev. 4', si on choisit la lecture 12, que suggère la copie; cf. nos remarques n. 13 et 21.

\* I thank David I. Owen, Curator of Tablet Collections, who brought this text to my attention and granted me permission to publish it. I am indebted also to Ethan K. Owen for the excellent photographs. My sincere appreciation to Bendt Alster, who took the time to review this article and offer his suggestions. I thank also those working on the Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania for access to its wonderful card file collection of Sumerian words. I have utilized the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) of Oxford University, and compositions are identified according to the ETCSL. Last, and most important, I dedicate this article to my friend and colleague, Jacob Klein, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing these many years.

1. M. Sigrist and P. Damerow, *Mesopotamian Yearnames*, Vol. 1.

Shulgi's twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year for this occasion.  
I am unaware of any duplicates.

## TRANSLITERATION

OBV.

1. en 'me¹-[kù²-k]ù-[g]a² 'sá¹ gar-ra
  2. ˢEn-ki an-'šár²-ra²¹ 'x x x x¹
  3. gu₄-kù men na s[um²-...]
  4. kuš-pirig gùr muš-ḥ[uš ...]
  5. nu-dím-mud ˢEn-líl-b[anda₃...]
  6. en sag-kešda-[...]
  7. a-a ˢEn-ki 'abzu¹-kù 'x¹ [...]
  8. dingir-gal-gal-an-ki-a 'ša²-x¹-[...]
  9. ki-tuš-maḥ-za me 'x x¹ [...]
  10. inim-kù-zu an 'ḥa¹²-[...]
  11. du₁₁-ga-zu nì 'šu¹² [...]
  12. inim-'dah²¹-a-zu nì ság [...]
  13. nam-'ku₅¹-ra-zu sag ba² 'x¹ [...]
  14. ˢEn-ki u₄-DIM-'šè¹ lugal-ra 'á¹² [...]
  15. nu-dím-mud šul-[gi(-x)]
  16. nam-ti-nì-du₁₀-ga gú ḥa-'x¹-[...]
  17. en dingir-re-ne maḥ [...]
  18. a-a ˢEn-ki me 'ša¹-š[a₆²-...]
  19. en ul-la ul²-e ša-m[u²-...]
  20. nun ˢiṣṣešṭugṭiḡ-dagal an [...]
  21. šà-sud-rá giš-ḥur-re [...]
  22. inim-ul-la zi-dè-[éš (x)]
  23. sá pà-dè me ki-bi [...]
  24. ˢEn-ki 'an¹²-ki-a na-'di₅¹²-[x]
  25. nu-dím-mud é² 'x x¹-'za¹²
- REV.
26. sipa šul-gi 'x(-x)-bi/ga¹ 'ši²-im²¹-ù-'tu²¹
  27. sa-gíd-da-àm
  28. en-gal me-nun an-ki šu-du₈
  29. ˢEn-ki gaba-gál a-nun-ke₄-ne
  30. sag-kal-dingir-gal-gal-ne gal-di-an-kù-ga
  31. nu-dím-mud gu₄-gal-abzu-a me-sikil-la sa₇-ga
  32. lugal en-gal-ne-er šu-luḥ pà-dè
  33. nam-tar-re-dè gal-bi gub-b[a]-'x¹
  34. ˢiṣṣešṭugṭiḡ gu₄ me-gal me-kù-ga mí zi-dè-é[š du₁₁²]

35. 'en¹²-gal en-'maḥ¹² nam-nir-da zà ša-mu-'da¹-[KÉŠ]
36. ˢEn-k[i] 'šes²¹-banda₃²-gin₇ me-ni maḥ-[...]
37. ˢUtu-gin₇ dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-er
38. en-an-ki-a ša-mu-ne-íl-le-[en]
39. nu-dím-mud me-zu kal-kal-àm
40. lugal-mu sud-rá-ág-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga
41. en sá-galam-ma-zu šu nu-ti
42. a-a ˢEn-ki sipa-zi šul-gi-re
43. nu-dím-mud ḥé-gál nam-ḥe a-dalla ša-mu-na-ni-è
44. sa-gar-ra-àm
45. nun-bi-ir zi-dè-eš ḥé-na-i-i
46. tigi ˢEn-ki-ga-kam
47. 43

## TRANSLATION

OBV.

1. Lord of [all the holy] *mes*, who gives counsel,
2. Enki, in the entire(?) heavens ...
3. Holy bull ... crown ...
4. Clad in lion-skin, [...] dragon [...]
5. Creator-of-Form, Ju[nior] Enlil ...
6. Lord, guardian [of the ...]
7. Father Enki, the holy *abzu* ...
8. The great gods of heaven and earth ...
9. On your lofty seat the *mes* ...
10. May your holy word ...
11. Your utterance ...
12. Your [addi]tional(?) pronouncement ... scattering(?) ...
13. Your curse ...
14. Enki, wondrously(?) ... for the king ...
- 15/6. May the Creator-of-Form ... Shul[gi] a life of goodness.
17. Lord, the gods [...] lofty [...]
18. Father Enki, [you make] the *mes* re[splendent(?)].
19. Lord, in joy, ...
20. Prince, one of exceeding wisdom, ...
21. Unfathomable one, the plan [...]
- 22/3. Rightly seeking advice in the ancient(?) word,  
[...] the *mes* [...] its place,

24. Enki, offering counsel in heaven(?) and earth,  
 25. Creator-of-Form, in your(?)...  
 REV.  
 26. The shepherd Shulgi ... let live.  
 27. It is the *sagidda*.  
 28. Great lord, (who) holds the princely *mes* (of) heaven and earth,  
 29. Enki, stout one of the Anunna-gods,  
 30. Foremost of the great gods, exalted one of holy An,  
 31. Creator-of-Form, great bull of the *abzu*, who is made glorious by  
 the pure *mes*,  
 32. King who calls forth lustrations for the great *ens*,  
 33. Standing tall when deciding fate,  
 34. Wise one, bull steadfastly caring for the great *mes*, the holy *mes*,  
 35. Great lord(?), exalted(?) lord, you clasp authority at your side.  
 36. Enki, like...—his *mes* [are] lofty,  
 37. Like the sun, for the great gods,  
 38. Lord of heaven and earth, you rise high.  
 39. Creator-of-Form, your *mes*—they are precious,  
 40. My king, brilliant light of Eridu,  
 41. Lord, (who) does not accept your well-conceived advice?  
 42. Father Enki, (for) the faithful shepherd Shulgi,  
 43. Creator-of-Form, you bring forth abundance and plenty in the  
 sparkling waters.  
 44. It is the *sagarra*.  
 45. Let praise faithfully resound for its prince!  
 46. It is a *tigi* of Enki.  
 47. 43 (verses).

## COMMENTARY

1. As stated above, based on an entry in an Old Babylonian catalogue from Ur (U3 obv. 10), the opening line with traces might well begin: en me-kù-kù-ga. For the same phrase, note ISET 1 158, Ni. 13220 ii 6: en me-kù-kù-ge-éš pa-da.

For a meaning "counsel," "give advice," see CAD M/1, 154 for *sá-mar-mar*, s.v. *māliku*; and CAD M/1, 162 for *sá-gar(-gar)*, *sá-mar* s.v. *māliku*. For *sá-gar* said of Ninurta, see Å.W. Sjöberg, "Hymns to Ninurta with Prayers for Šūsīn of Ur and Būrsīn of Isin," AOAT 25, p. 414, line 32: *sá-gar me-é-kur-ra šu-du<sub>7</sub> giskim-ti-a-a-na* "The

counselor, he perfects the *mes* of the Ekur; his father trusts him." For DI-gar "vainglorious," see CAD M/2, 287 s.v. *muštarrīhu*.

Other possible interpretations of our line are: "Lord who gives counsel (using) all the holy *mes*" and "Lord of all the holy *mes*, counselor."

4. The term SU-pirig occurs elsewhere, often with the term -sa- "tendon": Išme-Dagan S, 3: <sup>d</sup>Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan guruš-kalag sa-SU-pirig šul-kalag ní-gál-la; *The Return of Ninurta to Nibru*, 120: SU-pirig sa-pirig-gá ki-bal-a zi-zi-i; Išme-Dagan A+V, 303: SU-pirig sa-pirig-gá zà-pirig-gá; Šulgi C, (b) 11': SU-pirig sa-pirig-gá hé-ma-[ab]-túm; Inana A, 4: SU-pirig sa-pirig-gá ši-im-ma-zi-zi-dè-en. Heimpel has suggested possibly reading kuš rather than su in the expression sa-SU-pirig (*Tierbilder*, 314).

A reading kuš (= *mašku*) "skin" rather than su (= *zumru*) "body" in the above passages seems more likely, since "skin" and "tendon" occur together in Akkadian and thus a reading kuš-pirig in those instances is more likely: KAR 50 (CAD M/2, 377 1 2' b): [*maš*]ku u šer'ānu ana šipri šāšu [tele]qqe "You take the skin and the tendon for that work"; JEN 551:14 (CAD M/2, 377 2 a): KUŠ.MEŠ u šer'āni ša naglabāti ša alpi "the skin and tendons from the rump of the ox"; in literature, cf. W.G. Lambert, BWL 178 r. 11 (quoted CAD M/2, 378 2 2') for *ina* KUŠ.MEŠ-ia in parallel with *ina šer'āniya*.

One interpretation of this partial line is that Enki is described as being clad in lion-skin. Enki is referred to as the lion (pirig) of the *abzu* in *Enki's Journey to Nippur*, 57. However, we are unaware of any mention or portrayal of Enki wearing a lion-skin. (There is no reason to think that this passage refers to the great bronze statue of a lion in Eridu.) For a lion-skin used to cover a figurine in ritual usage, note Köcher, BAM 323:5 (quoted CAD M/2, 378 2 3'). In later times, Lartarak was pictured as draped in a lion-skin (J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992], 116). There is no other reference to Enki regarding the muš-ḥuš. Perhaps the lion and dragon references refer to mythic or ritual aspects of the cult of Enki about which we have no trace.

Another interpretation is that it is the dragon that is clad in lion-skin, thus "(You are like) a [...] dragon that is clad in lion-skin." For the dragon described in terms of a lion, note Shulgi D (Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* [Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan Press, 1981]), 1 and 2: ...muš-ḥuš igi-pirig-gá "the dragon with eyes of a lion." Elsewhere note the textual juxtaposition of lion(PIRIG) or leopard(PIRIG.TUR) with muš-ḥuš: Sin-iqišam A, 22: igi-zu pirig-ām giri<sub>17</sub> muš-ḥuš ní ri

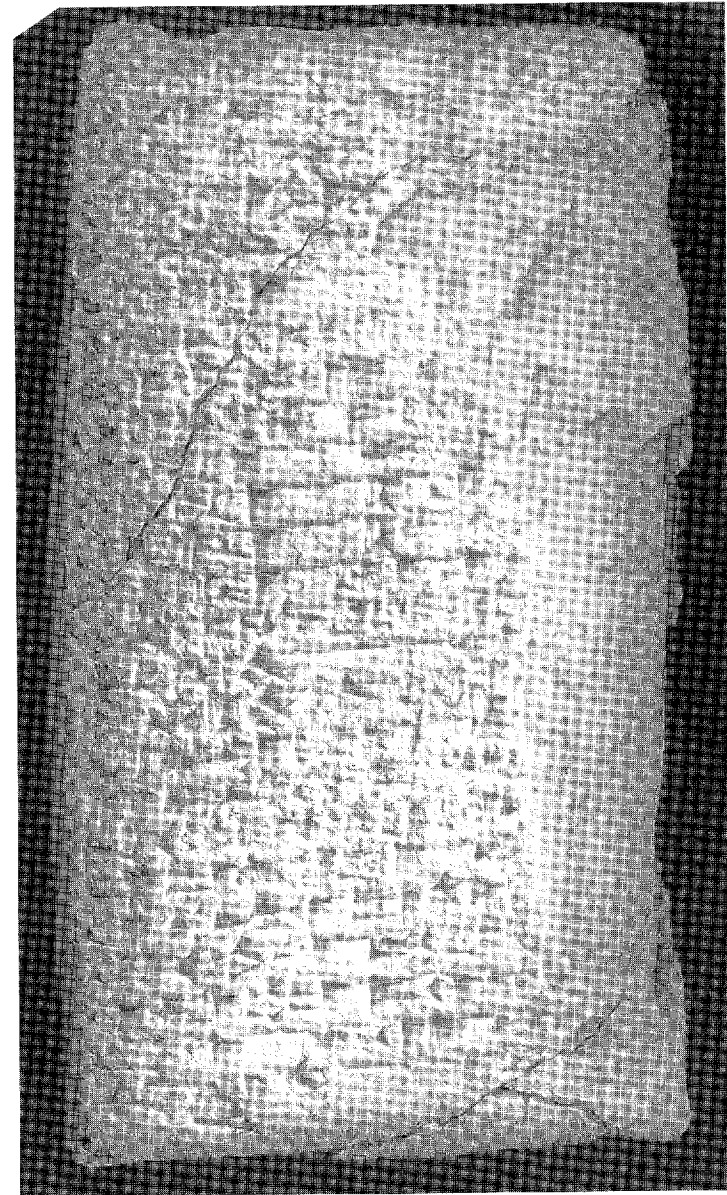
- “(Numušda), your face is that of a lion, and you have a muzzle like that of a fearsome dragon” and Ningišzida B, 5: nemur<sub>x</sub>(PIRIG.TUR) ban<sub>3</sub>-da sag giš ra-ra muš-ḥuš šeg<sub>11</sub>! gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> “impetuous leopard, murderous, howling dragon.”
5. Six times Enki is referred to as Nudimmud, which, in itself, is hardly worthy of note. However, all six times the scribe has omitted the divine determinative. (When writing the names Enki, Enlil, and Utu the scribe always includes the determinative.) Therefore, our translation renders Nudimmud as an epithet. Note that the divine determinative before the name Nudimmud is omitted twice in Shulgi D (ll. 53, 317); see Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, 113 for this practice.  
For other occurrences of Enki with the epithet <sup>d</sup>En-líl-banda<sub>3</sub>, see S. Cohen, “Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1973), p. 193. In one variant text, the epithet is <sup>d</sup>En-líl-banda<sub>3</sub>-kur-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> “Junior Enlil of all the lands.” For <sup>d</sup>En-líl-bàn-da as an epithet of Marduk, see S. Cohen, *op. cit.*; as an epithet of Nergal, see Šu-ilišu A, 19.
  6. For sag-kešda “guard,” see A. Falkenstein, ZA 47 (1942): 215; for additional references, see Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63 (1973): 46. For Enki with the epithet sag-kešda-ki-dagal-la “guardian of the wide earth,” see Amar-Suen A, segment B, 2 (UET 8 32 obv. 2). For Enki with the epithet sag-kešda-[dingir]-re-e-ne “guardian of the gods,” see Išme-Dagan D, segment A, 4.
  - 11–12. For the terms du<sub>11</sub>-ga and daḥ in parallel usage, note, for instance, the many occurrences in M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md.: Capital Decisions Ltd., 1988).
  13. Although the line is only partially preserved, a meaning “person” for sag should be considered based on context. Most recently for sag “person” etc., see G. Farber’s article in this volume.
  14. The range of meanings of the DIM-sign are quite limited and do not seem to fit our passage. Perhaps u<sub>4</sub>-DIM-šè is a unique variant for u<sub>6</sub>-di-šè “wondrously.” For a possible instance of u<sub>4</sub>- as a variant for u<sub>6</sub>- in the expression u<sub>6</sub>-di, note Enlilbani A, 1: <sup>d</sup>En-líl-ba-ni lugal u<sub>4</sub>-di nun-e-ne. For an instance of the DIM-sign as a variant for DI, see Nisaba Hymn A, 4.
  15. For the omission of the divine determinative when writing the name Šulgi in the Old Babylonian period, see Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, 30 n. 42: “the Šulgi hymns, all of which are available only in late Old-Babylonian copies, exhibit an occasional inconsistency in the application of the ‘preposed’ divinity title.” For another instance, see J. Westenholz’s

- article in this volume, commentary to iv 91, where she refers to Klein’s observation.
16. Numerous references to ti-nì-du<sub>10</sub> and nam-ti-nì-du<sub>10</sub> “a life of goodness” are available by searching the ETCSL.  
I am unaware of any compound verb with gú that would be appropriate for our passage.
  19. The term ul-la occurs here and in line 22. The term ul could mean either “joy” or “ancient.” For ul-la “joyfully,” see, e.g., J. Cooper, ZA 62 (1972) commentary to line 16. Since in line 22 the expression zi-dè-éš occurs, it seems unlikely that ul-la in the same line would be “in joy.” However, line 19 is not well enough preserved to determine the meaning of ul here, particularly in light of the form ul-la instead of just ul.  
For en-ul(-e-ne), “primeval en(s),” see *Temple Hymns*, ll. 65 and 531 (Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3); Išme-Dagan X 31: ki-en-ul dūr-ru-na-ba; *Inanna and Ebiḥ* 18: en-UL(-)en-šár-gin<sub>7</sub> šita<sub>2</sub> gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-re-za.
  22. See commentary to line 19 above.
  26. See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 54 for ù-tu “let live.”
  29. For gaba-gál “stout” said of Enki, cf. *Enki and the World Order*, 9: <sup>d</sup>nu-dím-mud peš<sub>10</sub>-gál é-kur-ra gaba-gál an-ki-a.
  31. The epithet “great bull of the *abzu*” for Enki occurs also in Išme-Dagan D, segment B, 13: <sup>d</sup>nu-dím-mud gu<sub>4</sub>-gal-abzu-a x [...].
  32. For Enki performing lustrations, see *Enki and the World Order*, 342.
  35. Cf. Sin-iddinam E 14, wherein Iškur is described as: nam-nir-ra zag KÉŠ.
  36. The meaning of this line is completely unclear to me. The signs seem to be šeš-banda<sub>3</sub>, but they are not absolutely clear. However, regardless of the correct reading of these signs, the third person possessive in me-ni is puzzling. I expect me-zu, “like..., your mes are lofty.”
  - 37/8. Assuming that I have understood the passage correctly, lines 37–38 are unique as a description of Enki. It is unusual for Enki, a denizen of the *abzu*, to be likened to the sun. This passage may be comparing the rising of the sun at the horizon, from “within the earth,” to Enki’s ascension from the *abzu* to the heavens or onto the surface of the earth.  
An alternate interpretation of the line is based upon the phrase en il, “elevate the en-priest” (see CAD N/1, 81 and 85 sub *našú*). Perhaps the line should be translated: “For the gods, you have elevated the en-priest over(?) heaven and earth like the sun.” Such an interpretation would be appropriate if, as suggested, this hymn was composed for the elevation of the en-priest. Note that the expression used in the year

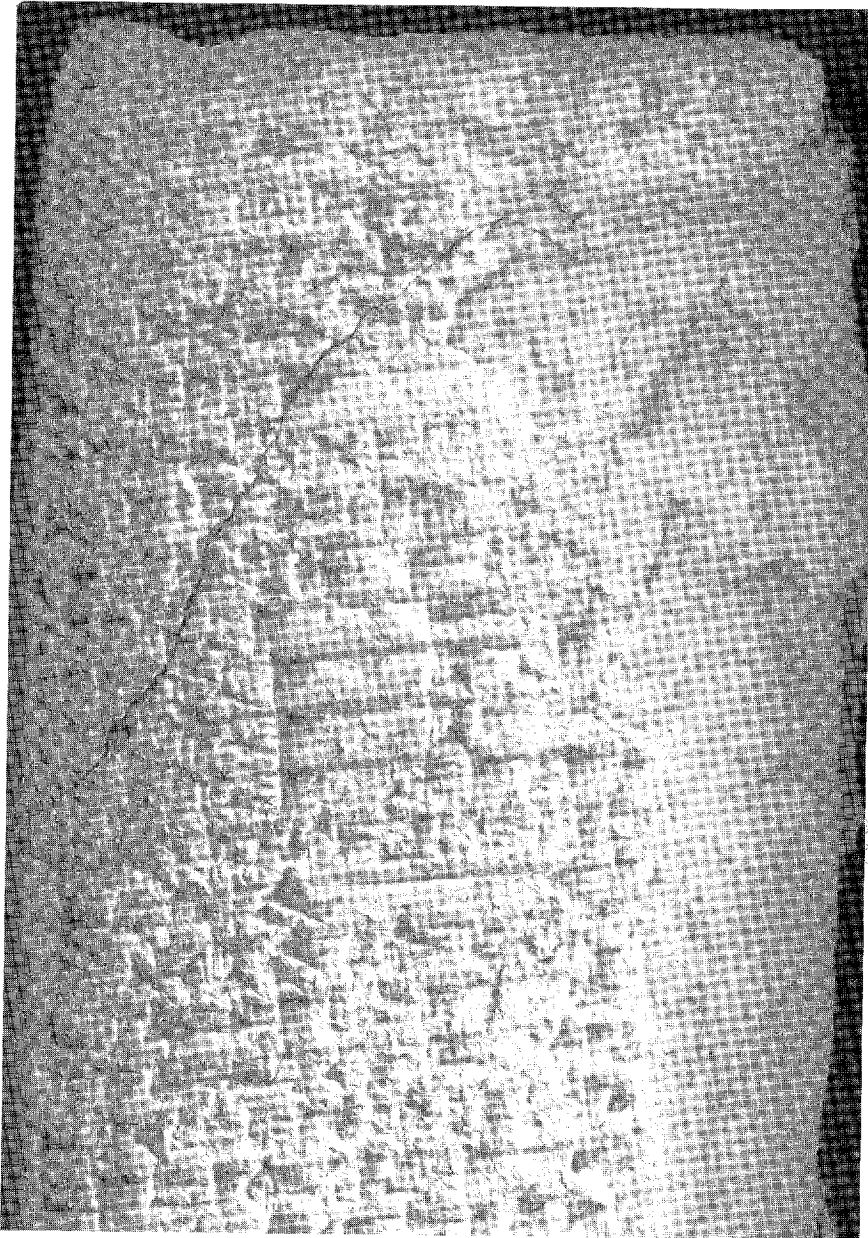


name for Shulgi 28 "elevate the *en*" is *en ħun*; however, Išbi-Erra 18 uses *en íl*. One problem with such an interpretation is that the expressions "for the gods" and "over(?) heaven and earth like the sun" would suggest a more universal importance than I would expect for the appointment of an *en* for Enki in Eridu.

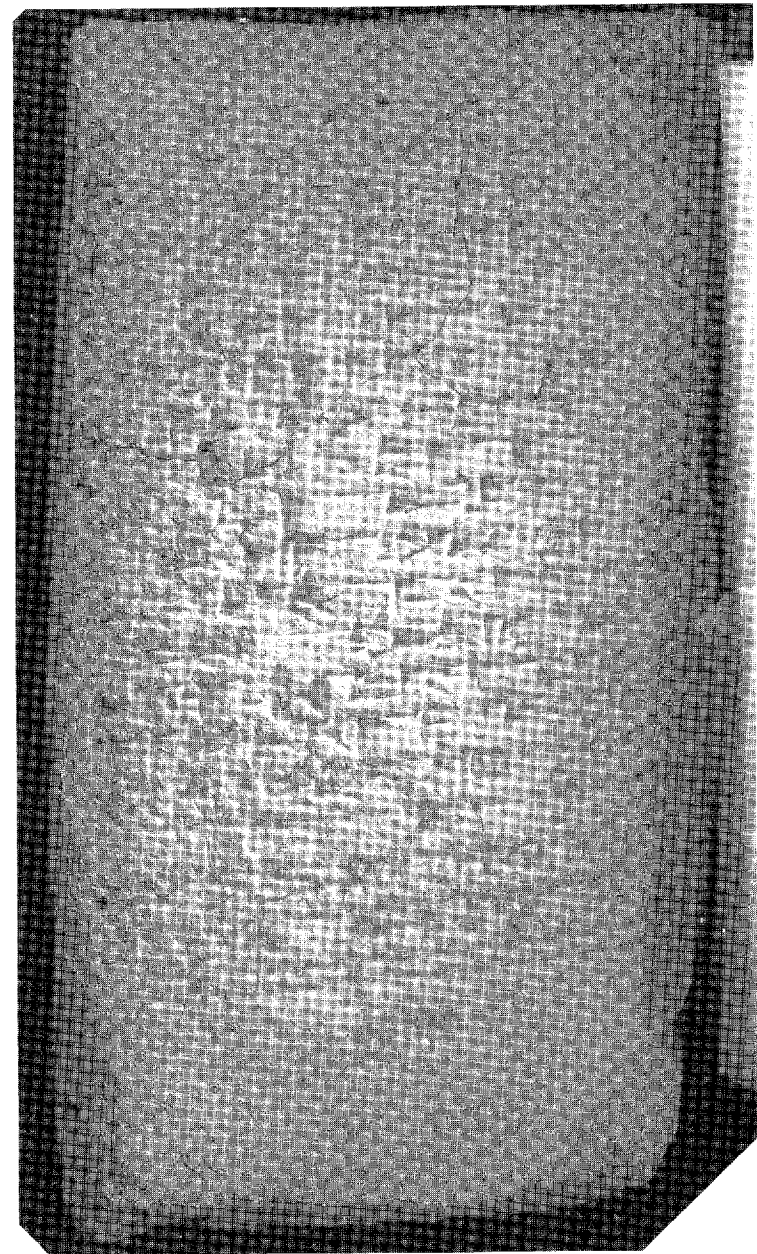
43. For *nam-ħe* as a variant for *nam-ħé*, see Falkenstein, SGL 1, 56–57.  
 47. The line count of 43 presumably excludes our lines 27, 44, 46, 47.



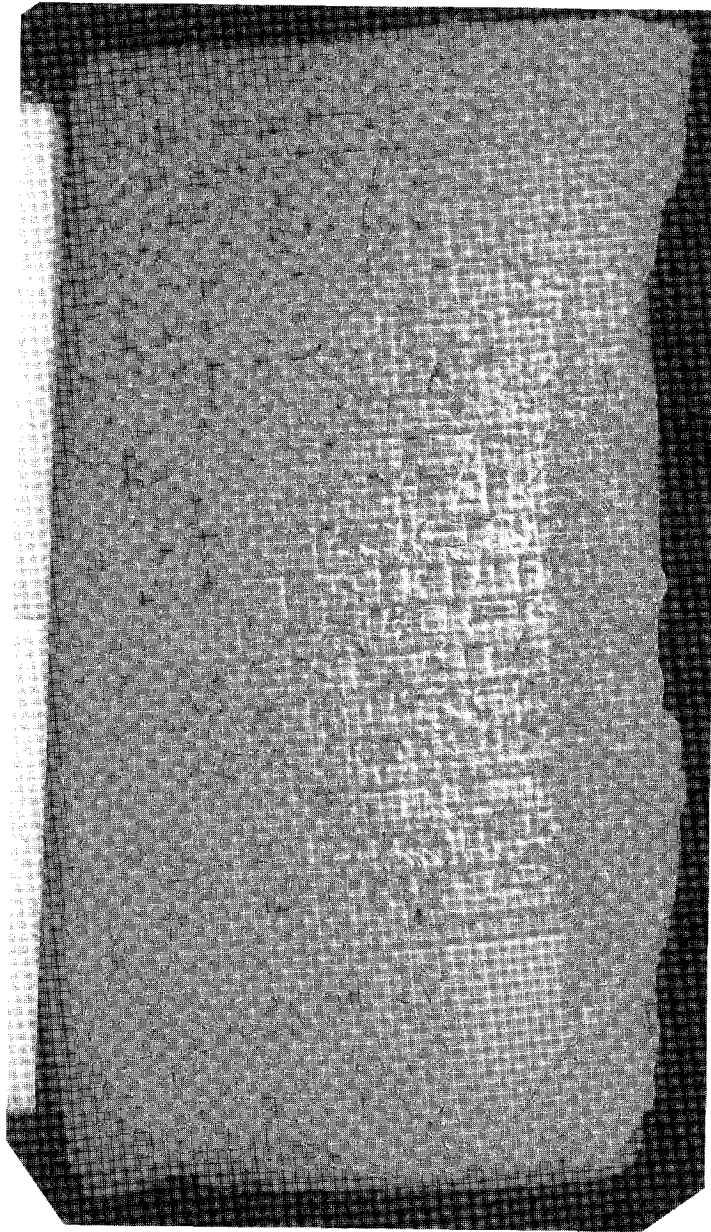
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## SHULGI THE RUNNER: SUMERIAN – TALMUDIC AFFINITIES

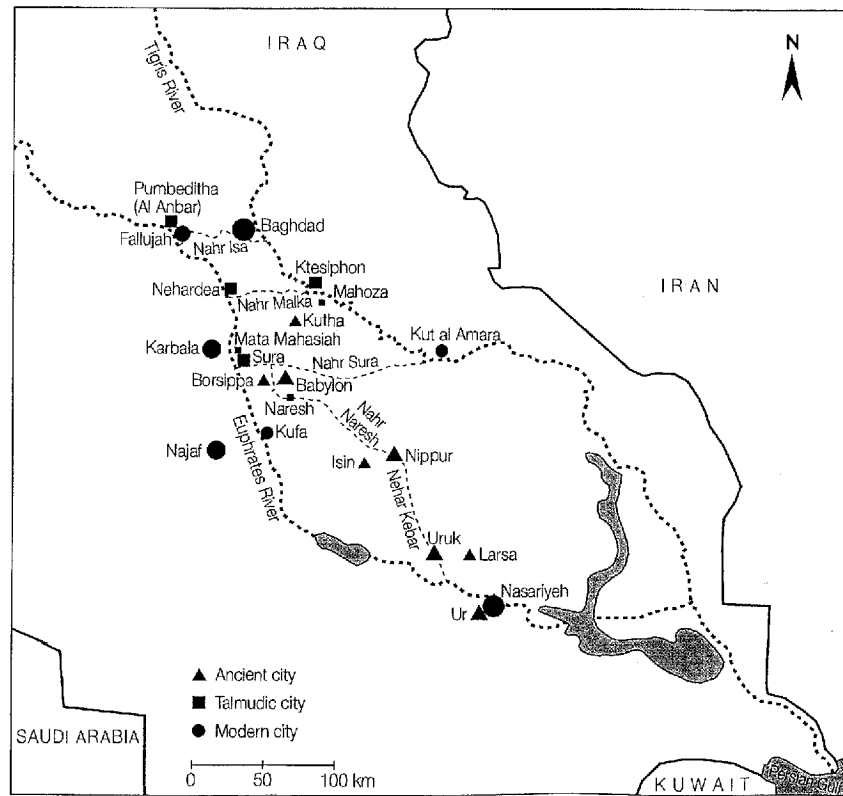
AARON DEMSKY  
*Bar-Ilan University*

JACOB KLEIN is closely associated with the fame of Shulgi, a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2094–2047 B.C.E.). He has translated and illuminated the literary works written in praise of the heroic deeds and the ideal of kingship attributed to this illustrious historic figure, thereby making Shulgi accessible to the scholarly community as well as to the Hebrew and English reading public.<sup>1</sup> In tribute to Jacob's work on Shulgi, I would like to raise three issues in this paper: the first is an answer to a question he himself has asked regarding the Shulgi tradition; the second is the recognition of the place of long-distance running especially in ancient Israel; and the third is the possible literary echo of the Shulgi run in talmudic literature.

### *Shulgi's Fantastic Run*

One of Shulgi's best-known achievements was his fantastic run between the political capital of Ur (Tel el-Muqayyer, near present day Nasariyeh) and the religious center of Nippur (Tel Niffer), a distance just under 150 km (see map). The run was made in order to celebrate the lunar festival on the same day in both cities. This accomplishment is the theme in the self-laudatory hymn Shulgi A: "Shulgi King of the Road"—"a composition of great popularity and wide geographical distribution."<sup>2</sup> According to the

1. J. Klein, *Three Shulgi Hymns—Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Shulgi of Ur* (Ramat-Gan, 1981), esp. pp. 167–217; idem, "Shulgi and Ishme Dagan: Runners in the Service of the Gods (SRT13)," *Beer Sheva* 2 (1985): 7\*–38\*; S. Shifra–J. Klein, *In Those Distant Days* (Tel Aviv, 1996), 482–87 [Hebrew].
2. Klein, *Three Shulgi Hymns*, pp. 167ff.; See "Shulgi and Ishme Dagan," pp. 20\*–21\*: SRT 13, lines 22–25: "On a day that dawned for prosperity, was destined for clouds of rain. From the Kiur (of Nippur) he verily ran to the Shrine of Ur, the Etemenniguru. The princely bowls of Nanna, stationed in the morning-dining-hall, he provided with copious rations."



BABYLONIA

hymn lines 75–78, he ran the fifteen “double hours” or “miles”<sup>3</sup> from Nippur to Ur and then returned to Nippur before nightfall. This run was carried out in Shulgi’s seventh regnal year, which was named for the event: “year: when the king marched from Ur to Nippur.”<sup>4</sup>

3. The “double hour” or “mile” is Sumerian DANNA and Akkadian *bēru* (=21,600 cubits). It is a measure for long overland distances, M.A. Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Bd 7 (1987–90), 471, 477.

4. See W.W. Hallo, “Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King,” *Supplements VT* 40 (1988), 61.

D. Frayne suggested that the royal run was made to dramatize the historic opening of a new highway between the two cities.<sup>5</sup> The likelihood for this *Sitz im Leben* of the hymn is amply illuminated in lines 29–35, which describe the way-stations the king established along the road, where travelers could refresh themselves. It is possible, as well, that in Nippur Shulgi set up a statue of himself as a runner to commemorate this event.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly the illustrious Ishme-Dagan, king of the First Dynasty of Isin–Larsa (1953–1935 B.C.E.), is described as a heroic runner who day and night tirelessly runs toward Nippur to care for its needs.<sup>7</sup> He, too, probably set up a commemorative statue of himself as a long-distance runner.<sup>8</sup> By erecting a statue, inscribed or not, the kings wanted to publicize their physical prowess through another medium other than the literary hymnal, which is restricted to the literati and their limited audience.

From a literary point of view, I might add that Shulgi’s prowess as a long-distance runner may have been seen as inherited from, or at least influenced, by the mythic blessing of the Anzu-bird to Lugalbanda, king of Uruk, an ancestor of Shulgi. He, too, was given the ability to tirelessly run long distances.<sup>9</sup>

As noted by Klein and others, there is apparently a contradiction between the hymn, which emphasizes the round trip—Nippur→Ur→Nippur—and the date formula, which commemorates just a one directional up-river run. Klein resolves this contradiction by suggesting two possible solutions. Conceivably, the date formula follows the hymn and emphasizes only the second and most important part of the run, which was carried out during a fierce storm. The second possibility is that the kernel of the story is found in the date formula, which refers to a one-directional march from Ur to Nippur. This may have been embellished upon with a return trip, composed later, perhaps posthumously.<sup>10</sup>

Taking up the second possibility, I would like to suggest a literary reason for adding a return trip. The return run implies that Shulgi ran a total of 30 DANNA, a subtle play on the number that signifies in cuneiform script the moon-god Suen, “the noble son of Anu” who protects Shulgi (Shulgi A, l. 101) and whose lunar festival Shulgi was celebrating in both cities by this

5. D. Frayne, “Shulgi, the Runner,” *JAOS* 103/4 (1983): 739–48.

6. Klein, *ThSH*, p. 240; Frayne, *op. cit.*, pp. 746f.

7. Klein, “Shulgi and Ishme Dagan,” pp. 28\*, 34ff\*: SRT 13, lines 44ff. Actually, Isin is some 20 km west of Nippur.

8. Frayne, *op. cit.*, p. 748.

9. See “Adventures of Lugalbanda,” *Distant Days*, 172–73, lines 167–217 [Hebrew]. Note that Shulgi compares himself to the Anzu-bird in Shulgi A, line 45.

10. Klein, *ThSH*, p. 181; *Distant Days*, p. 483.



fantastic run. In other words, the author of the hymn, motivated by the numerical symbolism, expanded on Shulgi's march from Ur to Nippur by having him first go from Nippur to Ur, implying a *thirty* "mile" (ca. 300 km) trip and all that in one day!

Indeed, the numerical symbolism attributed to the nine "great gods" of Assyria is dated much later—from the thirteenth century B.C.E. S. Parpola, however, states that "some of these (numbers) were traditional and can easily be explained: the number of Sin, the moon-god (30), for example, occurs in texts as early as the third millennium and is clearly derived from the ideal length of the lunar month (30 days)."<sup>11</sup>

The motif of long-distance running, therefore, echoed through Sumerian culture and certainly, in its literary form, was inherited by their Semitic cultural heirs. Perhaps it even filtered through orally in local folklore or in visual arts. Whatever the case, it seems to me that the symbolism of the number thirty attributed to Suen was a determining factor in the composition of the hymn celebrating a long-distance round-trip run of thirty "miles" honoring the moon-god.

#### *Long-Distance Running and the History of Sport*

It is surprising that Shulgi's athletic achievements are absent from some more recent general studies and have not been given their deserved place in the history of sport. Long-distance running was a noteworthy aspect of physical training in the ancient world as a means of building up stamina, agility, and speed.<sup>12</sup> It had several applications. Primarily, it was an important aspect of military training of the infantry. Sometimes the runners are depicted bearing arms. Others were trained to be messengers. Vassals or those needing to show a sign of fealty ran before the king's chariot. Secondly, running down prey was a form of hunting for food, especially for deer. Finally, competitive athletics was probably an aspect of military training, where one raced against another runner or against time, overcoming difficult terrain or weather conditions (as Shulgi had done), as well as outrunning horses.

11. S. Parpola, "Monotheism in Ancient Assyria," in Barbara N. Porter, ed., *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World* (Chebeague Island, 2000), 182.

12. See E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (reprinted, Chicago, 1978), ch. IX "The Stadium and the Foot-Race," pp. 128–43; Robert A. Mechikoff and Steven G. Estes, *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education from Ancient Civilizations to the Modern World* (3rd ed.; Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 19–20. Both these studies give little or no place to the ancient Near East. I wish to thank Dr. Haggai Harif for his help regarding the History of Sport. However, this oversight has been corrected in the recent paper by E.M. Yamauchi, "Athletics in the Ancient Near East," in R.E. Averbeck, M.W. Chavalas, and D.B. Weisberg, eds., *Life and Culture in the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, 2003), 491–500, esp. pp. 492f.

In order to place Shulgi's run in the framework of this category of social history, I would like to make some preliminary remarks regarding long-distance running as it appears in another area of Klein's academic interests—that of the history and literature of ancient Israel.<sup>13</sup>

Certainly military training demanded building up stamina by running. It is no wonder that several biblical accounts mention that the king's soldiers (*ragli*) were as fleet as a gazelle. One of the most notable was Asahel the son of David's sister Zeruah (2 Sam 2:18) or the description of David's Heroes (1 Chr 12:9). In general, speed is an essential factor in outmaneuvering the enemy in the field of battle and ensuring victory (cf. Gen 14:14–15). There were runners in the Israelite court from its very beginning (1 Sam 8:11). They were there to carry out the king's orders post-haste. In the Judean monarchy there was even a Runners' Gate in the palace (שַׁעַר הַרָּצִים, 2 Kgs 11:19; 2 Chr 23:20: Upper Gate).

Runners were found particularly in various royal ceremonies, sometimes accompanying the king from the palace into the Temple, while carrying gold and later bronze shields (1 Kgs 14:27–28). Certainly running before the king's chariot was a sign of honor and fealty. The usurpers Absalom and his brother Adonijah, each in his turn, had fifty runners apiece (2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kgs 1:5). Even the prophet Elijah ran no short distance from Mt. Carmel to Jezreel before King Ahab's chariot (1 Kgs 18:46). Elisha's servant, Gehazi, ran by foot over an undefined distance of *kiverat 'aretz* and overtook the chariot of Naaman (2 Kgs 5:19ff.). Perhaps when he went to Damascus in 732 B.C.E. to signal his loyalty to Tiglath Pileser III (2 Kgs 16:9–10), the vassal King Ahaz also ran before the Assyrian's chariot. The epigraphic evidence illuminates this possibility: King Panammuwa of Samal was present at the siege of Damascus and he ran before the emperor's chariot—he was probably in no condition to do so, for he died there.<sup>14</sup>

Long-distance running is a non-combative form of athletics. However, in the Bible, the topic is generally placed in a military context. The later talmudic passages, on the other hand, do refer to sport activities, reflecting the contemporary importance of athletics in the Greco-Roman world.<sup>15</sup>

13. D.F. Pinczower, *The Jewish Runner* (Jerusalem, 1994) [Hebrew, translated from F. Pinczower, *Der Jüdische Läufer* (Berlin, 1937)]; S. Muntner, "Physical Training in the Bible and Talmud," *Koroth* 9 (1991): 855–65.

14. H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962), #215 lines 12–13: ורץ בגלגל מראה תגלה פלטר מלך אשר ("He ran at the wheel [of the chariot] of his lord Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria"); See also U. Rütterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit* (Stuttgart, 1985), 30–32.

15. Even in Babylon there were foot races as might be implied from the popular saying: שִׁתִּין רְדוּשֵׁי רְדוּשֵׁי וְלֹא מוֹשֵׁר לִגְבֵּרָא דְמַצְפָּרָא כִּרְךְ ("Sixty runners will not beat a man who has eaten breakfast") (BT Bava Qamma 92b; Bava Metzi'a 107b).

Two cases will illustrate these tendencies. The first is that of Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok the High Priest. The background of his run is Absalom's attempt to depose his father, David (2 Sam 18: 19–32). The final stage of the incident takes place in an undisclosed site in “the forest of Ephraim” where Absalom is killed by Joab. Who will inform David—now in Mahanaim—of the victory over his enemies and relate the bad news that his favorite son, Absalom, was killed? Although Ahimaaz volunteers, Joab prefers to send a fast runner who happens to be a Cushite. Ahimaaz decides that he must run also in order to soften the blow of the bad news. In order to do so he has to beat the professional messenger who has already set out before him. It's a classic case of a competitive race against another runner, against time, and as we see from the story, against unkind terrain. The key to Ahimaaz's success as mentioned in vs. 23 is that he chose not to run the more difficult path through the hill country, but rather to descend and run along the Jordan plain to Mahanaim, thereby passing the Cushite and winning the race.

In order to maintain their lines of communications over vast distances, the great empires—as well as the Israelite monarchies on a smaller scale—employed fleet foot soldiers and horsemen. However, most biblical references to couriers (as in the Book of Esther) are not very descriptive.<sup>16</sup> Needless to say, the runner as messenger had an important and integral place in the royal court.

The prophet Jeremiah was aware of racing as well as this royal postal service, for he provides details regarding relay runners in Jer 51:31–32:

רץ לקראת רץ ומגיד לקראת מגיד להגיד למלך בבל כי נלכדה עירו מקצה.  
והמעברות נתפסו ואת האגמים שרפו באש ואנשי המלחמה נבהלו.

Runner dashes to meet runner, messenger to meet messenger. To report to the king of Babylon that his city is captured from end to end. The fords are captured, and the swamp thickets are consumed in fire; and the fighting men are in panic. (NJPS)

Another enlightening passage that seems to indicate competitive aspects of running or military training is Jer 12:5:

כי את רגלים רצתה וילאוך ואיך תתחרה את סוסים,  
ובארץ שלום את כוטה ואיך תעשה בגאון הירדן.

If you race with foot-runners and they exhaust you, how then can you compete with horses? If you are secure only in a tranquil land, how will you fare in the jungle of the Jordan? (NJPS)<sup>17</sup>

16. On the subject of messengers, see D. Algavish, *The Diplomatic Service in the Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Sources* (Jerusalem, 1998) [Hebrew]; S.A. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World* (1988).

17. See A. Malamet, “Foot Runners in Israel and Egypt in the Third Intermediate

In this double *a fortiori* argument the prophet refers to racing with *raglim*, i.e., professional runners, as well as competing with horses. A. Malamet suggested horses allude to horse-drawn chariots and in the second half of the verse the prophet refers to two types of running terrains: a good surface ‘*ereẓ shalom* and an unsuitable one filled with thickets and wild animals like the jungle of Jordan. This verse is expanded upon in the BT Sanhedrin 96a, where it reflects on this sport:

משל לאדם אחד שאמר: יכול אני לרוץ שלש פרסאות לפני הסוסים, בין בצעי המים. נודמן לו רגלי אחד, רץ לפניו שלשה מילין ביבשה ונלאה. — אמרו לו: ומה לפני רגלי כך, לפני הסוסים — על אחת כמה וכמה. ומה שלשת מילין כך, שלש פרסאות — על אחת כמה וכמה. ומה ביבשה כך — בין בצעי המים על אחת כמה וכמה!

It is analogous to a man who said: “I can run three parsangs and beat horses in a marshland” (Rashi). He met a runner whom he raced for three miles<sup>18</sup> on solid ground and he was exhausted. They said to him: “You can't beat a runner and you expect to outrun horses. What in three miles (you tire), (what will be for) three parsangs (four times the distance)? On solid ground (you fail), what will be in marshland?”

According to rabbinic sources, an average person could walk ten parsangs in a twelve-hour day (BT Pesahim 94a).<sup>19</sup> Compare the story of the Greek soldier Pheidippidis, who, in 490 B.C.E., ran from the front at the plains of Marathon to Athens, a distance of some 40 km to announce the Greek victory over the Persians. He died from exhaustion shortly after delivering his message (Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* 6, 94ff.).

In the context of the Shulgi story, where the ideal king has the physical prowess to make a fantastic run, it is noteworthy to find this attribute among Israelite kings. In David's lament of King Saul and Prince Jonathan, he mentions their being fleet of foot *קלו מנשרים* (2 Sam 1:23). In his song of thanksgiving in 2 Sam 22 (// Psalms 18), he attributes his own physical and military powers as God given: “The God who girded me with might, Who kept my path secure, Who made my legs like a deer's ... You have let me stride on freely, and my feet have not slipped. I pursued my enemies,

Period,” *History of Biblical Israel—Major Problems and Minor Issues* (Leiden, 2001), 362–65. He temptingly explains the verb *בוטה* as “to fall.” In particular, see his discussion of the stele from the reign of Taharqa dated to 685 B.C.E., in which there is a description of Egyptian military exercise of daily runs over a route of 100 km (both directions) in nine hours, averaging 11 km per hour.

18. One Roman mile is 1,480 meters. An average person could walk 40 miles in a day according to PT Berakhot 1:1; 2c. Some rabbinic sources say that a half a day's journey is “15 miles, the distance between Modiin and Jerusalem” (BT Pesahim 93b)—actually it is about 25 km.

19. A *parsah* or *parsang* is a Persian “mile.” According to Powell, one DANNA/*bēru* equals 2 parsangs, roughly 10.6 to 11.5 km, “Masse und Gewichte,” p. 467.

and wiped them out" (vss. 33, 37f.). Of particular interest is the Midrash on 1 Sam 4:12:

וידן איש בנימין מהמרכה ויבא שילה ביום ההוא ומדיו קרועים ואדמה על ראשו.  
זה שאול. ר' לוי ור' סימון ורבנן חד [ד' לוי] אמר ששים מיל הלך שאול באותו היום;  
במערכה היה, ושמע שנשבו הלוחות והלך וחטפן מיד גלית ובא. ורבי סימון אמר מאה  
ועשרים מיל הלך שאול באותו היום; בשילו היה, ושמע שנשבו הלוחות והלך וחטפן מיד  
גלית ובא. ורבנן אמרין מאה ושמנים מיל הלך שאול באותו היום. במערכה היה, וברה  
לשילה ושמע שנשבו הלוחות והלך וחטפן מיד גלית ובא.

In the Midrash, this anonymous runner is the young Saul, who will become the first king of Israel:

"And a man of Benjamin ran from the front and came to Shiloh the same day; his clothes were rent and there was earth on his head."

Rabbi Levi, Rabbi Simon and the Rabbis (discussed this verse): This is Saul.  
[Rabbi Levi] said: "Saul traveled 60 miles that day. He was at the front when he heard that the tablets were captured. He went and seized them from Goliath and brought them (the tablets) to Shiloh."

Rabbi Simon said: "Saul travelled 120 miles that day. He was in Shiloh when he heard that the tablets were captured. He went 60 miles to the war front, grabbed the tablets from the hands of Goliath and returned them to Shiloh."

The Rabbis said: "Saul travelled 180 miles that day. He was at the front and fled to Shiloh where he heard that the tablets were seized. He returned to the front and took them from Goliath and returned them to Shiloh" (Midrash Samuel 11, 1; Midrash Psalms 7, 2).

The object of the Midrash is exegetical—to name the anonymous personality in the biblical text and perhaps to give more details on young Saul's physical powers, especially in the light of David's lament mentioned above. The actual distance between Aphek and Shiloh is about 35 km, a not inconceivable distance to run even in an uphill direction. This Midrash lends itself to a comparison with the Shulgi run for both heroes are royal personages, both the starting and finish points are significant to the story, and, as I contend, both accounts tend to embellish the story by adding multiples of the length of the run on the same day. However, there is no intertextual connection between both cases, but the Midrash can serve as an enlightening independent parallel.

To sum up, there is a wealth of sources on long-distance running found in biblical and talmudic literatures that has yet to be studied and accorded recognition in the history of ancient sports and athletics. In particular, we find that there are different styles of races. One can compete

against another runner, outrun horses or other animals for food.<sup>20</sup> There are restraints due to time, terrain, weather conditions, and just physical endurance. Distances might be unlimited or fixed for competitions such as stadia in the Olympics.<sup>21</sup> Other events might be in terms of the Roman mile, the Persian *parsang*, or the Akkadian *bēru*. Lastly, distance might be in terms of running between two significant cities. It is hoped, that historians of sport, who have concentrated on ancient Greece and Egypt, will now have a better appreciation of Shulgi's fame as an athlete, especially in light of biblical and midrashic parallels.

#### *A Possible Talmudic Echo*

I have noted above literary parallels to the Shulgi story. There is no doubt that these biblical and talmudic sources are independent creations with no direct connection to the Sumerian sources. However, it seems to me that there might be a talmudic echo to the Shulgi story in a passage that has received little attention in rabbinic discussion. The aggadic passage is found in BT 'Eruvin 43a, where it forms an aside within a halakhic discourse regarding the distance that one may travel on the Sabbath. I cite it in the original Aramaic according to the better mss:<sup>22</sup>

בעי רב חנניא: "יש תחומין למעלה מעשרה [מפחים] או אין תחומין למעלה מעשרה?"  
... הא שמע: הני שב שמעתה מהאמרן בצפרא דשבתא קמיה דרב חסדא בסורא,  
ובהרי פניא דשבתא קמיה דרבא בפומבדיתא. מאי לאו אליהו אמרינהו? אלמא:  
אין תחומין (למעלה מעשרה)! דילמא יוסף שירא אמרינהו.

Rav Hananya asked, "Are there restricted distances (on the Sabbath) above 10 (handbreadths, above the ground) or are there not?" ... Come and hear: Who was it that said the Seven Rulings<sup>23</sup> on the Sabbath morning before Rav Hisda in Sura and on the same Sabbath afternoon before Raba in Pumbeditha. Wasn't it Elijah the Prophet who said them? Ergo: The law of Sabbath limits is inapplicable (above ten handbreadths above

20. On Esau's method of hunting, see Tanḥuma Toldot 11; also Rabbi Yoḥanan's testimony: "פעם אחת רצתי אחר צבי ... רצתי אחריו שלוש פרסאות" ("Once I ran after a gazelle for three *parsangs*") (BT Niddah 24b).
21. In ancient Greece there was a foot race in the stadium, where the course was about the length of 170 to 190 meters, based on the *stadia* found in different ancient sites, see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–43.
22. I am grateful to Prof. Shamma Friedman, who has shared his expertise with me on these talmudic sources.
23. On the "Seven Rulings" *שב שמעתה*, see TB Hullin 42b, where it refers to the rulings regarding animals afflicted with fatal defects, i.e., *trefot* (Meiri). S. Friedman has suggested that it is a literary devise, "A Critical Study of Yevamot X with a Methodological Introduction," in H.Z. Dimitrovsky, ed., *Texts and Studies—Analecta Judaica*, vol. 1 (New York, 1977), 319.

the ground)! Perhaps it was **Joseph the Demon** (Rashi: who was not bound by the Sabbath restrictions) who delivered them?

This passage is brought as a proof that the restricted distance in Shabbat (תְּחִלַּת הַחֹמֶת) of 2000 cubits does not apply above the height of ten handbreadths from the ground. Since the distance between these cities is greater than the permitted Sabbath distance, no ordinary person could travel in one day between Sura<sup>24</sup> and Pumbeditha,<sup>25</sup> an estimated 100 km, to deliver the lessons. Sura is located at the point where the Nil Canal (Nahr Sura) joined the Euphrates, east of present-day Karbala. Pumbeditha has been identified with a site (Al-Anbar) on the Euphrates where it was joined by the Nahr Isa (talmudic: Nahr Shanwatta), connecting it with Baghdad on the Tigris. Today it is within the confines of Fallujah (see map).<sup>26</sup>

The Talmud concludes that in order to make this superhuman run it had to be Elijah the Prophet who must have flown<sup>27</sup> above the ten handbreadths to avoid violating the prescribed Sabbath distance. Therefore, this is proof that the restricted distance (תְּחִלַּת הַחֹמֶת) does not apply to airspace above 10 handbreadths. This is challenged by the possibility that the messenger was the demon Joseph, who is not bound by the Sabbath restrictions and, therefore, we cannot infer anything regarding the Sabbath distance either on the ground or above it.

While the links in the literary transmission are not known and direct influence of the Shulgi material on the talmudic passage cannot be proven, there are definite points of similarity between the two that justify a comparison and raise the possibility of a common folk tradition. For one, both take place in ancient Mesopotamia within close geographical proximity; two, they share the same motif of superhuman "runs" between two designated sites. Both sites are over 100 km from each other, not a normal distance even for a strong runner,<sup>28</sup> and both are important centers in each of

the two respective historic cultures. Finally, the point of both stories is that the day of the run is significant to the respective accounts.

It should be noted, that the Talmud takes the incident as a supernatural event, either carried out by Elijah the Prophet, who is known for such extraordinary feats,<sup>29</sup> or by the demon Joseph Shida.<sup>30</sup> The fact that it was a demon that made this run strengthens the assumption that this motif derived ultimately from local folklore. Note the popular Arabic saying: *'al'ajala min aššaytān* "Quickness is a demonic characteristic." There are other instances where demons and monsters from an ancient Mesopotamian folk tradition frequent the domain of the Babylonian study hall and even discourse with the rabbis (e.g., BT Hullin 105b–106a). A case in point would be the appearance of the seven-headed dragon (the *mušmahlu*)<sup>31</sup> that threatened to kill Abaye in his own *yeshivah*. Abaye was saved only by the prayers of Rav Aḥa bar Ya'acov (BT Qiddushin 29b).

Much remains to be done in creating a methodology for identifying traces of ancient Near Eastern culture in talmudic law and lore. Literary parallels, direct borrowings, indirect influence or oral traditions have to be determined.<sup>32</sup> While most scholars agree that Persian magic and demonol-

29. See BT Qiddushin 40a, where Elijah flies 400 parsangs to catch Rav Kahana before he hits the ground after falling from the roof. Note that the biblical tradition mentioned above had already shown Elijah to be a long-distance runner.

30. See Rashi, who says that Joseph Shida does not keep the Sabbath. Joseph Shida also appeared to Rav Yosef (third-generation Amora, Rosh Yeshivat Pumbeditha) telling him about Ashmadai, King of the Demons' control over pairs or even-numbers, and similarly he appears again to inform Rav Pappa (fifth-generation Amora, from Naresh [*< nār rēši* "head canal" or *< nār eššu* "new canal"], south of Sura) that even-numbers can kill (BT Pesahim 110a). It is noteworthy that his name is Hebrew! As the Zohar mentions regarding this passage, there were benevolent demons who even knew both Written and Oral Torah, such as Joseph Shida (Zohar, Pinḥas 253a; Teze' 277a), R. Margalioth, *Mal'akhe 'Elyon* (Jerusalem, 1964), 233–34. I wish to thank Prof. Meir Bar-Ilan for this reference and his thoughts on these matters. In this context, note S. Kaufman's remark: "The Akkadian *shedū* is generally a good demon, where in Aramaic it is usually malevolent," *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic Assyriological Studies* 19 (Chicago, 1974), 101–2.

31. See J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 1992), 165a.

32. See J.H. Tigay, "On Evaluating Claims of Literary Borrowing," in M.E. Cohen, D. C. Snell, D.B. Weisberg, eds., *The Tablet and the Scroll (Studies in the History of the Hebrew Bible)*, 250–55. Compare the words of caution of U. Cassuto regarding identifying ancient Canaanite mythic elements in Midrash, "The Israelite Epic," in *Biblical and Canaanite Literatures*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1972), 71–72 [Hebrew]. In a paper I wrote in 1978, I attempted to show a direct literary borrowing of the Old Babylonian curse formula found in the Epilogue of Hammurapi by Phoenician scribes who composed the Aḥiram inscription. These scribes bridged two languages, two different scripts and two literary genres, A. Demsky, "Mesopotamian and Canaanite Literary Traditions in the Aḥiram Curse Formula," *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978): 7–11 [Hebrew]. Over a

24. See J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (Frankfurt a/M, 1929), 283–87; B.Z. Eshel, *Jewish Settlements in Babylonia during Talmudic Times* (Jerusalem, 1979), 194–96 [Hebrew].

25. Obermeyer, op. cit., pp. 215–24; Eshel, op. cit., pp. 208–11.

26. S. Friedman has brought to my attention that there are other legal cases where testimony has been given that a man was in Sura on a weekday morning and in Nehardea later that same day. Rabba concludes that it is possible if he traveled by a "flying camel" (נִמְלֵא פְרִיָהָא), i.e., a racing camel that is as fleet as a bird (Rashi on BT Makkot 5a; also see BT Yevamot 116a). Actually, Nehardea is halfway between Sura and Pumbeditha, an estimated day and half journey. It is located on the canal called Nahr Malka, linking it to Mahoza south of Ktesiphon on the Tigris, Obermeyer op. cit., pp. 244ff.; Eshel op. cit., pp. 153–56.

27. They must be assuming a קפיצה הדרדך "quick leap" over the terrain (Rabeinu Ḥananel).

28. Note that the visit of Rav Naḥman (of Nehardea) to Sura was not an easy journey, BT Shavuot 48b.



ogy had a great influence on the Jewish community,<sup>33</sup> there is room to research traces of Sumero-Akkadian folklore and even legal traditions in the Talmud. Remnants of an earlier Mesopotamian civilization seem to have been known. For instance, Rav, the early-third-century C.E. Amora from Sura, states that there are five functioning pagan temples in the world, two of which were located not far from Sura: that of Bel in Babylon and that of Nabu in Borsip(!) (BT 'Avodah Zarah 11b; see also BT Sanhedrin 109a).

David Weisberg summed it up: "The Rabbinic academies of Pumbeditha, Nehardea and Sura were a stone's throw from the sites of the old Mesopotamian cult-centers and cities. There is more reason for supposing a link between Sura and Babylon than between Beersheba and Nuzi or Benjamin and Mari."<sup>34</sup> It is noteworthy therefore that there are a growing number of studies drawing from linguistic, folkloristic, and legal disciplines that indicate the existence of intercultural contact between the ancient Near Eastern worlds of Mesopotamia and Babylonian Jewry.<sup>35</sup>

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thousand years later, the curse reappeared in Babylonian-Aramaic as an oral statement in the mouth of a distressed woman who insulted the rabbinic authority by saying: הפכוה לכוורטיה ("Overturn his seat [of authority]") (BT Giṭṭin 35a), A. Demsky, "The Cultural Continuum of a Canaanite Curse," *Leshonenu* 34 (1970): 185–86 [Hebrew].

33. See I. Gafni, *The Jews of Babylonia in the Talmudic Era—A Social and Culture History* (Jerusalem, 1990), 167–72 [Hebrew]. The Book of Tobit, written in the Achaemenid (Persian) period, is set in Mesopotamia. It tells of the angel Raphael curing Tobit of cataracts by applying fish bile to his eyes (3:16; 11:8–9). It seems to me that there is an unnoticed parallel in BT Nedarim 54b (see also BT Bava Metzi'a 85b): The Amora Samuel of Nehardea, who was also a doctor, seems to have known of this cure when he coined the mnemonic acrostic: ן"ע"י"ן, סנו"ך, נו"ן, נונה סמא לעינייהם—"Fish is a remedy for the eyes".
34. D.B. Weisberg, "Some Observations on Late Babylonian Texts and Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA* 39 (1968): 73.
35. See, for example, E.A. Speiser, "Early Law and Civilization" in J.J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, eds., *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 534–55; Weisberg, op. cit., pp. 71–80, and literature cited; idem and B.Z. Wacholder, "Visibility of the New Moon in Cuneiform and Rabbinic Sources," *HUCA* 42 (1971): 227–242; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (Leiden, 1969), passim; J. Elman, "Babylonian Echoes in a Late Rabbinic Legend," *JANES* 4/1 (1972): 13–19; S. Friedman, "The Case of a Woman with Two Husbands in Talmudic and Ancient Near Eastern Law," *Israel Law Review* 15 (1980): 530–58 and literature cited; I. Jacobs, "Elements of Near Eastern Mythology in Rabbinic Agaddah," *JJS* 28 (1977): 1–11; M.J. Geller, "The Survival of Babylonian Wissenschaft in Later Traditions" in S. Aro and R.M. Whiting, eds., *The Heirs of Assyria* (Helsinki, 2000), 1–6; N. Wazana, "Anzu and Ziz: Traces of a Mythological Bird in the Ancient Near East, the Bible and in Rabbinic Traditions," *Shnaton* 14 (2004): 161–91 [Hebrew].

The geographic proximity of their centers and the continuity of spoken Semitic languages, especially Aramaic, argue for intercultural ties between ancient Mesopotamia and the indigenous talmudic world. Similar or identical literary motifs, such as the topic dealt with in this paper—that of the one-day long-distance intercity run—forms the basis of comparison. It is quite plausible, then, that echoes of Shulgi's celebrated run, preserved in the folklore, may reverberate in talmudic tradition associated with Joseph the Demon. If so, Shulgi's fame, faint as it was, lived on over twenty-three hundred years in ancient Mesopotamia, a fulfillment of sorts of Shulgi's wish "that my name be established for *distant days*, that it never fall into oblivion. That my fame be praised in the Land" (Shulgi A, ll. 36–37).

In summary, influenced by the research of Jacob Klein, I have tried to clarify the relationship between Shulgi A and the date formula regarding the distance of Shulgi's fantastic run by suggesting that the hymn implies that he ran 30 DANNA, a number that signified the moon-god Suen. I went on to compare the types of long-distance runners in biblical and Jewish sources as a contribution to the history of sport. I have also noted a possible literary echo of the Shulgi story in the Babylonian Talmud. In so doing I have pointed to the need for more comprehensive studies of the intercultural and literary affinities of ancient Mesopotamia and the talmudic world.



## SUMERIAN ONE TO ONE HUNDRED TWENTY REVISITED

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THE BLESSING “*ad me’ā-u-‘ešrīm*” or “biz hundert-un-tsvantsik” is a welcome departure for dealing with the Sumerian cardinal numbers up to twice sixty. The author never was very happy with his article of more than twenty years ago, “Sumerisch 1 bis 10 in Ebla,”<sup>1</sup> because of several premature statements that are badly in need of revision.

In 1983, I.M. Diakonoff reacted with his well-known broad-minded linguistic scope.<sup>2</sup> One year before, M. Civil had discovered that a monolingual Sumerian lexical list, attested at Šuruppag (Fara), Abū Šalābīḥ, Susa, and Ebla,<sup>3</sup> had an Ebla-Akkadian counterpart.<sup>4</sup> Civil provided (p. 7) a chart of diachronic syllabic notations of Sumerian cardinal numbers (partly already in Powell 1971, see below).

For the reader’s convenience we repeat here the Ebla list published by Edzard 1980, adding the cardinal numbers 20 to 60 as well as 120. Each number will receive a brief commentary. M.A. Powell’s treatment in “Sumerian Numeration and Metrology”<sup>5</sup> has been partly superseded by

1. *Studi Eblaiti* 3/5–8 (1980), 121–27 + figs. 26a–b.

G. Pettinato, “La pronuncia sumerica dei numeri da 1 a 10 in un testo lessicale di Ebla,” *Annali dell’ Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 41 (1981): 141–43 + tav. I, by way of an astounding coincidence came to exactly the same result as Edzard 1980.

Civil 1982, 6: “studied separately by Pettinato ..... and by Edzard ....” disregards Edzard’s priority.

2. Diakonoff 1983, 83–93; in the offprint sent to the present author, Diakonoff replaced “mathematical speculation” by “mentality.”

We will not discuss here Diakonoff’s reconstruction of a number series 2–9 ending in -u and another one ending in -a, because we no longer agree with taking Ebla spelling à la lettre (see below, ad “2”).

3. Civil 1982, 1–26, esp. pp. 2–9.

4. The text is G. Pettinato, *MEE* 3 (1981), no. 63.

5. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971.

the same author’s “Maße and Gewichte” in *RIA* 7 (1987–90), 457–517. But Powell’s “Numeration” still stands as the most exhaustive description of the system, and we will often refer to it.

	<i>Ebla</i>	<i>Later Tradition</i> <sup>6</sup>
1.	(slanted vertical wedge)	[aš, deli/dili, diš, ge]
2.	mì-nu [min]	[min]
3.	iš <sub>11</sub> -ša-am [iš/eš+copula]	[eš]
4.	li-mu [limmu]	[limmu]
5.	i [ia]	[ia] (ia)
6.	A-šu [Aš]	[aš] (àš)
7.	ù-mì-nu [umin]	[umun] (umun <sub>5</sub> )
8.	ù-sa-am [us(a)+copula]	[ussu]
9.	i-li-mu [ilimmu]	[ilimmu]
10.	U <sub>9</sub> -wa-mu [haw+copula]	[u] (etc.)

### NOTES TO NUMBERS 1 TO 10

#### “1”

For dili (Proto-Ea 100, *MSL* 14 [1979] 35: di-li, de-e-li, du-li), aš (ibid., 98: a-aš), and diš (missing in Proto-Ea), so far only an approximate distribution pattern can be offered:

dili is “single, unique” (*wēdum*); cf. ni(n)ta-sağ-di-li, glossed sağ-dilû, “(man, single head =) bachelor” in *Gilgameš and Huwawa*.<sup>7</sup> Aš-ğ<sub>10</sub>-ne, Aš-ni “I, he/she all alone” is read dili-ni or aš(a)-ni by individual authors.<sup>8</sup>

If “6,” àš goes indeed back to a compound of 5+1, \*ia-(a)š, we would have here a clear instance of aš “1.” But how do we read Aš-diğir-re-ne “the only one of the gods” VS 10, 199 iii 4 (cf. A. Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 [1959] 66)? A similar uncertainty is found in the epithet of the moon-god, <sup>d</sup>Aš-im<sub>4</sub>/im-bar<sub>6</sub>-bar<sub>6</sub>.<sup>9</sup>

6. See the commentaries on the individual numbers.

7. See version A, en-e kur-lú-ti-la-šê, line 53; for the gloss NITA.ME.EŠ sağ-di-lu-ú (to nita-sağ-dili), see *ZA* 81 (1991): 184:51 text SiD.

8. aš-ni, e.g., *Angim* 197, J. S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52 (1978), 98; dili-ğ<sub>10</sub>-ne (“-mu-dé”), e.g., *Lugalbanda II* 286, C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (1969), 116.

9. There is no variant Aš; see M. Krebernik, *RIA* 8 (1993–97), 362f. s.v. “Mondgott. A. 1,” who tentatively translates the name as “der leuchtende (babbar) Alleinda-hineilende (Aš-im<sub>4</sub>/im).”

diš may have been the regular counting word in “one, two, three,” not bound to either person or non-person class: cf. bandiš “one seah,” ban-min “two seah,” etc. In first-millennium lexical sources there is, unfortunately, no one-to-one correspondence between Sumerian diš and Akkadian *ištēn*, the latter also serving as a translation for dili, aš, and ge<sub>(4)</sub>. On the other hand, (w)ēdu(m) seems exclusively to translate dili.

Why is diš absent from Proto-Ea (see above)? Was it a late-comer in Sumerian? One might argue that diš looks like a hybrid of dili and aš (at least so in our modern Latin transliteration). But such a presumption is impossible to prove because of the scarceness—or practical absence—of early non-numerical notations of the digits.

### “2”

Both Edzard 1980, 122 with fn. 6, and Diakonoff 1983, 84f., took the spelling mī-nu as evidence for a bisyllabic value [minu]. However, Ebla syllabic spelling does not yet clearly denote syllable-closing consonants. It often resorts to either CV(-C) or to CV-C(V) for actual CVC.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, there is no need to assume \*[minu] instead of [min], corresponding to the later form of the number. This also holds for the Ebla spelling me-ne (or mī-ne) quoted by Civil.<sup>11</sup>

For lexical glosses on “2,” see Powell 1971, 23–26; Civil 1982, table on p. 7; CAD Š/3, 32f. *šina*.

Apart from “1,” Sumerian has no synonym for “2,” but note tab “double, parallel.”

### “3”

Ebla iš<sub>11</sub>-ša-am can be explained only as [iš] or [eš] with the addition of the copula [am]. Note also the presence of the copula in “8” and—most probably—“10,” see below. But why should the copula have been added?<sup>12</sup> Civil 1982, 4 quotes another Ebla reference spelling the number “3” as iš-SI (Civil: -šī). Whatever the exact nature of the sibilant, iš-SI

hardly may be taken as a bisyllabic notation. Is it perhaps an early example, for the glossators’ *horror unius signi*.<sup>13</sup>

For more lexical glosses on “3,” see Powell 1971, 26–32; Civil 1982, table on p. 7; CAD Š/1, 232 *šalāš*.

### “4”

Ebla li-mu may stand for [limu] or rather [limmu]. The later glossators spelled lim-mu or rarely lim<sub>5</sub>(LAM)-mu; so, probably, long [mm] was intended.

“Quadrupeds” were níg-úr-limmu “things, four limbs” for which a non-orthodox Old Babylonian spelling offers ne-mu-li-mu: TCL 15, 3: 4’ (Šulpa’e hymn VS 2, 78 and parallels; see A. Falkenstein, ZA 55 [1962]: 37:35; also ZA 53 [1959]: 101 fn. 34).

For lexical glosses on “4” see CAD E, 255 *erbe*; Powell 1971, 35–34; Civil 1982, table on p. 7. The Ebla notation LAM in MEE 3 no. 63, (followed by NINUN) may best be transliterated iVm<-mu>.

### “5”

Ebla i is graphically ambiguous, for it may stand for [ya] or [yi]; cf. M. Krebernik, ZA 72 (1982): 191. The sign i early found its way into the Akkadian syllabary.<sup>14</sup> Powell 1971, 35 pointed to the Old Sumerian spelling šu-ĪA for šu-i “barber.”

For lexical glosses on “5,” see CAD H, 66 *hamiš*; Powell 1971, 35–36; Civil 1982, table on p. 7.

Civil’s (1982) Ebla list has U<sub>9</sub>-NI-a for “5.” U<sub>9</sub> equally begins all the following numbers there, up to ten. U<sub>9</sub> with the values [ha] and [ħa] (cf. Edzard 1980, 126) is hardly compatible with the lexical tradition so far attested for “5”; it will have to be taken with reserve. Note, however, that if we take U<sub>9</sub> as “5” and NI-a as a gloss on it and if, furthermore, we interpret the following numbers 6–9 in Civil’s list as compounds with “5,” we get a system consistent in itself whatever the linguistic reality behind it may be.

10. For CV(-C) cf., e.g., a-za-me-ga [*ašmidka*] “I bound you,” ARET 5 no. 1 ii 2, 11, iii 2, 6; for CV-C(V) cf., e.g., a-za-me-du [*ašmid*] “I bound,” *ibid.* ii 1, 3, 5, 7.

See, generally, M. Krebernik, ZA 72 (1982): 222–29.

11. As in fn. 3, p. 3, lines 5–7.

12. One is reminded of the distribution of monosyllabic numbers plus, and bisyllabic numbers minus copula [am] in Gudea Cyl. A xxi 1–11; see W. Heimpel, *Orientalia* 39 (1970): 492–95. To apply such a rule to our number sequence would, however, mean to enter a circular argument. Also, as against the Gudea passage just quoted, our Sumerian number sequence lacks any metro-poetical connotation.

13. Cf. in Akkadian i-iš [iš] “it is (too) little,” ú-ul [ul] “not,” or e-em [em(m)] “it is hot.”

14. I. J. Gelb, *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary* 2<sup>2</sup> (1961), 70:103.

In the Sumerian syllabary, i appears relatively late and, probably, only after ì [’i] and i [(y)i] had merged in Akkadian. As a (free) syllabic value, we first find it in Ur III administrative texts from Umma (I owe this information to W. Sallaberger).

It still needs to be decided whether the Sumerian verbal base i (cf. Gudea Cyl. B xiii 6; Stat. B viii 28 i-a) is a graphic variant of è (positive: A. Falkenstein, *Analecta Orientalia* 28 [1949], 27) or a verbal base by itself; cf. i = *wašām* “spriessen (von Sesam)” MSL 2, 143 AO 5400 i l6 = MSL 14, 119.

## "6"

Ebla A-šu is graphically ambiguous, because Ebla A may stand for as many values as [a], [ay], [aw], [ya]; cf. Krebernik, *ZA* 72 (1982): 180f. The [u] of [šu] may be disregarded as it was in the case of *mì-nu* "2," the syllable closing C (consonant) being noted as C(V). In any case, A-š(u) would express a monosyllabic numeral, [aš] or [āš], [yaš] or [yāš], but hardly \*[ayš] or \*[awš], because the diphthongs would finally have turned into \*[ē] or \*[ō], incompatible with the majority of the later glosses pointing to an Anlaut [a].

Nonetheless, the situation of the lexical glosses for "6" is all but unambiguous; see Powell 1971, 37–39; Civil 1982, table on p. 7; CAD Š/2, 337 *šeššet*.

The Ebla reference U<sub>9</sub>-iš in MEE 3 no. 63 (Civil 1982, 4) looks as if a compound 5+1 was intended. But *iš* for "1" does not find much confidence; note that *iš-SI* was noted for "3" in the same text (see above).

It has, in fact, long since been supposed that Sumerian digit numeration ended with "5," thereafter starting compounds 5+1 to 4 with the exception of "8."<sup>15</sup> Now, while [umin] or [umun] < \*[imin] "7" and [ilimmu] "9" indubitably are 5+2 and 5+4 respectively, it is harder to prove that "6" should be 5+1. The easiest way is to assume that \*[ya]+[aš] yielded \*[yāš] ending up with [āš] after loss of Anlaut [y]. We have seen above that [yāš] would be one of the possible readings of A-š(u) in Ebla. It would be supported by the Ea spelling a-āš.<sup>16</sup>

If "6" was a compound of 5+aš, we might be tempted, by analogy, to posit "11" as 10+aš, "21" as 20+aš, etc. Unfortunately, these figures have not yet yielded their spelling.<sup>17</sup>

## "7"

Ebla ù-mì-nu [umin] no longer preserves the expected form 5+2 \*ia-min. The Anlaut [u] is due to analogy with the Anlaut of following *ussu* "8" (see Edzard 1980, 124, with fn. 21, and Diakonoff 1983, 92). According to Ea II 140 (MSL 14, 253), [umin] had further assimilated to *ú-mu-un* [umun].<sup>18</sup> MEE 3, 63 (Ebla) has U<sub>9</sub>-ma-nu.

15. Poebel 1923, 104; Powell 1971, 37.

16. The "plene" notation a-āš does not imply vowel length, because it may just be a case of *horror unius signi* (see fn. 13).

17. We should, by no means, forget, however, that 11, 21, etc., are consistently noted as U.DIŠ, NIŠ.DIŠ etc., a fact that led Powell 1971, 47, table 1, to opt for "u-diš," "niš-diš," etc.; see still fn. 23 end.

18. It would be interesting to know whether complete homophony existed with ù-mu-un, umun, Emesal for en "lord."

The etymologically correct \*[imin], used by many Assyriologists including the author in RIME 3/1 (1997), is not attested in lexical glosses and occurs only in sign names (see Powell 1971, 40; Gong 2000, 139).

## "8"

Ebla ù-sa-am, i.e., [us+copula] or [us(s)a+copula] is definitely not \*5+3, as was still assumed for 8 in M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (1984) 82.<sup>19</sup> Powell 1971, 37 (with fn. 2), already clearly dismissed the 5+3 theory and he discussed the difficulties we encounter when reconstructing the exact form of "8." MEE 3, no. 63 (Eb1a) seems to offer an exception with its notation U<sub>9</sub>-iš-SI, where *iš-SI* cannot be dissociated from *iš-SI* "3" of the same text. But we already noted that in MEE 3, no. 63 "5" to "9" can hardly be regarded as trustworthy notations.

## "9"

Ebla ì-li-mu [ilim(m)u] offers the earliest and clearest example of a Sumerian digit compound 5+n. Note, however, that the Anlaut is spelled NI = ì as against I (see above "5"). Most probably, [i] represents a reduced form of "5" because of a loss of stress: [ilim(m)u].

## "10"

Ebla U<sub>9</sub>-PI-mu is not easy to "normalize." Anlaut U<sub>9</sub> with values [ha] and [ħa] (see above "5") would be compatible with two of five glosses preserved for U "ten": u<sub>4</sub>, ú, a, ħu-u, ħa-a (CAD E, 364 *ešir*; Powell 1971, 43f.; Civil 1982, table on p. 7). Since there is no trace of [m] in later glosses, Ebla -mu rather may be part of the copula [am] (cf. "3" and "8"), the beginning part of which would then be found in PI = wa. Therefore, we propose ha(U<sub>9</sub>)-wa-m(u) [haw-am] "it is 10." [haw] would, in the course of time, have become \*[hō] or \*[hū] and, after loss of initial [h], [ō] or [ū]. In this context it should be remembered that U in earlier Old Babylonian spelling could be used to indicate [ō], as Poebel and Westenholz have shown.<sup>20</sup>

19. Note still in third edition (2001) p. 82: "ussu < \*iá-eš<sub>5</sub>."

20. Poebel 1939, 116f. with fn. 1; E. E. Knudsen, *JAOs* 90 (1970): 336; S. Lieberman, *Fs. T. Jones* (= AOAT 203, 1979), 21–28; A. Westenholz, *ZA* 81 (1991): 10–19.

In Anlaut of Old Akkadian verbal forms, U served to indicate [yu] as against Ū or Ū for [u]; see Gelb (as in fn. 14) 25.

## RECAPITULATION OF NUMBERS ONE TO TEN

<i>Ebla</i>	<i>Later Tradition</i>
?	dili, aš, diš
min	min
eš	eš
lim(m)u	limmu
ia	ia, i
iāš	āš
umin	umun
us(sa)	ussa, ussu
ʾilim(m)mu	ilimmu
haw	ō, ū

## "11"–"19"

No direct evidence is so far available for the pronunciation of numbers 11 to 19. We may guess that there was juxtaposition of ten and digit: \*u+diš/aš,<sup>21</sup> \*u-min, etc., with possible and quite probable reductions as they occur in different languages in the respective series.<sup>22</sup>

## "20"

[niš], [neš]; for lexical evidence and glosses see CAD E, *ešrā* lex.; Powell 1971, 48. No information is available before the first millennium.

Poebel 1923, 104 and 109, assumed "20" to be [ni], and he explained [niš] by way of u \*ni-aš "one twenty." Although such an assumption

21. For u-diš as the more probable answer, see above fn. 17.

22. Cf. modern Iraqi Arabic "16" šuṭṭaš for classical sittata 'ašar where (1) the final [r] has been dropped and (2) the first part of the compound number has velarized consonants (š, ṭ) because of [ʿ] in the second part.

One may also ask whether notations such as 20 LÁ 1 = "19" were realized in spoken language. We cannot prove anything here.

Cf. in Latin IX ("ten minus one") = *novem*; but XIX ("ten+ten minus one") = *undeviginti*. ("20 minus one"), but again, graphically, XL ("fifty minus ten") = *quadraginta*, etc.

Powell 1971, 55–58, discusses a list of reciprocals, Ist. S 485, where the left column, lines 11–14, notes 'ú-ù'-mi-in "12," 'ú-ù'-iá "15," 'ú-ù'-áš-šá "16," and [ú]-'ù'-x-uš-se "18." Powell asks (p. 57f.) whether ù here is an Akkadian loan, "and," inserted between 10 and digit, or whether it is rather a (phonetic) indicator for the length of, or stress on, u "10."

At any rate, "and," not being of Sumerian stock, cannot be considered an old element. Intrusion, i.e., borrowing from Akkadian, would be more convincing.

allows an easier explanation of "40" as "two twenty" \*ni-min (see below "40"), we are left to explain the unique way of denoting of a numeral as "one n."

## "30"

[uš(u)]: Powell 1971, 48; CAD Š/1, *šalāšā* lex. No information is available before the first millennium.

Powell 1971, 38 fn. 1 and p. 58 proposed to explain [uš] as \*eš-u "three ten" (with regressive assimilation). However, "three ten" could only mean "ten (times) three," because the regular syntactic rule is "item counted, cardinal number."<sup>23</sup> One might as well think of an independent word [uš], whatever form preceded in the third millennium.<sup>24</sup>

## "40"

[nimin], [nîn]: CAD E, *erbā* lex.; Powell 1971, 48. No information is available before the first millennium.

"40" has been interpreted by Falkenstein 1959, 40, Powell 1971, 49, and others, as resulting from \*niš-min "two twenties."<sup>25</sup> For Poebel's interpretation see above under "20."

The goddess <sup>d</sup>Nimin-tab-ba (A. Cavigneaux/K. Krebernik, RIA 9/3–4 [1999] 319f.) is spelled with the phonetic indicator min: <sup>d</sup>Nimin<sup>min</sup>-tab-ba in An : Anum I 283/4. Here, at least, the second part of number "40" is confirmed to end in [min]. But the Old Babylonian "Vorläufer," TCL 15, 10:310, reads <sup>d</sup>Nin-min-tab-ba "Lady, two paralleled," and it does not seem to have anything to do with "40." Later scribes must have seen a phonetic association between nin-min and "40" that gave way to etymological speculation.

23. For the behavior of the numeral as an adjective, following a substantive, see Poebel 1923, 110–12; Powell 1971, 1–4. Both authors also quote examples of the reversed order, with special insistence on administrative lists where, for very practical reasons, the numeral always is noted at the left edge, before the item counted.

At any rate, a thorough investigation into the question is still wanting. It will be of special interest to know how far Akkadian number syntax (and sequence of numeral and item counted) may have influenced the Sumerian system, within the Sumero-Akkadian linguistic area.

24. For independent forms for "20" to "50," not based on a digit, cf., e.g., Old Turkish *yigirmi*, *otuz*, *qürq*, *älüg* and the corresponding numbers in the modern Turkic languages.

25. MEE 3 no. 63 has U<sub>9</sub>-mi-na, which, apart from mi-n(a), is incomprehensible to me; see Civil 1982, 8.

## "50"

[nin(n)û]: CAD H, *hamšā* lex.; Powell 1971, 49. "50" is glossed ni-nu-u, ni-in-nu-u, and nin-nu-u, where in each case a long final syllable is clearly indicated. No references are available before the first millennium.

[nin(n)û] (not "ninnu"—pace Edzard 1997, passim; correctly Poebel 1923, 104: ninnû, ninû) has been interpreted as a compound of 40+10. We do not dare to reconstruct a proto-form for the third millennium (\*niš-min-haw?) and, therefore, we cannot form an idea about the pronunciation of the name of Ningirsu's ziggurat at Girsu, É-ninnû, rendered by us as "Eninnû." Since é-ninnû is nowhere attested as a genitival compound, its meaning can only be "fifty houses," where "fifty" would occur as a symbolic number comparable to "hundred" in the "Hundred-gated Thebes."

The fact that [nin(n)û] in all probability ended in a long [û] may have two reasons: either "10" was still considered as being [û]; or the vowel length had to do with stress: [ninnû], not [ninnu].

## "60"

The reading of this numeral has been generally settled by P. Steinkeller, ZA 69 (1979): 176–87. For lexical evidence and glosses, see Powell 1971, 50–53; CAD Š/3, *šuši* lex.

Powell 1971, 70, table 2, courageously filled in the hypothetical Sumerian readings from "61" (ġeš-diš) to "129" (ġeš-ninnu-ilimmu) and "120" (ġeš-min), and further from "180" (ġeš-eš) to "600" (ġeš-u).

Readers of the Latin transliterations will probably suspect homophony between ġeš-min "62" or "120" up to ġeš-u "70" or "600," the second element either being added or serving as a multiplicand. It goes without saying, however, that in an extremely number-minded civilization as that of the Sumerians such kind of homophony should be out of the question. There must have been a clear distinction unrecoverable for us by pronunciation, stress, or other means.<sup>26</sup>

It is with "120" that we end our enquiry, repeating our wish "mu-ġeš(d)min-šè" "until 120."

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26. Note the stress situation of the teens in English: While thirteen etc. normally get the stress on the first syllable, stress is moved to the last syllable, thirtéen etc. if the speaker wants to avoid confusion with thirty etc.



## saġ AS PARS PRO TOTO FOR "PERSON" AND "DEAD BODY"\*

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IN HIS HYMNS of self-praise, King Šulgi uses several epithets that have the same pattern. In Šulgi F 170, he calls himself *šul an-né zu* "young hero, known to An."<sup>1</sup> In Šulgi P 39, he calls himself *šul an-né zu diġir-re-ene* "young hero whom An knows among the gods." In Šulgi G 42, he is named *saġ en-lil-le zu* "person whom Enlil knows."<sup>2</sup>

These epithets have been discussed by J. Krecher<sup>3</sup> and J. Klein.<sup>4</sup> Whereas Krecher discusses them grammatically, Klein is interested in their meaning. He interprets *saġ* parallel to *šul* or *ġuruš* as the person or man chosen from among the *saġ-gi<sub>6</sub>-ga* and presented by his tutelary god to the god mentioned in the epithet, who now knows him. In these epithets, *saġ* is definitely not used with the meaning "head" but as a *pars pro toto* for the whole person, just as *saġ-gi<sub>6</sub>-ga* "the black heads" refers to the "black-headed people."

\* Text editions are quoted according to R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (HKL). The titles of Sumerian compositions follow the *Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (PSD) and the *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (ETCSL), eds. J. Black et alii. The latter has also been consulted for the most recent textual versions.

1. Similar: Gudea Cyl. B xxiv 5: *ġuruš an-né zu-me* "you are the young man whom An knows."
2. For the line in Šulgi F, see J. Klein, "The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame," *TAPS* 71/7 (1981): 26; for Šulgi P, *ibid.*, 36; for Šulgi G, J. Klein, "The Coronation and Consecration of Šulgi in the Ekur," in *Ah Assyria ... Studies ... Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, eds. M. Cogan and I. Eph'al (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1991), 292ff.
3. J. Krecher, "Die Form und der Gebrauch der nominalen Verbalformen und die Determination im Sumerischen," *Or NS* 47 (1978): 390.
4. See *TAPS* 71/7, 26 with n. 137 and 41 ad 38–39.

The following remarks investigating the usage of *saġ* meaning "person" rather than "head" were inspired by J. Klein's interpretation. It is therefore with great pleasure that I dedicate this study to my old friend and fellow student Jacob in memory of our joint efforts to benefit from the knowledge and wisdom of the late Sam Kramer.

*saġ* meaning "person" is used for different types of people. We find *saġ* with the meaning "slave," as opposed to a free man, in administrative and literary texts; we find *saġ* with the meaning "servant" or "devoted person" in epithets and personal names; and we find *saġ* in a very general sense, for "person" or "people."<sup>5</sup> In most of these cases, *saġ* could easily be replaced by *lú*. Finally, we find *saġ* used even for a dead person.

### 1. *saġ* = "Person" in Lexical Texts

Let us start by looking at the lexical evidence. *saġ* is equated with Akkadian *rešu* in its meanings "head" and "slave." It is also equated with *ardu*, *amtu*, and *ardatu*. For references, see the lexical listings in the CAD, also Sag-Tablet B 8f.: *saġ* = *ar-du*, *am-tu*.

*saġ* = "person" is not restricted to the meaning "slave"; we also find entries for *saġ* = *awilum*. For references, see CAD, s.v. *amēlu*, also Sag-Tablet A 1: *saġ* = *a-wi-lum*, Lu I 10f.: *ur* = *a-mi-lu*, *saġ* = *a-mi-lu* and Group. Voc. III D iii 37f.: *na* = *a-me-lu* EME.GAL, *saġ* = MIN [MIN].<sup>6</sup>

Note that all lexical references are from late "canonical" texts, while none is from Old Babylonian forerunners.

### 2. *saġ* Referring to a Person

#### 2.1. *saġ* in the Meaning "Slave"

##### 2.1.1. *saġ* = "Slave" in Administrative Texts

*saġ* meaning "slave" is well attested in administrative and legal texts as early as Old Sumerian.<sup>7</sup> *saġ* is used especially when the person mentioned

5. References for *saġ* in the meaning "man" were already collected by A. Falkenstein; see "Fluch über Akkade," *ZA* 57 (1965): 79.
6. We also find *saġ* in an even broader sense with the meaning of "people" or "country": BM 35578 rev. 11ff.: *saġ*, *uzu*, *zi*, *lú* = *ni-ši* and Idu I 109ff.: *sa-ag* SAG = *ma-a-tú*, *ni-e-šu*, *a-mi-lu* (both quoted CAD, s.v. *nišu*). Cf. also Th. Pinches, "Assyriological Gleanings," *PSBA* 18 (1896): pl. I after p. 256, rev. ii 1–5: *eme-gir<sub>15</sub>* = *šu-me-ri*, *ki-en-gi* = MIN, *ki-en-gi* = *ma-a-tú*, *saġ* = MIN, *kur* = MIN (s. CAD, s.v. *šumeru*). For *saġ* = *mātu*, see also SBH 4, 62 in 3.1. below.
7. For references for the Old Sumerian and Ur III periods, see I.J. Gelb, "Terms for Slaves in Ancient Mesopotamia" in *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, ed. M.A. Dandamayev et alii (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1982), 89 and D.O. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends* (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1968), 217f. s.v. *saġ*, *saġ-munus*, and *saġ-nita*; J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschafts-urkunden aus*

is not considered as an individual but as a countable entity or object, just as we would speak of a head-count and not of a man-count. *saḡ* refers to slaves of both sexes. If it is necessary to specify, *munus* or *nita* can be added. For a discussion of the usage of the word *saḡ* for "slave" in Ur III, s. P. Steinkeller,<sup>8</sup> who argues that *saḡ* (with or without SAL or *nita*) is mainly used in enumerations, denoting people of lower social status, therefore mainly slaves, while *arád* and *gēme* mean "slave" as opposed to a free person.

### 2.1.2. *saḡ* = "Slave" in Literary Texts

*saḡ* meaning "slave," however, is not restricted to administrative texts. Two examples from literary texts follow.

Sumerian Proverbs Coll. 2.137: [en]-gin<sub>7</sub> dū *saḡ*-gin<sub>7</sub> ḡen [sa]ḡ-gin<sub>7</sub> dū en-gin<sub>7</sub> ḡen "Build like a lord, walk like a slave, build like a slave, walk like a lord." See also SP Coll. 19 Sec. B 3.

Lamentation over Sumer and Ur 265: kisiga<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>d</sup>um u-zī *saḡ*-gin<sub>7</sub>? ba-r[a-è] šu-ni ba-da-ab-[dū] "Dumuzi left Kisiga like an unfree person, his hands were fettered."

## 2.2. *saḡ* in the Meaning "Servant"

### 2.2.1. *saḡ* = "Servant" in Personal Names

*saḡ* is a common element used in personal names. Its meaning seems to be something like a "dependent person," even a "servant." We find this usage of *saḡ* as a *pars pro toto* well established as early as the Old Sumerian period. "Servant" here refers to "free" male persons, not slaves, who describe themselves as servants of kings or gods.<sup>9</sup> We find PNN of the type *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>DN-da such as *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>en-lil-da or *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>nanše-da, meaning "servant for Enlil/Nanše." The usage of the comitative seems to be the same as in the verbal construction of *gub* + comitative "to stand by, to serve." I do not believe that these names mean "foremost with DN" as suggested by G. Selz.<sup>10</sup>

Lagasch, St. Pohl 9 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972), 638 s.v. *saḡ*-mí and *saḡ*-nitaḡ; A. Falkenstein, *Die Neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (NSGU) III (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957), 154 s.v. *saḡ*-mí and *saḡ*-nitaḡ and NSGU I (1956), 82f., 83 n. 3 and 88 n. 4. Note that Falkenstein also uses the translation "Stück" for *saḡ*, a countable entity.

8. P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period*, FAOS 17 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 130f.

9. *saḡ* is not used to describe a devout female; for those, we find only names like *gēme*-<sup>d</sup>dum u-zī(-da).

10. See G. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagasch* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1995), 116 n. 434.

In the Ur III period the comitative postposition is normally dropped, and the names are reduced to *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>DN, as in *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>nanna or *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>en-ki "servant of Nanna/Enki."<sup>11</sup>

Other names containing the word *saḡ* attested during the Ur III period are *saḡ*-<sup>d</sup>DN-e-zu "(devout) person whom DN knows" and *saḡ*-lugal-e-zu "(devout) person whom the king knows."

In all these names, *saḡ* is used like *ur* or *lú* in names of the pattern *lú*-<sup>d</sup>nanna-zu "person whom Nanna knows" or *lú*-<sup>d</sup>inanna-i-zu, or *ur*-<sup>d</sup>DN and *lú*-<sup>d</sup>DN "the one/man of DN."<sup>12</sup>

### 2.2.2. *saḡ* = "Servant" in Literary Texts

We have seen that the epithets of the type *saḡ* <sup>d</sup>en-lil-le zu "person whom Enlil knows" describe the king or ruler as the devoted servant who has been introduced to a certain god. *saḡ* is similarly used in Gudea Stat. E i 8: (<sup>d</sup>ba-ba<sub>6</sub>) nin *saḡ*-e ki-áḡ "the lady who likes (her) servant." The use of *saḡ* here marks the difference in the social status between the goddess and her servant Gudea.

The same is true in the following two references in which *saḡ* means "population" or "people" in the sense of servant to the gods:

Nanše Hymn A 97-101: <sup>d</sup>nanše-e *saḡ*-e ... *igi* ba-ni-ib-kár-kár ... <sup>d</sup>nanše-er *saḡ*-e *gu*-dili-a si mu-na-ab-sá-e "Nanše reviews the people ... and (Nidaba) arranges the population in single file for Nanše."<sup>13</sup>

Iddindagan A 172: u<sub>4</sub> *saḡ*-zi-dè *igi* kár-kár-dè "on the day when the faithful servants can be inspected."

### 2.3. *saḡ* Used in the General Sense for "Person"

In the following references, *saḡ* is used very generally, not with the specific meaning of "slave" or "servant," but meaning "someone," "a person." *saḡ* seems completely interchangeable with *lú*. All the references that follow are from literary texts:

Lugalzagesi Inscription 1 i 31f.<sup>14</sup> *saḡ* á-è-a <sup>d</sup>nin-girim<sub>x</sub>(A.BU.ḤA.DU) "the man who has been raised by Ningirim."

11. For references, see H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1968), 523f. and 291 for a discussion. I do not agree with Limet's view that *saḡ* stands for *saḡ*-rig<sub>7</sub> "present."

12. See Limet, *L'anthroponymie*, 323.

13. For this idea of lining up people, see *The Song of the Hoe* 30: *saḡ*-bi *gu*-dili-a mu-un-è-dè-a "having lined up those leaders (of the people) in one single file (Enki had them provide for the gods)."

14. H. Steible, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, FAOS 5/II (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982), 316.



Urnammu Inscription 30:<sup>15</sup> saḡ NIM ù-tu-d[a] "those who had been born in Elam."

Curse of Agade 16: saḡ a-tu<sub>5</sub>-a kisal ḥúl-le-dè "that those who had bathed would rejoice in the courtyard."

Gilgameš and Agga 36: saḡ lum-lum nun an-né ki-áḡ "the one who is exuberant, the prince beloved by An."<sup>16</sup>

Uruk Lament 3.21:<sup>17</sup> saḡ-lul-la saḡ-zi-da šu-bal mi-ni-ib-ak-a-a-aš "(we shall see) how honest men are transformed into traitors."

CT 15, 10: 25: a-a mu-ul-líl saḡ-zi saḡ-lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak "Father Enlil, the loyal ones are taken in trade for the traitors."<sup>18</sup>

Old Babylonian úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi source H 2:29: é mu-un-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra-na é saḡ mu-zé-bé "the house into which I have entered, the house of the man is good." This corresponds to the late bilingual version Tablet 20, 61: é mu-un-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-en-na-mu 'é'[ ... ]'x' zé-eb-ba = É e-ter-bu É a-mi-li e-D[A ...-tu]m<sup>7</sup>/f<sup>1</sup>b.<sup>19</sup>

#### 2.4. saḡ Used in the Sense of "Mankind"

In the following references, saḡ would not be interchangeable with lú, but rather with nam-lú-ùlu:

*The Song of the Hoe* 6: uzu-è-a saḡ mú-mú-dè "in order to make (it possible for) humans to sprout in the 'place where the flesh rises' (Enlil established the axis of the world)."<sup>20</sup>

*The Song of the Hoe* 96: ḡ<sup>is</sup>al ù-šub-ba ḡ<sup>is</sup>al saḡ ḡál-la-ám: the hoe is (in charge of) the brickmold, the hoe has made mankind appear."

The creation myth of KAR 4, 24-26:<sup>21</sup> uzu-mú-a dur-an-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> ... nam-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu (var. saḡ) mú-mú-dè = ina uzu-mú-a<sup>ki</sup> rikis šamê u eršeti ... i nibnâ amílûta "(Lets kill the Alla-gods) in the Uzumua of Duranki so that mankind can grow."

15. D. Frayne, *Ur III Period*, RIME 3/2 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), 67.

16. For lum-lum or a reading lullum<sub>x</sub>, see G. Marchesi, "T-A LULLUM<sub>x</sub> SÛ-SÛ: On the Incipit of the Sumerian Poem Gilgameš and Ḥuwawa B," in *Studi sul vicino oriente antico, dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, ed. S. Graziani (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000), 673ff.

17. See M. Green, "The Uruk Lament," *JAOS* 104 (1984): 270.

18. See M. Civil, "Enlil, the Merchant," *JCS* 28 (1976): 76.

19. See K. Volk, *Die Balaḡ-Komposition ÚRU ÀM-MA-IR-RA-BI*, FAOS 18 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 38 and 143.

20. The first specimen of the human race is then created by placing it in a brickmold (l. 19).

21. See G. Pettinato, *Das Altorientalische Menschenbild* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1975), 74ff.

#### 3. saḡ in the Meaning "Dead Body."

##### 3.1. saḡ Used for the Bodies of People Killed in Wars or Catastrophes

In battle descriptions of royal praises or lamentations, we find saḡ being piled up or strewn about. While here saḡ could literally mean "heads," and is normally translated that way, it seems more likely to me that saḡ refers to the intact dead bodies. Somehow, I cannot see the victorious army beheading all corpses and then piling up the heads separately or dumping them into wells.<sup>22</sup> It is more likely that saḡ is again used as a *pars pro toto*, this time, however, for the dead and not the living.

A reference illuminating the transition in the meaning of saḡ from a living person to a dead body is *Nippur Lament* 70: úru ù-mu-un-bi saḡ íb-ta-an-dúb-ba "(They lament) that the city's lord has smashed the people there." Here the people being smashed are still living, but the result is dead bodies.

The following are examples where I think that saḡ should be translated as "body," rather than as "head":

*Curse of Agade* 214: uru-zu saḡ PÚ-ba ḥé-ni-ib-si-si "your city: may bodies fill its wells."<sup>23</sup>

*Susîn Inscription* 3 iii 18-21:<sup>24</sup> saḡ-zi saḡ-lul-bi numun-e-éš mu-ḡar-ḡar, ad<sub>6</sub> nam-lú-ùlu-bi zar-re-és mu-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> "(He killed ...), he sowed the bodies of the just and the treacherous like seeds, he piled up the corpses of the people into a heap." There is no independent evidence for ad<sub>6</sub> standing for beheaded bodies, so it seems more likely that both lines refer to intact bodies.

This is confirmed in *Curse of Agade* 190 and 192, where saḡ is used in the same meaning as lú: saḡ-zi saḡ-lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak, ..., úš lú-lul-e úš lú-zi-da-ke<sub>4</sub> an-ta na-mu-un-DU "Honest people were confounded with liars, ..., the blood of liars ran upon the blood of honest men."<sup>25</sup>

22. Depictions of battle scenes on stone reliefs rarely show severed heads; those killed are normally shown intact. Such examples are the Stele of the Vultures, the Sargon Stele, or the Narāmsîn Stele, see J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, Baghdader Forschungen Bd. 4 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1982), nos. 17, 18, and 26. In addition to complete bodies, we find different body parts being attacked by dogs and vultures, on the Sargon Stele, see the drawing *op. cit.* no. 18 e; and we find vultures carrying heads off on the top of the Stele of the Vultures, see the reconstruction and drawing of reverse A in no. 17 a and d.

23. For soiling wells with blood, cf. K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 50.

24. D. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 303.

25. For other references for saḡ-zi and saḡ-lul, see 2.3. above.

The sowing of bodies also occurs in *Curse of Agade* 188f.:<sup>26</sup> KA ba-dub-dub saġ ba-dab<sub>5</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>, KA ba-dub saġ numun-e-eš ba-ab-ġar “Mouths/teeth were piled up, bodies<sup>27</sup> were seized, mouths/teeth were piled up, bodies were scattered like seeds”; this is very similar to *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur* 80a: saġ ì-dab<sub>5</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>.<sup>28</sup>

*Enki and the World Order* 440: <sup>d</sup>inanna saġ saġar-re-eš hē-mu-e-dub saġ numun-e-eš hē-mu-e-ġar “Inanna, you pile up bodies like dust, you sow bodies like seeds.”

*Uruk Lament* 4.26:<sup>29</sup> ki-en-gi saġ-e saġar-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-dub-bu-uš x [(...) mu]-r<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-hūb-bé-eš “Sumer they covered with dead bodies like sand, [...] they heaped up.”

Iddindagan C 6:<sup>30</sup> ur-saġ ki-bal-a gū-[r]a<sup>2</sup>-ra saġ<sup>?</sup> huš-bi bí-tu<sub>10</sub><sup>?</sup> “Hero, with a battle cry you have angrily(?) piled up bodies in the rebel land.”

The following two examples for saġ referring to dead people come from late bilingual texts in which saġ is translated as *ummānu* “troops” and *mātu* “land” respectively:

Lugale VI 257: mi-tum zú-šeš-a saġ im-tu<sub>10</sub> (var. tu<sub>10</sub>-tu<sub>10</sub>(-tu<sub>10</sub>)); the late bilingual version translates this as: *miṭ-tu šá šin-na mar-ru um-ma-nu ú-kam-mar* “The deadly weapon with the bitter blade piles up the bodies of the troops.”

In the balag u<sub>4</sub>-dam ki àm-ús, the late version SBH 4: 62f. misunderstands ság tu<sub>10</sub> = *sapāḫu* by breaking it up into saġ<sub>1</sub> and tu<sub>10</sub> and rendering saġ as *mātu*:<sup>31</sup> e-ne-è-m-mà-ni gal-gal-bi ši-di é-àm na-tu<sub>10</sub>-tu<sub>10</sub> : saġ-àm in-tu<sub>10</sub>-tu<sub>10</sub> = *a-mat-su ra-bi-iš ina a-la-ki-šá* É.MEŠ

26. See J. Cooper’s commentary in *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1983), 251.

27. In this context, next to parts of the head, one could argue for the meaning “head” instead of “body.” Parallel to the other references, I still prefer to translate saġ in these lines as “bodies.”

28. Cf. J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 61 and 206: VIII 10: saġ-gi<sub>6</sub> eden-na n[umun-e-eš mi-ni-in-ma-a]l “The black-headed people he has scattered in the steppe like seeds.” This is restored from the parallel now edited in M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md.: CDL Press, 1988), 106:b+256 with the Akkadian translation: [salmat] qa-q-a-di ina še-e-ri ana ze-ri iz-za-ru.

29. See M. Green, “The Uruk Lament,” 273.

30. See W.H.Ph. Römer, *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache*, AOAT 276 (Münster: Ugarit, 2001), 35ff.

31. See M.E. Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, 125: 40. For saġ = *mātu* in a lexical text, see n. 6 above.

ú-hat-tu : ma-a-ta ú-sap-[paḫ/pa-ah] “In its great advance his word smites the houses, variant: scatters the people/country.”

### 3.2. saġ Used for an Individual Dead Person

I think we can assume that saġ in the description of catastrophes very often stands for the whole populace of a destroyed city or country and refers to a large number of people killed by force. It normally, however, does not refer to a single, individual body, which would be rendered as ad<sub>6</sub>.

I have found two references, however, that mention saġ in the context of a burial and therefore seem to refer to an individual body:

Sumerian Proverbs Coll. 18.13: [s]aġ ki-tùm á-áġ-ġá še ba-e-da-e-še<sup>17</sup> “When entrusted with the burial of a person, barley...” Unfortunately, the context of this proverb remains obscure.

The other reference is of the *Song to the Hoe* l. 74: erigal(ABxGAL)<sup>a</sup>-àm š<sup>i</sup>al saġ ki<sup>b</sup> tùm<sup>c</sup>-ma “concerning the grave,<sup>32</sup> (it is here where) the hoe buries a body<sup>33</sup> (variants: a: 4 mss. erigal, 4 mss. eri<sub>11</sub>-gal, 1 ms. e-ri-gal; b: 4 mss. ki, 3 mss. ki-a, 1 ms. ki-ta; c: 8 mss. tùm-ma, 1 ms. tum<sub>4</sub>-ma-me-en).

Judging from the context, saġ here must represent the “dead person.” The hoe not only buries the dead, but l. 75 continues with the hoe digging up a body (BAD.LÚ instead of LÚxBAD): ad<sub>x</sub>(BAD.LÚ)<sup>a</sup> š<sup>i</sup>al-e ki-ta tùm-ma-àm<sup>b</sup> (variants: a: no variant; b: 4 mss. tùm-ma-àm, 1 ms. tùm-ma, 2mss. tùm-ma-me-en, 1 ms. tum<sub>4</sub>-ma-me-en).<sup>34</sup>

saġ and BAD.LÚ are used here as a pair in parallel context. I have, therefore, no doubt that saġ in this example refers to an individual dead body.

32. In this passage, the poet explores the connection of the hoe with words containing the syllable /al/ as in erigal.

33. For this line, see M. Civil’s review of CT 44 in *JNES* 28 (1969): 70 n. 1.

34. According to M. Civil, loc. cit. (n. 33) this refers to the opening of a hole in the netherworld to bring up the ghost of the dead Enkidu.

FISHY MONSTERS:  
 UPDATING THE ICONOGRAPHIC REFERENCES  
 OF V. SCHEIL  
 "LA DÉESSE NINA ET SES POISSONS"

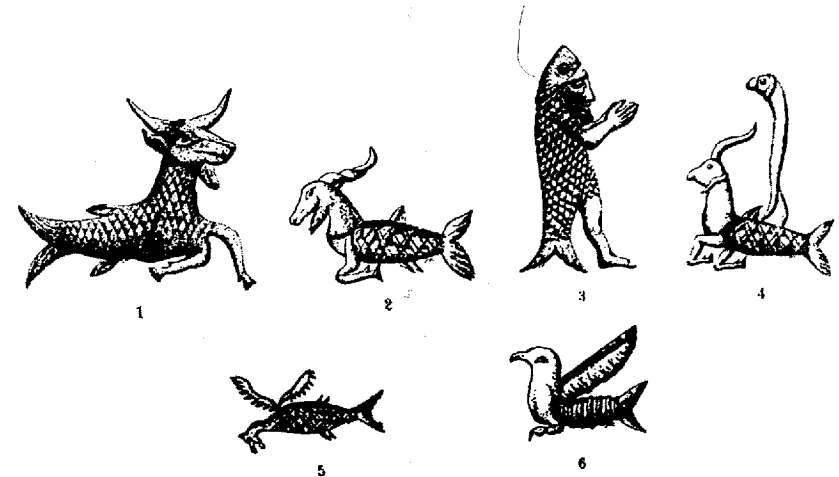
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A GENERAL DISCUSSION within Assyriology in recent years on the nature of the relationship between textual and visual media makes updating older references relating texts to images important. Here we will discuss the relationship between textual and visual representations of the goddess Nanše.

Two hymns mentioning fish and fish-monsters, edited here by Bendt Alster,<sup>1</sup> are ascribed to the goddess Nanše. This is in good keeping with other textual evidence that also relates Nanše to fish: Nanše is appointed to the "wide sea" by Enki (*Enki and the World Order*, 300–7; Benito 1969), to whom she brings fish (283, 305–7, 419–20). *Enki and the World Order* also attests to Enki giving her possession of the u<sub>5</sub>-bird<sup>2</sup> and the fish (417–19). In these sources Nanše's association with fish is explained by way of placing the ocean in her dominion, as well as by positing a kinship relation to Enki. The writing of her name (written èšx̄ḫa, "shrine"- "fish") also connects her to fish in a significant way, the visual power of which should not be underestimated. The composition kua-mu é-dù, *My Fish, A Built House*, published by M. Civil as "The Home of the Fish" (1961:154–75), is ascribed to Nanše as "mother of the fish" and "queen of the fishermen."<sup>3</sup> In the fragmentary text *Nanše and the Birds*, she is called "You are she who loves the

fishes and birds."<sup>4</sup> A strong connection between Nanše and fish in textual sources is beyond doubt. Now, do we find the same connection in visual media? As for attestations of Nanše archaeologically, the evidence remains inconclusive. Although attempts have been made to identify visual representations of this goddess—especially on the basis of her association with waterfowl (e.g., van Buren 1933: 74f.; Maxwell-Hyslop 1992)—no secure conclusions may be drawn (Maxwell-Hyslop 1989; Fischer 1997;<sup>5</sup> Braun-Holzinger 1998–2000).

Along with his edition of the composition "La déesse Nina et ses poissons" [Alster, "Nanše and Her Fish" above], Victor Scheil (1918) provided iconographical material attempting to document or identify the types of monstrous fish creatures named by the text, suggesting iconographical relations between Nanše and fish-*Mischwesen*. Is the relation between text and image suggested by Scheil valid? For that purpose, we will now examine Scheil's references with a comparative view to the known fish-*Mischwesen* of Mesopotamian art. Can we identify these beings? Further, can we relate any of these fish-monsters to Nanše? We proceed as follows: after a brief description of the individual image, we examine its original context in order to establish an identification, and finally assess possible links to Nanše.



1. I am deeply grateful to Bendt Alster for agreeing to work on this subject as well as for his kind help.
2. Also Gudea Cyl. xiv 23 mentions the u<sub>5</sub>-bird in connection with Nanše. See Braun-Holzinger 1998–2000: 161f. for a discussion of the identification of this bird.
3. This ascription, which rests on restoration, has been disputed (Thomsen 1975; however Vanstiphout 1982 agrees with Civil). Landsberger identifies the fish of this composition as fresh-water fish (MSL 8/2: 81), which is not in accord with the other fish ascribed to Nanše being marine. This need not be significant, however, and whether this composition can be ascribed to Nanše or not, the connection to fish in texts is beyond dispute.

4. Available at [www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk](http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk), "Nanše and the Birds," with references.
5. But see the discussion in the conclusion on p. 5. Fischer argues for an identification of Nanše with the goddess depicted with birds or seated "auf der Gänse-Thron" as for a few specific seals of the Ur III period, but the evidence is not unambiguous, as she also notes. The conclusion is that birds were not the attribute of a single goddess but that several different local goddesses could share the same icono-

1. *Description*

The first creature drawn by Scheil resembles a bovine-fish mixture. It has the body and tail of a fish, but the front feet, head, horns, and ears of what seems to be a bull or bovine creature. Depicted in right profile, it rests on the right foreleg, the left stretched forward.

*Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

Scheil states that this being, which he identifies as a bull-fish mixture, is found in archaeological evidence: he has seen it on a vessel from Susa, at the Louvre. He mentions it as an example of the genre of bovine-fish *Mischwesen* in relation to line 9 of the present text. This type of *Mischwesen* is not well attested in art, and hence was no great surprise to find it described by Amiet (Amiet 1966: 394, fig. 298) as a fish-goat, *suḫurmāšu*-type,<sup>6</sup> when checking the Susa collection at the Louvre on the basis of this vague reference. The original context of this image is a cultic vessel from Susa, dated to the thirteenth/twelfth century B.C.E. (Amiet 1966: loc. cit.; Conteneau and de Mecquenem 1947: 220–28, Pl. XII), the golden age of Elamite civilization. The vessel is 0.628 m long, and 0.170 m high and made from chalkstone, and it has been reconstructed from several different fragments. It has a dedication that is unfortunately too damaged to be read. It is decorated with holy trees and fish-goats in a frieze along the sides, with fish-goats pairwise facing a tree placed in the middle, their tail ends nearly touching the subsequent pairs on either side. Amiet interprets these creatures as fish-goats borrowed from Mesopotamian iconography, where they are well known as emblems of Enki (e.g., Amiet 1966: fig. 236). The

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graphy (Fischer 1997: 122f.). It is not possible to draw safe conclusions as to the identity of deities directly from juxtaposed inscriptions and visual representations, since there are numerous examples of such that relate to *different* deities (Lambert 1997). Fischer 1997: 126 n.163 provides more examples of this phenomenon, to which the possibility that the goddess with the flowing vase (*hegallum*) should be identified with Nanše as Enki's daughter can be added (Fischer 1997: 121, n. 131; Maxwell-Hyslop 1989: 219).

6. Half goat (*maš/māš*), half carp (*suḫur*), this creature was identified as the *suḫurmāšu* first by etymology, since by the caption on a *kudurru* and by the ritual texts. In Ur III/Isin times it accompanies gods and goddesses with flowing vases. A relation to Enki is attested (in glyptic and on *kudurru* by juxtaposition with the ram-headed staff, or functioning as footstool or throne of Enki) from Old Babylonian until Neo-Babylonian times (Fischer 1997: 119; Wiggermann 1992: 184; Seidl 1989: 179f. and 1957: 489; Tessier 1984: 25; Tessier, however, believes the carp-goat to be associated with Enki from Neo-Sumerian times, loc. cit.). This does not, however, rule out an association with other deities of the Enki-Kreis (van Buren 1933: 77 et passim), since, as noted above, among other things (cf. note 4) it also accompanies deities with flowing vases.

vessel he considers a replica for cultic use of the *apsû*, so well known from Mesopotamia. When examining the original context, Amiet's explanation is convincing. Inaccurately referenced by Scheil, as well as taken out of context, we are hard pressed to see any direct relation to Nanše. Although a relation between Nanše and fish-goats is certainly possible, a connection between the fish roaring as an ox in our text and the present iconography must be rejected as implausible: bull-fish monsters represented in art have yet to be located.

2. *Description*

The second drawing pictures a smaller goat-fish *Mischwesen*, with the head and front feet of a goat, adorned with one elongated horn, as well as long goat-ears, and the body and tail of a fish. Shown in left profile, it rests on the visible left leg.

*Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

The carp-goat monster, *suḫurmāšu*, is a type well known in Mesopotamian art (from Ur III to Seleucid times; Seidl 1989: 178ff.), but apart from (at least) nominally belonging to this category, the present exemplar has a somewhat different appearance from the usual. The present drawing is a reproduction of a stamp seal from *Collection de Clercq* (de Clercq et Menant 1888: Pl. II, no. 28), a cone-shaped and pierced seal of burnt agate. A look at the original reveals that the fish-*Mischwesen* Scheil presents here has been taken out of context: the stamp seal featuring this peculiar looking carp-goat contains also a human adorant standing to the left, right profile, bearded, long-haired, and wearing a rounded hat, a long tasseled robe with a belt, and both hands raised. Behind him, in the field, a lozenge; in front of him, on a podium, the monstrous fish-goat in right profile, with one elongated horn and the head of a goat. It has the left front leg bent, resting on the podium. On the back of the fish-goat is placed a strange-looking type of staff on three legs, bent toward the top and ending in an animal head (a ram's head?).<sup>7</sup> Above it, in the field, the winged sun-disc hovers. It is categorized under the heading "sceaux assyro-chaldéens," i.e., from a

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7. Is this type of animal staff or crook in spite of its almost snake-like appearance meant to be a type of ram's head-*Widderstab*? The *Widderstab* or ram-headed scepter is represented from Old Babylonian times onward, and is identified via inscriptions as the symbol of Enki/Ea (Seidl 1957: 488f.). The association with fish-goats warrants the suggestion of this to be a sort of *Widderstab*, albeit somewhat peculiar looking (Porada [1948: 95; 99] describes it simply as "a crook"). Note that the motif of a ram with a staff or crook on its back can be traced back to the Old Babylonian period (Porada 1948: no. 454 featuring the god with a mace, dating from First Dynasty of Babylon; Collon 1989: no. 515).

date far removed from the present textual material. We note the striking similarity in style, execution, and subject matter to two Neo-Babylonian modeled style seals, one cylinder of lapis lazuli and one stamp seal of bluish chalcedony (Porada 1948: nos. 784 and 803), the Babylonian origin of which is well attested by seal impressions on Neo-Babylonian tablets (Porada 1948: 95),<sup>8</sup> and suggest a similar dating. If anything, this image—carp-goat plus *Widderstab*(?)—could hint at a relation to Enki, even if both emblems here are of unusual appearance. A relation to Nanše is difficult to document, and such a suggestion would be tenuous, considering the time gap. Relations between Nanše and *Mischwesen* of the *suljurmāšu*-type is not impossible, since the carp-goat could also accompany other gods of the Enki-Kreis. As for this specific pictorial context, this particular version of the *suljurmāšu*, however, the answer must be negative.

### 3. Description

The third image is of a bearded human figure, right profile, wearing a fish on his back as a mantle, the head of it drawn over his head, not concealing his face, however. Both his hands are raised.

#### *Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

This figure is well known and well attested in Mesopotamian art, and easily identifiable as the “fish-garbed” human *apkallu*.<sup>9</sup> The ritual texts describe a group of seven *apkallū*, “sages,” peaceful, benevolent beings of a fish-hybrid type (Rittig 1977; Wiggermann 1992). This group is rooted in third millennium Mesopotamia though attested iconographically only from the Kassite period onward (Wiggermann 1992: 77; Green 1983: 90), first in glyptic, later, in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian art, in all visual media. They are well attested in Neo-Assyrian palaces and temples performing purifying and exorcising functions (Green 1983: 90 and note 21 and 22). As known, Berossos tells of eight fish-monsters from Oannes to Odakon, who emerged from the sea and taught humankind the basics of civilization. This antediluvian knowledge was highly valued (Lambert 1962: 72), and well known in tradition (Foster 1974: 316 and note 8). A connection to Enki is attested textually (*Erra Epic* I 162, Cagni 1977; Reiner 1961: 9; Falkenstein 1959: 208; Lambert 1957–58: 401); however, no special

8. In fact, most seals of both cylinder and stamp types featuring ritual scenes in the Neo-Babylonian period show a worshipper standing before divine symbols often placed on altars (this is the case for no. 784, Porada 1948).

9. The being must be understood as a monstrous creature, rather than, as it has often been understood, a fish-garbed human (Wiggermann 1992: 76; Rittig 1977: 88–93; but already van Buren recognized this: van Buren 1931: 45). For references in sources to the appearance of the *apkallu*, see Foster 1974: 349, note 21.

relation to Nanše is in evidence. The fish-*apkallu* as represented in art is a bearded human figure wearing a fish on his back as described above. Sometimes he holds a cleaner and a bucket, sometimes the offshoot of a date palm in one hand and the other on the breast (Wiggermann 1992: 48). Checking the references reveals this to be another example of an image taken out of context: the representation stems from the famous Lamaštu/Pazuzu plaque (Louvre, A.O. 22205), which is not only of a much later date but also of a completely different context. This artefact is very well known, and we need hardly describe it or stress that a relation to Nanše is impossible.

### 4. Description

The fourth illustration in Scheil pictures a type of goat-fish hybrid somewhat similar to no. 2. On the back of the fish-goat is placed a strange-looking type of staff on two legs, bent toward the top and ending in an animal head, possibly a type of ram's head.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

This image represents an accurate reproduction of a seal published in Delaporte 1910 (Pl. XXXVI, no. 564), except for, again, the removal of context: on the seal this goat-fish with *Widderstab* is placed in front of a bearded(?) adorant with both hands raised, wearing a long tasseled robe and a belt. This context is left out in Scheil's reproduction. Furthermore, Scheil believes the animal staff to be a type of fish resembling the one mentioned in the present hymn to Nanše, functioning as her scepter. Taking the similarity of this seal, which is classified with “cachets assyro-babyloniens,” with the one described above as no. 2 into account, we find such a hypothesis unlikely, voting instead for an interpretation as a type of ram's head-staff and refer to what is stated above s.v. 2.

### 5. Description

Here, Scheil presents us with a flat-fish looking winged creature with a canine (leonine?) head. Shown in left profile, its head faces downward, the feather-clad wings of the creature protrude from the base of the canine neck. The head of the animal is without superfluous decoration, with a pointed ear and mouth wide open as if barking.

10. Cf. note 7.

*Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

This image is difficult to identify. Could it resemble the creature known as the lion-fish, which is attested on Old Babylonian seals, although the lion-fish is not equipped with wings? The lion-fish consists of a lion's head and forelegs attached to a fish's body, usually set at right angles to the rest of the design with its lion's head pointing upward. A number of seals on which it appears can be attributed to Sippar workshops, but nothing about the contexts in which it appears links it to any particular deity (Collon 1986: 44; for examples of lion-fish see nos. 119, 121, 389, 401, 437, 438, 451, 472 with references in Collon 1986; 422, 433 in Porada 1948).<sup>11</sup> Scheil sees a connection between this being and the "swallow-fish" of col. ii, line 12 in Nanše Hymn B (VS 10, 199 iii 42—iv 23, VAT 7025 rev. ii, 12; see Alster "Nanše and Her Fish" above) and references Holma (Holma 1913), who believes this to be a natural fish of the flying-fish type.<sup>12</sup> We have no indication that this drawing should be of a natural fish; a more evident explanation of this motif would be seeing it as a type of fish-*Mischwesen*. As for the question of whence comes Scheil's drawing, then, he references a seal from *Collection de Clercq* (de Clercq 1888: Tome I, pl. XXXIII, no. 365), which he presents as an example of flying-fish in archaeological media. Examining the original context reveals again an image accurately reproduced (but see below) but taken out of context. This monster stems from a cylinder seal of rose jasper classified with "cylindres assyriens de provenance incertain"; it features a contest scene with warrior gods battling monsters, a lion-griffin and a lion-fish, apparently defending or rescuing a group of smaller, naked persons; in the upper field, a fly—Scheil's "wings," actually separated from the lion-fish by clear space. As is usually the case with lion-fish, also this exemplar is set at right angles to the rest of the design; unfortunately, Scheil has turned it in his reproduction. Since subject matter and style of execution seem to be related to Old Babylonian glyptic, we suggest this seal to date from the Old Babylonian period and the "bird-fish"-monster to be, in fact, an Old Babylonian lion-fish. There is no evident relation to Nanše.

11. The latter list is not exhaustive.

12. If we consider what type of communication is brought into play here, namely metaphorical language, then the text could very well be describing a monstrous being. This, then, could possibly look like Scheil's drawing, if transferred to visual types of communication. The latter, however, is guesswork. The only viable option remaining is to interpret the metaphorical expressions of the text on their own terms. The possibility of natural fish inspiring the metaphorical language of our text notwithstanding, what goes on here clearly exceeds a question of conventional language use, i.e., natural fish.

6. *Description*

The sixth drawing is a monstrous creature with the body and tail of a fish, head and feet of a bird, and one large wing protruding from the base of the bird's neck.

*Identification and possible relation to Nanše*

Also this image is not easy to identify. Scheil references a cylinder seal from *Collection de Clercq* (de Clercq 1888: Tome I, pl. XXXIX, no. 393 *ter.*) as another example of winged ichtyoids in archaeological representation. Its context reveals two bullmen with arms folded (bound?) on back, facing; between them is an antelope in an upright position; in the upper center field is a bird with a pointed wing and a tail that resembles a fish's tail,<sup>13</sup> facing left; below is a dividing line with a spiral pattern, under which a dividing line separates the pattern from a couching antelope; to the right a deity with a staff in the left hand faces a bullman. This hematite seal is classified with "cylindres Égypto-Assyriens et Héteens" in *Collection de Clercq*. Interestingly, bird-fish *Mischwesen* are attested in Old Babylonian glyptic, e.g., Porada 1948 no. 366, a hematite cylinder seal featuring a lion and a lion-griffin in battle, a fish-monster with bird's head<sup>14</sup> between them, and a bullman holding the standard of the cross disk placed in a crescent to their right. Unfortunately, the bird-fish hybrid is not winged, nor does it resemble Scheil's drawing. One wonders whether the image on the seal in question here (de Clercq no. 393 *ter.*) could not be described simply as a bird, since winged ichtyoids are otherwise unseen in Mesopotamian glyptic. Scheil again references Holma (1913: 51f.) for the identification of natural "flying-fish," cf. above *s.v.* 5. Again, whether such natural fish can be identified or not, a relation between Scheil's drawing and any natural fish is hardly likely; cf. above *s.v.* 5. A relation to Nanše is unattested.

*Conclusions*

Nanše's aqueous associations are strong already from Pre-Sargonic times. In the Abū Šalābīḥ hymn cycle, as well as in the Enheduanna hymn cycle, she is connected with the sea. Other Pre-Sargonic references relate Nanše to the abzu, e.g., the Šamaš narrative found at Abū Šalābīḥ and Ebla, which describes how she and Pirigbanda went down to the abzu. One of her temples in the Lagaš area is called é-engur-ra.<sup>15</sup> Later texts attest to a connec-

13. Could it simply be a bird's tail?

14. An indeterminable fish-monster in no. 377 (Porada 1948) could be another bird-fish hybrid, but again without wings. Note that bird-fish hybrid monsters have not, to my knowledge, been presented in conjunction with other, more well-known types of fish-hybrid monstrosity.

15. On abzu vs. engur, cf. Bendt Alster's excursus "Abzu in Sumerian Texts," above.

tion between Enki and Nanše, e.g., Gudea's description of Ningirsu's temple, where she is called <sup>d</sup>nanše dumu-NUN<sup>ki</sup> (Cyl. A xx 16), the Nanše hymn (l. 8: dumu NUN<sup>ki</sup>-ga tu-da, plus l. 61), the already mentioned *Enki and the World Order* references (302, 305–7) (Cunningham 1997: 52f. with references), and the incantation CT 16, 13 ii 36–41, although this is in all probability a very old tradition (Selz 1990: 121).<sup>16</sup> In light of this evidence, it is not at all improbable that the fish-*Mischwesen* so commonly associated with Enki could also be connected with Nanše. Scheil's drawings presented here do constitute accurate reproductions of the original images, where such exist. However, his references are inaccurate, and the *Mischwesen* are taken out of context. Had context been taken into consideration, it would have been clear that no secure relation to Nanše is in evidence. We conclude, therefore, that while a relation between Nanše and fish-monsters in art lies within the realm of the *possible*, it is not a valid claim as for *these specific* images.

The underlying problem is, however, not restricted to a question of Scheil and his references, but is of a general and more theoretical nature. As mentioned, we have entered a general discussion on the nature of the links between archaeological and philological material. Is a search for correspondences, matches (for a discussion, see Postgate 1994), legitimate, a position that stands in danger of giving privilege to textual evidence over iconographic (supporting the view that the former is inherently clearer than the latter; a position that is not theoretically tenable), or should we, rather, view textual and visual media as parallel communication devices (Michalowski 1990), and not posit a hierarchy? In that case, we could find ourselves in danger of multiplying our ignorance: failing to understand a great deal of iconography out of a desire to let the visual imagery stand alone, speak for itself. Scheil's juxtaposition of text and images is unfortunate. Yet it is heuristically fruitful in that it illustrates well the problems and dangers involved when trying to integrate approaches. What we have here is a case of mismatch: a range of attributes exist in the textual material that seek explanation, but the visual, archaeological, sources offer no neat answers. To conclude, therefore, an admonition is in place: care and caution is needed when combining evidence, and text and iconography must be placed each in their own context. This should not, however, cripple the bold construction of hypotheses, which is the only way we can hope to make any progress.

16. Also in the great Nanše offering-lists in the passages concerning the main festival in NINA, Nanše's father Enki is mentioned immediately after Nanše herself, which G. Selz explains by his theological importance. Only after Enki are Ningirsu, NINDAR, and Nin-MARKI, brother, husband, and daughter of Nanše, mentioned (Selz 1990: 114).

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## IN SEARCH OF THE É.DUB.BA.A: THE ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIAN SCHOOL IN LITERATURE AND REALITY\*

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MANY SUMERIAN LITERARY COMPOSITIONS survive that describe life in ancient schools, known in Sumerian as é.dub.ba.a.<sup>1</sup> This Edubba-literature, as it is often called, is a typical genre of the traditional literature copied out in the Old Babylonian period, when young boys learning to be scribes had to master a complicated and progressively difficult corpus of sign-lists, lexical texts, and literary compositions. Their school-work survived to be excavated, particularly at Nippur and Ur but also at Isin, Uruk, and other sites. The tablets left behind by these young Babylonian apprentices are the principal source that modern scholars in Philadelphia and elsewhere have used over the past sixty years to reconstruct the canonical corpus of Sumerian literary texts, the first important body of literature anywhere in the world. It is a pleasure to place this modest paper in a volume honoring one of the most prolific scions of the Philadelphia school.

Texts such as “Schooldays” (Kramer 1949) and “Edubba D” (Civil 1985) provide witty insights into the life and times of learner scribes. So in Schooldays we encounter the memorable passage that tells of the boy who can do no right. Everything he does attracts punishment by one or other of the school staff. Falling foul of every regulation, he laments,

lú ká.na.ke<sub>4</sub> a.na.še.àm gá.da nu.me.a íb.ta.è e.še in.túd.dè.en  
lú <sup>dug</sup>laḥtan.na.ke<sub>4</sub> a.na.še.àm gá.da nu.me.a x šu.ba.e.ti e.še  
in.túd.dè.en

\* This article develops an idea presented in brief to the conference on the Fifth Millennium of the Invention of Writing at Baghdad in March 2001. The generous hospitality of the Ministry of Culture and Information is acknowledged here. A short text of the conference paper may be published in a future volume of proceedings.

1. On the expression, its history and problematical etymology, see most recently Volk 2000: 2–5.



lú eme.gi<sub>7</sub>.ra.ke<sub>4</sub> eme.uri bí.in.dug<sub>4</sub> e.še in.túd.dè.en  
um.mi.a.mu šu.zu nu.sa<sub>6</sub>.sa<sub>6</sub> e.še in.túd.dè.en

*Schooldays 38–41*<sup>2</sup>

The door monitor (said), “Why did you go out without my say-so?”

He beat me.

The jug monitor, “Why did you take [water or beer] without my say-so?” He beat me.

The Sumerian monitor, “You spoke in Akkadian!” He beat me.

My teacher, “Your handwriting is not at all good!” He beat me.

This passage serves incidentally to remind us that until quite late scribal education in Mesopotamia was conducted in Sumerian, not in Akkadian. In the *é.dub.ba.a* a Sumerian monitor was even on hand to make sure that pupils spoke only the old language of literary expression. The Edubba dialogues add the further information that a successful student considered himself a “Sumerian”; other texts reveal that many later Babylonian scholars formally registered this new identity by adopting Sumerian versions of their names.<sup>3</sup> Even in the Parthian period scribal families originally from Nippur were still adopting the pretence of Sumerian descent (Oelsner 1982, George 1991: 162).

By the Old Babylonian period it seems that Sumerian had long died out among the people as a spoken language, but it was still much in use as a written language. Mesopotamian culture was famously conservative and since Sumerian had surely been the language of the first writing, more than a thousand years before, it remained the principal language of writing in the early second millennium. A much greater volume of documentation was written in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, but Sumerian retained a particular prestige. Its primacy as the language of learning was enshrined in the curriculum that had to be mastered by the student scribe. In order to learn how to use the cuneiform script, even to write Akkadian, the student traditionally had to learn Sumerian, for, as the proverb said, *dub.sar eme.gir<sub>15</sub> nu.mu.un.zu.a a.na.àm dub.sar e.ne* “A scribe who knows no Sumerian, what sort of scribe is he?” (Proverb Collection 2 no. 47, ed. Alster 1997: 54). To prove he had mastered the art of writing and the traditions that went with it, the would-be scribe copied out, on dictation and from memory, texts in Sumerian. The most advanced Sumerian

2. The composition is now better understood than it was in Kramer’s day. For the passage quoted, see Volk 1996: 199–200 and fn. 131, Sjöberg 1993: 1, and cf. Civil 1992: 304.

3. See Landsberger 1958: 96. On Sumerian versions of scholars’ names see further Lambert 1957: 6–7, George 1993: 63–64.

texts that he had to master were a prescribed corpus of traditional Sumerian literary compositions.<sup>4</sup>

Then as now even the best students, it seems, had to be reminded that they were only novices. So, in Edubba D a boy nearing the completion of his studies in the *é.dub.ba.a* proudly announces how good he is at his work. Like any other youngster, he thinks he knows it all:

nam.dub.sar.mu mu.ub.zu.zu  
níg.na.me nu.mu.ši.ib.sir.re.en  
um.mi.a.mu gu.sum diš.àm mu.un.pàd.de  
géstug.mu.ta diš min bí.ib.daḥ.e.en  
ki.ulutin.mu.uš a.ba.da.tuš.ù.nam  
eme.gir<sub>15</sub> nam.dub.sar šà.dub.ba šid níg.kas<sub>7</sub> mu.da.ab.sá.sá.e.en  
eme.gir<sub>15</sub>.ta inim mu.da.ab.bal.e.en  
ḥé.eb.da.gál eme.gir<sub>15</sub> i.ri.dul.la.aš

*Edubba D 32–38* (ed. Civil 1985: 70)

I really know my scribal knowledge,

I don’t get stuck at anything!

My teacher shows me a certain sign,

I can add one or two more from memory!

Now I’ve been here for the stipulated time

I can cope with Sumerian, scribal work, archiving, accounting,  
calculation!

I can even hold a conversation in Sumerian!

The boy’s interlocutor is someone senior to him who has heard this kind of boasting before. He is quick to put the young upstart down. “If that is so,” he responds drily, “Sumerian must be keeping its secrets from you ....”

Schooldays, Edubba D, and other examples of Edubba-literature, some of them later provided with Akkadian translations, thus allow us a glimpse of the institutions in which boys learned to write (see further Falkenstein 1953, Gadd 1956). They have suggested to modern scholars that the *é.dub.ba.a*, with its elaborate hierarchy of staff, large student body, and sophisticated and varied curriculum was a “secular university” (Landsberger 1958). The fact that this literature survives chiefly on Old Babylonian tablets has led to a dating of this *é.dub.ba.a* to the same period. Thus, according to one important and influential study, the “institution of learning, the eduba, is also specifically Old Babylonian, and as an institu-

4. On the scribal curriculum of the Edubba, see Sjöberg 1976, Tinney 1998, 1999 and further literature there cited.

tion of education, the eduba seems to die out at the end of the Old Babylonian period" (Sjöberg 1976: 159–60, cf. Landsberger 1958: 97). This theory argues that scribal education fell into the hands of private individuals only in the "post-Old Babylonian period."

It has been apparent for some time that the archaeological record of the Old Babylonian period shows a different picture. The buildings where modern archaeologists excavated the tablets left by those schoolboys of Nippur and Ur were—those that have been recorded—very modest affairs. Nearly all were private dwelling-houses and none was large enough to accommodate the kind of complex and large-scale academic institution described in the Edubba-literature.

Three well-known case-studies show this. The first is House F in Area TA at Nippur, uncovered by Carl Haines and Donald McCown in the 1951–52 season of excavations. This dwelling-house has been the subject of detailed study by Elizabeth Stone (Stone 1987: 56–59, also Charpin 1990: 4–7).<sup>5</sup> In levels dating to the reign of Samsuiluna in the late eighteenth century B.C.E., the excavators recovered from Room 205 some fourteen hundred cuneiform tablets and fragments. Most of these were apparently old tablets that had been put to secondary use as fill but a few may have been stored in accessible locations.<sup>6</sup> The texts inscribed on them were mostly literary compositions and school exercises, in other words the typical output of learner scribes of the early second millennium B.C.E. The presence of unused tablet clay in the kitchen, Room 191, makes it probable that the scribal apprentices who produced the tablets wrote them on the premises. Room 205, where most of the tablets were found, was the largest chamber of House F but measured only about 3 × 5 m. It was not, therefore, a space big enough to accommodate a large body of pupils, a teacher, and ancillary staff.

My second and third case-studies are similar houses at Ur, excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley in the course of his many seasons at Ur (1922–34). Two Old Babylonian dwelling-houses of early eighteenth-century date, No. 7 Quiet Street and No. 1 Broad Street, are remarkable for the quantity of cuneiform tablets found in them. In the former Woolley found more than forty tablets that are typical products of Old Babylonian learner scribes. In the latter about four hundred similar tablets came to light, most

5. A new study of this house and its tablets is being made by Eleanor Robson.

6. Thorkild Jacobsen reports that the tablets were found "helter-skelter under the floor ... as fill" (Jacobsen 1953: 126). Stone notes that a mud bench in Room 205 was constructed out of "the most readily available raw material, old tablets. The walls of this room had bags or shelves on them to hold the [current] tablets" (Stone 1987: 57). Charpin observes that most of the tablets found in House F were packing for a new floor (Charpin 1990: 7).

in secondary contexts as fill. Both houses were described by Woolley as "schools." He went so far as to style the man he supposed was the occupant of No. 1 Broad Street, a certain Igmil-Sîn, as the "headmaster of a boys' school" (Woolley 1963: 185), a description that, coming from such a source, might conjure up in the impressionable mind a vision of an English public school complete with junior masters, tuck shops, and rugby football pitches.

Woolley would not have intended such an understanding but he was jumping to unwarranted conclusions, nonetheless. The two houses of Ur and the finds made in them have been exhaustively studied by Dominique Charpin (Charpin 1986: 419–86). He has shown that, as with House F in Area TA at Nippur, we are dealing with private dwelling-houses that belonged to men of the literate, priestly class. Charpin's conclusions are that No. 7 Quiet Street was certainly a venue of scribal education, though a modest one; however, it is unsafe to assume that No. 1 Broad Street was, for the tablets that were built into the fabric of its floors may have come from elsewhere.

The dwellings House F, No. 7 Quiet Street and others like them that functioned as places of schooling elsewhere, for example at Isin (Wilcke 1987: 83), Tell ed-Dēr (Gasche 1989: 19–20, 40–41), and Tell Harmal<sup>7</sup> clearly show that already in the Old Babylonian period much scribal training was a small-scale activity run by private individuals and not by the state. This view is now generally accepted. The owners of such houses were learned scholars who taught apprentice scribes to write, instructing them in their own homes in the ways of cuneiform and the literature of tradition. They may have taught only two or three boys at a time, their own sons and other young relatives and maybe also the sons of colleagues. Most of the tablets the boys produced were recycled (Civil 1979: 7) but others were kept and slowly accumulated until they found new uses as building materials. It is, no doubt, to places like these that the few Old Babylonian letters that refer to schools allude.<sup>8</sup> This kind of education, small-scale and from one generation to the next, was traditional in other crafts and is much the same set-up as we find in the third and first millennia, when scribal training was also conducted by learned men (u.m.mi.a // *ummânu*) teaching small groups of boys in their own houses.<sup>9</sup>

7. See the definitive report on the excavations at Tell Harmal now being prepared by Peter Miglus and Laïth Hussein.

8. The Akkadian is *bîl tuppim*, "tablet house"; for the relevant passages, see Sjöberg 1976: 160–61, Volk 2000: 8 with fn. 41.

9. See briefly Waetzoldt 1989: 39. The Late Babylonian copies of traditional literary compositions excavated in an area of private dwelling-houses at Uruk in 1970–71 present a picture similar to that obtained in Old Babylonian Nippur and Ur. The

The houses of the Old Babylonian scholar-teachers were sizeable residences in good neighborhoods, but they cannot be imagined as institutional buildings housing large-scale educational establishments. In fact, no such buildings have yet been found in any Old Babylonian city. Indeed, the whole idea of a school building as a distinctive structure has been called into question recently (e.g., Wilcke 1987: 83; Volk 2000: 7–8). It is now agreed that much teaching, reading, and writing was necessarily done outside in the courtyard rather than indoors; this can be inferred not only from the need for bright light that most Assyriologists recognize from their own experience with tablets but also from telling passages of the Edubba literature (Volk 2000: 7 and fn. 35–36). Writing of the later Old Babylonian period Michel Tanret comments, “l’idée d’un espace architectural réservé uniquement à l’enseignement, d’une salle de classe, nous paraît donc, pour cette période, un anachronisme” (Tanret 1982: 49).

Now that Old Babylonian schools are revealed to have been very modest affairs located in private houses, there arises a discrepancy between the archaeological evidence and the literary documentation that led to Landsberger’s characterization of the *é.dub.ba.a* as a “secular university.” Briefly stated, the problem is that the schools reported in the Edubba literature were obviously institutions of a kind very different from the schools in which the remains of this literature were found.

The answer to this problem lies in understanding that the texts and the material remains report conditions of education in different periods. The Edubba-literature was traditional literature, already old when writing was taught in the houses of eighteenth-century Nippur and Ur. The tradition enshrined in Sumerian literature is, that under the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III) there were special academies of learning in exactly these cities, Nippur and Ur. These institutions were very probably an innovation of this dynasty made to satisfy the growing bureaucracy’s demand for scribes that could not be met by the small-scale operations of the private sector (Waetzoldt 1986: 39). One of the hymns in praise of King Šulgi of Ur (twenty-first century) records his special connection with the scribal academies:

sig.šè urím<sup>ki</sup>.ma ki.sikil.la bí.mú  
 é.géštug.<sup>d</sup>nissaba.mul èn.du.gá.ka (*var.* a.kam)  
 nim.šè nibru<sup>ki</sup>.a ki.gal.la bí.gub  
 šùd é.kur.ra ki hé.ús.sa.mu.uš  
 dub.sar hé.du šu.ni hé.eb.dab.bé

many commentaries found among them reveal a picture of oral instruction in cuneiform lore by the *ummānu* (George 1991: 139–40).

nar hé.du gù hu.mu.un.né.re.dé (*var.* hu.mu.ne.re.dé.[(e)])  
 é.dub.ba.a da.rí ur<sub>5</sub> nu.kúr.ru.dam  
 ki.úmun da.rí ur<sub>5</sub> nu.silig.ge.dam

*Šulgi Hymn B 308–15* (ed. Castellino 1972: 60–63<sup>10</sup>)

Downstream, at Ur, in the Pure Place (my song) is sung,  
 the House of Wisdom of Starry Nissaba is (the place) of my song.  
 Upstream, at Nippur, in the Great Place (my song) is established  
 for my benediction in Ekur, the place that I did set on a firm  
 footing.

The scribe shall come, his hand shall capture (the song in writing),  
 the minstrel shall come, shall declaim *thereof for them*,<sup>11</sup>  
 For all eternity the Edubba is never to change,  
 for all eternity the Place of Learning is never to cease functioning.

From the hymns of Šulgi that have been so well elucidated by Jacob Klein, especially, we learn that Šulgi was particularly proud of his literacy and cultural accomplishments. He had rosy memories of his boyhood at the *é.dub.ba.a*, where he boasted that he was the most skilled student in his class.<sup>12</sup> This claim is not unique and may have been an expression of an ideal rather than a reality,<sup>13</sup> but in later life Šulgi was certainly an enthusiastic patron of the arts. If he did not himself found the academies of Sumerian learning at Ur and at Nippur, he clearly adapted them to his purpose, speaking of his “libraries” (*gir.gin.na*) set up for the use of court minstrels (Šulgi Hymn B 318 and 329). The aim was evidently to provide a reliable corpus of Sumerian songs and other texts for future generations. Thus Šulgi envisaged that hymns to his glory and other courtly literature of his day would be preserved for posterity—and with them his glorious memory. And so they were not forgotten, for his academies established a literary corpus that survived as the core of the scribal curriculum at Nippur, Ur, and other southern cities for three centuries.

When Šulgi speaks of his state-sponsored academies at Nippur and Ur as *é.géštug.<sup>d</sup>nissaba.mul*, “House of Wisdom of Starry Nissaba,” and *ki.úmun*, “Place of Learning,” it seems to me he is using the expressions much as one used the ceremonial names of temples. With institutions that

10. On ll. 311–15 see Sjöberg 1976: 174; on ll. 311–19 see Klein 1981a: 20; on ll. 313–15 see Ludwig 1990: 42; on ll. 309–14 see Alster 1992: 45–46; on ll. 312–14 see Black 1992: 100.

11. See Alster 1992: 45.

12. See Šulgi Hymn B 13–20, re-edited by Volk 1996: 202–3, fn. 148; cf. Klein 1981a: 15.

13. Note the similar passage in a hymn of Išme-Dagān of Isin: Ludwig 1990: 166ff., IŠD V<sub>A</sub> 5–9.

could bear such distinctive names he surely had in mind physical structures dedicated to the scribal art. Thus I would maintain that the *é.dub.ba.a* of the Edubba-literature was an architectural as well as an institutional reality. In contrast to the Old Babylonian schools described earlier, we can suppose that these grand imperial schools occupied purpose-built accommodation, either whole buildings or complexes of rooms.

It is not difficult to imagine that scribal training in the Ur III period came, like so much else, under the control of the state.<sup>14</sup> Documentation reveals that provincial governors had responsibility for the continuing upkeep of learner scribes in local centers.<sup>15</sup> Connections between state and *é.dub.ba.a* were strong.<sup>16</sup> Certainly the courts of the kings of Ur and the succeeding dynasty of Isin were witness to considerable literary creativity in Sumerian. The *é.dub.ba.a* was an important instrument not only for handing down traditional texts but also for producing new royal compositions. Hymns were composed articulating the imperial pretensions of the first six kings of Isin and a few of the later ones, and several of them were included in the basic curriculum of the scribal trainee.<sup>17</sup>

This suggests that the state *é.dub.ba.a* of the Ur III period was maintained in some form by the court of Isin for as much as one and a half centuries after the fall of Ur, an example of continuity in state practice that is wholly expected. There is even evidence to suggest that the scholars of the academy at Nippur were not much impressed with the rival establishment just down the road in the capital (van Dijk 1989: 448–50). Probably we should seek the *é.dub.ba.a* of these periods near the royal residences, or even in them. In this connection it should be pointed out that a complex of chambers and courtyards used for scribal training would not necessarily contain distinctive furnishing or equipment of any kind beyond rudimentary bins for new and recycled clay, so that the recognition on the ground of an Ur III or early Isin period *é.dub.ba.a*—or indeed any other large-scale educational institution—may not be a simple matter.<sup>18</sup>

14. See already Nissen 1993: 108, who considers it “conceivable that the sector of scribal education formerly supported by private initiative increasingly came under state influence during the Ur III period.”

15. At Girsu the governor provided regular rations for twelve scribal apprentices (*dub.sar tur.tur*): see Waetzoldt 1986: 39, 1989: 39.

16. Cf. Kraus 1973: 24–25, who argues for a close relationship between the *é.dub.ba.a* and the courts of the successor states of the early second millennium, speaking of the *é.dub.ba.a* as a “Hofkanzlei.”

17. The group of four literary texts first encountered by Old Babylonian schoolboys, called the “Tetrad” by Tinney 1999: 162–68, contained three hymns to kings of Isin, Iddin-Dagān B, Lipit-Ištar B, and Enlil-bāni A.

18. Note in this regard that the supposed school-room famously excavated in Zimri-Lim’s palace at Mari remains a space of uncertain function. The evidence for scribal

Measured in terms of royal hymns and prayers, literary creativity in Sumerian at the courts of Larsa and Babylon was starkly reduced,<sup>19</sup> an indication that in the eighteenth century the state secretariats of Babylonia had abandoned many of the traditions of the old *é.dub.ba.a*. In the later Old Babylonian period, three and four centuries after King Šulgi, the royal academies of the kings of Ur and Isin were surely gone altogether. In an era characterized by private enterprise many other imperial institutions of the Third Dynasty of Ur had also disappeared. Though the presence of school tablets in royal residences, for example, in the palace of Šin-kāšid at Uruk (Cavigneaux 1982: 21–30), shows that the petty kingdoms of the middle Old Babylonian period continued to have an interest in training a literate bureaucracy, most schooling was probably undertaken in the private sector.

But the Sumerian literary corpus that Šulgi’s academies had established survived, for it had become a teaching resource. Sumerian lists and texts were the standard copy books of learner scribes wherever they were taught. In the Old Babylonian period, when scholars and other literate men instructed their sons and a few others in the rooms and courtyards of their own houses, they passed on to them a literature much of which was already three hundred years old. From the texts that report life in the Sumerian *é.dub.ba.a* the boys learned that once, in the golden years of King Šulgi, their predecessors had attended schools vastly different from the modest establishments they knew themselves in the reign of King Samsuiluna.

My point, then, is simple. Any attempt to identify the many private houses where scribes were trained in the Old Babylonian period with the grand institutions called *é.dub.ba.a* in Sumerian literary texts is misconceived. To look for material remains of this *é.dub.ba.a* in Old Babylonian levels is to try to match the realities of two very different eras. The reigns of Šulgi and his successors were the heyday of the *é.dub.ba.a*, and it is educational practice of their era that is reflected in the Edubba-literature.<sup>20</sup> If an archaeologist wishes to find the remains of a grand imperial school it is in the levels of the Ur III and early Isin periods that he should look.

training therein is not compelling; on this question see most recently the doubts raised by Waetzoldt 1986: 39, Tanret 1981: 33–34, Volk 2000: 5–6 and fn. 26.

19. The relative sizes of the corpora of royal compositions stemming from the courts in question can easily be seen in the catalogue of Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian royal hymns published by Klein 1981b: 24 and 226–34; at the time of compilation Ur III scored 39, Isin 55, Larsa 13, and Babylon 15 (including Akkadian and bilingual compositions).

20. In this analysis we must accept the testimony of the Edubba-literature, that the pupils’ first language was Akkadian not Sumerian, as further evidence in the debate over the date of the death of Sumerian as a vernacular language, for it will apply to the late third millennium. This detail supports the view that “Sumerian as a spoken language was in all probability dead or nearly so in Ur III” (Cooper 1973: 241).

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## LA DATE DE COMPOSITION DE LA CHRONIQUE DE LA MONARCHIE UNE

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PLUSIEURS DATES ont été proposées, dans le passé, pour la composition de la chronique de la monarchie une. Elles s'échelonnent entre les règnes d'Utu-hégal d'Uruk et les monarques de la dynastie d'Isin. Le manuscrit de cette chronique édité par les soins de J. Klein<sup>1</sup> et qui signale que, lors d'un changement de dynastie, la royauté « retournait », ba(?)-e(?)-gur(?), à Uruk, m'avait autrefois permis de reprendre en les augmentant les arguments de Th. Jacobsen en faveur d'une écriture de la chronique sous le règne du roi d'Uruk précité<sup>2</sup>.

Mais il est peut-être possible, aujourd'hui, de remonter dans le temps et de proposer, pour cette composition, une date contemporaine de la dynastie d'Akkadé.

La thèse qui sous-tend l'œuvre est simple : le régime politique est de type monarchique et la monarchie revendique d'être manifestée en un lieu, une ville qui en est le siège. Elle sert à appuyer une doctrine qui affirme le principe de l'unicité de la monarchie, la Mésopotamie étant considérée, tout au long de son histoire, comme n'ayant jamais formé qu'un seul royaume avec une seule capitale, même si celle-ci est variable. Le mouvement de l'histoire est en effet identifié à une succession de cycles, le pouvoir royal passant d'une ville à une autre à chaque changement de cycle, chaque ville étant à tour de rôle le dépositaire unique de l'institution monarchique.

1. J. Klein, "A New Nippur Duplicate of the Sumerian Kinglist in the Brockmon Collection, University of Haifa", dans P. Michalowski et al., éd., *Velles Paraulas, Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil, Aula Or 9* (1991):123-29.
2. En tout état de causes, une conception de la chronique sous la troisième dynastie d'Ur est à exclure, tant l'histoire de la ville d'Ur est mal connue par l'auteur. En outre, contrairement aux villes de Kiš, d'Akkadé et d'Uruk, celle d'Ur ne connaît, dans l'œuvre aucun récit de fondation, même considérablement abrégé (voir, déjà, J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes* (Paris, 1993), 119-20.

Au cœur de la chronique trois toponymes tiennent une place apparemment plus importante que les autres, la royauté y trouvant sa résidence à plusieurs reprises. Il s'agit des villes de Kiš, d'Uruk et d'Ur.

On admettra que la conceptualisation de la chronique est virtuellement possible dès lors que la domination sur ces trois villes signifie la souveraineté sur la Mésopotamie entière. Tel est le cas sous le règne d'En-šakuš-ana, probablement vers 2400, un souverain qui porte les titres de « seigneur de Kenger » et « roi de Kalam », Kenger désignant le pays d'Uruk et Kalam celui d'Ur, et qui remporte une victoire sur Enbi-Ištar, roi de Kiš<sup>3</sup>. Son successeur, Lugal-kiniše-dudu, entre 2400 et 2350, est à son tour « roi de Kiš », exerçant « la royauté sur Ur » et « la seigneurie sur Uruk »<sup>4</sup>.

Mais une autre ville tient, dans la chronique, une place tout à fait singulière. Il s'agit d'Akkadé.

On a tenté de montrer, en son temps<sup>5</sup>, que l'auteur de la chronique cherche à mettre en ordre des périodes royales qui se succèdent à la manière des générations humaines, faisant apparaître une opposition entre des périodes consécutives, une ville royale « vaincue » ou « détruite » étant remplacée par une autre portant un autre nom, et une homologie entre des périodes alternées, cette homologie étant exprimée avec netteté par la répétition du même toponyme, comme dans la séquence *Kiš – Akšak – Kiš – Uruk – Akkadé – Uruk – Gutium – Uruk – Ur*.

Cette présence récurrente des mêmes noms chaque deuxième génération rappelle des faits ethnographiques dont on trouve trace en Mésopotamie. Dans certains groupes humains, en effet, l'héritier d'une fonction est habituellement choisi parmi les petits-enfants du défunt; il prend alors les noms, titres et place de son prédécesseur. Or, en Mésopotamie, une coutume est amplement attestée qui veut qu'un père donne à l'un de ses fils le nom de son propre père.

Le sumérien différenciant linguistiquement quatre degrés de parenté, le grand-père, pabilsag, le père, ab, le fils, dumu, et le petit-fils, dumu. KA, on découvre quatre termes qui fournissent des points de repère dans une ligne ascendante verticale. Il est donc possible de présenter l'ordre de succession des cycles royaux de Kiš, d'Uruk, d'Ur et d'Akkadé à l'aide du schéma suivant:

3. J.S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, SARI (New Haven, 1986), 105, Uk 4.1, mais où la traduction « lord of Sumer and king of the nation » est difficilement recevable.
4. Id., *ibid.*, 102, Uk 1.2, où Kenger est remplacé par Uruk et Kalam par Ur. Dans une inscription de Lugal-gipare-si, il porte les titres de « roi d'Uruk et roi d'Ur » : *id.*, *ibid.*, 103, Uk 2.1.
5. *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, 77ss.

pabilsag	Kiš 1	Kiš 2	Kiš 3+4	Akkadé
ab	Uruk 1	Uruk 2	Uruk 3	Uruk 4+5
dumu	Ur 1	Ur 2	Akkadé	Ur 3
dumu.KA	Kiš 2	Kiš 3+4		

n.b.: des réécritures successives ont conduit à distinguer deux dynasties Kiš 3 et Kiš 4, Uruk 4 et Uruk 5. D'autres manuscrits inversent l'ordre des dynasties Uruk 2 et Ur 2.

Les quatre villes qui apparaissent dans le tableau rivalisent pour la détention de la royauté et entretiennent entre elles des relations d'opposition, d'exclusion ou de rivalité. Ur et Uruk rivalisent pour la royauté au Sud, Akkadé succède à Kiš pour la royauté au Nord. Les oppositions les plus irréductibles se dessinent entre Kiš et Uruk, entre Akkadé et les deux villes d'Uruk et d'Ur.

On découvre surtout, à la lecture du tableau, la place éminente du cycle d'Akkadé qui revendique la place d'un cycle royal d'Ur attendu, se pose comme l'héritier et le successeur du dernier cycle de Kiš, enfin comme l'ennemi irréductible d'Uruk. On touche sans doute ici à la structure profonde de la chronique que des réécritures et des remaniements ultérieurs n'ont pu voiler totalement; la quatrième colonne du tableau résulte évidemment d'une réécriture postérieure.

La thèse développée par l'auteur de la chronique ne se satisfait pas du constat selon lequel le régime politique est de type monarchique. Elle précise que ce régime est un don des dieux aux hommes, aux origines des temps, et qu'il est de type héréditaire. L'évocation de la légende d'Etana, de son ascension céleste en quête d'une plante d'enfantement ainsi que la présence d'un fils qui lui succède insistent suffisamment sur ce dernier point.

Or, ce sont-là deux thèmes dont l'historiographie s'empare, précisément, sous le règne de Narām-Sîn d'Akkadé. Quittant le terrain strictement généalogique des sources antérieures, les scribes de Narām-Sîn n'inscrivent plus son règne dans le cours banal d'une histoire locale ou familiale, mais ils prennent en compte le passé de l'humanité entière; ainsi peut-on lire, dans la relation concernant la conquête d'Armanum et d'Ebla, qu'il s'agit d'un événement qu'aucun roi n'avait encore accompli *ištum dār šikitti nišē*, « depuis la création de l'humanité »<sup>6</sup>.

6. D.R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, RIMA 2 (Toronto, 1993), 132, n° 26, i 1-4.

D'autre part, c'est sous le règne du même Narām-Sîn qu'un débat est ouvert sur la légitimité de la monarchie héréditaire. Les inscriptions royales du temps ainsi qu'une tradition historiographique dont le plus ancien témoin remonte à l'époque d'Akkadé s'accordent pour opposer la monarchie héréditaire qu'incarne le souverain face à une manière de monarchie élective représentée par les trois rois élus par leurs troupes en armes et qui dirigent la grande révolte contre le jeune monarque akkadien<sup>7</sup>. Le sort des armes tranche en faveur de la première.

Il n'est pas sans intérêt de se souvenir ici que les trois rois rebelles sont, respectivement, Iphur-Kiš de Kiš, Lugal-ane d'Ur et Amar-girid d'Uruk, soit des souverains des trois cités de Kiš, Ur et Uruk et dont l'histoire est narrée par l'auteur de la chronique de la monarchie une. On comprend mieux, dès lors, le choix de ces toponymes par le chroniqueur.

Un dernier argument peut militer, enfin, en faveur d'une composition de la chronique à l'époque d'Akkadé. Sur la célèbre stèle paléo-akkadienne de Girsu<sup>8</sup>, il est possible de restituer une partie du passage final comme suit:

*A-kā-dē<sup>ki</sup>*  
*nam.lugal*  
*šu.ba.ab.ti.a.ta*  
*[Ri-mu]-uš(?) / [Šar-kā]-lī(?) - [šar-rī]*  
*[nam.lugal.bi ì.ak]*  
*[...]*

« Akkadé ayant reçu la royauté,  
 Rīm]uš(?) / [Šar-kā]lī(?) - [šarrī exerça sa royauté ...] »,

une formule qui n'est pas sans évoquer celle qui caractérise le changement de dynastie dans la chronique de la monarchie une!

Ces arguments réunis permettent de conclure à une composition de la chronique si ce n'est sous le règne de Narām-Sîn lui-même, au plus tard sous celui de son successeur Šar-kali-šarrī.

7. Pour toutes références, voir J.-J. Glassner, "Les petites États mésopotamiens à la fin du 4<sup>e</sup> et au cours du 3<sup>e</sup> millénaire", dans M.H. Hansen, éd., *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhague, 2000), 43-44.

8. I.J. Gleb, P. Steinkeller et R.M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*, OIP 104 (Chicago, 1991) n° 24, iv 9<sup>ss</sup>.



SUMERIAN HISTORY IN PICTURES:  
A NEW LOOK AT  
THE "STELE OF THE FLYING ANGELS"\*

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AMONG HIS MANY SEMINAL STUDIES on the genre of Sumerian royal hymns, Jacob Klein has contributed an analysis of Shulgi A ("Shulgi the Runner") that goes far toward setting that hymn and the Ishme-Dagan hymn modelled on it in their literary and historical contexts.<sup>1</sup> The royal statues to which the two hymns allude well illustrate the role of monuments as a fourth medium for the commemoration of royal achievements beyond the three previously identified as royal hymns, royal inscriptions, and date formulas.<sup>2</sup> The "stele of the flying angels" may be confidently added to the roster of such figurative commemorations.

In 1925, Sir Leonard Woolley announced the discovery of important fragments of a massive stone stele found during the excavations at Ur.<sup>3</sup> He was in charge of these excavations, which were conducted jointly by the British Museum and the University Museum (now the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) of the University of Pennsylvania. In the division of the finds among the two museums and the host country in 1926, the stele fragments fell to the share of the University Museum. Leon Legrain, who was then curator of that museum, as well as epigrapher of the expe-

dition,<sup>4</sup> lost no time in restoring the stele from its fragments and publishing the results. He was, in fact, so concerned with preserving all the pieces in his reconstruction that he included some that may not have belonged to it at all. His first publication appeared in 1927 under the title "The Stela of the Flying Angels," and a second one six years later under the title "Restauration de la stèle d'Ur-Nammu."<sup>5</sup>

For some fifteen years, this truly monumental monument has been the subject of intense scrutiny by Jeanny Vorys Canby. She devoted a first article to it in 1987,<sup>6</sup> wrote another one ten years later,<sup>7</sup> and published a whole monograph on the subject in 2001.<sup>8</sup> Meantime, the stele itself has been disassembled under her supervision, allowing for a better placement of the fragments from which it had been reconstructed in 1927 when it is eventually reassembled. In the process, it is hoped to settle the question of whether the attribution to Ur-Nammu is correct (his name appears on a fragment that may not belong rightfully to the reconstruction) or whether it has to be changed in favor of Shulgi.<sup>9</sup> It will here be attributed to Ur-Nammu for reasons to be dealt with below.

The Stele of Ur-Nammu is certainly one of the most important monuments of its kind. It is the only one between the Old Sumerian Stele of Vultures and the Neo-Assyrian obelisks to arrange its materials in registers that follow each other in a vertical sequence, and the only royal stele altogether between Naram-Sin and Hammurapi, as Dr. Canby has noted.<sup>10</sup> Several questions remain to be answered: whether we are to "read" the registers up or down, whether the two sides are to be "read" together or in

\* This paper is presented in warm tribute to Jacob Klein. A very much earlier version was presented to the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, March 19, 1996.

1. Jacob Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Runners in the Service of the Gods (SRT 13)," *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985): 7\*-38\*; cf. also Douglas R. Frayne, "Šulgi the Runner," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 739-48.
2. William W. Hallo, "Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Deified King," *VTS* 40 (1988): 54-66; cf. Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1981).
3. C. Leonard Woolley, "The Excavations at Ur, 1924-1925," *Antiquaries Journal* 5 (1925): 398-410 and pls. 46-48, idem, "The Expedition to Ur," *Museum Journal* 16 (1925): 50-55.

4. A. Dussau, "Legrain, Leon," *RLA* (1980-83), 543 lists him as curator, or at least active at the Museum, from 1919 to his death in 1963, and epigrapher from 1924-26.
5. Leon Legrain, "The Stela of the Flying Angels," *Museum Journal* 18 (1927): 74-98; cf. idem, "Restauration de la stèle d'Ur-Nammu," *RA* 30 (1933): 111-15 and pls. i-ii; for Woolley's prior report, see above, n. 3.
6. Jeanny Vorys Canby, "A Monumental Puzzle: Reconstructing the Ur-Nammu Stele," *Expedition* 29/1 (1987): 54-64.
7. Eadem, "The Stela of Ur-Nammu Reconsidered," *RAI* 34 (1998): 211-19 and pls. 39-48; note that the paper was presented to the Rencontre in 1987 (hereinafter cited as "The Stela").
8. Eadem, *The "Ur-Nammu" Stela* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2001; hereinafter cited as *The Stela*). I am grateful to her for sharing many of her findings with me prior to publication, and to the University of Pennsylvania for permission to republish her reconstructions (below, figs. 1-2).
9. A similar question with respect to the "Laws of Ur-Nammu" can probably be settled in favor of Ur-Nammu; see a forthcoming paper by Frayne and the author.
10. *The Stela* 8f. But note perhaps the Ebla stele dating ca. 1800 B.C.E.; cf. Paolo Matthiae, "Les dernières découvertes d'Ébla en 1983-1986," *CRAIBL* 1987, 135-61.



sequence, and, if the latter, in which sequence. But, in any case, it is already apparent that the stele is to be “read,” i.e., that it represents some form of narrative in largely pictorial form, though supplemented by captions or inscriptions that may have been more extensive when the stele was complete than the traces now preserved suggest. And if the stele belongs to the roster of figurative commemorations,<sup>11</sup> does it commemorate the royal achievements of a single year, as in the case of the statue of “Shulgi the Runner,”<sup>12</sup> or of several years, as illustrated, for example, by the statue of Nur-Adad of Larsa commissioned by his son Sin-iddinam together with an inscriptional outline of the achievements of at least five years of his sixteen-year reign paralleled by his date-formulas?<sup>13</sup>

To begin to answer some of my own questions: it is my suggestion, based on the current state of the restoration of the stele, that its two sides must be read separately. That is to say, it is impossible to read all five registers on the two sides as following each other around the stele. There are three reasons for this conclusion. (1) Registers III and IV of side A are separated by only a single dividing line<sup>14</sup> and are apparently to be read together, while the corresponding registers of side B are separated by a double dividing line and are evidently to be read separately.<sup>15</sup> (2) The broad band between registers IV and V of side B preserves considerable traces of an inscription, while the corresponding band of Side A, although largely lost, is clearly uninscribed as far as preserved. (3) There is no evidence that the narrow sides of the stele, as far as they are preserved, carried the narrative from one side to the other.<sup>16</sup>

Having said this, however, we should note the strong correlation between the two top registers, both including the “flying angels” for which Legrain named the stele. The “angels” are pouring water from vessels on the scenes below them, which, at least on Side A, feature two seated dei-

11. Hallo, “Texts, Statues and the Cult,” (above, n. 2); cf. Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns*.

12. Above, n. 1.

13. See the latest translation and discussion by Madeleine A. Fitzgerald, “The Rulers of Larsa” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale, 2002), 83–93.

14. Dr. Canby informs me that it is in fact “not a dividing line but the top of the building on which several people stand” (letter of January 18, 2003).

15. Side A is what is conventionally called the “obverse” or, by Canby, the “Good Face” of the stele, i.e., the better preserved one: “The Stela,” 213. Side B is the “reverse” or “worn face”; *ibid.* Registers are numbered with Roman numerals from top to bottom following Canby.

16. Dr. Canby informs me that “There are no scenes on any of the several sections of the side faces that are preserved, in fact the sides were never completely smoothed down like the relief surface” (letter of January 18, 2003). Cf. also Andrea Becker “Neusumerische Renaissance?” *BaM* 16 (1985): 1–43, esp. p. 295.

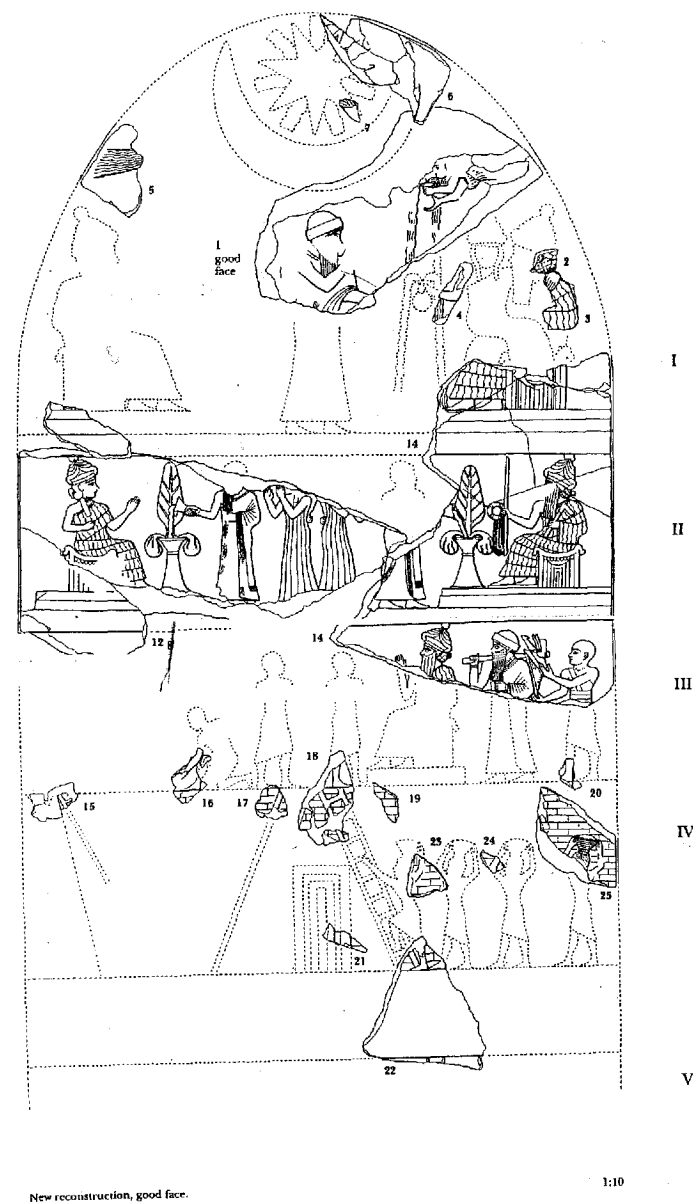


Fig. 1: Side A

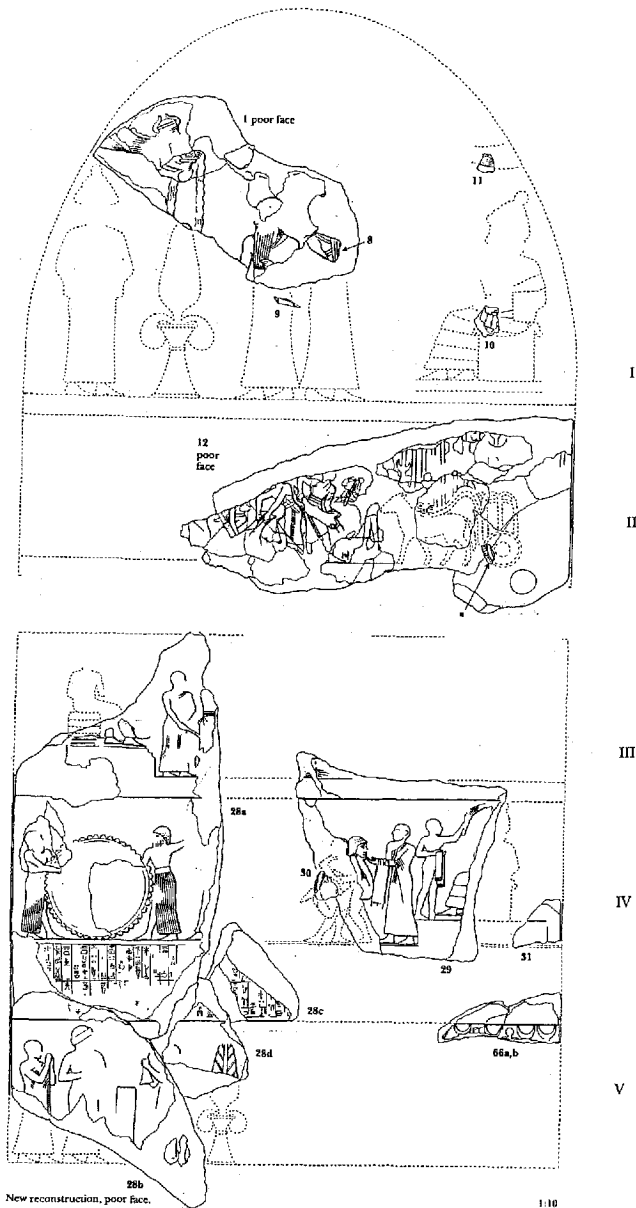


Fig. 2: Side B

ties—actually, it could be argued, in the guise of their statues.<sup>17</sup> The flying figures are regarded by Jacobsen as symbolic rainclouds, though on what basis is not clear; Canby considers them possibly representations of Enki.<sup>18</sup>

These upper registers have the crescent shape characteristic of other Mesopotamian steles, a shape familiar, e.g., from the double steles of Amar-Suen found at Ur,<sup>19</sup> from *kudurru*'s ("boundary-stones") in phallic shape,<sup>20</sup> and many items in the "Stelenreihen" of Assur, where the shape has also been regarded as phallic and interpreted as a *pars pro toto* representation of the individuals commemorated on them.<sup>21</sup> It was a shape favored in Egypt as well,<sup>22</sup> and for some reason favored in much more recent times not only for tombstones in various traditions but more particularly for the representations of the Tablets of the Law in Jewish iconography from at least the thirteenth century C.E. on.<sup>23</sup>

More to the point, the two uppermost registers are each twice the size of any of the lower registers in height, and the figures in them are twice the size of the figures in the lower registers. They share these characteristics with the Stele of Vultures and, like that monument, can be argued to represent the climax of the narrative represented by the stele as a whole. If Irene Winter is correct in reading the Stele of Vultures (as well as the even earlier Uruk Vase) from bottom to top,<sup>24</sup> and if André Parrot is correct in reading the Standard of Ur from bottom to top, analogy and the power of

17. Jutta Börker-Klähn, "Šulgi badet," *ZA* 64 (1974): 235–40, esp. p. 237; cf. Hallo, "Sumerian Religion," *Studies Kutschera* (1993), 15–35, esp. pp. 18f.
18. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once ...* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1987), 393 n. 24; Canby, "The Stela," 217–18; *The Stela*, 17, n. 2.
19. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1925–6," *Antiquaries Journal* 6 (1926): 365–401 and pls. xlv–lxii, esp. pp. 371f. and pl. xlvib.
20. So at least according to Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: the Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, tr. P. Bing (Berkeley etc.: University of California, 1983), 58; cf. p. 72.
21. Heinz Genge, *Stelen neuassyrischer Könige*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Freiburg/Breisgau (2 vols., 1965); cf. idem, "Sinn und Bedeutung der Menhire," *Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst (IPEK)*, 122 (1966–69), 105–13 and pl. 77.
22. R.J. Demaree, *The 'h ikr n R' -Stelae: on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt (= Egyptologische Uitgaven 3)* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983).
23. Ruth Melnikoff, "The Round-topped Tablets of the Law," *Journal of Jewish Art* 1 (1974), esp. p. 6 and n. 35.
24. Or at least its "narrative" side (reverse) if not its "iconic" side (obverse); see Irene Winter, "After the Battle is Over: The Stele of the Vultures and the Beginning of Historical Narrative in the Art of the Ancient Near East," in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. H.L. Kessler and M.S. Simpson, *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985), 11–26, esp. pp. 18–21.

tradition would suggest the same sequence for our stele.<sup>25</sup> This is by now the *communis opinio*, and much the same goes for the notion that monuments generally narrate the events of several years,<sup>26</sup> although there are dissenters from both of these positions.<sup>27</sup>

What then does the upper register of Side A represent? Jes Canby suggests a sacred marriage and, indeed, the flowing water, and its divine source, remind us of the cosmic aspect of this rite, intended to assure the fertility of field and stream.<sup>28</sup> The prominence of the lunar crescent of Nanna and of the two seven-pointed stars, the symbols of Inanna (as morning and evening star respectively?), in both top registers might seem to bolster that interpretation for, as Cooper has put it in the latest comprehensive survey of the institution, "Because Inana was the daughter of the moon god Nanna-Suen, god of Ur, the marriage of Ur III rulers to Inana had the added advantage of making the kings of Ur sons-in-law of the god of their capital."<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, the same evidence can be said to point elsewhere, specifically to the designation of the high-priestess (*en*) of Nanna, who served at the same time as devotee of Inanna at Uruk (or Karzida).<sup>30</sup> This high-priestess was selected from the ranks of the royal progeny, accounting for the presence of the king in the scene. This was so since the time of Sargon according to one reconstruction.<sup>31</sup> In Winter's view, it could have begun even earlier,<sup>32</sup> in Steinkeller's, conceivably later.<sup>33</sup>

25. André Parrot, *Sumer: the Dawn of Art* (New York: Golden Press, 1961), 146 (at least with respect to the side picturing "the king at war").
26. See, e.g., Michelle I. Marcus, "Geography as an Organizing Principle in the Imperial Art of Shalmaneser III," *Iraq* 49 (1987): 77–90 and pls. 16–22, esp. p. 81; note, however, that the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser reads from top to bottom, according to Stephen J. Lieberman, "Giving Directions on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III," *RA* 79 (1985): 88.
27. Jerrold S. Cooper thinks that the narrative can run from top to bottom; see "Mesopotamian Historical Consciousness and the Production of Monumental Art in the Third Millennium B.C.," in *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Ann C. Gunter (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 39–51, esp. p. 50, n. 37. V.K. Afanasieva thinks that the Ur-Nammu stele presents "single-momentness of the action" rather than a succession of events; see "On the Composition of the Ur-Nammu Stele," in *Studies Vinogradov* (2000), 7–28 (in Russian; English summary pp. 28f.).
28. Canby, "The Stela," 217.
29. Cooper, "Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult in Early Mesopotamia," in *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, ed. E. Matsushima (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1993), 81–96, esp. p. 91.
30. Hallo and J.J.A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna*, YNER 3 (New Haven/London: Yale University Press 1968), 7–9.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Winter, "Women in Public: The Disk of Enheduanna, the Beginning of the Office

As reconstructed by Canby, the top register of Side A prominently features a female deity seated in the lap of a male deity. She regards this as symbolic of love-making suitable to the sacred marriage, and cites a plaque from Tello (Girsu) inscribed to the goddess Bau as an iconographic parallel.<sup>34</sup> But one searches in vain for textual confirmation of the gesture in the richly attested love literature of Sumerian. The knee (*du<sub>10</sub> = birku*) is not mentioned there at all and as for the lap (*ur = s̄nu, utlu*), it is more often the lap of the female partner that is mentioned;<sup>35</sup> when the male partner's lap is alluded to, it is in the context of lying in bed, not sitting in a chair;<sup>36</sup> the only possible exceptions to this rule are ambiguous on this point.<sup>37</sup> The only textual evidence for the gesture that I am aware of is that of lifting a child on one's knees as a sign of acknowledging paternity—whether natural or adoptive—or, more generally, as a sign of legitimation; as such, it is attested equally among Babylonians, Hittites, and Greeks,<sup>38</sup> as Canby has pointed out elsewhere,<sup>39</sup> and can be reconstructed for Israel as well.<sup>40</sup> A particularly telling example is a Mari letter quoting the deity as saying of the king, i.a., "Am I not Adad the lord of Kallassu who reared (raised?) him between my thighs<sup>41</sup> and restored him to the throne of his father's house?"<sup>42</sup>

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- of EN-Priestess and the Weight of Visual Evidence," *RAI* 33 (1987), 189–201, esp. p. 196, n. 31.
  33. Piotr Steinkeller, "On Rulers, Priests and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship," in *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East*, ed. K. Watanabe (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1999), 103–37, esp. p. 125, n. 77.
  34. Canby, "The Stela," 216 and pl. 47 (fig. 13).
  35. See Yitschak Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998), 105:188; 188:14, 16; 225:32; 305:35, 37; 306:64–66; CT 58:16:43f.
  36. *Ibid.* 105:189–90.
  37. *Ibid.* 137:41; 225:7, 9.
  38. J.D. Muhly, review of M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* in *JAOS* 85 (1965): 585–88, esp. pp. 586f.; Hallo, review of *RLA* 3/1 in *JAOS* 87 (1987): 62–66, esp. p. 64.
  39. "The Child in Hittite Iconography," in *Ancient Anatolia: ... Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*, ed. J.V. Canby et al. (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 54–69, esp. p. 68 nn. 24–25. It may be noted that her interest in this subject prompted Dr. Canby's investigation of the stele in the first place; cf. *The Stele*, 12.
  40. Theodore H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York/Evanston: Harper & Row, 1969), 788f. No. 296 with reference to Job 3:12.
  41. *paḫalliya*, more properly "my testicles" according to Moran's note.
  42. Latest translation by W.L. Moran, *ANET* (3rd ed., 1969), 625; to the previous translations listed there, add especially H.B. Huffmon, "Prophecy in the Mari letters," *BA* 31 (1968): 101–24, esp. pp. 106f.; reprinted in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader* 3 (1970), 199–224, esp. pp. 204f.

The fact that there is *no* figure seated in the lap of the female deity on the left side of Register A I is seen by Canby as further evidence in favor for her interpretation of the entire scene as representing a sacred marriage. But it accords equally well with the notion that it is the high priestess who is seated on the lap of the male deity. Nor is her wearing the horned crown of divinity an objection to it, since it has long been demonstrated that the high-priestesses of Nanna shared some of the divine status of their royal parents, and donned and doffed the characteristic divine headdress at will.<sup>43</sup> The first of the line, Enheduanna, "was considered the embodiment of the goddess Ningal," and shared the title "hen of Nanna" (zirru) with her, according to Joan Westenholz.<sup>44</sup> One can also cite in this connection the translation of the priestly title nin-dingir or rather ereš-dingir by "lady (who is) a deity" in CAD, though this translation "obviously makes no sense" in the opinion of Steinkeller.<sup>45</sup> Finally, we may note with Canby that the stele stood near the entrance to the temple of Ningal and the *gipāru*, the residence of the high-priestess of Nanna, and at least one face of it would have been visible to those walking there.<sup>46</sup>

Now for the remaining registers on "Side A." Register II is relatively very well preserved even after the removal of many of the elements in the 1927 restoration. Canby does not offer an interpretation of the scene, but it can be plausibly regarded as representing the investiture or coronation of the king. While on the left he is shown libating to the seated statue of a goddess, presumably Ningal, on the right he is clearly receiving the symbols of the royal office from the seated statue of a god, presumably Nanna, each time in the company of a woman, possibly the queen. The regalia in question are familiar from the iconography as well as the hymnography of the half millennium from Sargon to Hammurapi or what may be called the "classical phase" of Mesopotamian civilization. As in the stele(s) carved with the Laws of Hammurapi, the king receives from the deity the rod and the ring, an iconographic theme still echoed in early Kassite glyptic<sup>47</sup> and

43. Hallo, "Women of Sumer," in *The Legacy of Sumer*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 4, ed. D. Schmandt-Besserat (Malibu: Undena, 1976), 23–40 and 129–38, esp. pp. 32f., 136; cf. also Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977): 16 and now Giorgio Buccellati, *Studies Oates* (2002), 16f.

44. Joan Goodnick Westenholz, "Enheduanna, En-Priestess, Hen of Nanna, Spouse of Nanna," in *Studies Sjöberg* (1989), 539–56, esp. pp. 539, 541–44, citing i.a. A. Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977): 16.

45. CAD E, 173d s.v. *ēntu*; Steinkeller, "On Rulers," 121, n. 59.

46. *The Stela*, 7f. and pl. 5.

47. Edith Porada and W.W. Hallo, "Cylinder of Kurigalzu I?" in *Studies Hrouda* (1994), 229–34 and pls. xxiii.

late Kassite sculpture.<sup>48</sup> Unlike these later treatments of the theme, however, the ring in Ur-Nammu's case is visibly associated with a rope,<sup>49</sup> and thereby hangs a tale.<sup>50</sup>

In the royal hymnography, the staff of royal (and divine) office is routinely designated šibir<sub>2</sub> = šibirru, but there is no term for "ring" in the standard lists of regalia. Instead we meet repeatedly with a sign differing from the šibir<sub>2</sub>-sign only by a prefixed *u*.<sup>51</sup> The ligature that results is variously read as šibir and eškiri, i.e., eš-kiri<sub>x</sub>(KA),<sup>52</sup> or "staff" and "nose-rope" respectively. The conclusion seems inescapable that the nose-rope was so regularly attached to the ring (and perhaps sometimes to the staff as well) that it gave its name to both. Indeed Canby shares my opinion, albeit only in a footnote, where she says: "The rope on our stela could rather be the rope to tie enemies by the nose-ring used by Ishtar at the rockrelief of Anubanini ... or Esarhaddon at Sinjirli."<sup>53</sup> In contrast, Jacobsen saw here a measuring rope and a measuring staff, thus connecting the scene with the building activity depicted in the next register below.<sup>54</sup>

In answer to Jacobsen, it may be further noted that, according to royal hymns and inscriptions, both staff and nose-rope and, for good measure, the scepter, were bestowed on the king so that he could guide the people aright.<sup>55</sup> This may best be illustrated by reference to the Ur-Nammu hymn first edited by myself as "The Coronation of Ur-Nammu" and more recently by Esther Flückiger-Hawker as "Ur-Namma D" and by Tinney as

48. Winfried Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1975), fig. 190 and p. 305 (top of a stele from Susa, uninscribed).

49. Cf. two stele fragments from Tello showing a figure holding a coil of rope and a peg, as noted by Claudia E. Suter, "Gudeas vermeintliche Segnungen des Eninnu," *ZA* 87 (1997): 1–10 and figs. 1–4, esp. pp. 8f. and figs 3f.

50. Cf. briefly Hallo, *Origins* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1996), 199, and at length Agnes Spycket, "La baguette et l'anneau: un symbole d'Iran et de Mésopotamie," in *Studies Calmeyer* (2000), 651–66. See also below, Appendix.

51. For both together cf., e.g., Åke W. Sjöberg, "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts, III," *JCS* 34 (1982): 72 obv. 5'.

52. For eš-kiri<sub>4</sub> written syllabically, see CAD s.v. *šerretu*, "reins." Proverbs such as S.P. 1.153, formerly interpreted as "his nose has not borne the rope" (kiri<sub>4</sub>-ni eše nu-íl), is now read "he ... is not raised to prosperity" (kiri<sub>4</sub>-zal-še nu-íl) by Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL, 1997), vol. 1, 31.

53. *The Stela*, 9, n. 66.

54. Thorkild Jacobsen, "Pictures and Pictorial Language (the Burney Relief)," in *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Mindlen et al. (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1987), 1–11, esp. p. 4: "The rod and the ring."

55. Cf. simply CAD, S s.v. *šerretu* A, and note the discussion there, adding the late copy of Akkadian royal inscriptions that refers to "the nose-rope of the people" (*šerrat niše*) divinely entrusted to Shulgi; cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2:134 i 9–13.

"Ur-Namma the Canal-Digger."<sup>56</sup> I would now translate lines 16f. of this hymn: "He has pressed the holy scepter for guiding (si si-e-sá) all the people in my hand / The nose-rope and staff so that I might direct (he-lah<sub>4</sub>-lah<sub>4</sub>-e) all the numerous people." The use of the verb si-sá, "guide," in the first image seems to be a clear allusion to Ur-Nammu's role as author of the Laws and thus of the enactment of justice (níg-si-sá).

But we can be more specific still. Iconography and hymnography alike conjure up the image of the king as "good shepherd" (sipa-zi = *re'um kinum*) first attested in the Cylinder Inscriptions of Gudea of Lagash, then frequently in the hymns of Šulgi of Ur.<sup>57</sup> With or without other epithets, this image emphasizes the king's concern with justice; in the Hammurapi Dynasty, the epithet regularly occurs in those date-formulas that refer to a royal proclamation of debt-release (*mēšārum*).<sup>58</sup> This, then, is the ruler in his gentle, popular guise.

But the king can also be pictured as a stern and powerful oxherd, able to control the fiercest bull by means of a ring fastened to the animal's nose and connected to a rope by which the animal can be pulled along. This is best illustrated by wall paintings from Old Babylonian Mari showing bulls thus led to sacrifice.<sup>59</sup> The rod, which in modern usage can also be connected to the ring, was probably used in ancient times by itself to push and prod the animal along, as suggested by the proverbial saying that originally concluded Ecclesiastes (12:11):<sup>60</sup> "Words of wise men are like ox-goads, given (i.e., thrust) backward<sup>61</sup> by a shepherd, and like scepters that are set up<sup>62</sup> by the masters of the assemblies." Such ox-goads are called *usan<sub>3</sub>-bar-uš* in Sumerian, *qinnazu u paruššu* in Akkadian. Since they are not mentioned among the regalia, it is possible that the šibir<sub>2</sub> of the royal

56. Hallo, "The Coronation of Ur-Nammu," *JCS* 20 (1966): 133–41; Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 166 (Fribourg: University Press 1999), esp. pp. 228–59; Steve Tinney, "Ur-Namma the Canal-digger: Context, Continuity and Change in Sumerian Literature," *JCS* 51 (1999): 31–54.

57. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur*. Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture. (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981), 54 and n. 128.

58. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis*. American Oriental Series 43 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957), 147–49.

59. Parrot, *Sumer*, figs. 344f.

60. For the verses added by a pious Massorete (12–14), see Judah Goldin, "The End of Ecclesiastes: Literal Exegesis and its Transformation," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*. Studies and Texts 3, ed. A. Altman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 135–58.

61. Reading 'HR for 'HD.

62. or NTWYM, "stretched out."

hymns refers to the shepherd's crook and the combination šibir<sub>2</sub> eškiri to the king's double function as good shepherd and stern oxherd.

The clinching argument, however, comes from the iconography. A remarkable stone carving in the collection of Jonathan P. Rosen (New York), probably a mold intended for a work in beaten precious metal, shows a victorious Akkadian king, perhaps Naram-Sin, in the act of pulling his defeated enemies by means of rings held in his hand and attached to ropes that pass through their noses; the ropes pass behind the seated figure of a goddess and the gaze of the principals makes it clear that the enemies look upon her as the source of their captivity.<sup>63</sup>

The next two registers (A III–IV) represent a single scene, but not a simple one. In fact it is complex since, as already indicated, the two registers are divided at most by only a single dividing line, representing a minimal baseline. Moreover, they reflect aspects of one and the same activity, namely a building project. Exactly the same arrangement, and with the same theme, characterizes the Stele of Gudea.<sup>64</sup> In Register III, the king carries over his shoulder, and with the help of an attendant, two tools and a basket, perhaps intended to represent the first, ceremonial basket of earth or clay. The tools have been described as an axe and a plow<sup>65</sup> respectively, but if the former is in fact an al, variously translated as "pickaxe" or "hoe," we may have here the pictorial combination of pickaxe and hod that became the symbol of corvée labor, known as *dusu* = *tupšikku*, literally "hod" or "mortarboard."<sup>66</sup> (Written variously with gi, "reed," or giš, "wood," as a semantic indicator or determinative, it was presumably a reed basket carried on the head or mounted on a wooden pole for carrying by hand.)<sup>67</sup>

This is expressed most tellingly in the so-called *Song of the Hoe*, where we read (lines 9f.): "By distributing the shares of duty he (Enlil) established daily tasks / and for the hoe and the (carrying) basket even wages were established," or again (line 98): "The hoe and the basket are the tools for

63. Donald P. Hansen, "Through the Love of Ishtar," in *Studies Oates* (2002), 91–112; *idem* in *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 206f. I am grateful to Mr. Rosen for letting me see the piece in advance of its publication.

64. Ref. courtesy M. Noveck. See the reconstruction in Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient* 200, fig. 36a.

65. Canby, *The Stela*, 20.

66. Armas Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier I*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B* 139 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 247–49.

67. For an example of the latter, see, e.g., Hallo, "Contributions to Neo-Sumerian," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 99f. and pl. 22 = E. Sollberger, *TCS* 1:270. Sollberger translates "levers."

building cities.<sup>68</sup> The latter passage is echoed in the *Hymn to Nippur*,<sup>69</sup> which ends thus (iv 23–30): “In order to make all the Anunna gods of heaven and earth do the work, he (Enlil) placed in their(!) hands the hoe and plow that are for establishing cities.”<sup>70</sup> This shows that corvée labor was also the lot of the (lesser) gods before the creation of humanity. Similarly, we read in the myth of Ninurta (Lugal-e II. 336–38): “Because the gods of the nation were ‘subjected’ (literally, made to stand/serve), and had to carry hoe and basket (hod), that being their corvée....” Iconographically, the theme of the king as carrier of the (first) hod is familiar from the canephore figurines of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi, as well as Gudea.<sup>71</sup>

In Register IV, the king’s subjects carry baskets on their heads and up a ladder to build what is presumably a temple or other monumental building. According to Andrea Becker, it could be part of a canal-complex, since canals were known to involve structures along their banks and were often named after these. Becker based her suggestion on the assumption that the stele illustrated the narrative sequence of *The Coronation of Ur-Nammu*.<sup>72</sup> In their new editions of the text, neither Esther Flückiger-Hawker nor Steve Tinney mention Becker’s interpretation.<sup>73</sup> It may, however, find some support from a fragmentary Ur-Nammu hymn, which can be interpreted as giving him credit for restoring the “house of the Inun-canal.”<sup>74</sup>

The register between IV and V, which on the other side of the stele carries an inscription, is uninscribed on this side as far as preserved. For the wholly lost bottom register, Jutta Börker-Klähn suggests a restoration, based on the Gudea stele, of transport of materials over mountains and water.<sup>75</sup>

68. Gertrud Farber in COS 1 (1997), 511, 513.

69. UET 6/1:18; ed. by K. Oberhuber, *ArOr* 35 (1967): 262–70; duplicates published by Sjöberg, “Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts I,” *Orientalia Suecana* 23–24 (1974–75): 159–81, esp. pp. 159, 163f., 174f., 179.

70. Cf. Adam Falkenstein, “Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung,” *Studios Landsberger* (1965), 127–40, esp. p. 132 and n. 69.

71. Hallo, “The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: a Typology,” *HUCA* 33 (1962): 1–43, esp. pp. 10–11.

72. Becker, “Neusumerische Renaissance?” (above, n. 16), 290–95.

73. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur*; Tinney, “Urnamma the Canal-digger.” But see now Margarete van Ess, “Ein Bauwerk Amar-Suens vor den Mauern Uruk-Warkas,” *BaM* 33 (2002): 89–108, esp. pp. 100f., who connects the building in question with Amar-Sin’s extensive canal-building operations, and notes that it was built entirely of bricks stamped with his nine-line standard inscription, for which see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2:245–47.

74. Miguel Civil, “Literary Text about Ur-Namma,” *AuOr* 14 (1996): 163–67. In i 6’ (not read by Civil), I would take in-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub> as a syllabic Ur III spelling for i<sub>7</sub>-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>, and restore ki mi-in-gi<sub>4</sub> or the like at the end.

75. Apud Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*, 203f.

Turning now back to Side B, the “poor face,” its Register II includes a scene of slaughtering of bulls, almost certainly in the context of a sacrificial act, since meat was rarely consumed on other occasions. The case of the “Royal Correspondence of Ur” may be the exception that proves this rule, since in it Irmu denounces Apillasha to Shulgi precisely for the fact that, in Michalowski’s translation, “six grass fed oxen and sixty grass fed sheep were placed (on the tables) for (a mere) lunch.”<sup>76</sup> In passing, it may be noted that the proportion of one large to ten small cattle is standard for the sacrificial cult in Ur III.

Rather, the topos of “slaughtering oxen and sacrificing sheep” is a fixture of the description of festival rites.<sup>77</sup> As such it already occurs in an UD.GAL.NUN text from Abu Šalabikh, though here both times with the same verb.<sup>78</sup> In classical Sumerian literature, it is typically followed by mention of the pouring of beer and the playing of drums and sometimes other instruments, for example in Shulgi’s Hymn A:52–54,<sup>79</sup> in the myth *Inanna and Enki* (II iv 45–48),<sup>80</sup> and in the *Disputation between Pickaxe and Plow*.<sup>81</sup> In the later bilingual tradition, the meaning of the second verb is understood as “provided abundantly” or the like.<sup>82</sup>

The topos also occurs in the context of mourning, notably in *Ur-Nammu’s Death and Burial* (ll. 80–82 [81–83]), where we may read with S.N. Kramer: “The king slaughters oxen, multiplies sheep, / They seated Ur-Nammu at a huge banquet / Bitter is the food of the Netherworld, brackish is the water of the Netherworld!”<sup>83</sup> But the “banquet” (or “banquet-table”) is written KI.KAŠ.GAR and can have the reading gizbun (not šubun as in

76. Piotr Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale, 1976), 142.

77. My translation attempts to render the difference between gu<sub>4</sub>-gaz and ud u-šár, for which see Hartmut Waetzoldt, *BiOr* 32 (1975): 384, who says “der Unterschied der Schlachtmethode ist noch zu untersuchen.” For literary *topoi* in general, see A.J. Ferrara, “*Topoi* and Stock-strophes in Sumerian Literary Tradition: Some Observations, Part I,” *JNES* 54 (1995): 81–117.

78. gu<sub>4</sub> àm-ma-GÍR udu àm-ma-GÍR. Cf. W.G. Lambert, *BSOAS* 76, n. 7.

79. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* 194f., with variants šum and úš for šár.

80. Gertrud Farber-Flugge, *Der Mythos “Inanna und Enki” ...*, *Studia Pohl* 10 (1973), 52f. and 89; based on PBS 5:25, partly restored.

81. Latest translation by H.L.J. Vanstiphout in COS 1 (1997): 578–81. For this and other references, see Hallo, “The Origins of the Sacrificial Cult: New Evidence from Mesopotamia and Israel,” in *Studios Cross* (1987), 11 and 13, n. 35.

82. Cf., e.g., KAR 16 rev. 24 = 15 rev. 10: udu mu-un-na-ab-šár-re = UDU.MEŠ ú-da-áš-ša-ši (from *dešû*).

83. Samuel Noah Kramer, “The Death of Ur-Nammu and His Descent to the Netherworld,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 104–22, esp. p. 118. Latest edition by Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma* 93–182, esp. p. 81.

Kramer's transliteration), and I have suggested elsewhere that this word is a loan from Akkadian *kispum*, the funerary repast.<sup>84</sup> It is thus conceivable that the pictorial allusion in Register B II is to the burial of the king. Given its position in the sequence of registers, however, this seems highly unlikely.

Register B III, according to Canby, shows the king, not the deity, seated on a stool set on a high pedestal or podium.<sup>85</sup> This judgment is based primarily on the "humble seat, which occurs on the stela only here," though one could also cite the traces of the seated figure's garment, which seem not to represent the "tufted robe" or flounced garment ("Zottenrock") typically associated with divinity. In spite of the fragmentary character of this register, it emphatically reminds us of the formula by which the king is acclaimed in the *Coronation of Ur-Nammu* (lines 7f.): "Oh my king, on your throne by Enlil (and) Ashimbabbar (= Suen)! / Oh youth of Suen, on your throne by Enlil (and) Ashimbabbar!"<sup>86</sup> The first half of this formula recurs in the concluding doxology of *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur* (ll. 349), where Ferrara follows my translation.<sup>87</sup> Edzard took issue with the rendering,<sup>88</sup> as did Wilcke.<sup>89</sup> The newer renderings by Flückiger-Hawker and Tinney agree neither with Edzard and Wilcke nor with each other. But given the evidently formulaic character of the couplet, it remains likely that we are here dealing with a formula of acclamation for the (new?) king.

Register B IV is better preserved and provides three discrete images: on the left the playing of a great kettle-drum, on the right the seated statue of a deity serviced by a priest, and in between a wrestling match. There is room for a fourth image but not enough preserved to identify it. Canby interprets Registers B III and IV as probably "a single episode which, like the building activities on the opposite face, occupies two registers."<sup>90</sup> But in distinction to Registers A III and IV, Registers B III and IV are divided by a full baseline and a double dividing line. The wrestling match is thus *not* the central motif of the scene, observed by a seated king on one end and a seated deity on the other. Rather, the focus of B IV is on the (statue of the) seated deity on the right end much as the focus of B III was on the seated king on the left end. The nude priest servicing the deity is holding a towel

84. Hallo, "Disturbing the Dead," *Studies Sarna* (1993), 183–92, esp. pp. 191f.; *Origins* (1996), 208.

85. *The Stela* 23.

86. Hallo, "Coronation," 141; *Origins* (1996), 129. For the reading of the divine name, see M. Krebernik, *RIA* 8 (1993–97), 362f.

87. A.J. Ferrara, *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur*, *Studia Pohl* series maior 2 (1973), 106 and 155–57.

88. D.O. Edzard, review of Ferrara in *ZA* 63 (1973): 296–300, esp. pp. 299f. and n. 10.

89. Claus Wilcke, *RAI* 19 (1974), 187.

90. *The Stela* 25.

in his right hand as the clothed priest to his left is holding one in his left hand, and Börker-Klähn took both to be involved in lustrations, after rejecting any connection with the mouth-opening ceremony.<sup>91</sup> But the nude priest appears to be reaching approximately for the mouth of the statue with the whisk ("Wedel") in his left hand. That leaves little doubt that what is illustrated here is the ceremonial vivification of a divine statue by means of the double ceremony known as mouth washing (ka-duḥ-a = *pīt pī*) and mouth opening (ka-luḥ-a = *mīs pī*) respectively.

This double ceremony is attested as early as the Ur III period, including once for a statue of (the deceased and deified) Gudea of Lagash.<sup>92</sup> It has now been dealt with in detail by Walker and Dick.<sup>93</sup> It should be added, however, that—in Neo-Assyrian times at least—the coronation of the king, whether a one-time or a recurrent event, was accompanied by the mouth-washing ceremony. The ritual tablet of this investiture ceremony was in fact originally thought to have belonged to the mouth-washing series.<sup>94</sup> As Angelika Berlejung has emphasized, it is not the king's mouth that is washed, nor does he enter the picture till the mouth-washing has been carried out.<sup>95</sup> Still, it establishes a connection between the two rituals—investiture and mouth-washing—that may already be anticipated in Registers B III and B IV.

Between Registers B IV and B V there is a relatively narrow band entirely given over, so far as preserved, to an inscription.<sup>96</sup> The inscription includes the beginning of a curse formula typical of the royal inscriptions of Ur,<sup>97</sup> Isin,<sup>98</sup> and Larsa.<sup>99</sup> But for the rest it is entirely devoted to canal-

91. Jutta Börker-Klähn, "Šulgi badet," *ZA* 64 (1975): 235–40.

92. Cf. (Erica Reiner and) Miguel Civil, "Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets," *JNES* 26 (1967): 177–211, esp. p. 211; previously Börker-Klähn, "Šulgi badet"; Nikolaus Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III*. *AnOr* 19 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1939), 30.

93. Christopher Walker and Michael B. Dick, "The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian *mis pī* Ritual," in *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Michael B. Dick (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 55–121.

94. G. Meier, "Die Ritualtafel der Serie 'Mundwaschung'," *Afo* 12 (1937–39): 40–45.

95. A. Berlejung, "Die Macht der Insignien," *UF* 28 (1996): 1–35, esp. p. 17 and n. 87 (ref. courtesy Eckhart Frahm).

96. Latest edition by Tinney apud Canby, *The Stela*, 49–51. Previous edition by Frayne, *RIME* 3/2:57f., with earlier literature.

97. *Shulgi* 54 = Frayne, *RIME* 3/2:144–46: copy of a stela inscription in logographic Sumerian, syllabic Sumerian, and Akkadian.

98. Note especially Iddin-Dagan 2 = Frayne, *RIME* 4:23f., where lines 25f. and 27 are verbatim identical to the stela inscription as restored.

99. Cf. the identical phrases in *Abi-sare* 1 = Frayne, *RIME* 4:121–24 v 21f. and 25f. as emended by Frayne.



building. Now canals figure prominently in the cadastre of Ur-Nammu,<sup>100</sup> and the king is celebrated for his canal-building in his date-formulas,<sup>101</sup> in his inscriptions,<sup>102</sup> and in his coronation-hymn, where, indeed, this achievement figures as his foremost claim to kingship in the first place.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, at least one and possibly two of the very canals identified by name on the Stele were dug by Ur-Nammu according to his inscriptions.<sup>104</sup> Shulgi, on the other hand, has not a single canal-building project to his credit in all his 48 regnal years.<sup>105</sup> This then is perhaps the strongest argument in favor of assigning the stele as a whole to Ur-Nammu, even if his name is no longer on it.

But there are other arguments. We may note them here without pausing for Register B V, whose fragmentary scene of royal sacrifice adds little or nothing in the way of new details. I would argue that the stele is, in effect, a commemoration of the first part of Ur-Nammu's eighteen-year reign. If read from bottom to top, it recalls successively his canal-building in the inscription on Side B, and other building activity (possibly connected with the canals) on Side A (Registers III and IV), which earned him his coronation that, on other grounds, "can hardly have taken place earlier than his fourth year."<sup>106</sup> This coronation is symbolized by Register A II, while the popular acclamation that accompanied it (or perhaps preceded or followed it) is symbolized by Register B III. The details of the coronation scene, moreover, strongly hint at the king's role as lawgiver, a role that should be attributed to Ur-Nammu, not Shulgi, in light of new evidence.<sup>107</sup>

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100. Latest edition by Frayne, RIME 3/2:50–56. A new fragment will be published soon by Frayne and this author.
101. Formulas (m) and (q) in Frayne, RIME 3/2:17–19. In his *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400–1900 B.C.)* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1981), 74, Frayne also reconstructed a date commemorating the digging of the Keshdaku-canal, but no such date formula has yet turned up.
102. Ur-Nammu 22–24, 27–28 and Al-Rawi, *Sumer* (1989–90) = Frayne, RIME 3/2: Ur-Nammu Nos. 19, 26–28, 39–40.
103. For an appreciation of Ur-Nammu's canal-building efforts, see already T. Jacobsen, "The Waters of Ur," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 174–85 and pl. xxviii; rep. in *Toward the Image of Tamuz ...*, Harvard Semitic Series 21, ed. W.L. Moran (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 230–43.
104. "Nanna-gugal", the boundary canal" of Ningirsu or Nanna (Ur-Nammu 28) and possibly Inun(na), the great canal of Nanna (Ur-Nammu 24 = 40).
105. The closest he comes is in the inscriptions Shulgi 8 = Frayne, *Ur III Period* 125, commemorating a weir (giš-kéšd-rá), and Shulgi 71 (Kärki) = Frayne, RIME 3/2:140f. (from Susa?), commemorating a ditch or moat (*hiritum*).
106. Hallo, "Coronation," 139.
107. See the forthcoming article above, n. 100. A new example of the Code in BAR 28/5 (Sep/Oct 2002): 29f. does not settle the issue.

The ritual scenes in Register B IV seem to involve the dedication of a divine statue, while that in B II may involve the dedication of a divine chariot if the traces on the right are correctly so interpreted. A date formula commemorating the fashioning, presumably at Nippur, of a chariot for Ninlil, the consort of Enlil, is attested, and Frayne assigns it to Ur-Nammu in part on the basis of the Stele.<sup>108</sup> (A chariot for Enlil is commemorated in a hymn of Ishme-Dagan of Isin.)<sup>109</sup> Finally, the oversized top-registers on both faces appear to commemorate the installation of a royal daughter as high-priestess of the moon-god Nanna at Ur—presumably En-nirgalanna<sup>110</sup> on Side A, and perhaps of a son as high-priest of Inanna at Uruk (his selection was commemorated in Ur-Nammu's fifth date-formula according to Waetzoldt)<sup>111</sup> on Side B or, alternatively, both top registers illustrate the former event.

Without wishing to claim that each register can be unambiguously identified with a dated event in the early reign of Ur-Nammu, I would submit that enough points of contact have been established with occurrences in his reign attested in other sources to maintain the long-asserted connection of the Stele with the founder of the Ur III Dynasty. At the same time, the Stele can be added to the "one class of work in the corpus of ancient Near Eastern art—the battle scene" that meets Winter's definition of pictorial narrative.<sup>112</sup> Like one side of the earlier "Standard of Ur" it shows the king at peace, and like the Stele of Vultures, it represents Sumerian history in pictures.

#### APPENDIX

Further to the rod and ring (above at nn. 50–63), the following details may be provided.<sup>113</sup>

While rod and rope begin as early as the Ur-Nammu stele, rod and ring do not appear in the iconography before the extraordinary seal design of Lugal-engardu dedicated to Amar-Sin, first published by Buchanan in

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108. RIME 3/2:17. Three of the four texts cited by Frayne have been republished by G. Pettinato as MVN 6 (1977), 515, 517, and 521, and dealt with by Daniel C. Snell, "The Rams of Lagash," *ASJ* 8 (1986): 133–217, esp. pp. 142, 160; Snell dates them to Shulgi 3.
109. M. Civil, "Ishme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 3–14, repr. *Studies Speiser* 3–14; cf. Klein, "Building and Dedication Hymns in Sumerian Literature," *ASJ* 11 (1989): 27–67, esp. pp. 36: "Appendix 1: A Revised Edition of Išmedagan I."
110. Ur-Nammu 35 = Frayne, RIME 3/2:87f.
111. Hartmut Waetzoldt, "Zu einigen Jahresdaten Urnammus," *N.A.B.U.* 1990:4 No. 6.
112. Winter, "After the Battle," (above, n. 24), 12.
113. Cf. already my remarks in "Cylinder of Kurigalzu I?" (above, n. 47), *Origins* (above, n. 50), and in *Privatization in the Ancient Near East and Classical World*, ed. by Michael



1972,<sup>114</sup> and again in 1981,<sup>115</sup> and redrawn from additional impressions by Zettler in 1987.<sup>116</sup> In the same year it was discussed by Winter in the context of the legitimation of authority of officials in the Ur III administrative bureaucracy,<sup>117</sup> and more recently, based on Zettler, by Canby.<sup>118</sup> The theme survived as a symbol of royal authority in Iran on rock reliefs of the Old Elamite period (ca. seventeenth century B.C.E.),<sup>119</sup> and possibly even into Sassanian times.<sup>120</sup>

The interpretation of both rod and ring and rod and rope as measuring tools goes back at least to Frankfort,<sup>121</sup> though greatly strengthened by Jacobsen with textual as well as iconographic evidence.<sup>122</sup> They are followed by Black and Green,<sup>123</sup> Englund<sup>124</sup> and others.

The question remains: given the fact that the ring is not remotely associated with measurements, how could it evolve out of the image of rod and rope? Perhaps Frankfort had the answer when he suggested that "since measuring instruments may metaphorically become symbols of justice, it is understandable that they became a general emblem of divinity, generally simplified as 'ring and staff.'"<sup>125</sup> Ten years later, in the first major

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Hudson and Baruch A. Levine. Peabody Museum Bulletin 5. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1996), pp. 61 (as reported by Eva von Dassow) and 64.

114. Briggs Buchanan, "An Extraordinary Seal Impression of the Third Dynasty of Ur," *JNES* 31 (1972): 96–101. For the seal inscription, see Hallo, "The House of Ur-Meme," *ibid.* 87–95.
115. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1981), No. 681; for the seal inscription see Hallo, *ibid.* 454.
116. Richard L. Zettler, review of Buchanan, *JNES* 46 (1987): 59–62, esp. p. 60.
117. Irene J. Winter, "Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*. SAOC 46 (1987), 69–106, esp. p. 78.
118. Canby, *The Stela* 22 and pl. 14b.
119. Ursula Seidl and P.O. Skjaervo, *Iranische Felsreliefs H: Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kurnagun und Naqs-e Rostam*. Iranische Denkmäler 12. Reihe II. (Berlin: Reimer, 1986), p. 20.
120. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat: Feudalismus unter den Sasaniden und ihren Nachbarn* (Wiesbaden: Limes, 1954), 241–43, Abb. 6; interpreted as the enthroned Sassanian King Artabanos V and a satrap standing in front of him.
121. Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London: Macmillan, 1939), 179.
122. Jacobsen, "Pictures and Pictorial Language" (above, n. 54), 4.
123. Jeremy Black and Anthony Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 156 s.v.
124. "I have normally explained the rod and ring to my students as signs of royal standards, the rod the GI [= reed] used in urban, the 'ring' the ESH2 used in rural/agricultural linear measurements" (Letter of 9/20/99).
125. *Cylinder Seals* (1936), 179.

study of the themes, van Buren claimed that both rod and ring and rod and rope were represented, as divine symbols, on the stele of Ur-Nammu.<sup>126</sup> But she rejected the suggestion "that as the symbol originally represented measuring implements its significance was later extended metaphorically to symbolize the measuring out of justice."<sup>127</sup> More recently the notion has found a new defender in Cooper, who illustrates the disconnect between text and image in the third millennium by reference to the "measuring line and cord held out to Ur-Nammu on the Ur-Nammu stele" but adds that "these objects metamorphose in later centuries into 'rod and ring.'"<sup>128</sup>

The problem is avoided if both manifestations are treated as royal rather than only divine insignia. In his survey of the subject, Krecher emphasized that deities and kings shared the same insignia; in both cases these included staff and nose-rope, but the ring (GAN-ma, *kippatu*) only occurs late and only with deities.<sup>129</sup> Rod and nose-rope, on the other hand, are frequently mentioned together in the literature of all periods. For rod and nose-rope as symbols of royal authority cited in this order, see above, n. 51; for the opposite order see, e.g., the hymn Ishme-Dagan A in the recension published by Sollberger<sup>130</sup> and discussed by Frayne.<sup>131</sup> Most significantly, they occur together—originally four times—as one(!) of the royal attributes in the myth *Inanna and Enki*.<sup>132</sup>

It is also noteworthy that the profession of kir<sub>4</sub>-dab, *kartappu*, literally "the one who holds the nose-(rein)," became a general term for "groom" and later developed into a high administrative official.<sup>133</sup>

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126. E. Douglas van Buren, "The Rod and Ring," *ArOr* 17/2 (1949): 434–50 and pls. ix–xi, esp. p. 436, referring to Legrain, *MJ* 18 (1927), 96. However, Canby lists this piece among "fragments from other monuments" (*The Stela*, 56 sub E1).
127. "The Rod and Ring," 435.
128. Jerrold S. Cooper, "Mesopotamian Historical Consciousness and the Production of Monumental Art in the Third Millennium B.C.," in *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by Ann C. Gunter (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1990), 39–51, esp. p. 46.
129. Joachim Krecher, "Insignien," *RLA* 5 (1976–80), 109–14.
130. *UET* 8 (1965), 95 iii 8'.
131. Douglas Frayne, "New Light on the Reign of Išme-Dagān," *ZA* 88 (1998): 6–44, esp. p. 10 iii 62a.
132. Gertrud Farber, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki"*, (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973); p. 28:19, 54:7. *Eadem*, "Inanna and Enki," in *COS* 1:522–26; note she translates "staff and rein" here (523 II).
133. CAD K, s.v.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- COS 1 *The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1: *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr. (Leiden etc.: Brill, 1997): n. 68, 81.
- RAI 19 *Le Palais et la Royauté*, ed. Paul Garelli, *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 19 (Paris: Geuthner, 1974): n. 89.
- RAI 33 *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique*, ed. J.-M. Durand, *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 19 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations): n. 32.
- RAI 34 *Relations between Anatolia and Mesopotamia*, ed. H. Erkanal et al., *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 34 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1998): n. 7.
- RIME 3/2 D.R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 3/2* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997): passim.
- RIME 4 Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 4* (1990): passim.
- Studies Calmeyer *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen: Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, ed. R. Dittmann et al. AOAT 272. (n. 50).
- Studies Cross *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P.D. Miller et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987): n. 81.
- Studies Hrouda *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde: Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda ...*, ed. P. Calmeyer et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994): n. 47.
- Studies Kutschler *Kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutschler Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1993).
- Studies Landsberger *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger ...*, *Assyriological Studies 16* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965): n. 70.
- Studies Oates *Of Pots and Pans: Papers ... Presented to David Oates ...*, ed. L. al-Gailani Werr et al. (London, 2002): n. 43, 63.
- Studies Sarna *Mīnḥah le-Naḥum: ... Studies Presented to Nahum N. Sarna ...*, ed. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane (JSOTS 154, 1993), n. 84.
- Studies Sjöberg *Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens et al. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989): n. 44.
- Studies Speiser *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser*, ed. W.W. Hallo, *American Oriental Series 53* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1968): n. 109.
- Studies Vinogradov *Assiriologia e Egiptologia*, ed. Natalia Koslova and A.B. Nemirowskae (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Press, 2000): n. 27.



## SOME THOUGHTS ON SUMERIAN STAR-NAMES AND SUMERIAN ASTRONOMY\*

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WHEN PROFESSOR SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER, the teacher of this volume's honoree, published his now famous book *History Begins at Sumer*, his list of "Sumerian Firsts" included a wide range of economic, cultural, and scribal activities but not astronomy or astrology, two subjects that occupy a dominant position at the far end of the history of cuneiform writing in the Late period. Professor Kramer's omission is not surprising, since a written cuneiform astronomical tradition does not begin to emerge until the Old Babylonian period.<sup>1</sup> Yet, Sumerian texts do exhibit some evidence, both direct and indirect, for astronomical and astrological activities dating back to the time of the earliest archives of cuneiform texts. This article, in honor of my friend and colleague Professor Yaakov Klein, will present a first glance at the topic of Sumerian astronomy. First, we will examine the largest corpus of Sumerian star-names known to us from a source at least proximate to the time when Sumerian was still in everyday use, namely the Old

\* The author wishes to thank the Trustees of The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and The British Museum for permission to study and publish tablets in their collections. The term "star-names" in this article refers to those proper nouns used to designate the names of fixed stars, planets, and constellations that are usually accompanied by the star-determinative *mul* in cuneiform texts. Sumerian *mul* = Akkadian *kakkabu* has a much broader sense than English "star" and can refer to comets, shooting stars, and other astronomical phenomena, as well as fixed stars, planets, and constellations. The Assyriological abbreviations are according to the standard lists in CAD (*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*) and/or PSD (*The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*).

1. For Old Babylonian-period astral materials, see, e.g., H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 7–8, 50; Hunger-Pingree *Mul-Apin* [= H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN, An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, *Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 24* (1989), 163–64]; W. Horowitz, "Astral Tablets in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg," *ZA 90* (2000): 194–98, 203–6.

Babylonian-period star-lists in lexical works commonly known as “forerunners to *Urra = ħubullu*.” After this we will examine evidence for Sumerian star-names elsewhere, and then present a short survey of what can be said today about Sumerian astronomical practices.

*The Star-Lists of the “Forerunners to Urra”<sup>2</sup>*

As is well known, the lexical series *Urra = ħubullu*, in its classical 24-tablet form known from first-millennium exemplars, presents lists of Sumerian entries and their Akkadian equivalents. However, already by the Old Babylonian period, scribes had composed unilingual Sumerian lists preserving what would later be expanded into the Sumerian column of the classical bilingual series.<sup>3</sup> These unilingual lists are known from two sets of sources: (1) a long multi-tablet canonical work from Nippur commonly known as the “Nippur Forerunner to Urra,” in which the arrangement of topics is the same as in the later classical form of *Urra = ħubullu* and (2) a number of independent lists of this same type commonly called “Old Babylonian Forerunners” executed on both tablets and prisms.

In the classical series, the list of star-names (*mul = kakkabu*) occupies part of Tablet 22, following lists of mountains (*kur = šadû*) and rivers and waterways (*id = nāru*, *pa<sub>5</sub> = palgu*, *e = iku*), but before a list of types of ropes, strings, and related items (*éš = eblu*).<sup>4</sup>

*The Stars-Lists*

Six star-lists are preserved in forerunners to *Urra = ħubullu* XX–XXII, published in MSL XI 93–172. A complete list of twenty-four entries can be restored for the Nippur Forerunner (from six manuscripts) and five addi-

2. A now outdated edition of canonical *Urra*, as well as editions of forerunners, the commentary *Urgud = imru = balu*, and related lists are available in MSL V–XI. For remarks on the history of the series, see M. Civil, “The Early History of HAR-ra: The Ebla Link,” in L. Cagni, ed., *Ebla 1975–1985, Dieci anni di studi linguistici e filologici* [= Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, *Series Minor XXVII*] (Napoli, 1987), 131–40; W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 322. For a recent summary of Mesopotamian lexical works in general, see M. Civil, “Ancient Mesopotamian Lexicography,” in J. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Farmington Hills: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995), 2305–14 with discussion of *Urra = ħubullu* on p. 2311. For problems concerning the MSL edition of canonical *Urra*, see my comments in “An Assur Source for *Urra* 21: KAV 80 + 90 + 137 (+) 89,” *AfO* 35 (1988): 72.
3. The earliest dated forerunner is from the reign of Samsuiluna. See M. Civil, “The Early History of HAR-ra: The Ebla Link,” 131.
4. An edition of *Urra* XXII is offered in MSL XI, 21–33. A new edition of the tablet by the present author is near completion.

tional lists are found in what MSL XI identifies as Old Babylonian Forerunners 1, 2, 3, 8, 9. Of these, only the list in Forerunner 8 (Ashmolean 1923-277, MSL XI 140–43) is complete, occupying the last sixteen lines of the tablet (MSL XI 143 col. x 13–28) and comprising the introductory entry *mul* and fifteen star-names. Forerunner 1 (AO 6447, MSL XI 129–36), at present, preserves fourteen star-names of what was once a list of approximately twenty to twenty-five such names. Here, the introductory entry *mul* and six names are found at the end of col. viii before a break of about six to eight lines,<sup>5</sup> and eight names are found at the top of col. ix after a break of at least two lines (MSL XI 133–34). The original length of the star-list of Forerunner 2 (Ashmolean 1932-153) cannot be determined. Here the list of star-names, when complete, began in the now missing bottom portion of rev. i’ and continued onto rev. ii’, where star-names now survive near the top of the column (MSL XI 136–37 rev. ii’ 1’–8’).<sup>6</sup> In Forerunner 3 (BM 78226, MSL XI 137–38), only two star-names survive, as rev. ii’ 1’–2’, following a gap of undermined length at the bottom of rev. i’; while in Forerunner 9 (BM 78206, MSL XI 144), at least parts of nine star-names survive from what might just be the end of a star-list that finishes at the bottom of col. iii. There is no discernible shared pattern to the sequence of entries among the Old Babylonian Forerunners, nor between any of these lists and the Nippur Forerunner.

*Nippur Forerunner (MSL XI 93–109)*

A	CBS 6074+UM 29-16-44+N 6069 (collated)
J	CBS 10451’ (collated)
Z <sub>1</sub>	CBS 6429 (+) 19828 (collated)
B <sub>2</sub>	3N-T105 = A 30145
G <sub>2</sub>	3N-T688 = IM 58622 <sup>7</sup>
M <sub>2</sub>	N 1579 (collated)

*Old Babylonian Forerunners*

1.	AO 6447	MSL XI 129–36	RA 32 168–74
2.	Ash. 1932.153	MSL XI 136–37	OECT 4 157 <sup>8</sup>
3.	BM 78226	MSL XI 137–38	CT 44 46 (collated)

5. The average length of columns in AO 6477 is 50 lines. Note col. i = 51+ lines, col. ii 50+ lines, col. iii 51 lines, col. iv 47 lines etc.
6. Rev. ii’ 1’: *mul*. [x (x)] cannot be the introductory entry *mul*.
7. The fact that G<sub>2</sub> ends at line 389 and J begins at line 390 suggests a possible join between these two tablets now held in Philadelphia and Baghdad.
8. This tablet is no longer at Oxford as it has been returned to Baghdad.

8. Ash. 1923.277 MSL XI 140–43 OECT 4 161 (collated)  
 9. BM 78206 MSL XI 144 CT 44 47 (collated)

*The Nippur Forerunner*

387.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	G <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul
388.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	G <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul.mul
389.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	G <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>g</sup> u.la
390.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	J	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>ka</sup> .kéš <sup>9</sup>
391.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	J	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>MU.BU</sup> <sup>10</sup>
392.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	J	-	[mul]en.te.na.bar.ḥum
393.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	J	Z <sub>1</sub>	[mul]tir.an.na <sup>11</sup>
394.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	-	Z <sub>1</sub>	[mul] <sup>d</sup> nin.si <sub>4</sub> .an.na
395.	A		J	Z <sub>1</sub>	<sup>mul</sup> sipa.zi.an.na
396.	A		J	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>giš</sup> apin <sup>12</sup>
397.	A		J	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>giš</sup> mar.gíd.da <sup>13</sup>
398.	A		-	-	mul <sup>giš</sup> gigir
399.	A			Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>u</sup> .lim
400.	A			Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>u</sup> du.idim
401.	A			-	mul <sup>uga</sup> <sup>mušen</sup>
402.	A			-	mul <sup>sag</sup> .dù.a
403.	A			Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>muš</sup>
404.	A			-	mul <sup>balag</sup>
405.	A			Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>gír</sup> .tab
406.	A		M <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>giš</sup> pan
407.	A		-	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>ùz</sup>
408.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>mi-siḥ</sup> <sup>d</sup> pa.bíl.sag
409.	A	-	M <sub>2</sub>	Z <sub>1</sub>	mul <sup>im.šu.rin.na.mu.un.kúš.e.ne</sup> <sup>14</sup>
410.	A	B <sub>2</sub>	M <sub>2</sub>		mul <sup>lú</sup> .ḥun.gá

9. Lines 390–91 may derive from an original single star-name: <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.kéš.da, for which see n. 10 below.  
 10. This writing is an abbreviated form of the standard star-name <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.kéš.da = *nīru* (Urta 22), where the reading of MU.BU (perhaps *mudra*/*u<sub>6</sub>*) is uncertain. The full name may have occurred in J: <sup>mul</sup>MU.B[U.(x.x)]. Cf. 5R 46: 47 + dupl.: <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.kéš.da = <sup>d</sup>*nīru raksu*, "The Hitched Yoke" (Weidner *Handbuch* 52, CAD N/2, 261 *nīru* A lex.) and Nabnitu XX: 309: <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.kéš.da = *nīru ša šamē*, "The Yoke of Heaven" (MSL XVII 185).  
 11. Sequence in Z: <sup>mul</sup><sup>d</sup>nin.si<sub>4</sub>.an.na, <sup>mul</sup>tir.an.na, <sup>mul</sup>sipa.zi.an.na.  
 12. J. <sup>mul</sup>[APIN]  
 13. J 397a–b continue: <sup>mul</sup>A.PA/A x where x begins with the element PA; <sup>mul</sup>[...]  
 14. Z<sub>1</sub>: traces.

*Old Babylonian Forerunners*

1. AO 6447, MSL XI 133–34, RA 32 172

viii	38.	mul
	39.	mul <sup>kéš</sup> .da
	40.	mul <sup>sipa</sup> .zi.an.na
	41.	mul <sup>dšul</sup> .gi
	42.	mul <sup>šu</sup> <sup>?</sup> .gi <sup>?</sup>
	43.	mul <sup>lú</sup> .[ḥun.gá]
	44.	mul <sup>g</sup> [ír.tab]
ix	1.	[...]
	2.	[...]
	3.	[mul] <sup>M</sup> [U.BU.kéš].da <sup>?</sup>
	4.	[ <sup>mul</sup> an.ta].sur.ra
	5.	[mul] <sup>lul</sup>
	6.	[mul] <sup>apin</sup>
	7.	<sup>mul</sup> gigir <sup>1</sup>
	8.	<sup>mul</sup> giš <sup>mar.gíd.da</sup>
	9.	<sup>mul</sup> [ x x ]
	10.	<sup>mul</sup> giš <sup>x</sup> . <sup>an.na</sup> <sup>15</sup>

2. Ash. 1932.153, OECT 4 157, MSL XI 136

rev. ii'	1'.	mul[...]
	2'.	mul <sup>d</sup> x[x]
	3'.	mul <sup>gír</sup> .tab
	4'.	mul <sup>lú</sup> .ḥun.gá
	5'.	mul <sup>uga</sup>
	6'.	mul <sup>ur</sup> <sup>1</sup> (text má).gi <sub>7</sub> .ra
	7'.	mul <sup>ùz</sup>
	8'.	mul <sup>ku</sup> <sub>6</sub>
	9'.	mul <sup>ka</sup> <sub>5</sub> -a

3. BM 78226, MSL XI 137, CT 44 46

rev. ii	1.	mul <sup>mar.gíd.da</sup>
	2.	mul <sup>dšul</sup> .gi

15. Perhaps a name for Ursa Minor (<sup>mul</sup>mar.gíd.da.an.na). See W. Horowitz, "The Akkadian Name for Ursa Minor," ZA 79 (1989): 244.

## 8. Ash. 1923.277, MSL XI 143, OECT 4 161

- x 13. mul  
 14. mul.m[ul]  
 15. mul<sup>1</sup>MU.BU.kéšda  
 16. mul<sup>1</sup>en.te.na.bar.ḥum  
 17. mul<sup>1</sup>sipa.zi.an.na  
 18. mul<sup>1</sup>giš.gigir  
 19. mul<sup>d</sup>nin.si<sub>4</sub>.an.na  
 20. mul<sup>d</sup>tir.an.na  
 21. mul<sup>1</sup>AMAR.GÍR<sup>216</sup>  
 22. mul<sup>1</sup>udu.idim  
 23. mul<sup>1</sup>im.šu.rin.na.nu.mu.kuš.e.ne  
 24. mul<sup>1</sup>mi-še-ih<sup>d</sup>pa.bíl.sag.gá  
 25. mul<sup>1</sup>an.ta.sur.ra  
 26. mul<sup>1</sup>úz  
 27. mul<sup>1</sup>kúšu<sup>17</sup>  
 28. mul<sup>1</sup>lú.ḥun.gá<sup>218</sup>

## 9. BM 78206, MSL XI 144, CT 44 47 (collated)

- iii 1. [mul<sup>1</sup>ud.al].tar  
 2. [mul<sup>1</sup>ké]š.da  
 3. [mul<sup>1</sup>i]m.šu.rin.na.kúš  
 4. [mul<sup>1</sup>]pan  
 5. mul<sup>1</sup>ur.maḥ  
 6. mul<sup>1</sup>ur.bar.ra  
 7. mul<sup>1</sup>ur.gi<sub>7</sub>  
 8. mul<sup>1</sup>kak.si.sá  
 9. mul<sup>1</sup>gír.tab

16. MSL XI 143 notes: not AMAR.UD (collated).

17. If the copy, collation, and reading <sup>mul</sup>kúšu here is correct, this would be by far the earliest attestation of the star-name that is used for "The Crab" (Cancer) in the late period. Sumerian <sup>mul</sup>kúšu = Akkadian *kušû*, "an aquatic animal," (see CAD K, 602), including perhaps sometimes sharks (see Salonen *Fischerei*, 210–12) does occur back into the third millennium. Thus, a star-name <sup>mul</sup>kúšu in Old Babylonian times could be identified with stars other than those in Cancer.

18. This reading is closer to what is found on the handcopy. MSL XI, collation: <sup>mul</sup>lú.ḥun.e.ne.

Star-Name	Nippur Forerunner	Old Babylonian Forerunners
mul <sup>1</sup> giš.apin	396	1
mul <sup>1</sup> balag	404	
mul <sup>1</sup> en.te.na.bar.ḥum	392	8
mul <sup>1</sup> giš.gigir	398	1, 8
mul <sup>1</sup> gír.tab	405	1, 2, 9
mul <sup>1</sup> gu.la	389	
mul <sup>1</sup> im.šu.rin.na.mu.un. kúš.e.ne	409	8, 9
mul <sup>1</sup> ka.kéš	390	
mul <sup>1</sup> lú.ḥun.gá	410	1, 2, 8
mul <sup>1</sup> lu.lim	399	
mul <sup>1</sup> mar.gíd.da	397	1, 3
mul <sup>1</sup> miših <sup>d</sup> pa.bíl.sag	408	8
mul <sup>1</sup> MU.BU	391	1, 8, 9 <sup>19</sup>
mul <sup>1</sup> .mul	388	8
mul <sup>1</sup> muš	403	
mul <sup>1</sup> nin.si <sub>4</sub> .an.na	394	8
mul <sup>1</sup> giš.pan	406	9
mul <sup>1</sup> sag.dù.a	402	
mul <sup>1</sup> sipa.zi.an.na	395	1, 8
mul <sup>1</sup> tir.an.na	393	8
mul <sup>1</sup> udu.idim	400	8
mul <sup>1</sup> uga <sup>mušen</sup>	401	2 <sup>20</sup>
mul <sup>1</sup> úz	407	2, 8

## Star-Names in Old Babylonian Forerunners, but not in the Nippur Forerunner

mul <sup>1</sup> AMAR.GÍR?	8
mul <sup>1</sup> an.ta.sur.ra	1, 8
mul <sup>1</sup> ka <sub>5</sub>	2
mul <sup>1</sup> kak.si.sá	9
mul <sup>1</sup> ku <sub>6</sub>	2
mul <sup>1</sup> kúšu	8
mul <sup>1</sup> lul	1
mul <sup>1</sup> šu <sup>?</sup> .gi?	1

19. OB Forerunner 1: <sup>mul</sup>kéš.da; OB Forerunner 8: <sup>mul</sup>MU.BU.kéšda, OB Forerunner 9: [<sup>mul</sup>ké]š.da.

20. <sup>mul</sup>uga.

mulšul.gi	1, 3
[mul <sup>1</sup> ud.al].tar	9
mul <sup>1</sup> ur.bar.ra	9
mul <sup>1</sup> ur'.gi <sub>7</sub> /gi <sub>7</sub> .ra	2, 9
mul <sup>1</sup> ur.mah	9

### The Star-Names

As preserved, the lists yield of total of 36 star-names: 23 in the “Nippur Forerunner” (of which approximately three quarters also occur in the “Old Babylonian Forerunner”) and thirteen more that are available in at least one of the “Old Babylonian Forerunners.”<sup>21</sup> Of these, all but seven also appear in canonical Ur<sup>1</sup> XXII: mul<sup>1</sup>balag, mul<sup>1</sup>ka.kéš, and mul<sup>1</sup>sag.dù.a (from the “Nippur Forerunners”) and mul<sup>1</sup>AMAR.GÍR?, mul<sup>1</sup>kúš<sub>u</sub>, mul<sup>1</sup>š<sub>u</sub>?.gi?, and mul<sup>1</sup>šul.gi (from the “Old Babylonian Forerunners”). Likewise, all but four of the 36 (mul<sup>1</sup>balag, mul<sup>1</sup>ka.kéš, mul<sup>1</sup>sag.dù.a, and mul<sup>1</sup>šul.gi) are attested in later cuneiform astronomical and astrological texts, such as Astrolabe B from the late second millennium,<sup>22</sup> first-millennium works such as Mul-Apin, Enuma Anu Enlil, “The Great Star List,”<sup>23</sup> and/or the astronomical reports published by H. Hunger in SAA 8. Thus, it is clear that the “Forerunners to Ur<sup>1</sup>” share the same basic repertoire of star-names not only with the later star-lists of Ur<sup>1</sup> and Urgan, but also with the standard Mesopotamian astronomical tradition represented by the works enumerated above.

### Star-Names in Sumerian Literature

Star-names in Sumerian literature are few and far between. In fact, the only standard Sumerian literary work known to me that preserves as many as

21. The stellar repertoire of the two “Babylonian Prayers to the Gods of the Night,” commonly assigned to the Old Babylonian period, includes only four names written in Sumerian as opposed to syllabic Akkadian: <sup>4</sup>BIL.GI for Girra, GIŠ.MAR. GÍD.DA, MUŠ.ĪUŠ, and ŪZ (see W. Horowitz and J. Oelsner, “The 30 Star-Catalogue HS 1897 and the Late Parallel BM 55502,” *AfO* 44/45 [1997–98]: 182–83). Two of these, <sup>4</sup>BIL.GI for Girra and MUŠ.ĪUŠ do not appear in the forerunners to Ur<sup>1</sup>, while the other two do. For a third text of this time and genre, see W. Horowitz and N. Wasserman, “Another Old Babylonian Prayer to the Gods of the Night,” *JCS* 48 (1996): 57–60 with a fifth name written in Sumerian, GIŠ.PAN (*JCS* 48 58: 13). The next line of this prayer may have a name with UR: UR.BAR.RA, UR.GI<sub>7</sub> etc.
22. VAT 9416 = KAV 218, which was written in the mid-twelfth century (see H. Freydank, *Beiträge zur mittelasyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte* [Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991], 94–97). A new edition of *Astrolabes* is being prepared by the present author. For now, see *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 154–60.
23. For “The Great Star List,” see U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1995), 187–205.

two star-names is *Enki and The World Order* 288–89,<sup>24</sup> where the location of Enki’s temple is explained with relation to two constellations:<sup>25</sup>

[èš] ki.gub.bi mul<sup>1</sup>iku DU.a  
 [èš].kù.ga.igi.nim.ma gub.bi mul<sup>1</sup>gišgigir.šè ì.DU  
 [(Enki’s) shrine,] its emplacement is situated by “The Field”;  
 The holy upper [shrine], its stand is situated in the direction of  
 “The Chariot.”

An allusion to “The Chariot” constellation mul<sup>1</sup>gišgigir may be found also in Gudea Cyl. B ix 15, which refers to the chariot of Ningirsu:

gišgigir.kù.an.mul.a rín.na.da  
 That the holy stellar-like chariot (of Ningirsu) shine forth

In Lugalbanda I, mul.u<sub>4</sub>.da.zal.le.da, “morning star(s),” occurs twice.<sup>26</sup> First, in Lugalbanda I 201–3, where the Moon shining in the sky is compared to mul.u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le.da; and a second time in Lugalbanda I 484:

mul.amar.kù.en.nu.ùg.šè àm.ši.ri  
 mul.u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le.da.ke<sub>4</sub> an.ne im.mú.e  
 u<sub>4</sub>.babbar.re gī<sub>6</sub>.a bí.ib.búr.re

Lugalbanda I 202–4<sup>27</sup>

The stellar pure bull calf (the Moon) came to watch over him.  
 The star of the morning was shining in the sky,  
 The bright light was illuminating the night.

mul.u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le.da.ke<sub>4</sub> an.na mul mu.un.ne.ur<sub>4</sub>!.re<sup>1</sup>

Lugalbanda I 484<sup>28</sup>

The star of the morning in heaven shines...

24. The edition and translation here is adapted from *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. The last full hardcopy edition of the text is still that of C. Benito in “*Enki and Ninmah*” and “*Enki and the World Order*” (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1974), 101, 128.
25. Here, perhaps the idea is something akin to the correspondence among Babylon, Esagil, and mul<sup>1</sup>iku, “The Field” (Pegasus), for which see A. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 40], (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 244 and cf. Antagal G 310–14 (MSL XVII 229).
26. For the translation, note the equation u<sub>4</sub>.zal.la = šēru in Erimbuš VI 169 (MSL XVII 85). See CAD Š/2, 331 šēru A: “morning star, dawn, morning.”
27. The edition here is taken from PSD B, 198 bur<sub>2</sub> G and *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. For these lines, see also Wilcke *Lugalbandaepos* 75–76 (lines 197–99). The line numbering both here and below is from the electronic edition.
28. Text from Wilcke *Lugalbandaepos* 76 n. 312 (line 472) and *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*.

An equivalent term, <sup>mul</sup>u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le, occurs in the star-name list of Urta 22: <sup>mul</sup>u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le = *kak-kab na-ma-ri*.<sup>29</sup>

Four more names occur in a Sumerian incantation found on the Old Babylonian-period tablet CT 42 no. 6, which concludes with an Akkadian ritual.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>mul</sup> d <sup>nin</sup> .si <sub>4</sub> .an.na	CT 42 no. 6 iii 18, 33
<sup>mul</sup> d <sup>nin</sup> .pirig	CT 42 no. 6 iii 19, 34
<sup>mul</sup> d <sup>šul</sup> .pa.è.a	CT 42 no. 6 iii 20, 36
<sup>mul</sup> giš <sup>má</sup> .diri.ga. <sup>d</sup> en.ki	CT 42 no. 6 iii 21 <sup>31</sup>

The first and third of these star-names are known, the second and fourth are obscure.

<sup>mul</sup>d<sup>nin</sup>.si<sub>4</sub>.an.na is a name for Venus and <sup>mul</sup>šul.pa.è.a for Jupiter.<sup>32</sup> Although the other two star-names cannot be positively identified, they too seem to be planets. The last name <sup>mul</sup>giš<sup>má</sup>.diri.ga.<sup>d</sup>en.ki "The Ferryboat of Enki," reminds one of the later Akkadian <sup>mul</sup>nēberu "The Ferry" (giš<sup>má</sup>.diri.ga = *nēberu*),<sup>33</sup> which as Marduk's star is usually to be identified with Mercury or Jupiter.<sup>34</sup> The remaining star <sup>mul</sup>d<sup>nin</sup>.pirig is almost certainly to be identified as a planet as well on the basis of Erimhuš I 212: <sup>d</sup>nin.pirig.bán.da = *bi-ib-bu* (MSL XVII 18) and Izi A ii 13'-14': <sup>d</sup>nin.pirig.ga = <sup>d</sup>al-la-mu, <sup>d</sup>pirig.tur.ra = *bi-ib-bu* (MSL XIII 174). However, which planet this might be is open to question.<sup>35</sup>

29. MSL XI 31 Section 11 8'.

30. CT 42 no. 6 = BM15820, CT 42 pls. 11-13. For previous discussion, see A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte," ZA 55 (1962): 33-34 and S. Kramer, "CT XLII: A Review Article," JCS 18 (1964): 40.

31. This star-name is not repeated a second time in the incantation as preserved. Note, however, that one line is erased on the bottom edge of the tablet after col. iii (see CT 42 6 pl. 13).

32. For the former, see BPO 1 passim (Venus Tablet of Ammīšaduqa); for the latter see BPO 2 15.

33. For the lexical equivalence, see CAD N/1, 145-46.

34. For <sup>mul</sup>nēberu as a name for both Jupiter and Mercury, as well as other astronomical entities, see Hunger-Pingree *Mul-Apin* 126; and more extensively J. Koch, "Der Mardukstern Nēberu," WO 22 (1991): 48-72. Cf. W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 115 n. 11 for further bibliography.

35. Cf. <sup>d</sup>nin.pirig as a sister of Ninurta in *An = Anum* I 314 = CT 24 10 iv 3 + dupl.: <sup>d</sup>nin.pirig = <sup>d</sup>nin.imma nin<sup>d</sup>nin.[ur]ta.ke<sub>4</sub>, "Ninpirig is Ninimma, the sister of Nin[ur]ta" (see RIA 9, 384 § 2; R. Litke, *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, An: A-NU-UM and AN: ANU SA AMĒLI* [= *Texts from The Babylonian Collection*, vol. 3] (New Haven: Yale Babylonian Collection, 1998), 56-57). Ninurta is identified with Mercury in *Mul-Apin* II i 5 and with Saturn elsewhere (see U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 123-24).

To this repertoire of early star-names one can add at least one more name from Ebla, where Sumerian <sup>mul</sup>.mul "The Stars" (Pleiades) occurs in a Sumerian-Eblaite list as an equivalent of Eblaite <sup>mul</sup>kà-ma-tù "The Family".<sup>36</sup>

AN.mul = *kak-kab*

<sup>mul</sup>.mul = *kà-ma-tù*

Eblaite *kà-ma-tù* is an equivalent of the Hebrew name for the Pleiades, כִּימָה, that occurs much later in biblical poetry, and a cognate of the Akkadian common noun *kimtu/kintu/kīmatu*, "family."<sup>37</sup> In extant materials the common Akkadian equivalent of <sup>mul</sup>.mul is <sup>mul</sup>zappu "The Bristle."<sup>38</sup> Four more entries in Ebla lexical lists may be Sumerian star-names: MUL.KU<sub>6</sub> from the fish list,<sup>39</sup> and what could be three bovine constellations, <sup>mul</sup>bar.áb, <sup>mul</sup>bar.gu<sub>4</sub>, <sup>mul</sup>bar.amar: a cow, a bull, and a calf.<sup>40</sup> In any case, these terms from Ebla bring the total number of possible star-names in the materials studied above to no more than twelve,<sup>41</sup> roughly only one-third of the number preserved in the extant Old Babylonian period star-lists edited above.<sup>42</sup>

36. See W.G. Lambert, "The Section AN" in L. Cagni, ed., *Il Bilinguismo d'Ebla* [= Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, *Series Minor XXII*] (Napoli, 1984), 396: 791-92 with discussion on p. 397; and later G. Conti, *Il Sillabario della Quarta Fonte della Lista Lessicale bilingue Eblaita* [= *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3 (1990)], p. 191 no. 791-92 with further bibliography. C. Cohen, "כימה, 'olam hatanakh - Job," ed. J. Klein (Tel-Aviv: Davidson-Atai, 1996), 72 (in Hebrew); the first scholar who identified כימה is M. Dahood in G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla* (N.Y.: Doubleday), 302-3.

37. The name "The Family" derives from a notion that the stars of the Pleiades are relatives, as in the modern name for the constellation "The Seven Sisters." In Classical mythology the seven are daughters of Atlas.

38. See CAD Z, 49-50. Note also LBAT 1565 14', where the Pleiades (<sup>mul</sup>.mul) may be perceived as an arrow (*mulmullu*): [MUL.MU]L *mul-mul-la* <sup>d</sup>7.BI, "The Star[s]," arrow, The 7 gods.'

39. MEE 3 99: 33. Most probably for <sup>mul</sup>ku<sub>6</sub>, "The Fish" (Piscis Austrinus) but also possibly for <sup>mul</sup>ku<sub>6</sub>, "star-fish." For a plant *kakkab tãmti* "star of the sea" known from Uruanna, see CAD K, 49 *kakkabu* 3. c; R.C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* (London: The British Academy, 1949), 37.

40. MEE 3 51: 10, 52: 36, 53: 62. MUL.BAR [... in one variant of line 87 of the hymn to Inanna an.ta.è.a.ra is not a star-name but almost certainly part of <sup>mul</sup>.dal[la] "rad[iant] star," which occurs here as an epithet of Inanna = Venus (see D. Reisman, *Two Sumerian Royal Hymns* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1970), 153: 87 with the note on p. 197).

41. <sup>mul</sup>iku, <sup>mul</sup>gišgigir, <sup>mul</sup>u<sub>4</sub>.zal.le, the four names in CT 42 6, and the five at Ebla.

42. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension," JCS 17 (1963): 52 points out that a number of later star-names occurs as royal names in the early stages of *The Sumerian King List*, including lu.lim, dumu.zi, and sipa.zi.an.na.

*Sumerian Star-Names and Sumerian Astronomy*

Although a full exposition of what the Sumerians did and did not know about the sky is well beyond the mandate of this paper, a few preliminary remarks regarding Sumerian astronomy are in order. First of all, Sumerians clearly knew enough about the mechanics of the sky and the rhythm of the seasons to regulate an intercalated lunar calendar as early as in the Archaic period. Administrative texts from this time provide evidence for both the intercalation of a thirteenth lunar month approximately every third year, and the 360-day ideal calendar that was later put to use in Mesopotamian astronomical and astrological texts.<sup>43</sup> Thus, by the late fourth millennium, we find evidence for a Mesopotamian capability to observe and understand the monthly sequence of the phases of the moon, and to monitor the passage of the months against some natural phenomena, be it the annual risings and setting of stars, variations in the length of day and night, or agricultural events such as the start of the barley harvest. Without such a capability, it is not possible to determine when to intercalate and so fix the start of the new year in a particular season. By the end of the third millennium, the role of astral phenomena in determining the new year is made explicit in Gudea Cyl. B 3: 5–8:<sup>44</sup>

mu ġen.na.àm iti til.la.àm  
mu.gibil an.na im.ma.gub  
iti é.ba ba.a.ku<sub>4</sub>  
iti.bi u<sub>4</sub>.3.àm im.ta.zal

The year having gone, the month having ended,  
The new year stood in heaven  
The month entered into its house  
This month, the third day had elapsed.<sup>45</sup>

43. See W. Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JANES* 24 (1996): 38–39.

44. Despite the above evidence that early Sumerians had already solved the problem of regulating lunar and other phenomena for intercalation purposes, this did not lead all groups in the ancient Near East to use intercalated lunar calendars. Note that a lunar calendar without intercalation was used at times in Assyria down into the second millennium, as is also the case even to this day in Islam. For the Assyrian calendar, see F. Rochberg-Halton, "Calendars," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1, 812–813 and cf. W. Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year," 37 n. 5 with further bibliography.

45. The reference to three days elapsing in the new month and year echoes an astronomical norm known from the Neo-Assyrian period whereby month-stars that rose three days after their expected time were deemed late. See *Mul-Apin II* Gap A 8–9 (Hunger-Pingree *Mul-Apin* 89–90); and for Old Babylonian Mari, cf. ARM 13 29: 5–10 (CAD M/2, 208 *munûtu* 1.). For the general principle that the late rising of

As for the Sun, the daily pattern of day and night, sunrise and sunset, must have been understood by man in deepest antiquity, but there is no written evidence linking the annual movements of the Sun to the length of the year in cuneiform texts until the seventh century, when *Mul-Apin II* finds a correspondence between north-south variations of the location of the Sun in the sky and the passage of the seasons of the year.<sup>46</sup>

Hard evidence for Sumerian knowledge of the stellar and planetary motion remains elusive. For the planet Venus, we have numerous literary allusions to the goddess Inanna in her astronomical guise as the planet. Of these, the most famous is in *Inanna's Descent*, where it has long been recognized that the three-day death of Inanna in the Underworld corresponds to the three-day minimum disappearance of the planet Venus below the horizon at the time of its inferior conjunction with the Sun.<sup>47</sup> Such associations between Inanna and Venus may already be present in an Archaic-period cylinder seal that preserves among its elements a bull, the *ezen* ("festive") sign, an Inanna standard, star decorations, and signs that represent sunrise and sunset.<sup>48</sup> This matches contemporary Archaic-period administrative documents that refer to offerings and festivals of Inanna as the morning- and evening-star.<sup>49</sup> Hence, there can be no doubt that the earliest historical Sumerians already knew that Venus as the morning- and evening-star was in fact one astronomical body. Direct evidence for knowledge of the existence of other planets, however, is not available before the passage from CT 42 6 examined above, where we found Jupiter and Venus, as well as what may be two other planet names in an Old Babylonian-period Sumerian incantation.<sup>50</sup> The fact that a fifth name for a planet is missing from CT 42 6, unless due to a breach in scribal tradition, may indicate imperfect knowledge of the planets into the second millennium.

stars requires correction through intercalation, see W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 162–64.

46. *Mul-Apin II* Gap A 1–7 (Hunger-Pingree *Mul-Apin* 88–89). See W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 172–74. In *Enuma Elish V*, Marduk assigns the stars to regulate the years, the Moon-god to determine the month, and the Sun-god to oversee the day-night cycle.

47. See, e.g., W. Heimpel, "A Catalog of Near Eastern Venus Deities," *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4/3, 9–12. For the movements of Venus, see BPO I 15.

48. See H. Nissen et al., *Archaic Bookkeeping* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 17–18, Fig. 18. Note also the disk placed within the arc formed by the bull's horns, suggesting the presence of a star or planet (Venus?) above the crescent moon.

49. See most recently K. Szarzyńska, "The Cult of the Goddess Inanna in Archaic Uruk," *NIN* 1 (2000), 64–65.

50. It is not possible to prove conclusively that the DN<sup>d</sup>š u<sub>1</sub>.p.a.è.a was identified with Jupiter in the third millennium, although this is likely the case (cf. W. Heimpel, *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4/3 12).



As for the stars, the best evidence for knowledge of the overall pattern of stellar movement is found in two Sumerian hymns to the Moon-god where Nanna-Suen herds domesticated cattle in an astronomical context. As noted by W. Heimpel in his article, "The Babylonian Background of the Term 'Milky Way'," *FS Sjöberg*, 250–52,<sup>51</sup> these cattle are without doubt the stars, as is made clear in later references to the sky as a cattle pen in *Enuma Anu Enlil* 50, and to stars behaving like plowing oxen in *The Exaltation of Ištar*.<sup>52</sup> In these texts, the image is that of fixed-stars maintaining their place in the herd of stars like domesticated cattle. In contrast, the planets, who move among the fixed-stars, are literally wild sheep in the Sumerian-Akkadian lexicon: *u<sub>4</sub>.idim* = *bibbu*. Furthermore, even the limited number of third-millennium star-names that we do have demonstrates a Sumerian capability to identify and isolate at least some important stars and constellations, and there is indirect evidence in Sumerian literature that the names of more stars and constellations were known. For example, the Bull of Heaven (*gu<sub>4</sub>.an.na*) in *Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven* bears the same name as the bull constellation *mul<sub>1</sub>gu<sub>4</sub>.an.na* (Taurus),<sup>53</sup> and a possible allusion to the constellation later known as "The Crown of Anu" (*mul<sub>1</sub>aga.an.na* = *agû<sup>d</sup>anim*) may be found in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 276.<sup>54</sup>

51. H. Behrens et al., eds., *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A*, *Studies in Honor of Åke Sjöberg* [= *Occasional Publications of The Samuel Noah Kramer Fund* 11], (Philadelphia, 1989).
52. See W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 144–45, 254–55. Cf. in this context perhaps references to stars in broken contexts in M. Civil, "The Song of the Plowing Oxen," *Kramer AV* [= *AOAT* 25], 88: 49, 67–68.
53. Enkidu's dismemberment of one of the legs of the bull most likely had astral-mythological overtones. Compare for example astral-mythological motifs in the Old Babylonian myth *Girra and Elamatum* (C. Walker, "The Myth of Girra and Elamatum," *Anatolian Studies* 33 [1983]: 145–52; and later an astral-mythological vignette involving *mul<sub>1</sub>sipa.zi.an.na*, "The True Shepherd of Heaven" [Orion] in the mythological explanatory work LKA 71 + dupl. [SAA 3 96: 17–26; see also A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 116–17]).
54. *u<sub>4</sub>.da.aratta<sup>ki</sup>aga.kù.an.na.gim.su.mu.na.an.sá*, which S. Cohen translates in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1974), p. 125: "(Should Inanna) keep Aratta, like a 'shining disk' of heaven, in proper order for herself." Note that Manuscript F reads: ...*aga.kùši.mu.sá* (see *ibid.*, 105). For other astronomical allusions in Sumerian literature, see D. Foxvog, "Astral Dumuzi," in M.E. Cohen et al., eds., *The Tablet and The Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 103–8; J. Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian Royal Hymnology," in J. Klein and A. Skaist, eds., *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 104:27. See also B. Alster, "Early Patterns in Mesopotamian Literature," *Kramer AV* [= *AOAT* 25], 13–24.

On a more practical level, we learn from *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* that the Sumerians could find their way by the stars in the sky,<sup>55</sup> and *The Farmer's Instructions* 38 instructs farmers to determine when to begin seeding by the position of the stars in the sky.<sup>56</sup> In the academic sphere, Šulgi of Ur boasts that he learned how to calculate the appearance of the new moon while a student in the scribal school.<sup>57</sup> As for what might be Sumerian astrology, we learn from Gudea Cyl. A iv 26–v 1 and a few other texts about a blue tablet dub *mul.an*, "Tablet Stars of Heaven," that seems to have been used in divination in some way.<sup>58</sup>

### Conclusion

When all the above evidence and inferences are gathered, it remains clear that the Sumerians of the third and fourth millennia had no formal written discipline of astronomy or astrology that can be compared to that in Akkadian in the second and first millennia, nor can we fully assess what the Sumerians did or did not know about the skies above them on the basis of what has come down to us in written form. In fact, barring major new discoveries, we may never know all that much about Sumerian astronomical and astrological practice and beliefs. However, on the other hand, we do have anecdotal evidence for a practical and even academic Sumerian astronomical tradition (the Šulgi passage), as well as the Sumerian star-names

55. See A. Shaffer, "Gilgamesh, the Cedar Forest and Mesopotamian History," *JAOS* 103/1 (1983): 307 n. 4 and B. Alster, "Geštinanna as Singer and the Chorus of Uruk and Zabalam: UET 6/122," *JCS* 37 (1985): 223: 27–28 with commentary on pp. 225–26. Cf. *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, 160–62 and the omen apodososis wherein Sargon of Akkad finds his way by the light of Ištar (Venus) in a region of darkness during a campaign to Marḥaši (A. Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *JCS* 1 [1947]: 255–56).
56. M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual* (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1994), 30:38 (Nippur Text), with the line in other versions on pp. 46, 53, 60. For other allusions to this role of the stars in Mesopotamia, see the commentary to line 38 on p. 79 and compare the Astrolabe B Menology, KAV 218 Section I and parallels, in which constellations are assigned to ten of the twelve months. An edition of the Alb B menology and parallels will appear in *The Astrolabes and Related Texts*. For now see G. Çağırçan, "Three More Duplicates to Astrolabe B," *Belletrien* 48 (1984): 399–416, and the transliteration without translation in BPO 1 81–82.
57. J. Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian Royal Hymnology," *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* 73–74. For a possible connection between Šulgi and observations of Jupiter, see C. Walker, "Episodes in the History of Astronomy," *Bulletin of The Society of Mesopotamian Studies* 5 (1982): 21–23 and cf. the *palú*, "era," of Šulgi in *Mul-Apin II ii* 18.
58. See W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 166–68 and cf. Gudea Cyl. A ix 10.

themselves, which remained in use down to the death of the cuneiform writing system. Evidence suggests that the Sumerian star-names were, in fact, normally meant to be read in Sumerian as part of a sort of scientific nomenclature, and not to be translated into Akkadian. Akkadian syllabic renderings of star-names are relatively uncommon, and direct evidence for Sumerian renderings of the names is found in glosses in Neo-Assyrian reports<sup>59</sup> and late transliterations of cuneiform into Greek.<sup>60</sup> What then is the source of all these Sumerian star-names known from the second and first millennia, which so far exceed the forty or so known from Sumerian sources and the star-lists of the forerunners to *Urru = hubullu*?<sup>61</sup> The present author surmises that most are genuine Sumerian-language names that were in use in third-millennium Sumer and Akkad, just as we Assyriologists suppose that the vast majority of the Sumerian vocabulary known to us from the Old Babylonian period is genuinely Sumerian. The fact that Sumerian star-names do not appear *en masse* until the second millennium is, therefore, probably not evidence against the existence of such names, but almost certainly due to the very fact that cuneiform astronomical and astrological works were not written down before the Old Babylonian period.<sup>62</sup> For now, however, this remains a working hypothesis, which requires further study and evaluation.

59. See SAA 8 73: 1, SAA 8 77: 1.

60. See E. Sollberger, "Graeco-Babyloniaca," *Iraq* 24 (1962): 71 C<sub>3</sub>, copy pl. 26 facing p. 65 with what appears to be Greek renderings of the names u.d. al. tar and dili. bad. For <sup>m</sup>babbar rendered in Greek as μολοβαβαρ, see B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925), 404. Cf. L. Bobrova and A. Militarev, "From Mesopotamia to Greece: To the Origin of Semitic and Greek Star Names," in H. Galter, ed., *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens*, Grazer Morgenländische Studien 3 (Graz, 1993), 307–29 for continuity between ancient Mesopotamian perceptions of the constellations and those of the classical world.

61. P.F. Gössman's *Planetarium Babylonicum* (SL IV / 2), for example, lists 407 entries, a vast majority of which are Sumerian.

62. Evidence for ongoing change in Sumerian vocabulary until Sumerian fell out of everyday use at the beginning of the second millennium (see M. Civil, "The Early History of HAR-ra: The Ebla Link," 138–39) cannot explain the paucity of Sumerian star-names in pre-Old Babylonian-period texts.



## ETERNAL REST AT THE FOOT OF THE MOUNTAIN\*

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IN CONSONANCE with common burial practice, the prevailing belief was that the realm of the dead was under the surface of earth. Some Sumerian narratives, however, seem to contradict it. The standard Sumerian term for "netherworld" is *kur*. Its sign is shaped as a mountain, and in addition to netherworld it signifies an actual mountain and foreign (usually hostile) land. Each of the three meanings represents a different kind of reality, but they share an inherent geographical sense: "mountain" depicts actual geographical reality, "foreign land" an actual geo-political reality, and "netherworld" exists in mythological geographical reality. Since each meaning of *kur* has a geographical value and the Sumerian script was primarily pictographic, the shape of the sign suggests that originally the various meanings expressed one geographical concept. The correspondence between the shape of the sign and the meaning "mountain" lend the other two meanings an actual topographical nuance. The mythological connotation, therefore, is especially perplexing: why was this particular sign chosen to depict "netherworld"? It is possible that the meaning "netherworld" was merely a euphemism, in a way of inverted reality. To be sure, one would expect a term devoid of any morphological and topographical characteristics such as *ki* "place," or a suggestive term that signifies a hollow such as *ki-in-dar* "crack,"<sup>1</sup> rather than a protruding bulk matter as

\* This article is based on the second chapter of my unpublished dissertation "The Concept of Death and Netherworld in Mesopotamia According to the Sumerian Sources" (Tel Aviv, 1993) (in Hebrew). For an English version, published after the present contribution was submitted, see now D. Katz, *The Image of the Netherworld in the Sumerian Sources* (CDL Press, 2003), esp. pp. 63–112. The standard abbreviations follow PSD and CAD.

1. Cf. CT 58, 42:40, S.N. Kramer, "The Death of Dumuzi: A New Sumerian Version," *AnSt* 30 (1980): 5–13 (where it is in apposition to *kur*). Also euphemisms such as "place (or gate) of sunset" reflect a belief in terms of actual reality.

"mountain." Moreover, considering some ambiguous descriptions in Sumerian lamentations over the young dying god, we may ask whether the realm of the dead was perceived in actual geographical terms as a real mountain; as a foreign hostile land; in transferred meaning as a complicated euphemism for a subterranean locality; or as a specific place name, Kur, devoid of geographical connotations. Sources from the second and the first millennia, particularly in Akkadian, demonstrate the belief that the netherworld was indeed subterranean. In the Akkadian version of bilingual texts the Sumerian kur was usually replaced by the logogram KI for *eršetu*.<sup>2</sup> The Sumerian sources, however, are divided: some depict a subterranean realm, and kur is clearly just a name of the netherworld. As such, it also may have been applied in transferred meaning to designate a subterraneous space.<sup>3</sup> Other written sources seem to portray the netherworld or, rather, afterworld in geographical terms of a real mountain. In this article I shall present these sources, trying to demonstrate that originally kur was not an incidental homonym, but a complex integral concept; that it probably became invalid during the middle of the third millennium, and then disintegrated to signify three independent meanings. Consequently, the meaning "netherworld" became a place name, devoid of morphological properties. The implication of this hypothesis is that, contrary to the burial practice, the earlier Sumerian realm of the dead was not deep under the ground as most of the sources indicate (netherworld), but above the surface of earth beyond the northeastern borders of Sumer (afterworld).<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis was first proposed in the second chapter of my

2. KI with phonetic complement *-ti/tim*. When kur meant "mountain," it was rendered *šadū*.

3. Heimpel, *NABU* 1996/28, suggested that kur-geštin in Gudea Cyl. A xxviii 10-11 is a wine cellar described as kur, that it depicts a cavernous inside and corresponds with netherworld, implying that in "netherworld" kur meant literally a mountain but conceived as its inner space, which matches its outer shape. This interpretation is very appealing because it settles the conflict in terms. However, it is a circular argument. In addition, the very fact that the Babylonians replaced kur with KI indicates that kur was unsuitable to signify netherworld and, therefore, that it was taken as "mountain." For the Babylonian, as for us, a mountain signified a bulk protruding geographical feature as it is seen to the eye. The space inside a mountain is designated by other terms, cave, mine, hole, crack, and the like. That the afterworld is a mythological place is a modern view. I doubt that the ancient Mesopotamian conceived it as an imaginary, mythological place. Therefore, either kur was taken literally as a mountain or as a specific place name completely detached from the shape of a mountain. The Akkadian idiom *šadāšu emid* "disappear (forever)" may be explained as a dead metaphor that evolved from the Sumerian kur, and as such does not plainly signify a physical mountain. If kur-geštin "wine cellar" derived from kur "netherworld," it is a transferred meaning to indicate a space under the ground, unrelated to "mountain."

4. The location in the mountain region was already suggested by Sladek in his edition

dissertation, which Prof. Klein so graciously supervised, inciting extensive discussions between us. It is an honor and a pleasure to dedicate to him further deliberations on the theme.

The use of concrete terms to describe mythological reality is normal to the Sumerian mythological narratives. The materials were taken from the familiar reality of the narrator and his intended public, and the descriptions reflect his perspective. However, when the geography of the netherworld is adjusted to the human experience, namely situated under the ground, the nature of the descriptive materials transforms: in their subterranean configuration the materials of everyday life lose the intrinsic historical quality and become mythological.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the location of the kur under the surface of earth defines it as a mythological place. But a mountain is by definition non-existent in a subterranean setting, because it entails a protruding geographical feature. Consequently, as a subterranean feature kur cannot represent a real or a mythological mountain, but a place name or merely a lexeme.<sup>6</sup>

The image of the netherworld as an actual mountain emerges from synecdochic expressions: the texts combine kur with a term that defines a part of its shape, rather than applying kur alone, or using a specific name of the netherworld. Since some references are based on conventional geographical terminology, it implies that the original image carried a visual sense, which restricts the possible interpretations of kur to actual geography.<sup>7</sup>

of *Inanna's Descent*, without further elaboration or investigation of its location in relation to the surface of earth. Also, the repetitive statement that Inanna descended to the kur at the beginning of the narrative was not challenged and its meaning remained unexplained. It is treated below in § 7.

5. Note that the worldly elements were inconsistently treated in the conversion to underground reality. Some elements as social and political structures, or human emotions and needs are unaffected by geographical conditions and, therefore, these aspects duplicate the familiar worldly life. But some palpable elements were changed and adapted to the image of a grave: it is dark, it does not produce anything, and the food that is supplied to the dead spoils.
6. The notion that the basis of the mountain rests in the interior of the earth, invisible to the human eye, does not imply a mythological underground mountain but reflects a mythological, non-historical concept of the dimensions of a mountain. Accordingly, the description of the *mašū* mountain in Gilg. IX ii 5, whose bottom rests in the netherworld and whose peak touches heaven, demonstrates a blend of historical and mythological sentiments. The mountain is visible to the human eye as a real mountain. However, it is so awesome that the image of its magnitude is mythological: from deep under the ground, as low as the netherworld, to the height of heaven one cannot see its peak. That is to say, the mountain is real but its exaggerated dimensions are mythological.
7. Including expressions that are dead metaphors.

The notion of a mountain is suggested in some laments over the young dying gods. These laments are based on local traditions, and the setting of the mythological events is delineated in geographical terms as if in historical reality: the deities are portrayed as human figures who act in the real geographical area of their cult centers, and the references to the kur address its physical shape as it appears to the human eye from Sumer. Descriptions of the young dead god, or of his mourning mother who follows him to the netherworld, depict the kur as a bulky protruding geographical element at the end of the journey to the realm of the dead. The portrayal of the kur rising in the distance is reminiscent of the landscape of south Mesopotamia, of the mountain ranges beyond the alluvial plain of Sumer.

§ 1. kur-úr-ra "foot of the mountain," kur-bàd-da "peak of the mountain"

kur-úr-ra is attested in a variety of texts. Its structure and uses indicate that it was a common expression signifying the foot of a mountain: úr "base," "bottom" in the inverted genitive restricts the term kur to the meaning "mountain," particularly in junction with kur-bàd-da "peak of the mountain." The combined expressions describe the mountain as it is visible to the eye in its full size. In the Lugalbanda epics we find the pair in the description of the mountainous route between Uruk and Aratta.<sup>8</sup> In the lamentation literature the pair occurs in the eršemma of Ninḫursaĝa.<sup>9</sup> The mother mourns her dead son, who was carried away by the water. Searching in the reed thicket, she follows his course toward the kur (l. 6): aš-tar-re ki-kin-kin-e kur-úr-ra ba-te "Inquiring and searching the foot of the mountain gets closer."

The repeated statement that she approaches the foot of the mountain (kur-úr-ra, ll. 5–6), completed by the pair kur-úr-ra ba-te kur-bàd-da ba-te (l. 9), indicates that the kur is her destination. Since she is looking for her dead son, the kur must be the netherworld. One may assert that kur-úr-ra is "base of the netherworld," therefore a subterranean place.

8. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden, 1969) 122:342, henceforth: *Lugalbanda*. For more attestations see PSD B, 44 s.v. bàd B, 3. The arrangement in contrasting pairs is clearly literary. Its use in literary texts suggests that kur-úr-ra endows the context with superhuman or, maybe, mythological sense. See Urnamma B:45: mu-zu an-zà-šè kur-úr-šè ḥé-gál "May your name extend (from as far as) the horizon (to) the foot of the mountains." But for ḥur-saĝ as the contrasting term compare with Civil, "The Message of Ludiñgira to His Mother," *JNES* 23 (1964): 3:22, a ma-mu sù-du-áĝ-gin<sub>x</sub> an-úr-ra lu-lim-ḥur-saĝ-ĝá "my mother is like a bright light on the horizon, a doe in the mountains."

9. Kramer, "BM 98396: A Sumerian Prototype of the Mater-Dolorosa," *Eretz-Israel* 16, 141\*–46\*; CT 58, 5, Pls. 4–5.

However, the persistent use of the complex geographical expression, rather than the conventional kur, and its combination with kur-bàd-da points to an image of a real mountain. The description of the landscape on her way, as she moves through marshes overgrown with reeds, approaching the kur, befits the actual geography of southern Sumer with the mountain range rising far away on the horizon.

The same expression, kur-úr-ra, is attested in a fragment of lament that describes the young dead god crying at the end of the road to the netherworld:<sup>10</sup>

9. [li-b]i!-ir-ù-mu-un-š[u<sub>x</sub>-di] ki-kur-úr-ra-k[a] ír im-ma-ni-in-[še<sub>8</sub>]

10. [ġuruš] ki-kaskal-la-ka àm-da-til-til-le-e[š-àm]

[The her]ald Umunš[udi] [we]eps at the place of [f] the foot of the kur.

[The lad] at the place of the road where they finished him off.

As in the eršemma of Ninḫursaĝa, literary considerations suggest that kur-úr-ra designates the netherworld, and that it signifies the foot of a real mountain. The complementary parallelism implies that kur-úr-ra is the netherworld. The additional ki "place," which qualifies it (and its parallel kaskal), indirectly confirms that is not a dead metaphor. Since these genitive constructions are artificial and tautological, and since in the Old Babylonian period ki was the common euphemism for "netherworld," I infer that ki was added to the description kur-úr-ra, "foot of a mountain," because it contravenes the current belief that the netherworld is subterranean. Subsequently, ki was also added to kaskal in order to balance the parallelism.

§ 2. kur-ùn-na "high mountain"

In the Sumerian version of a Neo-Assyrian bilingual edition of Edina-usaĝake kur-BÀD-na designates the destination of the mother goddess when she mourns her son and explicitly wishes to follow him to the netherworld.<sup>11</sup> The Akkadian rendition *eršet mītūti* "land of the dead" confirms that the expression, indeed, describes the netherworld. However, the phonetic compliment /-na/ indicates that the reading is kur-ùn-na-šè,

10. SK 45. An Old Babylonian source, probably related to Edina-usaĝake. Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once . . . , Sumerian Poetry in Transliteration*, (New Haven and London, 1987), 84:383–84, henceforth *Harps*.

11. 4R 30, 2+Sm. 2148, line 24. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Vol. II (Bethesda, Md., CDL Press, 1988), 688: e+99. Henceforth *CLAM*.

which is translated in Akkadian as *šadû elû* "high mountain."<sup>12</sup> Apparently, the late redactor read the Sumerian *kur-uĝ<sub>5</sub>(BĀD)-na-šè*. His modification of the Sumerian utterly changed the original geographical image of the netherworld, and the reason is obvious: as in the case of the expression *kur-úr-ra*, the image of a real mountain stands in contradiction to the current belief that the hereafter was subterranean. By the reading *uĝ<sub>5</sub>* the scribe adapted the Sumerian source to the contemporary concept without much interference with the original phrasing. *kur-ùn-na* is analogous to the *kur-bàd-da* of the *eršemma* of *Ninĥursaĝa*. Since in both lamentations the *kur* was qualified by the adjective "high," rather than simply the standard term *kur*, we may infer that they pictured the netherworld as an actual mountain.

The sole Old Babylonian Sumerian copy of this passage is corrupt, and this line perhaps reads *kur-mud!-šè*.<sup>13</sup> This copy was not the source of the Neo-Assyrian version, it is probably corrupted, and it is difficult to reconstruct the change from *BĀD* to *mud*.<sup>14</sup> Unlike *ùn/elû* "high," *mud* / *damu*, *da'amu* or *palāĝu*<sup>15</sup> is indistinct with regard to the shape of the *kur* that it qualifies. "Bloody / dark / frightening *kur*" can describe not only the mountain as seen from afar in the evening twilight,<sup>16</sup> but also a subterranean netherworld. Considering the poetic nature of the text, the image of an actual mountain, reddening in the last rays of the sun, is possible. That interpretation is advocated by the previous, complementary parallel line 3 with *gaba-kur-ra-šè*, which states that the mother walks toward the edge of the mountain.

### § 3. *gaba-kur-ra* "edge of the mountain"

*gaba* "breast" is used in transferred meaning as a geographical term to signify the front edge of the feature it qualifies. In analogy to *gaba-ĥur-*

12. MSL 16, 277:149. For a discussion of this expression, see van Dijk, SGL II, 105 and Sjöberg, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1969) 57:30, henceforth TH.
13. SK 26 iv 4. Cohen, CLAM, 673 (Ms. A); Jacobsen, *Harpis*, 71. The reading *mud* was suggested to me by B. Alster after collation.
14. With the reading *ùn* for *BĀD*, the Sumerian of the Neo-Assyrian bilingual edition coincides with the phonetic complement /-na/ and results in an existing Sumerian expression. Therefore, the Neo-Assyrian edition mirrors an uncorrupted Sumerian source. An additional indication that the Old Babylonian SK 26 was not its source is 4R 30, 2:26 *i-si-iš-na-šè*, originally read *e<sub>4</sub>-urin(ŠEŠ)-na-šè*, as compared to SK 26 iv 5 *a-urin-a*. In view of SK 26 showing abundant phonetic readings and corruptions, we may speculate a chain of "corrections": *BĀD > BAD > múđ > mud*.
15. MSL 14, 293:(57)28'-(82)41'.
16. The line reads: *u<sub>4</sub>-zal u<sub>4</sub>-zal kur-mud!-š[è]* "The day is ebbing, the day is ebbing toward the...kur."

*saĝ-ĝa* "edge of the hills,"<sup>17</sup> *gaba-a* "waterfront," or *gaba-a-a-ba* "edge of the sea," "seashore," *gaba-kur-ra* means "edge of the mountain," that is the lower slope in front of the beholder. In these expressions *gaba* appears as a figure of speech, or rather makes a dead metaphor.<sup>18</sup> One section in *Edina-usaĝake* describes the mourning mother following her dead son, and recounts her wish to join him in the netherworld. Her destination, also according to the Neo-Assyrian bilingual edition, is *gaba-kur-ra*.<sup>19</sup> In SK 45:10 (§ 1) the place where the dead young god was standing when he reached the end of his road to the netherworld is *kur-úr-ra* "foot of the mountain." It appears, therefore, that *gaba-kur-ra* points to the same place, the lower part of the mountain at a level land, and that the two expressions are interchangeable. Thus, the episode features the living mother walking in the plain toward the *kur*, the place of her son, which is characterized by its topographical properties as a mountain rising in the open distance.

*gaba-kur-ra* is attested in *The Instructions of Šuruppak*, in a saying that plays on the different meanings of *kur*, and thereby conveys a multifar-

17. Michalowski, *LSUr*, line 36 (esp. ms. U) and Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, 34–35:44 (*Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*).
18. Comparable to "heart of the matter," "at the head of ...," "mouth of the river" etc.
19. SK 26 iv 3 and 4R 30, 2:22 (resp.). Note that in the Neo-Assyrian bilingual the subject of this passage is not the living mother who follows her son, but the dead god himself during his descent to the netherworld, and the scene occurs in a subterranean reality. The Akkadian translation is *irat erše[ti]*, in agreement with the conventional rendering of *kur* when it signifies "netherworld," although it was not transposed by the logogram KI. When *kur* was perceived as a mountain, even if cosmic or mythological, it was translated accordingly: the same expression was rendered *irat sadī* (KUR-i) in *Uruamirabi* (Cohen, CLAM, 563:144). For *kur* "mountain" in a context other than *gaba-kur-ra*, see also the bilingual hymn to Šamaš 5R 50:3–4 *kur-gal kur-idim šá-di-i ra-bi šá-ad nag-bi*. The conventional Akkadian counterpart to Sumerian *gaba* is *irtu*, see CAD I-J, 186–87. It was used also to qualify other names of the netherworld and to illustrate either the depth and firmness of foundations (of actual temples) or the ultimate dimensions in a bipolar pattern as opposed to heaven. The prepositional uses of *irtu* indicate that, in principle, the literal translation of Sumerian *gaba* retained its meaning, but it may vary according to the perspective of the beholder. The attestations in the Akkadian sources suggest that in combination with names of the netherworld it did not signify "front" as in Sumerian, but depth. In other words, the Akkadian perspective was vertical and, therefore, it can be applied also as a description of the foundations of a real temple. Thus, the translation of *gaba-kur-ra* is literal but the import is different. Both sources point to the netherworld, but in the Akkadian version it is a place name devoid of the topographical aspect, whereas the perspective of the original Sumerian was horizontal and, therefore, *gaba-kur-ra* describes the destination of a living mother as an actual mountain.

ious message.<sup>20</sup> Line 270 has *kaskal nu-zu gaba-kur-r[a-ka]* “Unknown road at the edge of the kur.” Since it is an expression of physical geography, it signifies “mountain” rather than “foreign country,” which is a term of political geography. Therefore, this phrase describes a feature of actual reality, a mountainous road. At the same time it echoes the above-mentioned passage in *Edina-usaḡake*, which in combination with *kaskal nu-zu* suggests a sub-layer of mythological sense alluding to the netherworld.<sup>21</sup> The next line 271: “gods of the kur are man-eaters (*lú-gu<sub>7</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>*),” reinforces the impression of an intentional double meaning, but with different symmetry. The negative characterization of the gods of the kur is primarily associative with the gods of the netherworld, or of foreign lands. A “mountain” is a topographical term, and therefore less likely to acquire qualitative properties as bad or good. *lú-gu<sub>7</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>* is suggestive of death, and it is also the attribute of the river of the netherworld in *Enlil and Ninlil* lines 93–94 and 98–99. It seems, therefore, that line 271 conveys a double meaning as well: on a level of actual reality it points to the foreign gods, and alludes to the gods of the netherworld on an additional mythological level. Line 272 rounds up the saying: “A house like (that of) men is not built (there), a city like (that of) men is not built (there).” The subject is the kur of the previous lines, and it refers to its civic character. The kur is devoid of houses and cities in contrast to the civilized Sumer. In this context kur can signify either “mountain” or “mountainous area,” the habitat of nomadic tribes that live at the periphery of civilization, or “netherworld.” It can hardly apply to foreign countries.

Line 270 is attested in *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave* as line 159,<sup>22</sup> and its message is also twofold: at the level of the plot, the hero acts in an actual geographical setting in the mountains area, but the figurative language is suggestive of the netherworld, and thus submits an additional level of mythological reality. The double meaning in both texts is the product of a

20. B. Alster, *Studies in Sumerian Proverbs* (Copenhagen, 1975), 137–38, lines 270–72; Wilcke, *ZA* 68(1978): 211. Lines 273–75 are too fragmentary to establish their meaning or association. Although line 269 is quoted with line 270 in *Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave* as lines 158–59 (Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, 79), it does not necessarily constitute a part of this saying.

21. See SK 26 vi line 3: *i-in-di i-in-di gaba-kur-ra-[šè]* together with line 7. *kaskal àm-ma-an-du til-til-le-šè*. In an *eršemma* of Gula *kaskal nu-zu* clearly refers to the netherworld, see Cohen, *eršemma*, 98:75 (no. 171).

22. Probably quoting the saying because of the previous line, see Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, 79:158–59. It is integrated into *Lugalbanda*’s prayer to Utu, to deliver him from death, in metaphors that can be applied to the netherworld as well as to actual dangerous mountainous area. The number of remarks loaded with double meaning of that sense scattered in the two *Lugalbanda* narratives is too many to count here.

symmetry between the meanings “mountain” and “netherworld.” Yet, to enrich a text with extra meaning kur alone would suffice, and, therefore, the preference of a geographical term *gaba-kur-ra* in the two texts suggests that the netherworld was perceived as an actual mountain.<sup>23</sup>

In the *balag Uruamirabi gaba-kur-ra* designates the origin of the aggressor who devastated Inanna’s temple.<sup>24</sup> The Old Babylonian source TCL 16, 68, rev. 1’ has [*mu-lu-lul-gaba*]-*kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>*, which the first-millennium bilingual edition rendered in Akkadian *sa-ar-ri šà i-rat šadī* (KUR-*i*) “a criminal of the edge of the mountain.” The variant of the Old Babylonian source NCBT 688, line 112b *lú-la-ga-kúr-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>* is probably secondary.<sup>25</sup> A *balag* is not an historical document, but considering the generic characteristics and the context, *gaba-kur-ra* makes good geographical sense in pointing to the origin of the invading enemy in the mountains. An additional reference to the origin of the aggressor appears five lines below: *kaskal-mà [li-bi]-ir-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> ág mu-ni-in-gi<sub>4</sub>-ra* (TCL 16, 68 r. 6’), rendered in Akkadian [*ina ha-ra*]-*ni-ia hab-bat šadī* (KUR-*i*) *i-duk-ku* (r. 35–36).<sup>26</sup> The descriptions of the aggressor combine the terms *kaskal*, *kur* and *gaba-kur-ra*, reverberating the two texts that I discussed above, the episode in *Edina-usaḡake* SK 26 iv 1–9 and *The Instructions of Šuruppak* line 270.<sup>27</sup> And that the aggressor is *libir* “herald” would

23. Note the possible parallel between *gaba-kur-ra* and *gaba-ḫur-saḡ-ḡá* in *Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave* (Wilcke, *Lugalbanda*, 35: 43–44). Quite curiously, the next line 45 has *ḫar-ra-an i-zu-ne* “they knew the road,” as opposed to the saying.

24. Cohen, *CLAM*, 563:144(112). The Old Babylonian source is reconstructed according to the first-millennium bilingual edition: Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 33 (1936): 101–11, r. 26. The sign *kur* is very clear.

25. Cohen, *CLAM*, 544. Although “hostile criminal” makes perfect sense, the meaning is awkward because *kúr* is an adjective and, therefore, the genitive suffix /*ak*/ is out of place. Also note that this source is consistent in the use of *kúr*, and the application of the genitive suffix: so also line 117a with *li-bi-ir-kúr-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>*, as opposed to *li-bi-ir-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>* of both TCL 16, 68 and the bilingual version. Line 117a structurally parallels line 112 with *lú-la-ga-kúr-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>*, which in turn parallels structurally *gaba-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>* of the other sources. Since, however, *kúr* is an adjective, the genitive suffix /*ak*/ in 112 and 117a is plethoric. In 117b *li-bi-ir-gi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na-ke<sub>4</sub>* can be rendered “herald of the night,” but TCL 16, 68 r. 7’ has *gi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na-ka* “herald at night.” It is possible, therefore, that the variant *kúr* is a later change; that the genitive suffix in 112 should be traced to the original *gaba-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>*, and that in 117a+b it was added to perfect the parallelism.

26. NCBT 688:117 has *li-bi-ir-kúr-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>*. A parallel passage in the unpublished source CBS 11396 iv 2–10 also has *kur*, see Cavigneaux, *JAOIS* 113 (1993): 255 n. 1. At face value this parallel may point to the version of TCL 16 as original against NCBT 688, which consistently has *kúr* instead of *kur*.

27. *The Instructions of Šuruppak*, 270: *kaskal nu-zu gaba-kur-r[a-ka]*; SK 26 iv 1–9. describes the mourning mother walking to the netherworld in order to join her dead

seem strange, unless it is linked with Edina-usaġake as well. The episode SK 26 iii 6–19 describes the mother's intention to stand at the gate of the Libira and complain about the loss of her son. All the Akkadian versions of this passage render *libir* by *gallû*, which indicates that he was regarded as the murderer of the young god.<sup>28</sup>

The plot of Edina-usaġake charged the three terms *gaba-kur-ra*, *libir*, and also *kaskal* with distinct religious nuance. Therefore, the connotations to Edina-usaġake enrich the Sumerian version of the *balag* with theological qualities, and endow this passage with a mythological dimension beyond the direct geographical sense. The plain literal level localizes the origin of the aggressor in the mountain region beyond the northeastern borders of Sumer. But the same terms associate him with the killer of the young god, and by implication with the dangerous evil powers of the netherworld. The mythological perspective is rather significant because the theme of the *balag*, the devastation of Inanna's temple, provokes a theological problem. Therefore, I assume that the duality of meaning was intentional. The Akkadian translation, however, discharged the demonic aspect from the image of the aggressor: *irat šadî* rather than *irat eršeti*, and particularly *ħabbât šadî*, rather than *gallû ša eršeti*.<sup>29</sup> Thereby, it dismissed the theological significance of the text, and retained only the geographical sense, as if relating an historical event. That the Old Babylonian copy NBCT 688 replaced *kur* with *kûr* suggests the opposite purpose: it dismissed the actual geographical indication, and the allusions to Edina-usaġake and retained the demonic aspect by means of the adjective "hostile."

son. In line 3 she goes to *gaba-kur-ra-šè* and in line 7 to *kaskal àm-ma-an-du til-til-le-šè* "to the road that finishes the one who walks it."

28. In the lamentation literature *libir* was usually rendered by Akkadian *gallû*, see M.K. Schretter, *Emesal-Studien* (Innsbruck, 1990), 203. This episode, however, takes place in an actual geographical setting, "In Girsu, at the bank of the Euphrates," at the city gate where public affairs were traditionally handled and justice carried out. The *libir* is not mentioned among the seven evil spirits of the netherworld, and the passage refers to the actual city official, describing the demand of the mother to receive the body in order to perform the proper funerary ritual. Therefore, the identification with the *gallû* is the result of later interpretation. Note that in 4R 30, 11–35 (the Neo-Assyrian bilingual edition of SK 26 iv 1–9) the scene was transformed from a description of the mother walking from Sumer to the netherworld to the dead son descending into the netherworld, namely from a horizontal to a vertical perspective.
29. Because the meaning *ħabbātu* is hapax legomenon, especially that the same *balag* renders *gallû* in line 63, see Cohen, *CLAM*, 561 (LKU 14, ii 11). These translations indicate that the redactor deliberately avoided the specific mythological connotations. For the same reason he also translated *kur* with *šadû*.

#### § 4. *dûr-kur-ra* "bottom of the netherworld"

*dûr-kur-ra* is attested only in *Gilgameš Enkidu and the Netherworld* line 164.<sup>30</sup> The hoop and the stick fell into bottom of the netherworld (*dûr-kur-ra-šè ba-an-da-šub*).<sup>31</sup> After Gilgameš failed to retrieve the objects he sat down crying at the place where they disappeared: "At the gate of Ganzir, the front of the netherworld he (Gilgameš) sat down. Gilgameš shed tears and turned pale" (ll. 167–68).<sup>32</sup> The event took place in Uruk, and therefore Ganzir faced the surface of earth, separating it from the netherworld.<sup>33</sup> Since *šub* signifies a vertical movement, the netherworld was under the ground of Uruk, probably under the surface of the earth to its whole extent.<sup>34</sup> In view of the subterranean location *kur* must be a name of the netherworld, rather than "mountain" in this Old Babylonian text. It is possible that *dûr* points to the bottom of a multi-levelled netherworld. Such a speculation finds expression in some first-millennium texts. However, it seems to me that *dûr-kur-ra* intends to round out the motion in *šub*. Thereby it adds a sense of dimension, the immense depth of the netherworld, comparable to the Akkadian application of *irat eršetim*, which describes the depth of actual foundations of a temple.<sup>35</sup>

#### § 5. *kur-šà-ga* "in the midst of the mountains"

The attestations of *kur-šà-ga* in a variety of texts, describing historical as well as mythological realities, imply that it was a common geographical

30. A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963), henceforth *GEN*.
31. For the different interpretations of *pukku* and *mekkû*, see: CAD M/2, 7, s.v. *mekkû*; AHw 878; B. Groneberg, *RA* 81 (1987): 121–23; A. Kilmer, "A Note on an Overlooked Word-Play in the Akkadian Gilgameš," in *Fs. Kraus*, eds. G. van Driel et al. (Leiden 1982), 129–30; Th. Jacobsen "The Gilgameš Epic and Tragic Vision," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (Atlanta, Ga., 1990), 234 n. 7.
32. The subject is Gilgameš, not the hoop and the stick, because *dûr-ġar* "take a seat" applies to people and not to objects. In addition, it is constructed with the third-person sg. pronoun /-n-/(not the plural /-b-/).
33. In addition to *GEN* in the literary texts, Ganzir is attested only in *Inanna's Descent (ID)*, but there are some indications for intertextuality, and that *GEN* depends on *ID*. That both Gilgameš and Inanna acted in Uruk does not immediately mean that Ganzir was a spot in Uruk. More probable it is a general name for the partition between the world of the living and the realm of the dead.
34. The idea that it was just under Uruk is inconceivable and, therefore, I assume that it describes the particular case of Gilgameš according to the common conception.
35. The expression corresponds antithetically to the description of Gilgameš's attempt to retrieve the object with his limbs. Since it is unique, perhaps it was fashioned *ad hoc* for that literary purpose.



expression.<sup>36</sup> It is used in the statement concluding a poetic description of a funerary ritual, known as “The GIR<sub>5</sub> and the ki-sikil.”<sup>37</sup> After the ritual that enables the spirit of the messenger to find rest in the netherworld, the performer says (ll. 48–49): im ì-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub> im ba-ra-è / kaš<sub>4</sub>-mu kur-ra kur-šà-ba šu ba-an ḥúb<sup>38</sup> ba-ná. “The spirit has entered, the spirit has departed / My messenger in the kur; in the midst of the kur he was whirling, he is lying (now in rest).”<sup>39</sup> In view of the different meanings of kur, the problem here is twofold: what is the meaning of kur in kur-ra, and in kur-šà-ga “mountain,” “hostile land” or “netherworld”?

Since “mountain” defines a bulky protruding geographical element, not a vaulted space as an imaginary inner contour of a mountain might look like, this text does not suggest a morphological image of the netherworld. Here kur-šà-ga signifies either “in the netherworld,” or “in a for-

eign land,” or “in the midst of the mountain area” depends on the literary and structural interpretation of this compound phrase.<sup>40</sup>

§ 6. ganzir (IGI.KUR.ZA), ḥilib (IGI.KUR) “front of the netherworld”

These two terms are best known from the lexical texts and from Mari.<sup>41</sup> With obvious association to the netherworld they are attested only in two Sumerian literary texts, *Inanna's Descent* (henceforth: *ID*) and *Gilgameš*,

36. Cf. *Enmerkar and Ensuḫešdanna* line 43; *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* lines 185–86; Proverb 2.149; ASKT 21, r. 12–13 with the Akkadian translation *ina qereb šadī*.
37. S.N. Kramer, “The GIR<sub>5</sub> and the ki-sikil: A New Sumerian Elegy,” in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J.J. Finkelstein*, ed. M. de Jong (Hamden, 1977), 139–42; B. Alster “Edin-na ú-saḡ-ḡā: Reconstruction, History and Interpretation of a Sumerian Lament” in *Keilschriftliche Literaturen, CRRAI XXXII*, eds. K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld (Berlin 1986), 27–31. For further discussion of the ritual, see my article in *RA* 93 (1999): 107–18.
38. I thank B. Jagersma for collating the tablet. In TIM 9, 15:10, which repeats line 6, Alster reads BALAG and leaves it untranslated, but this reading is doubtful. Kramer reads tún (ḤÚB), to be read tu<sub>10</sub>, and translates: “My GIR<sub>5</sub> was struck down in the mountain, in the heart of the mountain, (and now) he lies (dead).” This interpretation is possible, for it refers to the circumstances of death and the place of the body. It is supported by the distinction between im and gidim, the first defines the soul that leaves the body, and the second is the spirit that lives in the netherworld, see Wilcke, “König Šulgis Himmelfahrt” in *Fs. Vajda*, 254. It seems to me, however, that since the theme of the text is the ritual, the conclusion should be directly relevant to it and refer to the situation of the messenger as a result of the ritual. As for the verb šu-tu<sub>10</sub>, there is no other attestation of it in the extant sources. In addition, while the verb tu<sub>10</sub> is usually intransitive, in compound verbs such as saḡ-tu<sub>10</sub> it appears as transitive active, see references in Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, p. 106. Therefore, a compound verb šu-tu<sub>10</sub> does not really fit this context. Considering the nature of the ritual and the place of this statement at its conclusion, I assume that it describes the spirit of the dead messenger, not the circumstances of his death and, therefore, I suggest the reading ḥúb in šu-ḥúb sâru “whirl.” Compare Erimḫuš II:244, MSL 17, p. 40 and Civil, “The Home of the Fish,” *Iraq* 23 (1961): 163:89. Consequently, the phrase describes the situation of the spirit immediately before the ritual and its situation after it.
39. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, “La passion du dieu Lillu,” *RA* 19 (1922): 175–84, line 55. Note, however, the difference! In the ritual for Lulil the spirit is merely released, whereas here it first had to enter and then it departed. Thus, this line marks the cardinal difference between the two rituals: Lulil's is a burial ritual whereas the messenger's ritual is not related to a funeral, neither in space nor in time.

40. I assume that the closure summarizes the text, and restates the condition of the messenger before and after the ritual. Since the ritual aims at the eternal rest of the spirit in the netherworld, I assume that kur-ra is “netherworld.” If kur-šà-ga is in apposition to kur-ra, then it was not used in its actual geographical sense, but as an extended form of kur-ra meaning “in(side) the netherworld.” It means that before the ritual, the spirit was already in the realm of the dead. If kur-šà-ga is in parenthesis, signifying actual reality as a complementary comment “in the netherworld, in the midst of the mountains,” it leads to the same conclusion, because both geographical indications are the objects of the same verb. This interpretation is tempting because it offers a proximity between the netherworld and the mountainous area, suggesting that the netherworld was part of it. Since such a belief was already expressed in Edina-usaḡake and the eršemma of Ninḫursaḡa (see §§ 1–3), we may deduce that also this composition is based on tradition that originated from the same old concept of the netherworld. Subject matter as well as cases of intertextuality indicate that Edina-usaḡake and the eršemma of Ninḫursaḡa are related to one another and to “The GIR<sub>5</sub> and the ki-sikil.” It is demonstrated in TIM 9, 15 lines 22'ff., which parallels the beginning of Edina-usaḡake, see Alster, *ibid.* 29–30. The literary relation of Edina-usaḡake and the eršemma of Ninḫursaḡa is made manifest by a common passage that describes the mother searching for her son.

The third option is that line 49 is a compound sentence of which the second clause does not follow the first, but is inserted inside it. In that case line 49 should be read: “My messenger was whirling in the midst of the mountains, and now he lies in the netherworld.” As two separate clauses each linked to another verb, kur-šà-ga conveys its common actual geographical meaning “in the midst of the mountains,” which is not identical to kur-ra. These places may be perceived either as completely separated—a remote place in the mountains where the spirit roams unattended; or closely related—the general area of the netherworld in the mountains region. It seems to me that literary considerations are also in favor of this option. The structure of the phrase corresponds with the high poetical quality of the text and enhances it: the division into two clauses unfolds a play on the different meanings of kur, and on the contrasting meanings of the verbs (to whirl as opposed to lie in rest); and the chiasmic order of the clauses creates a strong dramatic effect that concludes the poem with an emotional climax. Thus, the final statement of the composition describes the state of the spirit immediately before and after the ritual and, thereby, it fully summarizes the theme.

41. For the references to the lexical texts, see W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Eisenbrauns, 1998), 268–70. For Mari, see J.-M. Durand “Trois études sur Mari,” *Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires* 3 (1984), 127–79.



*Enkidu and the Netherworld (GEN)*.<sup>42</sup> In both texts they signify the entry to the realm of the dead.

There is no satisfactory explanation for the etymology of the reading ganzir. A popular assumption is that ganzir is a frozen nominal form of the verb *zé.r* (*neḫešû*) with the prefix /ga-/, originally meaning "I shall destroy/break/slip."<sup>43</sup> That not the reading, but the writing IGI.KUR actually expresses the literal meaning of the word suggests that it is a foreign name. Therefore, a more likely suggestion was offered by E. George, that ganzir is a Proto-Euphratic name similar to Zimbir, Tintir, Kingir etc.<sup>44</sup> More than the similarity in type, it would explain the meaningful Sumerian writing as opposed to the reading.<sup>45</sup> In analogy, ḫilib should also be a foreign name. Its writing suggests a semantic proximity to ganzir as well as a deviation from it. A drawback is that unless ganzir and ḫilib were an addition to an already existing corpus of names, it might mean that the Sumerians did not have an equivalent appellation. Note, therefore, the non-Sumerian name of the gate-keeper Bitu, which derives from the Semitic root *petû*. In both texts ḫilib appears as a variant of ganzir, but the difference in writing and reading implies that originally they were separate

42. In *Inanna and Enki* line 41 (G. Farber-Flügge, 1973, 92–93 and 220) *é-ga-an-zé-er* is a place name on Inanna's route from Eridu to Uruk, and the identification with ganzir as related to the netherworld is neither certain nor self-evident. In Šulgi U: 11, an adab-hymn to Nergal, the reading ganzir is a reconstruction by van Dijk in SGL II, 13–15.
43. See especially van Dijk, op. cit., 139. It is supported by a group of finite Sumerian verbs that function as nouns, of which those with the prefix /ga-/ are particularly common, MSL 13, 163–66 (IZI V). However, ganzir is not included in this list. Moreover, all the listed Sumerian words show a semantic link between their verbal root and the corresponding Akkadian translation. The verbal root /zé.r/ has no connection with death, and none of the Akkadian renderings of ganzir relates to the Sumerian verb /zé.r/. As a finite verb *ba-an-zé-er* "slip into the grave" occurs twice in a simple figurative speech, but not in a semantic connection of the verb /zé.r/ with death: "A Prayer Letter to Enki" line 24. ... *ki-túm-mu ba-an-zé-er*, Hallo, in Speiser AV (AOS 53 [1968]), 71–89, and *The Death of Dumuzi* line 40. *kur ki-in-dar-ḡá ḡiri ḡá ba-an-zé-er*, Kramer, *AnSt* 30 (1980): 5–13. Also, the distribution of /zé.r/ indicates a clear distinction between the finite forms, including those in the precativ, and ganzir, which is always written with the Sumerogram IGI.KUR.ZA. An additional difficulty is that the lexical texts write *ga-an-zèr* (not /zé.r/).
44. *Iraq* 48(1986): 136<sup>5</sup> with reference to Landsberger, "Three Essays on the Sumerians," introduction and translation by M. def. Ellis, *SM, Monographs on the Ancient Near East* 1/2 (Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1974).
45. Unlike the reading, the writing of pre-Sumerian place names (or, as Landsberger; Proto-Euphratic op. cit. p. 9) has a meaning in Sumerian, i.e., Urim - ŠEŠ.AB = the city of Nanna; Zabalam - MUŠ.AB = the city of Inanna; Larsa - UD.AB = the city of Utu; Nippur - ENLIL<sup>ki</sup> etc.

terms. Since the etymology of these terms has not been established yet we have to assume that the writing represents the meaning. Whether the terms signify a part of the netherworld, a palace or a gate, or a name of the netherworld<sup>46</sup> is beyond the scope of this article. With regard to morphology they mark the place of contact between the world of the living and the realm of the dead. *GEN* is later than *ID* and depends on it literarily. However, in *GEN* ganzir is in Uruk but in *ID* it is at the end of Inanna's walk to the netherworld. It seems, therefore, that *GEN* reflects a notion that the netherworld is right under Sumer (or the surface of the earth to its full extent), while according to *ID* it is in the mountains outside the borders of Sumer.

### § 7. *The Journey to the Afterworld in Relation to the Surface of the Earth*

The location of the afterworld in space can be evaluated by the verbs of movement in a given direction. In fact, all the verbs for movement toward the afterworld can depict a movement downward. Thus *šub* "fall," *dé* "pour," *bal* "libate" are definitely directed downward, indicating that the afterworld is subterranean, hence a netherworld. The verb *è* "go out" generates the image of a closed space, and is applicable for any direction. When it describes the evil spirits leaving the afterworld through the grave, the direction is upward. *ḡen* "walk" is neutral with regard to direction or space, and *e<sub>11</sub>* denotes a movement along a vertical axis in two directions, "ascend" and "descend." In conjunction with *kur* "afterworld" the direction of *ḡen* and *e<sub>11</sub>* in space depends on the specific context.

*ḡen* is the most common verb for the journey to the afterworld. In a broad sense it signifies walking in general, as in *ID*: 227, where Enki sends the *kur-ḡar-ra* and the *gala-tur-ra* to rescue Inanna from the netherworld: *ḡen-ne-an-zé-en ḡiri kur-šè ná-ba-an-zé-en* "Go, set your foot toward the netherworld." In an incantation against evil spirits the netherworld stands in parallel to "dark place" and, therefore, the same verb describes going down: *ki-ùr kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> / kúkku-zu ḡen-ba* "Go to your darkness, at the base of the netherworld."<sup>47</sup> Yet, in the liturgical lament *Edina-usaḡake* the mourning mother goddess walks from her city in Sumer to the netherworld, which is described in terms of an actual mountain (§ 3 above) and, therefore, the direction is horizontal: *SK 26 iv 3. i-in-di i-in-di gaba-kur-ra-[šè]* "She goes,<sup>48</sup> she goes toward the edge of the mountain." Like the description of *Ninḫursaḡa* (§ 1 above) searching

46. Note that except for *ID*:73 and 120, and *GEN*:167 and 180 these texts employ the term *kur* for "netherworld."

47. *Udughul* Old Babylonian line 854.

48. *di* is Emesal for *ḡen*.

for her dead son in the marshes of southern Sumer approaching the mountain (ba-te), the materials of the episode suggest a perspective taken from inside Sumer horizontally toward the northeast.

Both verbs outline Inanna's journey to the netherworld in one couplet: *ID*:32–33. u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè e<sub>11</sub>-dè-en // u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè ġen-na-mu-dè "If I will descend to the netherworld // After I had walked to the mountain."<sup>49</sup> The linear development of the plot, on the one hand, and the detailed accounts that charge it with dramatic impulse, on the other, suggest that the choice of verbs is intended to make clear that Inanna moved vertically after she had walked horizontally.<sup>50</sup> The change of verbs creates a sense of exactness, and implies that Inanna's course was essential to this myth. What was her course?

Literary considerations indicate that the list of temples at the beginning of the myth does not delineate her itinerary, and that she did not descend in the vicinity of Kutha.<sup>51</sup> The story of Inanna's journey to the netherworld and her miraculous rescue by Enki is probably an indepen-

dent myth.<sup>52</sup> In essence, it communicates the circumstances of her disappearance from sight and reappearance later. kur-e<sub>11</sub>-dè in Inanna's list of me hints that it was periodical.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, I assume that it evolved from Inanna's astral aspect as the planet Venus, describing her cycle in the sky when it is best seen from Earth, and her heliacal disappearance.<sup>54</sup> On that background the change of verbs would not seem a literary embellishment, but a factual description essential to the story. When Inanna departs on her journey to the netherworld she is shining as the evening-star in the sky, moving horizontally (ġen) westward toward the top of faraway, perhaps the legendary mountains in the (north)west.<sup>55</sup> In the west Venus becomes invisible, to reappear some days later as the morning-star in the east. Accordingly, when Inanna reaches the western mountains, telling the gate-keeper that she goes eastward (ll. 81–82), she negotiates her way in. Then, from the top of the mountain she descends (e<sub>11</sub>) and disappears from the eye until Enki comes to her rescue, and his plan is implemented. Eventually the planet rises again (e<sub>11</sub>) and reappears above the peaks of the mountain range in the east, as Inanna told the gate-keeper.

49. The couplet was structured as a parallelism based on resonance but the import of each member does not create any sort of semantic parallelism. I assume that the change of verbs is significant (see n. 50), and also a play on the word kur. This couplet forms the introduction to the instructions she gave to Ninšubur, and the episode took place when Inanna was still walking on her way to the netherworld. The need for instructions indicates that Inanna was not sure of the success of her plan. The introduction describes two consecutive actions that would occur later but in an inverted order: the first verb, e<sub>11</sub>-dè-en in line 32 is prospective, the action would begin after the action of the second verb, in line 33 ġen-na-mu-dè would be completed. Since the descent depends on the completion of the walk, ud-a "on the day" in line 32 signifies condition, but in line 33 it signifies "after" and ġen-na-mu-dè has the subordinate element. Since these are two consecutive actions, described by different verbs of different direction in space, I favor the possibility that also the destination of the action is different, and it plays on the different meanings of kur, that in line 33 it means "mountain" rather than "netherworld."

50. ġen is used only in the episode of Inanna's instructions to Ninšubur in lines 26–27. Since her destination was known, one single verb would suffice to describe the passage to the netherworld, cf. the neutral ġen in the journey of the mourning mother in Edina usaġake or the protagonists of *Enlil and Ninlil*, and the eršemma of Ninhursaġa, where the movement is depicted by te "approach." Therefore, the use in *ID* of two different verbs must be intentional. The significance of the variance is also demonstrated by line 32 with kur-šè e<sub>11</sub>-dè-en as compared to lines 4–13 with kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>. Both clauses describe the same action, but in line 32 the speaker is Inanna, talking from the perspective of her horizontal course toward Ganzir and, therefore, the terminative suffix /-šè/ and the verbal form express a prospect in the future. The purpose of lines 4–13 is different; here the narrator introduces the theme of the myth, Inanna's intention and its consequences. Therefore, his perspective is the location of the events, indicated by the locative suffix /-a/ and the verbal form of an action in the past.

51. The reasons are discussed in my article in *ZA* 85 (1995): 226, n. 13.

52. That the death of Dumuzi is an independent myth in which Inanna was not involved does not need any proof. The composition of *ID* from two independent myths, one of Dumuzi's death and another about Inanna's disappearance and re-emergence, combined as cause and effect into one plot is explained in my article in *Acta Sum* 18 (1996): 93–102.

53. G. Farber-Flügge, *Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki" unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me* (Rome, 1973), 54:19–20.

54. On the cycle of Venus, see E. Reiner and D. Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part One. The Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa* (Malibu, Calif., 1975). Venus' cycle is about 584 days, and during this period it is visible twice. On its farthest distance from earth Venus disappears in the east for a couple of months and reappears in the west. But when Venus is close to Earth, she disappears in the west, remains invisible for three days in the winter and two weeks when it occurs in the summer, and then reappears in the east. When Inanna identifies herself to the gate-keeper in *ID*:81–82, saying that she is going to the east, it coincides with this position of Venus, and can be best explained on that astronomical background (on the level of the plot it means that Inanna answered him honestly).

55. Admittedly there is a problem here, because the western horizon of Sumer was not mountainous. Therefore, one may argue that kur in line 33 is "netherworld," which, however, would empty the couplet in lines 32–33 of any literary meaning. I refrain from speculation over the knowledge of Mesopotamian geography that the Sumerians had before the middle of the third millennium. From a literary point of view, thematic as well as structural, there is a symmetry between Inanna's descent and her ascent and, therefore, in principle also between Inanna the morning-star and Inanna the evening-star. Since her reappearance as the morning-star over the top of the mountains on the northeastern horizon is comparable to her ascent from the netherworld, I assume that her descent was analogous to her ascent and, therefore, that Inanna's disappearance as the evening-star was also believed to occur at the top of the mountains.

Inanna, indeed, descended, but not from the flat landscape of Sumer but from the sky. This we can already infer from the introduction to the myth (ll. 4–13) where the repetitive kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub> with the locative means that she descended “in the mountains,” rather than “to the netherworld,” which requires the terminative. Whether she went on below the ground is not sure and, therefore, this myth does not demonstrate unequivocally the belief that the afterworld was under the ground.<sup>56</sup> It seems more likely that the myth links with the older horizontal perspective of the cosmos, and shares the geographical concept of the afterworld that is reflected by Edina-usaḡake and the eršemma of Ninḫursaḡa. Namely, that the afterworld is at the foot of a mountain (kur-úr-ra) beyond the north-eastern horizon of Sumer. Therefore, in contrast to the young dying god and his mother who left from their city in Sumer and walked (ḡen) horizontally on level land toward the afterworld at the foot of the mountain, Inanna left from the sky and, thus, had to descend to the same place.

#### § 8. Why Was the Afterworld Signified by “Mountain”?

The shape of the sign kur indicates that basically it expresses the idea of mountain. Yet, the word “mountain” is also expressed by ḫur-saḡ without further meanings or connotations. In analogy to ḫur-saḡ, therefore, the additional meanings of kur “foreign land” and “afterworld” imply that it was not merely a geographical term, but a geographical concept wide enough to express all three ideas. The essence of kur presents itself when we compare it with the concept of kalam.<sup>57</sup> Although the shape of its sign cannot be interpreted in palpable terms like kur, the concrete geographical term kalam denotes the heartland of Sumer, and the same sign in the reading ùḡ signifies its population. The pair kur-kalam constitutes diametrically opposed ideas: each sign has two clear antithetically parallel senses. In the geo-physical reality kalam is a level land as opposed to kur the mountainous area, and in the geo-political reality kalam is “my land”

(Sumer) as opposed to kur “foreign land.”<sup>58</sup> Therefore, the distinct meanings “foreign land” and “mountain” form two aspects of a single geographical concept. In addition, we notice that the texts connote a positive attitude toward kalam in contrast to an inimical outlook on kur. The negative disposition is probably the origin of the nuance “hostile foreign land” in the semantic field of kur.

The complexity of the bipolar concept kur-kalam is also applicable to the meaning “afterworld.” Since the distinction between mythological and actual realities is modern, and the Sumerian perceived mythological events as actual,<sup>59</sup> it seems to me possible that the contrasting notion kur-kalam was applied also for the reality that we define as mythological.

All the descriptions of the afterworld were composed by inhabitants of Sumer, whose perspective is from kalam. Therefore, the bipolar antithesis kur-kalam also epitomizes the axiomatic binary opposition between the domains of the ghosts and the living beings.<sup>60</sup> The symmetry kur-kalam // afterworld-Sumer suggests the possibility that the meaning “Afterworld” was originally identical to the meanings “mountain” and “foreign land.” In cosmological terms the bipolar opposition kur-kalam demonstrates a horizontal perspective of the world.

With the expansion of the geographical horizons of the Sumerians, during the middle of the third millennium, the binary opposition kur-kalam lost ground. The mountain region became accessible to the Sumerians, and the kur became more familiar and less mysterious. It was partly incorporated into the geographical boundaries of kalam, which could no longer signify the former geo-physical and political unity and retain the full antithetical symmetry with kur. Subsequently, the components of the

56. Compare *Inanna and Šukaletuda* lines 4–5, 15–18, which employs the text of *ID*, but since the myth deals with a different objective of Inanna’s activity, the movement is in the opposite direction, up the mountain. Following my interpretation that *ID* proposes an explanation for the invisibility of the planet Venus, it is possible that *Inanna and Šukaletuda* suggests a reason for her shining in the sky.

57. The most comprehensive study of kur and kalam is G. Steiner, “Der Gegensatz ‘Eigenes Land’: ‘Ausland, Fremdland, Feindland’ in der Vorstellungen des Alten Orients,” in *Mesopotamien und Seine Nachbarn. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien* (Berlin 1982), 633–64 (CRRALXXVe), eds. H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger. See also H. Limet, *RA* 72 (1978): 6–12; C. Wilcke in *Moran AV*, 470–71. Jacobsen in *AfO* 26 (1978/79): 9 maintained that kalam is synonymous to ki-en-gi(r).

58. The binary opposition kur-kalam, mountain versus Sumer, is illustrated in the introductory section of *Inanna and Šukaletuda*: Inanna went up the kur to have a better look at the kalam, to be able to distinguish between the good man and the bad. For the opposition Sumer - foreign land, see Šulgi A line 91 (Klein, Šulgi, 200).

59. Thus, for example, the description of Ninḫursaḡa searching for her son in the marshes is reminiscent of the landscape in southern Mesopotamia, as is the description of Lisin lamenting for her son who was drowned in the river (Kramer, “Lisin, The Weeping Mother-Goddess: A New Sumerian Lament,” in *Fs. Kraus* (Leiden 1982), 133–44. A vivid example for the perception of mythological and actual as one undivided reality is *The Death of Urnamma* (Urnamma A). When the connotation required simply “mountain,” the purely geographical term ḫur-saḡ was applied.

60. Therefore, we would also not expect an entry kalam-eršet baltūti in a bilingual text. kalam occurs a few times in Urnamma A (ll. 23, 40 and 72), because the text describes his death, journey to the netherworld, and its implication for Sumer. We cannot safely state that kalam in line 72 was intentionally contrasted with kur in line 73.

concept kur did no longer harmonize, and presumably then split into three distinct meanings. In the meaning "afterworld" kur became merely a name of the afterworld, devoid of geo-morphological properties. Owing to conservatively transmitted Sumerian liturgical laments the earlier image can be traced.<sup>61</sup>

Considering the common burial practice, it is not surprising that the prevailing geographical concept placed the afterworld under the ground as a netherworld. Thereby the mythological geographical reality of the realm of the dead adapted to the human experience in actual reality. In cosmological terms it signifies a shift from a horizontal to a vertical world vision. The history of the vertical world view and its chronological relation to the horizontal cannot be determined, since all the Sumerian sources are known from Old Babylonian copies and we have no written descriptions of the beliefs among the non-Sumerian habitants of southern Mesopotamia.<sup>62</sup>



## LITERARY WORKS FROM THE COURT OF KING ISHBI-ERRA OF ISIN

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IT IS A PLEASURE to present this small token of appreciation to Jacob Klein, who has spent much of his career working on the poems of King Shulgi of Ur. I expect he will not hold it against me that my offering concerns the literary works written in the name of Ishbi-Erra, ruler of Isin, the man who played a crucial role in the fall of the dynasty ruled by Shulgi's descendants.

The impact of the fall of the Ur III dynasty has loomed large in the historical literature on ancient Mesopotamia. Such events have complex social, political, and ideological consequences, but the manner in which this particular state-collapse resonated in various places and at various social levels is simply unrecoverable. Methodological problems aside, there is little direct information on the process that led to the fall of the city of Ur in approximately 2000 B.C.E., and even less documentation on the immediate aftermath of the event, although none of this has hindered modern speculations, speculations that have often been rewritten as received knowledge. The modern myth of the fall has derived from two unrelated sources: ancient writings such the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* or the *Royal Correspondence of Ur*, and from individual scholarly speculations on the very essence of the Ur III state and opinions on the nature of societal collapse. The *Lamentation* is a highly ideological document, composed sometime during the time of the Isin dynasty and is primarily aimed at the legitimization of the Isin kings, who often portrayed themselves as the proper successors of the kings of Ur (Hallo 1963, Klein 1990). The primary message of this text, one shared by such texts as the *Tummal Chronicle* and the Old Babylonian version of the *Sumerian King List*, is the notion that Isin was the legitimate, divinely sanctioned successor to the Third Dynasty of Ur. The *Correspondence* is known from copies that were made hundreds of years after they were allegedly composed, and includes a small set of

61. The comparison between the Old Babylonian copy of Edina usaĝake (SK 26) and the Neo-Assyrian bilingual edition (4R 30,2) reveals that the plot was updated later.

62. The non-Sumerian word ganzir and the Semitic name of the gate-keeper Bitu point to different visions of the afterworld, but do not enable us to describe them.

selected letters that have a bearing on the last decades of the Ur III dynasty. The choice of texts and the manner in which they were reworked had a significant impact on how these letters were read in antiquity and in modern times. The authenticity of these letters is much in doubt, compounding the historiographic problems that surround them.

The main documentation of the first decades of the Isin dynasty is found in a limited archive of texts from the reigns of Ishbi-Erra and his successor Shu-ilishu (Ferwerda 1985, van de Mieroop 1987, 1994). Although none of these tablets was properly excavated, internal evidence strongly suggests that they came from an office or workshop in the city of Isin that was centered on a circumscribed set of crafts, primarily leather working. This archive, as well as a small group of economic texts excavated from the TB area of Nippur from the reigns of Ishbi-Erra, Shu-ilishu, and Iddin-Dagan (van de Mieroop 1986), demonstrate that the political and military complexities of the times apparently did not disrupt normal economic activity to any large degree.

Historical information can also be cautiously garnered from the year names and votive inscriptions of the first Isin ruler. Recently Douglas Frayne (1990) has offered a lengthy discussion of these, and I will only refer to them briefly here. It is interesting—both as an example of self-promotion on the local level, as well as on the broader stage of year name usage—that the new king built fortresses named in his own honor in the Akkadian language. Already Shu-Sin had renamed the *bād ma-da*, built by Shulgi, as *Murīq-Tidnim*, “(The Fortifications) That Keep the Tidnum Amorites at Bay.” His successor Ibbi-Sin reverted to the older tradition, and named all his monumental constructions in Sumerian, but Ishbi-Erra used the Akkadian language for his buildings. He rebuilt the walls of Isin and named them *Idil-pa-šunu*, and founded new forts that he called *Libur Išbi-Erra*, *Eštar tarâm Išbi-Erra*, and *Išbi-Erra rīm Enlil*, that is “Let I. Prevail!,” “Eshtar Loves I.,” and “I. Is the Beloved of Enlil.”<sup>1</sup>

There is still another set of sources of information on the aftermath of the Ur collapse, or rather on ancient views of the end of that dynasty and on its replacement by the kingdom of Isin. I have in mind the later Old Babylonian literary tablets that preserve some of the works ascribed by later generations to the court poets of the founder of the new dynasty, Ishbi-Erra. At present we can reconstruct eight such compositions, not counting fragments. Since most of the poems are still incomplete, it is impossible to say much about the small pieces that may belong to undocumented parts of the longer texts.

1. See A. George, *BiOr* 53 (1996): 368.

The Ishbi-Erra hymns can be divided into two groups: divine hymns that mention the ruler and narrative texts about the reign of the king. The divine hymns are:

1. Nannaya Hymn (IE C, Hallo 1966: 242–244; Zólyomi 2003: 100);
2. Nininsina Hymn (IE D, *STVC* 61 = Römer 1965: 77–82);
3. Nisaba Hymn C (IE E, Riesman 1976 and unpublished duplicates, new edition prepared for publication by the author);
4. Nin-šubur Hymn (IE F, BM 114876, edited below).

The narrative poems are:

5. Ishbi-Erra A (CBS 14022 [*STVC* 62+63] + Ni 9901 [*ISET* 1 210] + Ni 4390 [*ISET* 1 150] + Ni 4390 [*ISET* 1 150], all assembled together by Sjöberg 1993: 219–220; Ni 4390 (*ISET* 1 150); UM 29–16–454 = Sjöberg 1993);
6. Ishbi-Erra B (N 1740 [+]) CBS 14051 = van Dijk 1978, see also Vanstiphout 1989–90);
7. Ishbi-Erra G (BM 88492, edited below);<sup>2</sup>
8. Ishbi-Erra H (*UET* 6/3 \*38).<sup>3</sup>

The first four, while interesting for the literary analyst, have little to offer the historian, as they only refer to the new king of Isin in passing. The hymns are addressed to different female deities, including the patroness of the new capital of Isin, each with a one-line blessing for the new master of Sumer. The poems offer features not found in earlier texts, and suggest that the court poets of the new dynasty were attempting to create new literary forms, although this new poetics was apparently rejected by other members of the dynasty, who preferred the style promoted by the kings of Ur. Ishme-Dagan was particularly adamant to demonstrate his spiritual and poetic associations with Shulgi and the scribes of his court, as Jacob Klein (1990) has well shown.

Three of the four incomplete royal hymns are more informative; indeed, they are unique in the historical detail that they preserve. One can observe here an intentional attempt to modify the generic characteristics of the “royal hymn,” and to use it in a new way as part of a concentrated attempt not only to glorify the ruler, but also to legitimate his reign in a

2. A few fragments are known that may belong to either IE A or B. *UET* 6/3 \*38 from Ur (provisionally IEH) as well as Ni 9977 and Ni 9881 (both *ISET* 1 144) from Nippur.

3. The fragment consists of fourteen or fifteen beginnings of lines of one column of one side of a tablet from Ur. The preserved passage concerns the king, Nininsina, Shuziana, Enlil, Ninlil, and Nippur, including the “Brickwork of the Ekur” (*sig<sub>4</sub>-é-kur-ra*) and the gate named *ká-še-nu-ku<sub>5</sub>*.

novel manner. The Ur III poems of this type referenced a wide variety of cultic, martial, and social roles of the king, but they only dealt with political and military events in the broadest general terms. Campaigns against eastern and northeastern enemies were mentioned in a generic manner, without reference to any specific adversary: territories and peoples, such as Elam or the Gutians, do appear, but not a single individual, outside of the king of Ur, is ever mentioned by name. The two fragmentary Ishbi-Erra hymns A and B differ substantially in this respect, as they deal concretely with the events of his reign and refer specifically to allies and enemies of the king, mentioning them by name. Moreover, as van Dijk (1978: 189) already observed, these texts are structurally distinct. Both are divided into sections labeled *ki-ru-gú* or *giš-gi-gál* but they do not conform to any known poetic type.

To these may now be added an extract from a royal hymn preserved on an Old Babylonian tablet of unknown provenience from the holdings of the British Museum.<sup>4</sup> The Sumerian composition is written in small hand on a one-column exercise tablet; the obverse is completely destroyed and only a part of the reverse is preserved. It is impossible to determine if this was a separate composition or if it constituted part of either Ishbi-Erra A, B, or H. For the present time we can only label it as Ishbi-Erra G in accordance with Miguel Civil's forthcoming catalog of Sumerian literary compositions. To this I have added the designation IE H for the fragment from Ur.

One would not want to make too much of a small piece, but Ishbi-Erra G does provide limited insights on the beginnings of Isin dynasty hymnography. Much more than the other two royal hymns, this composition offers features that anticipate later developments and demonstrate that the foundations of Isin hymnography were already prepared during the reign of Ishbi-Erra. Thus, the king is the husband (*nitalam*) of Inana, a tradition followed, in hymns at least, by Iddin-Dagan (A: 105), Ishme-Dagan (A: 101, I: 92, J: 5, 26), Lipit-Ishtar (A: 37, 99, H:1), as well as Ur-Ninurta (A: 72), to cite the most obvious examples. In royal inscriptions Ishme-Dagan, Lipit-Ishtar, Bur-Sin, Enlil-bani, Ur-Dukuga, Sin-magir, and Damiq-ilishu are called "husband of Inana" by another name: *dam*. Ninurta is Ishbi-Erra's mighty protector (*maškim kala-ga*, see Römer 1969: 66); this tradition, which goes at least as far back as Shu-Sin, will reappear in Lipit-Ishtar B: 44 and in the *Nippur Lament* (line 161; see Tinney 1996: 158).<sup>5</sup> Nin-

4. Tablets BM 88492 and BM 114876 are published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

5. As Tinney notes, in the Ishme-Dagan hymns and in other Isin texts, Ninurta's epithet is often *ur-sag* (*kala-ga*). See also Ishme-Dagan inscription 7: 4-6: *⁴ninurta ur-sag kala-ga maškim-šè mu-ni-in-tuk-a*.

insina likewise makes an appearance with standard epithets (*a-zu gal kalam-ma*, see Sjöberg 1969: 105). Line 8' will appear almost verbatim in an inscription of Shu-ilishu, Ishbi-Erra's successor on the throne of Isin.<sup>6</sup> Line 17' occurs in *Inana's Descent* 15 and 103. Ishbi-Erra is also pronounced to be the son of Enlil, as he is in other poems.<sup>7</sup> We already encounter *hè-àm*, "agreement," a word typical of Isin hymnography. Unique, however, are the narrative elements that speak to the historical circumstances of Ishbi-Erra's rise to power. Within the limits imposed by its state of preservation it almost looks like a coronation hymn, delineating the legitimating choice of Ishbi-Erra by An and Enlil and the approval of this choice by the gods, including Inana and Utu, who had abandoned his predecessor Ibbi-Sin in the Sumer and Ur Lament.

This is the first text in the name of Ishbi-Erra that advertises his Mari origins. For a long time we have been exposed to Ibbi-Sin's scurrilous accusations that include, among other things, the contemptuous statement that "Enlil has elevated to kingship (*nam-sipa*) of Sumer, the man from Mari, a monkey from the mountains." Ishbi-Erra is "not of Sumerian seed" (Ibbi-Sin to Puzur-Shulgi 1:17 *numun ki-en-gi-ra nu-me-a*). The Ur monarch further asserts "the man from Mari, with the mind of a dog, will not rule over (Sumer)" (line 46, *lú má-rí<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> galga ur-ra nam-en-bi nan-ak-e*).<sup>8</sup>

The hymns of the first ruler of Isin do not dispute these facts; indeed, they assert his origins with pride, using strongly political language. Consider the following passage:

*⁴en-líl-le šul zi tu-da-ni ħur-sag-ta mu-un-de<sub>6</sub>*

*ša-mu-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub> bulug an-ki-ka lu[gal ka]lam-ma-šè*

*ʿšà' ì-si-i[n<sup>k</sup>]i-na-ra bára ní ġur-r[u mi-ni-in]-ri?*

"The god Enlil has brought the true youth, his offspring, down from the mountains

And brought him into the Bond of the Heavens and the Earth (i.e. Isin) as the king of the Land,

He has enthroned him in Isin on an awesome throne."

6. Shu-ilishu 3:7-8 (D. Frayne 1990:19): *ma-da sig nim ság-du<sub>11</sub>-ga ki-tuš-ba gi-né-dé*.

7. See Sjöberg 1993 215. Note IE A 1 3': *⁴iš-bi-èr-ra šul? dumu ⁴en-líl-lá ki-ága an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>*.

8. This motif has been previously discussed by J.S. Cooper (1983:33). For an edition and commentary, see Michalowski, forthcoming.

9. IE A I 10'-12' (see also the similar broken passage in IE B 4'-5'). The texts require collation; Sjöberg reads *sipa[(zi) ka]lam-ma* in line 11'.

This is now fully elaborated in IE G 10'–11':

kur<sup>giš</sup>eren kud-rá-aš igi mu-ni-in-íl-i-eš sipa zi [...]
   
<sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra lugal kalam-ma-<sup>r</sup>šè<sup>r</sup> má-rí<sup>ki</sup>-ta mu-u[n-suḫ-eš]
   
 "(An and Enlil) cast their glance at the mountains where cedars are cut
   
 and the true shepherd (...)
   
 Divine Ishbi-Erra they chose from Mari to be the king of the Land."

The wording of these assertions appear to be crafted in a manner designed to recall the legitimization strategies of Ur-Namma, the founder of the dynasty that had been challenged and eventually replaced by the new monarch of Isin. Approximately a century earlier a poet put these words in Ur-Namma's mouth (Ur-Namma D: 10–11 see Tinney 1999:46):

ur-<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur-gal <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le
   
<sup>d</sup>nu-nam-nir ki-en-gi ki-uri-a me-e <sup>r</sup>gá-e mu-un-suḫ-en'e
   
 "Ur-Namma, youth selected by Great Mountain Enlil,
   
 Nunamuir chose me—yes me—from/for (all of) Sumer and Akkad!"

One suspects that still another literary allusion to the first Ur III ruler is contained in line 15.' The poet proclaims that the gods An and Enlil "did not alter their supreme promise"; surely this must refer to the tradition found in the *Death of Ur-Namma* 8–9:

'an'-né inim kù-ga dù-a mu-un-kúr šà AN X sù-ga-àm
   
<sup>d</sup>en'-líl-le nam tar-ra dù-a <sup>r</sup>šu' lul [mi]-ni-ib-bal
   
 "An changed his sacred word, and even the very sky was empty.
   
 Enlil deceitfully altered the destiny that he had decreed."

A word must be said about the localization of Mari in "the mountains where cedars are cut (kur<sup>giš</sup>eren kud)." Although the term kur<sup>giš</sup>eren-na, "Cedar Mountains," is fairly well documented as one of the designations of the highlands to the north and northeast of Sumer (Michalowski 1978: 118, Steiner 1996: 199), one would hardly have thought that Mari, to the northwest on the Euphrates, would be so described. It is generally assumed that the notion of western "Cedar Mountains" is a later one, but this view may have to be revised. The specific wording used here—kur<sup>giš</sup>eren kud—is not common and is otherwise known to me only from the *Curse of Agade* (112) and *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* (A:9, B:25 et passim).<sup>10</sup>

The contentious place of Mari in the depiction of Ishbi-Erra warrants some attention. As noted above, the modern view of this has been colored by the Old Babylonian Ibbi-Sin school letters, which have been known for some time, and the Syrian city has thus been viewed by modern scholars as

10. The possible reference to the Gilgamesh tale is intriguing and I shall discuss it in a different context.

an enemy of Ur, the "other," or even as a vassal state. One can now categorically state that none of these holds true. Mari was independent, but unlike any of the other polities that bordered Babylonia to the north and east, it was intimately linked to the political and emotional fabric of the Ur III polity. The crucial moment in this linkage came when the ruling houses of Mari and Ur were united by means of a dynastic marriage. Such marriages were fairly common, but this one was unique in many respects. When the daughter of Apil-Kin was given as a bride to one of Ur-Namma's sons, possibly the crown prince Shulgi, she changed her name to Taram-Uram, "She Loves Ur" (Civil 1962). The Mari king was recognized as a full member of the royal family, and after this death he was incorporated into the Ur III royal ancestor cult (Boese and Sallaberger 1996). Men from Mari lived and prospered in the south, although their exact political and economic roles are unclear at present (Michalowski 1995). We now learn that a Mariote prince by the name Puzur-Erra was the high priest (sanga) of the sun-god in Larsa during the reign of Amar-Sin (Sharlach 2001). It is also possible that another dynastic marriage linked the houses of Mari and Ur and that both parts of the extended royal family met the same fate (Michalowski in press). All this must be approached with caution, but it certainly is beginning to look as if the complex events that led to the fall of the house of Ur had deeper political roots than we ever suspected and that people from Mari, including Ishbi-Erra, played a much more important role than one could have ever expected. The very fact that his Mari origins seem to have been a matter of pride should give us much to think about.

The fragmentary nature of these texts precludes any further analysis, but some preliminary thoughts do come to mind. The historical details of the Ishbi-Erra hymns are not only generically unprecedented, but also remained unique, as the scribes of later kings seem to have avoided any imitation of this new feature. One cannot avoid the conclusion that this historiographic poetics must be intimately linked with the conscious construction of the image of the new Isin king, an image that was offered to contemporaries as well as to posterity. This need to link Ishbi-Erra to the full spectrum of Mesopotamian history, as it was then conceived, is also reflected in the *Tummal Inscription* (Sollberger 1962), a short chronicle of the construction and rebuilding of various shrines in the cult place of Ninlil; it begins with Enishibbaragesi and ends with the first king of Isin, firmly associating him with earlier monarchs in the tradition of the *Sumerian King List*. It can now be demonstrated that the latter composition must have originated in Ur III times, as Piotr Steinkeller will show in a forthcoming study, but the full elaboration of the composition—with new historiographic messages—must still be ascribed to the Isin dynasty.

Before I present a short edition of the two remaining hymns of the first king of Isin, one should note in passing that he is also mentioned in an



incomprehensible Sumerian proverb. The text reads (SP 3.27, Alster 1997: 85, with variants):

<sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra lugal-e šu-ni x nin<sup>2</sup>-ra tin<sup>?</sup> [x x x] dé-a

The proverbs that follow are fragmentary as well, but when the text picks up again we find the short story about a legendary king by the name of Nanne, aptly described by Alster (1997: 380) as “a sarcastic statement about the rulers of the Ur III dynasty,” and then, after a few short entries, by one that mentions Ur-Namma. How this fits into the problematic literary role of Ishbi-Erra, who was portrayed both as an actor in the fall of the house of Ur and at the same time as its legitimate successor, it is impossible to know.

Ishbi-Erra G  
BM 88492 (Figure 1)

This is a fragment of a small tablet written in a minute hand (53 × 43 × 10 mm). The obverse is completely destroyed; there are faint traces of writing but not a single sign can be recognized. I transliterated this tablet some time ago but the small script and the incomplete state of the tablet made me cautious and I was reluctant to publish it. Mark Geller was kind enough to collate it in 1991 and I have studied it repeatedly, most recently in February of 2002. Christopher Walker kindly informs me that it was purchased from the Paris dealer J.E. Gejou.

REVERSE

- 1'. *traces*
- 2'. [...] x un-gá níg-<sup>r</sup>gi-na<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 3'. [x x x] x bala dùg mu nam-hé silim<sup>2</sup>-m[a<sup>?</sup>...]
- 4'. [<sup>d</sup>iš-b]i-èr-ra šul dumu <sup>d</sup>en-líl-l[á ...]
- 5'. [é-gal]-la suḥuš-bi gi-né-dè bára maḥ x[...]
- 6'. <sup>r</sup>u<sub>4</sub> zi<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>utu-gin è-dè PA bar-tam-e [...-ak]
- 7'. <sup>d</sup>inana nitalam ki-ág-gá-ni-ir <sup>d</sup>en-líl-l[e ...]
- 8'. <sup>r</sup>zag<sup>1</sup> an-ki sig ním ság du<sub>11</sub>-ga ki-tuš-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> gi-né-[dè]
- 9'. [an] <sup>d</sup>en-líl-bi-da eš-bar-re ki-<bi>-šè mi-ni-in-gar-[re-eš]
- 10'. <sup>r</sup>kur<sup>1</sup> <sup>giš</sup>eren kud-rá-aš igi mu-ni-in-íl-i-eš sipa zi x
- 11'. <sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra lugal kalam-ma-<sup>r</sup>šè<sup>1</sup> má-<sup>r</sup>i<sup>ki</sup>-ta mu-u[n-suḥ-eš]
- 12'. á maḥ nam-ur-sag-<gá> mu-un-<sup>r</sup>na-an<sup>1</sup>-šúm-mu-uš ní-gal m[u-  
un-mu<sub>4</sub>-mu<sub>4</sub>-uš]
- 13'. ibila kala-ga <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá me-lám mu-un-da-a[n...]
- 14'. <sup>d</sup>nin-in-si-na dumu an<sup>?</sup> kù-ga a-zu kalam-ma-r[a ...]



Figure 1: BM 88492 reverse

- 15'. inim maḥ du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni nu-un-na-an-kúr-ru-uš u<sub>4</sub>-da [...]
- 16'. <sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra h<sup>e</sup>-àm du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni e-ne-ra m[u-...]
- 17'. nin-e me an-na mu-un-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> šu-ni-šè mu-un-[lá]
- 18'. <sup>r</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra èš-e nibru<sup>ki</sup>-šè sag íl-[la mu-ni-in-gin]
- 19'. <sup>d</sup>nin-urta maškim kala-ga-ni <á> zi-da-na mu-un-<sup>r</sup>gin<sup>1</sup>
- 20'. <sup>d</sup>inana nitalam ki-ág-gá-ni-ir gú-da mu-[un-lá]
- 21'. <sup>r</sup>ḫar<sup>1</sup>-ra-an kaskal-e x [...] <sup>r</sup>du<sup>1</sup> mu-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[...]
- 22'. [x] x x x [...]

TRANSLATION

- 1'. *traces*
- 2'. ... justice among the people ...
- 3'. ... a beneficent reign, years of plenty, *in peace*...
- 4'. ... (For) Ishbi-Erra, the hero, the son of Enlil ...



- 5'. To rectify the foundation of the palace, [to solidify] the lofty throne dais ...
- 6'. Rising like the very morning rays of Sun, ...makes decisions...
- 7'. Enlil ...ed to Bride Inana...
- 8'. To establish firmly in their dwelling the scattered (people) from the far corners of the heavens and the earth, from north to south,
- 9'. [An] and Enlil restored the divine verdicts (concerning Sumer);
- 10'. They cast their glance at the mountains where cedars are cut and the true shepherd (...)
- 11'. Divine Ishbi-Erra they chose from Mari to be the king of the Land.
- 12'. They bestowed upon him the lofty arms of warriors and clothed him in awe.
- 13'. They ...ed the mighty heir of Enlil with radiance....
- 14'. For Ninisina, the child of holy An, the doctor of the land ...
- 15'. They did not alter their lofty promise, daily...
- 16'. After Ishbi-Erra has pronounced his agreement for them...
- 17'. The Queen collected the rites of the heavens/of An and hung them from her hands.
- 18'. Ishbi-Erra entered into Shrine Nippur with head raised high.
- 19'. Ninurta, his mighty protector went by his right side.
- 20'. Inana, his beloved spouse embraced his neck.
- 21'. Utu [opened up for him] the roads.
- 22'. ... large ...

## APPENDIX

## Ishbi-Erra F

For the sake of completeness I include here a very preliminary transliteration and photograph of Išbi-Erra F, addressed to Nin-šubur. Unless I am wrong Miguel Civil first identified this text as an Ishbi-Erra composition. It is published here by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Little can be said about this broken text. There are only three known hymns to this deity (BL 195, CBS 14073 [Sjöberg 1982: 69–72], CBS 15119+14083 [Sjöberg 1982: 72–74]); this is the only currently known royal hymn to the vizier of Inana/An.

BM 114876 (Figures 2 and 3)

This is the lower right corner of a tablet to which someone attached additional clay, and inscribed it in pseudo-cuneiform to give the appearance of a complete tablet. The real part of the object is very hard to read and this

transliteration must be considered with due caution. This piece was also purchased from J.E. Gejou and measures 68 × 63 × 26 mm.

## OBVERSE

- 1'. [... m]aḥ x x [...]
- 2'. [... a]m-bi 'nu'-g[ub-bu]
- 3'. [...]x dingir gal-'gal'-[e-ne]
- 4'. [...] maḥ-a-ni an-né 'nu'-[dù-dè]
- 5'. [...] an-né me ḥi-li-a túm-ma [...?]
- 6'. [...]x x DAR
- 7'. [... am]-bi nu-gub-bu
- 8'. [...]x dingir gal-gal-e-ne
- 9'. [... m]aḥ-a-ni an-né nu-dù-dè
- 10'. [...] inim 'húl' ak<sup>2</sup> [...]
- 11'. [...] nu-gál x x igi x [...] x
- 12'. [...an-n]é<sup>d</sup>en-líl-da<sup>2</sup> x [...] x
- 13'. [...]x-ni kalam-ma x [...] x
- 14'. [...] ki-tuš kù an-na-ka x[...] -en
- 15'. [...] nu-gál nu x bar x [...]
- 16'. [...<sup>d</sup>]en-líl x x x x
- 17'. [...] un [...]

*rest of obverse broken*

## REVERSE

- 1'. [...] bi [...]
- 2'. [... -ta<sup>2</sup> k]i-a i-lim-'u<sub>5</sub>'
- 3'. [...t]a<sup>2</sup> ki-a i-lim-u<sub>5</sub>
- 4'. [...]x nam-ti<sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-ra-šè
- 5'. [...]x-tu u<sub>4</sub> sud-rá-šè
- 6'. [a-da]-ab<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-kam

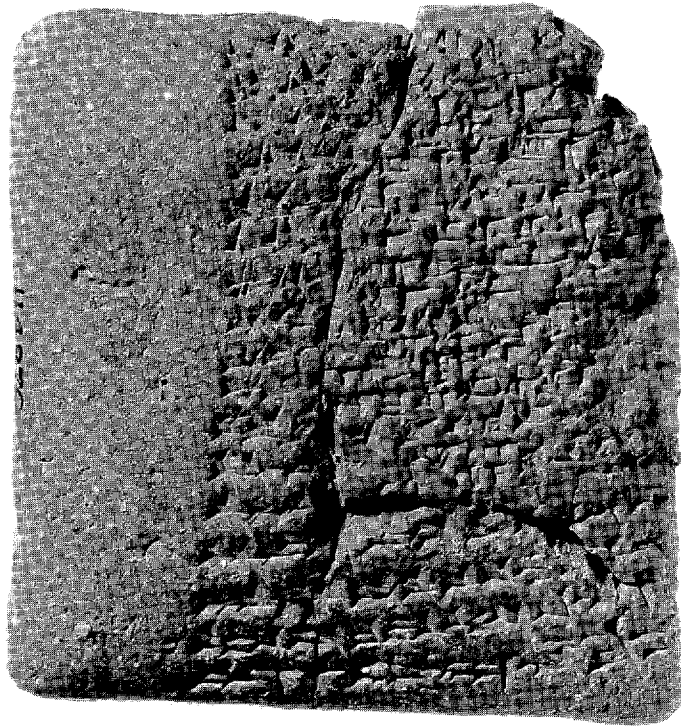


Figure 2: BM 114876 obverse



Figure 3: BM 114876 reverse

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The Ur III exemplar of SKL has now been published by Piotr Steinkeller, An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List. In Walther Sallaberger, et al., eds., *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien. Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz. 2003. Pp. 267–92. The Mari connections of the royal house of Ur remain problematic; see my article Iddin-Dagan and His Family, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, in press.



## SUMERIAN HYMNS V\*

# AN ADAB-SONG TO NINURTA WITH (I.A.) PRAYERS FOR KING LIPITEŠTAR OF ISIN

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### LIPITEŠTAR D

Thus designated by Å Sjöberg, PSD A/3, XXV; M. Sigrist, RIA 7 (1987), 29; S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament* (=NL) (Philadelphia 1996), 154; D.R. Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns [2400–1900 B.C.]* (=HCSRH) Xerocopy (New Haven, Ann Arbor 1985), 463. On the other hand, the hymn is called "Lipiteštar 4" by J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (=TSH) (Ramat-Gan 1981), 231; hymn no. \*26 by W. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königs-Hymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (=SKIZ) (Leyden 1965), 3; P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du<sub>11</sub>/e/di 'dire'*, (=ELS) OBO S (Fribourg; Gottingen 1993), 775.

### Texts

M. Çığ, H. Kızılyay, and S.N. Kramer, ISET 1 (Ankara 1969), pp. 100–1; Ni. 9695 (A; previously *Belleten* 16 [Ankara 1952], pl. 59–60; the reverse also in UMB 17/2 [1952], fig. 17); N 1378+N 1523 (B; photographs: Å. Sjöberg, in: *Dubsar anta-men, Studien zur Altorientalistik*, Fs. Römer [eds. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz], AOAT 253 [Münster 1998], 369–70; join by S. Tinney [see op. cit., p. 345]).

### Edition

W. Römer, SKIZ, 6–9, 60 (A); Å Sjöberg, op. cit., pp. 345, 349–51, 360 (transliteration of A 1–19 with dupl. B of A 5–19; A rev. 12–25 with dupl. B and

\* For Sumerian Hymns I–IV, see now W. Römer, *Hymnen und Klagelieder in sumerischer Sprache*, AOAT 276 (Münster 2001), nr. IX; IV; III; V. For abbreviations used in this article see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, vol. III, Wiesbaden 1981, p. IX–XVI (AHw); R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, vol. II, Berlin; New York 1975, pp. XI–XXXII (=HKL); W. Römer, op. cit., 261–75 (=HKSS).

commentary). The poem is found in literary catalogues (see PSD A/2, 57 a<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub> B 1; C. Wilcke, *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Th. Jacobsen*, AS 20 [Chicago and London 1975], 270 [see loc. cit., 263]): UET 6/2, 1966, no. 196, 3 (see S.N. Kramer, *ibid.*, 4 and P. Michalowski, *JCS* 36 [1984]: 90, n. 5, who also draws attention to TMHNF 3, no. 53, 67 [previously WZ] 6 [1956–57], 392, 67)). A short description of the contents is found in S.N. Kramer, H. Kızılyay, and M. Çığ, *Belleten* 16 (Ankara 1952), 347–48 (Turkish), 357–58 (English).

#### Contents

The text could perhaps have been spoken by a singer(? narrator?) to Ninurta with the exception of some lines where he lets Nintu speak to Enlil (l. 11) and Enlil to Ninurta (ll. 14–23). Who is speaking in rev. 2?<sup>1</sup> See below.

The content of our hymn may be summarized as follows. After his procreation by his divine parents, Nunamnir (Enlil) and Nintu (the mother goddess),<sup>2</sup> Ninurta is brought up by his mother as a powerful warrior (ll. 1–8). Thereupon, she introduces him to his father Enlil in Nibru and requests him to determine a great destiny for his son (ll. 9–11). Enlil agrees to her request and grants Ninurta military prowess (ll. 13–24). Lines 26–rev. 24/25 contain prayers perhaps spoken by the singer(? narrator?) to Ninurta on behalf of King Lipiteštar; in rev. 7/9 he expresses the wish that Ninnibru, Ninurta's spouse, may intercede for the king with her consort.<sup>3</sup>

From the literary point of view our *adab*-song shows the normal composition of units:<sup>4</sup> (1) the first *barsu*; (2) the *šabatuk*; (3) the second(?) *barsu*(?); (4) the *sagidda*; (5) the antiphon of the *sagidda*; (6) the *sağarra*; (7) the antiphon of the *sağarra*; (8) the *uru*<sub>16</sub>. The *sagidda* contains, with C. Wilcke,<sup>5</sup> four stanzas of three (the [first] *barsu*), seven (the *šabatuk*), three (the second[?] *barsu*[?]), and seven (the *sagidda*) lines. The antiphon has two lines, the *sağarra* possibly has two stanzas of seven lines each (see commentary to rev. 8/9), its antiphon again two lines, and the *uru*<sub>16</sub> probably, as is usual, three lines. The hymn, with C. Wilcke,<sup>6</sup> is continuously formulated in 2. sg. (see above) with relation to the god Ninurta. This is also the case in the

1. According to C. Wilcke, AS 20 (1975), 273<sup>v</sup> the singer calls Ninnil n<sub>in</sub>-g̃u<sub>10</sub> in an *adab*-song to the goddess in question.
2. See M. Krebemik, RIA 8 (1997), 506–7. Cf. the part played by Ninḫursaġa in the formation of the figure of Mardu in SGL 1, 121, 6–7 (see A. Falkenstein, ZA 49 [1950]: 136).
3. Cf. J.S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur*, AnOr 52 (Rome 1978), 136–37.
4. See C. Wilcke, AS 20, 270–71.
5. Loc. cit.
6. Loc. cit.

*adab*-songs ZA 49 (1950): 116–22 (Ninurta) and ZA 52 (1957): 56–75 (Inanna).<sup>7</sup>

#### The Poem's "Sitz im Leben"

As is frequently the case with hymns containing prayers for divine blessing on behalf of the king, it does not seem possible to determine the "Sitz im Leben" with certainty. It should be noted that D.R. Frayne, HCSRH, although he mentions our text (p. 463), does not give any historical correlations of it.

It does not seem warranted to combine the text immediately with Lipiteštar's accession, because, according to A rev. 15–16 // B rev. 3'–4', the king had already issued his famous seisachthy. This may have taken place soon after his accession,<sup>8</sup> but probably not simultaneously with it—both events gave their names to two separate regnal years of Lipiteštar.<sup>9</sup>

Our hymn seems to mention acts of warfare by Ninurta (A 19–22 // B 14'; A rev. 3ff.), which could be an allusion to Ninurta's war against Kur (see A 21: kur-zu-ù!) and Azag, for which Enlil, on request of Nintu, could have given his blessing afterward<sup>10</sup> through a favorable determination of destiny. One, perhaps, is reminded of, to be sure, a much younger interpretation of Ninurta's main festival in Nibru in Ur III times, viz., the *gusisu*-festival,<sup>11</sup> which clearly shows an agrarian character in older times.<sup>12</sup> Although, perhaps, it also reflects older traditions,<sup>13</sup> the younger

7. See C. Wilcke, *op. cit.*, 270; 266.
8. Cf. D.O. Edzard, ZZB (Wiesbaden 1957), 94; W. Römer, HKSS, 93 with n. 16; 17; F.R. Kraus, SD 11 (Leiden 1984), 19; P. Michalowski; C.B.F. Walker, in *Dumu-E<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a. Studies in Honor of Å.W. Sjöberg*, eds. H. Behrens, D. Loding and M.T. Roth (Philadelphia 1989) (*Fs. Sjöberg*), 395 with n. 53; D.R. Frayne, HCSRH, 461; 468; 472–73; 479, n. 14; A. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 360; K.R. Veenhof, *Recht en gerechtigheid in Babylonië* (Leiden 2000), 18, n. 33; D.R. Frayne, RIME 4 (Toronto, Buffalo, London 1990), 48–60 *passim*.
9. See M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names* (Berrien Springs, Mich. 1988), 28; 56.
10. Cf. in Lugal-e, ll. 684–700 (cf. J. van Dijk, *Lugal ud me-lám-bi nir-gál. Le récit épique et didactique des Travaux de Ninurta, du Déluge et de la Nouvelle Création* 1 [Leyden 1983], 48). In passing we recall to mind the favorable determination of destiny Enlil granted to King Sulgi of Ur after the return of the king from a successful campaign against the Gutians (cf. J. Klein, TSH [Ramat-Gan 1981], 55–56).
11. See W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* 1 (Berlin and New York 1993), 114–22.
12. See W. Sallaberger, *op. cit.*, 119–121; CRRA 41 (Berlin 1999), 385. For Ninurta as a god of fertility, see most recently F. Al-Rawi and J.A. Black, ZA 90 (2000): 31–39.
13. Because the god and the date of the festival remain the same as in the Ur III tradition, we seem to be entitled to suppose also parallels as to the contents, see W. Sallaberger, *op. cit.*, 122.

tradition in question,<sup>14</sup> on the contrary, contains allusions to Ninurta's victory in the mountains followed by his victorious return to Nibru, his entry into his temple Ešumeša, and his elevation by his joyful father Enlil.

W. Sallaberger reminds us also that Ninurta's victory over the hostile stones according to Lugal-e brings control of the inundation caused by the Tigris River—and thus also the possibility of agriculture—into his hands.<sup>15</sup> In the older tradition it was the festival of inundation that was celebrated each year in the *gusisu*-festival and, as a god of war, Ninurta had at his disposal the vehemence as is embodied in the mighty inundation flood.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, it may be conceivable to seek the cultic background of our poem in the yearly celebration of the *gusisu*-festival, which, as we know, was still celebrated in the Isin period.<sup>17</sup> In this case, Ninnibru's request from her consort for blessings on behalf of Lipiteštar need not be connected with some special event in the king's reign, but could have been repeated every year in the second Nibru month's celebration of the festival in question.<sup>18</sup> The prayers to Ninurta for military assistance on behalf of the king (A 26f.; rev. 19ff.) could then have connection with the king's military activities in general, not with a special battle or campaign.<sup>19</sup>

In passing, we may perhaps finally refer to a special connection that seems to have existed between Ninurta and the emblems of royalty.<sup>20</sup> Ninurta brought them back from Akkade into his temple Ešumeša<sup>21</sup> (J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore and London 1983), pp. 52, 66–69). In the hymn Lipiteštar A 33–34, Lipiteštar calls himself “the man after the heart” of Uta'ulu, whom the god has made bear great terror in the Ešumeša.<sup>22</sup>

14. O.R. Gurney, OECT 11 (Oxford 1989), nr. 69+70, cf. W. Sallaberger, op. cit. 1, 121 with n. 557; 122 with n. 559; 560.

15. See op. cit., 122 with n. 561.

16. Op. cit., 122 with n. 562; ZA 90 (2000): 35, 24. We here refer also to W. Heimpel, *JNES* 46 (1987): 309–17.

17. Cf. W. Sallaberger, op. cit., 121 with n. 556 (Išmedagān); M. Civil, in *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of S.N. Kramer*, eds. B.L. Eichler, J.W. Heimerdinger and Å.W. Sjöberg, AOAT 25 (Kevelaer; Neukirchen/Vluyt 1976), 84 (Lipiteštar; cf. also W. Sallaberger, CRRA 41 [Berlin 1999], 382 with n. 4).

18. It should also be remembered here in passing the request of the moon-god Nanna with Enlil and Ninlil on behalf of King Sinidīnam of Larsam, who accompanied him on the occasion of the first-fruits offering during the New Year's festival that was celebrated yearly. The request did not take place on account of some special event during the king's reign, cf. HKSS, 2001, 93 with n. 19; 20!

19. For the military activities of Lipiteštar, see M. Sigris, RIA 7 (1987), 28.

20. See J.S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore and London 1983), 242 (on l. 68); P. Attinger, ZA 88 (1998): 192.

21. See J.S. Cooper, op. cit., 52, 66–69.

22. See SKIZ, 31, 33–34.

### Transliteration

#### OBVERSE

A1 ur-saḡ á-ḡala<sub>7</sub>-<sup>d</sup>A-nuna-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne É<sup>1</sup>-kur-ta [è-a]

A2 <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta en <sup>d</sup>Nu-nam-nir-re u<sub>18</sub>-lu-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1?</sup>-<sup>r</sup>g<sup>1</sup>in<sup>7?</sup>.....]x

A3 mu-un-dú-ud-dè-en ù-ma-ni<sup>1</sup> gub-bu-dè KA x x x

A4 bar-sù<sup>1</sup>-àm

B1' x[.....]

A5 <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu-re šu-nì-dím-ma-ni za-ra mu-ri-in-bad

B2' <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu-r[e.....d]ím-m'a<sup>1</sup>-ni 'za-a-ra<sup>1</sup> m[u.....]

A6 ubur<sup>1</sup>-du<sub>10</sub>-ga-na ka ma-ra-ni-in-ba gára<sup>1</sup>-nam-šul-la mi-ri-'in'-  
gu<sub>7</sub>

B3' ubur-du<sub>10</sub>-ga-n[a k]a ma-ra-ni-in-ba ga-'nam'-š[u] 'x' 'x' 'x' -[i]n-  
'gu<sub>7</sub>'

A7 a[m-u<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-di-gin<sub>7</sub> alam-zu mu-un-ḡir á-úr-zu<sup>1</sup> mu-un-'gur<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>

B4' am-u<sub>6</sub>-di-g[ín<sub>7</sub> al]am-zu mu-un-nir á-úr-zu mu-un-gur<sub>4</sub>

A8 igi[....x<sup>1</sup> 'x<sup>1</sup> en me-lem<sub>4</sub> nam-ur-saḡ da-da-ra-šè mi-ri-in-'du<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>

B5' igi-sù<sup>2</sup> diḡir(?)<sup>2</sup>-e [m]e-le[m<sub>4</sub>] nam-ur-saḡ da-da-ra-šè mi-ri-in-  
'du<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>

A9 ki'šib<sup>1</sup>-lá-zi-da-zu i'm<sup>1</sup>-ma-an-dab<sub>5</sub> ama-zu <sup>d</sup>N<sup>1</sup> in-'t<sup>1</sup>u-re

B6' kišib-lá-zi-da-zu i[m]-ma-an-dab<sub>5</sub> ama-zu <sup>d</sup>Nin-tu-re

A10 É<sup>1</sup>-kur èš-'maḡ<sup>1</sup>-a mi-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-en a-a-z<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>En-líl<sup>1</sup>-ra

B7' [É<sup>1</sup>-kur èš-m]aḡ<sup>1</sup>-a mi-ni-i[n-k]u<sub>4</sub>-re-en a-a-zu<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>.....]

A11 [mu-n]a-ab-bé dumu-šu-ḡar-gi<sub>4</sub>-zu nam-gal tar-mu-ni-ib<sup>1</sup>

B8' 'mu<sup>1</sup>-na-ab-[b]é dumu-šu-ḡar-g[i<sub>4</sub>]-zu nam-gal tar-mu-'ni<sup>1</sup>-ib

A12 šà-ba-tuk-àm

A13 [<sup>d</sup>E]n-líl-le igi-'hú<sup>1?</sup> m<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-šì<sup>1</sup>-in-bar nam mu-n<sup>1</sup>i-ib-tar-re

B9' <sup>d</sup>En-líl-le igi-zi mu-šì-in-'bar<sup>1</sup> nam mu-ri-ib-tar-re

A14 [....t]a-'u<sub>18</sub><sup>1</sup>-lu a<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>-ki-šú-a-šè m<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-z<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> h<sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-em-maḡ

B10' U<sub>4</sub>-ta-u<sub>18</sub>-lu an-ki-šú-a-šè mu-'zu h<sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-em-maḡ

A15 'me<sup>1</sup>-lem<sub>4</sub>-zu-š[è...gal<sup>1?</sup>-gal-e-ne 'x x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>em<sup>1</sup>-x x x x x

B11' me-lem<sub>4</sub>-zu-šè diḡir-gal-gal-e-ne ní h<sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-em<sup>2?</sup> 'xxx<sup>1</sup>

A16 [bar<sup>1</sup>-sù<sup>1?</sup>-<sup>r</sup>2<sup>1</sup> [-kam<sup>2</sup>-m]a<sup>1?</sup>-àm

A17 [u]r<sub>5</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub>-zu-š[è<sup>1?</sup>.....x<sup>1</sup>-ga-zu 'x<sup>1</sup> 'x.....] ní-ba h<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1?</sup>-m<sup>1</sup>u<sup>2?</sup>.....-  
d]è<sup>2?</sup>

B12' ur<sub>5</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub>-z[u]-šè 'x x<sup>1</sup> [(x)]nu-še-ga ní-ba h[u.....]

- A18 [...h<sup>1</sup>u-luḥ-ḥa-z[u-d]è<sup>1?</sup> gú<sup>1</sup>-érim-ḡala<sub>7</sub> [s]aḡ<sup>1</sup> ḥé<sup>1</sup>-em-da-sìg-g<sup>1</sup>e-d<sup>1</sup>è<sup>2</sup>
- B13' <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ḥ[u...]-zu-šè x [g]ú-érim-ḡala<sub>7</sub> saḡ<sup>1</sup> ḥ[é.....]
- A19 U<sub>4</sub>-ta-u<sub>18</sub>-<sup>1</sup>lu im<sup>1</sup>-ḥul-im-ḥul-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1?</sup> z<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-zi-i-da-zu-dè
- B14' [.....] <sup>1</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-ḥul-da z[i.....]
- A20/21 <sup>d</sup>Gibil<sub>6</sub> en(-)ZA.LAM-ra ur-saḡ-g<sup>1</sup>in<sub>7</sub><sup>1?</sup> g<sup>1</sup>u<sub>7</sub><sup>1?</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1?</sup>-dè<sup>1?</sup> /kur-zu<sup>1?</sup>-ù eḡer-àm b<sup>1</sup>i-d<sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1?</sup>
- A22 <sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>i[-b]al-a su<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>-zà-ge<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-mi-gu<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>é<sup>1?</sup>-bi<sup>1?</sup> b<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1?</sup>-gu<sub>7</sub>-ù-dè
- A23 [nam<sup>1?</sup>-ni]<sup>1?</sup>-r[a<sup>1?</sup>-z<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1?</sup> diḡir-gal-gal-e-ne me-té<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> m[u-u]n-i-i-<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1?</sup>
- A24 [....]x x[.....a]-a-<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>En-I]l-le nam-šè m<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ri-i[n-tar]
- A25 [sa-g<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>d-da-àm<sup>1</sup>
- A26 [ur<sup>1?</sup>-saḡ<sup>1?</sup> <sup>d</sup>Nin<sup>1?</sup>-urta<sup>1?</sup> <sup>d</sup>L]i-pí-it-Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár dumu-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-ra
- A27 [.....x<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>1?</sup> gúr-gurum(GÚR.GÚR)-mu-na-ab
- A28 [ḡiš-gi<sub>4</sub>-ḡal-sa-gíd-da-b<sup>1</sup>i-im
- REVERSE
- A1 [.....]x a-saḡ<sup>1?</sup>-ba-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>a
- A2 [.....zà<sup>1?</sup>-]a<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>-ki-<sup>1</sup>šè<sup>1?</sup> pa-è-ḡu<sub>10</sub>-uš
- A3 [.....]x <sup>1</sup>s<sup>1</sup>aḡ<sup>1</sup>-zu um-mi-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>s
- A4 [é<sup>2</sup>-/iri<sup>1?</sup>-bi<sup>1?</sup> du<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>-du<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>(-aš<sup>1?</sup>)] m<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-n<sup>1</sup>i-in-šed saḥar-da im-da-šár
- A5 [.....ḡál<sup>1?</sup>-la<sup>1?</sup>-b]i<sup>1?</sup> <sup>1</sup>ḥé<sup>1?</sup>-bí-in-ur<sub>4</sub><sup>1?</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>-ḡál-la mu-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>
- A6 <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta ur-saḡ-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá bára-za dúr-ḡar-bi
- A7 ḡitlam-<sup>1</sup>z<sup>1</sup>u.éḡi<sup>1?</sup>-zi <sup>d</sup>Nin-nibru<sup>ki</sup> gú-da <sup>1</sup>mu-<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup>i-in-lá
- A8/9 inim-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga-<sup>d</sup>L]i-pí-it-Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár-ra-da/u<sub>4</sub>-šú-š[è ḥ<sup>1</sup>a-ra-da-gub
- A10 U<sub>4</sub>-ta-u<sub>18</sub>-<sup>1</sup>lu ki-šu-<sup>1</sup>íl<sup>1</sup>-la-né á-taḥa{-zu<sup>1?</sup>}-ni ḥé-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-en
- A11 du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zu-ta nir ḥ[é-]em-dè-ḡala<sub>7</sub> gaba-ri-ni <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-an-ḡál-l<sup>1</sup>e-en<sup>1?</sup>]
- A12 <sup>1</sup>lú<sup>1</sup>-nam-tar-ra-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> ul AGA<sup>1?</sup> <sup>1</sup>ḥé<sup>1?</sup>-<sup>1</sup>me<sup>1?</sup>-<sup>1</sup>en<sup>1?</sup>
- B rev.1' lú-n[am.....]
- A13 [<sup>d</sup>L]i-pí-it-Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár n<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>n za-a-šè ḡál-l<sup>1</sup>a d<sup>1</sup>umu-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>
- B2' <sup>d</sup>L]i-p[í.....]
- A14/15 [...] <sup>1</sup>si-sá<sup>1</sup> Ki-en-gi-Ki-uri-a mu-ni-in-ḡar/su-kalam-m<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> mu-du<sub>10</sub>
- 
- B3' nì-si-sá K[i.....]
- A16/17 sipa mas-sú túm-túm-mu gal-a<sup>1</sup>n-z<sup>1</sup>u-a/ùḡ ḥa-ra-ab-la<sup>1</sup>ḥ<sub>5</sub>-lah<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>-e
- 
- B4'/5' sipa mas-<sup>1</sup>sú<sup>1</sup> [.....] / <sup>1</sup>ùḡ<sup>1</sup> ḥa<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>[.....]
- A18 sa-ḡar-ra-<sup>1</sup>à<sup>1</sup>m

- B6' sa-ḡar [.....]
- A19 ur-saḡ-ga<sup>1</sup>l n<sup>1</sup>un <sup>d</sup>Li<pí>it-Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár-ra ù-mu-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>a-šúm
- B7' <sup>1</sup>ur-saḡ<sup>1</sup>-gal nun <sup>d</sup>Li-p[í.....t]a<sup>1?</sup>-šúm
- A20 ki-bala-nu-še-ga-na zar-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥé-ús-<sup>1</sup>ù-ú's
- B8' ki-bala-nu-še-ga<sup>1?</sup> <sup>1</sup>x [.....]-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>
- A21 ḡiš-g<sup>1</sup>i<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ḡál-sa-ḡar-ra-bi-im
- B9' ḡiš-<sup>1</sup>gi<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ḡ[ál.....]
- A22 en a-<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>a-ru-maḥ suḥuš-érim-ma bu-re
- B10' en a-ma-ru-ma[ḥ x x]-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> bu<sup>1</sup>-re
- A23 <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta en a-ma-ru-maḥ suḥuš-érim<-ma> bu-re
- B11' <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta <sup>1</sup>en<sup>1??</sup> <.....>
- A24/25 nun <sup>d</sup>Li-pí-it-Eš<sub>4</sub>-tár-ra ḡiš<sup>1</sup>tukul ḥul-du-ni/gi-<sup>1</sup>gin<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> ša<sub>5</sub>-ša<sub>5</sub> šu-m<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>ḥ-a-né si-bi-<sup>1</sup>íb<sup>1</sup>
- 
- B12'/13'(?) nun [.....ḥ]ul-du-a-ni/[....]x x x
- A26 <sup>uru<sub>17</sub>uru<sub>16</sub></sup>-b<sup>1</sup>i-im
- 
- A27 <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-da-<sup>1</sup>ab<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-ka-kam

Translation (numbered according to Text A)

1. Warrior, mighty one among the Anunna, [coming forth] from the Ekur!
2. Ninurta, the lord Nunamnir like a 'bi'g southstorm [...] x
3. engendered you, to establish his triumph x x x x.
4. It is the (first?) barsu.
5. Nintu opened her hand for you, which fashions everything,
6. opened for you (your) mouth for(?) her sweet breast, caused you to "eat" the (fat: A) milk of youthful vigor,
7. made your figure powerful like (that of) a wild bull that is marvellous to behold, made your limbs massive,
8. (she who possesses?) a far-reaching gaze, x the goddess (?B) 'made' for you, lord (?A), terrifying splendor (and) warriorship as a girding.
9. She took (you) by your right wrist, your mother Nintu,
10. made you enter into the Ekur, the lofty sanctuary, toward your father Enlil,

11. spoke to him: "For the son, your avenger, determine a great destiny!"
12. It is the *šabatuk*.
13. Enlil directed (his) faithful (B; A: joyful [!?!]) look toward you (B; A: hi'm'?), was determining the destiny for you (B; A: him):
14. "Uta'ulu, to the full extent of heaven (and) earth may your name be exalted,
15. before your terrifying splendor may the great gods 'feel' (?) terror,
16. It is the second(?) [*bars*]u(!?).
17. before your roaring may the [...] that does not obey (you: A) [...] in their fright(?),
18. before your terrible [...] may the whole of the enemies (anxiously) shake(?) the [h]ead!
19. Uta'ulu, when you were rising together with all the evil winds,
- 20/21. you have, in order to consume like Gibil, the lord of(?) ..., the warrior, put(?) an end(?) to your Kur ("Mountains"),
22. after you completely(?) devastated the rebellious land(s?), you will(?) consume the 'houses(!?) there](??),
23. the great gods praise 'yo'ur [lo]rd[ship]!?' ...!"
24. [...]xx[...] this(?) (is what) 'yo'ur father Enlil [determined] for you as (your) destiny!
25. It is the [*sagi*']*dda*.
26. [Warrior(?), Ninurta(?)], for [L]ipiteštar, the son of Enlil,
27. bend all(?) his!? [...]x!
28. It is [the antiphon to the *sagidda*].

## REVERSE

1. [.....]x from the ...,
2. [.....] because(?) I am(?)/make(?) [...]?...] manifest 'unto' the [ends(??)] of hea'ven' (and) earth!
3. After you made an effort(?) against [ ]x,
4. you "counted" [the houses(?)/cities(?) there(?) among the mounds(?)], mixed them with dust,
5. you truly gathered(?)/overwhelmed(?) [the ... that existed(?) the]re(?), turned them into non-existing ones(?/non-existence[!?!])!
6. Ninurta, warrior of Enlil, she who sits down upon your dais,
7. your spouse, the true queen(?) Ninnibru, who embraces you,

- 8/9. may daily tread before you with fervent supplication(?) on behalf of Lipiteštar,
10. Uta'ulu, on the place where he lifts his hands (for prayer) may you be his(!) aid,
11. may he have confidence in your pronouncement, don't let there exist (any) rival of his,
12. you are truly the man to whom Ninurta has determined the destiny, who .... joy(?),
13. Lipiteštar, the prince, who (always) stands by for you, the son of Enlil,
- 14/15. established justice in Sumer (and) Akkad, made things go well with the land of Sumer.
- 16/17. The shepherd, the leader, the conductor, the wise one may guide for you the people!
18. It is the *sağarra*.
19. Great warrior, after it has been given the prince, Lipiteštar, on your part(?),
20. may he put on a row(?) the rebellious lands of(?) those who disobey him, like corn-sheaves!
21. It is the antiphon to the *sağarra*.
22. Lord, exalted flood that tears out the foundation of the enemy,
23. Ninurta, lord, exalted flood that tears out the foundation <of> the enemy,
- 24/25. fill(?) for the prince Lipiteštar the mace that breaks those who are hostile to him 'like' reeds into his exalted hand!
26. It is its *uru*<sub>16</sub>.
27. An *adab*-song to Ninurta is it.

## Commentary (numbered according to Text A)

## OBVERSE

1. With D. Reisman, *JCS* 24 (1971): 4 1-2 (see p. 7) we read É!-kur-ta [è-a] "coming forth from the Ekur"; on the other hand, D.R. Frayne, *HCSRH*, 463 reads sag(?) kur-ta, probably because in Var. A - ta is at the very end of the line. Does this mean that Ninurta has been brought up (grown up) in the Ekur? Cf. then *AHw*, 939 *rabû(m)* III G 4dβ; J.S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 105. Cf. also *Isin-Išān Bahriyāt* 4 (Munich 1992), 104, 2: É-kur-ta ní-tuku (Enlilbāni).

5. See PSD B, 35 bad B 1.9. The verb *dím* denotes the fashioning of Ninurta in the womb of the mother goddess, see Th. Jacobsen, *Or NS* 42 (1973): 286–89; M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible. Its Mediterranean Setting*, CM 14 (Groningen 2000), 86; 109.
6. For *ka-ba*, see PSD B, 7 ba D 7.1; J. Klein, *TSH*, 160; P. Attinger, *ELS*, 199. Does *gára* (A) here mean “fat milk” (B: *ga* and cf., e.g., H. Steible, *Rīmsīn, mein König*, FAOS 1 [Wiesbaden 1975], 47 with n. 68)? “Cream” (cf. M. Stol, *RIA* 7 [1987], 100; *RIA* 8 [1994], 189–90; M. Bonechi, *N.A.B.U.* [1997]: Nr. 78) cannot be meant here. For *ga-nam-šul-la*, see J. van Dijk, *SGL* 2 (Heidelberg 1960), 89–90: “milk which imparts youthful vigour.”
7. For *u<sub>6</sub>-di* in general, see P. Attinger, *ELS*, 739–49. Is *u<sub>6</sub>-di* here to be analyzed as a kind of “participle” (used as an adjective): “which causes amazement” or the like? See J. Klein, *TSH*, 90 (to pp. 72/3, 7) “marvellous to behold”; cf. also K. Volk, *Die Balag Komposition Uru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi*, FAOS 18 (Stuttgart 1989), 95 with n. 53: “Staunen; Staunenswertes” where *u<sub>6</sub>-di* is analyzed as a kind of “infinitive” (used as a substantive). Å. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 360 hesitatingly supposes for *nir* (B4'; A7: *gīr*) the meaning “be/make clean” (Akkad. *zakūm* G/D; cf. also M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions. A Sumerian Agricultural Manual*, AulOr Suppl. 5 [Barcelona 1994], 95).
8. Could AN (B5') be interpreted here as *diḡir* “goddess” (see W. Römer, *HKSS*, 24)? For *igi-sù*, see Å. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 360; here a *bahuvrīhi*? For the reading *me-lem<sub>4</sub>*, see *HKSS*, 166. The expression *da-da-ra-šè—du<sub>11</sub>(-g)* has most recently been treated by P. Attinger, *ELS*, 455–59, esp. p. 458. Cf. in passing 1 Sam. 2:4; Ps 65:7, 30:12.
9. For *kišib-lá* in this literary topos, see J. Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 (Philadelphia 1981), 40; Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Ramat-Gan 1998), 310, and cf. at least for the introduction gesture by the introducing deity M. Haussperger, *Die Einführungsszene. Entwicklung eines mesopotamischen Motivs von der altakkadischen bis zum Ende der altbabylonischen Zeit*, Munich; Vienna 1991, p. 69 with n. 231; 149 with n. 1136 from an archaeological point of view. In a partially similar situation also *šu+dab<sub>5</sub>* is attested, cf. e.g., *JAOS* 103 (1983): 57, 146–47; *JCS* 34 (1982): 72, 2.
11. Ninurta's epithet “*dumu-šu-gār-gi<sub>4</sub>* of Enlil” probably has connection with his role in *Lugal-e* and *An-gin<sub>7</sub>-dīm-ma*, see A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford 1986), 154; S.M. Maul, *Or NS* 60 (1991): 326 with n. 31. I also refer to Å. Sjöberg, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, TCS 3 (Locust Valley 1969), 21, 74; *WO* 8 (1975): 27–28, 119–26; *ZA* 49

- (1950): 118, 13. The exact difference between *nam* and *nam-gal* is not very clear to me. The combination *nam-gal-tar* is not too rare; see *SKIZ*, 209, 1(bil.); 11, 11; M.G. Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God Nanna/Suen*, Xerocopy 8603645 (Philadelphia; Ann Arbor 1985), 819, 56; A. Falkenstein, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (Berlin 1963), 81, 30; *Fs. Sjöberg*, 11, 7; *ZA* 65 (1975): 200, 265; *OrSuecana* 19–20 (1970–71): 146, 14; *RMK*, 6: 1–2.
13. The interpretation of *igi-bar* follows J. Krecher, *Kinattūtu ša dārāti. R. Kutscher Memorial Volume*, ed. A.F. Rainey (Tel Aviv 1993), 108–11.
14. For *U<sub>4</sub>-ta-u<sub>18</sub>-lu*, here an epithet of Ninurta, see Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuecana* 22 (1973): 121.
15. At the end of the line we have according to the traces in A15; B11' probably to restore a verbal form with *ní-te-te*, see, e.g., A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1950): 129; Å. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 132.
16. For the reconstruction of this line, see C. Wilcke, *AS* 20, 270, but see also the hesitation of Å. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 360: “liturgical notation”!
17. The expression *ní-ba* could be interpreted in different ways. I mention here: “in their fright” (cf. M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* 1 (Potomac, Md. 1988), 202: 51–56); “by itself/themselves” (G. Gragg, *TCS* 3, 177; P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Winona Lake 1989), 38–39, 51; M.E. Cohen, op. cit. 1, p. 81, d+124–25; 408, f+105); “together” (Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuecana* 19–20 [1970–71]: 170; K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes* [Wiesbaden 1995], 193). The first possibility was hesitatingly chosen here because of lines 15–18 (fright motive).
18. On the meaning of *saḡ-siḡ*, see *HKSS*, 166; B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* 1 (Bethesda, Md. 1997), 96:3.89. If there is something missing at the beginning of the line it must be a very short word, perhaps, if phraseologically possible, *igi* “eye” or *u<sub>4</sub>* “storm”? If we read *ḡala<sub>7</sub>* with an “overhanging vowel” (see W. Römer, *Die Sumerologie*<sup>2</sup> [Münster 1999], 61–62), the expected agentive postposition *-e* could be included in it (see A. Falkenstein, *GSGL* 1<sup>2</sup> [Rome 1978], 156). In A18 [-d]è<sup>17</sup> is only an attempt, because there seems to be too much space available for [-š]è, which is found in B 13'.
19. In *zi-zi-i-da-zu-dè* I don't follow, for the present, J. Krecher's proposal (*ASJ* 15 [1993]: 97–98) to read *-ne* instead of *-dè*.
- 20/21. The reading and meaning of *ZA.LAM* (reading of signs correct?) are unknown to me, see Å. Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 (1973): 11; S.N. Kramer, *Fs. Sjöberg*, 313. If *ZA.LAM* is a compound sumerogram ending on /-r/, the element *-ra* would contain either a genitive (“lord [en] of ...”) or a loc-



ative (“in ...”) postposition (cf. below PAS 1, 322); should the reading be za-lam (cf. Å. Sjöberg, loc. cit. on a var. za1-lam! No connection with za-lam-ġar “tent”?) the element -ra could probably be only a dative postposition, perhaps serving to avoid a double “accusative” (cf. A. Falkenstein, GSGL 2<sup>2</sup>, p. 81 with n. 2) although one of the “objects” would then remain unexpressed (cf. also PAS 1, i.e.)! The verbal root at the end of l. 20 seems to be the same as in the verbal form in A 22 [b]a<sup>2</sup>-gu<sub>7</sub>-ù-dè (as was read in SKIZ, p. 7 as well as by S. Tinney, NL, 153–54, a reading mùš, cf. the remark by Å. Sjöberg, *Or NS* 35 [1966] p. 291, being here lexically improbable). The main verbal form of ‘g<sup>1</sup>u<sub>7</sub>-‘ù-dè<sup>1</sup> will be ‘b<sup>1</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>ù<sup>2</sup> (‘z<sup>1</sup>al<sup>2</sup>) in A21, the ergative of which is perhaps identical with the one of ‘g<sup>1</sup>u<sub>7</sub>-‘ù-dè<sup>1</sup> (see *Die Sumerologie*<sup>2</sup>, 131–32 with n. 757, but cf. now also Th.E. Balke, in *Lingua et Linguae*, Fs. C.P. Herbermann [ed. U.H. Wassner] [Aix-la-Chapelle 2001], 19).

The reading and meaning of eġer ‘d<sup>1</sup>ù<sup>2</sup> (or ‘z<sup>1</sup>al<sup>2</sup>) remains rather uncertain. On Ninurta’s battle with Kur, see J. van Dijk, SGL 2, 28, n. 54; Lugal-e 1, pp. 9–10; J.S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 7–8; above, “The Poem’s ‘Sitz im Leben’.”

22. The ki-bala also belongs to the adversaries of Ninurta, see J.S. Cooper, l.c.; AOAT 25, 412, 5; 31; 416, 66; 420, 142–43. Perhaps ki-bala is to be understood in a plural sense, cf. S. Tinney, NL, 154; P. Attinger, ZA 88 (1998): 172/73, 76, 79; see also below, rev. 20. For sug(-zà)-ge<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>, see most recently S. Tinney, NL, 153–54. We follow him in his interpretation (similarly also M.W. Green [JCS 30 {1978}: 153]); lit. probably: “make the swamp consume...” (cf. A. Falkenstein, SGL 1 [Heidelberg 1959], 41 with n. 37; J. van Dijk, SGL 2, l.c.; Å. Sjöberg, PSD A/2, 49 a<sub>2</sub>-dam 2.; Fs. Römer, 356; Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once ... Sumerian Poetry in Translation* [New Haven and London 1987], 462, l. 232 and see also S. Tinney, op. cit., 153).
23. The exact meaning of the elements me-téš in verbal forms with me-téš-i-i is still unclear to me. At any rate i(-i) can mean “to praise” by itself (cf. CAD N/1, 102 *nādu* lex.; AHw, 705 *nādu(m)* G LL) and forms with me-téš-i-i are more than once translated as if the elements me-téš were missing, see, e.g., Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuecana* 19–20 (1970–71): 142/50, 14’; 145/53, 25; JCS 26 (1974): 163/66, 1; P. Attinger, ZA 88 (1998): 184; S. Tinney, NL, 122/23, 322. More specific translations have been proposed by A. Falkenstein, ZA 48 (1944): 76: “einzig preisen” (the reading téš is assured by syllabic writings. For téš, cf. now also A. Cavigneaux and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la mort. Textes de Tell Hadad VI avec un appendice sur les textes funéraires sumériens*, CM 19 [Groningen 2000], 50–51; n. 141; 143); ZA 49 (1950): 139 (pp. 112/13, 5, sg.: “allein preisen”); pp. 114/15, 20, pl.: “alle zusammen preisen”; J.

van Dijk, YOS 11 (New Haven and London 1985), 39 (nr. 54, 16); p. 48 (nr. 81, 14): “praise duly”; S.N. Kramer, OECT 5 (Oxford 1976,) pp. 20/21, 2: “praise you as is fitting”; W.W. Hallo, JAOS 103 (1983): 172/74, 256: “praise you as you deserve”; B. Alster; and C.B.F. Walker, Fs. Sjöberg, 8: 4 “praise appropriately”; p. 12/14: 2’ “praise properly”; Å. Sjöberg, ZA 65 (1975): 200/1, 255, 273 “always praise(d)”; AfO 24 (1973): 34/35, 110 “praise forever.” For the time being I have no proposal for the interpretation of me-téš and translate “praise.”

24. I have no proposal for the restoration of the gaps at the beginning.  
26. The beginning will probably have run approximately in this way.  
27. Cf. A. Falkenstein, ZA 52 (1957): 74.

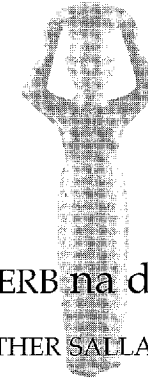
## REVERSE

1. There probably is no connection with PSD A/1, 163 a-sag-ba “?”
2. Is pa-è-ġu<sub>10</sub>-uš to be understood in a causal (cf. *Die Sumerologie*<sup>2</sup>, 136) or in a final sense? For my proposal to restore [z à<sup>2</sup>]-, see, e.g., *AnOr* 52, 90, 168; *OrSuecana* 19–20 (1970–71): 144, 6’. Who is speaking? See above “Contents” with n. 1.
3. For saġ+pron. suffix+ús, one could perhaps refer to R.D. Biggs, AOAT 25, 40. He also cites Lugal-e XII 39 (see J. van Dijk, *Lugal* 1, 123/2; 150, 551) where the pron. suffix appears in the younger variants but is missing in the Old Babylonian variant.
4. In the gap at the beginning we may perhaps suppose the first part of an expression as has been treated in SKIZ, 60, n. 80 and most recently by P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, 74–75, viz. é<sup>2</sup>-/iri<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup> du<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>-du<sub>6</sub><sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>(-aš<sup>2</sup>); see also OECT 5 (Oxford 1976), 22, 41. The original meaning is probably “count (šed) as mounds,” see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 146; PSD A/2, 49 a<sub>2</sub>-dam 2.; PSD A/3, 73 ak 3.4; CAD M/1, 221/28 *manû* lex./8: “change, turn into”; the expression has also been more freely translated by J. van Dijk, *Lugal* 1, 143: 696: “réduire en ruines” (“object” iri) and P. Michalowski, loc. cit.: “raze to ruins/into rubble,” “become mounds.” For the reading of the verbal root še / id, see P. Attinger, ELS, 142, n. 136. For saġar-da šár, see A. Falkenstein, GSGL 1<sup>2</sup>, 116, n. 7; W. Römer, *Das sumerische Kurzepos “Bilgameš und Akka,”* AOAT 209/1 (Kevelaer; Neukirchen/Vluyt 1980), 82–84.
5. If the reading of the fourth visible sign as ur<sub>4</sub><sup>1?</sup> — very doubtful, almost as problematic as a reading kíġ or tuk would be (cf. K. Volk, *Inanna und Sukaletuda*, 157, n. 704)! — should prove correct, both meanings “gather” (see AHw, 315 *hamāmu(m)* G LL; lb; D) and “overwhelm”

- (see CAD A/2, 424–25 *ašāšu* B lex.; Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuecana* 22 [1973]: 113; PSD A/1, 111 a-ma-ru 3) could be taken into consideration. Would *ur<sub>4</sub>*<sup>17</sup> with the meaning “make shudder” or the like (see CAD A/2, 236 *arāru* B lex.; M.J. Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-Hul. Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations*, FAOS 12 [Stuttgart 1985], 99) be equally possible? For *nu-ġál-la ku<sub>4</sub>* I refer to HKSS, 73; W.W. Hallo; and J. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna*, YNER 3 (New Haven and London 1968), 83 with relation to Tinney, NL, 104: 102 *iri<sub>x</sub>(ÚRU)-ġál-la-bi nu-ġál-la mi-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra-àm* “the existing city there he made to a non-existing one,” where *nu-ġál-la* perhaps is to be understood as a kind of “participle,” not as an “infinitive.”
6. Å. Sjöberg, PSD B, 138 *bara<sub>2</sub>* 1.8.1 seems to have emended our *dúr-ġar* (A) into *dúr-ġar-ra*. Is this necessary? Collation?
7. Is the epithet that precedes the GNF Ninnibru to be read *nin-zi* (thus J.S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 136–37) or *MUNUS.ŠÈ-zi = égi-zi* (the reading hesitatingly adopted here)?
- 8/9. The lines A rev. 8/9, 14/15, and 16/17 (/ /B4' /5') are possibly to be taken together (indentures!) each time as one instead of two lines: the *saġarra* could then have consisted of two stanzas of 7 lines each just as is the case with the *šabatuk* and the *sagidda*, which both count 7 lines! The fact that between lines 7 and 8/9 there is no interruption of thoughts causes perhaps a difficulty. Similarly, in spite of the absence of an indenture, A rev. 24/25 are perhaps to be taken together as the *uru<sub>16</sub>* usually counts three lines. For *inim-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga*, see perhaps AHw, 1346 *tēmī/ēqu(m)* 2a; A. Falkenstein, SGL 1, 136. The same interpretation seems possible, e.g., in SGL 1, 122: 33; W.W. Hallo, *Zikir Sumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. G. van Driel et al. (Leyden 1982), 100, 32 (cf. pp. 108–9); *Fs. Römer*, 348, 16; *JCS* 29 (1977): 31, 14; SKIZ, 32, 56; R. Borger, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. KJ. 1991/nr. 2, 38, 32; 33, but “favourable word” should be translated in SKIZ, 211, 46. It should be noted that J.S. Cooper, *AnOr* 52, 137 renders “with favorable words” in our line!
12. In <sup>d</sup>*Nin-urta-ke<sub>4</sub>*<sup>1</sup> we have to assume a double genitive postposition: *-ak-ak > -ak-e*, see *Die Sumerologie*<sup>2</sup>, 68 with n. 210; below A rev. 27: <sup>d</sup>*Nin-urta-ka-kam*. The rest of this line remains unclear to me; cf. Å. Sjöberg, *OrNS* 35 (1966): 291; not in PSD A/3, 35–41 under *aga* A; B; C.
13. For *za-a-šè gala<sub>7</sub>* see H. Steible, *Rīmsīn, mein König*, 70 with n. 229; neg.: A. Kapp, *ZA* 51 (1955): 86. Cf. also SKIZ, 53, 278: <sup>d</sup>*En-līl-šè ġál-la-me-en*.

- 16/17. Beside *mas-su* (also *mas-sù*) “leader” (see CAD M/1, 327 *massû* lex.; SKIZ, 243–44; HKSS, 98–99; F.A. Ali, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools*, Xerocopy 64–10, 343 (Philadelphia; Ann Arbor 1964), 128, n. 9; M. Green, *Eridu in Sumerian Literature*, Xerocopy (Chicago 1975), 78; OECT 5, 22, 73) we sometimes find *mas-sú* with probably the same meaning, see SKIZ, 244 (p. 236, 5, cf. S.N. Kramer, *BiOr* 11 [1954]: 174, n. 28); *Fs. Römer*, 349, 3'; SL, p. 130: B16, 1 (var. A; B, cf. J. van Dijk, *OrNS* 58 [1964]: 444, 26 with p. 446); M.G. Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God Nanna/Suen*, 803, 30; 833, 44. For *túm-túm-mu* I only refer to AHw, 1473 *warûm* II Gtn 2.
19. Here we probably encounter one of the rare cases in which the abl-instrumental infix refers to the animate class (-*mu-ta-*); cf., e.g., Th. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, ed. W.L. Moran (Cambridge, Mass. 1970), 261–62; HKSS, p. 46.
20. The expression *zar-ġin<sub>7</sub> hē-ús-'ù-ú*'s is partially unclear to me. For *zar-ġin<sub>7</sub>* see HKSS, p. 103; 182. The verb *ús(-ús)* here perhaps means “put on a row,” cf. CAD S, 11–16 *sadāru*, lex.; 3a; 5c; CAD R, 226–27; 239 *redû* A lex.; 8. For the writing *ús-ù-ús*, see Å. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 360; cf. also *OrSuecana* 19–20 (1970–71): 143, 40': *-ú-ús*. Should this interpretation prove correct, *ki-bala* must be an “accusative” pl. (cf. above obv. l. 22). In *ki-bala-nu-še-ga-na* I suppose a genitival construction, just as we find it perhaps in *OrSuecana* 22 (1973): 109, 27 in the opinion of M.A. Dupret, *OrNS* 43 (1974): 334, whereas A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 52 (1957): 74, n. 1 and probably also Å. Sjöberg, *OrSuecana* 22 (1973): 111 consider *-ga-na* there as a fault for *-ga-ni*; Sjöberg translated there: “the land which is not obedient to him.” Cf. also SKIZ, 14, 37 *kur-nu-še-ga-zu*; above, A17' / B12'! A locative postposition seems to me less probable because the “object” (corpses or the like) would then be missing. I have not taken together lines 19 and 20 (cf. above to rev. 8/9), although an antiphon of only one line is attested, see A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1950): 97–98.
22. In my translation of *suġuš* (22; 23) as “foundation” I follow PSD B, 163 *bu* 1.4. In PSD A/1, 111 a-ma-ru 3 Å. Sjöberg renders: “roots.”
23. Å. Sjöberg, *Fs. Römer*, 351 omits *en* in his transliteration of A rev. 23. Collation? Is *en* in B rev. 11' really missing? As Å. Sjöberg, loc. cit., shows in his transliteration, the rest of line B rev. 11' is missing.
- 24/25. For *ša<sub>5</sub>-ša<sub>5</sub>(AK.AK)* in connection with *gi-ġin<sub>7</sub>* see also D. Charpin and J.M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de Strasbourg* 1 (Paris 1981), Pl. 63: 155, 3 (ergative: *Ningirsu!*); CAD Q, 85; with an “object” *kar* “quay” (by an a-maḥ): Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations* 1, 123, 21

(rest., cf. op. cit., 144); 322, a+42; 2, 506, a+86; 529, 54 (cf. op. cit., 776). Would a translation "treat as reeds" (cf. PSD A/3, 75 ak 5.5.1) also be conceivable? We try to render the verbal form at the end of l. 25 literally.



## THE SUMERIAN VERB *na de<sub>5</sub>*(-g) "TO CLEAR"\*

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THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION of the Sumerian verb *na de<sub>5</sub>* takes its departure from the results of the careful analysis offered by the jubilarian more than twenty years ago in his well-known article dealing with "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi."<sup>1</sup> May he accept it as a small tribute of just one student who has learned so much of third millennium Sumerian from his writings.

In the mentioned article, Jacob Klein describes the situation as follows: "the compound *na-RI(-g)* appears as the root of three Sumerian verbs, with entirely different meanings, and practically unknown etymologies:

1. *na-RI(-g)* I 'to give instructions' (Akk. *ašārum*)
2. *na-RI(-g)* II 'to purify, cleanse' (Akk. *elēlum*)
3. *na-RI(-g)* III 'to perish, fall/fell.'"

This description corresponds very well with the attested contexts: *na de<sub>5</sub>* I (for the reading see below) most often occurs in the context of verbal

\* This study grew out of my current work on a Sumerian glossary, which is prepared in cooperation with Pascal Attinger, Berne. Pascal Attinger provided me with his data base of literary texts, which was of invaluable help in collecting references. I am obliged to Bram Jagersma and Remco de Maaijer for their transliterations of Sumerian administrative texts, to Bram Jagersma also for his information on his current work on a Sumerian grammar of the third millennium. Furthermore, this study has been greatly facilitated by the data provided via Internet by Steve Tinney (Index to Sumerian Secondary Literature) and Jeremy A. Black et al. (Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature). Gratefully I acknowledge the advice I have received from Pascal Attinger after his critical reading of the text and from Karen Radner, who saved me from terrible mistakes of expression. However, for those remaining no one else than the author has to be blamed.

1. J. Klein, "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi," in: G. B. Sarfatti et al. (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages Dedicated to the Memory of Prof. Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher* (Ramat-Gan 1980), IX–XXVIII.

instructions; na de<sub>5</sub> II is most prominent in incantations; and na de<sub>5</sub> III is apparently restricted to Old Sumerian administrative texts from Girsu. The relatively limited specific contexts in which the verb na RI is met explain well the two different Akkadian translations.

The solution offered by Klein has been generally accepted.<sup>2</sup> My considerations start from the question as to how three (or four) homophone verbs might have come into existence. Given the constant orthography, the ending -g and the exclusivity of a nominal element na in a compound verb, there is no need to propose two (or three) homographic verbs of different spellings. The combination of a rare nominal element na and the not too frequent verb de<sub>5</sub>(-g) also speaks against two 'real' homonyms of different etymological background. Thus, one would have to assume polysemy, three or even four (see below) specific meanings derived from a common basic meaning.

This article is devoted to the detection of such a basic or original meaning. The basic meaning often leads to a better understanding of the grammatical construction of a verb, although this does not apply to our case. More importantly, the awareness of the basic meaning contributes essentially to the specific meaning. Even if we would not change our translation of, e.g., na de<sub>5</sub> I "to give instructions" in the formulaic expression na ga-(e)-de<sub>5</sub> na-de<sub>5</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> he<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> "I will instruct you; may my instruction be accepted by you" (see (9) below), knowledge about the second meaning "to cleanse" of the same verb enhances the understanding of the respective phrase and its context. In this way, we are starting to reconstruct the semantic range of the Sumerian verb, and we are not dealing any more with the semantic ranges of translations, be it Akkadian (*ašārum*) or any standard modern European language ("to give instructions," "unterweisen").

On the other hand, the whole scope of Akkadian translations helps to define the semantics of a word. The catalogue of Akkadian translations of a Sumerian word resembles very much the look in any modern dictionary, besides the facts that (1) Akkadian translations have been collected and are preserved haphazardly without the systematic treatment of a dictionary, and that (2) all translations are practically deprived of their (idiomatic, pragmatic, social) context. To illustrate this point, I quote from a medium-sized English-German dictionary (*Langenscheidts Großes Schulwörterbuch*), a selection of the translations given for the transitive verb "to clear" (meanings 13.–25. of the entry "clear"): "13. a[*lso*] ~ *up* (auf)klären, erläutern; 14. säubern, reinigen (a[*lso*] fig[uratively]), befreien; losmachen (of von): to ~ the street of snow die Straße von Schnee reinigen; 15. Saal etc. räumen, leeren;

2. Further references are collected by P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne*, 621.

*Waren(lager) räumen [...]; Tisch abräumen, abdecken; Straße freimachen; Land, Wald roden: to ~ the way Platz machen, den Weg bahnen; to ~ out of the way fig. beseitigen; 16. reinigen, säubern [...]; 17. frei-, lossprechen [...]; [...] 20. Gewinn erzielen, einheimen: to ~ expenses die Unkosten einbringen; 21. nautical term a) Schiff klarmachen (for action zum Gefecht), b) Schiff ausklariieren, c) Ladung löschen, d) Hafen verlassen, ...."* The equation na de<sub>5</sub> = "to clear" given as title of this contribution has thus lost its clarity and a more exact description of the meaning has to be supplied.

Our general considerations have led us to the conclusion that na de<sub>5</sub>(-g) I–III should be taken as specific meanings of one verb deduced from a hitherto unknown basic meaning. The detection of this basic meaning poses a problem since semantic shifts do not follow predictable patterns. Thus our reconstruction has to start with an in-depth study of the various specific meanings.

#### *Reading of na de<sub>5</sub>(-g), Verbal Class*

The major sources for the reading and meaning of the verb na de<sub>5</sub> have been collected by Jacob Klein in his article, which forms the point of departure for our investigation. Some of these sources have received further elaboration, others have been published since then. Hence, for the convenience of the reader an updated list of the most important sources is presented here.

The reading of the verbal base RI-g as de<sub>5</sub>-g containing the so-called "d<sup>r</sup>-phoneme" (ř) seems to be generally accepted nowadays.<sup>3</sup>

The prime source for this reading is:

- (1) Proto-Ea 130 (MSL 14, 36): de-e (4x), di-i (2x), de<sub>3</sub>-e (1x) RI

This reading of na de<sub>5</sub>-g is corroborated by unorthographic variants and glosses (cf. below (14) for lexical lists):

- (2) Gudea Cyl. B vi 14: na-de<sub>6</sub>(DU) šum<sub>2</sub> (// na-de<sub>5</sub>(RI) šum<sub>2</sub> Cyl. B xii 9)<sup>4</sup>

3. The reading de<sub>5</sub> instead of ri (thereby avoiding a transliteration ři) conforms to du<sub>3</sub> (i.e., řu<sub>2</sub>). Apart from the seminal article of J. Bauer, "Zum /dr/-Phonem des Sumerischen," WO 8 (1975–76): 1–9 (there p. 3 n.15 on na de<sub>5</sub>), cf., e.g., S. Lieberman, SLOB I: 441 No. 561; J. Krecher, WO 4 (1968): 266; Sjöberg, ZA 59 (1969): 17–18 (temple name e<sub>2</sub>-rab-di<sub>5</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> written also e<sub>2</sub>-rab-di-di); C. Wilcke, ZA 68 (1978): 212 n.11; cf. also Klein, as note 1: XXI f. n. 49–50 (*ad* na-RI), and the literature cited by K. Volk, *Inanna and Šukaletuda* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 168 with n. 784. The so-called /dr/-phoneme and its loss in the Old Babylonian period is discussed by Bram Jagersma in an article in press in a volume on diachronic and synchronic variations of Sumerian, edited by J. Black and G. Zólyomi as ASJ 22 ("2000").

4. On the interchange of de<sub>5</sub>(RI) and de<sub>6</sub>(DU) in Ur III texts, cf. C. Wilcke, "Flurschäden [...]" in: H. Klengel and J. Renger (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient*.

- (3) A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 (1995): 26, Old Babylonian incantation against the Evil Eye I. 48 (Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian from Meturan, C = CT 58, 79; D = CT 44, 34):

MA 48 nu-un-du-un ku na-di-ga-a-za

MB 3' nun-du ku<sub>3</sub> 'na de<sub>5</sub>-ga<sup>1</sup>-(a)-za

C 45 tu<sub>6</sub>(KAXLI) ku<sub>3</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-za

D 42' nundum?(KAX?) ku<sub>3</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-[g]a-za

"through your purified lips" (Cavigneaux l. c. 30: "grâce à tes lèvres «consacrées»")

- (4) A. Cavigneaux, *Studies Boehmer*, 63:

VS 17, 19:1-2:

en-ki-ne nin-ki-e-ne maš<sub>2</sub> ħulu tub<sub>2</sub>-ba nun-e na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>  
// H 66:1:

maš ħu-ul tu-pa nun-ni na di-ga

// ASKT 12:30:

en<sub>2</sub>: maš ħulu tub<sub>2</sub>-ba nun-e na de<sub>5</sub>-ga

"evil-butting goat, purified by the prince (= Enki)."

- (5) *Enlil and Ninlil* 13-14, Text C = *JRAS* 1919, 190-91 (BM 38600):

u<sub>4</sub>-ba ki-sikil ku<sub>3</sub> ama ugu-a-ni ša<sub>3</sub> na-mu-un-de<sub>5</sub><sup>di</sup>-de<sub>5</sub><sup>di</sup> (A:  
ama ugu-na, ša // ša<sub>3</sub>; B, G, I: ama ugu-ni) // *ina ūmīšu* MIN  
*umma alittaša iššarši (iš-šar-ši)*

<sup>d</sup>nin-lil<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nun-bar-še-gunu<sub>3</sub><sup>nu</sup> ša<sub>3</sub> na-mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub> (A:  
<sup>d</sup>nin-lil<sub>2</sub>-le, ša // ša<sub>3</sub>, A, B, G, I: ...-še-gu-nu) // MIN *Nissaba*  
*iššarši (iš-šar-ši)*

"On that day, the splendid girl, — her mother is enlightening her,  
Ninlil, — Nunbaršegunu is enlightening her."

Among the commentaries to this line see especially R.D. Biggs and M. Civil, *RA* 60 (1966): 2 with note 5; H. Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil*, StP s.m. 8 (Rome, 1978), 76-77; on the translation J.S. Cooper, *JCS* 32 (1980): 177-78; Schretter, *Emesal-Studien*, 251, # 416a. /ša - de/, all with further literature.

- (6) Further examples:

a) Inanna and the *numun*-plant I. 1; S.N. Kramer, *Studies C. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 91:1: ab-ba na mu-un-de "the old man is

*Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale ... BBVO* 18 (Berlin, 1999), 301 (with earlier literature), and the article by Jagersma cited in the preceding note.

instructed (i.e., he knows)." Kramer, loc. cit., 95, explains na de as writing of na de<sub>5</sub>; for the verbal form see (23) below.

- b) VS 10, 123 iv 10: ša<sub>3</sub> na-ma-an-di-di // ša<sub>3</sub> na-ma-an-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>  
ibid. iv 6; see Alster, *Instructions* 125 and Schretter loc. cit.

The vowel of the verbal base is /e/ according to Proto-Ea, whereas the Old Sumerian prefix chains<sup>5</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>, bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>, i<sub>3</sub>-mi-di<sub>5</sub> demand /i/ (thus di<sub>5</sub>); the only exceptions are e-me-de<sub>5</sub> (DP 428) and be<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>5</sub> (DP 429).

The verb belongs to the "Reduplication class," *ħamtu* stem de<sub>5</sub>-g (e.g., na de<sub>5</sub>-ga), *marū* stem de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub> (vocalic ending): cf. (5) and *Instructions of Šuruppag* 6, (21) dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub> "he is informing his son," both introducing direct speech and thus demanding present-future tense.<sup>6</sup>

According to references (5) and (6b), the Emesal form of na de<sub>5</sub> is ša di (or de). Furthermore, the form ša re/i-b is attested in unorthographic Sumerian texts (7a) and probably in the Emesal vocabulary (7).

- (7) Emesal voc. III 105 (MSL 4, 36 + CT 19, 35) še re<sub>7</sub>-[ba] = [na de<sub>5</sub>-ga] = *a-ši-ir-tum*; see Klein, as n.1: XXI n. 49; Schretter, *Emesal-Studien*, 256 no. 440 še su<sub>8</sub>-[ba] with further literature, no further improvement given by R. Borger, in: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (eds.), *Dubsar antamen* (= *Studies Römer*), AOAT 253 (Münster, 1998): 33 ("Rs. I 11").

- (7a) A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 40, lists the following Emesal references of a phrase similar to (3):

šu-um-du-um ša<sub>3</sub> ri-ba-še<sub>3</sub> (*JCS* 29, 9:9')

šu-um-du-um ša ri-ba (VS 2, 4 vi 5)

šu-um-du-um šar<sub>2</sub>-ri-ba (CT 42, 22 iv 7 and vi 19; RA 15, 128 obv. 21)

The alternations main dialect na : Emesal ša (instead the single še of (7)) and Ceg : Ceb (C = consonant) correspond to the expected forms (cf. Schretter, *Emesal-Studien*, 68 and 50). Here, the /dr/-phoneme has developed to /r/ as in the "Southern" Sumerian dialect of the late third millennium (see Jagersma, note 4).

5. G. Selz, *ASJ* 17 (1995): 260-61; A. Deimel, *Or* SP 16 (1925): 61f.; M. Yoshikawa, *Or* 47 (1978): 476; and see below (33)-(52).

6. The entry "ri" in the glossary of M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen 1984), 312, is a mix-up of the verbs ri (variant ru, vocalic ending) "to direct towards" and de<sub>5</sub>-g "to collect" (on the latter see below, p. 250). This confusion is not rare in the Sumerological literature. Unexpected is na mu-ni-ib-de<sub>5</sub>-ge in *EnlSud* 77 according to M. Civil's transliteration in *JAOS* 103 (1983): 54; the only published source K (SLFN 2) reads na mu-ni-ib-de<sub>5</sub> (Nanibgal is the agent!).

## Akkadian Translations

1. *ašāru*: a. I etwa "ordnend überwachen; betreuen" (AHw, 79) = "to muster, review" (Black et al., CDA s.v.), a. A "to muster, organize, marshal (forces), to provide with food rations, to check, control, instruct" (CAD A/2, 420).

For bilingual attestations see already (5) above, as well as the following references for na-de<sub>5</sub> = *aširtu* (7, 8), *āšīru* (9, 10):

(8) *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld* 183 // *Gilgameš XII* 12, Gilgameš instructing Enkidu before the latter's descent to the Netherworld: na ga-(e)-de<sub>5</sub> na-de<sub>5</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> // *ana aširtija* [...].

(9) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 9 (and Akkadian version; see Alster, *Instructions* 121–22): dumu-ḡu<sub>10</sub> na ga-de<sub>5</sub> (var. ge-de<sub>5</sub>) na-de<sub>5</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> // *ma-ri l[u]'-... a-še]-er-ti ša-bat* "I will instruct you; may my instruction be accepted by you."<sup>7</sup>

(10) Charpin, *CRRA* 35 (1992): 9:9, bilingual letter to Zimrilim:

[<sup>d</sup>]a-gan kur-gal a-a diḡir gal-gal-e-ne na-de<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>a-nun-[na] // *Dagān šadū rabū abi ilī [rabbūtīm] (w)āšer (wa-še-er) E[nūnakkī]* "Dagān, 'Great Mountain', father of the great gods, instructor of the Anūnakkū."

(11) (a) Weissbach, *BabMisc.* no. 13: 49f., praise of Marduk: umun <sup>d</sup>di-ku<sub>5</sub>-maḥ-a na-de<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne // *bēlu Madānu āšir (a-šir) Anūnnakī* "Lord Madanu who marshals the Anūnakkū" (translation CAD).

(b) Ebeling, *ArOr* 21, 364: 52, zi-pa<sub>3</sub>-incantation addressing Marduk: [n]a-de<sub>5</sub> maḥ // *āširi širi* within the following list of epithets: (50) *šar kiššat šamē u eršetim* (51) *pāqid nagbi* (52) *āširi širi* (53) *ša šamē u eršetim*.

(12) *MEE* 4, 300 VE 901: na-de<sub>5</sub> = *wa-ša-lu-um, wa-ša<sup>1</sup>(LI)-lu-um*.

On the interpretation of the Eblaite translation as *ašarum*, see G. Conti, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Miscellanea Eblaitica*, 1, QuSem. 15 (Firenze, 1988), 53. Conti interpretes VE 899 na-du<sub>3</sub> = *maš-ar-tum/du-um* as a variant of the same verb, accepted by Selz, *ASJ* 17 (1995): 256 n.18. However, Conti fails to explain the metathesis of the first two radicals.

7. This routine formula of literary texts has been treated by Attinger, *Eléments*, 236 (with more references); he discusses the reading of the second verb ḥe<sub>2</sub>-(e)-dab<sub>5</sub> as dab<sub>5</sub> ("puisse mon conseil 'prendre à toi'") or tuš ("s'installer/prendre placesur toi"). The choice of the reading dab<sub>5</sub> is admittedly conditioned by the Akkadian translation in (9); I understand the 2nd person prefix -e- as ergative (thus allowing a modal verbal form ḥe<sub>2</sub> + preterite), lit. "you should have accepted."

(*maš'artum* vs. *\*māšartum*), and thus this entry of VE is not considered here.

Finally, the confusing translations of the Nergal song 4 R 30 no.1 20ff.<sup>8</sup> should be cited in this context. As J.S. Cooper has made clear (*JCS* 32 [1980]: 177–78), there is no direct correspondence between Sumerian and Akkadian text. The text is cited from his edition:

(13) 4 R<sup>2</sup> 30 no. 1 20ff. = *JCS* 32, 178:

(2) dim<sub>3</sub>-me-er na-aḡ<sub>2</sub>-KU na-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ge-eš : na-aḡ<sub>2</sub>-gel-le-eḡ<sub>2</sub>-ḡa<sub>2</sub>

*ilī ina šahluḡti tal-qu<sub>2</sub>!(LU)-ut : talḡut : tušamḡit*

(3) dim<sub>3</sub>-me-er an-na mu-un-su<sub>8</sub>-su<sub>8</sub>-ge-eš : me<sub>3</sub> su<sub>8</sub>-su<sub>8</sub>-ge-eš : mu-e-ši-sig-ge-eš

*ilī ša šamē tāšur : ana tāḡazi izzazzūka*

In (2) de<sub>5</sub> is translated by *laqātu* and *šumqutu*; *ašāru* in (3) apparently corresponds to de<sub>5</sub> in (2), misunderstanding the form as na de<sub>5</sub>.

Sign lists cite the meaning of compound verbs under the simple verbal base. Thus, the translation of na de<sub>5</sub> may also be found with simple de<sub>5</sub>(RI) = *laqātu* etc., also *maqātu* (see below, p. 250):

(14) Proto-Aa 130:2: [de]-e RI *wa-ša-[ru-um]*,

but also [ri]-i RI *wašārum* ibid. 129:10 (MSL 14, 93)

Cf. also: [de-e] [RI] *a-šā<sup>1</sup>-ru* S<sup>a</sup> Voc. F 2a (MSL 3, 57, CAD A/2, 420), confirmed by Emar S<sup>a</sup> Voc. 88–89, see Å.W. Sjöberg, *ZA* 88 (1998): 249 ad 89:

RI *ašru*

te (Msk. 74 199a)

t[i-x?] (74 1058a i 1') RI *aširtu*

A II/7 ii 6a' (MSL 14, 297) has been reconstructed as follows:

(de-e) (RI) [*a-ša-ru*]

de<sub>2</sub> translated by *ašāru* probably represents an unorthographic spelling of the same verb de<sub>5</sub>, standing for na de<sub>5</sub>:

(15) Ea IV 176: de-e DE<sub>2</sub> *a-[ša<sub>2</sub>-rum]* MSL 14, 362, reconstructed after A IV/3 155': de-e DE<sub>2</sub> *a-ša<sub>2</sub>-rum* MSL 14, 382.

The two earliest lexical lists, the Ebla Vocabulary (12) and Proto-Aa (14), as well as the Old Babylonian bilingual letter to Zimrilim (10) give the

8. The text has been cited often in discussions of na de<sub>5</sub>. A first edition is the one of J. Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, LSS1/6 (Leipzig 1904), 42–55, text no. 7.

Akkadian verb as *wašārum* instead of *ašārum*. The verb *wašārum* is understood as "to sink down" (CDA; AHw, 1484 "sich senken"), "to be humble" (CAD A/2, 422 *ašāru* B), better known is the adjective *wašrum* "humble." J.-M. Durand, *LPO* 16, 106, offers another solution for the problem posed by (10). He proposes a verb *wašārum*, which apparently corresponds semantically more or less to *ašārum*; *wašrum* is explained as a verbal adjective ("brought in order" = "humble").

The Akkadian dictionaries also list other Sumerian equivalents of *ašāru*:

saḡ en<sub>3</sub> tar (also = *šālu*, *paqādu*) (Kagal B 303–4; bilingual TCL 6 51:33f.), also cited under tar (A III/5:139)

i, i-i (Izi I 10a–11, MSL 13, 160)

umun<sub>2</sub> AK (BWL 244 r. iv 25)

lu<sub>2</sub> igi-du<sub>8</sub> AK-a *ašīru*, saḡ en<sub>3</sub> tar *pāqīdu* Erimḥuš V 146–47 (MSL 17, 73)

igi kar<sub>2</sub>-kar<sub>2</sub> // *tāšertum* (Old Babylonian) "control, checking"

Taken together, these translations make clear that na de<sub>5</sub> // *ašāru* is semantically closer to saḡ en<sub>3</sub> tar *paqādu* "to care for, to instruct" (note also igi kar<sub>2</sub>) than, e.g., to a<sub>2</sub> aḡ<sub>2</sub>-ḡa<sub>2</sub> (*wu*)'urum "to give an order," ad ge<sub>4</sub> *malāku* "to give advice," zu *edū* (Š) "to (let) know."

2. *elēlu* D "to purify" and *ellu* "pure," *tēliltu* "purification"; see the dictionaries for references.

Other Sumerian verbs translated with *elēlu*, *ellu* are first of all ku<sub>3</sub> and sikil, furthermore, e.g., gub<sub>2</sub>, dalla, gerin, za-gin<sub>3</sub>, tam. Here, the distribution of Akkadian translations does not help to pinpoint the meaning more precisely, but we have to evaluate the contexts (see below).

3. The last two references from lexical lists, (16) and (17), remain unexplained:

- (16) [udu de<sub>5</sub>]-'de<sub>5</sub>-ga' *miqittu*  
 [udu de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>]-ga *šuparruru*  
 [udu na d]e<sub>5</sub>-ga MIN Hh XIII 30–32 (MSL 8/1, 9)<sup>9</sup>

The restorations are suggested by Nippur Forerunner 19–20 (MSL 8/1, 83), now attested also at *Emar* 6/4, 550: 21'–22': udu de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga, udu na de<sub>5</sub>-ga.

Whereas de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga *miqittum* "downfall, dead animals" is well known (see below p. 250), *šuparruru* "outspreed" is only here connected with sheep.

9. See Klein, as note 1, XXII n. 50: n 51.

- (17) na de<sub>5</sub> KU<sup>?</sup> MIN (= *šiddu birtu*) MIN (= EME.TE.NA<sub>2</sub>) "Crethi and Plethi," ZA 9, 164 iv 15; see BWL 286.

#### 4. On the term for libanomancy

My discussion of the Akkadian translations closes with a note on niḡ<sub>2</sub>-na de<sub>5</sub>-ga *qutrēnu* "incense." J. Klein's study of na de<sub>5</sub> started from the occurrence of "niḡ<sub>2</sub>(-)-na(-)de<sub>5</sub>-ga" in Šulgi C 102, Šulgi claiming knowledge of all kinds of divination including libanomancy (Klein, as note 1, XV). As a semantic link with na de<sub>5</sub> is difficult to establish (see below), I would prefer the first solution offered by Klein loc. cit., XVI–XVII, namely to divide niḡ<sub>2</sub>-na de<sub>5</sub>-ga; the relevant passage would perhaps read niḡ<sub>2</sub>-na de<sub>5</sub>-ga IGI PI/x-re<sup>10</sup> "to inspect" the heaped up (lit. "collected")<sup>11</sup> censer" (instead of niḡ<sub>2</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-ga, lit. "the consecrated thing").<sup>12</sup> This, however, must remain uncertain.

#### Verbal Forms of na de<sub>5</sub> in Literary Texts

The following selection of finite verbal forms should allow a quick check of the construction of the verb na de<sub>5</sub>. The construction of the compound verb conforms with the expected patterns, thus the case of the oblique object<sup>13</sup> or the form na-še<sub>3</sub> if the contents of the "instruction" are mentioned before (construction like, e.g., NAME mu-še<sub>3</sub> še<sub>21</sub>, GIFT saḡ-še<sub>3</sub> riḡ<sub>7</sub>). References not belonging to the Old Babylonian period are indicated as such.

"to instruct/purify someone" = 3. personal (-ni-, -n-):

- (18) na mu-un-ni-in-de<sub>5</sub>-ga mu-uš-tu<sub>9</sub> muštu mu-na-zi<sub>2</sub>-iḡ<sub>3</sub> "She had instructed her, gave her understanding" *Enlil and Ninlil* 22 (A).

10. Klein, loc. cit., XV draws attention to the parallel in Lu II iii 22' (MSL 12, 120), niḡ<sub>2</sub> (-)na(-)de<sub>5</sub>-ga igi bar-ra *bārū ša qutrinni* "diviner of incense." The infinite verb in Šulgi C 102 is transliterated by Klein as SIG<sub>5</sub>-re, for which he proposes a reading kur<sub>7</sub>-ra/re *šarāpu* "to burn" (i.e., gurum<sub>2</sub> AK-a "to refine" silver, Nabnitu XXIII 128, MSL 16, 215). Cavigneaux, ZA 85 (1995): 43 n. 20, see (3), reads Šulgi C 102 igi wa/bar<sub>x</sub>(UD)-re.

11. On de<sub>5</sub>-g "to collect, to gather," see below and cf. C. Walker and M. Dick, SAALT 1, 103: Miš pi inc. 1/2 C:2 na-izi ki sikil-ta [(de<sub>5</sub>)-]de<sub>5</sub>-ga "incense, collected from a pure place."

12. Cavigneaux, ZA 85, 43, does not offer a solution on this point.

13. The construction of the oblique object is now conveniently summarized in the article of G. Zólyomi, "Directive infix and oblique object in Sumerian," *Or* 68 (1999): 215–53.

- (19) *zi-u<sub>4</sub>-sud-ra<sub>2</sub> dumu-ni-ra na-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ni-in-de<sub>5</sub>* “(the preceding speech) Ziusudra gave as instruction to his son” (preterite) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 75/80 etc.<sup>14</sup>
- (20) *saḡ-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-na u-me-ni-ḡar na u-me-ni-de<sub>5</sub>* (// *ina qaqqadišu šukun ullišu-ma*) “put it (the dough) on his (the patient’s) head, purify him,” (and after further treatment, the headache will disappear), CT 17, 22:136 (post-Old Babylonian).
- (21) *šuruppag<sup>ki</sup>-e dumu-ni-ra na na-mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>* “Šuruppag instructed his son” (present-future introducing direct speech) *Instructions of Šuruppag* 6 (cf. 7–8 etc.), cf. the Emesal form in (5).
- (22) *(ama) na <nu>-mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>* “(his mother) is not instructing him” (present-future) *Lugalbanda II* 3 (see C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbanda-Epos*).
- (23) *u<sub>4</sub> ul uru<sub>4</sub><sup>ru</sup> dumu-ni na mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>* “the son of the tiller of old times is instructed (as follows)” *Farmer’s Instructions* 1;<sup>15</sup> cf. also (6a) *ab-ba na mu-un-de* (de = de<sub>5</sub>).
- = 2. P. (Old Babylonian -e-)
- (24) *na ga-e-de<sub>5</sub>* “I will instruct you (dir.)” in the standard formula, see (8), (9) and note, Old Babylonian orthography, e.g., *Enki and Ninḫursaḡa* 129, *ge-de<sub>5</sub>* *Instructions of Šuruppag* 79/84. *na ga-de<sub>5</sub>* *idem*, pre-Old Babylonian orthography, Gudea Cyl.A vi 14.

“to give instructions” (one participant)

- (25) *d<sub>4</sub>-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne na ba-an-de<sub>5</sub>-ge-eš-am<sub>3</sub>* “the Anuna were giving instructions” *Nippur Lament* 19.

14. The variants and deviating verbal forms of the *Instructions of Šuruppag* are not listed here.
15. M. Civil translates the phrase as “Old-Man-Tiller instructed his son”; *The Farmer’s Instructions*, AuOr Suppl. 5 (Sabadell, 1994), 29; he justifies the translation “Old-Man-Tiller” in his commentary on p. 67. According to the matrix on p. 207, all preserved sources (D, E in full; A, B, C partly) show *dumu-ni* (no dative!) *na mu-un-de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>*, as do the non-Nippur texts D<sub>3</sub> (p. 50), G<sub>3</sub> (from Babylon; p. 65); this can be translated only as “his son is instructed” (note the different construction in (21)). Civil’s translation is apparently influenced by the two texts from Ur, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub>, who read *u<sub>4</sub>-ul uru<sub>4</sub>-e*. The Nippur texts show either *u<sub>4</sub>-ul uru<sub>4</sub><sup>ru</sup>* (B, D) or *engar-ra* (hardly *uru<sub>4</sub><sup>ru</sup>* = /ura/) (A, also non-Nippur D3), which I take as anticipatory genitive. The person “instructed” is thus a descendent (dumu) of generations of farmers; the ultimate instructor is the divine farmer Ninurta, as said at the end of the poem.

“To Purify, to Consecrate” and “to Instruct” — One Verb or Two?

In incantations, *na de<sub>5</sub>(-ga)* is translated as *ullulu* “to purify,” *ellu* “pure,” *tēliltu* “purification” (see Klein, as note 1, esp. XVIII–XX with n. 41–45). As incantations are mostly intended to obtain purity, words for “pure” or “to purify” are especially frequent there, above all *ku<sub>3</sub>*, *sikil*, or *dadag*; *gub<sub>2</sub>* is practically restricted to a *gub<sub>2</sub>-ba* “holy water.” The purification of the patient is expressed by the verbs *ku<sub>3</sub>*, *sikil*, or *dadag*, whereas *na de<sub>5</sub>* is almost never used in this context (an exception is CT 17, 22:136, see (20)).<sup>16</sup>

Mostly, *na de<sub>5</sub>* occurs as the verb of a primary “purification” or “consecration” of the *materia magica* like water (26), (27),<sup>17</sup> cedar,<sup>18</sup> juniper,<sup>19</sup> willow (stick) (29), reed,<sup>20</sup> incense,<sup>21</sup> evil-butting goat (4), —or even the incantation priest himself (30). Sometimes, Enki is named as the agent of this consecration, which gives the respective substances their essential quality and thus enables them to act as purifiers. The act of “consecration” is achieved through the words of Enki; (27), (28), cf. (3) and (7a). Whereas all other examples stem from Neo-Sumerian (see note 19), Old Babylonian or later incantations, (31) attests this use of *na de<sub>5</sub>* in Ur III economic documents and (32) in Gudea. Here, the procession boat (31) and the new temple (32) are “consecrated.”

- (26) VS 17, 13:9–10: incantation of holy water, *a na de<sub>5</sub>-ga d<sub>4</sub>en-ki-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>*, *a gub<sub>2</sub>-ba d<sub>4</sub>nin-girim<sub>x</sub>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>* “water, consecrated by Enki, holy water of Ningirima” (see D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d’Ur*, 389).

16. In CT 16, 21: 207, Udughul T. 16, *na de<sub>5</sub>* qualifies the holy water in the Sumerian text, whereas the object of *ullulu* is the patient in Akkadian: *a gub<sub>2</sub>-ba a ku<sub>3</sub>-ga na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>*: MIN *mē ellūti ullišu-ma*.
17. Other references concerning holy water qualified as *na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* include: YOS 11, 43:9; 61:11; *Mispiinc. 1/2*, C 42 (Walker and Dick, SAALT 1, 107), *Šurpu IX* 64 (water of the sea); CT 17, 26:68 (*tu<sub>6</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-za na : ina tēka elli ullil-ma*: *u-me-ni-de<sub>5</sub>* “[l. 67: recite your pure incantation on this water], consecrate it with your pure incantation”); Proto-Kagal 419f. (MSL 13, 78): *a na de<sub>5</sub>-ga*, a KAxLI-KAxLI; on the role of Enkum and Ninkum as in VS 17, 13, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 30 (1970): 170 iv 18 (purification of priest). —I owe some of these references and others presented in note 21 to Anne Löhner, Munich.
18. *š<sup>e</sup>eren gal š<sup>e</sup>eren gal ku<sub>3</sub> š<sup>e</sup>eren na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* YOS 11, 56:1.
19. PBS 13, 35:4–5 (see Klein, as note 1, XX n. 45), ISET 1, 217 Ni. 4716:14 (see G. Conti, MARI 8, 260; G. Cunningham, “*Deliver Me from Evil*,” StP s.m.17, p. 81); both texts are palaeographically dated to the Ur III period.
20. VS 17, 16:6 (*ge sikil na de<sub>5</sub>-ga*), 17:4 (*ge ŠUL-ḫi na de<sub>5</sub>-ga*).
21. Incense or its patron god Kusu is concerned in TIM 9, 70:13; Kusu-Hymn: 15. 22 (Michalowski, *Studies Hallo* p.153); YOS 11, 49:15; *Šurpu IX* 97 (*na-izi*), IX 101 (*niḡ<sub>2</sub>-na na de<sub>5</sub>-ga*). *Šurpu IX* 100 might be read as follows: *ḫur-saḡ sukud-da-na ba-ši-in-de<sub>5</sub>* “in his high mountains he (= *a<sub>2</sub>-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-e*, ‘the mighty one’ of l. 99, i.e., Enki) collected it (the incense)” (post-Old Babylonian, composite text of E. Reiner, *Šurpu*).



- (27) VS 17, 15:11–15; cf. G. Conti, *RA* 82 (1988): 118f.; Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 41: (11) a E<sub>2</sub>.NUN-na-ke<sub>4</sub> (12) ka ku<sub>3</sub>-ga-ni na de<sub>5</sub>-ga (13) a ku<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-ki lu<sub>2</sub> sikil-la-ka (15) ḥu-mu-un-sikil ḥu-mu-un-dadag “the water of the inner chamber, consecrated by his pure mouth,<sup>22</sup> the pure water of Enki, the clean one, —should he(?) be cleansed, be purified.”
- (28) CT 44, 27:13–14 (Old Babylonian): tu<sub>6</sub> na d[e<sub>5</sub>-g]a a <sup>d</sup>nin-girim<sub>x</sub>-ka “with the incantation of consecration, with the water of Ningirima,” see J. van Dijk, *HSAO* 260 (cf. also (3), text C).
- (29) CT 16, 45:143 (*Utukkū lemnūtu*): incantation concerning the willow (<sup>ḡ</sup>eš<sup>ḡ</sup>ma-nu), ka enim-ma tu<sub>6</sub> maḥ eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-(am<sub>3</sub>) // *ina šipti širti šipat Eridu ša tēlilti* “consecrated by the incantation, the august spell of Eridu.”<sup>23</sup>
- (30) CT 16, 22:300–3:  
ḡe<sub>26</sub>-e lu<sub>2</sub> kiḡ<sub>2</sub>-ge<sub>4</sub>-a <sup>d</sup>asar-lu<sub>2</sub>-ḥi-me-en  
// *mār šipri ša Marduk anāku*  
nam-šub na de<sub>5</sub>-ga bi<sub>2</sub>-in-si<sub>3</sub> // *šiptu elletu ina nadē*  
“I (the conjurer) am the messenger of Asarluḥi, I threw the consecrated incantation formula on it.”
- (31) SNATBM 409:7 (confirmed by collation 03/07/00): (1 sheep offering for) ma<sub>2</sub>-e na de<sub>5</sub>-ga “consecration of the boat,” i.e., the boat of Šara to be used in the procession to his rural sanctuary; see Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, vol. I, 241 and II, 152 table 88.<sup>24</sup>
- (32) Gudea Cyl. B iv 1–3 (D.O. Edzard, *RIME* 3/1 p.90): e<sub>2</sub>-e <sup>d</sup>asar-re šu si ba-sa<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ma-da-ke<sub>4</sub> na-de<sub>5</sub> mi-ni-ḡar lugal <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> eš-bar kiḡ<sub>2</sub> ba-an-šum<sub>2</sub> “Asar put the house in order, Ninmada put the consecration into it, King Enki gave it the oracular decision.”

Most Sumerian equivalents of *ellu* “clean, pure” contain semantic nuances that are not found with na de<sub>5</sub>-ga, namely the concepts of light, brightness and brilliance (cf. dadag, dalla, ku<sub>3</sub>), of being untouched (cf.

22. A parallel is the incantation concerning holy water, Reiner, *Šurpu*, Appendix p. 52f.: (6–7) a engur<sup>1</sup>-ra mi<sub>2</sub> zi-de<sub>3</sub>-eš du<sub>11</sub>-[ga] // *mū ša ina apsi kīniš kunnu* (8–9) ka ku<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub> // *pū ellu ša Ea ullilšunūti* “water, treated with care in the deep water, purified by the pure mouth of Enki.”
23. Cf. also Mīs pī Inc. 1/2:41 (Walker and Dick, *SAALT* 1, p.93): <sup>d</sup>asar-lu<sub>2</sub>-ḥi dumu eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-a-ni šu im-ma-an-ti “Asarluḥi, son of Eridu, received his purified materials.”
24. A recently published parallel text is Sigrist, *Yale* 1001, where the corresponding line is transliterated as “má é-[ri]-ga.”

sikil?). Furthermore, na de<sub>5</sub> does not refer to a purification through washing or cleaning (cf. luḥ),<sup>25</sup> but na de<sub>5</sub> seems to indicate that the purity is achieved by putting an object in order so that its clarified essence emerges. This result now allows a semantic connection between the two specific meanings “to purify, to consecrate” (*ullulu*) and “to instruct” (*ašāru*), namely “to put in order, to clarify.”

A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 41, has reached a similar conclusion, although he did not consider the semantic field of “to purify” explicitly:

“Si on essaie, indépendamment des traductions akkadiennes, de trouver un sens [de na de<sub>5</sub> - W.S.] qui convienne aux textes exorcistiques, on pourrait penser à «faire (ou «prononcer» ou «certifier» selon que c’est un *verbum faciendi* ou *dicendi*) idoine, arranger, rendre efficace, valider (pur le rituel)»; [...] «consacrer» est un compromis qui tient compte de l’usage exorcistique du mot mais ignore sa parenté avec le mot na-ri(g) «exercer une activité organisatrice, donner la norme [...], donner des instructions [...]» et «contrôler, vérifier, certifier» tiré de l’équivalence avec l’akkadien *ašāru*.”

The specific meaning “to instruct” of na de<sub>5</sub> gave its title to the *Instructions of Šuruppag* and to the *Farmer’s Instructions*. Now, after the discussion of the verb in incantations, a translation “to clarify, enlighten” offers itself; the *Instructions* are proverbs explaining the world. In the *Nippur Lament*, (25), “to give instructions” is parallel to just decisions in the next phrase; in *Lugalbanda* II 4, the “advice, instruction” of the mother (22) is followed by the father “speaking words” (enim du<sub>11</sub>).

As god giving “instruction” to the country most often Enlil’s vizier Nuska<sup>26</sup> is praised, but also Ninurta,<sup>27</sup> Ningirsu’s son Igalim,<sup>28</sup> and his herald Dimgal-abzu,<sup>29</sup> or Ninḡešzida, Ninsianna, and Ninegal of Ur in

25. Although na de<sub>5</sub> šum<sub>2</sub> can designate the act of cleaning in Inana and Šukaletuda 82 (see the comments of K. Volk, *Inana and Šukaletuda*, pp. 167–68): <sup>ḡ</sup>eš<sup>ḡ</sup>pa-NI e<sub>2</sub>-gal lugal-la-ka na de<sub>5</sub> ba-ab-šum<sub>2</sub>-mu “his (i.e., the king’s?) palm-branch is giving cleanliness to the king’s palace.”—On the Sumerian terms for “pure, to purify,” cf. also J. van Dijk, *Studies Böhl*, 107.
26. Išme-Dagan Qa 10’, Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 (1973): 17: <sup>d</sup>nuska nun na-de<sub>5</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra za-e ši-bi<sub>2</sub>-in-ga-me-en, “Prince Nuska, you are also the instructor of the Ekur” (i.e., sent by Enlil); J. van Dijk, *SGL* II 108 (= *JCS* 4, 138–39): 4; 144 (= *STVC* 37): 22; Sjöberg p. 23 refers also to ISET 1, p. 201 Ni. 9789 rev. 8, Nuska na de<sub>5</sub> diḡir an-ki-a.—On Nuska as vizier of Enlil, see M. P. Streck, s. v. “Nusku,” *RIA* 9 (2001), 630f.
27. Sjöberg, loc. cit., cites BE 29 1 iii 44, 31 7:6; cf. *Farmer’s Instructions* 108.
28. iri-ni eš<sub>3</sub> ḡir-su<sup>ki</sup> na-de<sub>5</sub> šum<sub>2</sub>-mu-da “to give order/clarification to his town, the sanctuary Girsu” Gudea Cyl. A vi 15.
29. edin ki du<sub>10</sub>-ge na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-da, gu<sub>2</sub>-eden-na edin du<sub>10</sub>-ge na-de<sub>5</sub> šum<sub>2</sub>-ma-da “that the steppe, the beautiful place, be enlightened, that clarification is given to the Gu’edena, the beautiful steppe” Gudea Cyl. B xii 7–9.

inscriptions of Rīm-Suen,<sup>30</sup> but in Mari the “Syrian Enlil” Dagān, (10), later also Marduk, (11); furthermore—again in Old Babylonian—institutions as the prison (*Nungal* 32), the palace (Iddin-Dagan A 167) or the school of Nipur (Enlilbani A 180–81).

These references allow a further precision of *na de<sub>5</sub>*. In Old Babylonian texts from Babylonia, the “instruction, clarification” is not given by Enlil or any divine ruler, but by their viziers and heralds, thus it does not carry the meaning of “command, order” (like, e.g., *a<sub>2</sub> aḡ<sub>2</sub>*). Furthermore, *na de<sub>5</sub>* implies to put one object in order, in its proper form and function, not to organize various single items (cf. *si sa<sub>2</sub>*).<sup>31</sup> Although *na de<sub>5</sub>* can be used as a *verbum dicendi*, it is not primarily a verb expressing a manner of speaking, as the references given and the Akkadian translations testify.

#### Old Sumerian Administrative Texts

In Old Sumerian administrative texts, *na de<sub>5</sub>/di<sub>5</sub>* (on the form, see above)<sup>32</sup> occurs with two groups of objects, trees/wooden objects and animals, traditionally translated as “to fell” and “to fall” (see below), a meaning derived from the context. The following discussion is intended to examine some presuppositions of such context-based translations.

The selected references are meant to provide a list of all attested verbal forms of *na de<sub>5</sub>* together with an overview of the contexts. The central passages of the documents are transliterated, lists of items are not repeated here, names not relevant for the discussion are abbreviated (GN = geographical name, MN = month name, PN = personal name); dates according to years of L = Lugalanda and U = Urukagina, Ue = *ensi<sub>2</sub>*-year.

The translations offered anticipate the following discussion.

#### *na de<sub>5</sub> with Animals: Selected References*<sup>33</sup>

- (33) Nik 179 = Selz, AWEL 179 (L3): 1 maš GN-a *na ba-di<sub>5</sub>*, kuš-be<sub>2</sub> ur-<sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub> sipa maš-ke<sub>4</sub> šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub>

30. Ningēšzida RIME 4.2.10.3 (of the Netherworld), Ninsianna RIME 4.2.14.18:10 (di-ku<sub>5</sub> na-de<sub>5</sub> maḥ), Ninegal RIME 4.2.14.16:4 (na de<sub>5</sub> maḥ).

31. Cf. also Gudea Cyl. A xii 21–23: *ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> iri-na lu<sub>2</sub> dili-gin<sub>7</sub> na de<sub>5</sub> ba-ni-ḡar* “the ruler organized his town (lit. set order/clarification in his town) as if it were one man.” The same phrase *na-de<sub>5</sub> ḡar* (+ loc.) is used in a context of ritual purification; see (32).

32. The transliteration of Old Sumerian pays attention to the rules of the vowel harmony; thus, in transliterations values have been chosen for phonograms containing the i- or e-vowel that might differ from the Old Babylonian standard.

33. The relevant texts published up to then are collected by A. Deimel, “Die Viehzucht der Sumerer zur Zeit Urukagina’s,” *Or* SP 20 (1926):1–61; and id., “Produkte der Viehzucht und ihre Weiterverarbeitung,” *Or* SP 21 (1926): 1–40.

sim-da-ba igi be<sub>2</sub>-saḡ<sub>x</sub> maš DUN-a ur-<sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub> sipa maš-ka-kam

“1 kid was cleared away at GN. The goatherd Ur-Bawu refunded its hide. The captain Eniggal checked its mark: it is a kid subordinated to the goatherd Ur-Bawu.”

- (34) DP 103 (Ue): 1 GIR GIR DUN-a PN<sub>1</sub> unu<sub>3</sub>-kam PN<sub>2</sub> RI.ḪU-da *na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub>* ku<sub>3</sub>-be<sub>2</sub> 10 gig<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub>-ra e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la šu-na i<sub>3</sub>-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>  
“1 heifer, a heifer subordinated to the cowherd PN<sub>1</sub> —it was cleared away at the RI.ḪU PN<sub>2</sub>. Its silver, 10 shekel, he refunded to Sasa in the palace.”
- (35) DP 253 (U4): (list of cow skins) ab<sub>2</sub> DUN-a ur-šu-ga-lam-ma unu<sub>3</sub>-kam *na ba-di<sub>5</sub>* igi-zi unu<sub>3</sub>-da e-da-ḡal<sub>2</sub> šu-a nu-gi<sub>4</sub> iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> dub-be<sub>2</sub> e-bala  
“They are cows subordinated to the cowherd Uršugalama, they were cleared away; they are with the cowherd Igizi. They were not refunded/put on credit. In the month MN the captain Eniggal turned over the relevant tablet.”
- (36) Nik 244 = Selz, AWEL 244 (Ue): 1 kuš NITA ANŠE kunga<sub>2</sub> PN gab<sub>2</sub>-KAŠ<sub>4</sub>-da *na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub>* iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> kuš anše u<sub>2</sub>-rum <sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub>  
“1 hide of a male kunga<sub>2</sub>-equid, it was cleared away at the groom PN; in the month MN; the captain Eniggal refunded it. It is Bawu’s own donkey.”
- (37) DP 262 (U1): 2 udu siki en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-da *na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub>* sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub> ...-e e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> udu u<sub>2</sub>-rum <sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub>  
“2 wool-bearing sheep were cleared away at EnDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. Sasa ... refunded it in the palace. It is Bawu’s own sheep.”
- (38) DP 263 (U1): 4 udu siki iti MN-a en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-da *na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub>* sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub> ...-ra e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>-a šu-na i<sub>3</sub>-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>  
“4 wool-bearing sheep in the month MN were cleared away at EnDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. He refunded it to Sasa ... in the Emi (“women’s quarter”).”<sup>34</sup>
- (39) DP 260 (U1): 1 udu siki *na e-ma-di<sub>5</sub>* iti MN-a en-DU sipa udu siki-ka-ke<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub>-sa<sub>6</sub> ...-ra e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la šu-na i<sub>3</sub>-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>

34. For the phenomenon of possessor raising (personal directive prefix -ni-), see G. Zólyomi, *Or* 68 (1999): 231–37.

"1 wool-bearing sheep was cleared away. In the month MN ENDU, shepherd of wool-bearing sheep, refunded it to Sasa ... in the palace."

- (40) DP 259 (U1): 1 udu siki NIGIN<sub>3</sub>-mud, 1 udu siki lugal-da sipa udu siki-ka-me iti MN-{a} na ba-PI-di<sub>5</sub> iri-enim-ge-na ...-{e} e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>

"1 wool-bearing sheep: Nišinmud, 1 wool-bearing sheep: Lugalda; shepherds of wool-bearing sheep are they. In the month MN they (i.e., the sheep) were cleared away at them (i.e., the shepherds). Urukagina ... refunded it in the palace."

Texts similar to (37)–(40) concerning udu siki PN sipa-da na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub>, followed by a šu-a gi<sub>4</sub>-entry: VS 14, 22. 111. 126; Nik 169; DP 261.

- (41) VS 14, 110 = Bauer, AWL no. 114: 1 kuš udu siki ur<sub>4</sub>-ra iti MN-{a} NIGIN<sub>3</sub>-mud sipa udu siki-ka-da na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub> en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> kuš udu u<sub>2</sub>-rum para<sub>10</sub>-nam-tar-ra dam lugal-an-da ensi<sub>2</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka

"1 hide of a sheep of plucked wool, in the month MN, it was cleared away at Nišinmud, the shepherd of wool-bearing sheep. The captain Eniggal refunded it. It is Paranamtara's, the wife of Lugaland, ruler of Lagaš, own hide." - cf. kuš udu siki with na de<sub>5</sub> also in VS 25, 80.

The basic facts can be summarized as follows:

- the animals listed are mostly udu siki "wool-bearing sheep," but exceptionally also donkeys, (36), and cows (34), (35);
- the items delivered are the hides (kuš), see (33), (36), (41); therefore the description of the sheep's hide is essential, udu siki or udu siki ur<sub>4</sub>-ra in (41);
- the animals die under the charge of their respective herdsmen (and not, e.g., in an institutional kitchen or at offerings);
- the hides are delivered to the palace of the ruler or to his wife's estate as the ultimate owners of the animals (šu-a gi<sub>4</sub>); in its stead a sum of silver can be paid as compensation, (34); if not delivered to the palace, the accounts can not (yet) be settled, (35).

na de<sub>5</sub> with Trees/Wooden Objects: Selected References<sup>35</sup>

- (42) DP 410 (L5): (Wooden objects of poplar, asal<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>, and pine<sup>?</sup>, ġeš<sup>eš</sup>u<sub>3</sub>-suḥ<sub>5</sub>-am<sub>6</sub>) kiri<sub>6</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-ta na i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> "are cut out from the garden of

Ekū (PN)"; (wooden objects of poplar) kiri<sub>6</sub> e-ta-e<sub>11</sub>-ta na i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>, (wooden objects) kiri<sub>6</sub> ur-ki-ta na i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>.

(subscript:) ġeš na de<sub>5</sub>-ga kiri<sub>6</sub>-kam; iti MN-a en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> "It is wood cut out from the gardens; in the month MN the captain Eniggal cut it out."

- (43) DP 411 (L6): (list of wooden objects) iti MN-{a} en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> kiri<sub>6</sub> ur-ki-ka na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> ġanun<sup>d</sup> meš<sub>3</sub>-an-DU-ka NI-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU) "In the month MN; the captain Eniggal cut them out in the garden of Urki (PN); he brought them into the MešanDU-storehouse." — Cf. DP 421.
- (44) DP 432 (L4): (lists of wooden objects, places of storage:) ter-ba mu-ġal<sub>2</sub> "in stock in their wood" / ġanun<sup>d</sup> meš<sub>3</sub>-an-DU-ka ba-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU) "brought into the MešanDU-storehouse"; aša<sub>5</sub>-bi 0.0.3 GANA<sub>2</sub> "its area: 3 iku (ca. 10,8 ha)."  
(subscript:) ġeš na de<sub>5</sub>-ga ter abbar<sup>ki</sup>-ka; [...]; en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>; "Wood, cut out from the forest of Abbar; ...; the captain Eniggal cut it out." — Cf. DP 409, 413, 414, 420, 431, 433, 436; BIN 8, 350; DP 429 (na, be<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>).
- (45) DP 450 (U3): (logs and sticks of tamarisk, seven deliveries; summation) (subscript:) eg<sub>2</sub> aša<sub>5</sub> da-GIR<sub>2</sub>gunû-ka-ka en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>, enim-ma-ni-zi lu<sub>2</sub> ġeš<sup>eš</sup>šinig-da bar-še<sub>3</sub> e-da-ġal<sub>2</sub>; ġeš<sup>eš</sup>šinig u<sub>2</sub>-rum<sup>d</sup> ba-U<sub>2</sub> ... "At the dike of the D.-field the captain Eniggal cut it out; it is stored separately with the tamarisk-forester Enimanizi; Bawu's own tamarisks, ..." — Cf. DP 437, 449, 451.
- (46) DP 470 (-2): (list of wooden objects) (subscript:) ġeš ki mu<sub>2</sub>-a-ba šid-da-am<sub>6</sub>; en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>; ma<sub>2</sub>-a e-me-ġar; dub daġal ġeš kuru<sub>13</sub>-ka-ka nu-ġar "It is wood counted where it had grown; the captain Eniggal cut it out; he loaded it on ship; he did not put it on the large account of the wood in piles."
- (47) DP 453 (-1): (large tamarisk logs) dumu lugal-nam-ke<sub>4</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> "the son of Lugalnam cut them out" / ša<sub>3</sub>-TAR na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> / en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> / ur-pu<sub>2</sub>-saġ-ke<sub>4</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> / di-utu-ke<sub>4</sub> na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub>  
(subscript:) ġeš<sup>eš</sup>šinig aša<sub>5</sub> da-GIR<sub>2</sub>gunû-ka ki mu<sub>2</sub>-a-ba šid-da, zi-zi-ga-bi en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> e-sar "Tamarisks, counted in the D.-field where they had grown; its expenditure the captain Eniggal wrote down." — Cf. DP 454.

Baumwirtschaft," Or SP 16 (1925): 1–87; the documentation was discussed by M. A. Powell, "Timber Production in Presargonic Lagaš," BSA 6 (1992): 99–122.

35. The texts published up to then are studied by A. Deimel, "Die altsumerische

- (48) VS 14, 57 = AWL no. 73 (U1): (wooden objects, among this bundles of branches aša<sub>5</sub>-bi 1/4 1/8 GANA<sub>2</sub> "its area is 3/8 iku"; wooden objects) kiri<sub>6</sub> <sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ta-e<sub>11</sub> nu-kiri<sub>6</sub> a-tuš-a, en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na i<sub>3</sub>-mi-di<sub>5</sub> "In the garden of Bawu, which the gardener Eta'e inhabits; the captain Eniggal cut it out." — Cf. DP 415, 480, Nik 280.
- (49) DP 430 (–5): (objects of apple wood) kiri<sub>6</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-ta en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na i<sub>3</sub>-mi-di<sub>5</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ki-sal<sub>4</sub>-la-ka ba-ku<sub>x</sub> U<sub>2</sub>-U<sub>2</sub> agrig-ra e-na-šid<sub>5</sub> "From the garden of Eku; the captain Eniggal cut them out; they were brought into the Ekisalla; they were counted to the steward U'U." — Cf. VS 14, 98 = AWL no. 74, VS 14, 157 = AWL no. 75, DP 427, 428, 430, 444, Nik 289 (all: PLACE-ta en-ig-gal NU-banda<sub>3</sub> na i<sub>3</sub>-mi-di<sub>5</sub>, DP 428 na e-me-de<sub>5</sub>).
- (50) DP 416 (U1): (wooden objects of pine) kiri<sub>6</sub> ur-ki<sup>1</sup>(DU<sub>6</sub>)-ta en-šu agrig-ge na e-ma-di<sub>5</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal-še<sub>3</sub> e-ma-ku<sub>x</sub> kiri<sub>6</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-rum <sup>d</sup>ba-U<sub>2</sub> "From the garden of Urki; the steward Enšu(gigi) has cut them out, they have been brought into the palace; Bawu's own garden." — Cf. DP 412, 417, 447.
- (51) DP 426 (L 6): (wooden objects) ter e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>-ka lugal-an-da ensi<sub>2</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> na ba-ni-di<sub>5</sub> "In the garden of the Emi Lugalanda, ruler of Lagaš, has cut them out for himself."
- (52) Reforms of Urukagina, Ukg. 1 v 1'–6' (Steible and Behrens, FAOS 5/I, 282–85): [sağga GAR-ke<sub>4</sub>] kiri<sub>6</sub> ama uku<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub> nu-DU.DU ġeš na nu-ba-ni-di<sub>5</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> GILAM nu-ta-keše<sub>2</sub>-re<sub>6</sub> "[the ... temple administrator] does not carry off the poor woman's garden, nor does he cut out wood there, nor does he bind fruit baskets out there." — Cf. the parallel section Ukg. 4 v 22–vi 3 = 5 v 19–23, verb ġeš na ba-ni-di<sub>5</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> "he had repeatedly cut out wood there" (Steible and Behrens, loc. cit., 294–95).

The basic facts can be summarized as follows:

- the items listed are wooden objects or, in the case of tamarisk, sticks of fixed length;
- the process of na de<sub>5</sub> is part of the felling of the trees or at least the use of their wood, it takes place in the forests or gardens, cf. ki mu<sub>2</sub>-a (46), (47), occasionally the area treated is indicated, (44), (48);
- gardeners or foresters take care of the gardens, forests or riverine thickets, (45),<sup>36</sup> assigned to them by the central institution apparent in

36. For a description of these riverine thickets in lower Mesopotamia see P. Steinkeller, in: M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, AOS 68 (1987), 91.

these texts, the household of the ruler's wife (e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>); the central authorities control the exploitation of these forests for wood;

– the wooden objects are left in the wood, (44), heaped up in piles, kuru<sub>13</sub>, cf. (46), brought to storehouses, (43), cf. (49), or to the palace (50), or put on ship for transport to the palace (46);

– mostly the chief supervisor of Paranamtara's and Sasa's household, Eniggal, is performing the task, but occasionally other persons are named: Enšu(gigi) (50), the ruler Lugalanda (51), the temple administrator, (52), or various persons, (47).

#### A Critical Review of Proposed Meanings

(a) "to fall, to fell" and the construction of na de<sub>5</sub>

The conventional translation of na de<sub>5</sub> in Old Sumerian administrative texts is "to fall, to fell,"<sup>37</sup> a meaning derived from the interpretation of the contexts. In this case, "to fall" (said of animals) is a construction with one "real" participant outside the compound verb, i.e., a transitive verb, whereas "to fell" (said of trees) requires two such participants. A short review of the verbal forms proves this assumption to be unlikely.<sup>38</sup>

With animals we find mostly PN-da na ba-da-di<sub>5</sub> (ba=n+da=b(+i)=di<sub>5</sub>),<sup>39</sup> or only na ba-di<sub>5</sub> (ba=b(+i)=di<sub>5</sub>) in (33) and (35), in (39) plus ventive na e-ma-di<sub>5</sub> (i=m=ba=b(+i)=di<sub>5</sub>), thus a "passive" form, "it was ...ed (at PN)."<sup>40</sup> Applying the meaning "to fall, fell," this results in a translation "it (i.e. the animal) was felled."

37. Bauer, AWL 256 ad no. 73 vi 7; p. 310 ad no. 104 ii 2, basing himself on Deimel, *Or SP* 16 (1925), 61–63, who p. 62 offered the strange etymology of na explained as "phonetic" spelling of na<sub>2</sub> (i.e., nu<sub>2</sub>), and ri(g) = *leqû*, thus arriving at a meaning "niederreißen, fällen" (apparently from a literal translation "to take (to) lying"); A. Poebel, *AS* 2 (1931), 38: "to take out, to remove"; further translations of H. de Genouillac, *TSA* (1908), 78 no. 26 r. iv 9 "(faire) préparer," R. Scholtz, *MVAeG* 39/2 (1934), 128f. "zurichten (Hölzer)," M. Lambert, *RA* 51 (1957): 141–43 "dépouiller" are listed by Steiner, *BBVO* 18 (1999): 121 n. 44. Despite their vagueness ("to prepare" of de Genouillac and Scholtz), these proposals are very close to our own.
38. The objects listed in the beginning of a document are not marked by case; on the syntactical structure of administrative texts see Sallabeger, "Textformular und Syntax in sumerischen Verwaltungstexten," *ASJ* 22 (in press).
39. The combination of pronominal and dimensional element in the prefix chain (prefixes II according to the terminology of Attinger) is marked as, e.g., n+i (3. pers. + directive); b(+i) is the allomorph /b/ of /b+i/ in the position directly before the base according to the terminology of Wilcke and Attinger; according to Krecher "hinteres Personalpräfix."
40. I owe the designation and explanation of the ba-prefix as "medium marker" to Bram Jagersma (see note \* above); see Attinger, *Éléments*, § 181 on the formal side, § 182 d) (with further cross references; also *NABU* 1998/41) on this function of ba-

The wood texts usually show the causative construction of compound verbs: PN-e na bi<sub>2</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> (b+i=n=di<sub>5</sub>) "PN ...ed it"; with ventive i<sub>3</sub>-mi-di<sub>5</sub> (i=m=b+i=n=di<sub>5</sub>) "he ...ed it hither"; (51) with "medium" and ventive na e-ma-di<sub>5</sub> (i=m=ba=n=di<sub>5</sub>) "he ...ed it hither for himself"; or with a locative na ba-ni-di<sub>5</sub> (ba=ni=n=di<sub>5</sub>) "he ...ed it for himself there." Especially interesting is the simple transitive construction in (41), na i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> (i=b=di<sub>5</sub>), "it ...ed" (with "to fall, fell": \*"it fell"). Even if we allow idiomatic peculiarities that can hardly be represented in our translation, with na de<sub>5</sub> meaning "to fall, fell" we would have expected just the opposite distribution of na ba-di<sub>5</sub> (animals) and na i<sub>3</sub>-di<sub>5</sub> (wood). Admittedly, this distribution alone is hardly sufficient to reject the conventional translation.

(b) An administrative term "to order" or "to free from obligations"?

The translation "to fall, fell" for na de<sub>5</sub> presents further difficulties, because:

- it does not offer any semantic link with the meanings "to purify" and "to instruct" or their common meaning "to clarify, clear, enlighten"
- it is not corroborated by an Akkadian translation (see above)
- other words for "fall, fell" are well known (e.g., šub, sag<sub>3</sub> "to fell")
- in Old Babylonian Nippur, animals qualified as na de<sub>5</sub>-ga receive fodder (see below)

I am aware of two substantiated proposals linking Old Sumerian na de<sub>5</sub> with the known Akkadian translations. Furthermore, both proposals try to give a single translation for both trees and animals.

(1) G. Steiner<sup>41</sup> rejects the translation "to fell" of the wood texts because (a) "to cut, fell trees" is expressed by ku<sub>5</sub> and sag<sub>3</sub> and (b) because it would make little sense in the Reforms of Urukagina (52) to fell the tree in order to get the fruit. This is indeed unlikely, but the text lists only two forms of usufruct of trees or bushes, namely to harvest them for wood or for fruit. Steiner departs from the Akkadian translation *ašārum* (see above) and proposes "(zur Lieferung) anweisen, (in) Auftrag geben (o.ä.)" (p. 122).

(2) J. Krecher's argumentation<sup>42</sup> is very close to the one of Steiner, but he chose the other Akkadian equivalent, *ullulu*: "Ich vermute, dass bei na

41. G. Steiner, "Was geschah im Garten der ama-ūkur?" in: H. Klengel and J. Renger (eds.), *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XLI. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale ... BBVO 18* (Berlin, 1999), 115–36, here 119–24.

42. *Or* 54 (1985): 170 note 73.

i-mi-RI usw. die Bedeutung 'reinigen' vorliegt, nicht ein spezifischer konkreter Vorgang ('to cut', M. Yoshikawa, *Or* 47, 477), sondern ein allgemeiner Verwaltungsvorgang, denn er bezieht sich nicht nur auf Holz, sondern auch auf Tiere und Häute [...]. na-RI meint demnach vielleicht 'bindende Belastungen beseitigen', daher 'nach Feststellung der qualitativen und quantitativen Merkmale zur Verwendung freigeben'."

Unfortunately, both proposals cannot stand a careful test. For reasons of methodology, more than one counter-argument is listed; semantic arguments are not adduced.

- Old Sumerian administrative documents list many more objects to be "ordered" or "released," so why should it just occur with hides or wooden objects?
- If the "order" or "release" is important enough to be written down in a text, why is it always expressed without an agent in the animal texts?
- Why should just the animals providing hides be "ordered"/"released," but not those "consumed" (gu<sub>7</sub>)?
- If both hides and wooden objects are ordered/released, why do the texts use different verbal forms (see above)?
- On the level of content, how should we explain the resulting different role of Eniggal in the animal texts (never "giving order"/"releasing") and in the wood texts (most often "giving order"/"releasing")?

Both Steiner and Krecher propose to understand na de<sub>5</sub> as an administrative term instead of a more or less concrete action. Compared to other archives of administrative texts, this looks reasonable. The Old Sumerian texts from the e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>, however, are characterized by their exceedingly rich verbal vocabulary, and concrete actions are not rare among these; the first official Eniggal is, e.g., "excavating onions" (ba-a1, e.g., VS 14, 6 = AWL no. 187) or "pouring in" cream and milk (de<sub>2</sub>, e.g., DP 276).

This discussion has thus cleared the way to look for a meaning of na de<sub>5</sub> in Old Sumerian administrative texts that would fit both to grammar and context and to the semantics of na de<sub>5</sub> as known from lexical and literary texts.

na de<sub>5</sub> with Animals: "to Clear Out/Away, Separate," and Notes on šu-a gi<sub>4</sub> "to Refund, to Enter on Someone's Credit" and de<sub>5</sub>-g "to Collect, Pick Up"

The investigation of the proposals of Krecher and Steiner has revealed the problems of understanding na de<sub>5</sub> as administrative procedure. This would point to a concrete action, to be performed with (dead) animals and applied to trees in their forests in order to obtain wooden objects.

Furthermore, the animal texts typically include an administrative term that notes the economic-administrative side of the transaction, namely *šu-a gi<sub>4</sub>*; see (34)–(41) above. If the meaning of *šu-a gi<sub>4</sub>*, literally “to return on/in/to hand,” is reduced to “to deliver,” as it is often the case,<sup>43</sup> it loses the precise meaning “to return to the charge/control/care,”<sup>44</sup> i.e., to settle the account. A shepherd delivering a hide of a dead sheep thus compensates his debt to return the sheep, which is ultimately owned by the central authority. After the loss of a sheep, both the shepherd and his animal’s owner, the ruler’s wife, have to balance their accounts; see (37)–(39). The mark is checked (33) in order to put it on the right shepherd’s credit. If the hides remain with another person, the accounts cannot be settled (35).

The legal procedure of a shepherd proving the loss of animals by presenting its hide to its owner is well known. Unfortunately, the respective term used with animals that died from natural causes, the well-known *de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga* (“RI-RI-ga”), represents another lexicographical problem. Usually interpreters have relied on the Akkadian equivalent of *udu de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga*, *miqittu* “downfall, death (among animals)”;<sup>45</sup> see (16).<sup>45</sup> Now, as *de<sub>5</sub>-g* does not mean “to fall” in Sumerian, *miqittu* can hardly represent a “literal” translation, but it seems to capture the “idea” of *udu de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga*. The basic meaning of *de<sub>5</sub>-g* is “to collect, gather, pick up” (Akkadian *laqātu*),<sup>46</sup> *udu de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga* are thus “collected sheep,” i.e., the animals’ corpses collected in the steppe. Therefore, the Sumerian idiom adopts the shepherd’s point of view; the Akkadian takes the animal’s side. Probably, this specific context also led to the translation *de<sub>5</sub> = maqātu* (PAa 130:1, Ea II 296f., Aa II/7 ii 3’):

(54) Sum.: *u<sub>8</sub> sila<sub>4</sub>-bi de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga-ḡu<sub>10</sub>* “my collected (dead) sheep and lambs” // Akk.: *ušamqatū* “they let fall”; 4 R<sup>2</sup> 30 no. 2: 8f., see K. Oberhuber, *ISL* 1.1., 70 D. 26.

Sum.: *e-sir<sub>2</sub> uḡ<sub>3</sub> de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga* // Akk.: *ša ina sūqi ništi ušamqatu* “(Nergal) who picks up the (dead) people in the streets (Sum.) / who fells

43. E.g., Bauer, *AWL*, 207 ad no. 52 iii 3, p. 310 ad no. 104 iii 4, p. 335 ad no. 120 iii 1, p. 372 ad no. 131 iv 4; Zólyomi, *Or* 68 (1999): 231 “to deliver”; G. Selz, *AWAS=FAOS* 15/2, 538–542: “zurückbringen” (on the presumed difference between *šu-a bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>* and *šu-na i<sub>3</sub>-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>* see Zólyomi, loc. cit.).

44. The translations are inspired by CAD, s.v. *qatum*.

45. Among the many comments I single out the treatment of F.R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (Leiden, 1984), 354–56; (*de<sub>5</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-ga* is found in Old Sumerian Girsu only in the phrase *še de<sub>5</sub>-ga* “grain collected.”

46. A cursory survey of literary and administrative texts (see note \* above) yielded no compelling counter-examples, even if the translation “to collect” often departed from the one of the respective editors; cf. (13) above.

the people in the street (Akk.)”; CT 17, 4: 17ff., see Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, 156.

Apparently, *na de<sub>5</sub>-g* is attested only once with animals after the Old Sumerian period, namely in a series of Old Babylonian administrative texts about animal fodder from Nippur. *gud na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* is/are listed only once, on three successive days (21st to 23rd day of *ki-3 iti sig<sub>4</sub>-a*); according to the amount of fodder, one or two animals are concerned. The amount of fodder attributed (2 seah of grain) to *gud na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* corresponds to the fodder of the *gud hu-nu* “weak ox(en)” the days before, which are missing on these three days.<sup>47</sup> J.F. Robertson, therefore, explains *gud na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* as “diseased bull,” although he would not translate it in this way (p. 261 n. 2).

If the common meaning “to clear” of *na de<sub>5</sub>-g* is applied, *gud na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* can be interpreted as “oxen, cleared away/out; separated, selected.” This makes perfect sense also in the Old Sumerian texts and agrees with the grammatical construction. The specific use of the verb is slightly different: in Old Babylonian Nippur the diseased animals are separated from the herds, in Old Sumerian Girsu the fallen ones. *na de<sub>5</sub>-g* seems generally to be replaced by *šu gid<sub>2</sub>*, interpreted as “selection,”<sup>48</sup> in later Sumerian administrative texts, and this explains its restriction to the Early Dynastic texts from Girsu.

*na de<sub>5</sub> with Objects of Wood: “to Cut Out”*

In the wood texts, *na de<sub>5</sub>-g* apparently describes the action to be performed, so that the ready wood can be stored and brought away from the forest. The lists of wood and tools usually “begin with larger pieces of ‘timber’ [...]; then come things like plough parts, waggon parts, parts of furniture, etc.; and finally [...] pieces of firewood.”<sup>49</sup> A meaning “to fell” is difficult to apply, since we are *not* dealing with just felled trees and bushes, but with the products, as the combination of tools and wood pieces proves. The Old Sumerian texts refer to the same work as that of the foresters of Ur III Umma, which “entailed primarily felling trees and turning them into timber and simple tools.”<sup>50</sup> Here, the “cut (out), prepared wood” is called

47. J.F. Robertson, *Redistributive Economies in Ancient Mesopotamian Society: A Case Study from Isin-Larsa Period Nippur* (Ph. D. Diss., 1981): 99f., see especially the table on p. 114; the texts were described by F.R. Kraus, *ZA* 53 (1959): 140–41, who noted that *gud na de<sub>5</sub>-ga* cannot mean “krepieretes Tier.”

48. B. Lafont, *RA* 75 (1981): 75; cf. M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda, 1993): 40–42.

49. M.A. Powell, *BSA* 6 (1992): 100.

50. P. Steinkeller, “The Foresters of Umma,” in: M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, *AOS* 68 (New Haven, 1987): 73–115, cited passage p. 92.

ḡeš kid<sub>7</sub>-a.<sup>51</sup> na de<sub>5</sub>-g thus includes both the cutting of trees, bushes, and branches and the preparation of timber and simple tools.<sup>52</sup>

The specific use of the common meaning "to clear" thus can be understood as "to cut out," i.e., to "clear" the branches or trunks out of the bushes and trees (see esp. (52)), to "clear" timber or implements of branches and leaves, to cut the respective object out of the wood.

#### *An Etymology for na de<sub>5</sub>-g "to Clear, Clarify"?*

It is more difficult to detect an etymology of na de<sub>5</sub>-g, as it is the case with other compound verbs such as en<sub>3</sub> tar "to investigate"; ḡa<sub>2</sub>-la dag "to cease (doing sth.);" ḡal<sub>2</sub> taka<sub>4</sub> "to open," muš<sub>3</sub> tum<sub>2</sub> "to stop, to cease," ne su-ub "to kiss," sa ge<sub>4</sub> "to prepare," u<sub>2</sub>-gu de<sub>2</sub> "to lose," u<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>(4)</sub>-ku<sub>(4)</sub> "to sleep."

If na de<sub>5</sub>-g can be derived from known Sumerian words, de<sub>5</sub>-g might well be "to collect," but na remains a problem. na "stone" makes hardly any sense, so the element na of na-izi "incense," niḡ<sub>2</sub>-na "censer" might be considered. In the Early Dynastic incantations, Manfred Krebernik isolated a word na for which he proposes a meaning "ban, spell" (German "Bann"); at least a negative substance or influence seems plausible.<sup>53</sup> This leads to the following speculation: na, perhaps "smoke," might be the same word as the Early Dynastic na, perhaps "spell," thus referring to something that is veiling or darkening; na de<sub>5</sub>-g would thus have originally meant "to collect" this polluting essence. Such an original meaning might long have been lost in the compound. The speculative character of such an etymology can only be outlined.

#### *Conclusion*

In this investigation I have argued that the basic meaning of the Sumerian compound verb na de<sub>5</sub>-g is "to clear, to clarify"; this clearing is achieved by removal and by putting the elements in order. Despite the English

translation or German "klären, (aus)lichten," the aspects of "light" and "brilliance" do not apply. The specific meanings can be derived from the basic meaning:

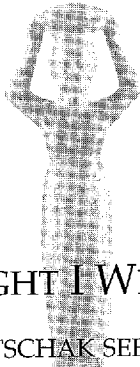
- (a) "to clarify, enlighten, explain" something unknown, unclear to a person by removing doubts and ignorance;
- (b) "to clarify, consecrate, purify" especially cultic substances or installations, to put them in order so that their clarified essence can emerge;
- (c) "to clear away/out, to separate" animals from the herds, especially dead animals;
- (d) "to clear out, to cut out" timber or wooden implements from the bushes and trees.

Meanings (c) and (d) are practically restricted to Old Sumerian texts from Girsu, and I have noted the expressions replacing na de<sub>5</sub> in Ur III texts. na de<sub>5</sub>-g is still quite prominent in Gudea, but it survived only in its specific meanings (a) and (b), almost exclusively in literary contexts and especially in its non-finite nominal forms na de<sub>5</sub> and na de<sub>5</sub>-ga.

51. Steinkeller, loc. cit., 106 n. 24 (Jean, *SumAkk* CXXXVI:137) and n. 26 (Steinkeller did not translate kid<sub>7</sub>). For Ur III cf., e.g., A. Falkenstein, NG 3 s.v. "abschneiden"; J.-P. Grégoire, AAS p. 121f. "retirer, couper." The verb, its writing (IMxTAK<sub>4</sub>, TAK<sub>4</sub>IM, TAK<sub>4</sub>) and its meaning has been discussed by M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions*, AuOr Suppl. 5 (Sabadell, 1994), 91. — Differently M.A. Powell, BSA 6 (1992): 100, on the "wood cut texts"; Powell, however, does not discuss the meaning of na de<sub>5</sub>-g.

52. This corresponds to the semantic range of kir<sub>3</sub> = karāṣu "to pinch off clay," which also includes the further preparation and treatment of the clay; see Sallaberger, *Der babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße*, MHEM 3 (Ghent, 1996), 8 note 29.

53. M. Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (Hildesheim, 1984), 67, and the references collected on p. 351 (index).



## AT DEAD OF NIGHT I WILL COME (DI X)\*

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THE SONG that is edited below as Dumuzi-Inanna X, following M. Civil's Catalogue of Sumerian Literature,<sup>1</sup> is based on three major sources (A, B, and C).<sup>2</sup> The major part of source A (CBS 14002) has been copied by Chiera in SEM no. 90, obv. i–ii and rev. i. The tablet chip (CBS 14002A), which constitutes the left column of the reverse, joins it. Both CBS 14002 and CBS 14002A are highly fragmentary. On the obverse, col. i preserves 13 lines and col. ii preserves 11 lines; on the reverse, col. i preserves 8 lines and col. ii (the tablet chip) 9 lines. Source B is a join of three numbered fragments

\* The abbreviations used in this article follow *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (= CAD), vol. Š/1 (1992), v–xxii; and *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (= PSD), vol. A/3 (1998), ix–xlii. Note the following additions: TIT = Th. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, ed. W.L. Moran (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); CLAM = M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, 1988); ETCSL (followed by a catalogue number of the composition) = J.A. Black et al., *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*, <http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk> (Oxford, 1998–). I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Barry Eichler, who was helpful in reading the manuscript of this research and making a number of useful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum for its excellent facilities, which were placed at my disposal, including Prof. Erle Leichty's library collections.

1. In Civil's unpublished catalogue, the duplicates of this song are listed together with a number of other fragments as "4.0824. DIX." See also B. Alster, *Acta Sum* 14 (1992): p. 35; and recently M.M. Fritz, "... und weinten um Tammuz": *Die Götter Dumuzi-Ama' ušungal'anna und Damu*, AOAT 307 (Münster, 2003), 151.
2. In addition, there are three or four tablets that are considered to duplicate the above main sources (see the previous note). These tablet chips are CBS 13628 (on whose obverse ten defaced lines are preserved), N 2654 (upper edge, five lines are preserved), Ni 9671 (ISET 2, 18), and HS 1457 (TMHIV, 89); for the latter, see Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 86. These additional fragments are edited below in the Appendix.

(CBS 6657b + N 1839 + N 5300) and three unnumbered fragments. The beginning of source B overlaps source A at line 31. Source C (Ni 2369) was copied by Langdon and published in 1914 (BE 31, 46) as "obv." (= rev. in the present edition).<sup>3</sup> Langdon's copy was then collated by Kramer, who also copied the "reverse ii" (= obv. i in the present edition) and the left edge.<sup>4</sup> The text has been collated also by the present writer from the original, as well as from the photograph. All collations, including those by Kramer, have been marked by an asterisk (\*). On the obverse (that is the "rev." of Kramer's copy), only the initial signs of four lines are preserved from col. i and the initial signs of two lines from the left edge, whereas on the reverse ("obv." of Langdon's copy), ca. 23 lines are preserved from cols. i and ii, some of which are damaged. All three sources contain a number of Akkadian glosses written densely and in minute signs, some of which are unintelligible.

### *Reconstruction of the Composition*

The tentative reconstruction is based on the assumption that each of the three sources (A, B, and C) recorded the entire composition. Based on the size of the scripts, which are neither large nor very small, each of the columns is assumed to have contained ca. 45 lines, and thus the composition originally had ca. 180 lines. Since the text of B obv. col. i has a three-line overlap with the text of A obv. col. i, and since C obv. col. i adds six new lines, there are 26 preserved lines in the first column of the composition (A: 10 + A/B: 3 + B: 7 + C: 6 = 26). The shape of the lower end of this tablet suggests that about five lines are missing from the bottom of col. i. Based on the above assumption of a 45-line column, 19 lines would be missing: 14 lines from the beginning and five from the bottom. Thus, based on the above considerations, the composition may be tentatively reconstructed as follows (see table 1):

A: Obv. i 21–33; obv. ii 67–78; rev. i 106–13; rev. ii 146–54.

B: Obv. col. i 31–40; obv. col. ii 66–79 (rev. destroyed).

C: Obv. col. i 15–20 (obv. ii destroyed); rev. col. i 114–25; rev. col. ii 155–65.

Note that the placement of source C remains somewhat problematic, for it does not overlap A or B. Since the rev. of C is more fully preserved, it is reasonable to assume from context that it is a direct continuation of source A, line 155. However, the obv. col. i of C contains only fragmentary remnants

3. I am grateful to Prof. Jacob Klein, who pointed out to me that the obverse and reverse of Ni 2369 are to be interchanged (against Langdon and Kramer).

4. *JAOS* 60 (1940): 251–52, 257 pl. iii.



TABLE 1: TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF DUMUZI-INANNA X

Obverse				Reverse			
i		ii		i		ii	
1?		46?		91?		136?	
ca. 14 lines missing		ca. 20 lines missing		ca. 15 lines missing		ca. 10 lines missing	
15	C	66	B	106	A	146	A
16	C	67	A/B	107	A	147	A
17	C	68	A/B	108	A	148	A
18	C	69	A/B	109	A	149	A
19	C	70	B	110	A	150	A
20	C	71	A/B	111	A	151	A
21	A	72	A/B	112	A	152	A
22	A	73	A/B	113	A	153	A
23	A	74	A/B	114	C	154	A
24	A	75	A/B	115	C	155	C
25	A	76	A/B	116	C	156	C
26	A	77	A/B	117	C	157	C
27	A	78	A/B	118	C	158	C
28	A	79	B	119	C	159	C
29	A			120	C	160	C
30	A			121	C	161	C
31	A/B			122	C	162	C
32	A/B			123	C	163	C
33	A/B			124	C	164	C
34	B			125	C	165	C
35	B						
36	B						
37	B						
38	B						
39	B						
40	B						
ca. 5 lines missing		ca. 11 lines missing		ca. 10 lines missing		ca. 15 lines missing	
45?		90?		135?		180?	

of the beginnings of six lines, two of which are written on the left edge. Although it is clear that these lines preceded those of source A, their placement at the beginning of the composition remains uncertain. In the present reconstruction, they are counted arbitrarily as ll. 15–20.

## SOURCES

A: CBS 14002 (SEM 90) + CBS 14002A (see photo)

obv. i 1'–13' = ll. 21–33

obv. ii 1'–11' = ll. 67–78 (with line 70 omitted in text)

rev. i 1'–8' = ll. 106–13

rev. ii 1'–9' = ll. 146–54

B: CBS 6657b (lower left corner) + N 1839 (upper middle) + N 5300 (upper right corner) + 3 unnumbered fragments (bottom right)—see photo.

obv. i 1'–10' = ll. 31–40

obv. ii 1'–14' = ll. 66–79

(reverse destroyed)

C: Ni 2369 (BE 31, 46—see photo)

obv. i 1'–4'; left edge 1'–2' = ll. 15–20

(obv. ii destroyed)

rev. i 1'–12' = ll. 114–25

rev. ii 1'–11' = ll. 155–65

## TRANSLITERATION

## SECTION A

(ca. 14 lines are missing)

15 C obv. i 1' 'x' [...]

16 C obv. i 2' UD [...]

17 C obv. i 3' AN [...]

18 C obv. i 4' x [...]

19 C l.e. 1' 'x<sup>1</sup>-zi nunuz<sup>2</sup>-ra

20 C l.e. 2' [... g]i<sub>4</sub> (or g]al<sup>2</sup>)

21 A obv. i 1' [...]-'a<sup>1</sup> mu-un-DU-'DU'

22 A obv. i 2' [...g]i<sup>2</sup>-dùg-ga im-ma-ra-an-[p]àd-dè  
(ina 'qan<sup>1</sup>' [x]'x<sup>1</sup>)

23 A obv. i 3' [x x N]E-gi-ra gi-dùg-ga

24 A obv. i 4' [x x im]-ma-ra-an-pàd-d[è]

25 A obv. i 5' [gi an<sup>2</sup>-p]àd-pàd \*gìš<sup>2</sup> gi-di na-kud-dè

- (*ki-ME ú<sup>2</sup>-RU-bu-tim*)
- 26 A obv. i 6' [x x N]E an-pàd-pàd gi-di na-kud-dè  
 27 A obv. i 7' [x x x]-ru<sup>2</sup>-šè<sup>2</sup> mu h́e-ǵál-la-šè  
 (*a-na*)
- 28 A obv. i 8' [mu<sup>2</sup> dù]g-ga-ǵál-la-šè<sup>2</sup> gi-di na-kud-dè  
 (*i-ba-\*aš-\*ši-a*)
- 29 A obv. i 9' [úr-b]i<sup>2</sup> gi-di-šè na-kud-dè  
 30 A obv. i 10' [pa-b]i<sup>2</sup> gi-SUD-šè na-kud-dè  
 31 A obv. i 11' [x] 'x-bi' i-lu balaǵ-ǵá-šè  
 (*[\*k]i-\*is-su-\*úr-ra-tum*)
- B obv. i 1' [...-bala]ǵ-ǵá<sup>1</sup>-šè  
 (*-ra-tum<sup>1</sup>*)
- 32 A obv. i 12' [ama-<sup>d</sup>ǵeštin<sup>2</sup>]-an-na-ra  
 B obv. i 2' [ama-<sup>d</sup>ǵeštin<sup>2</sup>]-an-na-ra
- 33 A obv. i 13' [...] <sup>r</sup>\*an-<sup>r</sup>ǵá-<sup>r</sup>ǵá<sup>1</sup>  
 B obv. i 3' [...] mu-na-da-an-ǵá-ǵá  
 (*i-ša-ak-<ka>-an-ši-im*)
- 34 B obv. i 4' [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> DU mi-ni-in-si-si  
 (*(RI x MI ú-ma-al-li)*)
- 35 B obv. i 5' [...] <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>dumu-zi-dè gi-di-da  
 36 B obv. i 6' [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> mí-zi-<sup>r</sup>dè<sup>2</sup>-eš<sup>2</sup> [in<sup>2</sup>-ga<sup>2</sup>-à]m-me  
 (*ki-ni-iš*)
- 37 B obv. i 7' [...] gi-di gi-di šag<sub>4</sub>-h́[ú]l[...]-bé-en  
 (*li-ib-b[i-x u]-ta-a-ab*)
- 38 B obv. i 8' [... g]i-di lú sipa-dè šag<sub>4</sub>-h́[ú]l[...d]ùg<sup>2</sup>-ga  
 (*ra(-x<sup>2</sup>)-im li[-ib-bi/bu<sup>2</sup>...]*)
- 39 B obv. i 9' [... g]i-di <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè šag<sub>4</sub>-[h́ú]l[...]  
 40 B obv. i 10' [...] ama<sup>2</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>-tag<sup>1</sup>-ge-e[n]  
 (*ú-ul 'il<sup>1</sup>-pu-[ut]*)
- (*ca. 25 lines are missing*)

## SECTION B

- 66 B obv. ii 1' [...] 'x x<sup>1</sup> [x] 'x x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 67 A obv. ii 1' x [...]  
 B obv. ii 2' 'x<sup>1</sup>-e ga kíǵ-ǵá bí-[...]  
 (*ši-iz-ba ik-si-im-[...]*)
- 68 A obv. ii 2' <sup>d</sup>r<sup>1</sup>dumu-zi-dè ga<sup>1</sup> [...]

- B obv. ii 3' <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè ga kíǵ-ǵá bí-[in-ǵar<sup>2</sup>]  
 69 A obv. ii 3' ga-ni kíǵ-ǵá h́e-en-NE-x-x [x]  
 (x x x x)
- B obv. ii 4' ga-ni kíǵ-ǵá h́e-en-na-ǵar<sup>1</sup> im-[si<sup>2</sup> ...]  
 (*ši-zi-ib-šu lu ik-si-im-šum*)
- 70 A obv. ii (*omits line*)  
 B obv. ii 5' <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>dumu-zi-dè ga-ni kíǵ-ǵá h́e-e[n-na-ǵar<sup>2</sup>]  
 71 A obv. ii 4' <sup>du</sup>ǵsákir<sub>3</sub>-a-ni h́ú]l<sup>2</sup> [...] / im-si <sup>r</sup>\*h́e-en-<sup>r</sup>\*na-[...]  
 (x x x)
- B obv. ii 6' [<sup>du</sup>ǵsákir<sub>3</sub>-a-ni h́ú]l h́e-en-na-[...]  
 (*KU šu<sup>2</sup> PA<sup>2</sup> GU<sup>2</sup> RI sú-ma*)
- 72 A obv. ii 5' nin<sub>9</sub>-a-ni <sup>š</sup>al-ǵar gù-dùg-ga-[k]a<sup>2</sup>  
 B obv. ii 7' [nin<sub>9</sub>]-a-ni <sup>š</sup>al-ǵar g[ù-  
 (*[a]-ha-as-sú*)
- 73 A obv. ii 6' ama-<sup>d</sup>ǵeštin-an-na amaš-a mu-un-da-an-tíl  
 (*wa-aš-ba-[a]s-su<sup>1</sup>*)
- B obv. ii 8' [am]a-<sup>d</sup>ǵeštin-an-na ama[š]-a mu-un-[...]  
 74 A obv. ii 7' u<sub>8</sub> ì-gíd-dè sila<sub>4</sub> ba-ab-šúm-mu  
 (*i-ša-da-ad i-na-\*an-dí-\*in*)
- B obv. ii 9' u<sub>8</sub> ì-gíd-dè s[il]a<sub>4</sub> ba-ab-šúm-[mu]  
 (*[la-a]h́-ri i-ša-da-ad i-na-an-dí-i[n]*)
- 75 A obv. ii 8' ùz ì <-gíd>-dè máš ba-ab-šúm-mu  
 B obv. ii 10' ùz ì-gíd-dè [má]š ba-ab-šúm-m[u]
- 76 A obv. ii 9' šu-zi-da-ni <sup>du</sup>ǵsákir<sub>3</sub>-ra bí-in-ǵar  
 (*i-mi-it-ta-ša i-na AŠ ša-ak-na-at*)
- B obv. ii 11' šu-<sup>r</sup>zi-da-ni<sup>1</sup> <sup>du</sup>ǵsákir<sub>3</sub>-ra b[i-in-ǵar]  
 77 A obv. ii 10' munus-e <sup>r</sup>\*gáb-bu-na <sup>š</sup>al-ǵar-sur<sub>9</sub>-r[a bí-i]n-ǵar  
 B obv. ii 12' munus-e gáb-bu-na <sup>š</sup>[š-a]l-ǵar-su[r<sub>9</sub>-  
 (*i-na*)
- 78 A obv. ii 11' <sup>r</sup>\*lú<sup>h</sup> <sup>r</sup>\*ki<sup>1</sup>? x x x dùg-ga<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 B obv. ii 13' lú ki-sik[il] ad dùg-dùg-<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 (*[š]a ri-ig-ma ta-ba-at*)
- 79 B obv. ii 14' <sup>r</sup>ama<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d</sup>ǵeštin-an-na ad-dùg-dùg-ga<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 (*ca. 26 lines are missing*)

## SECTION C

- 106 A rev. i 2' [...] 'x-bi<sup>2</sup> HA<sup>2</sup> lú<sup>2</sup> balaḡ-tur-<sup>1</sup>ra x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
(še-<sup>\*</sup>eh-rum)
- 107 A rev. i 3' [d<sup>n</sup>]in-sún-na-ke<sub>4</sub> mí mu-un-e ama-né \*mí mu-un-e
- 108 A rev. i 4' [uru]-zu me-a-am uru-zu ki lul<sup>1</sup>-a ma-ra-an-áḡ  
([pu]-ru-ši-iš i-ra-am-ka)
- 109 A rev. i 5' <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi uru-zu ki lul<sup>1</sup>-a ma-ra-an-áḡ
- 110 A rev. i 6' <sup>d</sup>ama-gal-an-na uru-zu ki lul<sup>1</sup>-a 'ma-ra-an<sup>1</sup>-\*áḡ
- 111 A rev. i 7' [x] 'x<sup>1</sup> en-me-en uru-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ki nu-m[a<sup>2</sup>-an<sup>2</sup>-áḡ]-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>2</sup>  
(\*be<sup>1</sup>-le-ku \*ú-\*ul)
- 112 A rev. i 8' [d<sup>d</sup>dumu]-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-me-en sig<sub>4</sub> ku<sub>6</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> [...]
- 113 A rev. i 9' [...-me-e]n<sup>2</sup> 'x x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 114 C rev. i 1' ḠIŠ<sup>2</sup> [...]  
(i-na)
- 115 C rev. i 2' en <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi- [...]
- 116 C rev. i 3' é \*ama-ḡu<sub>10</sub> mu-un-tu<-ud-da-ḡu<sub>10</sub>>
- 117 C rev. i 4' é um-me-da-ḡu<sub>10</sub> bí-in-\*da-(x<sup>2</sup>) en-na ki nu<sup>2</sup>-x [x]  
(da<sup>2</sup>-ri-iš<sup>2</sup>)
- 118 C rev. i 5' <sup>d</sup>nin-tu-ḡu<sub>10</sub>-ra sila<sub>3</sub> mu-na-\*an-\*šú \*ki \*nu-\*ús-[sa]  
(i-pi-<sup>i</sup>-x ú-ša-ki-<sup>lu</sup>)
- 119 C rev. i 6' \*uru-ḡá en-me-en uru-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḡá-e lú-bi<sup>1</sup>-[me-en]  
(i-na be-le<sup>1</sup>-ku BE.RU x RU<sup>2</sup>)
- 120 C rev. i 7' <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-me-en sig<sub>4</sub> ku<sub>6</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḡá-e lú-[bi-me-en]
- 121 C rev. i 8' gu-bi<sup>1</sup> \*na-mú-mú na-bu-\*re x x  
(\*qá-a-\*šu ša \*uṣ-ṣu-ú \*i-na-sà-'hu<sup>2</sup> x x x)
- 122 C rev. i 9' \*še-\*bi na-mú-mú na-\*gur<sub>10</sub>-\*gur<sub>10</sub> x [...]  
(\*ŠE-šu ša \*ib-ba-\*an-\*nu-ú [x x] ki x NE x [...])
- 123 C rev. 10' \*ḡiš-\*šár-ra ba-ḡu<sub>4</sub> \*nam [...]  
(ša i-na \*i-\*ši-šu [...])
- 124 C rev. i 11' x-su-\*BU \*ir<sub>7</sub>-saḡ<sup>mušen</sup>-b[i<sup>2</sup> ...]
- 125 C rev. i 12' \*úr-bàd-úr-b[àd<sup>2</sup> ...]  
(ša i-na x)

(ca. 20 lines are missing)

## SECTION D

- 146 A rev. ii 1' [d<sup>d</sup>rumu-zi<sup>1</sup>? [...]
- 147 A rev. ii 2' <sup>d</sup>ama-ušum-gal-an-<sup>1</sup>na' [...]
- 148 A rev. ii 3' tuḡma<sub>6</sub> daḡal-la 'e-ne<sup>1</sup>? [...]
- 149 A rev. ii 4' imš<sup>u</sup>-rin-na gaba 'x<sup>1</sup>[...]
- 150 A rev. ii 5' é<sup>2</sup>-me é<sup>2</sup>-kur<sub>9</sub>-kur<sub>9</sub>-ra<sup>2</sup> [...]  
(da<sup>2</sup>-ri-iš)
- 151 A rev. ii 6' kuš<sup>u</sup>lu-úb-zu bí-lá sa(-tab<sup>2</sup>)-zu b[í-lá<sup>2</sup>]  
(ik-'kí<sup>1</sup>-x-ka x x ki)
- 152 A rev. ii 7' kuš<sup>a</sup>-gá-lá zì<sup>2</sup> si-ga-zu<sup>2</sup> x bí-[lá]  
(ša GI-mu<sup>2</sup> ad-dì)
- 153 A rev. ii 8' me-a-am kuš<sup>r</sup>e-sír-zu<sup>2</sup> é-me-a bí-[lá]  
(i-na)
- 154 A rev. ii 9' <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi kuš<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[sír-zu<sup>2</sup>] 'é<sup>1</sup>-me-a 'bí<sup>1</sup>-[lá]
- 155 C rev. ii 1' <sup>d</sup>\*ama-gal-an-na \*kuš<sup>e</sup>-\*sír-\*zu \*é-me-a bí-lá
- 156 C rev. ii 2' \*me-\*a-am u<sub>8</sub> nam-ga-mu-un-lu<sup>1</sup> ḡi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na bí-DU  
(\*ra<sup>2</sup>-\*i-\*ma še-e-ni te-re-e-ú)
- 157 C rev. ii 3' <sup>d</sup>\*dumu-zi-\*dè u<sub>8</sub> nam-ga-mu-un-lu ḡi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na bí-DU
- 158 C rev. ii 4' u<sub>8</sub>-ḡi<sub>6</sub> nam-ga-mu-un-lu me-e iti<sub>6</sub> bí-DU
- 159 C rev. ii 5' u<sub>8</sub>-babbar nam-ga-mu-un-lu me-e šir-ra bí-DU  
(ša-ri-rum)
- 160 C rev. ii 6' urud<sup>š</sup>ukur-e zag-ga nam-mi-in-\*ús /  
en-nu-ùḡ-\*ḡá bí-gub
- 161 C rev. ii 7' \*kuš<sup>u</sup>lu-\*úb-ba<sup>2</sup>-ni nam-mi-mar gi<sup>2</sup>-di<sup>2</sup>-da \*bí-DU
- 162 C rev. ii 8' \*gú še-\*mur-ra-ka nam-mi-tuš \*šag<sub>4</sub>-ḡar-ra bí-DU  
(x x i-\*na a-aḡ<sup>2</sup> tum-ri-\*i wa-aš-ba-ti)
- 163 C rev. ii 9' [x] x LÍL ù-\*sá mu-un-na-an-tèḡ
- 164 C rev. ii 10' [ ] x en-nu-ùḡ-\*ḡá bí-gub
- 165 C rev. ii 11' [ en-nu-ùḡ-ḡá bí]-\*gub  
(ca. 15 lines are missing)

## TRANSLATION

## SECTION A

(ca. 14 lines are missing)

(lines 15–20 are too badly damaged for translation)

- 21 In... he goes.  
 22 [From the ...] he chooses a succulent reed,  
 23 [From the ...] a succulent reed,  
 24 [...] he chooses.  
 25 He chooses [a reed], he cuts (from it) a reed pipe,  
 26 He chooses a [...], he cuts (from it) a reed pipe.  
 27 For a [...], for year of abundance,  
 28 For a sweet [*year*] he cuts a reed pipe,  
 29 For a reed pipe he cuts *its* [roots],  
 30 For a reed instrument he cuts *its* [branches],  
 31 For a flute—its...  
 32 For [Ama-Ĝeštin]anna  
 33 [...] he puts for her...  
 34 [...] he fills there,  
 35 ... Dumuzi, with the reed pipe,  
 36 ... *treats* (her) also kindly:  
 37 "[...] reed pipe, [I] will gladden (you with) the reed pipe!"  
 38 [...] the shepherd rejoicing (with) the reed pipe,  
 39 [...] Dumuzi rejoicing (with) the reed pipe,  
 40 [...] I/you will not play.

(ca. 25 lines are missing)

## SECTION B

- 66 (Illegible traces)  
 67 [...] coagulates the milk,  
 68 Dumuzi coagulates the milk.  
 69 May he coagulate his milk for her, and [*fills* ...],  
 70 May Dumuzi coagulate his milk for her.  
 71 He fills his churn joyfully .... May he ... for her!  
 72 His sister of the sweet-voiced lyre,  
 73 Ama-Ĝeštinanna dwells with him in the sheepfold;  
 74 She *milks* a ewe and gives *to* a lamb,  
 75 She *milks* a goat and gives *to* a kid.

- 76 She placed her right hand on the churn,  
 77 The woman placed an *algarsurrû*-instrument in her left hand.  
 78 The maiden of the very sweet voice ...  
 79 Ama-Ĝeštinanna of the very sweet voice ...  
 (ca. 26 lines are missing)

## SECTION C

- 106 [...] the one of the small lyre ...  
 107 Ninsun speaks gently; his mother speaks gently (to him):  
 108 "Your [city], shepherd, your city loves you feigningly,  
 109 Dumuzi, your city loves you feigningly,  
 110 Amagalanna, your city loves you feigningly."  
 111 "[...] I, the lord, my city does not lo[ve me]!  
 112 I, Dumuzi, the brickwork of Ku'ara ...  
 113 I am ...."  
 114 [...] in ...  
 115 The lord Dumuzi [...]  
 116 "My house where my mother bore me,  
 117 My house where my wet-nurse ... did ...  
                     *as long as she did not* ... the ground,  
 118 For my Nintu, she covered the afterbirth,  
                     and did not touch the ground.  
 119 Of my city—I am the ruler, my city—I am its steward,  
 120 I am Dumuzi, my brickwork of Ku'ara—I am its steward.  
 121 Its flax that grows, will verily be plucked,  
 122 Its barley that grows, will verily be reaped.  
 123 The numerous trees that are planted, will verily ...  
 124 The... *its* wild dove...  
 125 [The ...] in the base of the walls ..."

(ca. 20 lines are missing)

## SECTION D

- 146 Dumuzi, [...],  
 147 Ama-ušumgalanna, [...],  
 148 [Dumuzi] in a festive-garment, [...] he ...  
 149 The oven ... the *surface* ...  
 150 Our *house*, entering the *house* ...  
 151 "Your leather bag is *hung up*, your net [*is stretched*],

- 152 *Your* leather sack, which is full of *flour* is [hung up],  
 153 Shepherd, your sandals [are hung up] in our house,  
 154 Dumuzi, your sandals [are hung up] in our house.  
 155 Amagalanna, your sandals are hung up in our house.  
 156 Shepherd, whenever you pasture the ewes,  
       at dead of night I will come.  
 157 Dumuzi, whenever you pasture the ewes,  
       at dead of night I will come.  
 158 Whenever you pasture the black ewes, I, the moonlight, will come,  
 159 Whenever you pasture the white ewes, I, the *brilliant star*, will come."  
 160 A lance he has laid on (his) side, and stood guard.  
 161 He indeed put down his leather bag, and .... *reed pipe*.  
 162 By the side of the embers  
       he (Akk. you [f.]) sat down and stood hungry.  
 163 *Wind* ... sleep has gripped him,  
 164 ... I stood guard.  
 165 [... I] stood [*guard*].  
 (ca. 15 lines are missing)

## COMMENTARY

Based on the extant lines of the three sources (A, B and C), the composition may be divided into two main distinctive parts: Part A (Sect. A ll. 15–40 and Sect. B ll. 66–79); Part B (Sect. C ll. 106–25 and Sect. D ll. 146–65). The reader, however, must bear in mind that there are gaps of a considerable size between the sections.

## PART A (SECTIONS A AND B)

Part A focuses primarily on Dumuzi and his sister Ama-Ĝeštinanna, who dwells with him in the sheepfold helping him with milking and churning.<sup>5</sup> The former is mentioned by his common name, Dumuzi (ll. 35, 39, 68, 70, 109, 112, 146 and 154); by his byname Ama-ušumgalanna (l. 147) or the shortened form Ama-galanna (l. 110, 155); by his epithets "shepherd" lú-sipad (l. 38) and me-a-am (most probably an Emesal form, in ll. 108, 153 and 156) and "lord" en (l. 111). His sister is referred to as Ama-Ĝeštinanna<sup>6</sup>

5. Cf. Jacobsen, *JAOS* 103 (1983): 198 n. t.

6. Note that the names Ama-Ĝeštinanna and Ĝeštinanna appear interchangeably in *Dumuzi's Dream* 83–84. Cf. further, *The Song of the Hoe* 71–72 (cited below, comment to l. 77).

(ll. 73, 79 and perhaps in l. 32), "woman" munus (l. 77) and "maiden" lú-ki-sikil (l. 78).

The first line of Sect. A (21) seems to describe Dumuzi as going along the river searching for reeds. This may be deduced from the following fragmentary passage (ll. 22–31), where it is told that Dumuzi is choosing a sweet reed for making a reed pipe on the occasion of the blissful yearning and milking season. Then, it is assumed that Dumuzi is filling the vessels with milk (ll. 33–34), followed by a description of Dumuzi playing the reed pipe joyfully (ll. 35–39). Line 40 cannot be explicated in the context, as it is unclear why and who is supposed to cease playing the reed pipe (so at least according to the Akk. gloss).

In Sect. B (ll. 66–79), the poet continues with a description of Dumuzi's working with milk (ll. 67–71). At the same time, his sister Ama-Ĝeštinanna, who dwells with him in the sheepfold, milks the ewes and the goats (ll. 74–75), churning with one hand and playing the *algarsurru*-instrument with the other (ll. 76–77). Here, Ama-Ĝeštinanna is depicted by the poet as "she of the sweet-voiced lyre" (l. 72) and who herself has a very sweet voice (l. 78–79).

## PART B (SECTIONS C AND D)

Whereas Part A (Sects. A and B) focuses on Dumuzi and his sister in the sheepfold, Part B focuses on Dumuzi and three other figures: (1) Ninsun as Dumuzi's mother, who informs him of the deceptive attitude of the inhabitants of his city (ll. 107–10); (2) Nintu, who cares for his birth (ll. 116–18); and (3) presumably Inanna, who promises to visit him and protect him in the pasture (ll. 156–59).

Apart from the first line of the extant text (l. 106), which seems to close the missing part, Section C takes the form of a dialogue between Dumuzi and his mother Ninsun, who speaks gently to him concerning the inhabitants of his city Ku'ara, informing him that they do not truly love him (ll. 107–10). The reasons and the circumstances of this animosity toward Dumuzi are not stated. It would seem that Dumuzi's preoccupation with his pastoral chores, which he shares with Ama-Ĝeštinanna, may have alienated him from the inhabitants of his royal city, Ku'ara. Dumuzi, in a relatively long response, reacts to the deceptive attitude of the inhabitants of his city (ll. 111–25). He admits that, indeed, his city does not love him, but in defense of his position, he recounts first the circumstances of his birth, declares his legitimate sovereignty, and then states his stewardship over his city. To demonstrate his concern for his city's welfare, he affirms that the city's inhabitants will pluck out the growing flax and reap the growing barley at harvest time. Dumuzi's reference to divine assistance during his birth attests to his worthiness and legitimacy to be the ruler of

his city. In this capacity, he will see to the well-being of its inhabitants by ensuring a bountiful harvest.

The sporadic Emesal forms in Sect. D (ll. 146–65), me-e in lines 158, 159 and še-mur in l. 162, indicate that a female character, presumably Inanna, seems to be speaking (see our comment on ll. 158–59 below). Her speech falls into three strophes. The first strophe (ll. 146–55) is very fragmentary and its signs are at times difficult to read. Addressing Dumuzi in the second person, she speaks of an oven, entrance into their house, and Dumuzi's leather bag and his leather sack, which are hung in the house. The last three lines (ll. 153–55) mention Dumuzi's sandals. The significance of this passage is uncertain. The imagery of hanging leather bags and unused sandals seems to indicate Dumuzi's disappearance from the house. The circumstances of his disappearance are unclear, but may be due to Dumuzi's preoccupation with pasturing the flocks. Inanna seems to stress Dumuzi's absence from their house but promises to visit him and protect him in the pasture. In the second strophe (ll. 156–59), she again addresses Dumuzi, promising to come to him at dead of night, whenever he pastures his ewes. In the third strophe (ll. 160–65), on the other hand, she speaks about Dumuzi in the third person. She describes how he stood guard over the sheep, sat down by the side of the embers and fell asleep. She then seems to declare that she stood guard over the flock. Stylistically, the two last strophes are marked by literary uniformity, involving parallelism (ll. 156–57) and identical grammatical conjugation—each sentence (except line 163) ends with the verbal form, *bí-DU*.

The continuation of the composition remains unknown since the remainder of the text (ca. 15 lines) is not preserved in any of the extant sources.

#### SECTION A

22: *gi-dùg-ga* = Akk. *passu*; cf. AHW, 839a sub *passu* I; *qanû t̄abu*; CAD, sub *qanû* 88b.<sup>7</sup> The verb *pàd*, which recurs four times in lines 22–26, here translated “to choose,” may be taken as a variant of *pad* (= *kasāpu*, CAD K, 241f.) “to chip, break off a piece,” especially in light of the Akkadian gloss *ki-sip*(=ME) in line 25, although one would expect the stative form *ka-sip* rather than *ki-sip*. If we, indeed, consider *pàd* to be a variant of *pad*, then we have here two related verbs: *pad* and

7. The reading *gi-dùg-ga* in *The Instructions of Šuruppak* 63 (Alster's edition 1974: *gi-dùg-ga* [var. *gi-sig-ga*] <sup>§5</sup>*kiri<sub>6</sub>-ka da-bi nam-bí-du<sub>8</sub>-e* “do not break the side of the sweet reeds in the garden”) is a misreading of *gi-sìg-ga*, and the line should now be rendered: “do not break an agreement regarding the fence of a garden” (see Alster forthcoming revised edition, line 69).

*kud* “breaking off a reed” and “cutting a reed.” The second word of the gloss in line 25 *ú<sup>2</sup>-RU-bu-tim* is uncertain in regard to reading and meaning.

- 22–24: For the *-ra-* of the verbal form *im-ma-ra-an-pàd-dè* as an ablative *-ra-* (“he chooses from”), see Gragg, *Infixes*, 93ff.; *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 106 (ibid., p. 95): *kíḡ-gi<sub>4</sub>-a inim zu zag-še* [tuku *erin<sub>2</sub>-ta*] *ba-ra-an-pàd* “(the lord) chose from [the troops] as an emissary one eloquent of speech and [endowed] with endurance” (S. Cohen's translation).
- 25: For *gi-di/gi-di-da/gi-gíd* (= *embūbu*) “flute” in association with a shepherd, cf. *Inanna's Descent* 353: *sipad-dè gi-gíd gi-di-da igi-ni šu n[u]-mu-un-tag-ge-ne* “(the demons) would not let the shepherd play the pipe and flute before her”; Šulgi B 172: *gi-di gi-sipad-gin<sub>7</sub> nu-um-me* “a flute does not sound like a shepherd's reed (when I play it)”;<sup>8</sup> *Nisaba Hymn* 28: *sipad-dè gi-di-da* (var. *-du-* for *-di-*) *šag<sub>4</sub> nu-mu-un-ib-kúš-ù* “the shepherd does not soothe his heart with the flute” (Reisman, AOAT 25, 359).<sup>9</sup> Note that the motif of playing a flute by the shepherd in *Nisaba Hymn* 28 is one of the shepherd's activities while pasturing and keeping the flocks in the desert, such as churning the milk, filling the jars with milk, and producing butter and cheeses. These works are assumed to be mentioned in our fragmentary text.<sup>10</sup>

8. For this line, see Th.J.H. Krispijn, “Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung,” *Akkadica* 70 (1990): 15–16.
9. Cf. further *Nisaba* A 4 (Hallo, *Rencontre* 17, 124: *gi-di*); SP 2. 54:2 (Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* I, p. 55: *lú-gi-di-a-kam*; var. *-gi-di-da-*); CT 36 41:21 (Eršemma 159: *gi-di-da-ḡu<sub>10</sub>*); CT 15 18:40 (Eršemma 60: *gi-di-da-ni*).
10. *Nisaba Hymn* 26–32 (Reisman, AOAT 25, 359):

<sup>d</sup>*nisaba ki nu-te-a-za*  
*tùr nu-dù-e amaš nu-ḡá-ḡá*  
*sipa-dè gi-di-da šag<sub>4</sub> nu-mu-un-ib-kúš-ù*  
*sipa-ra* (var. *šibir*) *mí-zi-zi nu-ḡá-ḡá šu-luḡ-ḡa-bi šu nu-du<sub>7</sub>*  
*sipa tur-ra ga ni-ib-dun<sub>4</sub>-dun<sub>4</sub> <sup>du<sub>6</sub></sup>šakir nu-da-ad*  
*šag<sub>4</sub>-bi-ta ì-GA<sup>7</sup> nu-mu-un-è-a*  
<sup>l<sub>6</sub>i</sup>*banšur-diḡir-re-e-ne šu (la-)ba-ni-ib-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>*

*Nisaba*—the place which you do not approach, / (there) no stall is constructed, no sheepfold erected, / the shepherd does not soothe his hart with the flute, / the tending stuff is not set up, (the stall's) cleaning is not performed, / the little shepherd does not churn the milk, does not pour it in the jar, / from it, milk and cream do not issue, / the table of the gods is not set.

- 26: In light of the aforementioned occurrences and line 38 below, one is tempted to restore at the beginning of the line *lú sipa-dè*, but this restoration is uncertain.
- 27: For the expression *mu hé-ğál-la*, cf. Šulgi C 22: *amar gud mu hé-ğál-la-ka tud-da* "a bull-calf born in a year of plenty."<sup>11</sup> This expression is the basis for my restoration in the next line (28).
- 29–30: The restoration of the initial complexes of these lines (*úr/pa*) seems plausible; cf. MSL 7, 17:153 *gi-úr-gi (=išdi qanê)*, *gi-šag<sub>4</sub>-gi (libbi qanê)*, *gi-pa-gi (artum qanê)*, *gi-bar-gi (quliptum qanê)*. The word-pair *úr* and *pa* is well documented in literary texts.<sup>12</sup>
- 30: *gi-SUD* (Akk. *nišlu; šulpu*) is a kind of flute. It is listed in Šulgi C among the musical instruments that Šulgi boasts that he is able to prepare and to play.<sup>13</sup>
- 31: The traces of the sign before *i-lu* do not point to the expected GI, but rather to BL. For *i-lu balağ* "a kind of flute," cf. *gi i-lu balağ-di* and *i-lu balağ-di* (Akk. *kisurratu = embūbu*) in the lexical lists cited in CAD K, 433a sub *kisurratu* and AHW, 488a.
- 32: The restoration of name of Dumuzi's sister *Ama-ğeštīn(-an-na)* seems plausible in light of its occurrence in lines 73 and 79 below.

11. Cf. further Šulgi E 19: *mu hé-ğál-la ki-bi-šè ma-zal-le-da* "that years of abundance will elapse for me in due course"; Šulgi R 73: *nin-mu-túm id mu hé-ğál-la-ka a šu-ti-a-àm* "by receiving the water of *ninmutum*, the canal of the year of abundance"; Urnirurta E 24–25: *mu hé-ğál bala ud-sud-da d<sup>ur</sup>-<d<sup>nin</sup>urta>-ra mu-na-an-šúm* "(An) gave to Urnirurta years of plenty and a long-lasting reign."

12. Cf., e.g., *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* 149–50: *e-ne úr-bi elli<sup>8</sup>lag-a-ni-šè ba-da-ab-dím-e / pa-bi elli<sup>8</sup>E.KID-ma-ni-šè ba-ab-dím-e* "as for himself, from its roots, he manufactured his *ellag* / and, from its branches, he manufactured his *ekidma*" (ETCSL 1.8.1.4); *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 340–43 (= 382–85): *ğidru-ğá úr-bi me nam-nun-na-ka / pa-bi kul-aba<sup>4</sup>ki-a an-dùl-eš ì-ak / pa mul-mul-la-bi èš é-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> / kug<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> ní im-ši-ib-te-ente* "The base of my scepter is the divine power of magnificence. / Its crown provides a protective shade over Kulaba; / under its spreading branches / holy Inanna refreshes herself in the shrine E-ana" (ETCSL 1.8.2.3). Note further the occurrence of *pa* and *kud/r* in association: *Gilgameš and Huwawa* Version A 65: *en-ki-du<sub>10</sub> pa-bi ì-ku<sub>5</sub>-ru* "(while Enkidu) lopped off their branches"; *ibid.*, 147: *pa-bi ì-ku<sub>5</sub>-ru-ne* "(Gilgameš's fellow-citizens) began to lop off the branches" (ETCSL 1.8.1.5); The Tale of Gudam, Seg. C 20: *pa-ba mi-ni-in-kud* "he lopped off (the crossbeams of E-ana) as if(?) they were branches" (ETCSL 1.3.4).

13. Šulgi C, Seg. B 79–80: *gal an-zu ġiš ġù di imin-na šu gal du<sub>7</sub>-a-me-èn / bal-bal-e gi sud x [...]* "I am adept enough to play perfectly all the seven instruments ... *balbale* on the flute" (ETCSL 2.4.2.03).

- 33: We assume that the scribe left out the KA following the AK sign in the Akkadian gloss of the verb *šakānu*.
- 36–37: We assume that in line 36 Dumuzi is addressing Ĝeštīnanna, and line 37 is a quote of his direct speech to her. Therefore, the Akkadian gloss of line 37 is restored as *li-ib-b[i-x u]-ta-a-ab*. If, on the other hand, l. 36 means that Dumuzi is addressing the reed pipe, then, l. 37 would be the quote of his direct speech to the pipe. In that case, l. 37 would be translated: "[...] reed pipe, reed pipe! You will gladden (my/her) heart!" Accordingly, the gloss could be restored: *li-ib-b[i-x tu]-ta-a-ab*, "[you] will make [my/her] heart happy."
- 38: The gloss *ra(-x)-im* perhaps renders the Sumerian *sipa-dè* (see comment to lines 156–59).
- 40: This line is badly damaged, and though the reading of the Akkadian gloss (*ú-ul il-pu-ut*) is reasonably assured, the general implication of the line remains obscure. Because of the lack of context, it is not clear why Dumuzi will suddenly stop playing the flute.

## SECTION B

- 67: At the beginning of the line, one would expect to have an epithet of Dumuzi such as *en* "lord" (cf. ll. 111–12), or *sipad* "shepherd," parallel to the following line (*d<sup>um</sup>-u-zī*), but the traces point to neither of these two options.
- 67–69: The present translation of these lines follows the Akkadian glosses of source B to the verbal forms *kíğ-ğá bí-[...]* and *kíğ-ğá hé-en-na-ğar: ši-iz-ba ik-si-im-[...]* and *ši-zi-ib-šu lu ik-si-im-šum*. The general meaning of the verb *kasāmu* is "to cut" (see MSL 14, 144 A VI/4: 34 URU×GU = *gur<sub>5</sub> = kasāmu*; and cf. AHW and CAD sub *kasāmu*). Our line, however, which connects *kasāmu* with *šizbu*, has, according to M. Civil,<sup>14</sup> a specific meaning "to coagulate." As to the Sumerian compound verb *kíğ-ğá—ğar*, it may be noted that, as far as I know, it is not attested elsewhere, in neither lexical nor literary texts, as corresponding to the present Akkadian gloss.
- 72: For lines 72–77, cf. Jacobsen, *JAOS* 103 (1983): 193 n. 2. For Ĝeštīnanna as a chantress, cf. *Dumuzi's Dream* 22: *nar èn-du zu-ğ<sub>10</sub> túm-mu-un-zé-en nin<sub>9</sub>-ğ<sub>10</sub> túm-mu-un-zé-en* "bring my singer who knows the chants, bring my sister!"

14. In a paper "Monosyllabism and Loanwords in Sumerian" read before the 206<sup>th</sup> AOS Annual Meeting, Philadelphia 1996; cf. M. Stol, *BSA* 7 (1993): 107; *idem*, "Milch" *RIA* 8 (1994), 195.

- 73: Collation of the gloss of source A indicates that following the broken sign (read by Jacobsen: [a]z) there is another sign, perhaps TU (read by Jacobsen: zu<sup>1</sup>).
- 74–75: According to Jacobsen (*ibid.*), both Sumerian *gíd* and its Akkadian equivalent *šadādu*, which usually denotes a general meaning of “to pull,” have in our context a specific sense of “to milk.” However, the expected object (*ga*) and dative suffix (-šè) are missing. Hence, in CAD Š/1, 21a sub *šadādu* no translation is offered to the verb of our line; and AHW, 1121 sub *šadādu(m)* 9b translates: “bereitstellen” (= to provide).
- 76: It is assumed that AŠ of the gloss stands for ŠU or MIN; cf. CAD Š/1, 167b sub *šakirru*; Š/1, 118b sub *šakānu* lex. sec.; and Jacobsen, *JAOS* 103 (1983): 193 n. 2.
- 77: For an occurrence of Ĝeštinanna/Ama-Ĝeštinanna in association with *alġarsur*, cf. *The Song of the Hoe* 71–72: é<sup>d</sup>ġestin-an-na-ka ġis<sup>al</sup>-ġar-sur<sub>9</sub>-ra-àm / ama<sup>d</sup>ġestin-an-na-ka ġis<sup>al</sup>-ġar-sur<sub>9</sub> ġù òùg-ga-ka “The temple of Ĝeštinanna resembled an *alġarsur* instrument, the *alġarsur* of Ama-Ĝeštinanna that makes a pleasant sound.”<sup>15</sup>
- 78–79: For *ad* (*rigmu*) in association with *òùg* (*tābu*), cf. *Man and His God* 65: nin<sub>9</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> balaġ di (lú) *ad* òùg na-n[am<sup>2</sup>] ... “(let my sister, who) is truly a lyre player with a sweet voice ...”<sup>16</sup>

## SECTION C

- 107: Ninsun (“lady of the wild cows”) is usually considered the divine mother of Gilgameš and some of the kings of the Ur III dynasty.<sup>17</sup> In the present text, as well as in three other laments,<sup>18</sup> Dumuzi is also

15. For *al-ġar-sur<sub>9</sub>-ra* (= *alġarsurrū*), which denotes a musical instrument, see PSD A/3, 147–48 sub *al-ġar-sur-ra*, where ll. 76–77 of our text are cited. For the writing of the sign SUR<sub>9</sub> and the meaning of the word ġis<sup>al</sup>-ġar-sur<sub>9</sub>, see recently Niek Veldhuis, “The sur<sub>9</sub>-priest, the Instrument ġis<sup>al</sup>-ġar-sur<sub>9</sub>, and the Forms and Uses of a Rare Sign,” *AfO* 44/45 (1998): 115–28.

16. Cf. further *Nippur Lament* 67 (S. Tinney, l. 69): balaġ di lú *ad* òùg-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne “the lyre players, the people with the sweet voices” (PSD A/3, 1a sub *ad*); Šulgi C b 91: *ad* òùg-ga šùd-šùd balaġ kug-ta a-ne ħúl-la òùg<sub>4</sub>-òùg<sub>4</sub> “he who prays with a sweet voice, who dances joyfully to the accomplishment of the holy lyre” (PSD, *ibid.*).

17. See J. Klein, *ThŠH*, 94 sub ll. 41–42; C. Wilcke, “Ninsun,” *RIA* 9 (2001), 501–4.

18. These three laments are: (1) VAS 2, 26 rev. i 4’ (ed in-na ú-saġ-ġá): ònin-sún-na mu-ud-’da’-[ġu<sub>10</sub> na-ga-di<sub>5</sub>] [“let me instruct you] about Ninsuna, who conceived [me]” (see Jacobsen, *The Harps*, 73:211, who seems to interpret m u-ud-da as a phonetic variation for mud-da; cf. CAD A/1, 288 sub *alādu*, lex. sec.: mud = *banū ša alādi*. See also Shin Shifra–J. Klein, in *Those Distant Days*, 413:210 [Hebrew];

- regarded as a child of Ninsun; otherwise Dumuzi’s mother usually is Durtur.<sup>19</sup>
- 108: The Emesal term *m e-a-am*, which occurs several times with reference to Dumuzi and Nanna,<sup>20</sup> means most probably “shepherd,” as was suggested by Wilcke in AS 20, 303 note d, where the Emesal Voc. ii 11 (MSL 4, 13) is restored: [me]-a-am = PA+LU = *ri-ia-[ú-um]*, as against Landsberger MSL 4, 13 [ri]-a-am and recently CAD R, 303a sub *rē’û* lex. sec. For the Akk. adjective *purrušiš* (lul-a), see AHW, 881a s.v.
- 110–11: These two lines are similar to lines 119–20. Accordingly one would restore in line 111 of our text [ur u]-ġá, or [ġá]-e, but the traces point to neither of these two options.
- 112: The reference of Ku’ara (ĤA.A<sup>ki</sup>)<sup>21</sup> as Dumuzi’s city appears in *The Sumerian King List* 109–10: òdum u-zi šu-ġa<sub>6</sub> / uru-ni ku<sub>6</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup> “Dumuzi, the fisherman, whose city was Ku’ara.”<sup>22</sup> Note that Dumuzi’s sister, Ĝeštinanna, is also associated with Ku’ara in *Inanna and Bilulu* 143: in-nin-ġu<sub>10</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-tud-da ku<sub>6</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup> “my lady, born in Ku’ara” (cf. *ibid.*, l. 148).
- 115: From this line on the speaker is Dumuzi, as is clearly indicated by line 120. For the epithet en òdum u-zi, see Y. Sefati, *Sumerian Love Songs*, 387 (indices).
- 117: For the various writings of *um-me-da/ummeda* (= *tārītu* “nurse,” “wet-nurse”), see Steinkeller, *Acta Sum* 3 (1981): 88–90. en-na (Akk. *adi*) “as long as,” “until.”

for a different rendering, see M.E. Cohen, CLAM II, 674:d+101); (2) BE 30, 1 obv. ii 5 (and dupls.): ama ù-m u-un-na ga-ša-an-sún-na-mèn “I, Ninsuna, the lord’s mother” (see A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 47 [1941]: 206; Jacobsen, *ibid.*, 50 and Shin Shifra–J. Klein, *ibid.*, 393); (3) VAS 10, 123 v 5–7: a ur<sub>5</sub> ama-zu a šaġ<sub>4</sub> ama-zu šaġ<sub>4</sub>-ab-ġul ti-la-za / ġuruš ama-zu mu-e-ši-kar-kar ù nu-mu-e-ši-ku-ku / ga-ša-an sún-na mu-e-ši-kar-kar ù nu-mu-e-ši-ku-ku “alas for your mother’s spirit, alas for your mother’s heart, an evil heart as long as you live; / young man, your mother is restless because of you, she cannot sleep because of you, / Ninsuna is restless because of you, she cannot sleep because of you” (see PSD A/3, 194b sub *ama*).

19. See, e.g., Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature*: Dumuzi-Inanna I 21; Dumuzi-Inanna C<sub>1</sub> iv 11 and Dumuzi-Inanna E<sub>1</sub> rev. 17–21 with comment on p. 318.

20. See ll. 153, 156 above; HS 14 57 obv. 11’; rev. 18’ (see Appendix below); DI H: 9; DI I: 44; Manchester Tammuz 6: me-am = me-a-am (according to Alster, *Acta Sum* 14 [1992]: 25, comment to l. 6); Nanna B: 50, 58; Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977): 14 no. 4 rev. 30’; edge 2–3.

21. On the reading and location of the GN Ku’ara, see Steinkeller, *JCS* 32 (1980): 23–33.

22. For a new Nippur duplicate pertinent to the reign of Dumuzi, see J. Klein, *Studies Civil* (1991), 123–29 with bibliography on p. 126, n. 11.



- 118: For the etymology of the divine name Nintu and her function as birth helper-midwife, see Jacobsen, "Notes on Nintur," *OrNS* 42 (1973): 274–98; see also Å. Sjöberg, *Temple Hymns* 72–73. Cf. especially the description given by Inanna of Nintu's role in *Enki and the World Order* 395–402.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru nin<sub>9</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-'lil'-[lá]-'ke<sub>4</sub>'

<sup>d</sup>nin-tu nin-tu-da

sig<sub>4</sub> tu-tu kug nam-en-na-ni šu h<sub>é</sub>-em-ma-an-[ti]

gi dur-kud im-ma-an garaš<sub>3</sub><sup>sar</sup>-a-ni h<sub>é</sub>-em-ma-da-'an-ri'

sila<sub>3</sub>-ġar-ra<sup>na</sup> za-gìn duru<sub>5</sub>-ni šu h<sub>é</sub>-em-ma-an-ti

a-lá kug na RI-ga-ni šu h<sub>é</sub>-em-ma-da-an-ri

šag<sub>4</sub> zu kalam-ma h<sub>é</sub>-em

lugal ù-tud en ù-tud-bi šu-ni-a h<sub>é</sub>-en-ġál

Aruru, Enlil's sister, / Nintu, the mistress of birth giving, / has verily taken the holy brick of birth giving for her High-priestess office. / She has verily carried off her umbilical cords cutter, the *imman*-stone and leeks. / She has taken her *sila-ġarra* vessel of greenish lapis lazuli (in which the after-birth is placed). / She has carried off her holy cleaning *ala* vessel. / She has verily become the midwife of the land! / The birth of kings, the birth of lords has been verily put in her hands.<sup>24</sup>

Dumuzi's account of his birth with the assistance of Nintu appears also in connection with other royal figures such as Urnamma, Šulgi and Išmedagan.<sup>25</sup>

23. For a recent discussion of this passage, see M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible—Its Mediterranean Setting* (Cuneiform Monograph 14. Styx Publications, Groningen 2000), 110–12.
24. Elsewhere, the goddess Nungal praises herself as being an assistant to Nintu during child delivery. See Nungal A 71–72: <sup>d</sup>nin-tu d-e ki nam-dumu-zid-ka mu-da-an-gub-bé / gi-dur kud-da nam tar-re-da inim sag<sub>9</sub>-ge-bi mu-zu "I assist Nintu at the place of child-delivery(?); I know how to cut the umbilical cord and know the favorable words when determining fates."
25. Urnamma in a self-praise states that Nintu herself takes part in fashioning him and standing by in the course of his birth: <sup>d</sup>nin'-tu-re ġe<sub>26</sub>-e mu-un-dím-dím-en ga-ri-ġu<sub>10</sub> nu-tuku "Nintur has formed me meticulously, (so that) I have no equal" (Flückgier-Hawker, Urnamma C 24); <sup>d</sup>nin-tu tu-tu-a-ġu<sub>10</sub> <mu>-ungub-bu "Nintur stood by in the process of my birth" (Urnamma C 47). The same goddess is portrayed as cherishing Šulgi: Šulgi A 11: mí-zi-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga <sup>d</sup>nin-tu-ram-e-en "I am he who is cherished by Nintu"; cf. Šulgi D 43: ama <sup>d</sup>nin-tu-r[e mí-zi mu-ù-dug<sub>4</sub>] "Mother Nintu [nurtured you]"; and as standing by at Išmedagan's

The Sumerian expression sila<sub>3</sub>—šú "to cover (šú = *saḫāpu*) the afterbirth (sila<sub>3</sub> = *ipu, silītu, šelītu, šalītu*, Heb. פִּיִּשׁ) does not seem to accord with the Akkadian gloss *i-pi-i ú-ša-ki-lu*, which means, "to wipe (*šukkulu* D) the afterbirth." For a care of the afterbirth, cf. Šulgi B 186: a-sila<sub>3</sub>-ġar-ra-ġu<sub>10</sub> mí-šè ma-ni-in-du<sub>11</sub> "(Ninsuna) took good care of my afterbirth" (so PSD A/1, 165 sub a-sila<sub>3</sub>-ġar-ra "afterbirth"; for a different rendering, see ETCSL 2.4.2.02).<sup>26</sup>

- 119: For lú with the meaning of "steward, supporter," cf. Šulgi G 43: é-a lú-bi<sup>za-ni-in</sup> na-nam (J. Klein, *Studies Tadmor*, 311 ad l. 43 with references); cf. further *Ur Lament* 287: [<sup>d</sup>nanna] urim<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> nu-me-a me-e lú-bi nu-ġen "[Nanna], Urim which no longer exists—I am not its steward"; *ibid.*, 303: <sup>d</sup>nanna èš urim<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> nu-me-a me-e mu-lu-bi nu-ġen "Nanna, the shrine Urim, which no longer exists—I am not its steward."
- 120: For Dumuzi's city Ku'ara (HA.A<sup>ki</sup>), see above l. 112.
- 121: For the reading of the Akkadian gloss, cf. CAD Q, 286a sub *qû* (lex. sec.). Note the two different glosses for the Sum. na-mú-mú in ll. 121–22 (*uš-šu-ú* / *ib-ba-an-nu-ú*).
- 122: Since the Akkadian equivalent for gur<sub>10</sub>-gur<sub>10</sub> is *ešēdu*, one might have expected it to be glossed by *iš-ši-id*, but the corresponding traces at the end of the gloss do not confirm such a reading. For a discussion of the verb KIN and its reading gur<sub>10</sub> or sag<sub>11</sub>/sig<sub>18</sub>, see Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* 167–70, and W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*. Teil 1 (Berlin/New York 1993) p. 9, n. 24.
- 124: For ir<sub>7</sub>-sa<sup>mušen</sup> = *uršānu* "wild dove" (cf. AHw, 1434a), see A. Salonen, *Vögel*, 116–18, and Heimpel, *Tierbilder*, 400f.<sup>27</sup>
- 125: For úr-bàd "the base of the walls," cf. MSL 13, 28:328–30 suḫuš-bàd, úr-bàd, pa-bàd. One can reasonably conjecture that the following missing line had pa-pàd in parallel to úr-bàd of the present line (cf. ll. 29–30 above). Note the possibility that úr may be inter-

birth: Išmedagan A 44: [<sup>d</sup>nin-tu TU.TU-a ħa-ma-ni-in-gub "Nintu stood by at my birth." For more references to birth episodes in general, see J. Klein, "The Birth of a Crownprince: A Neo-Sumerian Literary Topos," in *CRRAI* 33 (1987), 97–106; cf. M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible* (Groningen, 2000), 83–89.

26. For a general discussion of the "afterbirth," see M. Stol, *ibid.*, 144–45.
27. Cf. further *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 114–15 (and *passim*): kíġ-gi<sub>4</sub>-a en aratta<sup>ki</sup>-ra ù-na-dug<sub>4</sub> ù-na-dè-taḫ / iri-bi ir<sub>7</sub>-sa<sup>mušen</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> ġis-bi-ta na-an-na-ra-ab-dal-en "Messenger, speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: 'Lest I make (the people) fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree.'" (Cf. ETCSL 1.8.2.3 and Sol Cohen, "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia 1973 [Ph.D. dissertation]).

preted as a variant of *ùr* (*ūru*) “roof,” which occurs with the adjective *bād* “high” (cf. PSD B, 44b sub *bad*<sub>3</sub> B “high.”). In any case, neither interpretation clarifies the context.

## SECTION D

149: For <sup>im</sup>š<sub>u</sub>-rin-na (=tinūru) “oven,” see M. Civil, *JCS* 25 (1973): 172–75.

151: <sup>kuš</sup>lu-úb (=luppu) is a leather bag for food products, parallel to <sup>kuš</sup>a-gá-lá in the following line, which has the same meaning.<sup>28</sup> The verbal form *bí-lá*, which recurs several times in lines 151–55, could also be 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. “I hung up.”

152: For <sup>kuš</sup>a-gá-lá (=naruqqu) “leather sack,” see PSD A/1, 73–75 sub *a-gá-lá*. The reading of Akkadian gloss *ša GI-mu<sup>2</sup> ad-di* is uncertain, so it is also difficult to ascertain its meaning. If we, however, take GI as *qé*, then perhaps we have the word *qēmu*, which seems to accord with the Sumerian equivalent *zì*, although *qēmu* is usually written with the KI sign. If the gloss, indeed, is to be read *ša qē-mu ad-di*, then it could mean “(your leather sack), in which I poured flour,” a free translation of the Sumerian.

153–54: The restoration of the verb of these two lines is based on the next line 155.

154: The shortened name Ama-gal-an-na for Ama-ušum-gal-an-na, occurs, as far I know, only here and in line 110.

156–59: The present translation of the verbal form *nam-ga-mu-un-lu* recurring in these lines follows the Akkadian gloss beneath line 156, according to which Dumuzi is addressed directly in the second person (*šēnī te-re-e-ú*). Nevertheless, the Sumerian verbal form itself could be translated in the third person (transitive *hamtu*). Note also, that the verb *lu* in these lines may be alternatively translated “multiply” (equating it with *dešú*, *mādu*).<sup>29</sup>

For the reading of the Akkadian gloss to line 156, cf. CAD R, 300a sub the verb *re’ú* (lex. sec.), and 304b sub the noun *re’ú* (lex. sec.), where *ra-i-ma* is understood as a variant of *re’īma* “shepherd.” According to Jacobsen, however, *ra-i-ma* is perhaps an adverb meaning “indeed,”

28. Cf. *The Song of the Plowing Oxen* 16–17: *ninda* <sup>kuš</sup>lu-úb *ha-ma-ni-in-gar-ra-àm* / *a* <sup>kuš</sup>ummu-da *ha-ma-ni-in-dé-àm* “(I want) her to put bread in my leather bag, to pour water into my waterskin” (Civil, AOAT 25, 87); *The Instructions of Šuruppak* 106–7: *ka* *tuku* (var. *lu*) <sup>kuš</sup>lu-úb-a-ni *sá im-dug<sub>4</sub>* / *gal-gal di* <sup>kuš</sup>lu-úb *sug<sub>4</sub>-ga ša-mu-un-túm* “the boaster (var. liar) reached (out for) his (empty) bag. The haughty one brought an empty bag” (Alster’s updated edition, ms.).

29. And indeed in both CAD S, 112a sub *šāriru* and PSD B, 25b sub *babbar* the verb *lu* of lines 158 and 159 is taken to mean “to multiply.”

“surely.” See CAD R, 80a sub *ra’i* (“indeed?”, “surely?”); AHw, 944a sub *ra’i/u* (“unbedingt”) and Th. Jacobsen (*JNES* 5 [1946]: 137 n. 17 = TIT2 p. 359 n. 17), who discussed the conjugation prefix /nanga/, /namga-/ and its possible Akkadian equivalent *ra’i+ma* in our text.

*ḡi<sub>6</sub>-ù-ṇa* Akk. *mūšu, šat mūši* “night, nighttime.” Inanna’s appearance at night, as the evening-star, seems to imply that at nighttime Dumuzi is secure and protected by his spouse. Cf., e.g., Išmedagan K 5: *me-lem<sub>4</sub>-a-ni izi sud-e il-la-gin<sub>7</sub> ḡi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na bí-gen<sub>6</sub>* “whose (Inanna’s) radiance makes the nighttime secure like a fire that lights up into the distance” (ETCSL 2.5.4.11; cf. Römer, *BiOr* 45 [1988]: 31 and comment on line 5).<sup>30</sup>

158–59: Since these two lines are constructed with parallelism, we assume that *iti<sub>6</sub>* and *šir-ra* syntactically function in apposition to *me-e* (Emesal for *ḡá-e*) in both lines. *iti<sub>6</sub>* most probably refers to Inanna, since there are other attestations of *iti<sub>6</sub>* in association with Inanna.<sup>31</sup> Note, however, that Inanna is neither mentioned specifically by name, nor described by her other epithets throughout the entire text. As for *šir-ra*, according to CAD S, 112a sub *šāriru*, its Akkadian gloss in line 159, *šāriru*, is probably a phonetic variant of *šārīḫu* “wailer”; cf. also AHw, 1084a sub *šāriru(m)* II. If, indeed, *šir-ra* here means *šārīḫu* (“wailer”), then it must be admitted that it does not create an adequate parallel to *iti<sub>6</sub>* “moonlight,” for one would rather expect a word such as “star” or the like. Moreover, it is hard to see how the epithet of Inanna as a “wailer” fits in the immediate context. Therefore, we tend to connect the gloss *šāriru* to *šāriru* A “brilliant star, constellation,” which is a good parallel to “moonlight.” Another, although less likely, possibility is that both *iti<sub>6</sub>* and *šir-ra* function as objects of the verb DU: *iti<sub>6</sub>—DU* and *šir-ra—DU*. In such a case, the compound verb *iti<sub>6</sub>—DU* would mean, “I will bring the moonlight,” and *šir-ra—DU* “I will perform a song.” For a such meaning of *šir-ra—DU*, cf. CT 58, 22:26–27 (Love Song): *ḡá-e šir-šè da-ri-eš ga-DU / é*

30. Note the association of “night” with “moonlight” in Gudea Cyl. A 11:26 *ḡi<sub>6</sub>-a-na i-ti ma-ra-éd-éd* “At night moonlight will come forth for you.”

31. See, for example, Inanna B 147: *iti<sub>6</sub> éd-a-gin<sub>7</sub> la-la ba-an-gùr* “like the light of the rising moon, she is full of charms”; Iddindagan A 111–12: *ḡi<sub>6</sub>-ù-na iti<sub>6</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-éd / an-bar<sub>7</sub>-gán ud-ud-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-éd* “at night she appears like moonlight; in the high noon she appears like sunlight”; Inanna D 52–53: *inanna a-a-zu<sup>d</sup> suen-gin<sub>7</sub> an-šag<sub>4</sub>-ge àm-ḡen / nin-é-gal-la èš ib-gal-zu-a iti<sub>6</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> ša-mu-éd* “Inanna, you go into the interior of heaven like your father Suen; Ninegalla, you appear like moonlight in your shrine the Ibgal”; Inanna D 124–25: *iti<sub>6</sub>-ta mul-šè ‘im’-[DU] / mul-ta iti<sub>6</sub>-šè [im]-DU* “You go from moonlight to star, you go from star to moonlight” (Inanna is described here as Venus; see Behrens, *Ninegalla Hymn*, pp. 132–33).

<sup>d</sup>inanna-ka da-ri-eš ga-DU “I will bring out an eternal chant; in Inanna’s house I will bring out an eternal (chant);”<sup>32</sup> Šulgi B 291: šir-ğá (var. -ğ<sub>10</sub>) a-la-bi hē(-en)-túm-túm-mu “May (the future king) bring out the charm of my songs”; *Uruk Lament*, 12:27: nar-gal-zu šir-ra hu-mu-ni-ib-túm-túm “let your best singers perform songs there.”<sup>33</sup>

- 160: For <sup>urud</sup>šukur (IGI.KAK) = šukurru “spear,” “lance,” cf. Šulgi B 65: ud zú sis-a-bi <sup>urud</sup>šukur zi-ba hē-bí-ğar “when I thrust a bitter-pointed lance into their throats.”<sup>34</sup>

For the compound verb en-nu-ùğ-ğá—gub (“to stand guard”), as relating to Dumuzi, see *Inanna and Bilulu* 83–87 (Jacobsen, *JNES* 12 [1953]: 174 = TIT pp. 64–65; cf. ETCSL 1.4.4 ll. 76–80), where Inanna bewails the death of her husband, Dumuzi:

[mu-]lu nú su<sub>8</sub>-ba mu-lu nú en-nu-ùğ-ba me-gub  
<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi mu-lu nú en-<nu-ùğ-ba me-gub>  
<sup>d</sup>ama-ušumgal-an-na mu-<lu> <nú en-nu-ùğ-ba me-gub>  
<sup>d</sup>utu-da gub-ba DI-ğá en-<nu-ùğ-ba me-gub>  
 ġi<sub>6</sub>-da nú-nú DI-ğá en-nu-ùğ-ba me-gub  
 O, you who lie at rest, shepherd, who lie at rest, you stood guard over them!  
 Dumuzi, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them!  
 Amaušumgalanna, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them!  
 Rising with the sun you stood guard over my sheep,<sup>35</sup>  
 lying down by night, you stood guard over my sheep!<sup>36</sup>

32. In these lines, according to the editors of CT 58, the future bride promises to chant her song in Inanna’s temple in praise of the goddess.

33. M. Green, *Uruk Lament*, *JAOS* 104 (1984): 276 12:27.

34. See also Šulgi B 34: <sup>urud</sup>šukur <sup>urud</sup>ma-sa-tum a-ba-da-ab-ğál-le-en-na “Not only do I carry lance and spear, (but also...)”

35. See, however, B. Alster (*The Instructions of Šuruppak*, p. 93 with n. 87), who reads the expression DI-ğá as silim-ğá “my security,” rather than Jacobsen’s rare reading si<sub>8</sub>-ğá “my sheep.”

36. Cf. further en-nu-ùğ-ğá with tuš (Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 61 viii 21–22):

[sipa nu-gur]um-e e-z[é] e-ni-gub  
 [su<sub>8</sub>-b]ja ù nu-ku en-n[ù-ù]ğ-ğá ba-tuš-x

You have set over the sheep a never-submitting shepherd; you have placed as guard a never-sleeping shepherd.

Another bilingual example (KAR 375 ii 31–32, cited by Krecher on p. 210 comment to line 22; cf. also CAD R, 246 b sub *rēdū* lex. sec.; M.E. Cohen, *CLAM* I, 324):

sipa nu-gurum-ma e-zé(-a) i-ni-gub

- 161: For <sup>kuš</sup>lu-úb, see line 151 above, and for gi-di-da line 25 with comment.

- 162: For še-mur (Emesal) / ne-mur (Emegir), Akk. *tumru* “ember, glowing ash,” in association with Dumuzi, cf. the Dumuzi laments BE 30, 7 obv. i 8: še-mur ì-dub izi nu-um-ma-al “the coals are heaped up, but there is no fire”; BE 30, 6 i 12: še-mur izi-bi a su-a-zu “your coals—their fire is extinguished by water”; *Dumuzi’s Dream* 31: ne-mur kug-ğá a mu-da-an-dé “on my pure embers water was poured in my presence” (cf. also *ibid.*, l. 52). For an occurrence of gú attached to ne-mur, see *Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave* 284: gú ne-mur-<sup>ra</sup>ka ba-an-še<sub>21</sub> “he (Lugalbanda) set them (= the provisions) beside the coals” (ETCSL 1.8.2.1; cf. Hallo, *JAOS* 103 [1983]: 179 comment on l. 277).

The Akkadian gloss (*wa-aš-ba-ti*, stative form of 2<sup>nd</sup> person f.), which corresponds to the Sumerian verbal form nam-mi-tuš, is difficult to explain in the present context.

šag<sub>4</sub>-ğar = *bubūtu*, *berūtum* “hunger, starvation”; *berū* (adj.) “hungry.”

- 163: The occurrence of ù-sá (Akk. *šittu*) “sleep,” together with tēğ (*teğū*) “to approach,” is rare. Usually it occurs with sá—dug<sub>4</sub> (*kašādu*),<sup>37</sup> dab<sub>5</sub> (*šabātu*) “to seize,”<sup>38</sup> with ġar or ku<sub>4</sub>/ku,<sup>39</sup> and in bilingual and Akkadian texts with verbs such as ri (*reğū*) “to flow over, to overcome,” etc.<sup>40</sup>

- 164–65: We assume that now Inanna has taken over the flock’s guard while Dumuzi is sleeping, but this is far from certain, since the remainder of the composition has been destroyed.

[rē’ā lā kāni]ša ina šēni tušziz  
 su<sub>8</sub>-ba ù nu-ku en-nu-ùğ-ğá bí-tuš  
 rādī’a lā šālila ana maššarti tušēšib

You have set over the sheep a never-submitting shepherd; you have placed as guard a never-sleeping shepherd (Akk. “a drover”).

37. Cf. *Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave* 327: lugal-ra ù-sá-ge sá nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub> “sleep finally overcame the king” (ETCSL 1.8.2.1; Hallo, *JAOS* 103 [1983]: 173:318); *ibid.*, 336: <sup>d</sup>lugal-bān-da ù-sá-ge sá nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub> “sleep finally overcame Lugalbanda” (ETCSL 1.8.2.1; Hallo, *ibid.*, 173:327).

38. SP 9 Sec. E 6: gi<sub>4</sub>-in má gid u<sub>3</sub>-sá dab<sub>5</sub> / gi<sub>4</sub>-in u<sub>3</sub>-sá dab<sub>5</sub> kaskal-la du “supposing sleep overtakes those who drag the boat, supposing sleep overtakes them—the only possibility is to walk along the road” (ETCSL 6.1.09).

39. Šulgi N (Lullaby) 10–12: du<sub>5</sub>-mu-ğ<sub>10</sub> ù-sá-ge ša-mu-un-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub> / ù-sá-ge ša-mu-un-ğá-ğá-ğá “my son, sleep will overtake you, sleep will settle on you.”

40. See CAD Š/3, 141 sub *šittu* B; CAD R, 254a sub *reğū*.

## APPENDIX

The following fragments are considered to duplicate the main sources of Dumuzi-Inanna X (see n. 2 above).

1. HS 1457 (= TMH NF IV 89; Wilcke, *Kollationen*, 85–86)

OBV.

- 1' [...] 'x'  
 2' [...] 'x'-an-na-ḡu<sub>10</sub>-uš<sup>41</sup>  
 3' [...] šaḡ<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-ḥú]l<sup>2</sup>-la du-a-ḡu<sub>10</sub>-dè  
 4' [...] me-t]éš im-i-i-ne  
     (*uš-ta-na-du-ni-in-ni*)  
 5' [...] 'e'<sup>1</sup> ù-zé-bé bí-ku  
 6' [...] e-n]e-di-dè nam-ta-éd-'dè'  
     (*nu-uš-ši*)  
 7' [...] -lá i-'x x<sup>1</sup>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-dam'  
     ('x' [x x x (x x x)] 'UG'.GU)  
 8' [...] 'x'-ab<sup>2</sup>-SIA ḥu šakir<sub>3</sub><sup>2</sup> (URU<sup>2</sup>×GA)-sal-ḡu<sub>10</sub>  
 9' [...] ù<sup>2</sup>-z]é<sup>2</sup>-ba ù-sá-bi \*ga-a<sup>2</sup>-ku-x  
     (x x x)  
 10' [...] 'x' é-urin-na-[ka...]  
     (*i-na ḥu-ur-ši-i[m]*)  
 11' [...] AN<sup>2</sup> x-ba<sup>2</sup> me-a-am UD 'x' [...]  
 12' 'ù<sup>2</sup>-zé-ba 'ù-sá<sup>2</sup>?[bi ...]<sup>42</sup>  
 13'–15' (*Scratches. Wilcke counts lines but he doubts whether anything was written on it.*)

REV.

- 16' [...] 'dug<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>' [...]  
 17' [...] e<sub>4</sub>-urin-[na-ka<sup>2</sup> ...]<sup>43</sup>  
 18' [...] 'x' ku me-a-am UD 'x' [...]<sup>44</sup>  
 19' [sa-gí]d-da-[àm]

41. One could restore [ḡeštin]-an-na or [Ama-gal]-an-na, but according to Wilcke's collation the most likely restoration is 'é'-an-na-.

42. Cf. l. 9'.

43. Cf. l. 10'.

44. Cf. l. 11'.

- 20' [...] 'x' i-bí-ḡu<sub>10</sub> hé-'na'<sup>2</sup>-[...]  
     (UD<sup>2</sup> ki-x i-ga<sup>2</sup> x)  
 21' [...] 'x'-zé-ba ḥi-li ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-dam  
 22' [mu-lu] šà-ab-ḡá bí-ḥú]l-le  
     (*i-ḥa-ad-di*)  
 23' [...] 'x'-im-ma ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-dam  
     (...)-ba-aš-ši 'x' am)  
 24' [... nam]-lugal-la-àm  
     (*ša-ru-tum*)  
 25' [...] 'x' a saḡ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig<sub>7</sub>  
 26' [...] 'x'<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-šè  
 27' [...] 'x' mu-ni-in-'x'  
 28' [...] mu-un<sup>2</sup>-e  
 29' [...] 'x'-an-na-ḡu<sub>10</sub>  
 30' [...]

## PARTIAL TRANSLATION

- 1' ...  
 2' To... my ... of heaven,  
 3' when I come *joyfully*,  
 4' [...] they will praise me.  
 5' [...] I/he slept a good sleep,  
 6' [...] we go out playing.<sup>45</sup>  
 7' My... very sweet.  
 8' ...  
 9' *Let me sleep that sweet sleep ...*<sup>46</sup>  
 10' ... the storehouse,  
 11' ... the shepherd...  
 12' [*Let me sleep*] that sweet [*sleep*] ...<sup>47</sup>  
 13'–15'...

45. The present translation follows the Akkadian gloss *nušši*, which understands the Sumerian nam-ta-éd-dè as a 1<sup>st</sup> person pl. *marû*.

46. Cf. Cohen, *Eršemma* 159:33 me-e é-mu ù-sá-bi ga-ku ù-sá-bi zé-ba-àm "I shall sleep at my house! That sleep is sure to be good."

47. Cf. l. 9'.

## REV.

- 16' ...good...  
 17' ... the storehouse,  
 18' ... the shepherd...  
 19' [It is] the [sag]idda  
 20' May ... my eyes ...  
 21' Its ... is good, the pleasure is sweet.  
 22' [The man] of my heart will rejoice.  
 23' ... is sweet.  
 24' ... there is kingship.  
 25' He gave gifts...  
 26' To Enlil...  
 27' ...  
 28' He spoke [...]  
 29' my [...]  
 30' [...]

## 2. Ni 9671 (ISET 2, 18)

## OBV. i

- 1' [...] x 'x' [...]  
 2' [...] x x x [...]  
 3' [...] ba-tag<sup>2</sup>-ge<sup>2</sup>  
 4' [...] -ni zi-KA-zu-ta  
 5' [...] -ra-ni KAŠ<sub>4</sub>-zu-ta  
 6' [...] amaš<sup>2</sup>/lugal<sup>2</sup>-gū<sub>10</sub> mu-un-na-ši<sup>12</sup>-gi<sup>2</sup>-a  
 7' [...] A]N<sup>2</sup> d<sup>2</sup>dumu-zi-dè 'x' [...]  
 8' [...] mu<sup>2</sup> [...]  
 9' [...] m]u<sup>2</sup>-un<sup>1</sup>-na-ni  
 10' [...] x [...]

## OBV. ii

- 1' 'x' [...]  
 2' 'x' [...]

## REV. i

- 1' [...] x-ba ki-[...]  
 2' [...] 'x' ĞIŠ HJUNI<sup>2</sup> x [...]

- 3' [...] x-na<sup>12</sup> BAD<sup>12</sup> zu<sup>12</sup> nam<sup>12</sup> [...]  
 ([...]-pi-šu x x)  
 4' [...] -na-bi su-x [...]  
 5' [...] x NE<sup>12</sup> AN KA 'x' [...]  
 6' [...] x x [...]  
 7' [...] x [...]  
 8' [...] x [...]

REV. ii (*destroyed*)3. CBS 13628 rev.(?) (obv.(?) *destroyed*)

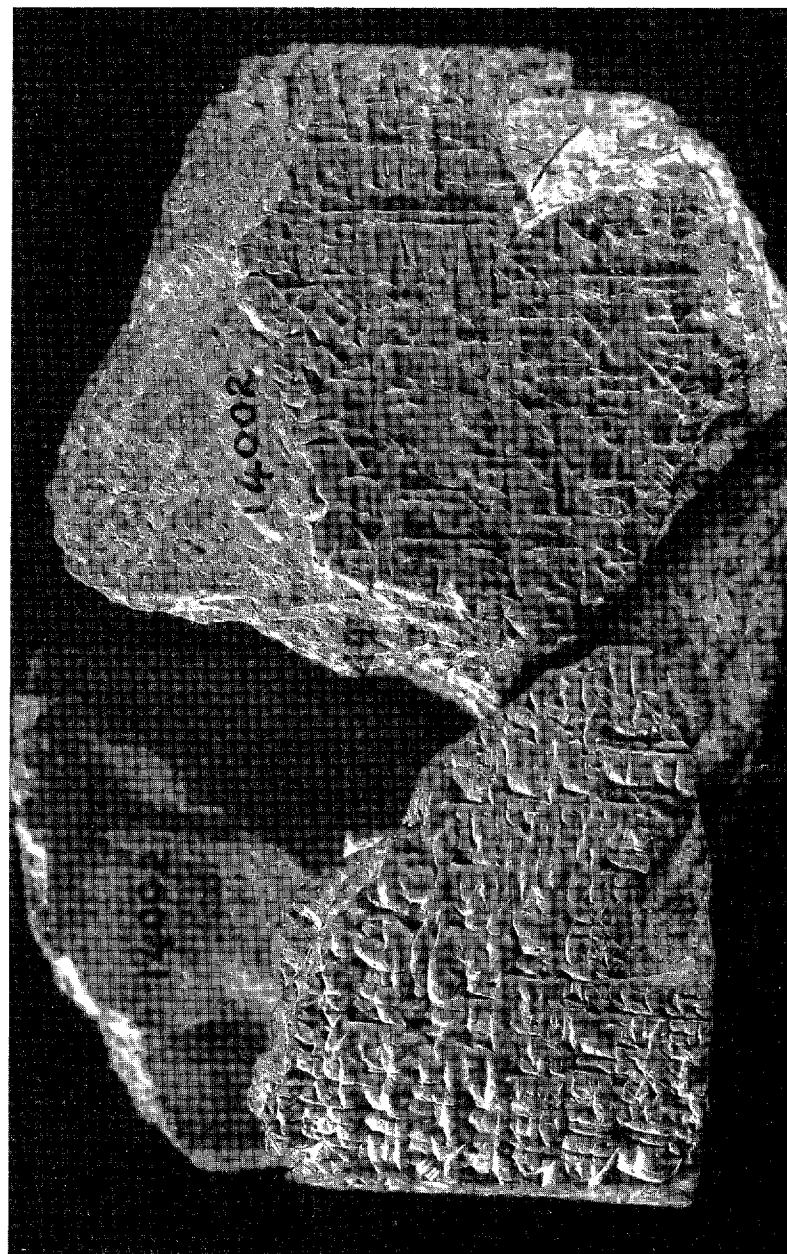
- 1' 'x x x x' x x 'x' [...]  
 2' [nam]-'ku<sup>12</sup> nu-x-ma nam-ku<sup>2</sup> nu<sup>2</sup>-[húb<sup>12</sup>-húb<sup>12</sup>]-me<sup>2</sup>-en<sup>2</sup> [...]  
 3' [x k]u<sub>6</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup> nam-ku<sup>2</sup> nu-húb<sup>12</sup>-húb<sup>12</sup>-[me]-en<sup>2</sup> [...]  
 4' [x g]i<sup>12</sup> ba-ba-làl<sup>12</sup>-mun nu-mun x x x [...]  
 5' [x] zé<sup>2</sup> túg<sup>2</sup> da<sup>2</sup>-GIM ama<sup>2</sup> nu-DU<sup>2</sup> nu<sup>2</sup>-x-x [...]  
 6' [x] 'x<sup>1</sup>-re nin<sub>9</sub>-gū<sub>10</sub><sup>2</sup> ha-ba-ab-re<sup>2</sup>-re<sup>2</sup> x [...]  
 7' [x]-mun x x x ba-ni-ku x x [...]  
 8' [...] 'ka<sup>12</sup>-DI-a en<sup>2</sup> NE-GIM x mu<sup>2</sup>-GIM<sup>2</sup> [...]  
 9' [...] lugal<sup>2</sup> má-diri-ga<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>-dùg<sup>2</sup> x [...]  
 10' [...] 'x' ù<sup>2</sup> x x a<sup>2</sup>-šè 'x x x' [...]

## 4. N 2654

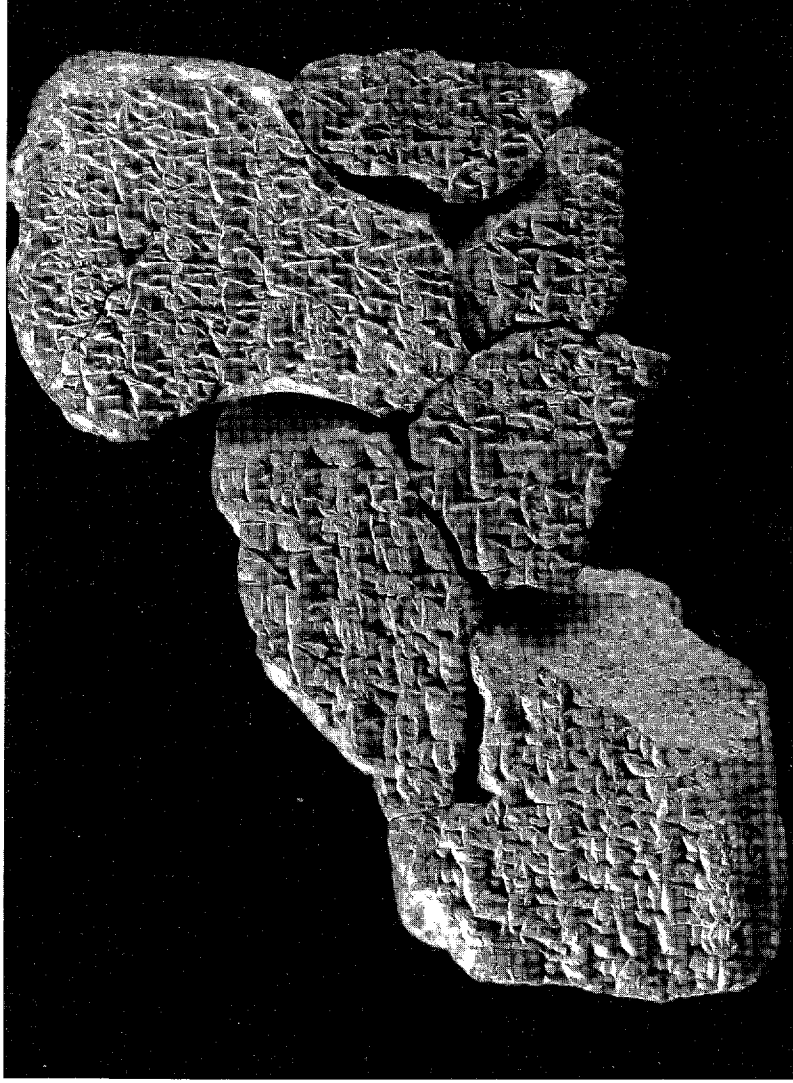
- 1' [...] -má-x-a-ni  
 2' [...] i-nú-a-ni [...]  
 3' [...] x x-a-ni  
 4' [...] nin<sub>9</sub>-a-ni d[...]  
 5' [...] 'x -mu<sup>21</sup>



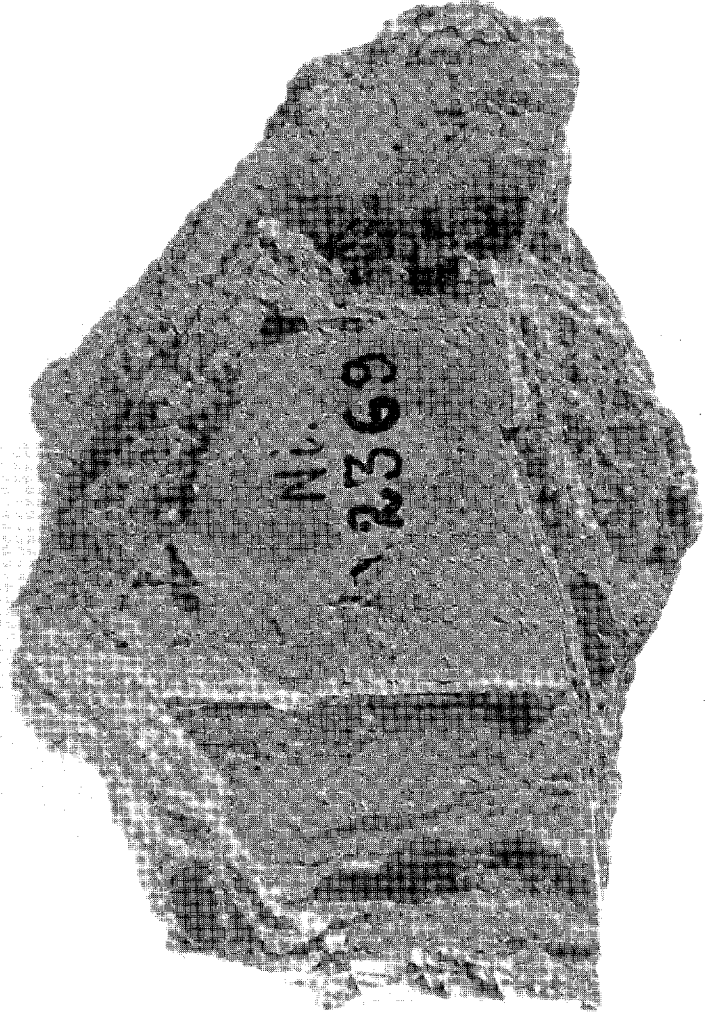
CBS 14002 and 14002a Obverse



CBS 14002 and 14002a Reverse

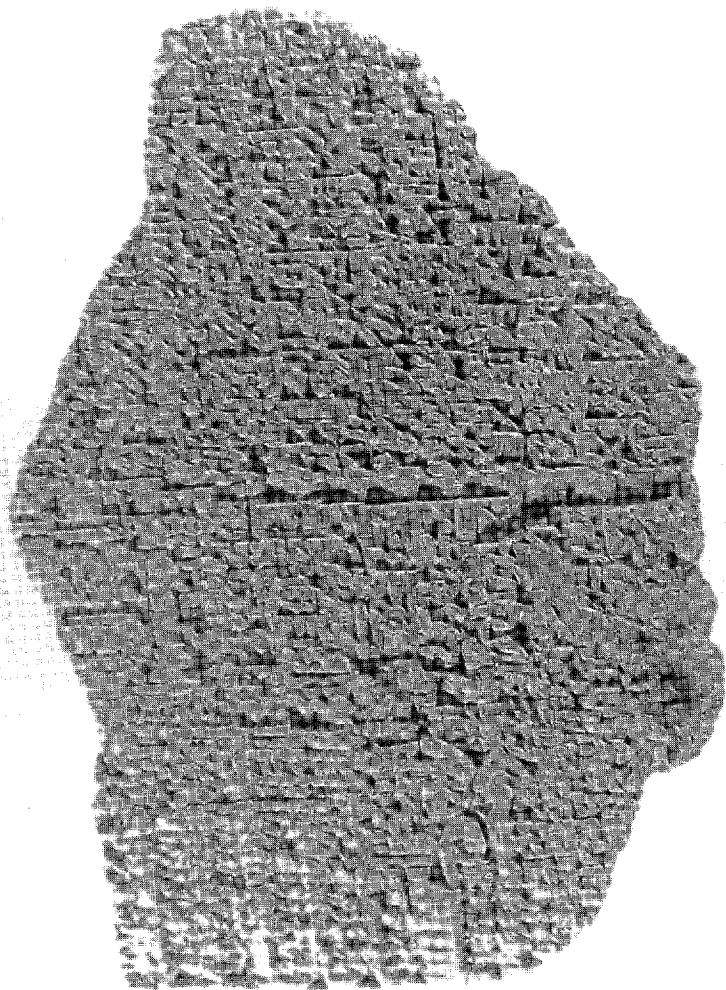


CBS 6657B, N 1839, N 5300, unnumbered fragments



Ni 2369 Obverse





Ni 2369 Reverse

## TABLETTE DE LAGAŠ, ÉPOQUE D'UR III

MARCEL SIGRIST  
*École Biblique, Jerusalem*

JE N'AI PU OFFRIR, à très brève notice, que cette petite tablette d'Ur III. Cette contribution n'en exprime pas moins ma grande admiration pour l'immense oeuvre de Jacob Klein et ses travaux sur la langue sumérienne.

La tablette de Lagaš, publiée ci-dessous, a été vue par le professeur Moshe Anbar-Bernstein chez un antiquaire, il y a plus de 15 ans. Il en a fait une copie, publiée ci-après et a pris des empreintes sur Fimo, permettant de vérifier la copie. Tous mes remerciements pour m'avoir suggéré de publier cette tablette et toutes mes excuses pour avoir tant tardé.

OBV.			
	nínda×še-aš-aš kù	Nam-tar-re	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Ur-zu	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	nagar	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Nam-tar-re	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	<sup>d</sup> En-líl-lá	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Nimgir-abzu	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Ur- <sup>d</sup> En-ki	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Pú-ta	$\frac{2}{3}$
	maš	Lú-bàn-da	$\frac{1}{2}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Lugal-šeš	$\frac{2}{3}$
	maš	Lugal-kisal	$\frac{1}{2}$
	igi-3	Úr-ra-ni	$\frac{1}{3}$
REV.			
	igi-3	Nam-ḥa-ni	$\frac{1}{3}$
	igi-3	I-mu-ut-Ìr-ra	$\frac{1}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Á-sukkal	$\frac{2}{3}$
	nínda×še-aš-aš	Šeš-šeš	$\frac{2}{3}$



ninda×še-aš-aš	Inim- <sup>d</sup> Utu	$\frac{2}{3}$
igi-3	sa <sub>12</sub> -du <sub>5</sub>	$\frac{1}{3}$
igi-3	Lugal-ur-sag	$\frac{1}{3}$
igi-3	Inim- <sup>d</sup> En-líl-ka?	$\frac{1}{3}$
igi-3	Sag-dingir	$\frac{1}{3}$

nù-mul-an-na  
Lagaš.ki hul-X  
tu-ru-uš sukkal (*edge*)

Cette petite tablette attire immédiatement l'attention par la présence d'un signe cunéiforme plutôt rare : ninda×še-aš-aš pour noter  $\frac{2}{3}$  de gín. La tablette traite du transfert de petites sommes d'argent : un tiers, un demi et deux tiers de gín.

Pour écrire ces fractions, le scribe avait à sa disposition des signes très simples: šušana pour  $\frac{1}{3}$ , maš ou bar pour  $\frac{1}{2}$  et finalement šanabi pour  $\frac{2}{3}$ . De cette liste de possibles, il ne retient que le signe maš pour un demi.

Une autre option consistait à jouer avec les fractions igi-n-gál: igi-2-gál =  $\frac{1}{2}$ , igi-3-gál =  $\frac{1}{3}$ , etc. Le scribe n'a utilisé que la fraction de  $\frac{1}{3}$ , qu'il se contente d'écrire igi-3.

Pour écrire  $\frac{2}{3}$ , en ne choisissant pas le signe šanabi il ne lui restait plus qu'un signe complexe, qui n'a même pas de nom dans les listes de signes : ninda×še-aš-aš. Mais le scribe choisissant ce signe pour noter  $\frac{2}{3}$  aurait pu rester conséquent en choisissant le signe ninda×še-aš pour noter  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Bref cette tablette offre un intéressant cas des choix possibles pour écrire des fractions.

Elle mentionne donc et une personnes payant ou recevant de petites sommes d'argent. Parmi celles-là, deux ne sont connues que par leur profession, un nagar, charpentier et un sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>, arpenteur. Les autres sont connus par leur nom propre. Pour le second Nam-tar-re on se serait attendu à la mention de Nam-tar-re min, pour dire un second. Le nom de Imut-Irra est rare et de langue akkadienne. Le dernier nom de Sag-dingir est inconnu, mais aucune autre lecture ne peut être suggérée. Inim-dingir n'est pas conforme au texte.

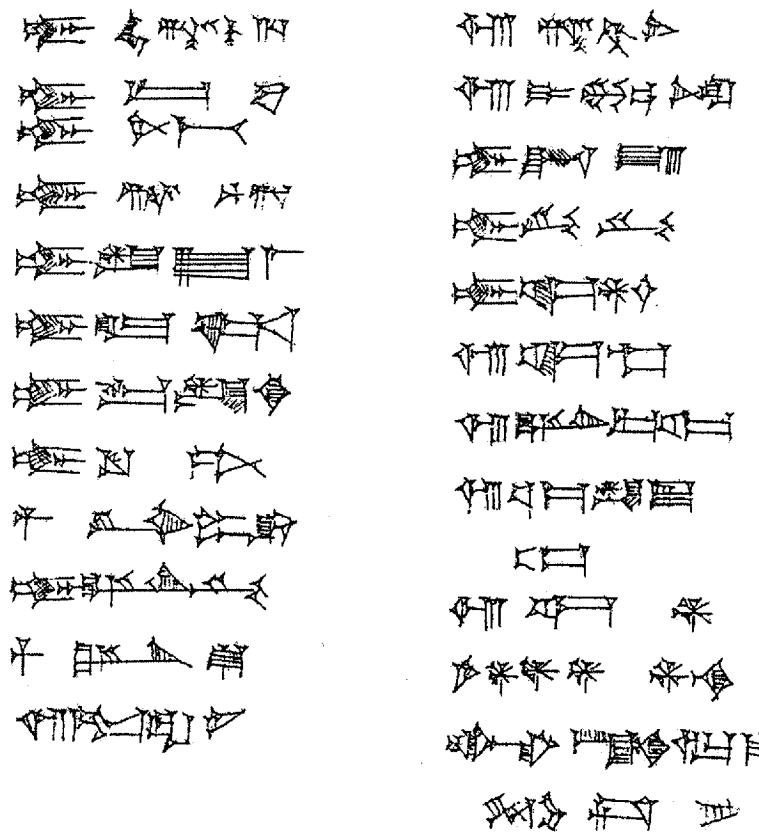
Les totaux mentionnés sur la tablette sont

$$12 \text{ deux-tiers} = \frac{24}{3}$$

$$2 \text{ un-demi} = \frac{3}{3} \text{ et}$$

$$7 \text{ un-tiers} = \frac{7}{3}, \text{ soit } \frac{34}{3} \text{ ou encore } 11 \text{ et } \frac{1}{3} \text{ gín d'argent.}$$

L'ultime difficulté vient des 3 dernières lignes du texte qui auraient pu donner l'information et donc l'explication souhaitée pour comprendre ce



FACE

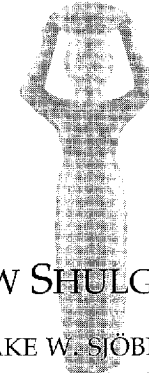
REVERS

copie de M. Anbar-Bernstein

texte. Le mot *nì-mul-an-na* fait penser à un nom de champ et pourrait induire la lecture <a>-šà mul-an-na. Mais le signe *nì* pourrait difficilement devenir *šà*, en fonction de la copie. Cette hypothèse de champ, qui aurait permis de penser à la taxe d'irrigation payée au pouvoir central, n'est pas prouvée.

La seconde ligne se lit *Lagaš<sup>ki</sup> ḫul-X* et ne peut-être traduite. Il en va de même pour la dernière ligne qui donne *Tu-ru-uš sukkal*. Mais un tel nom propre ne m'est pas connu.

S'il n'est pas possible de donner une interprétation claire de cette tablette, elle mérite d'être connue pour l'emploi des 3 formes de fraction  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  et  $\frac{1}{3}$ .



## A NEW ŠULGI HYMN

ÅKE W. SJÖBERG  
Uppsala, Sweden

*For an esteemed friend on his 70th birthday*

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM CBS 11553<sup>1</sup> contains a Šulgi hymn. In line 7' we find <sup>d</sup>nin-sumun<sub>2</sub>; signs are damaged but we do not doubt that the reading is accurate. Ninsumun(a) occurs often as the mother of Šulgi. The royal name occurs in the same line where I read (with little hesitation) <sup>r</sup>š'ul-gi.<sup>2</sup> The ruler in our text is compared to a fierce lion, a panther. He is a battering ram razing walls, a trap and a huge net. He is a warrior, he is a Ninurta, his weapon is the *mitum* weapon, and he is compared to a flood and rising water, destroying embankments, a ruler who conquers the rebellious land.

### TRANSLITERATION

#### OBVERSE

- 1'. [(x)] [x<sup>1</sup>-ta 'x] [                      ]  
 2'. 'pirig<sup>1</sup>-ban<sub>3</sub>-da-'gin<sub>7</sub>' 'x] [            ]  
 3'. 'PIRIG<sup>1</sup>.TUR-gal-gin<sub>7</sub>' 'x x x<sup>1</sup> x 'x] [   ]  
 4'. 'ur<sup>2</sup>'-maḫ<sub>7</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> [x x] 'x<sup>1</sup> 'x] [       ]  
 5'. 'gu<sub>4</sub>'-si-aš-gin<sub>7</sub>' bad<sub>3</sub>' e<sub>11</sub>'-de<sub>3</sub>-zu<sup>1</sup>-u<sub>3</sub>-š[e<sub>3</sub>]  
 6'. 'x (x)'-mir an-ta šu bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub>  
 7'. 'šu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>nin-sumun(a)<sub>2</sub>-ka 'x]-[x] 'š'ul-gi [kur]-[r]a  
           ra-r[a]-'zu-u<sub>3</sub>'-[še<sub>3</sub>]  
 8'. giš-bur<sub>2</sub> ki-bal-še<sub>3</sub> na<sub>2</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub>

1. See photo. The text has been written by a master scribe. The length of the fragment is 7.5 cm; width 6.5 cm; thickness 3.5 cm; original length was at least 15 cm.  
 2. Cf. SLTNi 76 (ŠulgiM) rev. 7 and 11 šul-gi where the sign šul seems to be identical with the sign in our text (at least according to the copy).

- 9'. 'lugal' 'lu<sub>2</sub>'-erim<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> bal-e-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-[še<sub>3</sub>]  
 10'. sa-šu<sub>2</sub>-uš-ga[ ]-'gin<sub>7</sub>' 'lu<sub>2</sub>'-ḫul-gal<sub>2</sub>-ra an-ta 'dul'-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>'  
 11'. giš-mitum-gin<sub>7</sub> giš-tukul-la du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-[zu<sub>1</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-[še<sub>3</sub>]  
 12'. 'x x x'-IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-da-tab-ba-'gin<sub>7</sub>' 'x (x) x' TUG<sub>2</sub> 'x-zu'-[še<sub>3</sub>]  
 13'. me<sub>3</sub> šen-'šen-gin<sub>7</sub>' u<sub>4</sub> ur-'gu<sub>7</sub>-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>  
 14'. [a]-'ma-ru'-gin<sub>7</sub> šu ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>  
 15'. 'a-zi'-ga-gin<sub>7</sub> piš<sub>10</sub> gul-gul-lu-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-[še<sub>3</sub>]  
 16'. [x(x)] i<sub>7</sub> KU<sup>?</sup>-[x] ḫu-luḫ-ḫa-gin<sub>7</sub> ki-bal tum<sub>3</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-zu-u<sub>3</sub>-[še<sub>3</sub>]

## REVERSE

- 17'. a-'x'-[...] ' - 'zu'-u<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>  
 18'. ... 'x' [...] 'x x' [ -zu-u<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>]

*Remainder of reverse almost completely destroyed.*

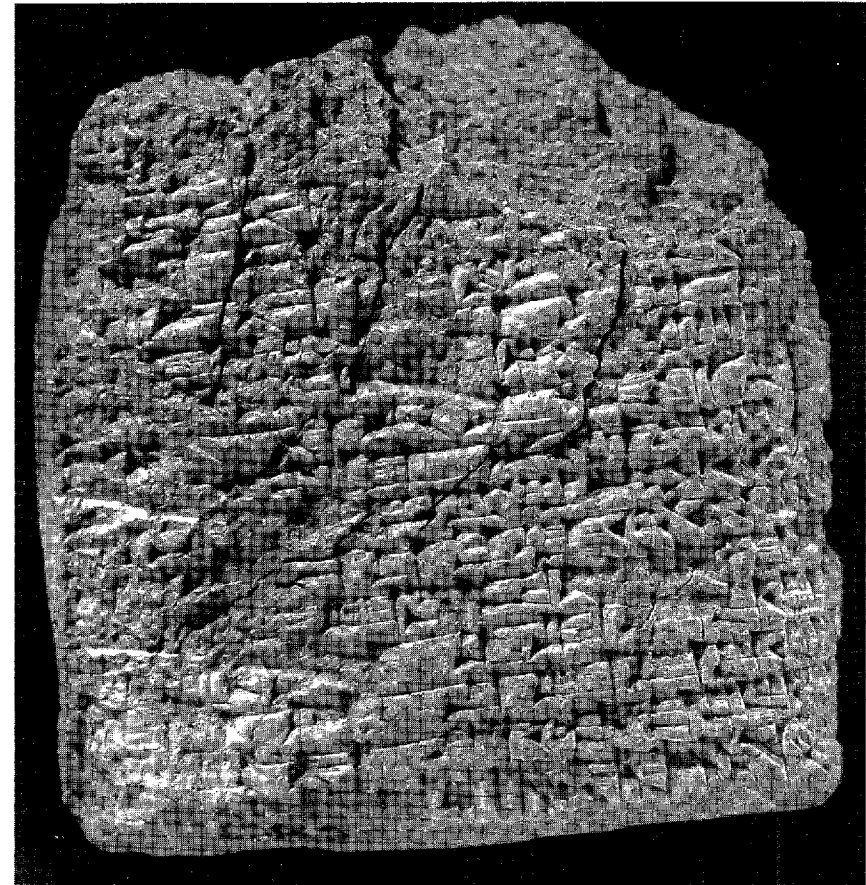
## TRANSLATION

- 2'. When(?) you, like a young lion, ...  
 3'. When you, like a big panther, ...  
 4'. When you, like a lion(?), ...  
 5'. When you, like a battering ram, raze a wall,  
 6'. When you, like a fierce ... are released from the sky,  
 7'. When you ... Ninsumuna ... Šulgi, strike(?) the (foreign) land(?),  
 8'. Like a trap, lying in wait for the rebellious land,  
 9'. Lord, when you are turning against the evil enemy,  
 10'. When you, like a *šušgal*-net, 'from above' cover the hostile enemy,  
 11'. When you, like the divine mace, ... weapon,  
 12'. Lord, when you, like ... siege-shield, ...  
 13'. When you as in battle and warfare are an all devouring storm,  
 14'. When you, like a flood, sweep over (the lands),  
 15'. When you, like a rising flood, destroy the banks,  
 16'. When you, like a ... frightening river, 'carry off' the rebellious land, ...

## COMMENTARY

- 2'. First sign is almost completely lost, and reading 'pirig' is somewhat uncertain; however, cf. Šulgi A 71 *pirig-ban<sub>3</sub>-da-gin<sub>7</sub> gur<sub>5</sub>-ru-uš ḫu-mu-bur<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>* "I (Šulgi) charged like a fierce lion."<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Šulgi

3. In SLTNI 82 a 5 (text H) the sign may be ug. For deities compared to *pirig-ban<sub>3</sub>-da* and *PIRIG.TUR-ban<sub>3</sub>-da*, see PSD B, 85f. (sub *ban<sub>3</sub>-da* 4.2). *PIRIG.TUR* is also an epithet of Asarluḫi in *Temple Hymns* 141 *PIRIG.TUR kar dib-be<sub>2</sub>* "a leopard,



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A 42 pirig nam-šul-bi-ta mu-kuš<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub> ne-ba gub-ba-me-en; Šulgi X 83–84 ur-sag-kala-ga pirig-še<sub>3</sub> tu-da sun<sub>2</sub>-tur nam-šul-ba gub-ba “Mighty hero, who was born to be a lion, a young wild bull, who stands (firm) in his vigor”; Šulgi C 1–2 lugal/šul-gi-me-en<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub> pa<sub>3</sub>-da-me-en<sub>3</sub> pirig ka-duḥ-ḥa-me-en<sub>3</sub>. Note also ref. to Išmedagan (SRT 13:50) pirig-ḥuš-edin-na-gin<sub>7</sub> usu nam-šul-ba DU-a.

The sign following ‘gin<sub>7</sub>’ may be gu[r<sub>5</sub>] and the line would then be parallel to Šulgi A 71 cited above.

- 3’. PIRIG.TUR: nimri, nimur, Akk. *nimru* “panther,” “leopard,” also = *lābu* (*labbu*) “lion.” PIRIG.TUR-gal referring to Šulgi may be attested in Šulgi D 24 PIRIG.TUR- [...]. The restoration following PIRIG.TUR- may be either [gal-gin<sub>7</sub> ...], or [ban<sub>3</sub>-da-gin<sub>7</sub> ...]. PIRIG.TUR-ban<sub>3</sub>-da refers to Šulgi in Šulgi D 6 PIRIG.TUR-ban<sub>3</sub>-da ga-zi gu<sub>7</sub>-a gu<sub>4</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub> pirig-gal-še<sub>3</sub> tu-da “Fierce panther, who feed on rich milk, rampant bull, born to (be) a great ‘lion’.” Cf. PIRIG.TUR-ban<sub>3</sub>-da, Akk. *nimru ekdu* (CAD N/2, 234 *nimru* A 1.: 𒌦𒌦 XIV 136). For other occurrences of PIRIG.TUR in Šulgi compositions, see Šulgi E 207 PIRIG.TUR-ḥuš-gin<sub>7</sub> šubtum<sup>4</sup> la-ba-ga<sub>2</sub>-ar;<sup>5</sup> and Šulgi B 21 TAB PIRIG.TUR-gin<sub>7</sub> zi-ga-mu-d[e<sub>3</sub>]. Cf. TLB 2, 3:9 PIRIG.TUR gu<sub>2</sub> ak, referring to Hammurabi (ZA 54, 51 where the signs were read as pirig<sub>3</sub>-banda<sub>3</sub>).
- 4’. As far as I know there are no references comparing Šulgi to an ur-maḥ.<sup>6</sup> The reading ur- is somewhat uncertain: a reading ‘URU.[UD]-

who seizes prey.” Note that PIRIG.TUR-tur/banda<sub>3</sub> is attested as a proper name in Ur III (Limet, *L’anthroponymie* 522; cf. 328f.).

4. KASKAL.LAGAB×U KASKAL.LAGAB×U, see MSL 16, 46:3 (Proto-SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN). Cf. W. Mayer, *OrNS* 56 (1987): 257f.
5. Cf. N 1768+ rev. 9’ (Šulgi C) pirig-gin<sub>7</sub> KASKAL.LAGAB×U-ta. Also cf. PBS 13, 44 (+CBS13961)i14 ur-bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> šubtum-ta zi-ga-ni dum-dam-e ak-da “He (deity) growls like a wolf ‘standing up’ from an ambush.” See Akk. *šubtu(m)* “outpost, ambush”: CAD Š/2, 184 *šubtu* A 5 a)-b). Cf. Psalm 17:12 “He is like a lion (*‘aryēh*) longing for prey, and like a young lion sitting in hiding places (*b<sup>o</sup> mistārīm*).”
6. ur-maḥ as an epithet of a ruler does not seem to be attested, and there is, as far as I know, no other references to a ruler compared to an ur-maḥ “lion.” Sargon II compares himself to a raging, terror-laden lion *kitna labbi nadri ša puluḥtu ramū* TCL 3, 420; also Esarhaddon is a *labbu nadru*: see Seux, *Épithètes royales* 147; CAD L, 25 *labbu* c2’. Cf. *Gilgameš and the Netherworld* 26 ur-maḥ-gin<sub>7</sub> sag giš ra-ra (also lines 69; 113); eme-a-ni ur-maḥ lu<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>7</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> uš<sub>2</sub> nu-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ge-dam “his tongue is like (that of) a lion who is eating a man and the blood does not dry” [šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-g: ša-ra-g “to dry”: van Dijk, HSAO 245 fn. 53] *Gilgameš and Huwawa* B 88 (: Edzard, BAW Phil.-Hist. Klasse München 1993, 26); ur-maḥ-gin<sub>7</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> sila<sub>4</sub> [x-x-z]a nu-uš-in-[ga-an-zu-am<sub>3</sub>] SLTNi 61:182–83 (Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 336, 39.1; M.E. Cohen, *WO* 8 (1975) with comm. p. 36), referring to Ninurta; in *Temple Hymns* 432

maḥ or 'ulu<sub>3</sub>-maḥ is possible. Unfortunately, the second part of the line, which would have given us a clue to the reading, is not preserved.<sup>7</sup>

- 5'. For gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš "battering ram" (Akk. *ašibu*) as referring to Šulgi, see Šulgi F 282 (BE 31, 24 rev. ii 14 and dupl.) gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš bad<sub>3</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub> zu<sub>2</sub> eme-bi du<sub>7</sub><-du<sub>7</sub>-me-en<sub>3</sub>> "I am a battering ram whose 'tooth' and 'tongue' are pounding the wall of the enemy." Cf. *Uruk Lament* 5.12 giš-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš kuš-E.IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> ba-su<sub>8</sub>-ge-[eš] bad<sub>3</sub>-bi mu-un-si-il-si-[il-le-eš] "Battering rams and shields were set up; they rent its walls"; *Creation of the Hoe* 15 (PBS 10/2, 16 i 15 and dupls.) zu<sub>2</sub>-bi gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš bad<sub>3</sub>-gal e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-dam "Its (of the hoe) 'tooth' is tearing down a wall (like) a battering ram" [note the occurrence of e<sub>11</sub> as in our text]; e<sub>11</sub> = *naqāru* "to tear down, demolish, to raze"; and AOAT 25, 412:4 (where end of line is not read)<sup>d</sup>nin-urta am-gal gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš bad<sub>3</sub>-gal ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-e "Ninurta, great wild bull, battering ram that tears down large walls."<sup>8</sup> Note that in the same text line 67 (p. 416) reads giš-gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš.<sup>9</sup>

The grammatical function of the postposition -še<sub>3</sub> here and at the end of most lines is not clear to me.

- 6'. Literary references to Šulgi containing the verb šu bar/ba(r)-r(a) = *wašāru(m)* D, said of winds, storms (AHw 1486, 8-j), include SRT 14:3

ur-maḥ is an epithet of Ninazu; Ningišzida is ur-maḥ-kur-su<sub>3</sub>-[da] "a lion from a distant land" TCL 15, 25:1, van Dijk, *Götterlieder* 81; (goddess Belet-šēri) is ur-maḥ-dingir-[r]e-e-ne-[ke<sub>4</sub>] STT 2, 230:16. ur-maḥ-nam-lugal-la ZA 49, 108:37 refers to a royal garment (not to king Ur-Ninurta line 35); also in ZA 49, 116:15 ur-maḥ-nam-lugal-la is not an epithet of Ur-Ninurta (line 12). Reading teš<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-nam-lugal-la (as referring to a royal garment) "the great pride of kingship" cannot be ruled out (teš<sub>2</sub> = *baštu*, CAD B, 142f.); cf. *šubāt baltī* (*bašti*) CAD B 144.

7. Cf. reference to Zababa in *Temple Hymns* 453 nun-zu u<sub>18</sub>-ru (with var. uru<sub>18</sub>[EN]-maḥ u<sub>4</sub>-gal ki us<sub>2</sub>-sa. See Ludwig, *Išmedagan* 110 with fn. 284 for possible connection of u<sub>18</sub>-ru with u<sub>18</sub>-lu.
8. Cf. tu-uk IM.KAD<sub>3</sub> = *na-qa*-[ru] Diri IV 143; ki-id IM.KAD<sub>3</sub> = *na-qa*-[ru] Diri IV 148. Cf. Enlilidiriše 249 am u<sub>3</sub>-na gub-ba a<sub>2</sub> ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-a-me-en (TCL 15, 9 vi 'a<sub>2</sub>' KAD<sub>4</sub>-KAD<sub>4</sub>-a-me-en; dupl. UET 6/3, 109 a<sub>2</sub> ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-ŠU.KAD<sub>4</sub>-[D<sub>4</sub>-...].
9. Ninurta's epithets am-gal and gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš in AOAT 25, 412:4 is reminiscent of Enlilidiriše 249-50 (TCL 15, 9 vi 2-3) am u<sub>2</sub>-na [gub]-ba 'a<sub>2</sub>? KAD<sub>4</sub>-KAD<sub>4</sub>-a-me-en gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš [x] 'x'-e 'x(x)'-da-me-en "I (king) am a fierce wild bull who ... the dust, I am a gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš who ... ." One cannot exclude that gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš (lit. "bull with one horn") originally may have been a horned animal (gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš is not attested in lists of animals) but it certainly does not refer to a *Fabeltier* ("unicorn," "Einhorn," cf. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 177). A guess would be as a reference to the rhinoceros. See Steinkeller, "Battering Rams and Siege Engines," N.A.B.U. 1987, 14 27, where he cites refs. to Ebla texts that contain gu<sub>4</sub>-si-aš "battering ram."

(Šulgi C 3) u<sub>4</sub>-gal an-ta šu ba-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> me-lam<sub>2</sub> su<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub>-me-en<sup>10</sup> and SRT 13:27 (referring to Šulgi) IM.GANA<sub>2</sub>[U]H[ME.U i]m-dal-ḥa-mu (for dal-ḥa-mun = *mehû* "violent storm") šu ba-ra-am<sub>3</sub> (Ludwig, *Išmedagan* 86). mir is Akk. *ezzu* "fierce," or *mehû* "violent storm."

- 7'. šu-...-nomen-ak(gen.)-a(loc.) may be interpreted as *ina qāt ...*, cf. CAD Q, 189 *qātu* 6. "authority, charge, control": "with the authority of Ninsumuna" (lit., "in the hand of ..."), signifying that the ruler's action is authorized by the goddess. Although the reading 'š u'- is somewhat uncertain, the traces support such a reading.
- 8'. For na<sub>2</sub> in connection with traps, nets, snares, see the following passages: *Nungal Hymn* 5 e<sub>2</sub> giš-es<sub>2</sub>-ad ne-ru-du-še<sub>3</sub> na<sub>2</sub>-a "House, net (snare) that lies (to catch) the evil"; ibid. 32 e<sub>2</sub>-gal giš-bur<sub>2</sub> erim<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> na<sub>2</sub>-a; OECT 5, 8:18 es<sub>2</sub>-ad-maḥ-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥul-še<sub>3</sub> n[a<sub>2</sub>-a]; Šulgi B 91 anše-edin-na-še<sub>3</sub> giš-es<sub>2</sub>-ad la-ba-ab-na<sub>2</sub>-en pu<sub>2</sub> la-ba-ab-ba-al-e "I do not lay a snare or dig a pit to (catch) a wild donkey"; *Enlil's Chariot* 15 [giš-gag-s]a-la<sub>2</sub>-zu sa-par<sub>4</sub> na<sub>2</sub>-a; *Fowler and His Wife* 6 e-sig-mušen-e sa u<sub>2</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-na<sub>2</sub> buru<sub>4</sub>-mušen-e sa u<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-bu, and also in SP Coll. 24, (see PSD B 204 sub buru<sub>4</sub> 2); and SLTNi 35 i 15 (Dumuzi-Inanna C<sub>1</sub>) sa-du<sub>2</sub> na<sub>2</sub>-a-še<sub>3</sub>, with Akk. gloss še<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-tum šu-nu-la-at-x.<sup>11</sup>

10. For u<sub>4</sub>-gal as *mehû* "storm" (Antagal N ii 10), see Römer, *Hymnen und Klagelieder* 43 comm. to SLTNi 85:3 with refs. to OECT 3, 16. cf. OECT 5, 8:10 u<sub>4</sub>-gal ki us<sub>2</sub>-sa "Great storm that bestrides the earth" (Kramer, OECT 5 p. 20/21:10) and *Inanna and Ebiḫ* 133 u<sub>4</sub>-gal ki bi<sub>2</sub>-in-us<sub>2</sub> ("un violent orage," ZA 88, 176/177:133); *Temple Hymns* 453 (Zababa) u<sub>4</sub>-gal ki us<sub>2</sub>-sa (see further TCS 3, 100). The translation of u<sub>4</sub>-gal in Šulgi C 3 is uncertain. Falkenstein (ZA 55, 54) understands u<sub>4</sub>-gal in this passage as "grosses Licht"; see also SLTNi 61:27 (referring to Ninurta) lugal u<sub>4</sub> an-ta šu bar-ra "Herr, Licht, das vom Himmel ausgesandt ist" (Falkenstein). Support for Falkenstein's translation of u<sub>4</sub>-gal as "great light" in this context may be found in its description as me-lam<sub>2</sub> su<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> "spreading (awe-inspiring) sheen." Note, however, that in Proto-Izi II 143 me-lam<sub>2</sub> is understood as *puluhtu* and thus may be used to describe a terrifying storm. Unfortunately, the occurrence of the verb šu bar in this context is also not decisive in determining the meaning of u<sub>4</sub>-gal. Although the verb is attested in contexts of light, as in Šulgi B 103 giš-nu<sub>11</sub> an-ta šu bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> kaš<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-bi and *Sulpae Hymn* 27 [(giš-)nu<sub>11</sub> an-ta] šu bar-ra, the verb also occurs in destructive contexts, said of weapons *Temple Hymns* 461 utug<sub>2</sub>-zu utug<sub>2</sub>-x an-ta šu bar-ra (var. an-ta bar-ra), said of demons TIM 9, 62:8: UHF 365 u<sub>4</sub>-gal an-'ta<sup>1</sup> šu bar-ra-me-eš and YOS 11, 70 iii 16 u<sub>4</sub>-gal an-edin-na šu bar-ra-me-eš, and said of heavy waters Lugale 333 (: VIII 1) im-mur u<sub>9</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-ma šu bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> "like a heavy rain unleashed against the foe" and OIP 99, 329 v 4-6 (Presarg. lit.) a-gal-gal a-si-gi[n<sub>7</sub>] im-ḥe<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub> (ḥe<sub>2</sub>:em-gal<sub>2</sub>) an-ta šu bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> "like 'great waters', like ... water, abundant rain released from the sky." Cf. Enlilidiriše 160 IM.ŠEG<sub>3</sub> <an>-ta šu bar-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> "(beer) like rain sent down from the sky."

11. es<sub>2</sub>-ad is Akk. *naḫbalu*, which is used with the verb *nadû*. See W.G. Lambert, BWL

- 9'. For bal "to turn against (somebody)," see PSD B, 48f. bal D 1.1.1 where this passage has now to be added.
- 10'. Cf. sa-šuš-gal ... umma<sup>ki</sup>-a an-ta ḥe<sub>2</sub>-šuš "May the great net ... from above overwhelm Umma," which occurs in the Eannatum inscriptions (FAOS 6, 30 sub an 3-b). Cf. TLB 2, 3:8 (ZA 54, 51) sa-šu<sub>2</sub>-uš-<sup>r</sup>gal] [x' 'x' sa<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ne šu<sub>2</sub>-a-me-en, and TLB 2, 3:6 (ZA 54, 51) sa-par<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-a-me-en, both referring to Hammurabi.
- 11'. giš-mitum(TUKUL.DINGIR), CAD M/2, 147 *mittu*. Cf. Šulgi D 158 giš-mitum-mu-u<sub>3</sub> ur-zu<sub>2</sub>-sis-a-gin<sub>7</sub> gug ḥu-mu-u<sub>3</sub>-ra-ra-ra "My *mitum*-weapon will bite like a sharp-toothed beast"; Šulgi D 190 'x' giš-mitum-mu-u<sub>3</sub> kurin<sub>x</sub>(DUG-in)-nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-ulu<sub>3</sub> a-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-em-bal-e "... my *mitum*-weapon will shed the blood of the people like water"; UET 6/1, 93 rev. 15 (Šulgi S) [x]-[x' GAG.GIŠ giš-mitum(TUKUL.DINGIR) giš-tukul-maḥ-zu uš<sub>2</sub> ("blood") BAD 'x'-x x mu-ni-ra, where giš-mitum is described as Šulgi's "great weapon" giš-tukul-maḥ; Šulgi X 62 giš-mitum-ma a<sub>2</sub> ili<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub>-u<sub>3</sub> "to hold high the *mitum*-weapon in (your) arm you are suited"; Šulgi E 196 utug<sub>2</sub>-giš-mitum-an-na e<sub>2</sub>-šu-me-<sup>r</sup>ša<sub>4</sub>!<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ta!<sup>1</sup> ma-'sum' (the weapon given to the king from Ninurta's temple).
- giš-tukul-la du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>: Since giš-tukul may be a symbol of military strength (cf. CAD K, 54 *kakku* 2. weapon [metaphoric for military strength and aggressiveness], warfare, attack, troops), the phrase could also be translated as "raging in military might"; du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> = *nakāpu*; *nukkupu* "to butt, to gore"; "to gore, to knock down."
- 12'. Cf. kuš-E.IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-me<sub>3</sub> = *kabābu*, *aritu* "shield," "siege-shield," see B. Eichler, JAOS 103 (1983), 95ff. Written without -me<sub>3</sub> in literary texts; and in some cases, it is also written without E. Cf. kuš-IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> found in Šulgi D 188 giš-illuru(ŠUB) kuš-IB<sub>2</sub>-mu-[u<sub>3</sub>] buru<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> ga-am<sub>3</sub>-mi-ib-ur<sub>4</sub>? "I will cut down (the rebellious country) with my throwstick and sling like locust" (Klein's translation); Šulgi X 65 giš-illuru kuš-IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra za<sub>3</sub> keš<sub>2</sub>-DU-a ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>; and Šulgi E 224 giš-illuru kuš-E.IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-gal-gin<sub>7</sub> ki la-ba-ni-us<sub>2</sub>-a. In several other passages quoted by B. Eichler, giš-illuru also precedes kuš-(E)IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> and the faint traces before IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> in our text may be read 'giš-ŠUB' 'kuš'-.

42:84 (CAD N/1, 134 sub *naḥbalu*) and probably STT 2, 230:17. Cf. also CAD N/1, 80 *nađū* "to cast a net."

The term da-tab-ba is also found in Šulgi D 191 giš-tukul ḥa-zi-in-da-tab-ba-mu-u<sub>3</sub> "My weapon, the double-edged adze" (cf. Klein, ThŠH 103). da-tab-ba in connection with siege-shield is difficult to explain.

- 13'. For ur—gu<sub>7</sub>, corresponding to Akk. *mithariš akālu*, see M. Green, *Eridu Lament* (JCS 30 [1978], 153 sub 5:5). Reading teš<sub>2</sub> for ur- is possible, cf. Römer, *Hymnen und Klagedieder* 30 comm. to line 33 with lit. M. Green also translates the verb as "to clash together," "to fight in a pack." Here the referent is u<sub>4</sub> "storm (wind)."
- 14'. a-ma-ru "flood" is mostly an epithet of Ningirsu and Ninurta (PSD A/1, 110f.). With reference to a ruler, see SRT 13:48 (Išmedagan C) zi-ga-ni u<sub>18</sub>-lu a-ma-ru im sur<sub>2</sub>-ba DU-a "when he stood up (he was) a storm, a flood, a storm which ... in its wrath." Cf. *Lamentation over Sumer and Ur* 107 a-ma-ru ... šu im-ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-re.
- For šu ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>, Akk. *muššudu* and šu ur<sub>3</sub>, Akk. *pašātu*, see Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 19–20, 159f. Cf. *Lamentation over Ur* 198 u<sub>4</sub> šu ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>-re kalam i<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-re, var. (in one text only) šu ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-re; Angim 145 kur-ra-šu-ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-mu, bil. vers. <sup>d</sup>kur-ra-šu-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>-m[u] with Cooper's comm. p. 129; Other examples of ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> for ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> include UET 6/1, 93:4 (Šulgi S) [a-m]a-ru-gin<sub>7</sub> ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-am<sub>3</sub> "like a sweeping flood."<sup>12</sup> Also note a-ma<sub>2</sub>!-ru<sub>12</sub>!-ur<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> = *a-bu-bu a-ši-šu* TCL 15, no. 16:15 (cf. OECT 6 pl. XXI K.5983:1–2); and a-ma-ru ur<sub>3</sub>-ra = *mu-uš-bi'* *a-bu-bu* SBH 38 no. 19:8–9 (M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations* 2, 444:66).
- 15'. In accordance with this line, we can now restore CT 42 no. 37:20 (M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations* 2, 503:39) as a-zi-ga-gin<sub>7</sub> piš<sub>10</sub> im-[gul-gul-e] (referring to Nergal) [cf. PSD A/1, 205 where our passage in CBS 11553:15' is also quoted].<sup>13</sup> Also cf. *Nungal Hymn* 33 i-zi-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa a-gi<sub>6</sub> gaba zi-ga piš<sub>10</sub> e<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>!?, var. (Aa) ends with <piš<sub>10</sub>>-gal e<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-da (e<sub>3</sub> for e<sub>11</sub> = *naqāru*, see in the comm. on line 5' above and

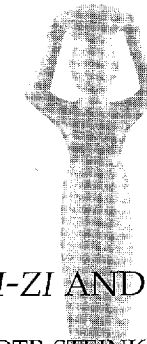
12. Cf. a-ma<sub>2</sub>-uru<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> zi<-ga> kalam-ma ba-an-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub>-a-meš = *šakīma abūbi tebūma* KUR *iba'ū šumu* "(demons) who rise like a flood and sweep over the land" CT 16, 21:142f.

13. a-zi-ga "rising water" refers mostly to seasonal flooding of rivers and canals. For references to flooding the banks as beneficial for agriculture, see PSD A/1, 205 a-zi-ga<sub>3</sub>, where SP Coll. 4:16 is quoted "as at a flooding, the bank rejoices, Enlil rejoices at (the time) when the Tigris is overflowing"; in the comm. SP II 397, Alster refers to Gudea Cyl. A i 5ff., where the flooding of the banks of the Tigris brings a-du<sub>10</sub>-ga "sweet water" (to water the fields). The refs. in PSD A/1 for a-zi-ga do not refer to a catastrophic flooding. The Akk. equivalent *mīlum* refers to seasonal flooding of the rivers, as does the Sum. equivalent a-u<sub>3</sub>-ba (a-u<sub>5</sub>-ba; Akk. *mīl kiššati*: PSD A/1, 199f.).

following ref.); CBS 15089 obv. 4'–5' (cited in *AfO* 24, 39 in the comm. to *Nungal Hymn* line 33; also in PSD A/2, 135, 1.4.1) a-ab-ba ḥu-luḥ-ḥa-gin<sub>7</sub> piš<sub>10</sub>-gal im-e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> a-gi<sub>6</sub> ḥu-luḥ-ḥa-[gin<sub>7</sub>] ki im-ma-ma-ma; BA 10/1 no. 13 rev. 8–9 [i-zi ḥu]-luḥ-ḥa-gin<sub>7</sub> piš<sub>10</sub> im-ma{-MA}-'bal' = [*kīma a*]-ge-e gal-ti kib-ra i-na-a-qar "(the god's word), like a mighty wave, wrecks the bank" (cf. also no. 13 obv. 9–10); and SBH no. 28 rev. 16–17 piš<sub>10</sub> ba-an-gul-la = kib-ri u<sub>2</sub>-tab-bal-BI-bit "the embankment has been destroyed" (cf. also ASKT p. 88/89:26–27, quoted in CAD A/1, 42 *abātu* v. bil. section).

16'. Cf. Gudea Cyl. B x 19–21 en-na ša<sub>3</sub> aba-gin<sub>7</sub> zi-ga-ni i<sub>7</sub>-buranuna-gin<sub>7</sub> ḥaluḥ(LUH)-ḥa-ni a-ma-ru-gin<sub>7</sub> sa-ga-ka-ni ("frightening/overwhelming like the Euphrates");<sup>14</sup> N 1384:8' (unpubl.) i<sub>7</sub>-buranuna-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa-gin<sub>7</sub> 'kar' mu-un-[...] "like the awesome Euphrates, he has destroyed(?) the quay"; Šulgi D 229 (line not completed) = 345 kur NE-ma a-gi<sub>6</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ḥuluḥ(LUH)-ḥa-ta "after he (Šulgi), (like) waves, had terrified the ... land"; AOAT 25, 412:15 a-ma-ru ki-bal-še<sub>3</sub> ḥu-luḥ-ḥa "a flood which frightens the rebellious land" (ref. to Ninurta).

tum<sub>3</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub> would correspond to *tabālu* "to take away." Cf. YOS 10, 23:10 *eršet* LU<sub>2</sub>.KUR<sub>2</sub>.DU<sub>11</sub> *ta-ta-ab-ba-al*; YOS 10, 31 xi 5–7 *šarrum mātam nakarī i-ta-ab-bal-a[l]*; also see AHw, 1297 2)-a) sub *tabālu(m)* "wegnehmen, wegtragen, an sich nehmen" ("carry off"), where further references are quoted. Note Enmetena 28 vi 14–15 (= 29 vi 26–27) a<sub>2</sub>-zi-še<sub>3</sub> a-ša<sub>3</sub> gana<sub>2</sub> tum(u)<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> "to 'take away' cultivated fields by force"; and Angim 143 e<sub>2</sub>-ki-bal tum<sub>3</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub> giš-illuru kuš-E.IB<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-mu mu-da-an-gal<sub>2</sub>-[la-am] "I bear those that carry off the 'house' of the rebellious land, my throwing stick and shield."<sup>15</sup>



## THE PRIESTESS ÉGI-ZI AND RELATED MATTERS\*

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1.

THE PRIESTLY TITLE *égi(SAL+ŠÈ)-zi*, "true/faithful princess,"<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to Akkadian *eḡiṣitu/iḡiṣitu*, is conspicuous for its rarity. Apart from its attestations in lexical and literary sources,<sup>2</sup> this title is documented only in the early Old Babylonian sources, where it appears under the form *égi-zi-an-na*. The priestess in question was a very important cultic functionary, as is shown by the fact that several of the Isin kings—Isbi-Erra, Išme-Dagan, and probably Damiq-ilišu—appointed their daughters to this office:

- (a) *ud égi-zi-an-na ba-ná-a*, "when the *égi-zi-an-na* was laid down" (BIN 9 435:14 [Isbi-Erra "21"]). For this text, see W. Sallaberger, *JCS* 47 (1995): 20–21.

\* I am delighted to be part of this undertaking, which pays tribute to Jacob's exquisite scholarship. My pleasure is still greater in that my contribution also manages to give recognition, if only in its final footnote, to Jacob's favorite Sumerian figure, King Šulgi of Ur.

Abbreviations used are those of the *Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, with the following additions: Erlenmeyer: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, Christie's London, Tuesday 13 December 1988; Istanbul: F. Yildiz et al., *Die Umma-Texte aus den Archäologischen Museen zu Istanbul*, 1 = MVN 14 (Rome, 1988); 2 = MVN 16 (Rome, 1994); 3 (Bethesda, 1993); 4 (Bethesda, 1997); 5 (Bethesda, 2000).

1. The underlying morphology of the term is *ègir zid(a)* (= *rubātu kittu*).
2. See *égi-zi*, *égi-zi-an-na* (OB Proto-Lu 230–31 = MSL 12, 41); [*égi<sup>e/i</sup>-gi<sup>si</sup>-zi* = *i-gi-ši-tu*, [*égi-z*]i-gal = ŠU-tu, [*égi-z*]i-an-na = <sup>d</sup>Iš-tar <sup>d</sup>A-nim (Lu IV 18–20 = MSL 12, 129); nam-*égi-zi* (*Inanna and Enki* I v 21, II v 11); *ú-uk-ba-ak-ka-ti e-ne-ti ù e-gi-ši-a-ti* (OB *Atrahasis* III vii 6–7). The correct reading of the title was established by J. Renger, *ZA* 59 (1969): 128 n. 656. See also J.G. Westenholz, *JNES* 52 (1993): 293–95; P. Steinkeller in *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by K. Watanabe (Heidelberg, 1999), 122.

14. *ḥuluḥ*: LUḥ = *galātu*, *palāḥu* see CAD G, p. 12 *galātu*: Izbu Comm. 461–62. Reading *ḥaluḥ* depends on occurrence of *ḥa-luḥ* (for *ḥu-luḥ*) in Gudea Cyl. A xii 13 *i<sub>3</sub>-ḥa-luḥ ma-mu-dam* "he was frightened, it was a dream." Cf. further *i-zi-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa a-gi<sub>6</sub> gaba zi-ga* *Nungal Hymn* 33; *a-gi<sub>6</sub>-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa* CBS 15089 ii 5' (quoted in PSD A/1, 85, 3.); and BA 10/1 no. 13 rev. 8–9 (quoted in the comm. on line 15' above).
15. The Neo-Assyrian version has *e<sub>2</sub>-ki-bal-a tun-tun* = *ḥa-tu-u<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2</sub> KUR nu-kur<sub>2</sub>-ti<sub>3</sub> (ḥatū* "to smite, smash").

- (b) mu égi-zi(-an-na) máš-e ì-pàd (year-name Išbi-Erra "22" = M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names*, 23).
- (c) mu <sup>d</sup>Da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu lugal-e égi-zi-an-na ba-íl (year-name Damiq-ilišu C = M. Sigrist, *Isin Year Names*, 42).
- (d) *Ši-ma-il-tum* AMA *x-ra-at bí-in-ta-šu ÉGI.ZI-tum*, "Šima-iltum, the ... his daughter (i.e., of Išme-Dagan), an *eg̃šitum* priestess" (D. Frayne, RIME 4, 40 Išme-Dagan 9 iii' 4'-7' = C. Wilcke in B. Hrouda et al., *Isin* 3, 108-10, pl. 44 photo).<sup>3</sup>

Because of her association with the House of Isin, it is commonly believed that the égi-zi-an-na resided at Isin. However, there is no doubt that she actually lived at Nippur, since she was a regular recipient of barley allotments at the latter place, in Ninurta's temple Ešumeša.<sup>4</sup> The size of her allotment there was second only to that of the en official (almost certainly that of Enlil),<sup>5</sup> which confirms our earlier conclusion about her social status.

As for the deity to whom the égi-zi-an-na was dedicated, various identifications have been proposed over the years, such as An,<sup>6</sup> Nin-Isina,<sup>7</sup> Nanna of Ur,<sup>8</sup> and Lugal-Marada.<sup>9</sup> Of those, An is, at least superficially, a favored choice, especially if one assumes that the title means simply "the égi-zi priestess of An." As a matter of fact, this is how the égi-zi-an-na was understood by the later lexicographers, who explained her as "Ištar of Anum."<sup>10</sup> However, such an interpretation is difficult to reconcile with the fact that neither at Nippur nor at Isin was the cult of An particularly prominent in Old Babylonian times. In other words, if such an important priestly office of An existed in either of these two places, other evidence of An's cult would necessarily be expected to be found there, and that evidence is completely lacking.

3. Although the original publication reads EGI, the sign is ÉGI, as confirmed by the collation of the photograph by C. Wilcke (personal communication).

4. M. Sigrist, *Les sattukku dans l'Ešumeša durant le période d'Isin et Larsa*, BiMes 11 (Malibu, 1984), 163, 173.

5. *Ibid.*, 173.

6. So already J. Renger, *ZA* 59 (1969): 128 n. 656. More recently, this interpretation was entertained by S.J. Lieberman, *RA* 72 (1982): 108, J.G. Westenholz, *JNES* 52 (1993): 295 ("probably the highest ranking functionary in the cult of An in Isin"), and P. Steinkeller in *Priests and Officials*, 122.

7. E. Prang, *JCS* 27 (1975): 157-58.

8. G.T. Ferwerda, *A Contribution to the Early Isin Craft Archive*, TLB/SBL 5 (Leiden, 1985), 28-29.

9. D. Frayne, *BiOr* 42 (1985): 18.

10. See above n. 2.

This forces us to consider still other candidates. One possible solution is that the deity in question was the goddess Ninḫursag, since Ninḫursag is commonly designated as égi-zi-an-na in literary texts.<sup>11</sup> In fact, she appears to have been the only (or at least the main) divine bearer of this epithet.<sup>12</sup> But the choice of Ninḫursag is not free of difficulties either, since her cult too did not enjoy great prominence in Old Babylonian Nippur (or Isin). If not Ninḫursag specifically, was it then, perhaps, the goddess Ninlil, who had been syncretized with the Ninḫursag of Nippur (or Tummal) in much earlier times? The latter solution would certainly agree with the égi-zi-an-na's importance at Nippur, though, on the other hand, there is no evidence that Ninlil herself was ever designated as égi-zi-an-na.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, in the absence of conclusive evidence, this question must remain open for now.

## 2.

In spite of the seeming rarity of égi-zi, it now becomes clear that this office was in reality quite common. Such at least was the situation in Ur III times, from which numerous attestations of it survive. However, in Ur III sources the title in question is spelled differently: igi-zi or egi(ŠÈ)-zi. The former spelling is found in two tablets from Lagaš<sup>14</sup> that mention an unnamed igi-zi of <sup>d</sup>Nin-tin-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga and an igi-zi(-an-na) respectively. In the second example, igi-zi-an-na is possibly a title, though it could equally well represent a personal name.

The syllabic writing igi-zi is of considerable antiquity, since it appears already in Pre-Sargonic sources. Thus, in the "Barton Cylinder," the goddess Ninḫursag is described as igi-zi-gal-an-na,<sup>15</sup> while, in the so-called

11. See égi-zi-an-na / <sup>d</sup>Égi-zi-an-na = <sup>d</sup>Gašan-ḫur-sag-gá (M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 235 c+257, 281 e+178, 303 c+131, 356 a+195). A fuller? version of this epithet is égi-zi-gal-an-na, which appears in *Temple Hymns* 96 and in the "Barton Cylinder" (see below). Cf. also the epithet <sup>d</sup>Nin-súm-un-zi-gal-an-na, carried by Ninḫursag of Keš (*RIM Annual Review* 1 [1983]: 8-9, lines 17-20).

12. But note that this epithet is also documented in connection with Nin-girim. See below and n. 16.

13. For the possibility that the égi-zi-an-na was a priestess of Ninlil, note the curious spellings of Ninlil's name and epithets with ÉGI in M.-Ch. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan*, 99 W 75-77: ama <sup>d</sup>ÉGI-líl ÉCI-gal ki-úr-ra-za ÉGI me ù-tu-da. For the Ninlil = Ninḫursag connection, see especially M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 177 lines 28-29: égi erim<sub>6</sub>-ma ama gal <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl-lá<-mèn> <sup>d</sup>A-ru-ru nin<sub>9</sub> <sup>d</sup>Mu-ul-líl-lá-mèn.

14. MVN 2 204:12; MVN 11 190:13, 15, collated. Both references are courtesy of G. Marchesi.

15. MBI 1 = ASJ 16 (1994): 43-46 ii 1, 4. Cf. A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 55 (1963): 16 and n. 30; Å.W. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3, 73.



“Riddles” from Lagaš, the same designation is applied to the goddess Nin-girim: dingir-bi [i]gi-zi-gal-an-na <sup>d</sup>Nin-girim<sub>x</sub>(A.BU.ĤA.DU).<sup>16</sup> Occasional examples of this spelling survive into much later times, as shown by the lines igi-maḥ = ru-ba-tú šir-tú in KAR 73 rev. 15–16.

The other spelling (egi-zi) is found only in the sources from Umma. The priestesses so designated are documented throughout the province—in the city of Umma, larger towns, and even in small rural settlements—in association with a variety of deities. These facts make it certain that the office of égi-zi was common at Umma. The following is a listing of the attestations of egi-zi:<sup>17</sup>

(a) Šara of Umma

NN egi-zi-maḥ (of Šara) (*Or* 47–49 500:85; Istanbul 908:15, 23, 1882:4, 2024:10; Grégoire AAS 44:3; MVN 10 96 i 22).

The egi-zi-maḥ, for whom compare the égi-zi-gal of lexical sources,<sup>18</sup> was certainly attached to the cult of Šara, since in Istanbul 908 and 1882 she is a recipient of the offerings presented to Šara (mu-DU <sup>d</sup>Šára). She appears to have ranked just below the lú-maḥ, priest, the most important functionary of Šara’s cult.<sup>19</sup> Here note that, in Istanbul 908, the other recipient of Šara’s offerings is NN lú-maḥ (lines 13, 22), who is credited with most of the receipts.

(b) Ninura of Gišaba

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nin-ur<sub>4</sub> Giš-ab-’ba’ (*Or* 5 60–61 no. 26 rev. 9, collated from photographs).

(c) Inana of Zabalam

NN egi-zi Zabalam<sup>ki-ke</sup><sub>4</sub> (AUCT 1 805:4). I assume that the deity in question was Inana, the chief deity of Zabalam.

(d) Ninmug of Umma?

NN egi-zi (TLB 3 168 i 8). The connection with Ninmug is borne out by the fact that TLB 3 168 is a list of offerings presented to Ninmug

16. *JNES* 42 (1973): 27 iv 3’–4’. Cited courtesy of G. Marchesi.

17. For egi-zi at Ur III Umma, see now also R. de Maaijer in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume*, ed. by W.H. van Soldt et al. (Leiden, 2001), 304–5 and nn. 31–32, whose publication occurred after the original submission of this article. De Maaijer furnishes the following additional attestations of this title: egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nin-ur<sub>4</sub>(-ra) (Jones-Snyder SET 139:3; MVN 11 Y:110); egi-zi Zabalam<sup>ki</sup> (AnOr 1273:3). Note, however, that the alleged “egi-zi” <sup>d</sup>Šára in MVN 15 10:10 (so de Maaijer) is in reality èš-gi, “reed shrine,” for which see W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* 1 (Berlin, 1993), 273 and n. 1270.

18. See above n. 2.

19. For the lú-maḥ of Šara and the office of lú-maḥ more generally, see P. Steinkeller, “The Question of Lugalzagesi’s Origins,” in *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast*, ed. by G.J. Selz, AOAT 274 (Münster, 2003), 621–37.

(mu-DU <sup>d</sup>Nin-mug-ga), with the egi-zi being a recipient of some of them (šu ba-ti).

(e) Ninsun of Du-nunuz

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nin-sún a-šag<sub>4</sub> Du<sub>6</sub>-nunuz (BIN 5 277:97–98).

(f) Nergal of Maškan

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nergal šag<sub>4</sub> Mas-gán<sup>ki</sup> (Forde, *Nebraska*, 37:100–1).

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nergal bala-a <sup>d</sup>Šul-pa-è (of Maškan) (Nikolski 2 236 iv 7).

(g) Nergal of GARšana

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Nergal a-šag<sub>4</sub> GAR-ša-na-ka<sup>ki</sup> (Forde, *Nebraska*, 37:92–93).

(h) Nergal? of Kardaḥi/Ĥardaḥi

NN egi-zi (of Nergal?) šag<sub>4</sub> Ĥar-da-ḥi<sup>ki</sup> (Forde, *Nebraska*, 37:95–96).

(i) Šulpae of Maškan

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Šul-pa-è ... šag<sub>4</sub> Maš-gán<sup>ki</sup> (Forde, *Nebraska*, 37:98–101).

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Šul-pa-è (of Maškan) (BIN 5 277:89–90; Nikolski 2 236 iv 5; Watson, *Birmingham*, 2 294:13; Erlenmeyer, 41, 78 no. 91 iv 1).

(j) Iškur of Apišal

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Iškur šag<sub>4</sub> A-pi<sub>4</sub>-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> (AUCT 2 302:89).

NN egi-zi <sup>d</sup>Iškur (Jean ŠA LXII:54 rev. 6; MVN 18 261:7).

(k) Undetermined

NN egi-zi (*Or* 47–49 500:106; Istanbul 3516 rev. 18).

3.

The use of different writings to express the vocable [egir], “princess,” calls for a systematic examination of this problem. Also to be considered in this connection is the relationship between [egir] and gir<sub>15</sub> (ŠÈ), “native.”<sup>20</sup>

Excluding from our attention the writing igi, which is obviously a syllabic one, [egir] is written either with SAL.ŠÈ = ègir, égi or with ŠÈ = égir, egi. Although it is certain that SAL+ŠÈ and ŠÈ are mutually related, the question of which of the two spellings is the original one is not entirely

20. This discussion expands on my treatments of this issue in *Akkad, the First World Empire*, ed. by M. Liverani, HANE/S5 (Padova, 1993), 112–13 n. 9, and *BSA* 8 (1995): 64 n. 30. Among the earlier studies of this problem, of special importance are those by E.I. Gordon, *JCS* 12 (1958): 72–75, and J. Krecher, *Kulliyrik*, 108.

clear. Writing some time ago, this author assumed that SAL+ŠË came first, and that ŠË is simply an abbreviation of it.<sup>21</sup> However, this conclusion needs to be revised, since, on careful re-examination of the relevant data, it becomes clear that no examples of SAL+ŠË are documented before the Isin period.<sup>22</sup> One should, therefore, conclude that, in all probability, SAL+ŠË is an early Old Babylonian development, which paralleled, to some extent, the history of the sign NIN<sub>9</sub>(SAL+KU).<sup>23</sup> If this analogy is correct, it is possible that, before the Isin period, [egir] could also be written with the sign NIN. However, conclusive evidence to support such an assumption is lacking, as far as I know.<sup>24</sup>

The meaning of SAL+ŠË = ègir is “princess,” as is shown by its occurrences in historical and literary sources,<sup>25</sup> and the evidence of lexical texts, which translate it by Akkadian *rubātu*.<sup>26</sup> The same meaning belonged also to ŠË = ègir. This is borne out by the earlier-cited Ur III examples of the title egi(ŠË)-zi, being further confirmed by lexical data.<sup>27</sup>

21. *Akkad*, 112–13 n. 9.

22. In this connection note that in the Ur III PN Nam-NIN-ni-dùg (ITT 2 3532:3 = A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* 2 no. 45), the alleged “-egi”- (so A. Falkenstein, *ibid.*, 76) is in fact a clear -NIN-.

23. The earliest occurrences of the sign SAL+KU = nin<sub>9</sub> date to the Sargonic period. See Nin<sub>9</sub>-gu-la (MVN 3 61 i 9), Nin<sub>9</sub>-GiŠ.MI (MC 4 no. 30 i 11), and NIN<sub>9</sub> *I-li-zum-mi-ī[d]* (ZA 82 [1982]: 185 IM 85455:5). Both in Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic sources nin<sub>9</sub>, “sister,” is otherwise written with the NIN sign, as in Gir-ni-ba-tuš dam Munus-šag<sub>4</sub> nin-tur (BIN 8 352:25–27, Pre-Sargonic, Lagaš) and Nin-níg-zu nin-na-ni (BIN 8 175:30, Sargonic, Isin).

24. The most suggestive datum here is the DN<sup>d</sup>NIN-Tum-ma-al-la, attested in an Ur III tablet from Puzriš-Dagan (*Tel Aviv* 1 [1974]: 56 line 18), which is possibly to be read <sup>d</sup>Egi<sub>x</sub>-Tum-ma-al-la, based on the entry <sup>d</sup>SAL+ŠË<sup>e</sup>-Tum-ma-al = MIN (= <sup>d</sup>Nin-lil) in An I 178 (= CT 24, 5 4333 ii 8). Cf. NIN-Tum-ma-al<sup>ki</sup> (Šulgi R 64 = J. Klein in *Artzi Festschrift*, 106), <sup>d</sup>NIN<sup>7i</sup>-Tum-ma-al (TCL 15 10:49), and égi zi-da [kug] gašan-Tum-ma-al = *ru-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> kit-tu<sub>4</sub> [el]-le-tú<sup>d</sup>NIN-Tum-ma-al* (M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 240 c+338). See also the Fara DN<sup>d</sup>NIN-zi (WVDOG 43 1 v 8'), for which M. Krebernik, *ZA* 76 (1986): 201, considers a reading <sup>d</sup>Egi<sub>x</sub>-zi.

25. See <sup>d</sup>Nin-gal ègir sag-īl (D. Frayne, *RIME* 4, 44 Išme-Dagan 13:1–2 = UET 1 103), ègir-re (describing Ningal) (*Lamentation over Ur* 256 = STVC 24:3), ègir(-re) (K. Volk, *FAOS* 18, 261; M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, 753), etc.

26. See e-gi NIN = *ru-ba-a-tu<sub>4</sub> : be-el-tú aš-šum ru-bu-ú-tu<sub>4</sub>* (SbTU 2 54:21); ‘e-gi’ NIN = *ru-ba'-[tu]* (Sa T 2' = MSL 3, 73); [e-gi] SAL+ŠË = [*ru-ba-tum*] (Sb I 341 = MSL 3, 126); SAL+ŠË? = *ru-ba-a-tum* (EJ 198 = MSL 5, 16); NIN-maḥ = *ru-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> šir-tu<sub>4</sub>* (BA 5, 644 lines 3–4); NIN = *ru-ba-tu* (Lu II iv 16'' = MSL 12, 121). Cf. SAL+ŠË = e-gi (Proto-Ea 422 = MSL 14, 48).

27. See e-gi ŠË = *ru-ba-tum* (Ea I 178 = MSL 14, 185). Cf. also nam-nun-na, nam-<sup>e</sup>š ŠË-ra = *ru-bu-tum* (Izi Q 297–98 = MSL 13, 222); ŠË = e-gi (Proto-Ea 60 = MSL 14, 33); [ŠË?] = *i-gu-ú* (Izi XV A vi 8' = MSL 13, 170).

Lexical sources also explain ŠË as “prince” (*rubû*), in that case giving to it a reading ge<sub>7</sub>.<sup>28</sup> However, this reading is clearly an artificial one, since ŠË never means “prince” in other contexts.<sup>29</sup> This, and the fact that the basic correspondent of *rubû* is nun, makes it quite certain that the scribes had at one point re-analyzed ŠË as a “male” equivalent of SAL+ŠË, and, in order to distinguish it from [egir], assigned to it the pronunciation ge<sub>7</sub>.<sup>30</sup> That pronunciation is, in fact, an abbreviation of the value gir<sub>15</sub> or ger<sub>15</sub>, which, as we will presently show, is different, both semantically and phonemically, from ègir, egi.

The value gir<sub>15</sub> of ŠË is documented at least since the Fara period. The certain attestations of this value in third-millennium sources are as follows:

(a) Fara – Sargonic

en-gir<sub>15</sub>-ra – following lú-ur-sag and šubur (ED List B 38 = MSL 12, 13 = WVDOG 43 70 v 5)

dumu-gir<sub>15</sub> (Nikolski 2 71:6; BIN 8 393:5; and passim in Sargonic sources)

šila eme-gir<sub>15</sub>, šila me-gir<sub>15</sub><sup>31</sup>

PN En-gir<sub>15</sub> (TMH 5 20:5; OSP 1 23 ix 5)

PN Lugal-gir<sub>15</sub> (OSP 2 81:13, 180:9)

PN Gir<sub>15</sub>-ra (BIN 8 31:3; TMH 5 1 iii 2, 11 iii 5; OSP 1 48 ii 1; HSS 10 48:2, 151 ii 10, 153 x 18)

(b) Ur III

dumu-gir<sub>15</sub> (passim in economic and legal texts)

ur-gir<sub>15</sub> (passim in economic texts)

PN A-a-gir<sub>15</sub><sup>ir</sup> (TCS 1 168:5, transliteration only)

PN A-a-gir<sub>15</sub> (ITT 2 3523:2)

28. See ge-e ŠË = *ru-bu-u*, e-gi ŠË = *ru-ba-tum* (Ea I 177–78 = MSL 14, 185); ŠË = *ru-bu-ú*, NIN = *ru-ba-tu* (Lu II iv 16'' = MSL 12, 121); ŠË = *ru-[bu-ú]* (MSL 14, 534 no. 23 iv 3, Proto-Aa); [ge-e?] ŠË = *ru-bu-ú* (Sa H 6' = MSL 3, 59); nun, ŠË = *ru-bu-ú* (Lu II iv 14'–15' = MSL 12, 121). It was this evidence that led E.I. Gordon, *JCS* 12 (1958): 74, to conclude that ŠË stands both for “princess” and “prince.” So also J. Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 108 (“demnach ist (egi) generis communis”).

29. As far as I know, the only instance of ŠË = *rubû* outside of lexical sources is found in the bilingual text CT 16 20:136–37: dumu KU u<sub>4</sub>-SAR<sup>d</sup>Suen-na = *mār*(MAR) *ru-bé-e na-an-na-ri* <sup>d</sup>Šin(30), which I take to be a learned spelling. Here note that dumu KU is replaced by dumu (K. 4904) and dumu nun-na (K. 33712) in other mss. of the same composition.

30. That ŠË was understood as a “male” equivalent SAL+ŠË is evident already in Proto-Lu 306a–13 (MSL 12, 43–44), where the “female” group SAL+ŠË, nin, and nin<sub>9</sub>, is followed by the “male” group nun, ŠË, šul, mes, and guruš.

31. For the examples, see *Akkad*, 112 n. 9.

The vocable represented by gir<sub>15</sub> was alternatively rendered by the value gir<sub>x</sub>(GI), which is documented since the Pre-Sargonic period. The following attestations of the latter value are known to me:

- ki-en-gir<sub>x</sub> (H. Steible, FAOS 5, 144 Ean. 1 viii 5' and passim in later sources)
- dumu-gir<sub>x</sub> (ITT 2 936:10 = A. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, 2 no. 184 and passim in Ur III sources)
- udu-gir<sub>x</sub>, udu-eme-gir<sub>x</sub><sup>32</sup>
- (anše-nita-)dur<sub>9</sub>(ŠUL)-gir<sub>x</sub> (Nikolski 1 198 i 1, 3; VAS 14 117 ii 2; and passim in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš sources)
- PN Šul-gir<sub>x</sub> (Yang, *Adab*, 773:2, Sargonic, and passim in Ur III sources), Šul-gir in the Ur III PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gir (Contenau, *Contribution*, 23:2)<sup>33</sup>

In all but one of these examples, gir<sub>15</sub> and gir<sub>x</sub> are used attributively,<sup>34</sup> indicating that the vocable hiding behind these two values is an adjective. This fact alone excludes any possibility of gir<sub>15</sub> (or ge<sub>7</sub>) having in these instances a meaning "prince." For this conclusion, note further that neither gir<sub>15</sub> nor gir<sub>x</sub> is ever used in the sense of "prince" outside of lexical sources.<sup>35</sup>

Although these facts still permit a distant possibility of gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub> meaning "princely" or the like,<sup>36</sup> such a possibility would necessarily require one to assume that the word for "princely" (i.e., gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub>) was genetically unrelated to [egir], "princess," which is a most unlikely proposition.

This follows from the fact that gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub> is almost certainly a separate lexical item from [egir], since the two words appear to have different phonemic shapes: while [egir] contains the phone [g] (as is shown by the syllabic spelling igi-zi), the initial phoneme of gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub> is very likely [n<sup>g</sup>]. This is indicated by the above-cited example of gir (= [n<sup>g</sup>gir]) replacing gir<sub>x</sub> in the PN Ur-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gir, as well as by the word ki-en-gir<sub>x</sub>, if that word is to be analyzed as ki-<sup>en</sup>gir<sub>x</sub> [ki-<sup>n</sup>gir].<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, as is suggested by the

examples in which the resuming sign of ki-en-gi is -rá/re<sub>6</sub>,<sup>38</sup> the final phoneme of gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub> was probably [d<sup>r</sup>].

As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>39</sup> the only meaning that accommodates all the extant examples of gir<sub>15</sub> and gir<sub>x</sub> is "native, local, indigenous, domestic(ated)," as in "native son" (dumu-gir<sub>15</sub>/gir<sub>x</sub>), "domesticated dog" (ur-gir<sub>15</sub>), "domesticated ass" (dur<sub>9</sub>-gir<sub>x</sub>),<sup>40</sup> "indigenous breed of sheep" (udu(-eme)-gir<sub>x</sub>), "native sila measure" (sila eme-gir<sub>15</sub>), "native tongue" (eme-gir<sub>15</sub>), and "native land" (ki-en-gir<sub>x</sub>). The same meaning also fits the personal names cited earlier: "Native youth" (Šul-gir<sub>x</sub>),<sup>41</sup> "Native lord" (En-gir<sub>15</sub>(-ra)), "Native master" (Lugal-gir<sub>15</sub>), "Native father" (A-a-gir<sub>15</sub>), and "The native one" (Gir<sub>15</sub>-ra).

<sup>n</sup>gal > a<sup>n</sup>g<sup>n</sup>gal] and <sup>d</sup>Utu-en-gál for -Hé-gál [add Hé-en-gál in JCS 21 (1967): 291 line 191]—are cited in support of this interpretation. Note also the Pre-Sargonic PNs Ama-ki-EN+GI-ra (*Hallo Festschrift*, 86 NBC 11202 iv 6') and Ama-<sup>en</sup>ki-EN+<sup>GI</sup>re-si (ibid., 85 YBC 2124 iii' 16), in which -en-gi is written as a ligature (and is additionally glossed in the second example), probably indicating that these two signs stand for a single phonetic unit (M.E. Cohen, ibid., 82b, interprets these writings in the same way). Cf. gal EN+GI-ki / EN+GI-ki-t[a?] in the Abu Šalabikh text OIP 99 247 ii' 6'-7', and ki-gi:en<sup>ki</sup> (= ki-gi<sup>en</sup>?) in PBS 538:2, an Old Babylonian copy of a Šarkališarri's year-name. A similar interpretation of ki-en-gir<sub>x</sub> was considered already by E.I. Gordon, JCS 12 (1958): 75, who speculated that "the syllable -en- of ki-en-ge(-r) ... is simply an early way of representing the 'nasalized g' phoneme of Sumerian." At any rate, this is how the writing was understood by the later scribes, as shown by the variant spellings ki-in-gi (Jb. XXI 27', 28', 30' = MSL 11, 18) and kin-gi (Iddin-Dagan B 9, courtesy of S. Tinney). The only other alternative would be to assume, with J.N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London, 1992), 38, that ki-en-gir<sub>x</sub> is a phonetic realization of \*ki-eme-gir<sub>x</sub>, but this does not affect the meaning of this term.

38. D. Frayne, RIME 2, 284 Utu-ḫegal 4:5, 7; Gudea Cyl. A xi 16, xxi 25; Gudea Cyl. B xxii 20.

39. *Akkad*, 112-13 n. 9; BSA 8 (1995): 64 n. 30.

40. For the identification of (anše-nita-)dur<sub>9</sub>-gir<sub>x</sub> as "domesticated ass" (*E. asinus*), see J.N. Postgate in *Equids in the Ancient World*, ed. by R. Meadow and H.-P. Uerpmann (Wiesbaden, 1986), 194-97.

41. Cf. Šulgi B 12, where Šulgi's name is paired with dumu-gir<sub>15</sub> in an obvious pun: <sup>d</sup>Šul-gir<sub>x</sub>-me-en dumu-gir<sub>15</sub> šag<sub>4</sub> zi-ta nam dūg tar-ra-me-en, "I am 'Native youth,' a native son, whose good fate was determined (already) in the true womb." A similar pun is probably also intended in Šulgi P 38-39: a-a ugu<sub>4</sub>-zu kug <sup>d</sup>Lugal-bānda<sup>da</sup>-a Šul-an-né-zu-dingir-re-ne mu-šē [m]u-ri-in-sa<sub>4</sub>, "your father (and) begetter holy Lugalbanda named you 'Youth Whom An Makes Known to/among the Gods,'" where the components šul- and -(di)ngir- of the appellative reproduce Šulgi's name. Cf. H. Limet *L'anthroponymie*, 356. That the first element of the name is to be read šul (and not dun, for example) is shown by the syllabic spelling su-gi-ra in VAS 24 vi 1, cited by J. Krecher apud J. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame*, TAPS 71/7 (Philadelphia, 1981), 42. A related spelling is provided by the Ur III PN <sup>d</sup>Su-gi-uru-mu, found

32. For the examples, see BSA 8 (1995): 64 n. 30.

33. Collated by J.-M. Durand, *Documents cunéiformes de la IVe Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1982), 6.

34. The only exception here is the PN Gir<sub>15</sub>-ra, which I analyze as \*Gir<sub>15</sub>-ām.

35. For ŠĒ = *rubû* in lexical texts, see above n. 28. The only instance of GI = *rubû* known to me is found in CT 12 29 iii 19: gir<sub>x</sub>(GI) = *ru-bu-[û]*. Here note that the same source also assigns to GI a reading [egir]: GI = *ar-ka-tum* (CT 12 29 iii 18, cited in CAD A/2, 274b), where egir, "rear side, inheritance," is obviously meant.

36. So already E.I. Gordon, JCS 12 (1958): 74.

37. See *Akkad*, 112 n. 9, where the examples of similar spellings—an-gál for al-gál [al-

## CONCLUSION

1. both *ègir*, *égi* (SAL+ŠÈ) and *égir*, *egi* (ŠÈ) represent phonemical [egir] and mean “princess”;
2. SAL+ŠÈ probably developed from ŠÈ;
3. the sense “prince” (*rubû*) of ŠÈ, which the lexical sources assign to ŠÈ with a value /ge/, is a scribal fabrication;
4. *gir*<sub>15</sub>(ŠÈ), “native,” is unrelated to [egir]; its phonemic shape is apparently [n<sup>h</sup>gid<sup>h</sup>].



## LEXICAL BITS AND PIECES

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IT IS A PLEASURE to present to the honoree some of the lexical bits and pieces that I collected over the last few years. Although these texts may not be very exciting by themselves, they add to the ongoing process of reconstructing and deciphering the textual traditions of ancient Mesopotamia, a process to which Jacob Klein himself has contributed so much.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. UM 29-13-648: Ea?

UM 29-13-648 was partly published in transliteration by Landsberger 1968, 144 (quoted as “Penns”). According to Landsberger the tablet is of Kassite date (see p.135), and this may well be right. Landsberger’s suggestion that the piece belongs to the same tablet as Ni 10280 was rejected on good grounds by Civil in MSL 14 142 (note misprinted number UM 29-13-644! instead of -648).

Landsberger classified the text as belonging to Ea, but the tablet has some unusual features. Sign lists of the Ea-type invariably begin each line with the “item-sign” (DIŠ). This is not only true for Proto-Ea, Proto-Aa and all later versions of these lists, but also for S<sup>a</sup> and related compositions, and for the many sign lists used locally in the Old Babylonian<sup>2</sup> and Kassite periods.<sup>3</sup> The absence of the item-sign in our text, therefore, is perhaps a minor

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in a tablet from Puzriš-Dagan (Wisconsin Historical Society A 2094 line 5, copy by A. Goetze, to be published as YOS 15 160; cited courtesy of Ulla Kasten). Here it should be noted, however, that these spellings do not constitute evidence for a reading /su/ of ŠUL (as asserted by Krecher, *op. cit.*), since su-gi is simply a pronunciation of the compound in question: [šul-n<sup>h</sup>gir > šu<sup>n</sup>g<sup>n</sup>gir] (with su- being of course phonemical [šu], and with [l] assimilating to [n<sup>h</sup>g]).

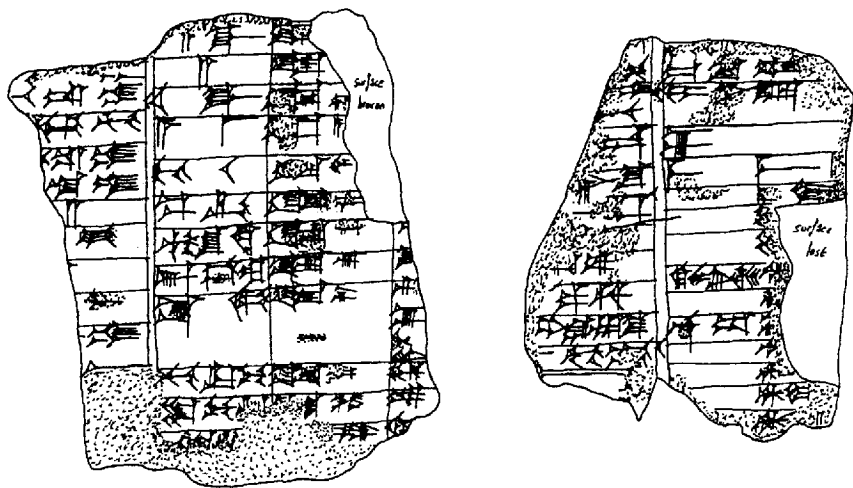
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1. The texts below are published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and the curators of the Babylonian Collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
2. Old Babylonian examples are the Mari sign list published by Lambert 1985 (see Oelsner 1989 and Waetzoldt 1990); the Susa lists in MDP 18 and 27; and the Uruk lists in AUWE 23.
3. Several examples in Veldhuis 2000.

but very striking deviation from the rule. The item-sign is not used by acrographic lists (such as Izi) and lists of the Diri-family; but since the preserved part of UM 29-13-648 lists no sign groups, a classification with either of these seems unlikely.

Another aspect that sets this text (as far as preserved) apart from the Ea tradition in general is the fact that each sign may have multiple Akkadian translations, but is given only one Sumerian value. UM 29-13-648 may belong, then, to the period of experimentation in which the lexical tradition was not yet as fossilized as it appeared in the first millennium.

The tablet is divided into columns by double vertical lines. Between the columns small ten-marks are placed. Obverse i only preserves the ends of Akkadian words. No word has been identified with reasonable certainty. Obverse ii has composites of KA, with the inscribed sign repeated after the complex sign.<sup>4</sup> The section KA-compounds is continued on reverse i, followed by MIR, ME, KUR<sup>2</sup>, and a number of signs from the AN-family. Reverse ii is badly broken and only a few words from the Akkadian column may be identified. Apparently, the end of the column has the section NE.



UM 29-13-648

4. This is a device well known for Babylonian Ea-type texts from Kassite and later periods.

OBVERSE i

1. [ ] = [ ] 'x' [ ] '-tum'  
[ ] = [ ] -be<sup>2</sup>-IŠ-tum

[DI?] = [šu]-ul-mu

5. [ ] = [ ] -x-IŠ-tum  
[ ] = [ ] -la-tum

[ ] = MIN

[ ] = [ ] -lum

[ ] = [MIN]

[ ] = [ ] -nu

10. [ ] = [ ] -tum

OBVERSE ii

1. 'a'-gal	KAx'A'. [GAL?]	[A.GAL?]	= [ ]
MIN	KAxGAL	[GAL]	= [ ]
u-gal	KAxUŠ	U[Š]	= [ ]
a-la <sub>2</sub>	KAx[A.L]A <sub>2</sub>	A.[LA <sub>2</sub> ]	= [ ]
5. gu-u	KAx[I]M	IM	= [ ]
si-ig	KAxBA[LAĜ]	'BALAĜ'	= [ ]
nam-šu-di	KAx'X'	'X'	= [ ]
nun-du-um	KAxNUN	NUN	= š[a-ap-tum]
su-ul	KAxSA	SA	= zi-[iq-nu] = sa-[ap-sa-pu] = ʃar-[ru] = lu <sub>2</sub> [ ]
10. mu-ur-gu	KAx'NE'	'NE'	= uz-[zu]

	tu-gu-ur	KAx[GIL]IM	GILIM	= ka-[sa-su]
15.	'x¹-ne-'x¹	KAx[PA.LUGAL]	PA.LUGAL	= te-[ ]
REVERSE i				
1.	a-'x¹	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
	IS-da	KAxLI	[ ]	[ ]
	mi-ir	GIN₂gunú	[ ]	[ ]
5.	sa	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
	me	ME	[ ]	[ ]
		'x¹-x	[ ]	[ ]
		KU[R.	[ ]	[ ]
		KU[R.	[ ]	[ ]
	di-mi-ir-di-eš	DIĜI[R	[ ]	[ ]
10.		DIĜI[R	[ ]	[ ]
	na-ab	NA[B	[ ]	[ ]
		DIĜIR.[	[ ]	[ ]
		DIĜIR.'X'.[	[ ]	[ ]
		DIĜIR [ ] MIN² [	[ ]	[ ]
REVERSE ii				
1.	[ ] = [ ]-x			
	[ ] = [ ]-tum			
	[ ] = [ ]-nu			
	[ ] = [ ]-du			
5.	[ ] = [ ]-ir-šu			
	[ ] = [ ]-'um²¹			

[ ] = [ ]-'x¹
[ ] = [su-ta-lj]u²-zu
[NE] = [na]-pa-ḫu
10. [NE] = ga-ra-ak-ku
[ ] = 'e²¹-mu-qum

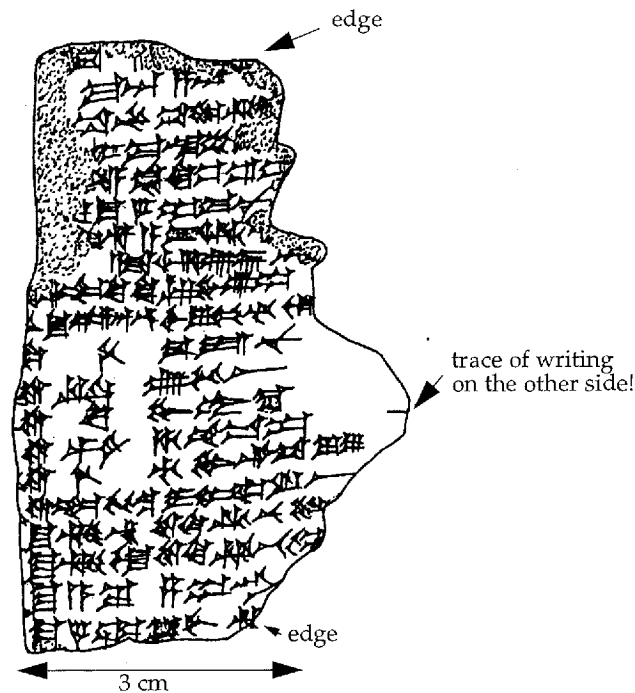
2. DIRI FRAGMENTS<sup>5</sup>

Two Old Babylonian Diri pieces were identified by me in the British Museum in 1997 and 1999. They do not join each other, nor do they belong to any of the other Proto-Diri pieces known to me. Two other Diri fragments that have recently come to light will be discussed briefly.

BM 68004 (82-9-18, 8002) is a right-edge fragment of the reverse<sup>6</sup> of a large tablet. The writing extends over the edge, which is rounded. One trace remains from the last column of the obverse. The preserved part of the tablet has one column with the Sumerian and Akkadian sub-columns preserved. There are a few indeterminate traces to the left. Old Babylonian Diri is known in two formats: gloss – Sumerian – Akkadian, or simply Sumerian – Akkadian. Whether the traces on the break are glosses or the remains of a preceding column is impossible to determine. The text runs parallel to Oxford Diri 339–54 (OECT 4 152; transliteration Civil; collated).

- |    |                          |                        |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | [ ] .DA                  | = 'a¹- [...]           |
|    | [KI.LUGAL.DU]            | = ma-an-za-zi₂ [šarri] |
|    | [ ] .DU].DU              | = mu-ta-li-ik-tum²     |
|    | [KI.DU].KAK¹ (šiten)     | = ma-la-kum            |
| 5. | [KI.EN].KAK.A            | = KA₂ ki-is-si-e       |
|    | [KISU.L]U.UB₂.ĜAR(ugnim) | = um-ma-nu             |

5. Miguel Civil allowed me to use his digital version of MSL 15, with editions of all known Diri versions. This has been a great help in the identification and reading of the fragments edited below. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude here.
6. The preserved side is probably reverse, but no certainty can be obtained on this point. Walther Sallaberger (München) collated some details of my copy, for which I wish to express my sincere thanks.



BM 68004 (82-9-18, 8002)

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
|     | [ ]D]I <sup>2</sup> .ĤU                                    | = a-sa <sup>2</sup> -ar p[i <sup>2</sup> -in-di] |
|     | [probably blank]   | = a-ša-ar u-sa-an-[di]                           |
|     | KI.E.NE.DI (ešemen)  | = ki-ip-pu-u <sub>2</sub> -um                    |
| 10. | x-ŠE <sub>3</sub> .GA.ZA. <sup>d</sup> INANA               | = mi <sub>2</sub> -lu-ul-ti Ištar(U.DAR)         |
|     | di-kud   | = da-ia-nu                                       |
|     | ŠAG <sub>4</sub> .NIMBAR (didala)                          | = u <sub>2</sub> -qu <sub>3</sub> -rum           |
|     | ŠAG <sub>4</sub> .DI                                       | = pu-ug-lu                                       |
|     | ŠAG <sub>4</sub> .GI (ḫanzalub)                            | = ḫa-am-du-um                                    |
| 15. | ŠAG <sub>4</sub> .TAR (tigidlu)                            | = ti-in-gi-ta-lu-u <sub>2</sub>                  |
|     | šalambi(ŠAG <sub>4</sub> ) <sup>bi<sub>2</sub></sup> gu-la | = i-mi-ka-ru-rum                                 |
|     | <sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> NAM.EN (pala <sub>2</sub> )     | = te-di-iq be-li                                 |
|     | <sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> NAM.NIN (pala <sub>3</sub> )    | = te-di-iq be-el-[ti]                            |
|     | <sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup> A.ZU (aktum)                    | = ša-ap-šum                                      |
| 20. | TUG <sub>2</sub> .NIĜ <sub>2</sub> .SAĜ.KAL <sup>?</sup>   | = šal-ḫ[u]                                       |

12. Collation confirmed that this line is present in the broken beginning of column vii of Ashm 1923-401 (OECT 4 152): ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.NIMBAR' = [...].
13. According to AHw *puglu* is a kind of radish; the word may be written <sup>u<sub>2</sub></sup>ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.GI<sup>(sar)</sup> or <sup>bi</sup>ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.GI (this sign combination is used also for ḫanzalub, see line 14). The writing ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.DI is attested as a variant spelling for tigidlu(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.TAR) in Nippur, but was not known so far for *puglu*. ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.GI is glossed pu-ug-lu in first-millennium Diri, suggesting that the word was borrowed into Sumerian. Whether this word was known in Old Babylonian Sumerian, and whether the present line may be read puglu<sub>x</sub>(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.DI) remains uncertain.
15. The reading ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.TAR = tigidlu (Akkadian *tikkittû*) rather than tibulu (Akkadian *tibulû*) was established by Civil 1987 and is again confirmed here.
16. For the reading ŠAG<sub>4</sub> = šalambi see Erimḫuš fragment c 7 (MSL 17 90). For parallels in later Diri versions see CAD sv *imikkarûru*. The spelling ŠAG<sub>4</sub>.NE (or ŠAG<sub>4</sub><sup>bi<sub>2</sub></sup> or ŠAG<sub>4</sub><sup>lam<sub>2</sub></sup>) was unknown so far.
19. Aktum is usually written <sup>tug<sub>2</sub></sup>A.SU; the spelling with ZU is a scribal error.
20. The correct reading of this line remains uncertain. Collation of the related entry in the Oxford prism (Ashm 1923-401 = OECT 4 152 vii 10) yielded [TUG<sub>2</sub>].ŠAG<sup>1</sup>.KEŠ<sub>2</sub>.SAL = [...]. A Kassite-period Diri fragment from Bahrein has the entry: TUG<sub>2</sub>.X.X(KEŠ<sub>2</sub>?).SAL = u<sub>2</sub>-pu-u<sub>2</sub>-ur x [ ] (apparently *upur sinništi*; several other translations follow).<sup>7</sup> The published photograph is too small to be read with any certainty.

Another recently published Middle Babylonian Diri fragment contains an extract from the section KI, but does not parallel any line in the fragment published above. HT 96 (Herrero and Glassner 1996, 77 no 274) was excavated in Haft-Tepe (Iran). It is the left half of a landscape-format exercise tablet. Pronunciation column and part of the Sumerian column are preserved. Obverse and reverse as indicated in the publication are to be reversed.

7. A small photograph of this piece was recently published by André-Salvini 1999, 126. There the text is described as an exercise with extracts from ĤAR-ra = ḫubullu and LU<sub>2</sub> = ša. The legible section demonstrates that it is Diri with no pronunciation column. Column ii contains compounds with TUG<sub>2</sub>, EŠ<sub>3</sub>, and EN. None of the entries in col. i could be identified so far. Further evaluation of the piece will have to await its full publication.

1.	pi-eš (peš <sub>10</sub> )	KL.[A]	[...]
2.			[...]
3.			[...]
4.	ša-ka-ak (šakaka)	KL.[LAM]	[...]
5.	ka-al-bu (ganba <sup>?</sup> )	KL.[LAM]	[...]
6.	ku-na (gunni <sup>?</sup> )	KL.[NE]	[...]
7.			[...]
8.			[...]
9.	x-ar (sur <sub>6</sub> <sup>?</sup> )	KL.GAL	[...]
10.	[...] (sur <sub>7</sub> <sup>?</sup> )	KL.NI (= KL.KAK <sup>?</sup> )	[...]
11.	'ki-is-laḥ <sub>6</sub> '(kislaḥ)	KL.UD	[...]

## REVERSE

1.			[...]
2.			[...]
3.			[...]
4.			[...]
5.	ki-in-gal (kankal <sub>x</sub> )	KL.U[D]	[...]
6.	ka-an-gal (kankal <sub>x</sub> )	KL.U[D]	[...]
7.	id-ri	KL.K[U]	[...]
8.	ki-tu-uš (ki-tuš)	KL.K[U]	[...]
9.	x x x	KL.[KU]	[...]

## LEFT EDGE

10.	[...]	KL.KU	<i>re-e-u<sub>2</sub></i>
11.	[...]	KL.KU	<i>tar-ba-šum</i>

The section KL.UD is continued from the obverse to the reverse. The first four lines of the reverse contained alternative Akkadian translations for kislaḥ. The left side continues the section KL.KU.

The second Old Babylonian Diri fragment that is published here for the first time is BM 23671 (98-2-15, 53), preserving the central part of a tablet with perhaps a small part of the upper edge. The obverse has an Old Babylonian version of the Ur<sub>5</sub>-ra-section stones in the left column. The right column is erased. The reverse has an extract from Diri. This tablet format is used for exercises and has been labelled Type II (see Civil in MSL 12, 27-28).

The tablet is written in an extremely cursive late Old Babylonian hand and is very difficult to read. I have not attempted to prepare a copy.

## OBVERSE

1.	traces
2.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> gug]-me-luḥ-ḥa
3.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> gug]-gid <sub>2</sub> -da
4.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> gug]-gud <sub>4</sub> -gid <sub>2</sub> -da (sic!)
5.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> gug]-GAM-ma
6.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> gu]g-LAGAB
7.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ]gug-SI-KAK
8.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ]kišib-gug
9.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ]lagab-gug
10.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ]ellaḡ <sub>2</sub> -gug
11.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ]nir <sub>2</sub> (ZA.GIN <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> )
12.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ni]r <sub>2</sub> -ib <sub>2</sub>
13.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ni]r <sub>2</sub> -igi
14.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ni]r <sub>2</sub> -kab-mušēn
15.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> nir <sub>2</sub> ]-'X'-la-lum <sup>8</sup>
16.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> nir <sub>2</sub> -?]-du-lum
17.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> nir <sub>2</sub> -mu]š-ḡir <sub>2</sub>
18.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> nir <sub>2</sub> -igi]-muš-ḡir <sub>2</sub>
19.	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> nir <sub>2</sub> -babbar]-dili

20/21. traces

## REVERSE

1.	[...]	[...]	traces
2.	[...]	[SAL.UD]. <sup>?</sup> EDIN <sub>3</sub> (murum <sub>3</sub> )	<i>e-mu GAL-u<sub>2</sub></i>
3.	[...]	SAL.UŠ.DI (mussa)	<i>e-mu TUR</i>
4.		SAL.UŠ.DI.KID <sup>mušen</sup> (gambi <sup>m</sup> )	<i>ku-mu-u<sub>2</sub></i>
5.		SAL.UŠ.DAM (nitalam)	<i>ḥi-ir-tum</i>
6.		SAL.DAM	<i>ḥa-wi-ru</i>
7.			<i>a-du-u<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
8.		'EN'.MAḤ.A	<i>'en'-gu-'u' ra<sup>?</sup>-bu-u</i>
9.		EN. <sup>d</sup> INANA	<i>e-nu ša eš<sub>4</sub>-dar</i>
10.		EN.ME.AD.KU <sub>3</sub> (šennu)	<i>e-nu <sup>d</sup>NANŠE</i>
11.		EN.NUNUZ.ZI. <sup>d</sup> ŠEŠ.KI (zirru)	<i>e-nu ša XXX</i>

8. 'X' is not E, E<sub>2</sub>, A, ḤA, ḤU, or U<sub>2</sub>. The sign ends in at least two oblique wedges and is compatible with KUR or ZI.



12.	EN.NUNUZ.ZI. <sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>1</sup> (nuzzi)	<i>e-nu ša <sup>d</sup>UTU</i>
13.	SAL.LAGAR <sup>2</sup> (murub)	<i>e-nu ša <sup>d</sup>E-a</i>
14.		<i>pi<sub>2</sub>-in-gu</i>
15.		<i>'a'-wa-tum</i>
16.		<i>pu-u<sub>2</sub>-um</i>
17.		<i>ni-ḫu-um</i>
18.		<i>'bi'-ir-ti' a-ḫi</i>
19.	ŠE.LUGAL (lillan)	<i>li-il-li-a-nu</i>
20.	e-[ ] ŠE.TIR(ezina <sub>2</sub> )	<i>e-zi-na</i>
21.		<i>aš<sub>2</sub>-na-an</i>
22.		<i>še-te-ra-tum</i>
23.		<i>mu-du-da-šu</i>
24.	[ ] ŠE.TIR (ašnan)	<i>aš<sub>2</sub>-na-an</i>
25.	[ ] PA.ŠE (išin)	<i>i-ši-nu</i>
26.	[ ] 'x-DU <sub>7</sub> ?'.E <sub>2</sub> .GI	<i>E<sub>2</sub> 'šu'-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu</i>

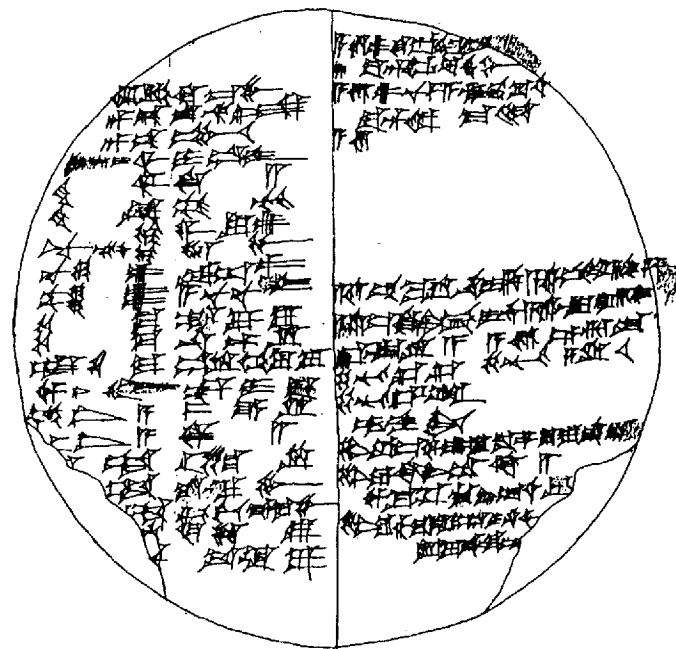
To the left, insignificant traces of another column with Akkadian translations are preserved.

11. In the Akkadian column the divine name is written without determinative.
17. Or *ir-ḫu-um*.
25. *išin* is usually written ŠE.PA.
26. It is possible that the Sumerian column continued below the line (the tablet breaks). The entry is expected to read E<sub>2</sub>.GI.NA.AB.DU<sub>7</sub> (šutum<sub>2</sub>). The broken sign before DU<sub>7</sub><sup>2</sup>.E<sub>2</sub>.GI belongs to the Sumerian column, not to the gloss.

### 3. Round Tablet: BM 23331

Only after copying BM 23331 I learned that this lentil had been published in transliteration by Civil 1994, 205–6. I believe my copy is still relevant, because of the unusual format of the tablet and a few minor omissions in the transliteration. Old Babylonian lentils are very common (see Falkowitz 1984), but this piece does not conform at all to the usual conventions. Regular lentils rarely contain more than three lines of text, often repeated in a pupil's hand. The present tablet is divided into columns and contains numerous items, including quotations from literary texts. Three further tablets that probably belong to the same set are BM 23330 (round; published by Miguel Civil, 2002), BM 23105 (round), and BM 23334 (rectangular).

My copy of BM 23331 is presented here without further comment.



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## TEMPELTERRASSEN UND ZIQQURRATE NACH DER SUMERISCHEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG

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J. Klein hat sich bleibende Verdienste durch die Erschließung und Deutung sumerischer literarischer Texte, besonders der Königshymnen Šulgi's, erworben. Es ist mir eine Freude, ihm diesen Beitrag in Dankbarkeit und Verbundenheit zuzueignen.

ARCHÄOLOGEN SETZTEN SICH immer wieder intensiv mit den für Mesopotamien so charakteristischen Stufentürmen und ihrer Entwicklung auseinander (s. zuletzt Sauvage 1998, S. 45–63, vor ihm besonders H. Lenzen 1941, A. Parrot 1949, T.A. Busink 1969 und H. Schmid 1995—s. die Literatur bei Sauvage 1998, S., 62f.). Von philologischer Seite fehlen m.W. vergleichbare Studien. Dank mehrerer Darstellungen und der Ausgrabungsbefunde sind wir über deren Konstruktion, Größe und Aussehen gut informiert. Auf einer neubabylonischen Stele, die bisher nur durch das Internet bekannt gemacht wurde, erkennt man eine 6<sup>?</sup>-stufige Ziqqurrat mit dem Hochtempel darauf (Sammlung Schøyen, [www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/contentnew3.html](http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/contentnew3.html) (History → Basylonian History → MS 2063), freundliche Mitteilung von J. Fincke). Bei den Bezeichnungen und Namen für die jeweilige Ziqqurrat in den verschiedenen städtischen Zentren, bei der Ausgestaltung der Hochtempel und dem darin durchgeführten Kult gibt es bisher noch sehr viele ungeklärte Fragen. Einige hoffe ich, hier beantwortet zu haben<sup>1</sup>.

Drei sumerische Wörter kann man mit Tempelterrasse/Ziqqurrat/Hochtempel in Verbindung bringen:

1. Mit dem Problem Tempelterrasse/Ziqqurrat beschäftigte ich mich immer wieder seit über 15 Jahren: In Bagdad hielt ich im Oktober 1989 darüber einen Vortrag mit Titel *The Ziqqurrats according to the Sumerian Sources*.

1. Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na
2. (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir und
3. Hur-sag-galam-ma

### 1. Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na/ Gi-gù-na

Der Begriff Gi-gù-na/Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na kommt am häufigsten vor. Bereits in präargonischer Zeit begegnet er in Königsinschriften und Wirtschaftstexten aus Lagaš. Daß er auch den einfachen Leuten bekannt war, zeigt sein Vorkommen in Personennamen. Besonders in Lagaš findet man ihn mehrfach bei Leuten aus unterschiedlichen sozialen Schichten<sup>2</sup>. Im Gegensatz dazu ist (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir kein Element von Personennamen.

Alle Texte aus präargonischer Zeit schreiben Gi-gù-na; die Schreibung gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na taucht erstmals bei Gudea auf und begegnet ebenso in der Ur III-Zeit und in den altbabylonischen Texten<sup>3</sup>. Syllabische Schreibungen sind Gi-gú-na, Gi-gun<sub>5</sub>(LUM)-na und Gi<sub>4</sub>-ku-na (Bergmann 1964, S. 7; Volk 1995, S. 22).

Der älteste Beleg für Gi-gù-na stammt von Eannatum. Die übrigen Texte (aus der Zeit Enannatum's I., Entemena's und UruKagina's) zeigen, daß nicht nur die oberste Gottheit einer Provinz ein Giguna besaß, sondern in der Provinz Lagaš z.B. auch die Göttinnen Nanše, Ninḫursag und Ninmah (Behrens/Steible 1983, 414). Nanše besaß das Gi-gù-na-mah „das erhabene (oder: sehr große?) Giguna“. Nach Selz 1995, S. 252 sind Ninmah und Ninḫursag gleichzusetzen. Ihr Giguna lag im „heiligen Hain“ (Gi-gù-na-tir-kù-ga). Mehrere Verwaltungstexte verbuchen Opfer für den Gott Enki des Giguna (<sup>d</sup>En-ki Gi-gù-na: Chiodi 1997 II S. 185 = Selz 1995, S. 341ff. Tab. VII-2). Da davor Nanše genannt ist, dürfte es sich um ihr Giguna handeln, auf dem ihr Vater Enki Opfer erhielt. Nanše's Bruder Ningirsu, der höchste Gott der Provinz, besaß das „Rohrheiligtum des Giguna des Ningirsu“. Sollte dies bedeuten, daß der Kultraum auf der Hochterrasse ursprünglich nur eine Rohrhütte war?<sup>4</sup> Dieses Rohrheiligt-

2. Z.B. Lú-gi-gun<sub>4</sub>(-na) TU 95I24, 150II31, ITT 3, 6439:7, 1' = NG II 80, SAT 1, 286:8 + Siegel (dieser Mann hat zwei Ämter: gudu<sub>4</sub> und sagi-<sup>d</sup>Mes-lam-ta-è-a), NATN 44 (Siegel nach freundlicher Mitteilung von A. Hattori: lú-gi-gu[n<sub>4</sub>], sanga-<sup>d</sup>Nusku, dumu Lu<sub>5</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>, sagi-<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá, der Siegelinhaber war Tempelverwalter im Nusku-Tempel, sein Vater Mundschenk im Enlil-Tempel), UCP 97 III 49. Den PN Lú-gi-gun<sub>4</sub> umschreiben B. Lafont/F. Yildiz allerdings Lú-gi-unug (TCTI 2, 3350:6) wegen TCTI 2, 3579:5: Lù-gi-unug/<sup>ki</sup>-ga. Diese Wiedergabe des PN möchte ich allerdings anzweifeln und die folgende Lesung für diese Zeile vorschlagen: ki Lú-gi-gun<sub>4</sub>/-na<sup>1</sup>-ta<sup>1</sup> (statt ki Lú-gi-unug/<sup>ki</sup>-ga <-ta>; Kollation erforderlich).
3. S. CAD G, 67ff. *gigunú* a 1'-3', 4' und 5'-7', c 1'; s. noch Cohen 1988, S. 349:14 mit Varianten Gi-gu-na, Gi-gùn-na und Gi-gun-nu.
4. Eš<sub>3</sub>-gi-gi-gù-na übersetzt George 1993, 168:1376 mit „reed chamber of the

tum konnte daneben einfach als  $\text{èš-gi-dNin-gir-su-ka}$  bezeichnet werden (Behrens/Steible 1983, S. 414; Selz 1995, S. 228: 36, 38f.).

Dieses Rohrheiligtum Ningirsu's begegnet nur in den Lagaš-Texten aus der Regierungszeit Entemenas. In der Ur III-Zeit gab es dagegen ein „Rohrheiligtum Šara's“ ( $\text{èš-gi-dŠára}$ )<sup>5</sup>, für das seitens des Königs zahlreiche Opfer dargebracht wurden. In MVN 21, 203 V 10–15 (AS 8/–) quittiert der Stadtfürst (von Umma) für 43  $\text{dušgur-túl}$  („Schöpfgefäße“) und 66  $\text{dušbur}$  („Prachtgefäße“), die ca. 1 Meter hoch und 33 cm breit waren. Als Bestimmungsort für diese 109 Tongefäße wird das Rohrheiligtum Šara's genannt. Nach AnOr 7, 331 I 1ff. (= MVN 18, 331 = AuOr Suppl. 11, 331) wurden 16 Körbe und 6 Tongefäße geliefert, die man benötigte, als „die Gottheit in das Rohrheiligtum eingetreten war“ ( $\text{dingir èš-gi ku}_4\text{-ra}$ ). Weitere 24 Tongefäße verwendete man für Reinigung(srituale) des Rohrheiligtums ( $\text{èš-gi sikil-dè}$ ). Welche Gottheit dort eintrat und wem dieses Rohrheiligtum gehörte, geht aus dem Text nicht hervor. Nach UTI 5, 3161:9ff. + Rs. 6 dürfte die eintretende Gottheit die Heilsgöttin Gula gewesen sein, denn bei ihrer Rückkehr aus Nippur (Nibru<sup>ki</sup>-ta gur-ra) steht wieder die Wendung  $\text{dingir èš-gi ku}_4\text{-ra}$  (Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 50b). Das Rohrheiligtum gehörte m.E. Šara, dem obersten Gott der Provinz Umma. Gula war offensichtlich Mittlerin zwischen Umma (mit Šara) und dem Reichsgott Enlil in Nippur, denn sie reiste mehrfach nach Nippur (Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 50 a–b)<sup>6</sup>. Nach UTI 3, 1861:3ff. wurde Wolle für eine Tür im Rohrheiligtum geliefert<sup>7</sup>. Diese Textstellen sprechen eindeutig dafür, daß es sich bei dem Rohrheiligtum Šara's nicht um eine Rohrhütte, sondern um eine größere Baulichkeit handelt.

terrace-temple“. Auch im Artikel *gigunû* von CAD wird die Möglichkeit in Erwägung gezogen, daß das erste Element des Worts *gi-guna* eigentlich Rohr bedeutete. *Giguna* wäre folglich ursprünglich eine Rohrhütte, die auf einer künstlichen Erhebung oder Terrasse errichtet sei (CAD G, 69 b, discussion).

5. Owen 1972, S. 151, 10:10 = MVN 15, 10; Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 99a (6 Schafböcke und 4 Lämmer als  $\text{siskur-lugal èš-gi-dŠára-šè}$ ). Das ‚Rohrheiligtum‘ muß wegen der großen Zahl an Tongefäßen und Rohrkörben ein größeres Gebäude gewesen sein. Rohr hatte auch später noch im kultischen Bereich eine besondere Bedeutung, s. NABU (1989): 107 und die dort zitierte Literatur.
6. Bei den königlichen Riten erhalten Šara und Gula häufiger nebeneinander Opfergaben, s. Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 99a (Um. 3177, 877, 3267, Nakahara 31, MVN 14, 430). Auch dies spricht für eine besondere Verbindung zwischen beiden Gottheiten.
7. Das Datum von AnOr 7, 331 = MVN 18, 331 ist abgebrochen, doch sprechen UTI 3, 1861 (und *ibid.* 1627:8f.  $\text{siskur èš É-mah-dŠára dū-dè}$ ; AS 8/III) dafür, daß diese Baumaßnahmen im Bereich des Šara-Tempels ( $\text{É-mah}$ ) im 8. Regierungsjahr Amarsuen's durchgeführt wurden. Vgl. auch Owen 1972, S. 151, 10:10 = MVN 15, 10 mit Datum AS8/V und MVN 21, 203 V 10–15 (AS 8/–).

Möglicherweise gab es in Nippur ebenfalls ein Rohrheiligtum, denn CST 236:1ff. (AS 1/IX 8) berichtet, daß man nur je 1 Schaf für Enlil und Ninlil, aber 2 Schafe für Ninḫursag opferte, danach folgt der Vermerk „in das Rohrheiligtum eingetreten“ ( $\text{é-èš-gi-a ku}_4\text{-ra}$ ). Da Ninḫursag zwei Opfertiere erhält, dürfte sie das Rohrheiligtum betreten haben, d.h. man hatte ihre Statue in das Rohrheiligtum hineingebracht. Statt in Nippur könnte dieses Rohrheiligtum jedoch auch in Keš gelegen haben. Dort wurde die Muttergöttin Ninḫursag (auch unter dem Namen Nintu, Ninmah und Aruru) besonders verehrt (Edzard 1976–1980, 571ff.). Dieses Heiligtum wird jedoch m.W. in keinem anderen Text erwähnt.

Nicht weiter hilft dabei die Aussage im *Fluch über Agade* Z. 193f., daß Enlil seine großen Heiligtümer in „ganz kleine Rohrheiligtümer“ ( $\text{èš-gi-TUR.TUR}$ ) verwandelt habe.

In allen der gerade zitierten Ur III-Texte aus Umma fehlen Hinweise, wo genau das jeweilige Rohrheiligtum lag. Die präargonischen Belege aus der Nachbarprovinz Lagaš legen die Vermutung nahe, daß sich das Rohrheiligtum auf den Gigunas der jeweiligen Gottheit befand; doch gibt es dafür bisher keine weiteren Anhaltspunkte. Hinzu kommt ein Zeitabstand von knapp 400 Jahren zwischen den Bau- und Weihinschriften Entemenas und den Verwaltungstexten aus der Zeit Amarsuens.

Bei den Rohrheiligtümern fällt auf, daß sie stets nur zeitlich begrenzt erwähnt werden. In seinen Inschriften rühmt sich nur Entemena der Errichtung des „Rohrheiligtum (des Giguna) des Ningirsu“. Keiner seiner Nachfolger erwähnt es mehr. In der Ur III-Zeit kommt das Rohrheiligtum (Šara's) nur in Texten aus dem 8. Regierungsjahr Amarsuens vor (bei AnOr 7, 331 ist das Datum abgebrochen). Das andere Rohrheiligtum—in Nippur<sup>7</sup>—wird in einem Text aus dem 1. Jahr dieses Herrschers erwähnt (CST 236). Daraus muß man wohl schließen, daß diese Gebäude aus Rohr nur für relativ kurze Zeit benutzt wurden; möglicherweise dienten sie als Provisorium, bis die notwendigen Hölzer und sonstigen Materialien für den Bau importiert und herbeigeschafft waren und der Hochtempel errichtet worden war. Eine gewisse Bestätigung für diese These könnte man in der oben zitierten Textpassage aus *Fluch über Agade* Z. 193f. sehen, wonach Enlil seine ganz großen in „ganz kleine Rohrheiligtümer“ verwandelt hatte, also in Tempel der einfachsten Art, in Provisorien, die in der Notzeit für seinen Kult benutzt werden konnten.

Auf der Tempelterrasse unter der späteren Anu-Ziqqurrat hatte man vor dem Bau des Weißen Tempels ein „Pfofengebäude“ errichtet (Heinrich 1938, S. 20f., Tf. 15a, 16c). Ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, daß derartige „Pfofengebäude“—möglicherweise mit Wänden aus Schilfmatten—die Vorläufer der frühdynastischen und neusumerischen Rohrheiligtümer sind.

Gudea baute das Giguna Ningirsu's innerhalb des Eninnu-Komplexes aus wohlriechenden Zedern (Gudea St. D II 7–10). An anderen Stellen könnte der Wohlgeruch der Zedern aber nicht von dem verwendeten Bauholz, sondern von den auf dem oder um das Giguna wachsenden Zedern stammen<sup>8</sup>. In Gudeas Zylinder B I 1ff. fehlt zwar die Bezeichnung *Gigun<sub>4</sub>-na*, doch wird der Ningirsu-Tempel Eninnu unter anderem als „grünes Gebirge“ (*hur-sag-nisig-ga*) und als „großer Berg — er reicht bis zum Himmel“ (*kur-gal-àm an-né im-ús*) bezeichnet. Aus dem Kontext geht m.E. hervor, daß mit dem „grünen Gebirge“ nur die mit Bäumen bepflanzte Ziqqurrat (mit dem Hochtempel Ningirsu's) gemeint sein kann. Die Dichtung *Fluch über Agade* erwähnt in Z. 134 neben Zedern noch Zypressen, Wacholder und Buchsbaum, die von Naramsin gefällt<sup>9</sup> wurden<sup>9</sup>. In *Enki und die Weltordnung* lesen wir: „Die Anunna-Götter ... in deinem mit einzelnen Bäumen bestandenen Giguna speisen sie“<sup>10</sup>. Aus diesen Textstellen geht eindeutig hervor, daß das Giguna in einem ‚Wald‘ lag bzw. selbst mit Bäumen bestanden war.

Der Begriff Giguna kommt zwar in zahlreichen sumerischen Texten aus der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jt. und vom Beginn des 2. Jt. vor, doch fehlen genauere Beschreibungen der damit bezeichneten Bauwerke. CAD G, 67 (s.v. *gigunû*) definiert den Begriff folgendermaßen: „a sacred building erected on terraces, also poetic designation of the temple tower“, Sjöberg 1984, S. 97:3.1.1 übersetzt „*giguna-shrine*“, George 1993, S. 92:368 „Terrace-House“ und Edzard 1997, S. 41 D II 9 ohne Kommentar mit „grove (?)“. M.E. bezeichnete *Gi-gû-na* in präargonischer Zeit eine Hochterrasse mit dem darauf stehenden Hochtempel. Explizit wird der darauf stehende Tempel zwar in keinem Text aus der Mitte des 3. Jt. v. Chr. genannt, doch können wir dies z.B. aus der Nennung des Rohrheiligtum des Ningirsu und des Šara (erst in der Ur III-Zeit) erschließen. In dieselbe Richtung weist die Klage UruKagina's, der Feind habe Edelmetall und Lapislazuli von dem Giguna der Ninmah geraubt. Derartig Wertvolles hatte man sicher in einem Gebäude aufbewahrt oder zur Dekoration des Heiligtums

8. CAD G, 67f. *gigunû* a 2'–4', c 1', s. dazu M.E. Cohen 1988, S. 97:17, 349:14. Vgl. dazu, daß nach MVN 16, 742 vor dem Šulgi-Tempel in Umma über 4000 m<sup>2</sup> und innerhalb dieses Tempels über 880 m<sup>2</sup> mit Dattelpalmen bepflanzt waren (1/18 1/72 (bùr) iku <sup>giš</sup>gišimmar-gal, ... igi-é-<sup>d</sup>šul-gi-ra-ka, 1/72 (bùr) iku <sup>giš</sup>gišimmar-tur, ša-é-<sup>d</sup>šul-gi-ra-ka).
9. Cooper 1983, S. 56f. Z. 134f. (<sup>giš</sup>eren <sup>giš</sup>šu-úr-mìn <sup>giš</sup>za-ba-lum <sup>giš</sup>taskarin giš *Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na-bé-eš GUM ba-an-sur-sur* „The cedar, cypress, juniper, and boxwood, wood for its giguna, he ...“), s. dazu auch Falkenstein 1965, S. 57 + 69:136f. und Kommentar S. 101.
10. Falkenstein 1964, S. 103f. Z. 200–2 und Benito 1968, S. 124: 202–4; Kramer/Maier 1989, S. 45 übersetzt: „The Anunna-gods ... consume their food in your giguna among your rare? trees“.

und von Gegenständen verwendet. Auch nach *Fluch über Agade* Z. 136ff. wird Gold, Silber und Kupfer vom Giguna geraubt (Cooper 1983, S. 57). Wenn über das Giguna des Mondgottes Nanna in der Urnamma-Hymne C 8 gesagt wurde, es sei „bestaunenswert wie eine weiße Wolke inmitten des Himmels“, weist dies auf Giguna als Hochtempel (Flückinger-Hawker 1999, S. 208f.). Die gleiche Interpretation legt die Bezeichnung des Giguna der Ninhursag von Keš als „leuchtende muš-Krone“ (Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, S. 22 Z. 95; Sjöberg 1984, S. 97 3.1.1) nahe. In *Enki und die Weltordnung* 207 heißt es von den Gigunas in Sumer: „Deine Gigunas mögen bis zum Himmel reichen“.

Das Giguna galt als Wohnstätte der jeweiligen Gottheit. In diesem Fall war mit Giguna nicht der Stufenturm, sondern der Hochtempel gemeint. Für Giguna als Wohnsitz gibt es m.W. in Texten des 3. Jt. v. Chr. noch keine Hinweise. Erst in altbabylonischen Texten erfahren wir davon (CAD G, 68, 5' Waradsin). In der altbabylonisch überlieferten Dichtung Urnamma B schrieb man Urnamma, dem Gründer der 3. Dynastie von Ur, den Bau des Stufenturms von Nippur und des Wohnsitzes des Enlil zu (Flückinger-Hawker 1999, S. 192 B 29)<sup>11</sup>. In dieselbe Richtung weist die Dichtung *Enki's Fahrt nach Nippur* Z. 97: Darin wird berichtet, Enki habe für Enlil Opfertiere und Musikinstrumente „zum Giguna, zum Heiligtum von Nippur hineingebracht“ (*Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na èš-e Nibru<sup>k1</sup>-a im-ma-da-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>*)<sup>12</sup>. Die Hymne *Urnamma EF* erwähnt Z. 20 Opfer im Zusammenhang mit dem *Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na* (Flückinger-Hawker 1999, S. 278:2).

In den präargonischen Inschriften nannte man eine Hochterrasse mit dem Hochtempel *Gi-gû-na*, während dieser Begriff ab Gudea und Urnamma in der Ur III-Zeit auf Stufenturm (= Ziqqurrat) mit Hochtempel eingeeengt wurde. Diese Veränderung können wir sowohl aufgrund der Texte als auch der Ausgrabungsergebnisse fassen. Ab Gudea und Urnamma gab es in jeder Provinz nur das *Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na* der jeweiligen Hauptgottheit und dieses war ein richtiger Stufenturm, mit drei und mehr Stufen, wie er heute noch in Ur zu besichtigen ist<sup>13</sup>.

In präargonischer Zeit müssen sich auf der Tempelterrasse oder im Hochtempel Opferstätten befunden haben, denn Wirtschaftstexte erwähnen die Lieferung von Tieren und Opfermaterie für den Gott Enki vom

11. Vgl. die *Klage über die Zerstörung von Sumer und Ur* Z. 115f. und 155f., wonach Zababa „seinen geliebten Wohnsitz“ auf dem „Gebirge des eigenen Landes“ (*Hur-sag-kalam-ma*) und Šara seinen Wohnsitz auf dem „Ziegelwerk (hoch wie) die Bergmitte“ (*Sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga*) verlassen müssen. Beides sind Bezeichnungen der jeweiligen Ziqqurrat mit dem Hochtempel. S. dazu ausführlicher Exkurs 2.
12. Al-Fouadi 1969, S. 74 + 83; Kramer/Maier 1989, S. 73.
13. Hrouda 1991, S. 85ff.; Sauvage 1998, S. 45ff., die Ziqqurrat von Ur: Fig. 1–2.

Giguna (s. oben S. 1). Interessanterweise gehörte diese Tempelterrasse—wie bereits erwähnt—nicht Enki, sondern wohl der Göttin Nanše<sup>14</sup>. Auf einer Tempelterrasse bzw. im Hochtempel konnten folglich mehreren Göttern Opfer dargebracht werden. Es fehlen allerdings bisher Hinweise, ob es auch auf den anderen Tempelterrassen Opferstätten für weitere Gottheiten gab. Aus den Ur III-zeitlichen Quellen erfahren wir von Opfern an zahlreiche Gottheiten im Bereich des Tempels einer Gottheit; genauere Ortsangaben fehlen in der Regel dabei<sup>15</sup>. In einer Textgruppe (Sallaberger 1993 I 111f.; II Tab. 32) werden allerdings Opfer für Enlil und Ninlil als „Riten im Tempel“ (sískur šà-é-a) bezeichnet. In BIN 3, 547:1–10 erhalten neben diesen beiden Gottheiten auch (Enlil's) Thron (<sup>d</sup>gu-za) und die Ziqqurrat (Hur-sag-ga-lam-ma) Opfergaben. Daraus muß man wohl schließen, daß diese Riten im Hochtempel stattfanden, und daß dort neben Enlil auch Ninlil einen Altar/eine Opferstätte (mit Götterstatue?) besaß.

Den sumerischen Texten können wir entnehmen, daß sowohl Göttinnen als auch Götter Hochtempel auf Tempelterrassen besaßen. Dort wohnte die jeweilige Gottheit. Die Ziqqurrate waren begrünt; man hatte wohl Bäume auf die einzelnen Stufen des Tempelturms gepflanzt. Weitere Bäume wuchsen in den Höfen und um den gesamten Tempelkomplex herum.

Die Texte schweigen über mögliche Unterschiede zwischen den Tempelterrassen und Stufentürmen der verschiedenen Göttinnen und Götter in den einzelnen Provinzen. Deutlich wird nur bei Kombination der archäologischen mit den schriftlichen Quellen, daß das Wort Gi-gù-na / Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na in präargonischer Zeit—soweit feststellbar—einen Hochtempel und die dazugehörige Terrasse bezeichnete, während das Wort ab Gudea und Urnamma für den Stufenturm und den Hochtempel verwendet wurde. Ab dieser Zeit erhielt nur noch die oberste Gottheit einer Provinz ein Giguna.

14. So auch Bauer 1972, S. 448 zu I 9.

15. Z.B. Im Ninlil-Tempel von Nippur (PDT 2, 1173 I 21–II 21): Nanna, Nintinugga, Šumah, Nisaba; im Inanna-Tempel (ibid, II 22–III 14): Ninhursag, Šulpae, Ištaran, Nusku, Ninurta, Ninnibru, An, Dada, Ninšubur; vgl. R. Zettler 1984, Vol. II 532f. (= 6NT 133Rs. 1 ff.: Enki, Šulgi, Šulgi min, Amarsuen, Šusuen, Šusuen min, Nisaba, Dingiretur, Enkidu), S. 620 (= 6NT 940 + 1071: 15ff.) nach Inanna: Suen, Dingirmah, Ninurta, Ninnibru, Enki, Šulgi é-PA.DÜN, Šulgi, Amarsuen, Nisaba, Dingiretur, Enkidu). Diese Texte wurden in Zettler 1992 nicht publiziert.

Im Bereich der Enlil-Tempel von Nippur erhielten folgende Gottheiten Opfer (z.B. nach PDT 2, 1173 I 2ff.): Nusku, Ninurta, Šulgi, Lumma, Kalkal und andere (z.B. PDT 1, 605). PDT 2, 1173 I 17f. werden zwei Schafböcke und ein Lamm als Opfer für den Stufenturm erwähnt, doch gibt keine der mir bekannten größeren Opferlisten einen Hinweis, wo genau Opfer für andere Gottheiten im Enlil-Tempel dargebracht wurden (Sallaberger 1993, S. 99ff.).

Bei den Originalinschriften Urnamma's fällt besonders ins Auge, daß dieser König m.W. nie erwähnt, er habe ein Giguna gebaut. In den Texten findet man nur die Aussage, er habe das „Haus“ der jeweiligen Gottheit errichtet. Allein aus dem Fundzusammenhang dieser Inschriften geht hervor, daß es sich um eine Ziqqurrat handelte<sup>16</sup>. In den in altbabylonischen Abschriften überlieferten Urnamma-Hymnen werden jedoch die Stufentürme als Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na und Hur-sag-galam-ma benannt (Flückinger-Hawker 1999, S. 192 B 29; 208 C 8, 218 C 110; 268 EF 15'). Nur König Amarsuen erwähnt in einer Ziegelinschrift, er habe für Enlil das 'Kur'-ra'-igi-gál, 'É'-u<sub>6</sub>-nir-[ra], [é]-ki-ág-gá-ni gebaut (Frayne 1997, S. 248 1.3.3. = Zettler 1992, S. 12 Anm. 22). Zu dieser Inschrift s. unten bei 2. (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir.

Giguna begegnet noch in Bezeichnungen von verschiedenen Hochtempeln/Stufentürmen der Inanna/Ištar von Zabalam, Marad, Muru und Uruk (Volk 1995, S. 22, 117 + 142:18; George 1993, S. 92: 368–72).

## 2. (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir

É-u<sub>6</sub>-nir ist mit *ziqurratum* geglichen und kommt, soweit mir bekannt, nur in sumerischen literarischen Texten vor (Bergmann 1964, S. 7; CAD Z, 129; AHW, 1531). In der Bearbeitung der *Eridu-Klage* stellt m.W. Green 1978, S. 147 2:14—sicher zu recht—die These auf, daß das sumerische Wort (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir ursprünglich der Name der ältesten Terrasse mit dem Hochtempel Enki's in Eridu war und später auf andere Ziqqurrate übertragen wurde. Der Name ist erstmals in der Ur III-zeitlichen Fassung der Tempelhymne 1 bezeugt. In einem gleich alten literarischen Text begegnet er in der Schreibung Un-nir. (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir kommt allerdings bisher m.W. in keinem Wirtschaftstext oder Personennamen aus dieser Zeit vor, wie Frau Green irrtümlicherweise annimmt<sup>17</sup>.

Die oben zitierte Inschrift Amarsuens (letzter Absatz von 1. Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na, Frayne 1997, S. 248 1.3.3) bereitet Schwierigkeiten bei der Interpretation, denn (é-)Kur-ra-igi-gál ist eine größere Anlage mit Vorratshaus, Hof und Kultstätten (Richter 1999, S. 32–35), während das É-u<sub>6</sub>-nir die Ziqqurrat oder den Hochtempel bezeichnet. Die Möglichkeit, daß in dieser Inschrift Baumaßnahmen an zwei Gebäuden erwähnt werden, halte ich für nicht gegeben, da die Inschrift auf einem Ziegel steht. Die Interpretation von D. Frayne „Amarsuen built [for him] <E>kura-igi-gál, the ziqqurrat structure, his beloved [temple]“ kann nicht zutreffen, da Kura-

16. S. die bei Sallaberger/Westenholz 1999, S. 138f. genannten Inschriften und vgl. Sauvage 1998, S. 45ff. mit Anm. 4.

17. In CST 31:5 lautet der PN É-u<sub>6</sub>-e, nicht wie Green 1978, S. 147 É-u<sub>6</sub>-nir (T. Gomi, MVN 12, S. 94 hat dazu keine Kollation). Der PN É-u<sub>6</sub>-e begegnet häufiger in Texten aus Umma, s. Limet, AnSu S. 411 und Marchesi 1999, S. 7.

igigal keinesfalls die Enlil-Ziqqurrat bezeichnet. Da das (é-)Kur-ra-igi-gál u.a. ein Vorratshaus ist und von dort der Tempel-Komplex É-kur mit Ziqqurrat und Hochtempel versorgt worden sein dürfte, sind die fraglichen Zeilen wohl folgendermaßen zu deuten: "(Amarsuen baute für Enlil) „das Kuraigigal (, das Vorratshaus, für) den Hochtempel, sein geliebtes Haus". Dazu paßt auch die Bezeichnung des Gebäudekomplexes Kur-ra-igi-gál: „(Gebäude,) das auf den Berg (= Enlil) schaut" (wörtlich: „das auf den Berg Schauende")<sup>18</sup>. Vgl. dazu auch Such 2003, Teil I, S. 94.

Die Bedeutung von  $u_6$ -nir geht aus der *Eridu-Klage* deutlich hervor. 2:14 (Green 1978, S. 134):  $U_6$ -nir èš an-né ús-sa-bi saḫar-šub-e ba-an-gar „Dessen  $u_6$ -nir, das Heiligtum, das bis zum Himmel reicht, ist zu einem Haufen Erde geworden". Einige Zeilen weiter heißt es (2:16f.): „Dessen Tor,—das große  $u_6$ -nir von Himmel und Erde, das mit Schreckensglanz bedeckt ist,—seine glänzende Tür ist niedergerissen und deren Verschluß zerbrochen".

Nach diesem Text ist das  $U_6$ -nir ein Gebäude mit einem Tor bzw. einer Tür und steht so hoch, daß es an den Himmel heranreicht. In TCL 16, 61:3 wird das É- $u_6$ -nir Enki's als „das Heiligtum der Regeln von Himmel und Erde" (é-giš-ḫur-an-ki-a; van Dijk 1966/67, 64:3) bezeichnet (A. Falkenstein 1959, S. 1, 31 zu Z. 11 liest allerdings é-dur-an-ki-a, doch paßt m.E. dieses Tempel epitheton nicht zu Enki). Der Gott Haja wird auch „der ‚Leinenbekleidete' im É- $u_6$ -nir" Enki's genannt (Behrens 1998, S. 124), woraus zu folgern ist, daß den Hochtempel nur ein bestimmter Personenkreis betreten durfte. Ebenso wie Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na galt das (É-) $u_6$ -nir als Wohnsitz der jeweiligen Gottheit, z.B. von Enki, Inanna, Ninurta und Zababa (Cohen 1988, S. 441:16,, S. 458:16, 623 Anm. 49; George 1993, S. 154:1150f.; Horsnell 1999, 382–85).

In den Tempelhymnen ist É- $u_6$ -nir Bezeichnung der Ziqqurrat von Eridu und von Kiš. Die Wendung  $U_6$ -nir-ra il-la, wörtlich „sich auf der Ziqqurrat erhebend", dürfte sich auf den Hochtempel beziehen (Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, TH 2:26; TH 24:295 und S. 56).

In dem Datum seines 36. Regierungsjahres berichtet Hammurapi, er habe „das  $U_6$ -nir, den erhabenen Wohnsitz von Zababa und Inanna" (in Kiš) gebaut ( $U_6$ -nir ki-tuš-maḫ-<sup>d</sup>Za-ba<sub>6</sub>-ba<sub>6</sub> <sup>d</sup>Inanna-ke<sub>4</sub>, Horsnell 1999, Vol. 2, S. 153f.). Nach einem Datum von Samsuiluna waren bereits in seinen 22. Regierungsjahre Renovierungsarbeiten an diesem Gebäude notwendig (ibid. S.210 Si 22). Dabei ließ er auch die 16 ‚Statuen', die zum  $U_6$ -nir gehörten, restaurieren.

18. Kur-ra-igi-gál kommt in der Ur III-Zeit häufiger ohne é- vor, s. Sallaberger 1993, S. 53 mit Anm. 223, S. 103 und Bd. II S. 22 Tabelle 9 mit Anmerkung e.

In der zweisprachigen Samsuiluna-Inschrift (Frayne 1990, S. 376 E 4.3.7.3 Z. 11ff.) stehen  $U_6$ -nir und Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na nebeneinander. Der König berichtet, daß er den Šamaš-Tempel von Sippar restaurierte und daß er „die ‚Spitze' des  $U_6$ -nir, seines erhabenen *gigunû*, so hoch machte wie den Himmel" ( $U_6$ -nir Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na-maḫ-a-ni sag-bi an-gin<sub>7</sub> il-i-dè). Nicht ganz klar ist, ob er mit  $U_6$ -nir den Tempelturm und mit *gigunû* den Hochtempel meinte, oder ob beide Begriffe hier mehr oder weniger gleichbedeutend sind.

### 3. Ḫur-sag-ga-lam-ma / Ḫur-sag-galam-ma

Der dritte sumerische Begriff Ḫur-sag-ga-lam / galam-ma bedeutet wörtlich „Stufen-Gebirge" oder „abgetrepptes Gebirge". George 1993, S. 100:480 übersetzt allerdings „skilfully-Built Mountain". Auf jeden Fall zeigt diese Benennung, daß damit primär der Stufenturm und nicht der Hochtempel gemeint war. Ḫur-sag-ga(-)lam-ma wird literarisch für die Ziqqurrat von Nippur und von Ur verwendet (Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, S. 50; George 1993, S. 100:480).

In den Wirtschaftstexten aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur begegnet häufiger Ḫur-sag-ga-lam-ma. In RGTC 2, S. 80 findet man dazu die unzutreffende Bemerkung „In Ur-III bezeichnet Ḫursaggalama den Tempelbezirk im Osten von Kiš". Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, S. 50 identifiziert es als Ziqqurrat von Nippur, Sallaberger 1993, S. 99, 112 als Teil des Enliltempels und George 1993, S. 100:480 als „cella of Enlil on the ziqqurrat at Nippur".

In den Texten aus Drehim findet man diesen Begriff häufig in folgendem Kontext: Tieropfer für Enlil, für den (vergöttlichten) Thron (Enlil's), für Ḫursaggalama und bisweilen noch für das Emblem Enlil's (namens A-ba-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-gin<sub>7</sub>). Es folgen die Vermerke „im Enlil-Tempel" (ša-é-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá) und nach weiteren Eintragungen „in Nippur" (ša Nibru<sup>ki</sup>)<sup>19</sup>. Aus diesem Kontext geht eindeutig hervor, daß mit Ḫur-sag-ga-lam-ma nur der Stufenturm Enlils in Nippur mit dem dazugehörigen Hochtempel gemeint sein kann. In der Regel entsprechen sich die Opfer für den Thron und die Ziqqurrat in Anzahl und Qualität, während Enlil meist das Dop-

19. Enlil's Thron wird in Ur III-Texten häufig mit dem Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben und erhält meist dieselbe Anzahl Opfer (tiere) wie der Stufenturm (Ḫur-sag-ga-lam-ma), s. Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 7, 9, 9a, 35, 36c, 37, 39. M.W. fehlen jedoch eindeutige Angaben in den Texten dieser Zeit, ob dieser Thron auch im Hochtempel stand; allerdings spricht die Anordnung in den Opfertexten, in denen der Thron zwischen Enlil und Ḫursaggalama steht, eindeutig dafür. S. die oben bei Sallaberger 1993 genannten Tabellen und SAT 3, 1882:7ff., 1948:4ff. jeweils <sup>d</sup>En-lil, <sup>d</sup>gu-za-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá, ḫur-sag-ga-lam-ma, ša é-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá.

pelte oder mehr erhält. Der Thron hat sich m.E. ebenso wie das Emblem im Hochtempel befunden.

Der Vergleich einer Ziqqurra mit einem Berg oder Gebirge ist sehr naheliegend, und zwar aus zwei Gründen: 1. waren diese wie ein Berg wegen ihrer Höhe und Größe weithin sichtbar und 2. waren die Tempelterrassen bzw. die Stufen der Ziqqurrate offensichtlich mit Bäumen bepflanzt (S. dazu oben unter gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na). Auch sonst kommt ħur-sag mehrfach in Namen von Stufentürmen und Tempeln vor (Zgoll 2000, 88 mit Anm. 25–29).

Im Bereich des Ē-kur gab es nach der Königshymne Urnamma B 22 vier Tore, die mit Bernstein (?) und Silber verziert waren. Das „Tor des Heils (ká-silim-ma) führte zur Ziqqurra Enlils Ĥur-sag-galam-ma (Flückinger-Hawker 1999, S. 191). Einige Zeilen weiter heißt es: „Das ‚abgetreppte Gebirge‘ (und) das Giguna, die reine Wohnung des großen Berges“ (ibid. S. 192 B 29 Ĥur-sag-galam-ma Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na ki-tuš-kùkur-gal-la-ra). In diesem Passus könnte Ĥursaggalama für die Ziqqurra und Giguna für den Hochtempel stehen, in dem Enlil, der ‚große Berg‘ wohnt. Der Hochtempel auf der Ziqqurra kann auch einfach als é „Tempel“ oder èš „Sanktuarium, Heiligtum“ (Such 2003, Teil I, S. 74ff.) bezeichnet werden. In der kassitischen Liste der Tempel von Nippur findet man Ziqqurra unter dem Namen Ē-u<sub>6</sub>-nir (Bernhardt/Kramer 1975, S. 97:3). Ihre Grundfläche wird mit ca. 4585 m<sup>2</sup> (1 iku 29½ sar 1 gín) angegeben, was etwa einer Grundfläche von 67,7 × 67,7 m entspricht.

Die Ziqqurrate von Nippur und Ur benannte man literarisch auch mit ħur-sag-sukud-du „hohes Gebirge“ (Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969, S. 50).

#### AUSSTATTUNG UND PERSONAL VON HOCHTEMPELN

Wie oben dargelegt, gibt es verschiedene Bezeichnungen, die—soweit nachweisbar—sowohl den Stufenturm als auch den darauf stehenden Tempel einschließen. Bisher fehlen Pläne von Hochtempeln, wie wir sie von Tieftempeln besitzen<sup>20</sup>. Ebenso vermissen wir Auflistungen oder Beschreibungen des Inventars solcher Hochtempel. Einiges läßt sich jedoch durch Kombination verschiedener Quellen erschließen.

Hochtempel galten als Wohnsitz der jeweiligen Gottheit. Daher ist—in Analogie zu den Tieftempeln—anzunehmen, daß es dort einen Raum mit dem Thron und Tischen für Speisen und einen Schlafraum mit einem Bett gab. Mehrere Könige rühmen sich in ihren Inschriften oder Jahresdaten, Throne und Betten für eine Gottheit angefertigt zu haben<sup>21</sup>. Wirtschafts-

20. E. Heinrich und U. Seidl 1967, S 27ff. Abb. 2–3, 12, vgl. D. Charpin 1983, S. 56ff.

21. Ur III: Šulgi 16 (Bett) S. ASJ 2, 16, 43; UNT Text 102, Armasuen 3 (Thron); Isin/Larsa: S.A.H. Kromholz und M. Sigrist 1986, S. 96f. (meist Throne, 1 × Bett). Tisch kommt

texte listen die dafür notwendigen Materialien auf<sup>22</sup>. Diese Quellen nennen jedoch nicht, ob der jeweilige Gegenstand für einen Hochtempel bestimmt war. Da der Thron Enlil's jedoch häufig neben Ĥursaggalama Opfer erhielt, müssen wir davon ausgehen, daß er im Hochtempel stand<sup>23</sup>. Gleiches gilt für den Thron Nannas (Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 63a). Einem Bett wurden nach Ur III-Texten zwar ebenfalls Opfer dargebracht, doch ist es keiner Gottheit sicher zuzuordnen (Sallaberger 1993 I S. 51). Auf der Ziqqurra in Nippur befand sich auch das Emblem Enlils namens (d)A-ba-dEn-líl-gin<sub>7</sub> (Such 2003, Teil II, S. 116ff. Tab. 5:1.1, 1.3, 1.4, 5, 9.1). Nach dem unter U<sub>6</sub>-nir zitierten Jahresdatum Samsuiluna's standen auf dem U<sub>6</sub>-nir vorn Zababa und Inanna 16 ‚Statuen‘. Diese stellten wohl Könige dar, denn bei Gottheiten erwartete man die Erwähnung von deren Namen.

Nach dem Lied auf die Göttin Inanna (mit Erwähnung König Išmedagan's) gab es in dem Hochtempel auf der Ziqqurra Enlil's (Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na) eine Zella (únu), in der stets die verschiedensten alkoholischen Getränke für Enlil und dessen Besucher bereit standen (Römer 1988, S. 32:38f., s. auch Falkenstein 1959, S. 103f. zu SRT 36:39). Für diese Getränke benötigte man Trinkgefäße, aber auch Behälter für die Vorratshaltung. Das Vorhandensein von Schüsseln, Teller und Eßbesteck darf man für die Speisen der Götter, bzw. Anunna voraussetzen.

Über den Personenkreis, der Zutritt zum Hochtempel hatte, gibt es nur wenige Hinweise in den literarischen Texten: In der *Klage über die Zerstörung von Ur* Z. 352 (Kramer 1940, S. 60f.)<sup>24</sup> finden wir die folgende Aussage: „Dein lú-maḥ-Priester kleidet sich nicht mehr in deinem Gigunu in Leinen“. Eventuell ist auch die Z. 351 auf den Hochtempel zu beziehen: „Vater Nanna, dein Reinigungs-Priester (isib) macht nicht mehr die reinen Gefäße für dich vollkommen.“ Einen Teil des Personals des Hochtempels Enlil's erwähnen Verwaltungstexte: i-du<sub>8</sub>-èš, sukkal-èš, ag[rig-èš] und möglicherweise noch nu-èš (Such 2003, Teil I, S. 75f., 101f.).

Auch in dem Lied auf den Gott Ĥaja wird auf die Ziqqurra von Ur Bezug genommen; danach fungierte dieser Gott dort als Priester: „Ĥaja,

m.W. nur im Jahresdatum Sumuabu 12 (Horsnell 1999, Bd. 1 S. 235) vor. Es werden z.B. auch Embleme (šu-nir), Sockel, ‚Hochsitz‘, Tiara und zahlreiche Statuen angefertigt (s. RIA 4, 177ff.; Horsnell 1999, Bd. 1, S. 235ff. SI 22, 23, 26; AS 3, 9, 10, 15, 17; Sm 3, 16; Ha 3, 12, 14–17, 20, 27, 29; Si 19, 21 usw.).

22. Z.B. BIN 9, 30, 249, 254, 255, 303.

23. Sallaberger 1993 II S. 16ff. Tab. 7, Tab. 9a, Tab. 35, Tab. 37, Tab. 39; Such II ganze Tabelle 5.

24. Jacobsen 1987, S. 479 übersetzt allerdings die Zeilen 351f. „O father Nanna, your purification priest no longer perfects pure cups for you; your majordomo wears finest linen no more in your holy gigunu.“



der mit feinem Leinen bekleidet ist, der für die Ziqqurrat (É-u<sub>6</sub>-nir) die heiligen gemästeten Schafe zahlreich macht<sup>25</sup>. Aus jüngeren Texten wie Krecher 1966, S. 59 + 72 VI 36 (und 4 R 24, 2:5f.) geht nur hervor, daß Personen ohne Berechtigung in den Hochtempel hineingesehen hatten: "In das (Innere des) Giguna hat man mir gesehen, obwohl nicht (jeder Beliebige) hineinschauen darf". Nach diesem Text war der Zugang auf einen bestimmten Personenkreis beschränkt. Zu diesen gehörte selbstverständlich auch der König; dies geht aus Ur III-zeitlichen Quellen hervor<sup>26</sup>.

## EXKURS 1:

Das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr von Ur

M. Lambert (1950, S. 74ff., besonders S. 85ff.) diskutierte die topographische Bezeichnung Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr und kommt zu folgendem Schluß: „L'hypothèse, admise, permet de situer le Du<sub>6</sub>-úr dans la Chapelle et d'y voir un des blocs de fondation du téménos; du<sub>6</sub> „colline“ est trop bien attesté comme nom cultuel pour faire difficulté.“ Sjöberg 1960, S. 111 und Hall 1985, S. 318f., 381 Anm. 23f. verweisen auf obigen Artikel, ohne die Diskussion weiterzuführen; s. jetzt ausführlicher Sallaberger 1993, S. 130f. und vgl. ferner van Dijk 1964, S. 48 mit Anm. 122.

Durch Kombination der Wirtschaftstexte mit den literarischen Texten kann man m.E. bei der Deutung von Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr einen Schritt weiterkommen.

Sowohl in literarischen<sup>27</sup> als auch in ökonomischen Texten<sup>28</sup> findet man die Schreibung Du<sub>6</sub>-úr bzw. Du<sub>6</sub>-ùr. Das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr—so die normale Schreibung in der Hauptstadt Ur—war ein sehr wichtiger Teil des Nanna-Tempel-Komplexes, wie die Opfertexte zeigen, z.B. UET 3, 105:1ff. (IS 5/IV -):

25. Übersetzung nach H. Steible 1967, S. 11:9 (= UET VI, 101:9).

26. Der König war häufiger bei Opfern im Hochtempel zugegen, wie der Vermerk *lugal ku<sub>4</sub>-ra* (wörtlich: „der König (war) eingetreten“) zeigt (zu diesem Begriff s. Sallaberger 1993 IS. 30 mit Anm. 124). Dies machen die Texte mit Opfern für Enlil, dessen Thron und Ziqqurrat mit dem Vermerk „im Enlil-Tempel“ mit obigem Zusatz deutlich (ibid. II Tab. 9a—CT 32, 41–43, falls sich *lugal ku<sub>4</sub>-ra* auf alle zuvor genannten Tempel bezieht—, Tab. 35, 36c; Such 2003, Teil I, S. 69f. 1.5.3.17 = Bd. 2, Tab. 1 17).

27. Z.B. Šulgi Hymne O, Zeile 6 Texte A und B, s. Klein 1976, s. 274.

28. Du<sub>6</sub>-úr die normale Schreibung in Urs. Lambert 1950, S. 74ff. und z.B. UET 9, 816:4, 835:3, 856:7, 858:2, 860:3, 875:5, 877:4, 912:2, 926:4, 1006 Rs. 2, 1054:2, 1150:2; MVN 13, 119:3. In Drehim und Lagaš wird Du<sub>6</sub>-ùr geschrieben: SET 63 I 3, 116:4; MVN 3, 228:4; RA 10, 209a:7; UDT 110:2; WMAH 216:2 (Lagaš). Der Wechsel *úr/ùr* begegnet mehrfach in Ur III-Texten, z.B. auch im Ortsnamen Šu-ùr-bu<sup>ki</sup> (MVN 3, 338:16) und Šu-ùr-bu<sup>ki</sup> (MVN 8, 232 II 11').

3 KIŠ-lam-Körbe mit je 3 Liter Datteln für das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr  
 3 (KIŠ-lam-Körbe) für den (eigentlichen) Nanna-Tempel (é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-šè)  
 1 (KIŠ-lam-Korb) für das Tor  
 1 " " für Haja  
 1 " " für den Aufstellungsort des Thrones  
 1 " " für das Bildnis Amarsuen's vom ‚Leuchtenden‘ Kai  
 ....  
 im Nanna-Tempel-Komplex (šà-é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna-ka).

In diesem und anderen Texten<sup>29</sup> aus Ur wird é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna erst als Bezeichnung des eigentlichen Heiligtums und am Ende für den gesamten Tempel-Komplex verwendet. Folgerichtig ersetzten die Texte aus Drehim das erste é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna durch den Gottesnamen <sup>d</sup>Nanna (z.B. MVN 3, 228:5 + 19; SET 116:10 + 12).

Aus diesen Texten muß man demnach folgern, daß Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr keine Bezeichnung des eigentlichen Nanna-Heiligtums sein kann. Andernfalls wäre das Nebeneinander von <sup>d</sup>Nanna/é-<sup>d</sup>Nanna mit Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr<sup>30</sup> unerklärbar. Nach der Anzahl der Opfertiere und der Menge der Speiseopfer, die für das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr und den Mondgott bzw. seinen Tempel etwa gleich hoch waren, muß sich die Bedeutung der Kultplätze mehr oder weniger entsprochen haben. Dafür spricht auch, daß es keine feste Anordnung gab, meist beginnt die Opferaufzählung mit Du<sub>6</sub>-úr/ùr, doch kann auch Nanna am Anfang stehen (z.B. SET 63 I 2ff.).

In den literarischen Texten heißt der Nanna-Tempel-Komplex normalerweise É-kiš-nu-gál. Diese Bezeichnung kommt auch—entgegen der Annahme von M. Hall 1985, S. 317—in einem Wirtschaftstext (UET 3, 270 II 3, III 1, 25), der interessanterweise akkadisch geschrieben ist, vor. Dort begegnet (Rs. II 7) auch Du<sub>6</sub>-úr. Die Dichtung Šulgi O, die der Jubilar in einer mustergültigen Bearbeitung vorlegte (Klein 1976, S. 274ff.), beginnt mit einem Lobpreis auf die Hauptstadt Ur und den Nanna-Tempel. In den Zeilen 6 und 9 werden das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr und das É-kiš-nu-gál erwähnt; die entscheidenden Zeilen (Z. 6–10) lauten in der Übersetzung des Jubilars:

29. UET 3, 110:10 + 17; 113:10 + 13; 120:8 + 11; 125:3 + 7; UET 9 + 1150:3 + Rs. 4' und s. Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 16, 17, 61a; Widell 2003, 35:5, 8 + 11; 37:5, 9 + 12; 39:3, 7 + 10; vgl. 42:3 + 6; 52:4 + 8; 56:4 + 8; 58:6 + 10.

30. Drehim: UDT 110:2ff.; SET 63 I 2ff.; 116:1–10; MVN 3, 228:4ff.; Gomi, SNAT 271:1ff.; AUCT 2, 175:1ff.; Ur: UET 3, 105, 107, 110:5 + 10, 113, 120, 122, 127, 128, 129:5 + Rs. 1, 131, 132, 135–37, 140, 148, 167, 169, 172, 174, 176, 178, 183–85, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197–200, 202–4, 207 Vs., 208, 211, 212, 214, 217, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228; UET 9, 816:4 + Rs. 2, 858, 875, 877, 912, 926:4 + Rs. 1, 1054:2 + 5, 1150:2f.; MVN 13, 119:3 + 6 und s. Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 14–17.



6. Du'ur, the celebrated place of Enlil, its interior (embodies) the allotted me's,
7. The place whose fate father Enlil had decreed, the Great Dais, firmly founded;
8. Eridu, a shrine expert in decreeing the fates, (possessing) the princely me's, the true me's, firmly founded;
9. Ekišnugal, the stall of Suen,
10. (Wherein) the fecund cow, the breed-bull (and) the pure calf are prancing, (producing) fine (?) oil, firmly founded.

In diesem Text wird das Du'ur als „großer Hochsitz“ (Z. 7), das Ekišnugal jedoch als „Rinderstall Suen's“ bezeichnet. Das Du'ur müßte folglich höher gewesen sein als das Ekišnugal, das wegen der Rinder ebenerdig gelegen hat. Dafür spricht auch, daß danach (Z. 11) der Abzu genannte Tempelteil erwähnt wird. Der Wirtschaftstext RA 10, 209 BM 103435:1ff. listet erst die Opfer für Nanna, dann für das Du'ur auf und läßt die Opfer für den Abzu (Z. 17) und im Hof (ša<sup>1</sup> kisal, Rs. 1) folgen. Der Hof und der Abzu lagen sicher unten, die Opferstätten für Nanna und das Du'ur wohl höher. In diesem Text werden übrigens für Nanna insgesamt 31 Stück Kleinvieh (Z. 1–5, Rs. 3f.) und für das Du'ur nur 4 verbucht. Für den Abzu sind es sogar 2 Rinder, 1 Schwein, 1 Gazelle und 10 Stück Kleinvieh (Z. 8–17).

In einem weiteren Lied auf Ur und den Nanna-Tempel (Å. Sjöberg 1960, S. 119f.) wird erst (Z. 5f.) das Gi<sub>6</sub>-pār und dann das É-kiš-nu-gál („großes erhabenes ‚Haus‘, worin das Schicksal bestimmt wurde“) erwähnt. Es folgen in der Schilderung der „mächtige Torbau“ (Dub-lá(-maḥ)) und der Stufenturm (Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na). Der Dichter stellte sich offenbar vor, daß jemand sich von Südosten, am Giparkù vorbeigehend, dem Nanna-Tempelbezirk näherte und dann den Tempelbezirk durch das Dub-lá-maḥ betrat, um direkt vor dem Stufenturm zu stehen (s. den Plan UE 2, pl. 1). In diesem Text wird der Begriff Du<sub>6</sub>-úr wohl durch das allgemeinere Giguna ersetzt.

Wenn man die Opfertexte für Nanna mit denen für Enlil von Nippur vergleicht, so zeigen sich gewisse Übereinstimmungen. Bei Auflistungen der Opfer im Enlil-Tempel findet man als erste und damit wichtigste Eintragung die Opfer für Enlil, seinen Thron und das Hur-sag-ga-lam-ma, seinen Stufenturm, wie wir oben darlegten. Bei den Texten mit Opfern für Nanna (s. oben UET 3, 105 und die dazugehörige Textgruppe) kommt das Du'ur bzw. Nanna oder das Nanna-Heiligtum am Anfang vor, etwas später folgt der Thron.

Bei Kombination dieser Opfertexte liegt die Annahme auf der Hand, daß das Du'ur von Ur dem Hur-sag-ga-lam-ma von Nippur entspricht. In dem oben zitierten Lied mit dem Lobpreis des Nanna-Tempels (Šulgi O) heißt es vom Du'ur, es sei ein „großer Hochsitz“. In dem anderen Lied

steht möglicherweise dafür Giguna. Es spricht folglich alles dafür, daß Du'ur der Name des Stufenturm in Ur ist (Ur III und zum Teil altbabylonisch)<sup>31</sup>.

Der Name Du<sub>6</sub>-úr / úr entzieht sich wegen der Schreibvarianten noch einer Deutung, denn in den Texten aus der Hauptstadt Ur findet man Du<sub>6</sub>-úr, während in den anderen Provinzen die Schreibung Du<sub>6</sub>-úr üblich ist<sup>32</sup>.

In zwei literarischen Texten, die zwar aus altbabylonischer Zeit stammen, jedoch in der Tradition der Ur III-Zeit stehen, wird Du<sub>6</sub>-úr nicht direkt mit Nanna, sondern mit dessen Vater Enlil in Verbindung gebracht. Šulgi O Zeile 6f. (s. oben) übersetzt der Jubilar folgendermaßen: „Du'ur, the celebrated place of Enlil, its interior (embodies) the allotted me's, the place whose fate father Enlil has decreed, the Great Dais, firmly founded“<sup>33</sup>. Danach wird Eridu und erst im Anschluß daran der „Tempel Nanna's in Ur (É-kiš-nu-gál-la) erwähnt. In der *Klage über die Zerstörung von Sumer und Ur* Z. 347 findet man die Benennung des Du'ur als „Ruheort

31. Dagegen kann man kaum ins Feld führen, daß einige Texte Opfer „im Du'ur“ (ša du<sub>6</sub>-úr-ra) bezeugen. Diese Texte haben einen völlig abweichenden Aufbau (UET 3, 231:2, UET 9, 1006 Rs. 1 und Sallaberger 1993 II Tab. 19), z.B. steht davor sískur-lugal und sískur-gu-la. Am naheliegendsten halte ich, daß hier das Du'ur wie sonst Giguna als Bezeichnung für den Stufenturm mitsamt dem Hochtempel benutzt wird.

32. M. Lambert 1950, S. 85 mit Anm. 2 und 4 diskutiert verschiedene Deutungsmöglichkeiten. Er verweist auch auf die These von L. Legrain, UET 3 Indexes, S. 199 unter Text 105: „The du<sub>6</sub>-úr, pile, base, foundation' is perhaps the stage tower, or an altar at the foot of it.“

Die Tatsache, daß in Ur konsequent Du<sub>6</sub>-úr, außerhalb dieser Stadt aber normalerweise Du<sub>6</sub>-úr geschrieben wurde, ist auffällig, da es bei Tempelnamen in etwa gleichzeitigen Texten sonst m.W. nicht solche Unterschiede gibt. Entweder liegt wirklich ein Wort /dur/ zugrunde, wie bereits Lambert vermutete, oder man schrieb außerhalb Urs in Analogie zu Ki-úr (in Nippur): Du<sub>6</sub>-úr. Wenn diese Schreibung die einzige wäre, ließe sich die Bezeichnung leichter deuten: „Dach des Hügels“ (gebildet wie z.B. an-ša, an-úr und kur-ša (s. Anm. 41). Zur Stützung ließe sich auf PIOL 19, 349 (= AOS 32 Bab 17) verweisen. Darin werden Opfer in Ur in folgender Reihenfolge aufgelistet: gi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Nanna, Du<sub>6</sub>-úr, <sup>d</sup>Nin-giz-zida, <sup>d</sup>Suen-úr-ra, <sup>d</sup>Mar-tu-úr-ra. Letztere Bezeichnungen kann man wohl kaum anders als „Suen vom Dach“ / oder „auf dem Dach“ und „Martu vom Dach / auf dem Dach“ deuten, d.h. die Opferstätten bzw. Statuen dieser beiden Gottheiten standen auf dem Dach eines der Gebäude im Nanna-Tempel-Komplex. (<sup>d</sup>Suen-úr-ra nach Kopie von H. Sauren, PIOL 19, 349:4 [L. Oppenheim. AOS 32, S. 166 Umschrift <sup>d</sup>En-ki], <sup>d</sup>Suen-úr-ra auch SANTAG 6, 38:8, vgl. TMHNF 1/2, 121:15 Opfer für Damgalnuna úr-šè und šà-é-a „für (sie auf) dem Dach“ und „im Tempel“).

33. Klein 1976, S. 274f.; Sjöberg 1960, S. 108f. übersetzt: „Du'ur, Ort, der durch Enlil einen (weithin bekannten) Namen hat, dessen Inneres die (den Göttern) zugeheilten ‚me‘ enthält, Ort, für den der Vater Enlil das Schicksal entscheidet, großer Hochsitz, (fest) gegründet“.

Enlil's" (so Sallaberger 1993, S. 130<sup>34</sup>). M.E. muß man beide Textstellen etwas anders übersetzen: „Du'ur, der Ort, der durch Enlil berühmt wurde, dessen Innerem (von Enlil) ‚numinose Kräfte‘ zugeteilt wurden, der Ort, dessen Schicksal Vater Enlil bestimmte, großer Hochsitz (fest) gegründet“<sup>35</sup>. Statt „Ruheort Enlil's" sollte man m.E. Du<sub>6</sub>-úr ki-ní-dúb-bu<sup>d</sup>En-líl-lá als „Du'ur, Ort, den Enlil zur Ruhe brachte“ deuten. Das Du<sub>6</sub>-úr ist auch in diesen beiden Textstellen Nanna und nicht, wie Sallaberger 1993, S. 130f. meinte, „dessen Vater Enlil zugeignet“.

## EXKURS 2:

Das Sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga von Umma

Diese Bezeichnung begegnet in literarischen Texten aus der altbabylonischen Zeit noch in anderen Schreibungen: Sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ba, Sig<sub>4</sub>-hur-šà-ga (Michalowski 1989, S. 134:155), Sig<sub>4</sub>-hur-šà-ab<sup>ki</sup>-ba (Tinney 1996, S. 233:230) und Še-ZU-eb-kur-šà-ba (Sladek 1974, S. 144:328)<sup>36</sup>.

P. Michalowski 1989 (S. 85f. zu Z. 155–56) diskutiert sie in seiner Bearbeitung der *Klage über die Zerstörung von Sumer und Ur*. Er kommt zu dem Schluß, Sigkuršaga sei ein Epitheton von Umma und deutet den Namen als „brickwork in the midst of the ‚highland““ (Michalowski 1989, S. 45:155). Nach George 1993, S. 141:983 handelt es sich um einen „by-name for the cult-center of Šara at Umma“. Er übersetzt die Bezeichnung mit „Brick, Mountain of the Heart“. Es wäre nach dem Sprachgebrauch durchaus möglich, Umma als „Ziegel(werk)“ (sig<sub>4</sub>) zu bezeichnen—man vergleiche etwa das mit sig<sub>4</sub> zusammengesetzte Epitheton von Eridu<sup>37</sup>: sig<sub>4</sub>-Eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga „Ziegelwerk Eridu's“ oder aber sig<sub>4</sub>-é-kur-ra „Ziegelwerk des Ekur's“<sup>38</sup>, für den gesamten Enlil-Tempel in Nippur. In der oben genannten Klage werden zahlreiche Heiligtümer aufgezählt, die von ihren Göttern verlassen wurden. So z.B. verläßt Zababa das Hur-sag-kalamma („Gebirge des eigenen Landes“) in Kiš (Z. 115f.), Inanna ihr Giguna („Ziqqurrat“) von Zabalam (Z. 148f.) und eben Šara sein Sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga im É-maḥ<sup>39</sup> von Umma (Z. 155f.). Enlil zerschmettert das Duranki („Band

34. S. noch bei Sallaberger 1993, S. 130 die Anm. 612 mit Korrektur der Lesung von Michalowski 1989, S. 165.

35. Vgl. die sehr ähnliche Deutung Å. Sjöbergs, s. Anm. 33.

36. Die Schreiber dieser Texte haben offenbar die Bedeutung und Bildungsweise des Tempelnamens nicht mehr verstanden und daher Formen hingeschrieben, die ihnen plausibler vorkamen. Die normale Emesal-Form für sig<sub>4</sub> lautet še-eb, daher ist Sladek 1974, S. 144:328 wohl besser še-{ZU-}eb-kur-šà-ba zu umschreiben.

37. Green 1975 (Ph.D. Diss. University of Chicago) S. 31f., 219.

38. Sjöberg 1973, S. 544:34'.

39. Nach Z. 155f. der *Klage über die Zerstörung von Sumer und Ur* lag das é-maḥ in Umma. Sallaberger 1993, S. 85 führt jedoch gute Gründe an, daß sich der Tempel

von Himmel und Erde“)<sup>40</sup> mit seiner Keule, wodurch er Klagen in seiner Stadt, dem Heiligtum Nippur, verursacht (Z. 139f.). Aus dieser Zusammenstellung ergibt sich m.E., daß Sigkuršaga die Bezeichnung des Stufenturms im Šara-Heiligtum É-maḥ von Umma meinen muß. Zu dieser These paßt auch die Bedeutung des Namens „Ziegelwerk (hoch wie) die Bergmitte“<sup>41</sup>. Die vorgeschlagene Deutung ergibt an allen von P. Michalowski (s. oben) und Å. Sjöberg (1982, S. 69 zu III 8') angeführten Textstellen einen guten Sinn. Gleiches gilt für Z. 328ff. von *Inanna's Gang zur Unterwelt*<sup>42</sup>:

„Laßt uns gehen, laßt uns zum (Stufenturm) Sigkuršaga gehen“.  
Im (Hochtempel auf dem) Sigkuršaga in Umma,  
in seiner (eigenen) Stadt warf sich Šara vor ihre (Inanna's) Füße,  
im Staub lag er, war mit einem Trauergewand bekleidet“.

Der Gebrauch von Sigkuršaga gleichermaßen für den Stufenturm wie für den Hochtempel Šara's stimmt mit der Verwendungsweise der anderen Bezeichnungen und Namen überein: (É-)u<sub>6</sub>-nir, Gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na und Du<sub>6</sub>-úr / ùr schließen Stufenturm und Hochtempel ebenfalls ein.

## ABKÜRZUNGEN

AcOr	Acta Orientalia ediderunt societates orientales danica norvegica svecica (E. Munksgaard, Havniæ/Copenhagen)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Verlag Butzon & Berker, Kevelaer/Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn)
AS	Assyriological Studies (University of Chicago Press, Chicago)
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient (Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin)
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden)

Šara's namens é-maḥ in KLAN<sup>ki</sup> befunden haben müßte. KLAN<sup>ki</sup> dürfte ein Ort nahe bei Umma oder sogar ein Vorort dazu gewesen sein. Das Verhältnis der beiden Šara-Heiligtümer kann man sich wohl ähnlich vorstellen wie das der Nanna-Heiligtümer in Ur und Ga'eš (dazu Sallaberger 1993, S. 170f. bzw. 244). Sollte der Verfasser der genannten Klage nur über ungenaue Kenntnisse der Kultorte in der Provinz Umma verfügt haben?

40. Hur-sag-kalam-ma (Z. 115) steht für älteres Hur-sag-galam-ma „abgetrepptes Gebirge“, dem Stufenturm mit Hochtempel Zababa's in Kiš. Dur-an-ki (Z. 139) ist Epitheton der Ziqqurrat Enlil's in Nippur.

41. Kur-šà(-g) kommt auch in einem Götterlied an Enlil vor (Reisman 1970, S. 42; Römer 1990, S. 382 I 4). Danach blickt Enlil in das Innere des Berglandes (kur-šà-ga igi-gál).

42. Dazu Michalowski 1989, S. 85f. und Sladek 1974, S. 144 und 178.

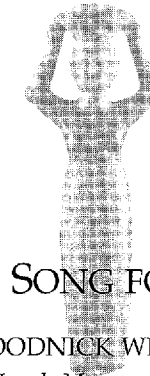
- FAOS Freiburger Altorientalische Studien (F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden/Stuttgart)
- Iraq Iraq (British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London)
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven/Cambridge, Massachusetts/Atlanta)
- MC Mesopotamian Civilizations (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake)
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Akademie-Verlag, Berlin)
- MVS Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico (ed. G. Pettinato), Roma
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz/Vanderhoeck + Ruprecht, Göttingen)
- OPSNKF Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia)
- RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale, Presses Universitaires de France, Vendôme
- RIME The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods (University of Toronto Press, Toronto/Buffalo/London)
- RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York)
- Santag SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden)
- SEL Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Esedue Edizioni, Verona)
- StPohl Studia Pohl (Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Roma)
- TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources, (J.J. Augustin Publisher, Locust Valley)
- UAVA Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (de Gruyter, Berlin)
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (de Gruyter, Berlin)

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## SING A SONG FOR ŠULGI\*

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za-a-ra mí-zi-bi-im ħu-mu-du<sub>11</sub>  
Let the truthful praise be sung of thee<sup>1</sup>

IN HIS QUIET and modest manner, Jacob Klein has demonstrated his deep commitment to the pursuit of knowledge and to sharing it with others. In particular, he has made a comprehensive study of Šulgi, one of the greatest kings of the third millennium B.C.E. As pointed out by Klein, "Šulgi exercised a profound influence on his own age and subsequent generations."<sup>2</sup> Not only did he introduce reforms into every aspect of the state, including its calendar, weights and measures, standing army, temple households and political hierarchy, but he was also a literary genius, creating a new genre of literature—the royal hymn. His literary output was prodigious and his importance in the history of music was famed.<sup>3</sup> As a tribute to Jacob Klein, I would like to offer an interpretation of the following enigmatic text seemingly composed many centuries after his time, which appears to refer to Šulgi and his hymns.

\* The abbreviations in this article follow the conventions of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* (CAD) and *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (PSD).

1. Based on the *Leitmotiv* of a self-laudatory Šulgi fragment published by Jacob Klein ("A Self-Laudatory Šulgi Hymn Fragment from Nippur," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.W. Hallo*, M.E. Cohen, D.C. Snell and D. Weisberg, eds. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 124-31).
2. J. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 71, Part 7 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981), 7. See further J. Klein, "Šulgi of Ur: King of a Neo-Sumerian Empire," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, J.M. Sasson, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 843-57.
3. A. Kilmer, "Musik. A. I. in Mesopotamien," *RIA* 8 (1995-97), 471.

The text, CBS 11341, was published as PBS 1/1 no. 11, both in copy on plates 20 and 21 and in photograph on plates XLIII and XLIV. While the obverse is in poor condition, the reverse is fairly well preserved. There are four columns of writing, two on each side. On the obverse, there are remains of signs at the beginnings of twenty-six lines in col. i and perhaps traces of signs in eight lines in col. ii. On the reverse, there are clearly twenty-six lines of Akkadian text in col. iii and twenty-eight lines of Sumerian text in col. iv. It is interesting to note that only the Sumerian col. iv is ruled, and that the lines do not actually match as evenly as given in the transliteration below. The tablet was found in Nippur during the First Expedition in 1889. The fact that in the ninety years since its publication in 1911, nobody has attempted to publish a complete transliteration and translation of the text clearly indicates that some unusual difficulties are involved.<sup>4</sup> My interest in this text dates to 1985 when I was working on a project on the meaning and function of the term *zamāru*.

This bilingual text is arranged in parallel columns giving the Sumerian phrase in the left-hand column and the Akkadian equivalent in the right. Despite the fact that there is no correlation between translation formats of bilingual texts and particular genres or geographical provenance,<sup>5</sup> the parallel column format is most popular in the school format of bilingual word lists. Actually, it seems that the Akkadian phrases are not translations but paraphrases, even for technical terms such as *en-du*: *zamāru* (see below). Nevertheless, there are phrases which are exact translations from the Sumerian, creating a peculiar Akkadian: *en-du-éš ab-bé-ne* = *a-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]*, *šir-ra i-bé-ne* = *i-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]*, where the correct Akkadian construction would have a direct object, *zamāram*, rather than a prepositional phrase (see further philological notes on text). As Cooper has stated: "It is clear that most Old Babylonian bilin-

4. The text was treated by B. B. Sullivan, "Sumerian and Akkadian Sentence Structure in Old Babylonian Literary Bilingual Texts," Ph.D. diss. Hebrew Union College, Ohio 1979, text 21, pp. 144-48. Citations from the text appear in writings by A. Kilmer: "The String of Musical Instruments: Their Names, Numbers, and Significance," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, Assyriological Studies 16, H.G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1965), 261 n. 4 and "Musik": 468, 472 ("bilingual text concerning a choral production in honor of Šulgi"). For the subscript, see E. Reiner, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages'," *Orientalia* 30 (1961): 10.

5. J.S. Cooper, *Sumerian-Akkadian Literary Bilingualism*, Ph.D. diss. University of Chicago, 1969: 13. See further J. Krecher, "Interlinearring und sonstige Bilinguentypen," *RLA* 5 (1976-1980): 124-28; J.S. Cooper, "Bilingual Babel: Cuneiform Texts in Two or More Languages from Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond," in *Writing ... in Stereo: Bilingualism in the Text*, R. Sargonak and R. Hodgson, eds., *Visible Language* 27 1/2 (Winter/Spring 1993): 72-83.

guals were the work of less competent scribes who possibly wrote down an oral translation that accompanied Sumerian dictation. The bilinguals were "ponies" and were produced by the kind of scribe that required such memory aides.<sup>6</sup> The *Sitz im Leben* of this text is thus presumably the school.

The date of the creation of this bilingual text is most likely the Old Babylonian period. However, noting that a bilingual literary text with the Sumerian and Akkadian side by side in two columns would usually be dated to the Kassite period if the Sumerian is of poor quality, van Dijk has dated our text to the later Kassite period.<sup>7</sup> Such general suppositions supporting a late dating are insufficient. As to the paleographic evidence for the dating, the distinction between late Old Babylonian and Kassite is notoriously difficult<sup>8</sup> and it has also been noted that archaic features are common in post-Old Babylonian literary texts.<sup>9</sup> Whereas this text contains a mixture of older and later cuneiform signs, often in the same line, all the signs are of Old Babylonian date and none appears to be later. The most common indication of Kassite dating is the Middle Babylonian form of KUR, but this text has a clear Old Babylonian form (in *na<sub>4</sub>.za-gin* in line iv 75). The Old Babylonian orthography is maintained throughout as indicated by the preservation of the *wa-* (in *wa-aš-[bu]* in line iii 56), which would have dropped in Middle Babylonian. Moreover, the Akkadian morphology does not show evidence of any clear Middle Babylonian forms and the consistent preservation of the mimation reflects the earlier period. Similarly, the morphophonemic writings of *-/t/+/š/* are written in Old Babylonian as *-z-* or *-zz-*, rather than as in Middle Babylonian *-ss-*. Further evidence to support such a late date would be the existence of other Middle Babylonian bilinguals from Nippur,<sup>10</sup> but Middle Babylonian texts from Tablet Hill, where most of the I Expedition tablets were found, are distinctly uncommon in comparison to Old Babylonian ones.<sup>11</sup>

The character of this text is difficult to fathom. Although, at one time, it was thought to be a bilingual hymn of Šulgi, most scholars now believe it is not a hymn. Krecher queried whether it might be a ritual.<sup>12</sup> It seems that there is a text frame relating to the *apkallu* sage and the lapis lazuli tablet.

6. Cooper, *Sumerian-Akkadian Literary Bilingualism*, 14.

7. J.J.A. van Dijk, "Inanna raubt den 'grossen Himmel': Ein Mythos," in *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994, tikip santakki mala bašmu*, Stefan M. Maul, ed. (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1998), 12 n. 16.

8. See most recently N. Veldhuis, "Kassite Exercises: Literary and Lexical Extracts," *JCS* 52 (2000): 70.

9. J.S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur, An-gim dīm-ma* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1978), 32.

10. Cooper, *Return of Ninurta*, 46 and 164.

11. Information courtesy of A. Westenholz.

12. Krecher, "Interlinearring," 127.

Whereas the latter is a well-known topos in Sumerian and Šulgi literature, the former is apparently an innovation of this text. The literary motif of the lapis lazuli tablet depicts these royal hymns of deified kings as written on lapis lazuli tablets. For instance, Šulgi states that "he made the lapis-lazuli tablet radiate" (Šulgi C 47).<sup>13</sup> As to the *apkallu* sage, this motif seems to hark back to an earlier pre-Sargonic usage of *abgal*. Seven Sages of Eridu are credited with helping to build the temple of Asarluhi in Kuara (*Temple Hymns*, line 139). According to tradition, there was an *abgal* in the reign of Šulgi by the name of Lu-Nanna.<sup>14</sup> However, this tradition is only known from first-millennium texts. Nevertheless, one *apkallu* can be linked to royal hymns: Enmegalamma, an antediluvian *apkallu* whose name may reflect the incipit of a hymn to Enki and King Ur-Ninurta (Ur-Ninurta B), which Hallo suggests could be the origin of the name.<sup>15</sup> Of course, in the hymnal context, it is merely an epithet: "lord of complex divine powers."

This composition, CBS 11341, has been cited in discussions of early musical performances. Evidence for designated music/performance halls that may have existed for elaborate professional productions has been deduced from it. Although it is said that an example of a music hall in the temple of Ninlil is implied in this text,<sup>16</sup> there is other evidence negating this possibility; see notes on line iv 86. On the other hand, Klein has suggested *gá-tigi* in Šulgi E could be translated "music hall."<sup>17</sup>

As to content, this text is related to the cycle of hymns concerning Šulgi in Nippur. There are four small cultic hymns dealing with Šulgi's pious deeds in Nippur: (1) Šulgi G "Šulgi and the Ekur," adab to Enlil; (2) Šulgi H, adab to Ninlil, (3) Šulgi R "Šulgi and Ninlil's Boat," tigi or adab to Ninlil commemorating the construction of her boat, and (4) Šulgi Y "Šulgi and Ninlil," commemorating the installation of a golden statue of Šulgi in Ninlil's Temple.<sup>18</sup> In this bilingual, as in the Šulgi hymns, not only is Ninlil again given prominence, but her temple, the Gagiššua, is also mentioned.

13. See J. Klein, "On Writing Monumental Inscriptions in Ur III Scribal Curriculum," *RA* 80 (1986): 2 and n. 6.

14. References to him are: *niširti* Lú-<sup>d</sup>Nanna *apkal* Uri K.8080 colophon, see W.G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *JCS* 11 (1957): 7 and n. 27; STT 136 iii 11 (inc. against *simmatu*); E. Reiner, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages,'" *Orientalia* 30 (1966): 3:24'-27' (bit *mēseri* III), where he is only 2/3 *apkallu* (= von Weiher, Uruk 8); author of Etana, see Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," 11 K.9717:11 = W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16 (1962): 66 K.9717+81-7-27,71+Sm.669:11; Hunger, Uruk 2: 11 (Chronicle of Uruk), see J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques Mésopotamiennes* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), 230.

15. W.W. Hallo, "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *JAOS* 83 (1963): 176.

16. Kilmer, "Musik," 468.

17. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi*, 20 and n. 84.

18. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi*, 9.

The *Leitmotiv* of Šulgi acquiring a lasting name (*mu-gi<sub>16</sub>-sa*) and of the bestowing of a throne name on the newborn king is much favored by Šulgi's poets.<sup>19</sup> As the first line of one hymn puts it (Šulgi B 1f.):

lugal-e mu-ni níg-ul-šè u<sub>4</sub>-sud-rá ka pa-è ak-dè

The king, to make his name famous for all time until distant days

However, this *Leitmotiv* does not appear in CBS 11341 in the Sumerian but only in the Akkadian, where there are two occurrences of *šumu*. Its absence in the Sumerian is puzzling. In place of the *Leitmotiv* of Šulgi acquiring a lasting name, the corresponding Sumerian line has na "stela": na ka-silim níg-galam en-na-ka "the stela (bearing) the glorification and the sagacity of the en" (iv 89). This Sumerian version reflects not only the Neo-Sumerian cult surrounding the deified stela,<sup>20</sup> but also provides further testimony supporting the theory that the royal hymns would have originally been written on stelae.<sup>21</sup> Further, as Ludwig suggests, the stela was placed in the temple before the images of the gods, which, in this particular case, is the Gagiššua of Ninlil.<sup>22</sup> As has been pointed out, the monumentality of hymnal compositions is demonstrated in the summation of 14 na-d<sup>r</sup>ù-a in the Louvre catalogue referring to literary compositions.<sup>23</sup> This

19. On Šulgi's acquiring a lasting name (*mu-da-rí-kam*), cf. Šulgi G 13, see J. Klein, "The Birth of a Crownprince in the Temple: A Neo-Sumerian Literary Topos," in *La femme dans le proche-orient antique, XXXIII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986) (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987), 98f. For Šulgi *mu-gi<sub>16</sub>-sa* "of lasting name," cf. Šulgi R 84, see J. Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian," in *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*, J. Klein and A. Skaist, eds. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1990), 106. As to the throne name of Šulgi given to him by his father Lugalbanda, cf. Šulgi P b 35ff. and the name-giving motif, discussed in J. Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi*, 25f.

20. J. Westenholz, "Writing for Posterity: Naram-Sin and Enmerkar," in *kinattūtu ša dārāti, Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, A.F. Rainey et al., eds. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archeology, 1993), 205-18. Further evidence of the Neo-Sumerian cult surrounding the deified stela can be found in: N. Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III*, *Analecta Orientalia*, Vol. 19 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1939), no. 318, 319; W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalendar der Ur III-Zeit* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), Teil 1 288 (part of Šulgi festival held in Girsu including a visit to the stela in Guabba); Teil 2 172f. T 103.

21. W.W. Hallo, "Towards a History of Sumerian Literature," *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on His Seventieth Birthday*, *Assyriological Studies* 20 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 195.

22. M.-C. Ludwig, *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 67-74.

23. Louvre catalogue of literary texts, AO 5393 = Genouillac, TRSI (= TCL 15) 28, see S.N. Kramer, "The Oldest Literary Catalogue: A Sumerian List of Literary Compositions Compiled around 2000 B.C.," *BASOR* 88 (1942): 10-19. Kramer suggested that this enigmatic colophon refers to the four subdivisions of the list

summation may refer to the whole list as originating on different stelae or, it might refer only to the fourteen preceding compositions (ll. iv 54–67). As recently proposed by Flückiger-Hawker,<sup>24</sup> the fourteen preceding compositions can be identified with “royal hymns,” thus further supporting Hallo’s thesis that these hymns may have had a monumental origin on stone stelae. This catalogue from the Louvre is partly duplicated by one found at Nippur, but it is this section in which it differs.<sup>25</sup>

Much has been written on the musicology and hymnography of the Sumerian texts, on the scribe and the singer, on the song and the music.<sup>26</sup> Our text may offer an instructive passage illuminating the question of the orality of the text. It tentatively reads (line iv 92):

mí-DI-e-eš u<sub>6</sub>  
See (i.e., read) for the singing of praise

This implies that there was a literate singer who was expected to be able to read the stela.

In discussions of poetic text genres and musical terminology, Šulgi hymns are cited as evidence and the many terms recorded in them have been studied in detail.<sup>27</sup> The classification of royal hymnology is based primarily on the Šulgi hymns. Both the significance and function of the many terms have been subjects of controversy. In our composition, only two types of songs are mentioned: èn-du and šir, both translated as *zamāru*.

It is the former, èn-du,<sup>28</sup> that most commonly meets not only our understanding of a royal hymn, but also agrees with the ancient referents. For instance, Gudea refers to “my collected songs” (èn-du ka-kéš-rá-mu) in his Statue B 8:21–23, where they are protected against fraud.<sup>29</sup>

(WZ) 6 [1956/7]: 393 n. 3). J. Krecher, “Literarische Kataloge,” *RIA* 5 (1976–80), 480: “Undeutlicher.” Note the collations of this tablet, E. Flückiger-Hawker, *NABU* (1996): 105f. no. 119.

24. E. Flückiger-Hawker, *NABU* (1996): 105f. no. 119.

25. M. Civil, “Lexicography,” *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on His Seventieth Birthday*, *Assyriological Studies* 20 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 145 note 36.

26. See the articles collected in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature, Oral or Aural?*, M.E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout, eds. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1992).

27. See for example Th.J.H. Krispijn, “Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung, 1. Šulgi und die Musik,” *Akkadica* 70 (1990): 1–27.

28. For the reading of LIDU as èn-du as a type of song, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 120 n. to line 370, and for the orthographies as well as the syntactic and semantic constructions with èn-du (-éš/àm) in general, and with —du<sub>11</sub>/e, in particular, see P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne, La construction du<sub>11</sub>/e/di <<dire>>*, OBO (Fribourg Switzerland/Göttingen: Editions Universitaires/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 488–90, §390ff.

29. J. Klein, “From Gudea to Šulgi: Continuity and Change in Sumerian Literary

Apart from the royal hymn, èn-du is used also in Sumerian epic compositions, in a slot in which we would expect *zamāru* in Akkadian:

šul-mè<sup>1</sup>-kam šul-mè<sup>1</sup>-kam in-du-ni ga-an-dug<sub>4</sub>  
en<sup>d</sup> gilgameš šul-<sup>r</sup>mè-ka in-du-ni ga-an-dug<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>

I will sing the song of the man of battle, the man of battle.

I will sing the song of lord Gilgameš, the man of battle.

(*Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven*, Meturan, ll. 1–2)<sup>30</sup>

In Šulgi hymns, the term èn-du is also ascribed to the joyful song sung by Inanna at the appearance of Šulgi (Šulgi X 13). She is also singing of a king and thus is singing a “royal hymn.” It usually has the nuance of a happy song: en-du-mu ér-ra mu-ni-in-<sup>r</sup>ku<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> “my song has turned into a lament” (SK 182:9).<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the term èn-du can refer to a non-specified generic “song,” as in this proverb: nar-re èn-du diš-àm h́é-en-zu ad-š<sub>4</sub>-àm h́é-en-sa<sub>6</sub> e-ne-àm nar-ra-àm “Should a singer know (only) one song but make the sound pleasant, he is indeed a singer” (SP 2.39).<sup>32</sup> It is used as a generic in the hymns of Šulgi, as in: èn-du-mu a-da-ab h́é-em tigi ma-al-ga-tum h́é-em “my songs, be they adab-hymns, be they tigi- or malgatum-hymns” (Šulgi E 53).<sup>33</sup> As Klein has pointed out, èn-du is a key term for royal songs in Šulgi E.<sup>34</sup> The reference in our text iv 81 (èn-du-éš ab-bé-ne “they were singing as song”) sheds little light on the nuances of this term. Èn-du can be further delimited as èn-du-lugal “royal hymn”—a native genre category that appears as early as

Tradition,” in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A, Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M.T. Roth, eds. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989), 296f., elucidates Gudea’s statement in context of the neglect and desecration of Gudea’s royal corpus, including his hymns and statues and its parallel in Šulgi E.

30. A. Cavigneaux and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, “Gilgameš et Taureau de Ciel (šul-mè-kam) (Textes de Tell Haddad IV),” *RA* 87 (1993): 104 i 1–2. An Akkadian parallel would be: [z]amār “Bēlet-ilī azammār “I will sing a song of Bēlet-ilī” CT 15 1 i 1, see W.H.Ph. Römer, “Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten (3): Ein Lied mit Bezug auf einen Šubartum-Feldzug Hammurapis,” *WO* 4 (1967): 12–28 and C. Wilcke, “Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen,” *ZA* 67 (1977): 153–56.

31. VAS 10 182:9, quoted by Å. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, 158, and K. Volk, *Inanna and Sukaletuda* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 210.

32. B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1997), 53 and comments to this line on p. 363; see for translation PSDA/3, 24 and Alster, “Updates to Šuruppak’s Instructions, Proverbs of Ancient Sumer, and Ancient Rulers,” *NABU* (1999): 87, no. 88C.

33. See Klein, “From Gudea to Šulgi,” 297f. For èn-du in Šulgi hymns, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 147, comment on Šulgi X 13 (sung by Inanna) and 120, comment on Šulgi D 370 (sung by singers for Šulgi).

34. *Ibid.* 297 n. 50.



an Ur III literary catalogue.<sup>35</sup> However, the question remains as to whether these ancient genre terms are based on their method of composition, performance, or some other criterion.<sup>36</sup> Tinney opts for a performative criterion and has suggested that the term refers to “texts used in situations in which the king was a participant.”<sup>37</sup> Suter conceives of criteria pertaining to the circumstances of the composition, distinguishing, for example, whether a song was commissioned by a king.<sup>38</sup>

The second musical term for “song” in this text is: *šir*,<sup>39</sup> which can appear alone or as a determinative for types of musical compositions played on various instruments, particularly in liturgical works.<sup>40</sup> Thus, it includes both *šûd* “prayer” and *zà-mí* “praise” and at the same time may appear as a synonym of or substitute for *èn-du* in royal hymns.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, it occurs in our text in unspecific context: iv 78 (*šir silim-e-eš du7-a* “a song suited for praise”) and iv 90 (*šir-ra ì-bé-ne* “in song they utter it”).

Both Sumerian terms are given in the Akkadian translation as *zamāru*, the generic term for “song, literary composition to be sung with or without instrumental accompaniment.” There is even a third instance (iii 61) where the Sumerian text is ambiguous. Whether the choice of *zamāru* is due to the paucity of the Akkadian language or to an attempt to create a poetic refrain is difficult to ascertain. The designation *zamāru* is regularly applied to nar-

35. Hallo, “On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature,” 172 iii 32a, iv 43.

36. For a discussion about the manner of composition of Šulgi’s hymns, see B. Alster, “Interaction of Oral and Written Poetry in Early Mesopotamian Literature,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature, Oral or Aural?*, M.E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout, eds. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1992), 45–49 and J.S. Cooper, “Babbling on Recovering Mesopotamian Orality,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature, Oral or Aural?*, 113–14.

37. S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 16 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1996), 18.

38. C.E. Suter, *Gudea’s Temple Building, The Representation of an Early Mesopotamian Ruler in Text and Image*, Cuneiform Monographs 17 (Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000), 155f.

39. Despite evidence to the contrary, *šir* is a Sumerian word. See now the reference s.v. *šēru* B in CAD Š/2. Note that von Soden (AHw, 1219) was uncertain as to its etymology. For *šir* and its relation to Akkadian *šēru*, see A. Kilmer, “The Discovery of an Ancient Mesopotamian Theory of Music,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 143f. n. 62.

40. The various *šir*-songs appear in lists of requirements to be learned in school; for instance, see Å. Sjöberg, “Der Examenstext A,” *ZA* 64 (1975): 142, line 24 (“as to the various types of *šir* songs, do you know how to divide their verses, to change [modes] of the antiphon(s) and the finale?”). For *šir* in Sumerian, see references cited in Römer, SKZ, 152 and Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 207 and n. 583.

41. See the comparison of the cultic context of both terms in Šulgi and Išme-Dagan by Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan*, 34–38, 44–46. See further Suter, *Gudea’s Temple Building*, 156.

rative poems in their concluding lines to refer to the whole composition: Atra-hasis (*anniam zamā[ram] lišmūma* III viii 15), Girra and Elamtum (*lu zamāri* line 46 in broken context), Agušaya (*šarrum ša anniam zamāra[m]* ... *išmūni* Ag. B vii 23, similarly line 26) (all OB); Dumuzi and Ištar (*zamāru ša at-tu-ja-nin-ni izzammur* LKA 15 r. 7, NA), Enūma Eliš (*[l]išassū[m]a zamāru ša dMarduk* vii 161, SB) and Erra (*zamāru šāšu ana matīma liššakinma* V 59, SB); as well as lyrical hymns to Ištar for Ammiditana (*zamār lalēša* 53, OB) Šarrat-Nippuri (*liṭīb elki annāma zamāru* iii 41, MB), and Song of Shamash by Ashurbanipal (*ša zamāru annā ušabṭīlu la ušarruḥu* KAR 361 r. 5 and dupl. KAR 105 r. 10, SB).<sup>42</sup>

The remaining terms include one referring to a lament (*eršem = sipittu*) sung by a nar: *ér(<A>.IGI)-šēm nar pa-aḥ-tuš-a ka-<sup>\*</sup>nigin-ta / /è-dè-me-eš* (iv 82f.). This attestation is strange in the context of a praise hymn. Even more ambiguous are the phrases: *i-si-iš ba-e-lá-lá-e-<sup>\*</sup>da<sup>\*</sup>* = *ša šī-iḫ-tam ma-lu-[ú]* (iv 77 // iii 45), which might be explained as the expression of a mood that brings tears to the eyes—both of laughter and of sorrow. This ambiguity of text undermines the assumed division into works of praise and works of lament, each having its own specialist performer: the “singer” (nar = *nāru*) for the literature of praise and the “elegist” or “lamentation-priest” (*gala = kalū*) for songs of lament. It is interesting to note the gifts that a gala received when he performed the *èn-du* at Nippur.<sup>43</sup>

Turning to other tablets that might shed light on this unusual and unique composition, we should take note of the monolingual Old Babylonian fragment from Nippur, N 3354, identified by Civil as part of a multi-columned tablet dealing with music for a hymn of King Lipit-Ištar of Isin. Other similar fragments and one join have since been identified.<sup>44</sup> The hymn to Lipit-Ištar has been identified as that of Lipit-Ištar B,<sup>45</sup> since it alone of all the Lipit-Ištar hymns begins with the name of the king; it was apparently also used basically as a school text.<sup>46</sup> It could thus be utilized

42. This word seems to have generic significance in these contexts but precise conclusions await a comprehensive study of its usage. See references in the dictionaries s.v. *zamāru* (CAD Z, 35f. and AHw, 1508). Note B. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, Cuneiform Monographs 8 (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), 40 n. to line 14, where she defines *zamāru* as “lyrische Poesie.”

43. M. Sigrist, *Drethem* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1992), 404.

44. Kilmer and Civil, “Old Babylonian Musical Instructions Relating to Hymnody,” *JCS* 38 (1986): 94–98; see further A. Kilmer, “Musical Practice in Nippur,” *Nippur at the Centennial*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 14, M. de Jong Ellis, ed. (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1992), 101–12; A. Kilmer and S. Tinney, “Old Babylonian Music Instruction Texts,” *JCS* 48 (1996): 49–56.

45. Kilmer, “Musical Practice in Nippur,” 102f.

46. See H.L.J. Vanstiphout, “Lipit-Ištar’s Praise in the Edubba,” *JCS* 30 (1976): 33–53 and idem, “How Did They Learn Sumerian?,” *JCS* 31 (1979): 118–26.



not only in the scribe's written education but also in his musical training. Note that the final lines seem to be quite explicit (lines 59f.): "Your praise shall never disappear from the clay in the Edubba, May every scribe therefore sing(?) of this bliss." Further, it is a zami hymn or praise poem and does not exhibit labelled sections.

To my knowledge, there are five extant bilingual royal hymns: (1) a hymn to Iddin-Dagan of Isin (UET 6/1 84, Iddin-Dagan B, Römer SKIZ 209–35); (2) one hymn to Hammurabi of Babylon (CT 21 40–42 = LIH 60, see N. Wasserman "CT 21, 40–42: A Bilingual Report of an Oracle with a Royal Hymn of Hammurabi," *RA* 86 (1992): 1–18); (3) a second hymn to Hammurabi (UET 1 146 [bilingual] = TLB 2 3 [Sumerian], see Å. Sjöberg, "Ein Selbstpreis des Königs Hammurabi von Babylon," *ZA* 54 [1961]: 51–70); (4) a hymn to Samsuiluna (BM 96603, B. Alster and C.B.F. Walker, "Some Sumerian Literary Texts in the British Museum," in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A, Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, H. Behrens, D. Loding, and M.T. Roth, eds. [Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989], 15f.); (5) a second hymn to Samsuiluna (BM 86560, *ibid.* 17f.). As to text format, these texts differ. Whereas Iddin-Dagan B and the Samsuiluna hymns have an interlinear format with a Sumerian strophe followed by an Akkadian strophe, the Hammurabi hymns are similar to CBS 11341 in that the Sumerian and Akkadian are arranged in parallel columns, side by side. Note that both the hymn to Iddin-Dagan and the second Hammurabi hymn have monolingual Sumerian counterparts.

As far as bilingualism in the Šulgi tradition is concerned, there are Akkadian glosses in Šulgi G<sup>47</sup> and one bilingual royal inscription, Šulgi 54 (= *Sumer* 11 pl. 16 [no. 10] IM 53977 = TIM 9 35) from Tell Harmal, known from a school copy.<sup>48</sup> In this Old Babylonian school text, the two languages are mixed together in an irregular manner that would appear not to respect the line divisions of an original monument, which is a common feature of Akkadian compositions from Harmal. Since the initial incipit of the text appears only in Akkadian and the Sumerian is written syllabically, one might even suggest that not only was this not a genuine inscription of Šulgi but even that it was a creation of the student at Šaduppûm. On the other hand, there are almost identical Sumerian and Akkadian brick inscriptions

47. J. Klein, "The Coronation and Consecration of Šulgi in the Ekur (Šulgi G)," in *Ah Assyria ... : Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography, Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, Scripta Hierosolymitana, 33, M. Cogan and I. Ephal, eds. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991), 301.

48. Edited by Frayne RIME 3/2 1.2.38, pp. 144–46, as a stela inscription, but note that the Akkadian is probably a secondary contemporaneous Old Babylonian addition to the excerpted Sumerian text; see further Cooper, *Sumerian-Akkadian Literary Bilingualism*, 28f.

from Eshnunna (Šulgi 3).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, there are two bilingual letters in the royal correspondence of Šulgi that have been supplied with Akkadian translations.<sup>50</sup> One is an Old Babylonian Nippur school text, with Sumerian in standard orthography and interlinear Akkadian translation (PBS 10/4 8),<sup>51</sup> while the other is a Middle Babylonian tablet from Susa, which contains two Šulgi letters in syllabic Sumerian and Akkadian translation (MDP 57 1).<sup>52</sup> The last contains a fictive letter from Šulgi to Išbi-Erra. These latter texts are important in assessing the traditions concerning Šulgi in the mid-second millennium B.C.E.

#### Paleography

As stated already in the description of this tablet in PBS 1/1 p. 11: "Writing crowded and uneven ... A mixture of older and later Babylonian cuneiform signs." Note, in particular, that the form of the NA in the Sumerian text is archaic in line iv 89, as well as in the Akkadian text in lines iii 50, 59, 60, 61, 62, but that it alternates with the more common form of the Old Babylonian NA in lines iii 46, 47, 54, 56, 57.

#### Orthography

There is no consistency in rendering the phonemes. For instance, the syllable /PI/ is rendered by both pí and pi in consecutive lines: *si-pí-it-tam naru ḫal-la-tuš-a ša pi-i-[šu-nu] // up-pu-ú* (iii 50–51). As stated above, wa is preserved, and at the morpheme boundary, the dental and sibilant show the Old Babylonian orthography: *zi-im-ma-at-zu-nu* (iii 53), rather than the Middle Babylonian *zi-im-ma-at-su-nu*.

One strange writing is the Sumerian horizontal wedge rather than the Akkadian vertical wedge to indicate persons.

49. See T. Jacobsen, "The Esikil Inscriptions of Šulgi," *Assyriological Studies* 6 (1934), 20–28 = Gelb-Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 339. For monolingual Akkadian royal inscriptions, cf. Šulgi 4, 14, 36, 71, in Gelb-Kienast, *Königsinschriften*, 339–42.

50. P. Michalowski, "Königsbriefe," in *RIA* 6 (1980–83), 51–59.

51. See C. Wilcke, "Zur Geschichte der Amurriter in der Ur-III-Zeit," *WO* 5 (1969): 2f.

52. See D.O. Edzard, "Deux lettres royales d'Ur III en sumérien 'syllabique' et pourvu d'une traduction accadienne," in *Textes littéraires de Susa, Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, Mission de Susiane*, 57 = Suse Ville Royale, Volume XI, R. Labat and D.O. Edzard, eds. (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974), 9–34.

## Transliteration

The numbers in the following transliteration follow the line numbering of the text publication, while indicating the indented line continuations of the ancient scribe with parallel lines (//). While only the Sumerian has line divisions, as set out in the schema below, the Akkadian lines are presented adjusted in accordance with their relationship to the Sumerian. However, sometimes the Sumerian line division is not obvious. For instance, lines 74 and 75 do not seem to form a unit, whereas 75 and 76 would have made a semantic unit. On the other hand, the Akkadian does indent lines, indicating that lines 54–56 should be considered a single Akkadian unit. The Akkadian column is also slightly wider than the Sumerian. The damage at the end of the Akkadian column is minimal with room for only one to two signs at the ends of the lines. Whether the following text is an excerpt text or an entire text is difficult to ascertain. The tablet does indicate that the composition has come to an end with a double dividing line.

col. iv	Sumerian	col. iii	Akkadian
69	[x x] x [...]		[...]
70	ʿx <sup>giš</sup> kiri <sub>6</sub> si a-gàr [...]		[...]
71	[x] ʿx x <sup>1</sup> -mí til-a dagal-la <sup>2</sup> x x [...]		[...]
72	[gi]š.zà-mí ad-ša UD.KIB.NUN.KI	40	[...]
73	dub-abgal-*gar-ra	41	tu-u[p-pi...]
74	pú-sud-rá *nam-gú-bi nu-til-*la	42	šu-ut-ta-ʿtum <sup>1</sup> [...]
75	// lagab-na <sub>4</sub> .za-gìn-kal-la	43	ši-bi-ir-ti uq-ni-[im waqrim]
76	níg-tam-ma kurum <sub>7</sub> -ak ù-tu-da-saḥar-kur-ra	44	ṭa-bu ṣa-ar-ʿpu <sup>2</sup> -um li-du-um ʿe <sup>1</sup> -[pi-ir šadī]
77	i-si-iš ba-e-lá-lá-e-ʿda <sup>1</sup> ?	45	ša ṣi-iḥ-tam ma-lu-[ú]
78	igi ù-bí-zàg šir silim-e-eš du <sub>7</sub> -a	46	e-bi-ir za-ma-ra-am ša a-na ta-aš-ri-i[ḥ-tim šūsumu]

79	<sup>d</sup> Geštin-an lama-bi	47	<sup>d</sup> Geštin-an-na la-ma-as-sà-[šu]
80	┌ É-DI-bi ù ┌ Lugal-še-er-zi	48	┌ É-DI-bi ù ┌ Lugal-še-er-[zi]
81	// èn-du-eš ab-bé-ne	49	a-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]
82	ér(<A>.IGI)-šèm nar pa-aḥ-tuš-a ka *nigin-ta	50	si-pí-it-tam na-ru HAL.LA. TUŠ.A ša pi-i-[šu-nu]
83	// è-dè-me-eš	51	// up-p[u-ú]
84	x-me-eš téš-bi sè-ki-bi-ne	52	ša ri-gi-im-šu-nu iš-ti-ni-iš ʿšu <sup>1</sup> -te-eš-[mu-ú]
85	// níg-ki-lá àm-tag-ge-ne	53	zi-im-ma-at-zu-nu ša-aq-la-[at]
86	ʿé.gá <sup>1</sup> .giš.šu <sub>4</sub> .a <sup>d</sup> Nin-líl-lá-ka bará be-er-ki	54	i-na GÁ.GIŠ.ŠU <sub>4</sub> .A ša <sup>d</sup> Nin-líl pa-ra-ak-[ki-ša <sup>2</sup> ]
87	*únu aš dam ki gá ʿx x x x <sup>1</sup>	55	// šu-*ub-tim el-li-tim ša ʿit <sup>1</sup> -ti EN.LÍL.[KI]
		56	// i-na li-ʿib <sup>1</sup> -bi-šu <sup>d</sup> En-líl wa-aš-[bu]
88	ki-šú-ke <sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup> Nun-šár-šár akkil <sup>2</sup> da <sup>2</sup> ʿx x (x) <sup>1</sup>	57	i-na KI.ŠÚ.KE <sub>4</sub> ša <sup>d</sup> Nin-líl a-šar el-lu-[tim <sup>2</sup> ]
89	na ka-silim níg-galam en-na-ka	58	šum ta-aš-ri-iḥ-ti-šu na-ak-[la-am]
90	// šir-ra ì-bé-ne	59	i-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]
91	Šul-gi zal-e-eš é-e zíl.zíl.e	60	a-na Šul-gi šum-šu ša-am-ḥ[la-am]
92	// mí-DI-e-eš u <sub>6</sub>	61	i-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-[mu-ru]
93	ʿx-x-x-x(x) <sup>1</sup> kù ┌ Ur- <sup>d</sup> Gá-ʿtùm-dùg <sup>1</sup> -g <sup>1</sup> a	62	a-na ru-bu ru-bi-e-im ka <sup>2</sup> -ad-ri-[im]
94	// šu-ù mu-ni-ib-ʿdug <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>	63	┌ Ur- <sup>d</sup> Gá-tum <sub>4</sub> -dùg-ga i-pu-[uš]

95	'x' mí giš UD.UD GÁ×NUN UR.KI <sup>1</sup> .ga	64	uz-nu-um ra-pa-aš-tum pi-ti-az <sup>2</sup> -<zum> ša i-[na]
96	// abgal sanga <sub>2</sub> -ma-da	65	// ŠEŠ.AB.KI ib-ba-nu-[ú]
		66	ap-kal-lum mu-ul-li-lum ša m[a-tim]

## \*Collations

## Translation

iv 72 Lyre, the wail of Sippar

iv 73-81, iii 41-49 Tablet composed by the sage,  
an unfathomable well—its shaft(?) is never ending,  
A block of precious lapis lazuli,  
A cleansed item, inspected, product of mountain ore (Sum.) /  
Good (quality) refined, product [of mountain ore] (Akk.),  
on which tears/laughter will drape (Sum.) /  
which is filled with laughter/tears (Akk.)

When a song suited for praise has been selected (Sum.) /  
I have selected a song [well suited] for glorification (Akk.)  
Geštinanna (being) its/his muse,  
PN and PN

They shall/should sing as a song.

iv 82-85, iii 50-53 The singers who are sitting in the cella are those giving out of  
(their) round mouths the *eršem* lament (?) (Sum.) /  
Apprentice(?) singers are those whose voices are presenting the  
lament (Akk.).

They are ..., their (music-)makings in harmony (Sum.) /  
(those) whose voices are together brought into accord (Akk.)

They should be playing in balance (Sum.) /  
Their wailing is balanced (Akk.).

iv 86-90, iii 54-59 In the Gagiššua, the dais of Ninlil,  
the solitary/unique dwelling of the beloved(?)  
spouse... (Sum.) /  
The pure residence that (is) the landmark of Nippur (Akk.)  
(Akk. adds:) in which Enlil dwells  
in the cult(!)-places Nunšaršar, clamor [...] (Sum.) /  
in the cult(!)-places of the temple of Ninlil, the place of purity(?)  
(Akk.)

The stele (bearing) the glorification and the sagacity of the  
en (Sum.) /

his artful name of glorification (Akk.)

They utter (Sum.) / sing (Akk.) in song.

iv 91-96, iii 60-66 See (i.e., read) for the singing of praise "Šulgi in a glorious  
manner who is most pleasing to the temple" (Sum.) /  
they will sing a song (of) his lush name for Šulgi (Akk.)

...Ur-Gatumdug has created it (Sum.) /

Ur-Gatumdug has made (it) to extol the proud prince (Akk.)

...(Sum.) /

great intelligence was opened for him who was created in Ur  
(Akk.)The *apkallu*, the cultic functionary of the land.

## Philological and Textual Notes

## REVERSE

(Sumerian extant only for iv 69-72)

Col. iv 69 [x x] x [...]

Col. iv 70 'x giš]kiri<sub>6</sub> si a-gàr [...]

Parallel structure would indicate a reading of giš]kiri<sub>6</sub> and a-gàr  
leaving si in an asyntactic position.

Šulgi parallels: For planting of gardens, see Šulgi A 28-33.

Col. iv 71 [x] 'x x(dub<sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup>)'mí til-a dagal-la<sup>2</sup> [...]

Col. iv 72 'giš(?)'.zà-mí ad-ša UD.KIB.NUN.KI  
"the lyre, the wail of Sippar"

In this line, zà-mí is most likely to be equated with *sammû* "instru-  
ment, lyre," since the horizontal wedge before the zà-mí makes a res-  
toration 'giš' probable. For a discussion of the instrument, see B.  
Lawergren and O. Gurney, "Sound Holes and Geometrical Figures,  
Clues to the Terminology of Ancient Mesopotamian Harps," *Iraq* 49  
(1987): 40ff., where they provide evidence of zà-mí being a harp; see  
also Kilmer, "Musik," §2.1.

For ad-ša as a variant writing of ad-ša<sub>4</sub>, see PSD A/3, 24. The  
meaning given there is "sound, singing, wailing." For this term as  
referring to the performance of song rather than a type of song, see  
Alster, *Proverbs*, 363 ad SP 2.39. Gordon (*Sumerian Proverbs* 201f.) sug-  
gested "trills" or "tremolo," which has been accepted by Klein (see

translation of Išme-Dagan V 12 in "Šulgi and Išme-Dagan," 76) and Ludwig (*Išme-Dagan*, 190). For further discussion of the term ad-ša<sub>4</sub>, see Th.J.H. Krispijn "Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung," *Akkadica* 70 (1990): 15.

For songs of a city, cf. uru<sup>ki</sup> èn-du-bi máš-šú-gíd-gíd-bi-im "The songs of a city are its omens" Alster, *Proverbs*, 1.70. On the other hand, NUN.KI could be Eridu, which is mentioned in Šulgi C 29.

Šulgi parallels: Šulgi B 161, see discussion of line in Krispijn, "Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung," 6f.

	SUMERIAN	AKKADIAN
Col. iv 73	dub-abgal-*gar-ra	iii 41 tu-u[p-pi apkallim...]
	"tablet placed / composed by the abgal"	

For abgal, see PSD A/2, 175ff. This reference is cited on p. 176b under the Ur III and later references to abgal as a cultic functionary, but it is also compared to Jestin, *Šuruppak*, 568 rev. iii (republished in F. Pomponio and G. Visicato, *Early Dynastic Administrative Tablet of Šuruppak* [Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1994], no. 100) regarding allocations of land and copper, where the abgal appears in the conclusion, probably as the scribe and/or the responsible official. Thus, this line reflects an earlier Sumerian tradition, whereas the last line of this text reflects the Ur III and post-Ur III cultic functionary.

Šulgi parallels: For gar "to compose (songs)," cf. Šulgi E 22, see Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan," 74, Alster, "Interaction of Oral and Written Poetry," 48 and note 97. More support for this interpretation might be found in Old Babylonian Proto-Lu 602f. (MSL 12 54): èn-du-gar-gar, èn-du-dug<sub>4</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>. The persons charged with the composition of Šulgi's songs were probably the scholars or scribes who were well-versed in musical composition.

Col. iv 74	SUMERIAN
	pú-sud-rá *nam-gú-bi nu-til-*la
	"an unfathomable well—its shaft(?) never ending"

This line has been collated, so negating the reading given in CAD Š/3, 405 (LAGABxU sud-rá zi-gú-bi til-til-la). Nevertheless, this line still does not make sense in context; perhaps, it is a metaphor for tablet. Further, what is the relationship between lines 74 and 75 that they are linked as one syntactic unit in the layout of the composition (see transliteration)? Could pú be related to kiri<sub>6</sub> in line iv 70 above? It may echo lines 5–7 and 20–22 in *Gilgameš and Akka*: túl-til-le-da... túl-buru<sub>3</sub>-da éš-lá til-til-le-da "there are many wells that

have to be finished ... many deep wells (and their) windlasses are yet to be finished," see M. Civil, "Reading Gilgameš," *Aula Orientalis* 17–18 (1999–2000): 181–83.

The adjective sud-rá is commonly used in reference to remote days and nights in primordial time, see J.J.A. van Dijk, "Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne," *Acta Orientalia* 28 (1964): 16ff.

For nam-gú "oppression" referring to Gilgameš in a Šulgi hymn, cf. Šulgi O 104 (J. Klein, "Šulgi and Gilgameš: Two Brother Peers (Šulgi O)," *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, B.L. Eichler, ed. [Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchener Verlag, 1976], C5). Rather than "oppression," could this term be related to the neck of the well? Such a term is found in administrative context; the gú of the pú, "the pit edge," is known as the work place of the erín-èš-didli in Ur III, see A. Uchitel, "Erín-èš-didli," *ASJ* 14 (1992): 321.

Šulgi parallels: "that their praise be sung unto eternity, that it be handed down for distant days (u<sub>4</sub>-sud-rá-aš), that it be not forgotten for remote years (mu-sud-rá-aš)," Šulgi O 45f., see Klein "Šulgi and Gilgameš: Two Brother Peers (Šulgi O)," 276 and 287 note to text where he cites Šulgi E 202.

Col. iii 42	AKKADIAN
	šu-ut-ta- <sup>r</sup> tum <sup>1</sup> [...]
	"pit..."

Col. iv 75	SUMERIAN
	lagab-na <sub>4</sub> .za-gìn-kal-la
	"a block of precious lapis lazuli"

For this phrase, cf. na<sub>4</sub>.lagab-za-gìn-na SP 3.66 (Alster, *Proverbs*, I, p. 92); lagab-na<sub>4</sub>.za-gìn-na SP 22 vi 29 (Alster, *Proverbs*, II, p. 447).

Šulgi parallels: On the lapis lazuli tablet, cf. dub-za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-è "I made the lapis lazuli tablet radiate" Šulgi C 47, see J. Klein "On Writing Monumental Inscriptions in Ur III Scribal Curriculum," *RA* 80 (1986): 2 and note 6. Klein understands this phrase as a literary motif portraying royal hymns of deified kings as written on lapis lazuli tablets. He concludes that the lapis lazuli tablet mentioned in the Šulgi C passage may refer to a foundation deposit since it is associated with architecture and engraving of monumental inscriptions. Cf. also, "let my songs be (placed in every mouth)... May the singer conduct the scribe; my he have him look at them; and he (the man) of Nisaba's wisdom and intelligence, read them out for him, like from a lapis lazuli tablet (dub-za-gìn)" Šulgi E 240ff., see Klein, "From Gudea to Šulgi," 300f.

## Col. iii 43 AKKADIAN

ši-bi-ir-ti uq-ni-[im waqrim]  
 "a block of precious lapis lazuli"

For the restoration of *waqrim* based on lexical equivalents of kal = (w)aqru, see CAD A/2, 207b.

## Col. iv 76 SUMERIAN

níg-tam-ma kurum<sub>7</sub>-aka ù-tu-da-saḥar-kur-ra  
 "a cleansed item, inspected, product of mountain ore"

For níg-tam-ma, see Neo-Babylonian commentary on Sakikku Tablet I line 3: KLUD.BA : ašar tēb[ibti níg.ú.rum : t]am.ma : tam.tam.ma : ta-lim : qa-a-pi <:> tēbi[btī] "a place of cleansing; [níg.ú.rum : t]am.ma : tam.tam.ma : "twin," "to entrust," "cleansing" (A. George, "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith, Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens, Tablet I," RA 85 (1991): 146f. 3b). For tam in reference to hands, cf. Išme-Dagan V and Šulgi references below. For fine silver defined as saḥar-kur-ra as its raw material, see *Inanna's Descent* 44 and parallels discussed in A.R. George, "Observations on 'Inanna's Descent'," JCS 37 (1985): 109–13. Note that the following line concerns lapis lazuli. He cites our line as proof of his reading of *Inanna's Descent*.

Šulgi parallels: šu-tam-tam-ma-gá Šulgi E 31 in Klein "Šulgi and Išmedagan," 73; Šulgi B 167, see Krispijn, "Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung," 13.

## Col. iii 44 AKKADIAN

ta-bu ša-ar-<sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-um li-du-um <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[pi-ir šadī]  
 "good (quality), refined, product of mountain ore"

The first four signs are uncertain and the mimation is missing on the first word, which brings the reading into doubt. Further, there may not be enough room for the desired restoration at the end of the line.

## Col. iv 77 SUMERIAN

i-si-iš ba-e-lá-lá-e-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>?  
 "on which tears/laughter will drape"

For i-si-iš—lá-lá, see Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 89ff. and for i-si-iš—du<sub>11</sub>/e, see Attinger, *Éléments*, §§530–33. See further concerning the semantic problems of this verse in the next note on the Akkadian version.

Šulgi parallels: For i-si-iš—gar "to compose a lament," cf. Šulgi B 173, see Krispijn "Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung," 16.

## Col. iii 45 AKKADIAN

ša ši-iḥ-tam ma-lu-[ú]  
 "which is filled with laughter/tears"

The semantic compass of both i-si-iš and *šiḥtu* ranges from lament to laughter. For instance, note the lexical equivalences: i-si-iš-lá-lá = MIN (= *nissatu*) ma-lu-ú, ši-iḥ-ta ma-lu-ú, su-um-mu-ú Izi = *išātu* V 57–59 (MSL 13 162). The lexical evidence is paralleled in bilingual texts such as ours in which i-si-iš = *šiḥtu* "laughter"; for instance, i-si-iš-bi-ma-a mu-un-ša-ra-ge : ši-iḥ-ta-šú ú-un-na-as-an-ni "yet now its happy atmosphere has overmastered me" (J. Black, "A-še-er gi<sub>6</sub>-ta," ASJ 7 [1985]: 27:268 and see comments on p. 55 and references cited there). Note the translation of M.E. Cohen: "Its laughter has dried up" (*Canonical Lamentations*, p. 722, line b+176). The question is whether in the present context the words should be translated as "lament" or as "laughter" (see discussion by Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 91). Monolingual passages in both Sumerian and Akkadian are also ambiguous. Although i-si-iš more often is seen as "lament" in Sumerian, it can also convey joy as in: (my mother is) kiri<sub>6</sub> la-la i-si-iš lá-lá-e : [ki-ra]-a la-a-li-e [š]a! a-[x x] a ša ši ma-[lu-ú] "garden of delight, full of joy" Ludingirra 34f., see M. Civil, "'The Message of Lú-dingir-ra to His Mother' and a Group of Akkado-Hittite 'Proverbs'," JNES 23 (1964): 2:35 and J.J.A. van Dijk, "VAT 8382. Ein zweisprachiges Königsritual," in *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* I, D.O. Edzard, ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 253; and in the Ugaritic version: ki-ri la-li-me a-ši-la [š]a-a (= asilal sa<sub>5</sub>) : kirú la-le-e ša [ri]-ša-ti ma-lu-u Ugaritica V 169: 36f. In Akkadian, where the root mostly conveys laughter, note the discussion on *šiāḥum* as expressing concern, worry, apprehension or even anger in an Old Akkadian letter (K. Veenhof "An Old Akkadian Private Letter with a Note on *šiāḥum*/*šiḥtum*," JEOL 24 [1975–1976]: 107f.). In general, Veenhof concludes that it is an expression of a mood that brings tears into the eyes—both laughter and sorrow. The question still remains as to which category fits the present context. For further discussions of Old Akkadian references to *ši'āḥu*, see J. Eidem, I. Finkel, and M. Bonechi, "Third Millennium Inscriptions," in *Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium B.C.*, D. Oates, J. Oates, and H. McDonald, eds. (London: British School of Archaeology, 2001), 109.

## Col. iv 78 SUMERIAN

igi ù-bí-zàg šìr silim-e-eš du<sub>7</sub>-a

"when a song suited for praise has been selected" (lit. After having been selected—a song suited for glorification)

For silim-e-eš, see the discussion of the construction silim-éš with the verb to speak, silim-(e-)éš du<sub>11</sub>/e/di in Attinger, *Éléments*, 673–78 §752ff.

Šulgi parallels: Among the many citations, note lugal mu šìr-ra hē-du<sub>7</sub>-me-en (<sup>d</sup>)šul-gi-me-en sùd zà-mí-gá silim-éš ga-du<sub>4</sub> "the king whose name is very suitable for songs, I am Šulgi, intend to be praised in my prayers and hymns" Šulgi E 14f. (cited Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan*, 33 n. 40 and 34–35; see comments of Attinger, *Éléments*, 673). See further silim-e-éš du<sub>11</sub>-ga-a "who exulted in his triumph" Šulgi X 151, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 144 and note to line 151 on p. 165; also Šulgi A 84 and note to line 84 on page 215, which gives a phonetic variant of the line. Cf. also Šulgi B 9.

The verb first construction is rather unusual in both Sumerian and Akkadian. The order OVS does occur in the refrain in Šulgi F, see C. Wilcke, "Formale Gesichtspunkte in der sumerischen Literatur," in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday*, S. Lieberman, ed., Assyriological Studies, 20 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 209.

## Col. iii 46 AKKADIAN

e-bi-ir za-ma-ra-am ša a-na ta-aš-ri-i[h-tim šūsumu]

"I selected a song [well suited] for glorification"

While igi—zag/zàg(ŠID) = *bêru* is the expected lexical equivalence, there is no apparent reason for the grammatical structure of Akkadian. How did the Akkadian interpret the Sumerian as first person? The expected Akkadian would be *ib-bi-ir* N-stem or stative *bêr* with *zamārum* in the nominative. Further, there may not be enough room for the desired restoration at the end of the line.

## Col. iv 79 SUMERIAN

<sup>d</sup>Geštin-an lama-bi

"Geštinanna, its protective genius"

## Col. iii 47 AKKADIAN

<sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na la-ma-as-sà-[šū]

"Geštinanna, his protective genius"

The referent of the possessive -bi is uncertain; it most probably refers to the song in the previous line. On Geštinanna and her relation-

ship to singing and music, see B. Alster, "Geštinanna as Singer and the Chorus of Uruk and Zabalam: UET 6/1 22," *JCS* 37 (1985): 219–28. Alster presents the role played by Geštinanna as a choir leader of cult song. In *Dumuzi's Dream*, Dumuzi calls Geštinanna both "my song-knowing singer" (l. 22) and "my tablet-knowing scribe" (l. 21), see further Alster "Interaction of Oral and Written Poetry," 49–50.

On Geštinanna and her sisterly relationship to Šulgi, as well as his divine patroness of musicians and music, see in general Klein, *Royal Hymns of Šulgi*, 10 and 23 note 113.

Šulgi parallels: <sup>d</sup>lama nam-nar-ra <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-/na "Geštinanna, protective genius of the singer's art" Šulgi E 163 (cited Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan*, 207), cf. also Šulgi E 244, see Klein, "From Gudea to Šulgi," 300.

## Col. iv 80 SUMERIAN

↳É-DI-bi ù ↳Lugal-še-er-zi

The common designation of a male person by a single vertical cuneiform wedge found in the Akkadian text is replaced by a single horizontal stroke in the Sumerian. For a similar meaningless name with the element di-bi, cf. uru i-di-bi mu-bi-im lugal-bi di-di-bi mu-bi-im Alster, *Proverbs*, SP 1.75. On še-er-zi "shining light," see Klein "A Self-Laudatory Šulgi Hymn Fragment," 126. As an epithet of deities, it occurs in association with Utu, Nanna (Šulgi D 296, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 82), and Gibil (G. Conti, "Su una nuova attestazione di i<sub>7</sub>-zubi(r)," *RA* 82 [1988]: 121, note 23).

## Col. iii 48 AKKADIAN

↳É-DI-bi ù ↳Lugal-še-er-[zi]

Note alternation of É- and Ur- in Old Akkadian personal names and cf. SA-<sup>d</sup>si-bí, É-<sup>d</sup>si-bí and Ur-<sup>d</sup>si-bí, see most recently G. Selz *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 13 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1995), 274. But there is no apparent connection between the godhead <sup>d</sup>si-bí and the word DI-bi.

## Col. iv 81 SUMERIAN

èn-du-éš ab-bé-ne

"they are to vocalize in song"

On èn-du see above in general discussion.

For the construction, èn-du(-éš/àm)—du<sub>11</sub>/e, see Attinger, *Éléments*, 488–90 §390ff. Our line is cited twice on p. 489. Attinger (*ibid.*, 253–56 §161–62) distinguishes an adverbial postposition {eš(e)}

written (-e)-eš / -éš from a terminative postposition {še/i} written -šè. However, it is strange that all other cases of the adverbial postposition in this composition are written with -eš and this example is written with the more archaic -éš (for a discussion of the alternation in the use of these two signs in Šulgi texts, see J. Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan: Runners in the Service of the Gods (SRT 13)," *Beer-Sheva* 2 [1985]: 17\*, note 50).

Šulgi parallels: èn-du-šè<sup>1</sup> im-e "She (Inanna) broke spontaneously into a song" Šulgi X 13. For a discussion of this line and construction "to utter as a song," see Klein, *Šulgi*, 147 note to lines 12–13, in which he cites our line. Cf. also nar-re èn-du-'àm' mu-na-ni-ib-e-ne "sang the singers for him in a song" Šulgi D 370 and see the note on the line in Klein, *Šulgi*, 120.

## Col. iii 49 AKKADIAN

a-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]  
"they will sing a song / as a zamāru song"

This Akkadian syntactic construction (the prepositional phrase with *ana*) seems to be awkward and is most probably the result of a too exact translation of the Sumerian adverbial postposition {eš(e)}. Such a construction with the prepositional phrase with *ana* would normally refer to the purpose of a previously named object. With such meaning, the prepositional phrase appears in colophons *ana zamāri ištur / nasiḫ* "he wrote (it) to be sung / excerpted to be sung," see L. Pearce, "Statements of Purpose: Why the Scribes Wrote," in *The Temple and the Scroll, Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, M.E. Cohen, D.C. Snell, and D. Weisberg, eds. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 185ff. The phrase *ana zamāri* "for singing" is also found in late instructional glosses written in the margins of texts (W.G. Lambert, "The Converse Tablet: A Litany with Musical Instructions," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, H. Goedicke, ed. [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971], 337–44). The normal Akkadian construction for the English "to sing a song" would contain a direct object rather than a prepositional phrase, cf. [za]mār Bēlet-ili azammar CT 151 i 1, see W.H.Ph. Römer, "Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten (3)," *WO* 4 (1967): 12.

## Col. iv 82–83 SUMERIAN

ér(<A>.IGI)-šēm nar pa-aḥ-tuš-a ka-\*NIGIN-ta // è-dè-me-eš  
"the singers who are sitting in the cella are those giving out of (their) round mouths the eršemma lament"

As to the suggested reading of akkil (usually written (A).GADA.KÍD.SI.(A)) for the first two signs, note the comment on PSD A/3, 134: "PBS 1/1 11:82 read as akkil = *si-pi-it-tam* (in Akkadian version line 50) in CAD H 45a sub *ḫallatuššu*[sic] is uncertain." Later CAD references (CAD N/1, 377a, CAD S, 299b) abandoned the reading akkil for ér(<A>.IGI)-šēm. For the eršemma, see M.E. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma*, HUCA Annual Supplements 2 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1981), and note that one of the properties of the eršemma is that the composition concerned only deities (ibid., p. 18). However, the deity to whom such a prayer would be directed is missing from this composition.

The type of singer ḫal-la-tuš-a is known from lexical texts and this one bilingual text. For the most recent suggestion "who sits on the crotch" referring to the situation where students sit cross-legged on the ground around their teacher, see J. Taylor, "A New Proto-Lu—Proto-Izi Combination Tablet," *Orientalia* 70 (2001): 223 note to line ii 20'. The signs in the Sumerian pa-aḥ are quite clear on the tablet. Note that the Aḫ is written correctly on the tablet containing multiple vertical wedges in place of the single copied vertical. A tentative suggestion is to understand these signs as "the singer who sits in the (pa)paḥ = the cella."

Šulgi parallels: Note the reference to é.pa-paḥ as a sanctuary of Ninlil in Šulgi Y, see A. Falkenstein, "Ein Lied auf Šulgi," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 140:12.

For NIGIN, cf. um-mi-a NIGIN.RI gar-gar-mu-ne Šulgi E 20, treated by Klein, "Šulgi and Išmedagan," p. 73f., who reads um-mi-a kur<sub>4</sub>-kur<sub>4</sub>(!)-gar-gar-mu-ne "my scholars who are charged with (my) entertaining" see note 50, see also Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan*, 189ff., who suggests that NIGIN.RI is a type of song on the basis of parallelism with ŠĪR.NAR in Išme-Dagan V 12, 17–18.

## Col. iii 50–51 AKKADIAN

si-pi-it-tam na-ru ḪAL.LA.TUŠ.A ša pi-i-[šu-nu] // up-p[u-ú]  
"apprentice(?) singers whose voices are presenting the lament"

The first word, *sipittam*, is an accusative dependent on the verb in the subordinate clause and appears initially in an asyndetic anticipatory accusative. Although the CAD (A/2, 201) gives as the meaning of the D-stem of (*w*)apû only "to acquire property," the two bilingual texts cited in the lexical section furnish the equivalency è = *wapû* D as does this composition; see also AHw, 1459b *wapû* D "sichtbar machen; vorzeigen."

## Col. iv 84 SUMERIAN

X-me-eš téš-bi sè-ki-bi-ne

"they are ..., their (music) makings in harmony"

The first sign has been read in various ways: (1) ašta read by A. Kilmer, "The Strings of Musical Instruments: Their Names, Numbers and Significance," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, Assyriological Studies 16 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 261 n. 4. According to Borger Zeichenliste Supple. ašta = GAD×KÍD, which is similar to akkil = (A).GADA. KÍD.SI.(A) = *ikkillum* "cry, clamor"; (2) gu(?) (CAD Š/2, 1); (3) murúb (CAD R, 329). On collation, the signs seem to be SAL.GADA or ÛĜ.

For the phrase téš-bi sè-ki-bi-ne, cf. the common Sumerian legal formula téš-a sè-ga-bi in legal contracts from Isin and Nippur referring to the equal apportionment of inheritance (see E. Prang, "Das Archiv des Imgûa," *ZA* 66 [1976]: 35f.) The corresponding Akkadian term is *mīthāriš* (see CAD M/2 132 mng. 1a) rather than *īštēniš* used in the parallel line iii 52.

## Col. iii 52 AKKADIAN

ša ri-gi-im-šu-nu iš-ti-ni-iš ʿšu<sup>1</sup>-te-eš-[mu-ú]

"(those) whose voices are together brought into accord"

See Kilmer, "The Strings of Musical Instruments," 261 n. 4, also "Musik," 472.

## Col. iv 85 SUMERIAN

níg-ki-lá àm-tag-ge-ne

"they should be playing in balance"

## Col. iii 53 AKKADIAN

zi-im-ma-at-zu-nu ša-aq-la-[at]

"their lament is balanced"

For the noun *zimmatu*, see AHW, 1528a (where he cites it as a variant of *dimmatu*) and the lexical equivalency cited: i-si-iš = *zi-im-m[atu]* Izi = *išātu* V 53 (MSL 13 162). Note earlier interpretations of A. Kilmer: "their arrangement is balanced" ("The Strings of Musical Instruments," 261 n. 4), "whose teamwork is balanced" ("Musik," 472). See now CAD Š/2, 1.

The Sumerian nominal formation níg-ki-lá is really the equivalent of the Akkadian verb *šaqālu*. Sumerian tag = *lapātu/lupputu* "to touch" which is used to denote "playing stringed instruments and drums," see Kilmer, "Musik," 468.

## Col. iv 86 SUMERIAN

ʿé.gá<sup>1</sup>.giš.šu<sub>4</sub>.a <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl-lá-ka bará be-er-ki

"in the Gagiššua, the dais of Ninlil"

The writing bará be-er-ki looks like a logogram followed by syllabic Sumerian.

## Col. iii 54 AKKADIAN

i-na GÁ.GIŠ.ŠU<sub>4</sub>.A ša <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl pa-ra-ak-k[i-ša<sup>2</sup>]

"in the Gagiššua, the dais of Ninlil"

For é.gá.giš.šú.a "house, chamber of the stool," chamber of Ninlil in the Ekiur at Nippur, see George, *Temples*, 86 no. 299 (šu<sub>4</sub> occasionally for šú). A music hall in the temple of Ninlil is implied by this text according to Kilmer, "Musik," 468, but note the line "in her temple where lawsuits are decided justly" in Šulgi Y 10 below and also <sup>d</sup>Ninlíl-le gá-giš-šú-a-ka na-ám-zu in-tar-ra-àm "Ninlil has decreed your fate in the Gagiššua" Nippur Lament 203, see Tinney, *The Nippur Lament*.

Šulgi parallels:

7 <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl kalam-ma gù ħúl-la ma-ni-dé-a-ke<sub>4</sub>-éš8 unken-na gizzal ma-ni-aka-ke<sub>4</sub>-éš

9 Šul-gi sipa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-m[e-en]

10 gá-giš-šú-a é-di-si-i[m]-s[á<sup>2</sup>-a-da-na]

7 Since Ninlil had given me her joyful blessing in the Land,

8 and had caused me to be heard in the assembly,

9 I, Šulgi, the faithful shepherd of Sumer,

10 praised her in the gá-giš-šú-a, in her temple where lawsuits are decided justly,

(Šulgi Y 7–10, see Falkenstein "Ein Lied auf Šulgi," and see note on Gagiššú'a on p. 144f.)

## Col. iv 87 SUMERIAN

\*únu aš dam ki gá ʿx x x x<sup>1</sup>

"the solitary/unique dwelling of the beloved (ki-&lt;ág&gt;-gá??) spouse ...."

It might be also possible to see aš dam as a syllabic rendering of èš-dam.

## Col. iii 55 AKKADIAN

šu-\*ub-tim el-li-tim ša ʿit<sup>1</sup>-ti EN.LÍL.[KI]

"the pure residence that (is) the landmark of Nippur"



## Col. iii 56 AKKADIAN

*i-na li-<sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-bi-šu<sup>d</sup>En-lil wa-aš-[bu]*  
 "in the midst of which Enlil dwells"

These two Akkadian lines render one line in Sumerian. They are to be understood as modifying and elaborating on the description of the Gagiššua as also the dwelling of Enlil in Nippur (suggested to me by A. Westenholz). Because of the awkwardness of the phrase *ša itti Nippur* "which with Nippur," it is perhaps better to understand *itti* as *ittu* "sign." It is also possible that this extra Akkadian line is not in Sumerian, because it is intended to correct the misbegotten previous line in the Akkadian version.

## Col. iv 88 SUMERIAN

*ki-šú-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>d</sup>Nun-šár-šár akkil<sup>2</sup> da<sup>2</sup> 'x x (x)<sup>1</sup>*  
 "in the cult(!)-places, Nunšaršar, clamor [...]"

While *ki-šú* (Akk. *kīlum*) designates the final part of song that comes at the end of certain compositions and seems to indicate the descending coda and finale (Kilmer, "Musical Practice in Nippur," 103 and "Musik," 471), this verse most probably contains an allusion to a location in the Gagiššua. The designation *ki-šú* was given to part of the temple complex at Uruk, see George, *Temples*, 111 no. 615. Most probably, *ki-šú* is a variant writing of *ki-šu* "cult places," see J. Klein, "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi," in *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages dedicated to the Memory of E.Y. Kutscher*, G.B. Sarfatti et al., eds. (1980), Xff.

As to the name of the divinity, *Nun-šár* appears in the entourage of Enki (AN = Anum II 161, also Deimel, *Pantheon*, 2364). Nevertheless, *Nun-šár-šár* seems to be an epithet of Ninlil in the Akkadian.

As to the reading *akkil* (GADA.KÍD.SI) = *ikillum* "cry, clamor," it seems to fit the signs better in this line than in any other previous ones. Note that one of its common occurrences is in names of temples (PSD A/3, 133 mng. 2, also George, *Temples*, 66 nos. 49–53, 111 no. 618). Cf. *é-<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur akkil<sup>ki</sup> Temple Hymns 229*.

## Col. iii 57 AKKADIAN

*i-na KI.ŠÚ.KE<sub>4</sub> ša<sup>d</sup>Nin-lil a-šar 'el-lu'-[tim]*  
 "in the cult(!)-places of the temple of Ninlil, the place of purity(?)"

## Col. iv 89 SUMERIAN

*na ka-silim níg-galam en-na-ka*  
 "the stela (bearing) the glorification and the sagacity of the en"

Since *na* is an alternate and common early writing for *na<sub>4</sub>*, "stone," and the stone monument or stela (*na-d<sup>r</sup>ū-a*) as an immortal memorial was important in Šulgi's inscriptions, it seems best to understand this line as referring to a stela. As part of the *èš-èš* festival on the VII month, Šulgi presided at an offering to honor his deified stela (M.E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* [Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993], 74). For the relation of hymns to stone stelae, see the discussion in introduction.

For *ka-silim*, cf. *dumu-KA-silim-ma* "the splendid son" B ii 12' (Hymn to Nanna with prayer for King Gungunum), see Å. Sjöberg, "Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns," *ZA* 63 (1973): 39f. In his discussion, Sjöberg also refers to instances of *nar-KA-silim-ma* and *balag-KA-silim-ma*. It would be better grammatically if this line read *na-ka-silim-ma*. For the construction *ka-silim—du<sub>11</sub>-ga*, see Attinger, *Éléments*, 568ff., §552–56.

For *galam* "wisdom," see Alster, *Šuruppak*, lines 4f. Used in reference to scribal art in Šulgi E 31: *nam-dub-sar-ra nù-galam-galam-ma-ba*, see Klein "Šulgi and Išmedagan," 73.

Although there is no reference to Šulgi's bearing the title *en* in his royal inscriptions and there exist only rare cases of self-reference in his hymns (cf. Šulgi D 374? and Šulgi Z rev. 7 where the designation *ù-mu-un Šulgi* is placed in the mouth of Inanna [S.N. Kramer, "Inanna and Šulgi: A Sumerian Fertility Song," *Iraq* 31 (1969): 19]), the term *en* most probably refers to Šulgi. In his hymns, the abstract *nam-en* "en-ship" appears, as, e.g., Šulgi D 387 (Klein, *Šulgi*, 88). There the term is used in two ways: (1) relating to the archaic type of rulership that is embodied in the *en-ship* given by Inanna and (2) relating to a purely religious function. For the latter, see the discussion of Šulgi as *en-priest* officiating in the Ekur in Šulgi G 49ff. in Klein, "The Coronation and Consecration of Šulgi," 293, 298 and note 31. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that in Šulgi hymns, the term *en* most often refers to the god Nanna (Šulgi D 48, 296, X 159, probably also Šulgi O 13ff., Klein, "Šulgi and Gilgameš," 25) and Gilgameš (Šulgi D 48, O 41, 139).

## Col. iii 58 AKKADIAN

*šum ta-aš-ri-iḫ-ti-šu na-ak-[la-am]*  
 "his artful name of glorification"

Although *na* "stone (stela)" is not related to *šumu* "name," the other Akkadian words are the common equations: for the equation *ka-silim* = *tašriḫtu*, see Izi = *išātu* V: 26' (MSL 13 176); cf. *muštarrīḫum* OB Lu A 76, and for *galam* = *naklu*, see CAD, *naklu* adj. Note a unique reference in the late bilingual exaltation of Ištar in which *en-na* = *naklu*: *ul-ḫé en-na : šamē nak-lu-ti* (var. *-tum*) "the artistically fash-

ioned heavens" ll. TCL 6 51:29–30 and dupl., see B. Hruška, "Das spät-babylonische Leergedicht 'Inannas Erhöhung'," *ArOr* 37 (1969): 484 and note on line on p. 499. The ample space left between na and ak and also after the ak indicates that only one or perhaps two signs are missing at the end of the line.

## Col. iv 90 SUMERIAN

šir-ra ì-bé-ne  
"in song they utter it"

For the construction, šir, šir(-re)-éš/eš, šir-ra—du<sub>11</sub>/e/di, see Attinger, *Éléments*, 690–96 §788ff. Our line is cited twice on pp. 691 and 692.

Šulgi parallels: šir-re-eš ḫa-ma-an-ne-eš "my singers sang for me" Šulgi A 81 (Klein, *Šulgi*, 198).

## Col. iii 59 AKKADIAN

i-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-mu-[ru]  
"in song they sing"

Again the Akkadian has made a literal translation by rendering the Sumerian locative postposition –a with the Akkadian preposition *ina*.

## Col. iv 91 SUMERIAN

Šul-gi zal-e-eš é-e zíl-zíl-e  
"Šulgi in a glorious manner who is most pleasing to the temple"

On the omission of the divine determinative on the name of Šulgi due to Old Babylonian scribal habits, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 30 note 42. On the various readings of the name of Šulgi and its etymology, see Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, 108, Sollberger TCS 1, 122 no. 246.1.2, and Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 355–56, as well as the Addenda in Klein, *Royal Hymns of Šulgi*, 42.

One wonders whether zal-e-eš adv. "to pass" is really a misunderstanding and whether the dative <ir> is missing. For zíl-zíl = *dummuqum* "to make pleasing," see Å. Sjöberg, "A Hymn to <sup>d</sup>Lama-sa<sub>6</sub>-ga," *JCS* 26 (1974): 169.

The meaning of the sentence depends on whether it has undergone topicalization in which Šulgi is put in the first syntactical slot. Could this be an incipit of an unknown Šulgi hymn?

## Col. iv 92 SUMERIAN

mí-DI-e-eš u<sub>6</sub>  
"see (i.e., read) for the singing of praise"

The nominal phrase mí-DI could either be a non-standard writing of mí-du<sub>11</sub> "to sing praise, to flatter, to praise," which should be mí-di-dè-e-eš or it could be from DI = silim. For the construction, mí, mí(-e)-éš, mí zi(-dè)-eš/éš, mí du<sub>10</sub>(-ge-eš)—du<sub>11</sub>/e/di, see Attinger, *Éléments*, 603–18 §§ 639–47.

u<sub>6</sub> "to look, to survey" is equated with *amāru* "to look" but also means "to read," rather than gù—dé = *šitassû* "to read aloud." Note Šulgi E 249–51 (Klein, "From Gudea to Šulgi," 300) in which the singer has the scribe look (igi—bar) and read out (gù—dé) for him.

Šulgi parallels: mí—dug<sub>4</sub> Šulgi X 34, 35, 37; mí zi-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga Šulgi A 11; Šulgi D 34, 160, 358; mí-éš da-an-dug<sub>4</sub> Šulgi X 39; mí-éš ba-rani-dug<sub>4</sub> Šulgi E 45 (see discussion of this line in Attinger, *Éléments*, 609f., note 1729); etc.

## Col. iii 60 AKKADIAN

a-na Šul-gi šum-šu ša-am-ḫ[a-am]  
"To Šulgi, his lush name"

The Akkadian apparently has little relationship to the Sumerian. The scribe apparently saw Šul-gi-ir.

## Col. iii 61 AKKADIAN

i-na za-ma-ri-im i-za-am-[mu-ru]  
"They sing in song"

## Col. iv 93 SUMERIAN

ʿx-x-x-x-xʿ 𒀭 Ur-<sup>d</sup>Gá-ʿ\*<sup>t</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-dùg<sup>1</sup>-ga

The beginning of the line is so destroyed that any reading is almost possible. The suggestion of ʿnun<sup>?</sup>-nun<sup>?</sup>-e<sup>?</sup>-ne<sup>?</sup> is based on a conjectured reading of the Akkadian *ru-bu ru-bi-e* "prince of princes." On the goddess Gatumdug and her relation to Lagaš, see Selz, *Untersuchungen*, 134ff. On the name in Ur III sources, see Limet, *Anthroponymie*, 545. Note that the writing of the name differs in Sumerian (tùm) and Akkadian (tum<sub>4</sub>).

## Col. iv 94 SUMERIAN

šu-ù mu-ni-ib-ʿdug<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>  
"he created it"

For šu—du<sub>11</sub> "to create" ("to lay one's hand on/to" with -ni- locative), see Attinger, *Éléments*, 696ff., where our line is cited as šu ḫul mu-ni-ib-ʿdu<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup> and as obscure on p. 707 sub §814 3 person n-p. pass. However, the negative sense of ḫul does not seem appropriate in this context. The sign in question is actually written IGI+LU = ù and is

common in plene writings in Šulgi texts, in particular with contractions of the various postpositions in –e, see Klein, *Šulgi*, 65f., 132, Klein, “Šulgi and Išmedagan,” 96f.

Šulgi parallels: lugal šu-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni-ir “the king, the creation of his hands” Šulgi V 4, see J. Klein, “Šulgi and Išmedagan: Runners in the Service of the Gods (SRT 13),” *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985): 14\*.

Col. iii 62 AKKADIAN

*a-na ru-bu ru-bi-e-im ka<sup>2</sup>-ad-ri-[im]*  
“to extol the proud prince”

It seems best to understand this phrase *a-na ru-bu* as containing the infinitive *rubbû* D with the meaning of *šurbû* Š. As to the sign after im, the copy is not correct, and even after collation the sign remains uncertain.

Col. iii 63 AKKADIAN

𒊕 Ur-<sup>d</sup>Gá-tum<sub>4</sub>-dùg-ga *i-pu-[uš]*  
“Ur-Gatumdug made”

There is no relationship between the Sumerian and Akkadian; šu—d u<sub>11</sub> should be *lipit qātišu* in the Akkadian.

Col. iv 95 SUMERIAN

‘x’ MÍ GIŠ UD.UD GÁ×NUN UR KI! GA

This line presents great difficulties in interpretation. The ‘x’ cannot be read as *zà* as one would wish. Corresponding to the Akkadian *uznum*, it might be suggested that GIŠ is an abbreviated writing of *geštu* on the basis of the lexical equations: [gi-iš] GIŠ = [uz]-nu Idu II 178; giš.be = *pi-ti uz-ni* Arnaud, *Emar* 6, 603:122 (Silbenvokabular A 57). The GÁ×NUN might be related to the Ganun-maḥ in Ur.

Col. iv 96 SUMERIAN

abgal sanga<sub>2</sub>!-ma-da  
“the abgal, the cultic functionary of the land”

The abgal in this line is cited in PSD A/2, 177b sub no. 6 bilingual and since it is apparently in apposition to the sanga<sub>2</sub> / *mullilum* “cultic functionary,” it follows that that should be its meaning in this context. The latter part of the sign sanga<sub>2</sub>(ĪL.DŪB) has been reduced to two vertical wedges!! One must suppose that this titular or professional designation refers to Ur-Gatumdug. Both these functionaries performed purificatory and exorcistic rituals.

Col. iii 64 AKKADIAN

*uz-nu-um ra-pa-aš-tum pi-ti-az<sup>?</sup>-<zum> ša i-[na]*

Col. iii 65 AKKADIAN

ŠEŠ.AB.KI *ib-ba-nu-[ú]*

“great intelligence was opened for him who was created in Ur”

Col. iii 66 AKKADIAN

*ap-kal-lum mu-ul-li-lum ša m[a-tim]*  
“the *apkallu*, the purifier of the land”

For the reading of these last lines, see E. Reiner, “The Etiological Myth of the ‘Seven Sages’,” *Orientalia* 30 (1961): 10, where she cites this line as a reference to an *apkallu* as author Ur-Gatumduga.



A STUDY OF THE SUMERIAN WORDS FOR  
 "ANIMAL HOLE" (HABRUD), "HOLE" (BURUD),  
 "WELL" (BURUD<sub>2</sub>), AND "COPPER" (WURUDA)

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WHEN I WAS WORKING on the Sumerian Dictionary Project of the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1998–1999, I was lucky enough to be able to meet often with Professor J. Klein and discuss Sumerological issues with him. Since I have learned so much about Sumerian literary texts from him and his published works, I am pleased to contribute this study of some Sumerian words to honor Professor Klein for his important role in the international study of Sumerian literature.

ḥabrud in *Ninmešara*

The term for the hiding places of bats and mice in Sumerian literature has been misread and misunderstood for seventy years. The word in question is ḥabrud (=Akk. *ḥurru*), "hole or cave (of rats and bats)," not, as it has often been read, du<sub>6</sub> (*tillu*), "hill or (ruined) mound." ḥabrud is the synonym of ki-in-dar, "crevice (of bats)" (=Akk. *nigiššu*).

Thus, for example, modern editors read line 35 of *Ninmešara*<sup>1</sup> as su-din-mušen-dal-la-gin<sub>7</sub> du<sub>6</sub>-dè/da mu-e-ši-ba-ra, "(The Anunnaki,

the great gods,) like flying bats, fled straight<sup>2</sup> to the hills." As has been noted on a number of occasions, the reading of du<sub>6</sub>-dè/da, "to the hill(s)," is problematic, since du<sub>6</sub>/dul has an /l/ Auslaut and, therefore, should not have the locative ending -(d)a or the locative-terminative ending -(d)e. du<sub>6</sub>-dè/da in this line was first read by Langdon seventy years ago, in 1919, in PBS 14/4, p. 262, the translation of text no. 3 (text Nippur A), and this problematic reading has been followed by all editors or commentators when dealing with this line. In contrast, we read the so-called "DU<sub>6</sub>" as ḥabrud, and translate the sentence "(they), like flying bats, fled straight into holes (or caves)."

In their edition (YNER 3, p. 73), Hallo and van Dijk also read du<sub>6</sub> but considered the concept of bats hiding in a mound incongruous. They, therefore, preferred to translate du<sub>6</sub> as "clefts," which they justified by quoting Falkenstein's note in AS 16 136, n. 139: du<sub>6</sub> = Akk. *nigiššu* "clefts, crevice." Here, Falkenstein had quoted du<sub>6</sub>-da = *nigiššu* in tablet K 38 from Deimel ŠL (sign 459, du<sub>6</sub> 39), but had added another bilingual reference in K 41 iii 3–4: su-din-mušen-dal-la-gin<sub>7</sub> DU<sub>6</sub>-da al-gir<sub>5</sub>-gir<sub>5</sub>-re-en = *ki-ma su-di-in-nu mut-tap-ri-ši i-na ni-gi-iš-šu eš-te-ri*. Although both Deimel and Falkenstein read the sign as DU<sub>6</sub>, but, following these two bilingual passages, understood it as *nigiššu*, "crevice," they did not solve the problem of the /d/ Auslaut suggested by the form DU<sub>6</sub>-da. Moreover, the Sumerian logogram for Akkadian *nigiššu* is not du<sub>6</sub> but ki-in-dar (see CAD, N/2, 214).

CAD, N/2 sub *nigiššu* (lex. sec.) correctly read the sign in K 41, previously misread as DU<sub>6</sub>, as ḥabrud. Hence, the Sumerian sign ḥabrud, "hole," could also be translated with Akk. *nigiššu*, "crevice." While the usual Sumerian word for "crevice" was ki-in-dar, occasionally its synonym ḥabrud (=ḥurru, see CAD, H, 252), "(animal) hole, cave," is also translated with Akkadian *nigiššu*, "crevice." The evidence that the two Akkadian words were synonyms can be found in *ša ina ḥur-ri biti nigišši rabšu* "(the Demon) lurks in a hole of the house, the crevice," and *ḥu-ur-rum* "hole" = *nigiššu* "crevice" (cf. CAD, H, 252). Hence, the DU<sub>6</sub>-dè/da of *Ninmešara* 35 should be read as ḥabrud-dè/da "into animal holes."

The sign ḥabrud, "hole" — NB: KI×U/BAD (Ea IV 101–3) and MA: ŠA<sub>3</sub>×U/BAD (Ea VII iii 23'–24') is very similar to the DU<sub>6</sub> sign, which is why it could be misread as du<sub>6</sub>. The sign ḥabrud was originally a drawing of a hole or pit (the sign buru<sub>3</sub> [U]) in either the ground (the sign KI) or a hill (the sign DU<sub>6</sub>) to represent generally a hole, a cleft, or a cave where animals live. In the Old Babylonian period, ḥabrud was written LAGAR×U (PBS 1/2, 122:7), LAGAR-gunû (=du<sub>6</sub>)×U, KI[×U?] (Proto-Ea 363b), SAR<sub>2</sub>-gunû

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1. *Nin-me-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra*, a Sumerian hymn to Inanna, was written by En-ḥé-du<sub>7</sub>-an-na, the en-priestess of Nanna in Ur and the daughter of Sargon of Akkad. The English edition is in Hallo and van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna*, YNER 3, 1968, and a newly exhaustive edition with text score is made by Zgoll in AOAT 246 (1997).

2. For ba-ar/bar = *uššuru*, see PSD, B bar E.

(for LAGAR-gunû)×U, which is misread as DU<sub>6</sub>, and other handwritten variants, which have been interpreted as DU<sub>7</sub>?, DU<sub>10</sub>?, DI? and MU? (see Zgoll's score on p. 224). For KLU or KLBAD, which should be variants of KI×U and KI×BAD, see bu-ru U šâ KLU *hu-up-tum*, "the buru<sub>3</sub> said of *habrud*<sub>x</sub> = Akkadian 'hole'," A II/4:124 (MSL 14, 283), and KLU (*habrud*<sub>x</sub>) = *hu-up-tum*, SIG<sub>7</sub>.ALAN XVII (=J) 91 (MSL 16 156).

Although there usually is a *Winkelhaken* (U/buru<sub>3</sub>) inside *habrud* (LAGAR(-gunû)×U/buru<sub>3</sub>) but not inside du<sub>6</sub> (LAGAR-gunû), scribes occasionally confused the two signs. However, where there is graphical confusion, we can rely on grammatical form to judge which is du<sub>6</sub> and which is *habrud*. In the locative and locative-terminative form, du<sub>6</sub>/dul is written dul-la/le and *habrud* is written *habrud-da/dè*. Note, for example, when J. Black re-edited K 41,<sup>3</sup> he observed that the sign for *habrud* in line 259 (K 41 iii 3) is not the standard one in that it is missing a *Winkelhaken*.

More commonly, however, there is some confusion. In CAD, N/2 (p 214) sub *nigišsu*, *habrud* is read correctly in K 41. However, the same article and S/2 (p 330) sub *šerû* B (1992) still misread *habrud-habrud-da* in K 38 (An-gim III 22) as du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da. When Cooper in 1978, two years prior to the publication of CAD, N/2, edited An-gim tablet e (K 38:49-50, copy in 2R 19, 2:49-50),<sup>4</sup> he did not know that *habrud* could be translated by Akkadian *nigišsu*. He, therefore, as others did, read our *habrud-habrud-da* in K 38 as du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da. However, he noted that in Sumerian du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da means "refuse heaps," rather than its Akkadian translation in the bilingual text as "crevices," so he questioned whether the signs read by him as du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da could really be equal to the Akkadian *ina nigiššâte*. We would now read the relevant line of K 38 (An-gim 127) as: <sup>d</sup>A-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-e-ne *hu-um-un-si-ir-gin<sub>7</sub>* \**habrud* (LAGAR-gun×U, similar to the later dul)-*habrud-da im-ma-ra-an-gir<sub>6</sub>!-gi[r<sub>6</sub>]*= *Anunnaki ki-ma hu-um-ši-ri ina ni-gi-iš-ša-te uš-tar-r[u-u]*, and translate the Sumerian as: "The Anunnaki fled (see *šerû* B in CAD, Š/2) like rats into animal holes."

A similar sentence appears in *Lugalbanda* II 82-83, but there *ki-in-dar-ra* replaces *habrud-da*: <sup>d</sup>A-nun-na dingir-*hur-sag-ga<sub>2</sub>* peš<sub>2</sub><sup>5</sup>-*gim ki-in-dar-ra ba-an-de-ni-ib-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-eš-(am<sub>3</sub>)*, "The Anunnaki, the gods of the mountain, like rats<sup>6</sup> entered the crevices."

For *Ninmešara* 35, I have checked the copies of these signs read by the editors as DU<sub>6</sub>/DU<sub>7</sub>/DU<sub>10</sub>-da or MU-da. In tablet NiA, PBS 10/4 (1919)

3. ASJ 7 (1985): 77: A-še-er-gi<sub>6</sub>-ta, a balag of Inanna (tablet C).

4. J. Cooper, *Return of Ninurta to Nippur*, *An-gim*, AnOr 52 (1978), tablet e.

5. Text AA, Wilcke read kišig. Variants: text H šeg<sub>1</sub> (=OB peš<sub>2</sub>?); text A kišig.

6. The original sign peš<sub>2</sub> was later corrupted into those for either wild sheep or ants.

no. 3: i 35, the sign read by Langdon as DU<sub>6</sub> in p. 262 has a *Winkelhaken* inside and lacks two short horizontals inside, so that it is a *habrud*, not a du<sub>6</sub>. The signs in NiZ and UnA i (Zgoll p. 556, 573) are the same as that of NiA, so they are also *habrud*. The other *habrud* in the variants are written as LAGAR×three *Winkelhaken*, which is quite like the DU<sub>6</sub> sign with three short horizontals. The sign in UnN on p. 581, read by Zgoll as du<sub>7</sub>! (MU), is a corrupted *habrud* (SAR<sub>2</sub>×AŠ/U). Another corrupted *habrud* identified as SAR<sub>2</sub> is LaC1 (YBC 4656) in Hallo/van Dijk Pl. 5, where it is read as du<sub>10</sub>(-dè). In Pl. 10, Hallo's tablet S (=Zgoll's UnH), the corrupted *habrud*, written as SAR<sub>2</sub>×TAB (for two U), is read du<sub>7</sub> as a homophone of du<sub>6</sub>.

#### *habrud in the Lamentations*

M.E. Cohen in his *Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1988) ignores the reading of *habrud* in K 41 accepted by CAD and Black when he deals with the same sentence about bats hiding in holes. Instead, he reads the word as du<sub>6</sub>-da and translates it as "in the crevices /ruin mound." The term *habrud* occurs in the following lamentations treated in M.E. Cohen, *Lamentations*, *E<sub>2</sub>-tur<sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub>-nigin-na-am<sub>3</sub>* p. 76:[25]; *Utu-gin<sub>7</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>-ta* pp. 101:149 (du<sub>6</sub>-da!) and 224:a+18; and *A-še-er-gi<sub>6</sub>-ta* p. 713:b+167, which is the bilingual K 41 with Akkadian *nigišsu* "crevice" for *habrud*. As for p. 101:149, the sign in VS 2, 7:22 is the OB *habrud* (LAGAR×two *Winkelhaken*) and the same sign is also written in SBH 46:24 (=Cohen text L in p. 224:a+18). As for p. 224:a+18, the sign of *habrud* in text E (K. 4985): 7 clearly copied by Cohen in p. 820, is a Neo-Assyrian sign, LAGAR×SAR<sub>2</sub>, not a DU<sub>6</sub> sign (LAGAR-gunû). I suggest that LAGAR×SAR<sub>2</sub>, which is a corrupt form of the old DU<sub>6</sub>×U, be registered as *habrud*<sub>3</sub>.

A *habrud* sign, read as DU<sub>6</sub>, also occurs in M.E. Cohen Eršemma 60:18-19 (courtesy of Dr. P. Jones), which tells of Inanna looking for Dumuzi hiding in a bison's du<sub>6</sub> or *habrud* in the mountains. The cave (*habrud*) of the bison would be more suitable for hiding in than "the hill of the mountain bison." Thus, lines 18-19 should be translated: me-e *habrud-da en<sub>3</sub> ga-am<sub>3</sub>-ma-tar*, *habrud alim-ma en<sub>3</sub> ga-am<sub>3</sub>-matar* "I have asked the cave (for him). I have asked the cave of the bison." For the "hole" or "cave" (*hurru/habrud*) in mountains, we have in Akkadian *ana hurri* (*habrud*) *ša šadi inaddi* "he throws it into a cave in the mountains" (LKA 141:14). *Lugalbanda* II (C. Wilcke): 47-49 state that the wild bulls and goats hide in mountain rock shelters (*kur-ur<sub>3</sub>/ur<sub>2</sub>*), which are similar to caves, not the mountain or hill itself, since the frightened animals are now already in the mountain: *umbin-kuš<sub>2</sub><sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e hu-ri<sub>2</sub>-in<sup>mušen</sup>-nakam ni<sub>2</sub>-bi-ta am/daraḥ-e kur-ur<sub>3</sub>-/ur<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> ni<sub>2</sub>-bi im-sar-re* "The claw(s) of the crocodile/dragon, like ones of the eagle with terror, dispatch

their terrors into mountain rock shelters for wild bulls/goats (hiding inside).” [Eds.: Compare Wilcke’s translation ad loc.]

*du<sub>8</sub> as the synonym of ḥabrud in the Ur III Incantation TrDr 1, and ḥabrud in the hymn Inninšagurra*

When W. Heimpel in St. Pohl 2 (1968) 372ff. discussed the mouse and the bat, he quoted K 41 (An-gim 127), *Ninmešara* 34–35 and TrDr no. 1:3–4 = 10–11, and understood that the hiding place (DU<sub>6</sub>) of bats was a cave or hole. In *RIA* 7 609, he changed his correct translation of “hole/cave” to “ruins (hills)” since Sumerian *du<sub>6</sub>* really means a hill, which is not equal to Akkadian *nigiššu*, “crevice.” Now, our new reading of Sumerian ḥabrud instead of DU<sub>6</sub> allows us to return to his old translation.

TrDr no. 1 is an Ur III incantation and it uses *du<sub>8</sub>-e* instead of ḥabrud-da for “(bats flying) into holes.” Since *du<sub>8</sub>* (= *petū*) “the opening” can be that of a hole, here it is the synonym of the “hole (ḥabrud)” itself. The same usage is found in a broken Sumerian proverb (Alster Coll. 16 F 3): *u<sub>2</sub>-sal i<sub>3</sub>-ak [...] du<sub>8</sub>-ḥabrud i<sub>3</sub>-ak [...]*, “He made the *u<sub>2</sub>-sal* grass [for ...], but made an opening of the animal hole [...].” In the later incantation series *Udug-ḥul*, the imagery of the bat and the hole is always written in Sumerian as *su-din ki-in-dar-gin<sub>7</sub> = kīma suttinni ina nigīššāti*, “(the demon flies in the dark) like bats in clefts.”<sup>8</sup> Neither *du<sub>8</sub>* nor ḥabrud is used.

Zgoll (AOAT 246 p. 342) quotes *Inninšagurra* (Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 [1972]: 161ff.) line 16, *uru-ki DU<sub>6</sub>-DU<sub>6</sub>-da / dam e<sub>2</sub>-lil<sub>2</sub>-la*, to explain that a hill is a ruin. However, here, the *DU<sub>6</sub>-DU<sub>6</sub>-dam* should again be read ḥabrud-ḥabrud-da(m), “animal holes,” because of the ending *-da(m)* and the fact that, from photographs, the sign shape appears to be LAGAR×U (OB sign ḥabrud).<sup>9</sup> A destroyed town would not turn into a real mound immediately. That would require the passage of centuries. It is true that in the first millennium, Assyrian kings claimed that they had turned cities into mounds. However, this imagery involves not simply the term *tīlu* “hill” on its own, but rather the phrases “ruin mound from the flood” (*tīl abūbi*) and “mounds and ruins” (*tīlu u karmu*)” (see CAD, K sub *karmu*). In *Innin-*

7. *DU<sub>6</sub>*! read by the editor, but the sign in ISET 2, 99 Ni 9752:4 is copied clearly LAGAR×U/ḥabrud.

8. M. Geller, *FAOS* 12 *Udug-ḥul* 861; R.C. Thompson, *Evil I*, Utukki tablet B: 35.

9. In text A (*ZA* 65 [1972]: 169) the left short vertical of the late form of LAGAR is written inside and becomes a U, standing in front of the U of ḥabrud. In text D (ISET 1, 66 Ni 9801 I) the signs are LAGAR×U.LAGAR×2U. The ḥabrud in text E (*ZA* 65 [1972]: 167) and F (p 168 and STVC 81) is LAGAR×U, and the signs in G and Ga (p 176, 171) seem to be the same.

*šagurra* 16, it makes better sense if the Sumerian poets had described the city as becoming “holes for animals, a haunted place.”<sup>10</sup>

*ḥabrud-ḥabrud-da or dul-dul-da in the Lamentation over Ur and Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld, and du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da = napharu, puhhuru in Emesal*

*DU<sub>6</sub>.DU<sub>6</sub>-da* occurs also in the Old Babylonian *Lamentation over Ur*. Kramer, who read *dul-dul-da*,<sup>11</sup> translated this as “(made) into ruins.” The *-da-* in the verb chain of line 209 (*uru<sub>2</sub>-bi dul-dul-da ba-da-gar* “the city was made into ruins”) indicates that *-da* after *du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>* is the comitative case ending *-da*, and, therefore, does not indicate that *DU<sub>6</sub>* here has a /d/ Auslaut. Since the signs for *du<sub>6</sub>* in the text are written LAGAR-gunū, I am not certain if they are corrupt writings of ḥabrud. However, in line 208 of text A (TCL 16, 1), the damaged signs are read by Kramer as (*uru<sub>2</sub>-bi*) *dul!-dul!-da*, so they may be [ḥab]rud-[ḥab]rud-da. In line 318, the signs read *dul!-dul!-da* are KI.KI-da, so the line may be read as *uru<sub>2</sub>-zu ḥabrud!-ḥabrud!-da im-ma-an-gar*, since the standard ḥabrud is KI×U. If it is ḥabrud, the meaning of the sentence is that the destroyed city became a home to animals.

As for *Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld* 34, *ir<sub>2</sub> DU<sub>6</sub>-DU<sub>6</sub>-dam gar-gar-(or mar-mar-)ma-ni-ib*, Kramer in *JCS* 5 p. 3 translated *du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da* doubtfully as “by the ruins.” It is strange that Inanna, before going down to the underworld, ordered Ninšubur: “When I go to the underworld, set up a lament for me *by the ruins*.” I have checked the signs read as *DU<sub>6</sub>-DU<sub>6</sub>-da(m)*. The sign with *-dam* in SEM 49 rev. 7’ is like *du<sub>6</sub>* (LAGAR!×3U) but it has a left vertical, which *du<sub>6</sub>* usually does not. In TuM 3 no. 2: 35, the sign read *DU<sub>6</sub>-(da)* has also a vertical in the left, but the *DU<sub>6</sub>* part of the *e<sub>11</sub>* in line 33 does not have this left vertical. Hence, the sign with the left vertical in both texts may be read as ḥabrud-(da), not *du<sub>6</sub>*. The meaning of ḥabrud, “hole,” here fits the context perfectly: the hole was the way through which Inanna went down to the netherworld, so Ninšubur would set up a lament before the hole down which his lady departed to the netherworld. If it is not a ḥabrud sign, *du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da* here may mean “all” (see below).

10. CT 23, 15ff. (see Or 24, 246), an incantation, line 13 has *ša<sub>2</sub> URU.MEŠ-ši-na DUL.MEŠ*, “(The dead people,) their cities are mounds (tombs).” If *du<sub>6</sub>* here is not a confused ḥabrud, *du<sub>6</sub>* can mean the tomb (*ki-mah*) or the part of the underworld, “the city of the dead.”

11. See AS 12, II. 208, 209, 318, 339, 345, 422; see also S. Tinney, *Nippur Lament*, 267.

It is interesting that the scribes of the first millennium did not translate Emesal  $du_6-du_6-da$  as “into the ruins” as modern scholars do. Instead, they always translated  $du_6-du_6-da$  as Akkadian *napharu* “gathered ones” or “all, total.”<sup>12</sup> The Akkadian translations in Cohen (ibid., p. 615, c+208–9) are:  $ud-de_3 du_6-du_6-da sag in-dub_2-dub_2-be_2 u_4-mu na[p-h]ar [re]-ši a-mi-le-e i-nap-pa-aš: i-kam-mar$ , “the storm will smash all the heads of the people (comm: heap up)”;  $ud-de_3 du_6-du_6-da-na šu-še_3 al-ma-ma u_4-mu nap-har a-na bi-la-a-ti iš-ta-na-kan: u-ra-kas: ki-šad nap-har ma-a-ti$ , “the storm will put all to the end (*bilāti*, see CAD *balū*; Sumerian  $šu-še_3$ : into the hand), or will bind, or the bank of all the land.” Here,  $du_6-du_6-da$  was also translated as “the bank of all the land.” Therefore,  $du_6-du_6-da$  in Emesal means, “piled up, covered up, included all (parts of the land), gathered together.” For  $dul-dul/du_6-du_6 = puḥḥuru$ , “to gather together,” see also JCS 11, 13:50, in a Nineveh tablet (5 R, 44), a logographically written name  $^m dul-dul-d^g iš-nu_{11}$  was read *Šamaš-ú-paḥ-ḥír* “the sun-god gathered (him),” and in AOTU 1, 278, 30:  $ú-paḥ-ḥar = dul-dul$ . Therefore, in Emesal  $du_6-du_6-da$  may mean either “by/in piles/hills” or “to be gathered together ( $/du_6-du_6-ed-a/$ ).” Note that in Emegir  $du_3, du_3-a-bi, du_3-du_3-a, dur = kalu, kalama$  “all, whole, everything” (see CAD, K, 87).

In another lament (Cohen *Lamentations* 156:42),  $DU_6!.DU_6!$  (copy in SBH I: KU.KU!)  $-da-aš mi-ni-in-šid$  is translated by a scribe as *ana til-li tam-nu* “you counted (the treasure of the land) into a mound.” It could be a mistaken translation and the Sumerian originally could have meant “you turned it into rubbish pit (*ḥabrud*).”

$du_6-du_6-(da)$  with the meaning “total, gathering, together” could be read  $dul-dul$  according to the Old Babylonian bilingual Lu-series. Recension A 195 (MSL 12, 163) gives  $lu_2 garadin dul^{ul}-dul^{ul} = mu-pa-ḥi-ir ku-r[u-lim]$ , “the one who gathers/piles up sheaves.” In Recension D 99 (MSL 12, 206),  $<dul>-ul$  (or phonetic  $du_7$ ) is written for  $dul/du_6$ ;  $lu_2 garadin-<dul>^{ul}-<dul>^{ul} = mu-pa-ḥi-ir-rum$  “the one who gathers sheaves.”

In *Temple Hymns* 530,  $dul-dul/du_6-du_6-da$  cannot mean “ruins”:  $ku_6-mun dul-dul-da eš_3-a ga_2-ga_2$ , which could be translated “(Shining house, the house adorned with lapis-lazuli, spreading in all lands), all ( $dul-dul-da$ , lit. “by piles) the fish and salt (or salted fish) offerings are put in the shrine.”

In an Old Babylonian *eršemma* of Iškur (Cohen, *Eršemma* no. 184:1–6 p. 57), the Emesal  $dul-dul-dam$  may mean “all, everything,” rather than “hills” as translated by Cohen:  $ù-mu-un a-a d^g Iškur dul-dul-dam e_4-nag im-ma-ra$ , “the lord, father Adad, pours drinking water for everything” (l. 2). Lines 3–4 continue “from the horizon to the high sky, <he

12. For this Akkadian translation, see M. E. Cohen *Lamentations*, pp. 123:23, 260: b+117, 506: a+88, 615 c+208–9 and note to 23 on p. 144.

pours drinking water> for everything ( $dul-dul-dam$ ), from north to south, for everything.” It would be strange if the rain had only watered the hills, not everything on the earth.

*Etymological analyses of ḥabbrud/ḥabrud and the so-called Proto-Euphratic words*

*ḥabrud*, or syllabically  $ḥab-ru-da$ , is the Akkadianized approximation of the Sumerian word whose full pronunciation is given in Ea IV 103 as  $ḥa-an-bu-ru-da = KI \times U = ḥur-rum$  (MSL 14, p. 359), in Ea VII 211–12 [ $ḥab-bu-ru-da = ŠA_3 \times U, = ŠA_3 \times B]AD$  (MSL 14, p. 451) and in the Assur MA Excerpt 24'–25'  $ḥab-bu-ru-da = ŠA_3 \times U = ḥur-ru$  (MSL 14, p. 454). I believe that etymologically *ḥabbrud/ḥabrud* was a compound of two words, *ḥab* and *burud*.<sup>13</sup>  $/ḥab/$ , written as *ḥab* (LAGAB) or  $ḥab_2$  (LAGAB  $\times$  U), means “malodorous, stinking” and its Akkadian equivalence is *bīšu* (see CAD, B *bīšu*).  $/burud/$ , or  $buru_3$  as the pronunciation is glossed in the later lexical tradition, means “pit, well, hole.” Thus *ḥab-burud* literally means “stinking pit or hole,” that is, an animal hole, burrow, cave, or den. Sumerian  $/burud/$  is borrowed from Akkadian *burtum* “pit, well,” so the final  $/d/$  of *burud* reflects the  $/t/$  of *burut* (the absolute state).  $buru_3$  is the apocopated value of  $/burud/$  when the final  $/d/$  is omitted in pronunciation. For *burud*, or  $buru_3$ , as equal to *burtu*, see  $bu-ru U = burtum, = ḥurru$ , A II/4 111–12 (MSL 14, 283). It is interesting that in Akkadian, *būru*, “pit, hole, well,” was created during the Middle Babylonian period in order to correspond to Sumerian  $buru_3$  (see CAD, *būru* B), the apocopated form of *burud*. No evidence indicates a relation between the rare Akkadian verb *ḥepēru* “to scrape (said of animals), to dig, to collect” (CAD) and the Sumerian noun *ḥabbrud*. There is only one late lexical tablet that has  $burud = ḥa-ba-a-ru$ : Aa II/4 119,<sup>14</sup> which is dated to Artaxerxes II year 10 = 394 B.C. (MSL 14, 280). *ḥabbrud* is unlikely to have been a loan from Akkadian *\*ḥepēru* since the nominal form of the Semitic root is not attested in any Mesopotamian texts at all. In ancient Mesopotamia, the Semitic peoples called animal holes, pits, and wells *ḥurru, ḥuptu*, and *ḥuppu*. If there had been a Semitic noun  $/happurut/$ , meaning “animal hole,” why would the Semitic scribes have not used it to explain the Sumerian *ḥabbrud*,

13. After I had finished this article, I read the Sumerian Lexicon published by John Halloran at <http://www.sumerian.org> and found that he has posited etymologies for many Sumerian words there. I am glad to find that he reached the same conclusion as I did on the etymology of *ḥabrud*. Hence, I will add the etymologies presented by Halloran to my own etymological analyses in this paper.

14. CAD, H, 8, *ḥabāru* C mistakenly read Nabritu Q 10–15: [ ] = min (*ḥa-ba-ru*)  $ša_2$  umbin. The verb is *ḥabālu*, see MSL 16, 211 note 10ff.

instead of always using *hurru* to explain the word? The Aramaic word *hafurat*, "digging,"<sup>15</sup> is attested much later than the Sumerian *ḥabbrud* / *ḥabrud*, "animal hole," and the difference between the two in both pronunciation and meaning suggests that the former could not be the etymology of the latter.

Sumerian proverb 8 B 20:5<sup>16</sup> proves that *ḥabrud* / *ḥabbrud* is the hole of an animal, since here *ḥabrud* is a fox's burrow: *ḥabbrud* (DU<sub>6</sub>×U, Pl. 120 ii 2)-*da-na nu-mu-da-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>*, "(the fox) cannot enter his hole with it (the horns of a wild bull)."

Many Sumerian words are etymologically compounds deriving from the two or more phonetic words morphemes, like *ḥabrud* from /*ḥab* + *burud*/. For example, *azlag*, "fuller, washing worker," from /*a(a)* + *zalag*/ (*a-za-lag* = LU<sub>2</sub>.TUG<sub>2</sub>.ZALAG MSL 3, 149:328), "to brighten, whiten in water"; *zadim*, "lapidary," from /*za<sub>2</sub>* + *dim<sub>2</sub>*/ "to fashion, shape stone"; *kiz* / *slaḥ*, "threshing ground," written KI.ZALAG, from /*ki* + *zalag*/, "clearing ground" (Halloran: *ki* + *lāḥ* "to sweep clean"); and *kisal*, "courtyard," from /*ki* + *sal*/, "narrow ground" (Halloran: *ki* + *sal* "spacious"). The names of the deities Nanna and Inanna derive respectively from /*en* + *an-na*/ and /*nin* + *an-na*/.

Landsberger (MANS 1 / 2, 8ff.), in 1944, believed *zadim* to be a Sumerian compound but thought that some Sumerian words such as *azlag* were "Proto-Euphratic." In contrast, I would like to suggest Sumerian etymologies for a number of such compounds. The logogram *ad-KID* (= *kup<sub>4</sub>*), means "the father of the mat (*kid* = *kitim* reed mat)" but was pronounced by Akkadian scribes as /*adkup*/ and loaned into Akkadian as *atk/quppu*. *kup<sub>4</sub>* should be equal to Akkadian *quppu* (<sup>g</sup><sub>1</sub>-<sup>g</sup><sub>ur</sub> *gub<sub>3</sub>* = *quppu* 𒌦 IX Gap A b3), meaning "a wicker basket/box," which is possibly loaned from Sumerian *kup<sub>4</sub>* or *vice versa*. Since weavers wove both mats and baskets/boxes, /*adkup*/, which means "father of the wicker box," could be written with the logographs AD = "father" and KID = "mat." The weaving of baskets/boxes or mats was work that required skill, so it usually was done by elders or "fathers" (*ad*). *ad* "father" as a component of Sumerian professional terms is also found in *ad-ḥal* / *buru<sub>8</sub>*, "the father of the secret' = diviner" (see CAD *bārū*).

The *ašgab*, "leatherworker," is described in a proverb about professionals<sup>17</sup> as *ḥaš<sub>2</sub>-(za)-gam-me-en* (var. *gur-ra*) *ašgab-e-ne* "Oh, leatherworkers, you are one who bends over your thighs." Hence, *ašgab* may have come from /*ḥaš<sub>2</sub>+gam*/ > /*ašgab*/, "the one who bends over his lap

15. I thank Sol Cohen for pointing out the Aramaic word for me.

16. B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, vol. 1 (Bethesda, 1997), 169.

17. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, SP 3.148, 22 vii 18 and 28.27.

(to work)." As we know, bending over their laps is the working posture of all traditional leatherworkers throughout the world. Halloran believes the word derived from /*kuš*/ "leather" + /*gúb(LI)*/, "to cleanse."

We suggest that Sumerian *engar*, "field worker," derives from *ḡar* (*ngar*), "the one who sets up dikes of canals, or ditches/furrows of a field," or *en a-gar<sub>3</sub>*, "lord of watering land" (also Halloran). *na(n)gar*, "carpenter," probably derived from *na<sub>2</sub> ḡar*, "(the one who) sets up (wooden) beds," (Halloran: *na<sub>4</sub>* "stone" + *ḡir* "knife"). Another possibility is that *nagar* came from a Semitic word (contra AHw, *nagāru*). *simug*, "smith," probably came from *si mu-ag*, "the one who lights a fire, a stove,"<sup>18</sup> but Halloran gives *si<sub>4</sub>* "red" + *mug* "to engrave." The earliest smith must have used a horn (*si*) as bellows to blow up his fire. *šid* / *tim* probably came from *sig<sub>4</sub> dim<sub>2</sub>* "the brick maker" or *ša dim<sub>2</sub>* "one who builds" (Halloran: *šid<sub>3,4,5</sub>* "to bind" + *dīm*). *guruš<sub>2</sub>* or *gurušda*, "fattener," came possibly from *guru<sub>4</sub>* (= *kubburu/kabru*) *še* "to fatten (with) barley" and *guru<sub>4</sub> še-da*, "to fatten with (-da) barley" or Halloran: *kuruš* "sweet, fat" + *da* "side, body" or *du<sub>3</sub>* "to make."<sup>19</sup> Another compound with *še* for "fattener" is *lu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub>-udu-še* = *ma-ru-ú* (CAD *mārū* lex.).

The Sumerian *muḥal* *dim*, "cook," was possibly from *lu<sub>2</sub>+ḥal+dim<sub>2</sub>* "the one who makes hams (*ḥal* = *ḥallu* A, "hind legs of animals"; but Halloran takes *mù*, "to mill" + *ḥal* "to divide" + *dīm*). In Neo-Babylonian, a kind of cook was called *mubannū* and it is possibly related to Sumerian *dim<sub>2</sub>*, "to make," which in the Akkadian is *banū* / *bunnū* (D). *dim<sub>2</sub>* is also found in the logogram EN+NUNUZ+DIM<sub>2</sub>, "the lord who makes eggs," pronounced /*ennigi*/ (Akk. *ennigū*), which was possibly the variant of *en-me-gi<sub>4</sub>* (Akk. *engū*), "temple cook."

Many professional terms have *nu-* as their first element.<sup>20</sup> *nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>* should be equal to *lu<sub>2</sub> kiri<sub>6</sub>*, "the man of garden" and *nu* seems to be an archaic pronunciation of *lu<sub>2</sub>* (*nu* = *a-wi-lum* Proto-Ea IV 108). *nu-banda<sub>3</sub>*, "captain," means "the man of the minor part (of a tribe)" and it was heard by Akkadian as *la/lu-puttum* (/ *lu-band-um* /), which indicates that here *nu* = *lu<sub>2</sub>*. *nu-siki*, "the homeless girl" literally means "the one of wool," and should probably be analyzed as "the one who lives in the state wool workshop." In Pre-Sargonic Lagash, the *nu-siki* worked in the wool workshops (*ki-siki*) and sheepfolds of the state, together with slave women and children. *nu-mu-zu* / *su*, "widow," came either from *lu<sub>2</sub> mu-(un)-*

18. *si* = *na-pa-ḥu*, *si-i* = *simug* = *na-pa-ḥu* Aa III/4:170, IV/3:161 and Ea IV 180 in MSL 14, 341, 362, 382.

19. See *lu<sub>2</sub>-gu-ru-uš* = KU<sub>7</sub> = *ša gu-ru-še-e* = *ma-ru-ú*, "fattener" (Lu III 35-38).

20. See D.O. Edzard, "Sumerische Komposita mit dem 'Nominalpräfix' nu-," ZA 55 (1962): 91ff.



zu (nam nu mu-un-zu in Ai VII ii 20), "the one whom a man once knew (= had relation with) before," or from nu (=lu<sub>2</sub>) ma / mu-su, "(The god) will return a man to me" (Nik I 19 i 13, ITT 4 7918), if su "to replace" is not a confusion with zu "to know." Alternatively, if nu was just the normal negative nu "not," nu-ma-su (or zu) means "no one replaces (su) (a man) for me," or "no one marries (zu) me." Although the Sumerian texts give nu-mu / ma-su mostly, the later Akkadian translation seems to support zu "to know" rather than su "to replace": *almattu* <*almad+tu*, "I knew (a male) (= was once married)," which means a formerly married woman who is now no longer a man's wife.

The Sumerian uš<sub>2</sub>-bar /išbar "weaver" is probably to be understood as uš<sub>2</sub>+bar, "touch (*emēdu*) or drive (*redū*) the shuttle of a loom." For (g<sup>is</sup>)bar-bar meaning the shuttle of a loom, see PSD, B, 116 bar-bar A.

nisag (logogram ITI-gun ū "monthly offering") or phonetic ne-sag, "the first offering," originated from ni<sub>3</sub>/ni<sub>2</sub>+sag, "the first (= top, head) object." nimgir, "herald," probably originated from ni<sub>3</sub>/ni<sub>2</sub>+mu-gir<sub>5</sub> (*darāru*) or nim(g)+gir<sub>5</sub>, "he who moves freely with regard to objects/matters (of state)." šaggin(n)a (*šakkan(n)ak(k)u*), "general," which is written logographically as ANŠE+NITA, "the one of the male donkey (chariot)," probably derived from sag+gen-(n)a, "the one who goes ahead (of the troops)." zizkur / siskur "offering," the logogram of which is AMAR×ŠE ("calf fattened with barley"), probably came from phonetic ziz<sub>2</sub>+kur<sub>9</sub>/ku<sub>4</sub>, "emmer brought into (the temple)." eškiri, "nose rope," is the phonetic eš<sub>2</sub>+kiri<sub>4</sub> "rope of the nose" and ešmin (KLE.NE.DI), "to play," is probably from eš<sub>2</sub>+min, "(to jump between) two ropes, to skip."

Note that morphemic and graphic etymologies of these compound words and their compound logograms do not always correspond. By the time cuneiform writing was invented, the morphemic etymologies may no longer have been apparent to the scribes.

burud / buru<sub>3</sub> = *burtu/būru* "pit, pool, hole, to dig a hole, deep"

Apart from /ḥab.burud/, there are many cases, indicating that buru<sub>3</sub> should be read burud, although this reading is not found in lexical texts. Note that in most cases burud is a noun, so we cannot explain the final /-d/ of burud as buru<sub>3</sub> (verb) plus the -ed verb ending. Although PSD, B buru<sub>3</sub> quotes many references with buru<sub>3</sub>-da, and the editor gives an entry of "buru<sub>3</sub>-da" (see buru<sub>3</sub> B adj.), which indicates that the word ends with /d/, it does not state that buru<sub>3</sub> can also be read burud. If the root of the word is to be read burud, its noun, adjective (burud.a), and verb should all be read the same—so buru<sub>3</sub> is the apocopated form of burud. For example, the nominal form burud is attested in muš-buru<sub>3</sub>/burud-da, "the snake in/of the hole" (Alu, Snake Tablet, VS 17, 1 iii 20 — not

quoted in PSD). The phrase is parallel to muš-ki-in-dar, "the snake in a crevice," and muš-ḥabrud<sub>x</sub>(KLBAD), "the snake in an animal hole" (=Akkadian *balittum*, CAD "a reservoir?," Hh XIV, 36–37, MSL 8/2 9).

As for *Gilgameš and Agga* (Römer, AOAT 209/1) 5–7, tul<sub>2</sub> burud (buru<sub>3</sub>)-burud-da eš<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> til-til-le-da repeated in 11–13 and 20–22, PSD buru<sub>3</sub> C 2 translates pu<sub>2</sub> burud-da, "to deepen the wells." Here, since the root is not considered by the editor as burud, but buru<sub>3</sub>, the -da is explained as the verbal suffixes -ed+a. The pu<sub>2</sub>/tul<sub>2</sub>-burud in Lu I Excerpt II 62 (MSL 12 106) is written tul<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>3</sub> = tu-ul-bur = *ḥu-up-pu* "hole," which indicates tul<sub>2</sub>/PU<sub>2</sub>-buru(d) to be a noun that means "the well shaft." For tul<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> = [*burtum?*], "well of drawing," see Hh 20–22, RS Recension iv 30; tul<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> = *a-su-u* "well with water-hoist device" *Emar* 6/4 150; and eš<sub>2</sub>-pu<sub>2</sub> "hoisting rope of a well" in Nippur Forerunner 416 (MSL 11, 49, 108). Hence, the meaning of the sentence is "all the wells with the drawing rope will be exhausted."<sup>21</sup>

Some examples of the root burud (buru<sub>3</sub>) with /d/ Auslaut are as follows:

*ipallaš* = in-burud-dè, "he will dig a hole (in the wall)" BWL 235:20.

*ina pa-la-ši* = burud-da, *ippallaš* = burud-da, AOTU 1, 296:32, 35.

uruda-nig<sub>2</sub>-bubrud (burud-burud)-da = *palištum* "bronze lance/spade" MSL 7 144:385.

a-burud-da (B: a-bu-ru-da-ka) = *ina me-e šap-lu-ti*, "(my god,) in the deep water (you are my oar)," *JNES* 33 290:22, 293:21 (incantation), ma-bu-ru-da-zu-dè (B edge = má-burud-a-zu-de); Version B:19: dingir-ša<sub>3</sub>-dib-ba.

lu<sub>2</sub>-zuḥ-a (é) burud burud-da, "when a burglar dug a hole (in a house)," *Alster Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* 13.8, 13.10.

burud-da-bi ḥa-ba-zu, "let me know of their ore-mines," *Inanna and Ebiḫ* 86 (*JNES* 24, 291 n. 25, A d).

tukum-bi u<sub>18</sub>-ru (u<sub>3</sub>) lu<sub>2</sub> (PSD, B, 202, 4, u<sub>18</sub>-lu) ugula-lugal (PSD, B, garza)-bi-e-ne dab<sub>5</sub>-bi-dè-aš-am<sub>3</sub> burud-da-ne-ne nu-e-da-si<sub>3</sub>-ke, "If the royal officials will take the city and people, do not flatten their hiding places (lit. "holes") ..." *Šusin to Šarrumbani* 15–17.<sup>22</sup>

21. For the new explanation of *Gilgameš and Agga*, see my note in NABU 1998/103.

22. Note that PU<sub>2</sub>=burud<sub>2</sub> (see next section) occurs in line 12 of *Šusin and Šarrumbani*, where Michalowski in his dissertation read LAGAR×U (pu<sub>2</sub>) in B and KU (=ḥabrud!) in A: lu<sub>2</sub>-gal-gal-bi-e-ne kaskal burud<sub>2</sub> ḥé-mu-e-da-su<sub>3</sub>-[be-ne], "Let the nobles go with you on journey to a hiding place (lit. hole)."

nig<sub>2</sub>-nam-[z]u burud-da igi-gal<sub>2</sub>-ki-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra “his knowledge is deep (\*burud+a as adj.); (his) sight is on all the universe” (Nusku), JCS 4 139 iv 1: SGL 2 109.

tul<sub>2</sub>-burud-da eš<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> til-til-le-dam “the well shaft for the hanging rope will be exhausted” *Gilgameš and Agga* 7, 13, 22 (see above).

na<sub>4</sub> gug burud-da mu-bi hé-sa<sub>4</sub>-a = *santa ina palāši šuma šuātu lu nabāt*, Lugal X 17, 19.

a-burud-da = *mu-u r[u-qu-tu<sub>4</sub>]*, “water of a well = deep water”; a-burud-da-da = min, SIG<sub>7</sub>-ALAN 162–63 (MSL 16 291).

é-mu lu<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-burud-dè é-zu kala-ga-ab in-na-an-du<sub>11</sub>, “he spoke to him (the neighbor): ‘since someone may break into my house, strengthen your house!’” *Laws of Lipit-Ištar* no. 11.

burud-da-gin<sub>7</sub> = *ki-ma šu-pu-ul er-se-ti (la i-du-u<sub>2</sub>)*, “like in a hole (Akk. the depth of the earth),” *Ugaritica* 5 164 9’–10’=CT 44, 18 rev. ii 11’.

\*burud<sub>2</sub>/buru<sub>x</sub>/bu<sub>4</sub>(LAGAB×U), “pool/well, pit, to deepen”

Since both buru<sub>3</sub>/burud (U) and PU<sub>2</sub>/TUL<sub>2</sub> (LAGAB×U) mean “hole, pit, well, pool,” LAGAB×U, “pool, well” should also have a phonetic value burud loaned from Akk. *burtu*. Thus, I suggest that we read LAGAB×U as either burud<sub>2</sub>, a variant of burud, buru<sub>x</sub> or bu<sub>4</sub>, the apocopated forms of burud<sub>2</sub>, rather than as traditionally pu<sub>2</sub>. In the lexical texts, LAGAB×U (=burtum) is glossed b/pu-u<sub>2</sub> (Proto-Ea 36, but Proto Aa text A: bu-un, MSL 14 32, 90), either bu<sub>4</sub> or “pu<sub>2</sub>.” Since we think that the word is the shortened pronunciation of buru(d), the phonetic value should be read as /bu-u/, not /pu-u/. The shortening process is burud<sub>2</sub>>\*buru<sub>x</sub>>\*bur<sub>x</sub>>bu<sub>4</sub>, just as burud>buru<sub>3</sub>>bur<sub>3</sub>>[bu<sub>x</sub>]. We have also found the similar shortened way to read bu<sub>5</sub> for bul (Proto-Ea 47 and its note, MSL 14 32).<sup>23</sup> For /buru/ shortened to /bu/, we also have buru<sub>15</sub> (LAGAB×SUM, usually read zar) glossed as bu-u<sub>2/4</sub>.<sup>24</sup> From the sign lists, we have many examples of the first syllable *bu* representing a whole word: buzur<sub>5</sub>=bu<sub>3</sub>, \*burud<sub>2</sub>=bu<sub>4</sub>, bul=bu<sub>5</sub>, buru<sub>2</sub>=bu<sub>8</sub>, bul<sub>x</sub>(? KU)=bu<sub>7</sub>, bulug=bu<sub>9</sub>, bulug<sub>3</sub>=bu<sub>10</sub>, bun<sub>2</sub>=bu<sub>13</sub>.

M. Powell strongly suggests (ZA 62 [1972]: 210, n. 128) that both buru<sub>3</sub> and the sign PU<sub>2</sub>, i.e., our bu<sub>4</sub>, “well shaft, pit,” should be read with a /d/

23. Text Is definitely glosses bul as bu-u, texts An, Bh and Cl possibly gloss [bul] as bu-u, and text Ci glosses bul as bu-u?

24. In Proto-Ea 49, nine texts gloss LAGAB×SUM with bu-ru; one confusingly glosses it with bu-ul for bur; two gloss it with bu-u<sub>2</sub>; one with bu-u<sub>4</sub>; and the last with bu.

Auslaut. He notes PU<sub>2</sub>-da and id<sub>2</sub>-da as locatives in Ana-Ittišu 6 iii 13–15 (MSL 1, 83): id<sub>2</sub>-da a-ra<sub>2</sub>-II bu<sub>4</sub> (burud<sub>2</sub>)-da a-ra<sub>2</sub>-III (= *i-na b[ur]ti III*) a-ta in-sud-e, “he will sprinkle with water in the river for the second time, and in a pool for the third time.”

(1) “rubbish pit” not “well”  
in the term bu<sub>4</sub>-ta-pad<sub>3</sub>-da (“foundling”)

The Sumerian personal name, TUL<sub>2</sub>-ta-pa<sub>3</sub>-da, “foundling” (literally “found in a well”), as translated by Falkenstein (NSGU III p. 168) and H. Limet (*L’Anthroponymie* 290), is attested in Pre-Sargonic Lagash. The problem is that a baby found in a well would usually be a dead one. TUL<sub>2</sub>-ta in the name may be read bu<sub>4</sub>/burud<sub>2</sub>-ta/da and mean “the one who is found in a rubbish pit or an abandoned well.” In Ana-Ittišu 3, iii 32–37 (MSL 1 44), the foundlings were also said to be taken from the mouths of animals and an animal usually cannot enter a well to take away an abandoned baby, but it can enter a rubbish pit: bu<sub>4</sub>-ta-pa<sub>3</sub>-da = *ina bur-ti atūšu*, sil-t[a ba-an-ta-k]u<sub>4</sub>-ra = *ina su-qí šu-ru-ub*, “the one who is brought (into the family) from the street”; ka-ur-gi<sub>7</sub>-ta ba-an-[ta]-kar = *i-na pi-i kal-bi e-ki-im-šu*, “the one whom (his adopter) has taken off from the mouth of a dog”; ka-uga-ta mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ta-šub = *i-na pi-i a-ri-bi ú-šad-dī* “the one (baby) whom (his adopter) has made dropped down from the beak of a raven.”

Hh II 1–5 (MSL 5 50) has similar phrases but also has an entry of bu<sub>4</sub>-LAGAB×U = *bur-tum* and šub-ba = *na-dī*, “an abandoned well” before bu<sub>4</sub>-ta pad<sub>3</sub>-da sil-ta i<sub>3</sub>-ku-ra ka-ur-gi<sub>7</sub>-a-ni-še<sub>3</sub> ba-an-da-kar. The bu<sub>4</sub>-šub-ba may indicate that the pit or pool where the foundling was found was an abandoned well, which is usually used as rubbish pit. Since burud<sub>2</sub> was loaned from Akkadian *burut*, some scribes may have read burud<sub>2</sub> as /burut/. The -ta of burut (TUL<sub>2</sub>)-ta in these phrases may not be the ablative -ta but the locative -(t)a.

(2) burud<sub>2</sub>/buru<sub>x</sub>/bur<sub>x</sub>/bu<sub>4</sub>=burud/buru<sub>3</sub>  
“hole,” “deep,” “to deepen,” “to be wise,” in Šulgi C

In two difficult sentences of Šulgi C 100–1 (STVC 50–51), bu<sub>4</sub> is given the ending -re, which indicates that bu<sub>4</sub> had a value of bur<sub>x</sub>/buru<sub>x</sub>, the shortened form of burud<sub>2</sub>. My understanding of the lines is that Šulgi says that he knows the magic of snake charmers. Here, the nam:muš-gar “the art of setting snakes” equals the later nam-muš-la<sub>4</sub> / *mušlahūtu*, “the art of snake charming”: en muš-gar/nig<sub>2</sub> nam-(ma) \*bur<sub>x</sub> (bu<sub>4</sub>)-\*bur<sub>x</sub>-re-me-en<sub>3</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-mu-ta ga<sub>2</sub>-e im-ta-su<sub>8</sub>/la<sub>4</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>, “I am the lord of snake-charming who deepens the (or “has the deepest” bur<sub>x</sub>-bur<sub>x</sub>-re) knowledge. I can perform it with my controlling mind.” For

burud/buru<sub>3</sub> having the meaning of “to dig deep wisdom,” see Aa II/4 134 (MSL 14, 283), bu-ru U = ra-šu-u ša<sub>2</sub> uz-nu. Lines 102–4 are parallel to lines 100–1, which are translated by Klein: “I also learned completely (a<sub>2</sub>-bi-še<sub>3</sub>) the art of lecanomancy (i<sub>3</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>, oil divination) and libanomancy (ni<sub>2</sub>-na-ri-ga-kur<sub>7</sub>-re<sup>25</sup>); I am with my own eye the (best) dream teller of the land (ensi-kala m-ma-me-en). (With) my mind I am the Ištarān of all the lands.”

/burud-a/ >/wuruda/ > e<sub>4</sub> (for wu)-ru<sub>12</sub> (EN)-da >uruda/u, “(object) in/ from a hole,” = /wuruda’um/ > wu-ri-a-um (OAKk) / wu/eru’um (OA) / wurūm (OB) > erū/ urudū/eritum = šīt hurri, “copper”

Dossin in 1952 suggested correctly, I believe, that uruda “copper” derived from /buruda/, “mine pit or tunnel” (see Limet, *Metal*, 31). Furthermore, I would suggest that uruda originated from the word \*(ni<sub>2</sub>) burud.a/ in the locative, meaning “(object) from a pit (=mine)” (but cf. Halloran: uru<sub>3</sub> “luminous object” + du<sub>3</sub> “to mold, cast”). The archaic sign of uruda is a picture of an ore block out of a tunnel in a mine bed (LAGAB). ZATU presents two signs for uruda, no. 602, the pictograph without the tunnel in the mine bed, and no. 603 with it. In Pre-Sargonic Lagash, the tunnel inside the mine bed (LAGAB) was also omitted from the sign of uruda, just like ZATU 602, but in Ea III:203 and Aa III/5:11 (MSL 14, 312, 343) uruda is written like DUB, which is the same as ZATU 603. In later times, a burud/ U sign appeared inside the mine bed of the sign uruda, and represented both the mine hole and a phonetic indicator or the pronunciation of /b/ wuruda/. *Inanna and Ebiḫ* 86 mentions that burud-da is ore or ore pit: ḫar-ra-an ku<sub>3</sub>-an-na-ka-še<sub>3</sub> ḫe<sub>2</sub>-ni-(in)-e<sub>3</sub> burud-da-bi ḫa-ba-zu, “Let me depart on the road for the metal of tin. Let me know of their ore-mine” (*JNES* 24 291 n. 25, A d). At Ebla, uruda “copper” is once glossed phonetically as *ne-ba-la-ga/ka<sub>3</sub>-um* (MEE 3, p. 198: 53), which may be the loanword from the Sumerian ni<sub>3</sub> buru<sub>3</sub>-ka, “in/from the object of a mine,” or *ba-la:de<sub>3</sub>-ga-um* for buruda-ka.

In the Old Babylonian period, the sign for copper, which possibly was read /buruda/ in the earliest time, was already read uruda, with the locative ending -a in Proto-Ea 190 (text Bb, Ga: u<sub>2</sub>-ru-da MSL 14 39), not urudu. The gloss of the sign given in text K and in Proto-Aa probably is to be read u<sub>4</sub>-ru-da m<sub>2</sub>, instead of the reading u<sub>4</sub>-ru-ud given in MSL 14, 97,

25. For a discussion of the magic powers of Šulgi, see J. Klein, “Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi,” in G.B. Sarfatti et al. (eds.), *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages Dedicated to the Memory of Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher* (Bar Ilan Departmental Researches, Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages) (Ramat Gan, 1980), IX–XXVIII.

if the locative suffix is intended in the gloss. Later, the original locative suffix /a/ of /(w)uruda/ became /u/ through vowel harmony: u<sub>2</sub>-ru-du (Ea and Aa, MSL 14 343:11). The URUDA sign is glossed e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>12</sub>-da in the texts from Pre-Sargonic Lagash (RTC 19, iv 5;23; PSD IX, 1 33:1–2; ITT II 5728, V 9257). In two personal name lists from Nippur (Westenholz, *Jena*, 40, BiMes 1, 27 ii) a man is named e<sub>4</sub>re<sup>e</sup>reda (=uruda), which indicates the pronunciation of “copper.” That the sign uruda has the value of da<sub>5</sub> in Pre-Sargonic texts confirms the reading of uruda. The Old Akkadian *wuru’a-um* (*werū* in AHw and *erū* A in CAD), “copper,” is a loanword from buruda, since in Semitic the values /w/ and /b/ are interchangeable. If it is the case, the word is read *wu-ru-um* not *we-ru-um* in Old Akkadian. In Hh XI 336 and Hg 190 (MSL 7 141, 153), “the cleaned copper ore,” uruda-saḫar-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa, is translated *ši-it ḫur-ri/ru*, “the object from a pit.” In an unpublished Middle Babylonian Hh XI tablet, BM 85983,<sup>26</sup> we have both uruda “copper” and uruda-luḫ-ḫa “the cleaned copper (ore)” equalling *wurū*. Also, both uruda-saḫar-luḫ-ḫa “the cleaned copper ore,” and uruda-saḫar!-ḫurru<sub>um</sub>-ma equal uruda-ḫabrud<sub>2</sub>, “the ore from a pit”: col iii 8 uruda=*wu-ru-u<sub>2</sub>*, 13 uruda-luḫ-ḫa=*wu-ru-u<sub>2</sub>*, 16 uruda-saḫar-luḫ-ḫa=*uruda’-ḫabrud<sub>2</sub>* (ŠA<sub>3</sub>×U; ḫabrud = KI×BAD/KI×U); 21 uruda-saḫar! (GIN<sub>2</sub>?, or sa?)-ḫu-ru-um-ma=*uruda’-ḫabrud<sub>2</sub>* (ŠA<sub>3</sub>×U).

Hh 22 Section 1 (MSL 11, 23) has two entries for the land of copper: 25 kur-DI/SA<sub>2</sub>-gar = MIN (*māt*) *e-ri-tum* (for *urudam*), “the land of copper”; 26 kur-ma<sub>2</sub>-gan-na, “land of Bahrain” = MIN (*māt*) *ši-it ḫur-ri*, “the land of copper ore” (also Hg E 13, MSL 11, 35), which supports the etymology of uruda, “copper,” as deriving from “object from a pit.”

a<sub>2</sub>-bur(u)<sub>2</sub> “the hole/nest of birds” and ab-bulug/bulug<sub>2</sub> (=bur<sub>2</sub>) “opening, window”

PSD, A/2, 46 sub a<sub>2</sub>-bulug<sub>2</sub>, reads a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>, “bird’s nest,” as a<sub>2</sub>-bulug<sub>2</sub>, treating it as the same word as ab-bulug<sub>2</sub> (=bur<sub>2</sub>)/bulug, a kind of window or opening, and offers a new meaning “hole, nook”; an entry for a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub> is omitted from the volume. However, ab-bulug<sub>2</sub>(buru<sub>2</sub>)/bulug and a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub> should be two different words, the former for “window” or “opening” (ab series) and the latter for “bird’s nest.” Note that in PSD, B, 211 (sub buru<sub>5</sub>-ḫabrud), the same word is read a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>, not a<sub>2</sub>-bulug<sub>2</sub> as PSD, A/2 does. The reference for ab-bulug is Ni 1142: 3 in MSL SS 1, 95, a text about the parts of a building. In the text, e<sub>2</sub>-gar<sub>8</sub>, ab-lal<sub>3</sub>, ab-bulug<sub>a-ab-lu-ug</sub>, and ur<sub>3</sub>-ra, “wall, window-frame, the ab-bulug opening, and roof” are listed in lines 2–5. Here, ab-bulug is apparently a kind of win-

26. I thank Dr. Niek Veldhuis for his informative insights on the text and for kindly placing his copy and transliteration at my disposal.

dow. The parallel with ab-lal<sub>3</sub>, "opening, window or window-sill" and the gloss a-ab-lu-ug should here be restored as ab-bulug, which does not have a meaning of "the resting place of birds (a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>)" at all. For ab-lal = *aptu*, "window," *urpum* "window," and *naplastu*, "hatch, an opening for glance," see PSD, A/2, 146. In the texts, ab-lal<sub>3</sub> or ab-lal, "stretching window," means the edge of window frames or window-sills of a house, where doves make nests or rest on, so it obtains a meaning of the pigeon nook on a house, not "bird's nest." ab-bulug, "window frame(?)" (lit. "window borders or axis"), is attested only in the lexical text Ni 1142, and when Civil published it, he thought that the ab-bulug was equal to ab-bur(u)<sub>2</sub> in *Flood Story* 207: <sup>gi</sup>ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub> ab-bur<sub>2</sub> mu-un-da-buru<sub>3</sub>, "(the sun-god came out and set light over the heaven and earth. Ziusudra) himself dug a window hole on the huge boat, (and the sun-god enters the boat)." Here, ab-bur<sub>2</sub> designates a window or opening hole on the ship and has no relevance to a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>, "bird nest." In An-gim 122, a<sub>2</sub>-bulug-ba in text N' is the variant of a<sub>2</sub>-ba in E, "(like birds, they flap) their wings," so it cannot mean a bird's nest. In *Creation of the Hoe* 14, a<sub>2</sub>-bulug, "side of the ax," is the blade of the hoe, so it also cannot have the meaning of a hole or bird's nest: <sup>gi</sup>al-a-ni/na a<sub>2</sub>-bulug/bulug<sub>2</sub>-bi/ba (apin/a<sub>2</sub>-bi) na<sub>4</sub>-za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na-kam ("The hoe's muscle is of silver and of gold). The side (a<sub>2</sub>) cutting (= "blade"; bulug "chisel, ax," bulug<sub>2</sub>/buru<sub>2</sub>=*salātu*=*napālu ša šatpi*, "trim, dig a pit") of his (Enlil's) hoe, (the plow/blade), is of lapis lazuli." Note that the signs bulug and bulug<sub>2</sub>/bur<sub>2</sub> are similar.

Since the Akkadian loanword from a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub> is *abru* (D), "bird's hole, nest," and /buru/ means "hole," the Sumerian word for bird's nest should be read a<sub>2</sub>-bur(u)<sub>2</sub> as CAD, A reads. For a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub>-bi-ta, "from its (buru<sub>3</sub> "the bird") nest," equals to *ina* (PSD misprint *ana*) *ab-ri-šu*<sub>2</sub>, see CT 16, 9 i 34-35. bu-ur<sub>2</sub> BUR<sub>2</sub>=*ab-rum* in Aa VIII/2 185 (MSL 14, 501) may confirm the reading of a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>, and bur<sub>2</sub> here may be a shortened a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub>.

In *Inanna and Bilulu* 147-50 (see PSD, B, 211), buru<sub>3</sub>-ḥabrud-da, "the bird of the hole," is said to live in the a<sub>2</sub>-bur(u)<sub>2</sub> nest, but tu-mušen, "the dove," on the ab-lal<sub>3</sub>, "the comfortable window" or "window-sill," if lal<sub>3</sub> = lal. That may imply that a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> is a kind of nest, like a hole. If buru<sub>2</sub> of a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> is the phonetic sign for burud, "pit, hole," the a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> of birds may literally mean "feather and a hole" or "a work of nesting a pit." For a<sub>2</sub> meaning the wing or feathers of the bird see PSD, A/2, 8, 3.3. For bur<sub>2</sub> meaning "dig a pit," see below, Aa VIII/2 171. Another word for nest using /buru/, "pit," is kinbur: kin-bur(u) = LAGAB×A.LAL=kinburru *ša MUŠEN* (PSD, A/2, 146), "the nest of birds." kinbur is a compound from kin "work" and buru "pit" and means "nest" (*qinnu ša iššuri*). kin-buru also can literally mean "the work of cutting or digging," if here /buru/ is for buru<sub>2</sub>, "cut, trim, dig."

Another possibility is that /buru/ of a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> and kinburu is a phonetic writing for buru<sub>3</sub>, "bird," and both a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> and kinburu mean "the work of birds." buru<sub>3</sub> itself may probably be connected with burud: "pit > "bird nest" > "bird." If /buru/ of a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> is neither the phonetic writing of burud nor that of buru<sub>3</sub>, but just the logogram of bur<sub>2</sub> "release, loosen" (PSD, B bur<sub>2</sub> E), a<sub>2</sub>-bur(u)<sub>2</sub> can mean "where (birds) perch," literally "(where birds) begin to spread (bur<sub>2</sub>) their wings (a<sub>2</sub>)" (Halloran: "wings" + "to spread out"). For a<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub> "to spread wings," see PSD, B, 196, bur<sub>2</sub> F 1.2. Since the basic meaning of bur<sub>2</sub> is "release, let go, cut or pull out, loosen off" (see next section), a<sub>2</sub>-buru<sub>2</sub> can also literally mean "(where birds) pick up/clean their wings (with beak)" or "to feather (a nest)." This meaning is from a<sub>2</sub>-bu-ra = MIN (*ga-ša-šu*) *ša<sub>2</sub> kap-pi* "to trim wings" (MSL 17, 187).

bur(u) "vessel like pit, bowl," bulug < buru-ag "tool for making a hole, chisel," bur<sub>2</sub>/bur "cut, drill, dig (a pit)"

Another word connected with burud, "pit, hole," is (na<sub>4</sub> dug) bur(u) (*pūru*), "stone bowl, bowl." Since a bowl for water and food is concave, the original meaning of buru may have been "(stone vessel like) a pit." The professional bur-gul is "a stone-bowl cutter." The sign GUL, "dig, cut," consists of a buru<sub>3</sub> "(to dig) a hole" and an uruda "copper (tool)," so the concept of the GUL sign derived from "to dig hole(s) with a copper/bronze (tool)."

The logogram for 18 iku of the surface measure is a small pit (later became U) on the Pre-Sargonic tablets, made by pressing the round end of a stylus on clay. This measuring unit was called bur<sub>3</sub>, "a pit," which probably originated from a size of land under the covering extent of one well/pool.

The Sumerian word bulug "chisel, needle, pin, latch, axis" (PSD, B) is possibly the compound of buru<sub>3</sub>/burud "pit," and ag/k "make, shape": /buru-ag > bulu-ag > buluag > bulûg/, "make a hole" (but Halloran: bul "to sprout" + ag "to do"). The sounds of *buru* and *bulu* were often confused in Mesopotamia. The sign HAL is read buluh, buruh, bur<sub>8</sub>. In Proto-Ea 47 and 49 (MSL 14 32), the BUL sign is read bu-ru in some texts, but buru<sub>15</sub> (LAGAB×SUM) is read bu-ul by text Bb. If bulug did derive from /buru ag/, "make a hole," its etymology should be "tool for make a hole."

The meaning of buru-ag "make a hole" and bulug "the tool for making a hole" can be found in the sign bur(u)<sub>2</sub>, "cut, trim, (bur/bur<sub>2</sub> = *salātu*, see CAD, S 94), to dig out for a hole, to take away," which possibly has the phonetic value of bulug<sub>2</sub>, or that of burug (/buru.ag/) in the earliest time. For si-bur<sub>2</sub> "to cut horn," and bur/bur<sub>2</sub> "dig out, cut stone,"

see PSD, B, 194:9 and the lexical texts there. In Idu II 126f. (quoted in CAD, S, 94) we have bu-ur BUR = *sa-la-tu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> [pur-ri?]*, "to cut [stone bowl?]," = *ab-nu* "(to cut) stone." Here bur, "stone bowl," is equal to bur<sub>2</sub>, "to cut (a stone bowl)." In Aa VIII/2 181, we have bur<sub>2</sub> = *ba-ša-a-mu* "to carry away, to steal" (also see bur<sub>2</sub> = *ba-ša-a-mu ša na-ḥi-it-tu* Nabnitu E 113, "to take away by a burglar"). Since *naḥittu* = *nittu* and *nittu* = lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> bur<sub>3</sub>-bur<sub>3</sub>-ru, "burglar," here we can see bur<sub>2</sub> = bur<sub>3</sub>/burud. In Aa VIII/2 lines 170–78, (MSL 14, 501) read: bu-ur<sub>2</sub> BUR<sub>2</sub> = *ša<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-ḥu ša<sub>2</sub> UZU* "to lose weight/fat"; = *na-pa-lum ša<sub>2</sub> šit-pi* "to dig out for a pit" (*šitpi* = *šatpu*); = *ḥa-ḥa-tu<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub> TITAB* "dig out the beer ingredient (from a pot)"; = *na-sa-ḥu ša<sub>2</sub> šur-rum* "to split obsidian"; = *ša-la-qu ša<sub>2</sub> MIN* (= *šurrum*) "to cut off obsidian"; = *ša* (for *sa*)-*la-tu ša<sub>2</sub> MIN* (*šurrum*) "to trim obsidian"; = *MIN* (*ša-la-tu*) *ša<sub>2</sub> qar-ni* "to trim a horn (for a vessel?)" = *da-ra-šum ša<sub>2</sub> si-im-me* "to gouge out (?) the infectious flesh of a wound" or "to operate"; = *ḥa-ra-šu* (= *erēšu*; or *ḥarāšu* "cut") *ša<sub>2</sub> ab-sin<sub>2</sub>* "to cut the field for furrows, to plow."

buranuna /buru<sub>3</sub>-a-nun-a(k)/, "the source of great water," <sup>dur</sup>dur<sub>4</sub> = *Tur-ran*, "the bands" and zu<sub>2</sub>-bar(>zabar) = *š/sin bārim/siparrum*, "bronze (blade)," > *Sippar(im)* /Zimbi<sup>ki</sup>, "the place of bronze (blade)"

In Hh 22 RS (MSL 11 46): 14 and Nippur Forerunner: 332 (106), the Euphrates is written buranun-na. In OB Hh 20–22 (MSL 11, 106), Diri Nippur: 347, Sippar Sec. 6:5 and Diri III 180 (ms. Civil), the river is spelled buranun-na, bu-ra-nu-na, and bu-ru-nun-na, which indicates a /buru/ in the name. Hence, the name should be analyzed as bur(u)<sub>3</sub>+a+nun+a<sup>k</sup> and understood as "the source (buru(d)<sub>3</sub> or bu<sub>4</sub>/buru(d)<sub>x</sub>) of the great/abundant water (a-nun-na(k))." For buru<sub>3</sub>/burtu = "water source," see CAD, B, *burtu* 3. For nun = *rabū*, "great," see Sb Voc. II 127 (MSL 3 139) and Proto-Aa: 498 in MSL 9 133. In the two inscriptions of Enmetena (Ent. 28 ii, v 10; Ent. 41 iii) and other Lagash tablets, buranuna seems to be written id<sub>2</sub>-nun, "the great river": id<sub>2</sub>-idigna-ta i<sub>2</sub>-nun-še<sub>3</sub>, "from the Tigris to the Euphrates." Three examples of id<sub>2</sub>-nun = id<sub>2</sub> buranuna are given in Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (p. 210, DI O: 4–5 with comment on p. 214): (1) gu<sub>2</sub>id<sub>2</sub>-nun-na dib-ba-mu-de<sub>3</sub>, gu<sub>2</sub>id<sub>2</sub>-buranun-na šu-nigin<sub>2</sub>-na-mu-de<sub>3</sub> "when I walk along the bank of the Great River, when I roam around the bank of the Euphrates"; (2) id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-nun-e id<sub>2</sub>-diri-gin<sub>7</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-buranun-na id<sub>2</sub>-diri-gin<sub>7</sub> (PAPS 107 [1963]: 503, Inanna G 37–38), "the river, the Great River is like the supreme (or a overflowing) river; the river, the Euphrates, is like the supreme river." In the third example (PRAK II C 34:14–22), the Euphrates is called id<sub>2</sub>-nun, "the Great River," id<sub>2</sub>-a-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>, "the River of the Great Water," id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> bur-bur (for buru<sub>4</sub>), "the

river of water sources," and id<sub>2</sub>-buranun!(<UD>-KIB-nun)-na-ke<sub>4</sub>, "the Source (buru<sub>3</sub>) of (a-ke<sub>4</sub>) the Great (nun) Water (a)":

u<sub>3</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-a-nu[n-n]a<sup>ki</sup> id<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>-m[a]  
kin-saḥar er<sub>2</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> il/ur<sub>2</sub>-gi-um a-[n]un?  
id<sub>2</sub>-e id<sub>2</sub>-nun-e ag<sub>2</sub>-ge-ra-am<sub>3</sub>-[ma]  
gu<sub>2</sub>-id<sub>2</sub>-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ag<sub>2</sub>-ge-ra-am<sub>3</sub>-ma  
id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> bur-bur id<sub>2</sub>-buranun<sub>x</sub>(KIB.NUN)-na-ke<sub>4</sub>!(-e)  
[h]e<sub>2</sub>?-dim<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-KIB.NUN-na-ke<sub>4</sub>  
id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> dagal?-gid<sub>2</sub>-e  
[g]u<sub>2</sub>?-gal<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-KIB-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>, kin-1 nigin-ne kin-gan<sub>2</sub> 10

And the River of the Great Water is the River. To the sand work of cry, the roots of reed ... Go out (ag<sub>2</sub> = *ârû*, -ra- = -ta-) the great water, to the River, to the Great River! Go out to the bank of the Great River! Let the water sources (bur-bur) of the Buranuna be equal to the River. Along the Buranuna(k), the River, the wide and long, the canal inspector (gu<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub>=gu<sub>2</sub>-gal?) circled one work, the work of a ten-iku field.

In *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld*<sup>27</sup> 28–29, the Euphrates is also written id<sub>2</sub> KIB-nun-na (texts B and I). In a hymn of Samsuiluna (*Studies Sjöberg*, p. 12 rev. 5'), the river is written as bur-<a-nun>-na: gu<sub>2</sub>-id<sub>2</sub>-idigna gu<sub>2</sub>-id<sub>2</sub>-bur-na gu<sub>2</sub>-a-a-ba aš-ši tum<sub>2</sub>, "he who brought (the land from) the bank of the Tigris (to) the bank of the Euphrates, (to) the bank of the sea, into one."

However, the logogram for "the river of" /bur-a-nun-a/ is written id<sub>2</sub> UD.KIB/TUR<sub>4</sub>-NUN-NA, literally "the river of the Sippar city," not phonetically written as buru<sub>3</sub>-a-nun-na. UD.TUR<sub>4</sub>.NUN, the logogram for the city of *Sippar*, was possibly created in the period when city names were drawn as pictographs in the archaic seals used before Sumerian writing was finally created. UD and NUN, drawn in the archaic seals from Ur and Jemdt-Nasr as a "sun"-symbol (UD) and a "standard" (NUN), are the most important symbols constructing the archaic Sumerian city names: UD.NUN (Adab), UD.UNUG (Larsa) and NUN (Eridug). Note that all these pictographs do not indicate the phonetic reading of the archaic cities. Since UD is the symbol of the sun and Sippar is the worship center of the sun-god, UD.TUR<sub>4</sub>.NUN might be related to the worship of the Utu, the sun-god, in Sippar, as Larsa is written UD.UNUG, and not related to the phonetic name buru<sub>4</sub>-a-nun-na, although later to the logogram or symbol of Sippar was added the river determinative, id<sub>2</sub>, and it achieved a new meaning "the Sippar River" > "the Euphrates."

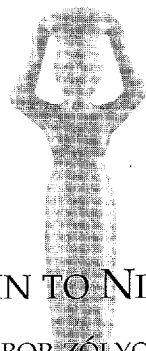
27. A. Shaffer, Ph.D. dissertation, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (University Microfilms, 1963).

### Conclusion

Since the Sumerian language had been developed long before the cuneiform writing system was created, the phonetic values or reading of a cuneiform sign to our ears can sometimes tell us what that cuneiform grapheme does not show to our eyes. The same as the process of the creation of a new pictorial sign, the creation of a new word or concept must also have been dependent on the methods of transferring, compounding, and connecting already existing basic words or concepts. Hence, homophonous words are often relevant to each other for their meanings. Studying the several Sumerian words read /buru(d)/, we have found that each of these words has an original meaning related to "pit/hole." Thus, the /burud/-sound for the concept of "pit or hole" must be one of the basic roots of oral Sumerian, which was then used to construct many new related words, such as ḥab ("stinking") + burud ("pit, hole") = ḥabburud > ḥabrud ("animal hole, den"). It is interesting that although the cuneiform sign of ḥab/ḥab<sub>2</sub>, "stinking," was a drawing of a (rubbish) pit, LAGAB/ LAGAB×BURUD, its sound /ḥab/ indicates that the sound of the concept, obtained before its cuneiform was created, was not originated from /burud/, "pit." The similar sounds of burud and *burt(um)* confirm the close relationship between the vocabulary of Sumerian and that of Akkadian, a language presumably spoken alongside Sumerian long before writing was created by the Sumerians. Because of the handwriting characteristic of cuneiform texts, the confusion between two or three similar cuneiform signs is unavoidable. By analyzing the last consonants of the two similar signs, ḥabrud and du<sub>6</sub>/dul, we now can clear up the confusion that occurs between the two, existing since the early stages of Assyriology, so we can more precisely understand the lines having ḥabrud in the Sumerian literature.

Phonetic study will help us explore the etymologies of Sumerian words and better understand their meanings, distinguish their combinations of written logograms from their phonetic morphemes, and correctly read some confusing cuneiform signs. By using this method, some words once thought non-Sumerian because their etymologies obscured the logograms employed to write them, may be recognized as Sumerian words. The ideas expressed visually through logographic combinations do not necessarily correspond to the etymologies of compound morphemes. For example, the word /az(a)lag/ was formed from only two morphemes: a ("water") and zalag ("to clean"), meaning "(the one who) who cleans with water" > "fuller." What is washed is not specified. However, when /az(a)lag/ "fuller" was first written logographically, it was with the sign azlag<sub>3</sub>. This sign combines five pictographs: giš ("club") and tug<sub>2</sub> ("cloth") with their phonetic indicator geštug, kar ("quay") and tum<sub>2</sub> ("bring"), which means "(the one) who brings cloth and a (washing) club

to a quay." Here we can see that the logographic combination az(a)lag<sub>3</sub> is more complex than the morphological combination /a+zalag/. In Early Dynastic Lu B:25 and E:33 (MSL 12, 13f.), the earliest logogram for /az(a)lag/ is written giš+tug<sub>2</sub>+kar+tum<sub>2</sub> (az(a)lag<sub>4</sub>), and it confirms that geštug of azalag<sub>3</sub> is a phonetic gloss to distinguish the pictograph tug<sub>2</sub> from nam<sub>2</sub> or other similar pictographs. At Ebla (MEE 3, 28 rev. i 5), it was written giš+tug<sub>2</sub>+kar+kas<sub>4</sub>, "one who runs to the quay with cloth and a washing club." At Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Nippur, another simpler logogram was created to write /azalag/: lu<sub>2</sub>+tug<sub>2</sub> (=azlag<sub>2</sub>), "the man with a cloth" (BiMes 1, 66:3), which was an abbreviation of the more complex signs azlag<sub>3</sub> and azlag<sub>4</sub>. During the Akkadian period, two logograms for /azalag/ were used side by side in Lagash and other cities (azlag<sub>2</sub> in MVN 7, 43, 79, but azlag<sub>4</sub> in 425). During the Ur III period, possibly the writing logograms were unified by the central government so only the simpler azlag<sub>2</sub> was used in all the cities of the empire, which made the archaic and complex azlag<sub>4-3</sub> obsolete. In the first millennium, a new logogram of azlag (see CAD *aslāku*), lu<sub>2</sub>+tug<sub>2</sub> ("cloth")+zalag ("to clean"), meaning "man who cleans cloth," was invented to replace azlag<sub>2</sub>, possibly by Assyrian scribes. The added part zalag (UD) in the new azlag sign could also work as a phonetic gloss: LU<sub>2</sub>-TUG<sub>2</sub><sup>zalag</sup>.



## A HYMN TO NINŠUBUR

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THE TABLET Ash. 1911.236 was first published by Stephen Langdon as BL 195 (Langdon 1913: 81–83, pl. 62–63). It is of unknown provenance and measures 6.8 × 10.5 cm. The tablet was purchased from a dealer in London, who claimed that he had bought the tablet in Baghdad. Langdon noted that the tablet (together with Ash. 1911.235) must “have been tampered with by some thievish person who attempted to mend them with clay and to complete the lines with cuneiform signs. When the tablets arrived at the Ashmolean Museum, they had the appearance of being in a perfect state of preservation. I have of course removed the modern restorations.” Langdon thought that the tablet contained two hymns to Nergal.

The whole text of Ash. 1911.236 was edited also by Witzel (1935: 453–457), who interpreted the text “als Abschluss einer Tammuzliturgie” (ibid.: 453).

It was van Dijk who realized that “BL 195 besteht aus zwei vom Händler fälschlich aneinandergeklebten Tafeln. Die obere enthält eine Hymne an Ninšubura, die untere eine an Nergal” (1960: 13<sup>9</sup>). Using a photograph of the tablet, van Dijk transliterated and translated the whole text of the lower part (BL 195B, ibid.: 13–15). He proposed the text to be a hymn to Šulgi (Šulgi U [2.4.2.21])<sup>1</sup> on the basis of reading rev. 12 (= l. 28) as ur-saḡ ‘šul<sup>2</sup>-gi<sup>1</sup>-ra ‘zi’ [...]. As regards the upper part of the tablet, which preserved the hymn to Ninšubur (BL 195A), van Dijk gave a transliteration and translation only of the obverse (ibid.: 53–54).

The present paper contains a transliteration, translation, and a copy of the text preserved on the upper part of BL 195 (Ninšubur A [4.25.01]) with

philological commentary.<sup>2</sup> The paper also contains the results of my collations to the lower part of Ash. 1911.236. It will be shown that there seems to be no reason to assign the composition preserved on the lower part to Šulgi.

A photo of the entire tablet Ash. 1911.236 is included—this photo is the same as the one used by van Dijk. Since the photo was made, the two parts of Ash. 1911.236 have not been separated; they are kept as one tablet in the Ashmolean Museum. Apparently the photo had been made before Langdon removed the clay with which the tablet was mended. One can even see some of the fake signs. Strangely enough, Langdon drew these signs too on his copy of the tablet (1913: pl. 62–63). Van Dijk rightly neglected them (van Dijk 1960: 13–14) in his transliteration, as the photo shows clearly which part of the tablet is not original. The only difference between the present state of the tablet and that shown on the photo is that the place of the foreign clay is now filled with plaster.

It is a pleasure for me to dedicate this paper on a Sumerian literary composition to Professor Jacob Klein, whose own work has contributed so significantly to our understanding of Sumerian literature.

The upper part of Ash. 1911.236 preserved the beginning and end of a composition that originally must have been approximately fifty lines long. The composition starts with a hymnal address to Ninšubur. She is referred to as “mother,” and, uniquely, as the source of abundance. After a gap of approximately thirty lines, Ninšubur herself speaks, addressing Inana and the Anuna-gods in the third person. The composition ends with the sentence “The lady brought exultation to Akkil,” followed by a subscript, which might be restored as “A *šir-gida* of Ninšubur.”

## TRANSLITERATION

OBV.

- 1 'nin numun zid' kalam-ma sukkal an-na
- 2 sukkal an-na ama <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur ḡidru za-gin<sub>3</sub> šu u<sub>3</sub>-me-ti
- 3 igi an-na ši-im-me-dib-dib-be<sub>2</sub>
- 4 an-ne<sub>2</sub> an-šag<sub>4</sub>-ta saḡ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig<sub>7</sub>
- 5 <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-le nam-e-eš mu-ni-in-tar
- 6 u<sub>8</sub> zid sila<sub>4</sub> sag<sub>9</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub> ud<sub>5</sub> zid maš<sub>2</sub> sag<sub>9</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub>

1. The number in brackets after the title is the composition's catalogue number in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (Black et al. 1998–). Throughout this paper, literary texts are quoted after the edition of the ETCSL.

2. For Ninšubur, see Wiggermann 1985–86 and 1998–2001. I am most grateful to F.A.M. Wiggermann for his kindness in allowing me to consult his article on Ninšubur in the *RIA* before its publication. I thank the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for their permission to publish the copy of the upper part of Ash. 1911.236 and the photo of the entire tablet.



- 7 ama gan zid-gin<sub>7</sub> dumu sag<sub>9</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub>-ga  
 8 tur<sub>3</sub> hu-mu-u<sub>8</sub>-da-du<sub>3</sub> amaš hu-mu-u<sub>8</sub>-da-niḡin<sub>2</sub>  
 9 tur<sub>3</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-za amaš niḡin<sub>2</sub>-na-za  
 10 [...] XX [...]

(approximately 30 lines missing)

REV.

- 1' [šag<sub>4</sub>] 'de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-[e] [bar de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-e]  
 2' 'dim<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-me<sub>8</sub>-er<sup>1</sup> 'd<sup>a</sup>-nun-na<sup>1</sup> [ni<sub>3</sub>-ma<sub>3</sub>-e de<sub>3</sub>-en-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-e]  
 3' me-e da-gub-be<sub>2</sub> DU AN DU me-e da-gub-'be<sub>2</sub>' [...] X [...]  
 4' ki-sikil ga-ša-an-an-na <kur> šuba<sub>4</sub> tud<sup>1</sup>-da 'de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥul<sub>2</sub>-e'  
 5' ga-ša-an-men<sub>3</sub> 'aḡ<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup> mu-de<sub>6</sub> de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥul<sub>2</sub>-e  
 6' šag<sub>4</sub> de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-e bar de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-e  
 7' dim<sub>3</sub>-me<sub>8</sub>-er 'd<sup>a</sup>-nun-na ni<sub>3</sub>-ma<sub>3</sub>-e de<sub>3</sub>-en-ḥuḡ<sup>1</sup>-e  
 8' nin-e a-akkil<sub>x</sub>(GADA.KID<sub>2</sub>.SIA)<sup>ki</sup> asila(EZEN×LAL<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>) ba-ni-in-ḡar  
 9' 'šir-gid<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup> d<sup>r</sup>nin<sup>2</sup>-[šubur]-[ra<sup>2</sup>-kam<sup>2</sup>]

#### TRANSLATION

OBV.

1-5 Lady, good seed of the Land, heavenly minister! Heavenly minister, mother Ninšubur, An bestowed upon you(?) from the midst of heaven, and Enlil destined as your(?) fate that with the lapis lazuli scepter taken in your hand you proceed before of An.

6-10 Through you, a good ewe that nurtures its lambs, a good goat that has given birth recently, cattle-pens are erected and sheepfolds are fenced off. In the cattle-pens erected through you and in the sheepfolds fenced off through you,

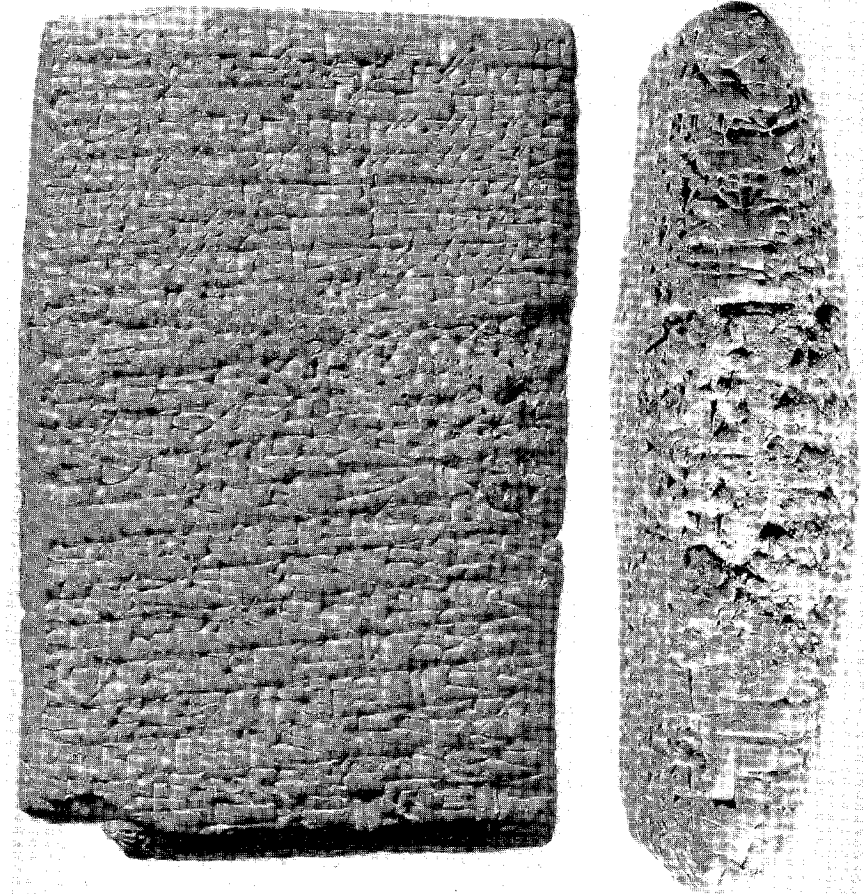
(1 line fragmentary)

(approximately 30 lines missing)

REV.

1'-8' "Let me soothe the hearts, let me soothe the spirits. Let me soothe the gods, the Anuna, in the chamber(?). I will serve, ..., I will serve, .... May the young lady, Inana, who gave form to the shining mountains, rejoice. I, the lady, have brought presents, so that she may rejoice. Let me soothe the hearts, let me soothe the spirits. Let me soothe the gods, the Anuna, in the chamber(?)." The lady brought exultation to Akkil.

9' A šir-gida(?) of Ninšubur(?).

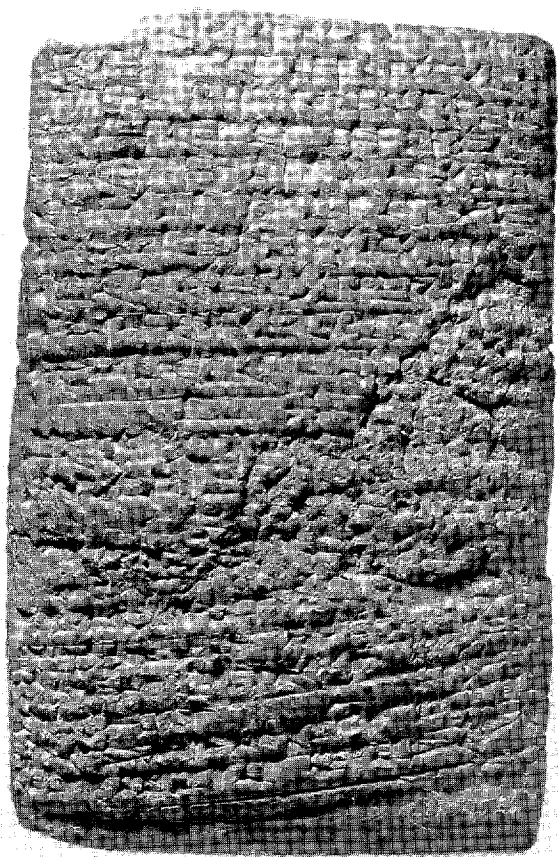


Obverse

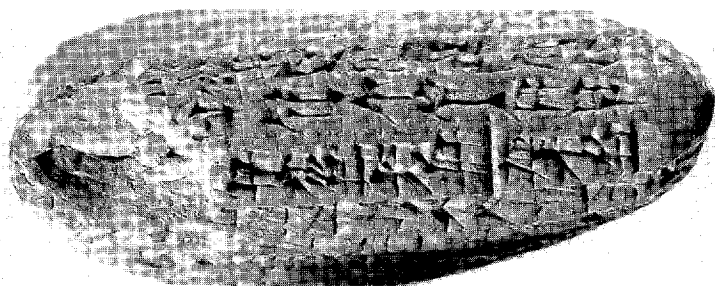
Right Edge

Ash. 1911.236

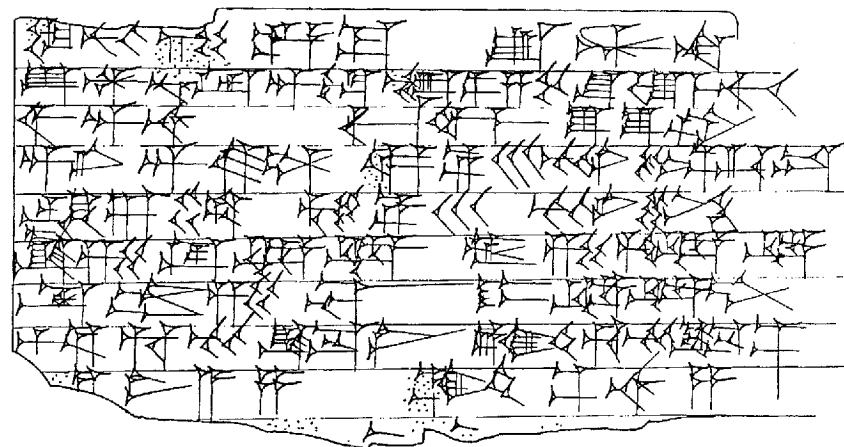




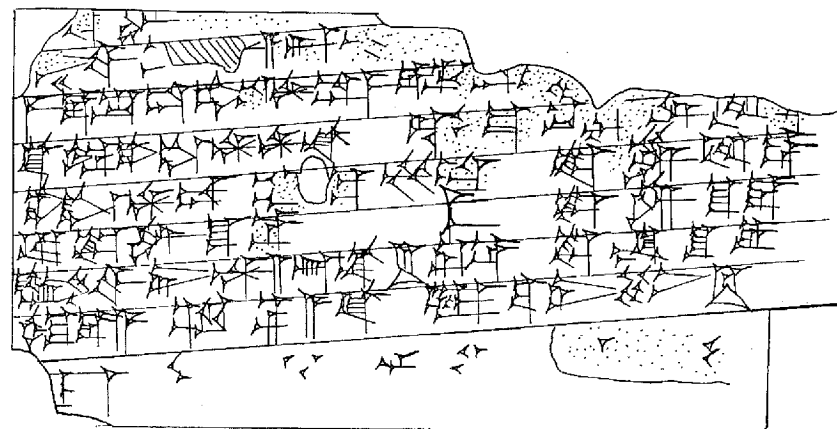
Reverse



Lower Edge



Upper portion of Ash. 1911.236 obverse



Lower portion of Ash. 1911.236 reverse

## COMMENTARY

## OBVERSE:

1: Van Dijk (1960: 53) transliterates: nin-mu zi kalam-ma sukkaḫ an-na. His transliteration does not indicate that the first three signs of the line are only partially preserved. In particular, a part of the sign he transliterated as MU is missing (see photo). The photo he used (and that is published above) shows that the left part of the tablet's upper edge had already been damaged when he worked on the text. Consequently he could not see the first three signs in an undamaged state.<sup>3</sup>

A closer examination of the second sign shows that the head of its first oblique wedge is slightly above the horizontal wedge. In other MU-signs on the tablet, the head of the corresponding oblique wedge is situated below the horizontal wedge of the sign. Also in other MU-signs, the corresponding oblique wedge appears to be further away from the head of the horizontal wedge than in the second sign of line 1. These observations suggest that the sign in question may well be a sign different from MU and one should not assume that it originally started with a pair of oblique wedges, as van Dijk and probably Langdon did. As an alternative, one may therefore interpret the sign as NUMUN.

The description numun zid(-da) "good seed" is attested in connection with gods. An example is line 1 of Ninurta F (4.27.06), where it relates to Ninurta:<sup>4</sup> a zid-da numun zid-da "Good semen, good seed."

The translation of sukkaḫ an-na as "heavenly minister" here and in the following line follows Wiggerman's suggestion (1998–2001: 497) that: "the fact that Inanna addresses her vizier N. as la-bar-an-na-...-mu (Volk, FAOS 18, 70) shows that the element an-na specifying the various titles denotes Inanna's domain 'heaven' in all cases, rather than the personalized god 'Heaven' (An) in some, and the domain 'heaven' in others."

2: The writing u<sub>3</sub>-me- probably represents here /u.m.ba.e/,<sup>5</sup> where /e/ is the 2nd ps. sg. pronominal element referring to the subject of the verb, Ninšubur. This analysis is supported by the grammatical form of Ninšubur's name. The name <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur appears to be in the absolute case, implying that Ninšubur is addressed here in 2nd ps., and is not the subject of a 3rd ps. verbal form. If Ninšubur were the 3rd ps. subject of the verb šu—ti, it would have to be in the ergative case. In

3. Langdon (1913: pl. LXII) copied the first three signs as undamaged. This, however, cannot be taken as evidence that the tablet was unbroken at that time.

4. See Al-Rawi and Black 2000 for a new print edition of the composition.

5. See Attinger 1993: 245<sup>624</sup>.

Old Babylonian literary texts, however, Ninšubur's name is normally written as nin-šubur(-ra)-ke<sub>4</sub> when followed by the ergative case-marker.<sup>6</sup>

3: The writing im-me- in the prefix-chain may be for /m.ba.e/.<sup>7</sup> It is not apparent, however, what function the morpheme /e/ has here. The verbal form is probably *marû*, which is common after a verb with the /u/- prefix. Since the verbal form is intransitive, the presence of a 2nd ps. sg. subject marker /e/ would be unexpected before the verbal base.<sup>8</sup> It is also unclear which morpheme follows the verbal base. The writing -dib-dib-be<sub>2</sub> may represent either /dib.dib.en/ or /dib.dib.ed/. Neither /...e.dib.dib.en/ nor /...e.dib.dib.ed/ conforms to the way a 2nd ps. sg. intransitive *marû* form is normally analyzed.<sup>9</sup>

As van Dijk noticed too, one might expect here *igi an-na-še<sub>3</sub>* (1960: 53<sup>21</sup>). The lack of the terminative case-marker may well be a trait of Old Babylonian Sumerian. One should, however, not exclude the possibility that *igi an-na ši-im-me-dib-dib-be<sub>2</sub>* is a sandhi-writing for \**igi an-na-še<sub>3</sub> im-me-dib-dib-be<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>10</sup>

See also the thematically similar lines from another Old Babylonian literary composition relating to Ninšubur: [(X)(X)] šu-ni im-ma-an-<sup>r</sup>dab<sub>5</sub> igi an-na im-ma-da- [...], an-ne<sub>2</sub> igi ḫul<sub>2</sub>-la mu-ši-in-bar nam dug<sub>3</sub> mu-ši-in<sup>r</sup>-[tar] (Ninšubur C [4.25.3], 25–26)<sup>11</sup> "She took...in her hand and...with it in front of An. An looked at her approvingly and assigned a sweet fate to her."

6. See, e.g., *Inana's Descent to the Netherworld* (1.4.1) ll. 174, 307; Šulgi M (2.4.2.13) Segment B l. 6; Ninšubur C (4.25.3) l. 14.

7. See Attinger 1993: 245<sup>624</sup>.

8. The morpheme /e/ might also be analyzed as the directive prefix without a preceding pronominal element (on this allomorph of the directive prefix, called "local" prefix by Attinger [1993: 240–46 §1.53; 1999; 2000], see Zólyomi 1999: 230 and 2000). There seems to be, however, no verbal participant that would require the presence of a directive prefix.

9. Note that Krecher's description of the intransitive *marû* (1995: 180–83) would require here a form /...dib.dib.ed.en/.

10. See already Falkenstein 1944: 73: "Eine Anzahl von Belegen aus der altbabylonischen und der spätbabylonischen Zeit erweckt den Eindruck, daß das Präformativ [i.e. the prefix ša-] an diesen Stellen nicht ursprünglich sondern aus der engen Verbindung der Postposition -šê>-š oder eines auf -š auslautenden Wortes mit der darauffolgenden Verbalform entstanden ist."

11. Sjöberg (1982: 72) transliterates line 25 (= rev. 2) as: šu-ni im-a-an-[d]ab<sub>5</sub> igi-an-na im-ma-da[-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>]. The idiom šu—dab<sub>5</sub>, however, seems to have no object in this line, and the object of the previous clause (uru-ni "her city") cannot function as a pronominal object here either. The rather poor photo (ibid.: 79) does not allow one to decide whether there might be some signs broken off before šu-ni in line 25. The tablet needs to be collated.

4–5: One would expect here \*mu-ri-in-rig<sub>7</sub> and \*mu-ri-in-tar as in the previous and the following lines, where Ninšubur is addressed in the 2nd ps. sg. Van Dijk suggested that unless these forms should be emended, they are “ein parenthetischer Einschub” (1960: 53<sup>22</sup>). A confusion between /ni/ and /ri/ is also attested in line B13 of the Susa version of *The Death of Ur-Namma* (2.4.1.01), which corresponds to line 51 of the Nippur version: ud <<'sa<sub>2</sub>'>> dug<sub>4</sub>-ga<sup>1</sup>-ni-a sa<sub>2</sub> mi-ri-ib-du alan-a-ni ba-ra-'ed<sub>2</sub>' (Susa version, Segment B 13),<sup>12</sup> ud 'dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni sa<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-'ib?'-dug<sub>4</sub> a-la-na ba-ra-'ed<sub>2</sub>' (Nippur version, 51)<sup>13</sup> “His appointed time had arrived, and he passed away in his prime.”

Flückiger-Hawker (1999: 168 [to l. 51]) suggests that “Susa’s sa<sub>2</sub> mi-ri-ib-du ‘it has reached you’ may be contaminated” by the following line of *The Death of Gilgameš* (1.8.1.3): ud ku<sub>10</sub>-ku<sub>10</sub> nam-lu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>18</sub>-lu-kam sa<sub>2</sub> mi-ri-ib-dug<sub>4</sub> (Nippur version, Segment E 19) “The darkest day of humans awaits you now.”

One may wonder whether it is possible to pinpoint particular texts that influenced a scribe at a given place and time. On a more general level, one may rather argue that grammatical errors of this type reflect a low degree of grammatical competence. They may suggest that instead of relying on a competence of grammatical patterns and rules, the scribes who wrote these texts created new utterances by putting together phrases and forms whose exact functions were, by and large, opaque to them. The same explanation may apply to the apparently erroneous verbal form in line 3.

6–7: These lines appear to be an elaboration on Ninšubur’s aspect as mother, which is attested in personal names and a royal inscription in the third millennium, and is also known from another Old Babylonian literary text: <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ama-ḡu<sub>10</sub> (DP 114 viii 4); <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ama (Reisner 1901, no. 162 v 27);<sup>14</sup> ‘ama’ [tud]-‘da’-[ni], <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-kam (Puzur-Mama 1 iii 2’-3’),<sup>15</sup> sukkal zid ama kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>, <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur ama kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> XXX ga-u<sub>5</sub> (Ninšubur B [4.25.2], 39–40) “I, the faithful minister, the mother of the Land, Ninšubur, the mother of the Land, ... will ride high [in joy]!”

The sequence of u<sub>8</sub>/sila<sub>4</sub>, ud<sub>5</sub>/maš<sub>2</sub>, ama-gan/dumu is a variation of a well-attested topos in Sumerian literary texts that belongs to

12. = Sb 12363 rev. 13’, cf. Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 110 and 156.

13. = Ms. A (CB 4560 +) ii. 11, cf. Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 110.

14. See Limet 1968: 161.

15. Quoted after Frayne 1993.

the topoi of abundance.<sup>16</sup> The usual third element of the sequence, ab<sub>2</sub>/amar “cow/calf,” is replaced here by ama-gan/dumu.

7: For the translation of ama gan *imikānum* as “the mother who has given birth” in addition to “bearing mother,” see Heimpel 1968: 185 and 386, CAD, I–J, s.v. *imikanu*, and PSD, A/III, s.v. ama-gan, lexical 2.

8–9: The building of cattle-pens and sheepfolds is another literary topos of abundance. It is used in conjunction with both gods and humans as the following occurrences show. Ninšubur’s aspect as the source of abundance is not known from other sources.

dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ḡu<sub>10</sub> tur<sub>3</sub> im-ši-du<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub> amaš im-ši-niḡin (*Enki and the World Order* [1.1.3] 89) “At my (= Enki’s) command, cattle-pens have been built, sheepfolds have been fenced off”; tur<sub>3</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-da amaš du<sub>3</sub>-a-da (The Building of Niniḡirsu’s Temple [2.1.7], 1161 [= Gudea Cyl. B 15.5]) “(With his duties, namely, ...) to see that cattle-pens and sheepfolds will be erected, (... Gudea, himself entered before lord Ninḡirsu)”; [...] ḡal<sub>2</sub> zid-da-me-en tur<sub>3</sub> amaš mu-da-‘daḡal’ (Ur-Namma C [2.4.1.3] 26) “I am..., under my (=Ur-Namma’s) rule the cattle-pens and sheepfolds are extended wide”; tur<sub>3</sub> nu-du<sub>3</sub>-e amaš nu-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-ḡa<sub>2</sub> (Išbi-Erra E [2.5.1.5] 27) “(Nisaba, if you are away,) no cattle-pen is built, no sheepfold is set up”; tur<sub>3</sub> ḡa-ra-du<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub> amaš ḡa-ra-daḡal-daḡal (Išme-Dagan B [2.5.4.02] 49) “Cattle-pens shall be built, sheepfolds shall be enlarged for you (= Išme-Dagan)”; tur<sub>3</sub> nu-du<sub>3</sub> amaš nu-ḡar-ḡar (Enlil A [4.05.1] 111) “(without Enlil) no cow-pen would be built, no sheepfold would be established.”

#### REVERSE:

The reverse contains numerous Emesal words. The presence of me-e “I” in line 3’ and ga-ša-an-men<sub>3</sub> “I, the lady” in line 5’ suggests that lines 1’–7’ are direct speech. It is assumed here that the speaker is the female, Ninšubur.

The verbal forms starting with the /de/- prefix are ambiguous as Emesal /de/- can correspond to both Emegir /he/- and /ga/-. The suffix -/e/ after the verbal stems does not necessarily imply either that the verbal forms should be interpreted as precatives, since singular cohortative verbal forms ending with a suffix are attested—they appear to be an Old Babylonian innovation.<sup>17</sup> An Emegir example is known from an Old Baby-

16. See Ferrara 1995.

17. See Attinger 1993: 292 (§190c) for attestations. Attinger states that “à partir de l’ép. pB, les formes du type {ga (+i) + B(m.) + en/ed(?) } ne sont pas rarement attestées” (loc. cit.).

lonian letter prayer:<sup>18</sup> *tukum-bi diğir-ğū<sub>10</sub>-ra an-na-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>, šağ<sub>4</sub> ib<sub>2</sub>-ba-zu ga-ab-ḥuğ-e ur<sub>5</sub>-zu ḥe<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>-e* (Letter from Kug-Nanna to Ninšubur [3.3.39] B5–6) “If it pleases you, my god, let me soothe your angry heart, so that your spirit will be assuaged.”

Ninšubur as the soothing goddess or god is also known from an Old Babylonian literary text, and from the part of the god list AN: Anum that lists the epithets of Ninšubur: [sukkal] *zid-zu ga-ša-an-šubur-ke<sub>4</sub> šağ<sub>4</sub>-zu ḥe<sub>2</sub>-im-ḥuğ-e* (BM 29616, obv. 30)<sup>19</sup> “May your faithful minister, Ninšubur, soothe your (= Inana’s) heart”; *en-ḥuğ* (AN: Anum I 39); *en-ḥuğ-ğa<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>* (AN: Anum I 40).

1’–2’: The lines are restored on the basis lines 6’–7’, assuming that they were identical.

4’–5’: The translation is based on the interpretation of the prefix-chain *de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥul-e*. It is assumed that a writing *de<sub>3</sub>-em-* may stand both for /de.m/ and /de.m.b/ (where /m/ is the ventive morpheme, and /b/ is the inanimate 3rd. ps. object marker), but not for /de.m.n/, (where /n/ is the animate 3rd. ps. object marker).<sup>20</sup> Consequently, Inana can only be the subject but not the object of the verb in lines 4’ and 5’, and these verbal forms should, therefore, be interpreted as precative.

4’: The emendation of *šuba<sub>4</sub>* to *kur šuba<sub>4</sub>* is based on line 17 of *Inana and Ebiḥ* (1.3.2):<sup>21</sup> *kur šuba<sub>2</sub> kur ki sikil u<sub>3</sub>-tu-ud-da-za* “on your giving birth to the bright mountain, the mountain, the holy place.”

5’: One would perhaps expect here *mu-na-de<sub>6</sub>* “I brought her (= Inana) presents.” The translation of the second clause as “so that she may rejoice” is based on the assumption that the *ḥe*-form functions here to indicate the consequences of the event described in the previous clause.<sup>22</sup>

7’: The signs *NIG<sub>2</sub> GA<sub>2</sub> E* are difficult to interpret. One may relate them to two words, but, unfortunately, neither of these words is understood well enough:

- i. A word (*e<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>9</sub>-ğar(-ra)*) occurs in various literary texts referring to some cult place dedicated to Inana or other god-

desses.<sup>23</sup> The attested Emesal form of *ni<sub>9</sub>-ğar* is written as *ni<sub>3</sub>-ma<sub>3</sub>(.r)*.<sup>24</sup>

- ii. A word written as *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğa<sub>2</sub>/ğar-ra* occurs in “Šulgi Y” and in *The Temple Hymns* (in the latter composition it actually refers to a part of Ninšubur’s E-akkil): *alan kug-sig<sub>17</sub> alan na<sup>a</sup>za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na-ğū<sub>10</sub>, kisal-maḥ e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğa<sub>2</sub>/ğar-ra-ka-na si ba-ni-sa<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>* (Šulgi Y [2.4.2.25] 22–23)<sup>25</sup> “I lined up my gold statues and lapis-lazuli statues in the main courtyard of her (= Ninlil’s) ...”; *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra-zu kur ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ğal<sub>2</sub>-la* (*The Temple Hymns* [4.80.1] 222) “your ..... is a mountain of abundance.”

The relationship between (*e<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>9</sub>-ğar(-ra)*) and *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra* is unclear. *e<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>9</sub>-mar-ra* in VAT 278 (= SBH No. 31<sup>26</sup>), obv. 19 corresponds to *ma-ağ<sub>2</sub>-ma-ra*, *ma-ağ<sub>2</sub>-ma-re*, and *ma-ni<sub>9</sub>-ğar-ra* in the Old Babylonian parallel passages quoted and edited by Black (1985: 69–71). As Emesal *ma-ağ<sub>2</sub>-ma-ra* should correspond to Emegir *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğa<sub>2</sub>-ra*; this piece of evidence suggests that even if the two writings had stood for two separate lexemes originally, the distinction between the two lexemes may have become blurred by the Old Babylonian period. The manuscripts of *The Temple Hymns* (4.80.1) that preserved both words distinguish, however, consistently between the two writings.<sup>27</sup>

Sjöberg considers *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra* as “an unusual writing for *é-ni-ğa-ra*” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969: 96) and translates the word as “treasury.” This assumption is, however, made improbable by the fact that Old Babylonian manuscripts distinguish between /g/ and /ğ/ fairly consistently. Moreover, the reading of GA in *niğ<sub>2</sub>-GA* is uncertain; it may well be *gur<sub>11</sub>*.<sup>28</sup>

18. See Walker and Kramer 1982: 78–83.

19. See Kramer 1981: 3.

20. See Attinger 1993: 271 (§177) and 277 (§178 2°).

21. See Attinger 1998 for the latest print edition of the composition. For the adjective /šuba/ or /suba/ “bright,” see Sjöberg 1988: 172°.

22. See Civil: forthcoming for a description of this function of *ḥe*-forms: “A *ḥe*-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 *ḥe*-clause possible” (italics are his).

23. See Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969: 92–93, Black 1985: 43, and George 1993: 133. On the writing and meaning of the word, see especially Krecher 1966: 128–31. George (1993: 133, s.v. *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra*) translates the word as: “House, established chamber”; Schretter (1990: 246) translates *ni<sub>9</sub>-mar* as “e. Kultraum.”

24. See Krecher 1966: 128<sup>382</sup>.

25. Ni 4043 (SLTN 52) obv. 7 writes *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra-ka-na*; BM 16919 (CT 42 40) rev. 9 writes *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğa<sub>2</sub>-ra-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-na*.

26. For an edition of the composition, a *balag* of Inana, to which this ms. belongs, see Black 1985 and Cohen 1988: 704–25.

27. Compare the relevant lines of CBS 7073 (= ms. A) and CBS 19767 (= ms. B).

28. See Kraus 1966: 10ff. Some authors extend the dubious identification of *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-ğar-ra* with *e<sub>2</sub>-niğ<sub>2</sub>-GA-ra* even to *e<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>9</sub>-mar-ra*, and translate SBH no. 31, obv. 19 as “Vorratshaus” (Oberhuber 1990: 374) and “storehouse” (Cohen 1988: 720 [l. a+70]).

In VAT 278 (= SBH No. 31), obv. 20 e<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>9</sub>-mar-ra is translated as E<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ru. In Explicit *malku* = *šarru* II 169 (Kilmer 1963: 444) nig<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ru is listed as a synonym of *ešertu* “chapel, shrine.”<sup>29</sup> This slender evidence does not seem to be enough to decide conclusively which of the two words (ni<sub>9</sub>-gar-(ra) or ni<sub>9</sub>-gar-ra) is translated by *niggaru*.

The fact that in line 7' the sign NIG<sub>2</sub> is used and not AG<sub>2</sub> in an Emesal context, may indicate that NIG<sub>2</sub> stands here for the sequence /ni/ and not for the lexeme ni<sub>9</sub>. It seems to me, therefore, more likely that ni<sub>3</sub>-ma<sub>3</sub>-e is actually a writing for Emegir ni<sub>9</sub>-gar-e, which is translated here tentatively as “chamber” on the basis of the other occurrences of the word.

The verbal form de<sub>3</sub>-en-ḥuḡ-e contrasts with de<sub>3</sub>-em-ḥuḡ-e in lines 1' and 6'. It is assumed here that the /n/ before the verbal base derives from a locative /ni/. This allomorph of the locative prefix occurs when there is no other morpheme between the locative and the verbal base.<sup>30</sup>

- 8': The sign written inside EZEN is difficult to identify, but it is very likely to be LAL<sub>2</sub>. The idiom asila—gar is otherwise attested only in a bilingual inscription of Ḫammu-rāpi: uḡ<sub>3</sub> zimbir<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>, asila ḥe<sub>2</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-gar (Ḫammu-rāpi 2, 68–69)<sup>31</sup> *a-na ni-ši<sub>3</sub> ZIMBIR<sup>ki</sup> ri-iš-tam lu aš-ku-un* (69–89) “I brought exultation for the people of Sippar.”
- 9': The subscript is separated from the previous lines with a deeper ruling. The signs are difficult to read because apparently someone attempted to wipe them away while the clay was still wet.

#### COLLATIONS TO THE LOWER PART OF ASH. 1911.236 (BL 195A)

##### OBVERSE:

- 2' (= 11) [= 2]<sup>32</sup>: Van Dijk's transliteration is correct: the tablet breaks off after the ZA of ganzer. The following signs on Langdon's copy are fake signs.
- 3' (= 12) [= 3]: Van Dijk's transliteration is correct: the tablet breaks off after the sa-par<sub>2</sub>-ra'. The following signs on Langdon's copy are fake signs.

29. Neither AHw nor CAD includes a word *niggaru*. CDA says “in *bīt n.* ‘storehouse’ jB, of shrine” (= Black, et al. 1999: 252).

30. See Attinger 1993: 247 (§156) with reference to earlier literature.

31. Quoted after Frayne 1990. The attestations of asila—gar in rev. 8' of Ash. 1911.236 and in Ḫammu-rāpi 2 are to be added to Attinger 1993: §287.

32. The numbers in round brackets correspond to the line numbers in van Dijk's edition of BL 195B (van Dijk 1960: 13–15); the numbers in square brackets correspond to the line numbers of ETCSL's edition (2.4.2.21).

- 8' (= 17) [= 8]: The first sign of the line is 𒀭𒀭; Langdon's copy is fairly exact. The sign is more likely to be a KAL than a GIŠGAL.
- 14' (= 23) [= 14]: The first preserved sign of the line is not a broken E as assumed by van Dijk, but a broken SAG. The beginning of the line should probably be restored as [ur]-saḡ'.
- 15' (= 24) [= 15]: [X X]-e 𒀭𒀭 ši-im-mi-niḡin.

The second preserved sign looks fairly similar to the third sign of rev. 12 (= 36) [= 28] (see below). Both signs were transliterated as šul by van Dijk, but they seem to lack some of the features that normally characterize this sign.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, neither of these contexts helps to identify the signs.

- 16' (= 25) [= 16]: There is a deep vertical line between ZU and KI on the tablet. Van Dijk seems to have considered it as the second vertical of ZU, but all other ZU-signs are written with only one vertical on the tablet.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the vertical line in question differs from any other vertical wedge of the line by extending from the bottom of the previous line to the top of the following line. It is, therefore, clearly not part of any sign but a marking made by the scribe. Obv. 16' is the third line of a three line long stanza:

14' (= 23) [= 14] [ur]-saḡ' nam-nir-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-zu <sup>d</sup>mes<sub>3</sub>-lam-ta-ed<sub>2</sub>-a

15' (= 24) [= 15] [X X]-e ŠUL<sup>?</sup> ši-im-mi-niḡin

16' (= 25) [= 16] <sup>[d]</sup>rnergal' nam-nir-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-zu | ki bal-e

One could argue that obv. 16' is in fact the abbreviated writing of obv. 14' and 15', i.e., obv. 16' is to be interpreted as: <sup>[d]</sup>rnergal nam-nir-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-zu <<sup>d</sup>mes<sub>3</sub>-lam-ta-ed<sub>2</sub>-a> | ki bal-e <ŠUL<sup>?</sup> ši-im-mi-niḡin>.

This interpretation would entail that the first word of obv. 15' is to be restored as [ki-bal]-e, and make obv. 14'–16' similar to the following four lines (rev. 1–4), which form a four-line-long stanza of the pattern A B A<sub>variant</sub> B.


- 23' (= 32) [= 23]: There is space for up to three signs after NIḡIN.


##### REVERSE:

- 2 (= 27) [= 18]: Van Dijk's reading of the end of the line as im-mi-zu is correct. What Langdon (1913:83) thought to be a ME-sign after im-mi-zu is, in fact, the crossing of the last vertical of AG<sub>2</sub> from the previous line and the ruling.


33. This may explain why Langdon transliterated both this sign and the similar one in rev. 12 as “nigin” (1913: 83).


34. See the eighth sign in obv. 10', the eighth sign in obv. 12', the fifth preserved sign in obv. 14', the last sign in rev. 2 and 4, the fourth sign in rev. 8.


- 6 (= 31) [= 22]: ki bal-e  -da ba-ni-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 9 (= 34) [= 25]: Van Dijk restores only a niḡin after ti-da-nu-um-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>. In fact, there is space for more signs.  
 10 (= 35) [= 26]: Although Langdon did not copy it, and van Dijk did not transliterate it, there is a ZU after BA on the tablet, as expected on the basis of the parallel line rev. 8 (= 33) [= 24].

- 12 (= 37) [= 28]: 


The sign before RA cannot be GI since there is no space for the beginning of GI. The sign is very likely to be a HI. The sign after SAG shows a resemblance to three other signs on the tablet:


2nd sign of obv. 10'  (= LAM)

8th preserved sign of obv. 14'  (= LAM)

2nd preserved of obv. 15'  (= ŠUL<sup>2</sup>, but see above the remarks on this sign).

The resemblance is closest to the last one, but even these two signs seem to differ in some detail whose importance cannot be assessed without further evidence: the two horizontals of the sign after SAG are positioned lower in relation to the head of the verticals of the sign than the same elements of the similar sign in obv. 15'. The sign might be read as šul, especially in view of the frequent collocation of ur-saḡ and šul. The line may then be read as ur-saḡ 'šul<sup>2</sup> šar<sub>2</sub>-ra ZI [...]' "Youthful hero (= Nergal), who...multitudes."<sup>35</sup> The assignment of the composition to Šulgi cannot be maintained anymore.

- 13 (= 38) [= 29] a<sub>2</sub> ši-im- -[...].

- 14 (= 39) [= 30]: The first sign of the line is . Langdon's interpretation of the sign as BAD (1913:83) does more justice to the actual traces on the tablet than van Dijk's, who thinks the first a broken GIŠ. The sign clearly contained a diagonal wedge, making van Dijk's restoration of the line as 'ḡiš<sup>1</sup>-[gi<sub>4</sub>-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-bi-im] doubtful.

35. The line might tentatively be connected with lines 72 and 94 of *Gilgameš and Agga* (1.8.1.1):


76 šar<sub>2</sub>-ra la-ba-an-šub-bu-uš šar<sub>2</sub>-ra la-ba-an-zig<sub>3</sub>-ge-eš  
 "Would he not cast down multitudes, would he not raise up multitudes?"

94 šar<sub>2</sub>-ra ba-an-šub-bu-uš šar<sub>2</sub>-ra ba-an-zig<sub>3</sub>-ge-eš  
 "He (= Gilgameš) cast down multitudes, he raised up multitudes."

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THE COURTESAN, THE WILD MAN,  
AND THE HUNTER:  
STUDIES IN THE LITERARY HISTORY  
OF THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH\*

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THIS STUDY TAKES UP the famous episode in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* that tells first of the confrontation of the wild man Enkidu and the hunter, then of the hunter's fetching of a courtesan to neutralize Enkidu, and finally of the actual encounter and love scene between the courtesan and the wild man.<sup>1</sup> While first noting several general features of the story that strike me as odd and call for explanation, I shall begin the actual analysis by focusing on specific philological/exegetical difficulties at the center of the love scene itself, in the hope of making better sense of the scene. I shall then take up the question of the composition of the episode. Here, I shall work out a series of complementary, sometimes alternative, reconstructions of its development. Finally, I shall suggest a new way of looking at the composition of the epic as a whole.

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\* This essay was composed during my sabbatical leave of 2003–2004 in Princeton and Jerusalem, while I was first a member of the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and then a Lady Davis Visiting Professor at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and an NEH Fellow of the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. I am deeply grateful to these institutions for their hospitality and support. I thank as well the École Biblique for welcoming me into its library. I acknowledge with thanks the sabbatical leave granted by my home institution.

I am grateful to several colleagues with whom I discussed my ideas, most notably, Patricia Crone, Princeton, and Joan Westenholz, Jerusalem. I also wish to thank Robb Young, as well as the students in my seminar at the Hebrew University (Noga Ayali, Roni Goldstein, Baruch Ottervanger, and Sabena Tulbure) for their suggestions.

1. In citing the text, I have been able to make use of A. R. George's edition of the epic that has just appeared: *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford, 2003). George's edition is fundamental and represents a major advance in the reconstruction of the text of the epic, thus enabling its further study and the pursuit of the history and interpretation of the work.



A study of this sort is anything but definitive. It is my hope that it may solve some problems in the text and suggest possible stages of development of the work. But even if my reasoning is basically sound, both the analysis and the conclusions will surely require some correction and modification of detail. In any case, I trust that, at the very least, this study will have some heuristic value and be of interest to those who love the *Epic of Gilgamesh* as much as I do. I dedicate this study in friendship and esteem to Professor Ya'akov Klein, a valued friend and colleague of over thirty years. Ya'akov has devoted himself tirelessly and intelligently to the reconstruction, translation, and understanding of Mesopotamian literature and to its popularization in Israel. I hope that he finds some interest in this study of a text in which he, too, has invested his talents.

*The Love Scene: An Analysis*

The text is known in both Old Babylonian (OB) and Standard Babylonian (SB) versions. In gross terms, we may sketch the episode as told in the first tablet of the SB version as follows (later we shall consider the OB): In response to the complaint of the people of Uruk against Gilgamesh, the gods create Enkidu, a powerful wild man, to engage Gilgamesh and thereby provide relief to the populace. He roams with the animals and feeds with them. He frustrates a hunter's attempts to catch animals. The hunter sees him and is deeply distressed and agitated. He tells his father what he has witnessed. His father advises him to go to Uruk and to take a courtesan from there to seduce the wild man, thereby causing the animals to reject him. The hunter goes to Uruk, repeats his speech to Gilgamesh, and is given the same advice. He leads the courtesan Shamhat to the wild. Upon the appearance of Enkidu, he tells the courtesan what steps to take in order to seduce Enkidu. She successfully carries out her mission. They have intercourse for a week;<sup>2</sup> afterward Enkidu tries to return to the animals, but they reject him. He returns to the courtesan, who advises him to accompany her to civilization.

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George's work is careful and learned and provides much information on the text and its problems. In the main, his interpretation of the text takes the form of textual summary and paraphrase, and his study of the history of the epic is largely a description of the textual situation evident from the extant manuscripts. Unfortunately, George also seems to have an aversion to works like my own that pursue in-depth literary interpretation or literary-historical reconstruction, activities crucial for grasping the meaning and development of the epic. But just as a scholar has the right to choose the approach that suits his disposition and talents, so too must he respect the right of other scholars to strive to obtain that which they believe to be knowable. Elsewhere, I shall register my responses to George's characterizations of some of my studies of the epic.

2. Below we shall argue there was a sexual encounter prior to the week-long one.

Before turning to the core of our analysis, the love scene itself, let us note several features of the episode that seem to require explanation. (These may serve as the framework for our study.) They are:

1. When the hunter sees Enkidu, "[He was] troubled, he grew still, he grew silent, / his mood [*was unhappy*], his face clouded over, / There [was] sorrow in his heart, / his face was like [one who has travelled] distant [roads.]" (SB I 118–21).<sup>3</sup> The hunter's response to Enkidu's appearance seems to be in the nature of an overreaction.
2. The hunter receives instruction both from his father and from Gilgamesh to fetch a courtesan and to have her seduce Enkidu so that the animals will reject him. One or the other of these instructions seems to be redundant (SB I 140–45<sup>4</sup> = 162–66).<sup>5</sup>
3. There are differences between the hunter's father's // Gilgamesh's instructions and the instructions of the hunter to the courtesan. How are we to understand these differences?

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3. Translation: George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 545. I follow George's line count throughout.
  4. Note that I follow the reconstruction of line 140 found already in P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, KB 6/1 (Berlin, 1900), 122–23, and repeated with a modification by George, *Gilgamesh*, pp. 546–47: [*alik sayyādi* (Jensen) / *māri* (George) *ittika ḥarimtu šamḥat*] *uruma*, ["Go, my hunter (Jensen) / son (George)], take [with you the courtesan Shamhat]." This restoration differs from that assumed by most later translators, who have tried to lessen the redundancy of the father's advice and to smooth out the connection between the father and Gilgamesh. Thus, for example, E.A. Speiser, ANET, p. 74: "[Let him give thee a harlot-lass]. Take (her) [with thee];" or A. Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, neu herausgegeben von W. von Soden (Stuttgart, 1988), 19: "Eine Dirne leih' er dir! Führt sie zur Steppe!" (in Schott's translation, italics are used for "Unsicheres oder Ergänztes"). In this tradition, see also, e.g., M. G. Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford, 1989), 7; J. Bottéro, *L'épopée de Gilgameš* (Paris, 1992), 72; K. Hecker in K. Hecker et al., *Mythen und Epen II*, TUAT III/4 (Gütersloh, 1994), 676; B.R. Foster in B.R. Foster et al., *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (New York/London, 2001), 7. R.C. Thompson's restoration in *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930), 13:19, takes a middle course in that he restores *iqabbima* at the beginning of a line that reads the same as Jensen's.
  5. After noticing the obvious redundancy, I discovered that M. Jastrow Jr. (and A.T. Clay), *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic*, YORIV/3 (New Haven, 1920), 42, had, in effect, already observed the same some eighty-five years ago:

"[T]he father tells his son to go to Gilgamesh to relate to him the strange appearance of the animal-man; but there is clearly no purpose in this, as is shown by the fact that when the hunter does so, Gilgamesh makes *precisely the same speech* as does the father of the hunter...."

The artificiality of the process of introducing Gilgamesh into the episode is revealed by this awkward and entirely meaningless repetition."

Such redundancy is only partially explained by the tendency of SB literature to repetition. See below, note 27.



4. The love scene comprises the hunter's instructions to Shamhat and the narrator's account of the actual lovemaking. The love-making, especially as prescribed by the hunter, presents difficulties. The precise details of the love scene and the order of events are not clear.<sup>6</sup> This is due in part to uncertainties that surround the translation of such crucial terms as *kuzba leqû* in lines 181–82 // 189–90.

We begin with the love scene itself, but we do so bearing in mind that any attempt at understanding this account should not treat in isolation its several sections, namely, the hunter's father's // Gilgamesh's instructions to the hunter, the hunter's instructions to the courtesan, and the description of the act itself, but analyze them in relationship to each other as well (and thus see what relationship exists between them). The passages that treat lovemaking read as follows:

Father's // Gilgamesh's Instructions

- 143 // 164 *ši lišḫuṭ lubūšišama liptâ kuzubša*  
 144 // 165 *immaršima iṭeḫḫâ ana šâši*  
 145 // 166 *inakkiršu bûlšu ša irbû eli šērišu*

Hunter's Instructions

- 180 *...rummî kirimmiki*  
 181 *ūrki pitēma kuzubki lîlqe*  
 182 *ē tašḫutî liqē napīssu*  
 183 *immarkima iṭeḫḫâ ana kâši*  
 184 *lubūšiki muššîma eliki lišlal*  
 185 *epšišuma lullâ šipir sinništi*  
 187 *inakkiršu bûlšu ša irbû ina šērišu*  
 186 *dādūšu iḫabbubû eli šēriki*

Narrative

- 188 *urtammi šamḫat didāša*  
 189 *ūrša iptema kuzubša ilqe*  
 190 *ul iṣḫut ilteqe napīssu*  
 191 *lubūšiša umaššima eliša iṣlal*  
 192 *ṭpussuma lullâ šipir sinništi*

6. Nor can these lines be understood simply on the basis of parallelism.

- 193 *dādūšu iḫbubû eli šēriša*  
 194 *šēšet urrî u sebe mušâti enkidu tebima šamḫat irḫi*

I would prefer to leave the text untranslated until we have subjected it to an analysis, but a translation is necessary here to enable the reader to follow the discussion. Anticipating my results, I, therefore, provide here a somewhat unpolished translation based on the conclusions arrived at in this section.

- 143 // 164 Let her strip off her clothing and reveal her sex.  
 144 // 165 He will see her and have intercourse with her.  
 145 // 166 His animals that grew up on his steppe will reject him.  
 .....  
 180 ...release your arm (thereby releasing your garment).  
 181 Open your loins so that he may take your sex.  
 182 Do not fear, take his panting.  
 183 (He will see you and have intercourse with you.)  
 184 Spread out your clothing so that he may lie on you.  
 185 Treat the savage-man to the skills of a woman.  
 187 (His animals that grew up on his steppe will reject him.)  
 186 ...<sup>7</sup>  
 188 Shamhat released her garment.  
 189 She opened her loins and he took her sex.  
 190 She did not fear, she took his panting.  
 191 She spread out her clothing and he lay on her.  
 192 She treated the savage-man to the skills of a woman.  
 193 ...  
 194 Six days and seven nights Enkidu was aroused and had intercourse with Shamhat.

Let us focus first on the hunter's speech rather than on the narrative, for, as we shall see, the obstacles to understanding the text derive primarily from difficulties in that passage. Lines 181–182 // 189–190 seem to refer to the sex act itself. *Kuzbu* may refer not only to sexual attractiveness and vigor but also to the sexual organs themselves.<sup>8</sup> But in spite of the use

7. I leave line 186 // 193 untranslated because I do not yet understand it sufficiently.  
 8. For *kuzbu* "referring euphemistically to virility and sexual parts," see CAD K, 614–15, c). Also, see V. A. Hurowitz, "An Old Babylonian Bawdy Ballad," in Z. Zevit et al., eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1995), 551, n. 17, for a discussion of a concrete usage of *kuzbu* as "(place of) sexuality" in the phrase *kuzba lapātu*. Hurowitz shows convincingly that the phrase refers to fondling the sexual organs

of *kuzbu* in line 143 // 164 (*liptâ kuzubša*) as a synonym of *ûru* in line 181 // 189 (*ûrki pitêma* // *ûrša iptema*), translations tend to render *kuzba leqû* in line 181 // 189, an act that Enkidu performs in relation to the courtesan, as if it referred not to sexual intercourse, but rather to being attracted by sexual charms<sup>9</sup>—this, in spite of the fact that Enkidu here is still an animal who is drawn to sex, but hardly to sexuality and charm, and that the text conditions the act on the immediately following statement that when he takes her *kuzbu*, she should not fear, but rather for her part accept his panting (*napîšu*).<sup>10</sup>

What is there about this text that causes translators to understand *kuzba leqû* as denoting Enkidu's attraction to Shamhat's charms rather than his possessing her sexually? The cause is, I suspect, the fact that line 181 is followed in 183 by a line that is understood by many as indicating that only later will Enkidu approach Shamhat, and then in 184 by a line that states that she will then spread her garment so that he may lie on her (184 // 191). Hence, these translators probably surmise that *kuzba leqû* cannot refer to the act of intercourse if Enkidu only subsequently approached and lay upon Shamhat.<sup>11</sup> But actually, even before line 184, already line 183 states explicitly that Enkidu will have intercourse with Shamhat. For, in spite of the possible literal rendering of this line ("he will see you and approach you"), it should be translated "he will see you and have intercourse with you." *Tehû* here must refer to intercourse, as it often does, since this line also occurs in 144 // 165, where its position immediately following Shamhat's act of stripping and laying herself bare and open and immediately

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and is a designation of foreplay. Cf. George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 796 on line 181 // 189: "The phrase *ûra petû* is literally 'to open the vulva' and is taken literally by some, but it also means to bare the genital area (cf. *kuzba petû* in l. 164). Similarly *kuzba leqû* may mean to possess a woman sexually but also means to take in her charms, i.e. become physically attracted to her...."

9. E.g., Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, pp. 8–9: "expose your sex so he can take in your voluptuousness. / Do not be restrained—take his energy!" Hecker in Hecker, *Mythen und Epen II*, p. 677: "öffne deinen Schoss, dass er deinen Reiz gewahr nehme! / Scheue dich nicht, seinen Atem hinzunehmen!" George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 549: "bare your sex so he may take in your charms! / Do not show fear, take in his scent!" In contrast to Hecker and Kovacs, George is consistent in his translation of both the hunter's instructions and the actual description.
10. I thus disagree with the interpretation of line 182 // 190 given by George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 796, who follows here a suggestion of Th. Jacobsen; see below.
11. Some translations seem to render the act described in lines 181–82 as intercourse and thereby set aside the inconsistency. Cf., e.g., Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 21: "Deinen Schoss tu auf, dass deine Fülle er nehme! / Scheue dich nicht, nimm hin seinen Atemstoss! / Sieht er dich erst, so wird er dir nahn. / Dein Gewand entbreite, dass auf dir er sich bette,...." Foster, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, p. 8: "Open your embrace, let him take your charms! / Be not bashful, take his vitality! / When he sees you, he will approach you, / Toss aside your clothing, let him lie upon you."

preceding Enkidu's rejection by the animals—a consequence of intercourse—gives it the unambiguous meaning of having intercourse. Thus, while sympathizing with those translators who desist from understanding line 181 as referring to actual intercourse, we believe that the reasons for treating line 181 as referring to this act as well as the clear meaning of line 183 are sufficiently compelling to require us to treat lines 181–82 as describing intercourse and to look more closely at line 183 to see if we can explain its occurrence here in such a way as to help us out of our dilemma, a dilemma that is aggravated by the fact that the reference of line 183 to actual intercourse creates difficulties of understanding not only for lines 181–82, but also for line 184.

How, then, are we to explain line 183? Once the question is formulated in this way, the answer is immediately evident and straightforward. As noted earlier, a line identical with 183 occurs in 144 // 165, that is, as part of the hunter's father's and Gilgamesh's instructions; on the other hand, not only does line 183 not occur in the expected place between lines 190 (// 182) and 191 (// 184) in the narrative account of lovemaking, but it is completely absent in that account. Note, moreover, that while the narrative itself (189–90) makes excellent sense: "She opened her loins<sup>12</sup> and he took her sex. She did not fear, she took his panting," it is the hunter's instructions (181–83) that do not. Accordingly, line 183 does not reflect lovemaking as described in the narrative, but rather derives from the hunter's father's // Gilgamesh's instructions.

Thus, we must conclude that while the hunter's instructions to Shamhat are based, in the main, on the narrative, they also draw upon the father's // Gilgamesh's instructions. The different segments of the text build on each other—not in a linear order of a single author who models later parts of his text on earlier ones, but in a redactional order. If we compare the father's // Gilgamesh's instructions with those of the hunter and with the narrative, we see that the first set of instructions is a condensation or summary of the lovemaking as found in the narrative.<sup>13</sup> Line 183 derives from that summary. Line 187 ("His animals that grew up on his steppe will reject him.") supports this claim. Line 187 is identical with line 145 // 166, which is a condensation of lines 195–98. It, too, derives from the father's // Gilgamesh's instructions, for if that were not the case, we would expect to find lines like 195–98 (perhaps also 199–200) of the narrative in the hunter's instructions rather than the present line 187. The order and variation in manuscripts supports the notion that line 187 is an insertion or later addi-

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12. That is, she opened her thighs, thereby revealing her genitalia.

13. 140 = 162 // 167(–70); 142 = 163 // 172(–77); 143–44 = 164–65 // (178–79), 188–90; 145 = 166 // 195–98.

tion to the hunter's speech,<sup>14</sup> for in most manuscripts it is in the wrong position (i.e., before l. 186), and one manuscript tried to rectify the text by rearranging the order of lines.<sup>15</sup>

The drawing of lines 183 and 187 from the summary is part of a process of harmonizing the hunter's speech with the advice of the hunter's father // Gilgamesh. This leveling through is intended to link the speeches even more closely. Thus, both lines 183 and 187 were drawn from the summary advice that provided a condensation of the fully developed form of the narrative. But whereas the summary instructions make sense, the hunter's instructions do not precisely because of their secondary incorporation of material from the summary.

Accordingly, line 183 may be regarded as secondary. And once we have eliminated line 183,<sup>16</sup> we have no difficulty understanding the hunter's instructions in line 181 as telling Shamhat that she should open herself so that Enkidu may possess her. This understanding agrees with and draws support from *liqê napīssu* in line 182 if we take *napīssu* in its basic meaning of breathing or breath, rather than scent or the like, and understand *napīsa leqû* as referring to Shamhat's taking of Enkidu's panting, perhaps his orgasm, thus paralleling the use of *kuzba leqû* in the preceding line. Thus, lines 181–82 of the hunter's instructions and lines 189–90 of the narrative description refer to the actual act of intercourse, and we would translate lines 181–82 as: "Open your loins so that he may take your sex. Do not fear, take his panting."

14. The scene of the animal's fleeing Enkidu was not part of the original narrative and was itself a later expansion. The hunter's instructions were composed on the basis of the original narrative and thus would most likely have already existed prior to the insertion of the aforementioned animal scene into the narrative itself. Originally, the hunter's speech made no mention of the animals; it was updated on the basis of the summary only after the inclusion of the animal scene in the narrative. The summary found in the father's // Gilgamesh's advice was created only after the expansion of the narrative to include the rejection by the animals.

15. The manuscript that tried to create a logical order is J. van Dijk / W.R. Mayer, *Literarische Texte aus Babylon*, VAS 24, no. 95, rev. iv, 15' (= 186) – 16' (= 187). This text has been recopied by George, *Gilgamesh*, vol. 2, pl. 51. That the order provided by VAS 24, no. 95 is a more logical one was already noted by van Dijk / Mayer, VAS 24, p. 13 ad no. 95: "Kol. IV 15'–16' bietet die Verse EGI IV 14–15 in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, was wohl die bessere Fassung seindürfte." So, too, George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 797 ad 186–87. However, rather than being due to a transposition of lines, the illogical order (187–86) is the result of the insertion of line 187 into a wrong position; the logical order is a later correction.

16. Beyond the desire to include all aspects of the summary in the hunter's instructions, I can find no reasonable explanation for the addition of line 183; perhaps it is due to a scribal misunderstanding.

But if intercourse is being described in lines 181–82 // 189–90, how do we understand line 184 // 191? Shamhat is already unclothed (as we learn explicitly from the order of events in 143 // 164 as well as from 180–81a // 188–89a). In any case, it is difficult to imagine her spreading out her garment during intercourse itself or calling a halt to or interrupting intercourse (especially with Enkidu) in order to spread out her garment. In light of our understanding of lines 181–82 // 189–90, I would now suggest that Shamhat's spreading of her garment was not part of the initial act of stripping, but rather a separate act intended to humanize sex. Let us recall the fact that garments are of special symbolic significance in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Note the cleansing of garments (e.g., tablet XI) and the fact that Shamhat shares her garment with Enkidu as a means of introducing him into human society and culture.

Thus, I would now suggest that we read lines 180–87 (minus lines 183 and 187) // 188–93 + 194 as referring to two sexual encounters between Enkidu and Shamhat. In the first, she draws him in and interacts with him on an animal level (180–82 // 188–90). Once Shamhat has calmed Enkidu's immediate sexual drive, she spreads out her garment and they have intercourse on it over the next seven days—intercourse that is now a human and not an animal act. For this reason, the text now states: line 185 // 192: *epšīma lullâ šipir sinništi*, for having now created a human setting or environment within nature, the courtesan is to provide Enkidu with *šipir sinništi*, the skills (not the task or work) of a human woman in contrast to the sexual behavior of a female animal. Enkidu is now humanized (and begins to be domesticated) by an act that is performed over a period of time in a manner and setting that is human.

#### *Development of the Episode: A Minimal Reconstruction*

By way of summary of our discussion thus far, let us now set out how we imagine the formation or rather redaction of the narrative and speeches that treat the encounter of the wild man and the courtesan. At this stage of our analysis, we shall take a conservative approach, that is, we will treat the episode as though all the characters were already present and understand the redaction as affecting only their speeches.

Originally, then, a hunter saw Enkidu, he asked his father what to do, his father suggested that he go to Gilgamesh for help. Gilgamesh suggested the taking of a courtesan, and the hunter took her to the countryside, where he pointed Enkidu out to her (but did not give her detailed instructions). The text then described the love scene, the present narration.

It is not unusual for narration to be primary and to serve as the basis for the creation of speeches. Here, then, the actual narration of the encounter, lines 188ff. (as well as lines 167–79) would take precedence temporally

over the speeches and would be the starting point for the development. The composer filled in the episode in order to enhance the literary force of the text but especially to emphasize the role of the hunter (and, perhaps, that of the animals). Gilgamesh's speech (162–66) is created on the basis of the narrative; it condenses and thereby summarizes the narrative (but already assumes the theme of Enkidu's rejection by the animals<sup>17</sup>); the speech has less detail and is more prosaic than the narrative (e.g., l. 165 // 189b–94), though it does occasionally provide a lexical variation (*kuzbu*, l. 164b // *ūru*, 189a). The hunter's speech was probably composed in two stages: in its earliest form, it predated Gilgamesh's summary of the narrative and drew solely upon the narrative in a *verbatim* fashion, but subsequently it incorporated material from the summary as well.<sup>18</sup> And the description of the hunter was drawn from that of Gilgamesh in Tablet X, and his father's speech was created or changed in line with Gilgamesh's.

*Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian Versions: A Major Difference*

Let us now see if we can identify differences between the SB and OB texts, or rather isolate some clues that will point to changes that transpired between the OB and SB versions, and will, therefore, allow us to get a little closer to an earlier form of the text, thus providing further support for some of what we have said.

According to the SB version, Enkidu made love to Shamhat for a week; he then tried to return to his old way of life with the animals, but sexual relations between Enkidu and Shamhat had caused a rupture in relationship between Enkidu and the animals, and the animals fled from him and rejected him (I 195–200: 145 // 166 // 187). Thereupon, he turned back to the courtesan (II. 201–3); she addressed him and told him that one like he should not run with animals but should rather return with her to Uruk; she then recited the account of Gilgamesh's dreams. A segment corresponding to Enkidu's seven-day sexual marathon and Shamhat's address to Enkidu appears in the OB version P, col. ii. Here, too, Enkidu made love to Shamhat for a week, but in contrast to the SB text, Enkidu forgot about the world of nature where he was born during their lovemaking and apparently did

17. This theme was absent in the original episode. See above, note 14, and especially the following section "Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian Versions: A Major Difference."
18. It is not impossible that the hunter's instructions were composed subsequent to the composition of Gilgamesh's summary instructions and that lines 165–66 of the summary were included in the hunter's speech (II. 183, 187) by the original composer of that speech, but it is far more likely that a scribe intent on harmonizing the different speeches inserted lines 183 and 187 into an already existing speech on the basis on lines 165–66, thus leveling through the material.

not attempt to rejoin the animals. Here, too, Shamhat addressed him and told him that he should not run with animals but should rather return with her to Uruk. Also this version contains the dream account, but it appears in col. i and thus precedes the narrative rather than forming the final part of Shamhat's address.

It is possible that Enkidu's pursuit of the animals was recounted at the end of the preceding, presently missing, first tablet of the OB version and that a version of what we have in OB P ii recurs in the presently broken beginning of SB II. But the strong similarities between the portions of the OB and SB versions described above suggest rather that OB P ii is the equivalent of the comparable scene in the SB version.<sup>19</sup> To be sure, the recital of the dreams precedes the love scene in the OB, but follows it in the SB. The divergent order is to be explained by the fact that the recital of the dreams is juxtaposed to the love scene in the OB and presented as independent if coterminous with it, while in the SB the recital has already been integrated into the episode. In the OB, the recital has been set alongside this segment of the Enkidu-Shamhat episode, whereas in the SB, it has been made part of the account by being placed into the courtesan's mouth and thus comes at the end of her speech. Though formally integrated into the episode, it is still a lengthy digression. In order to resume the story, the composer used a well-known device known as *Wiederaufnahme* or resumptive repetition.<sup>20</sup> Hence, the similarity of the last line of SB I with OB P ii (as well as some of the similarities of some broken lines in the beginning of SB II) does not indicate that whatever preceded the dream account in the SB also preceded it in the OB. Thus, if we are right, we have every reason to compare SB: I 194–214 and OB: P ii 45–67.

What, then, are the differences between the versions?<sup>21</sup> What is striking is the absence in the OB version of both Enkidu's attempt to return to

19. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim "Mesopotamian Mythology II," *OrNS* 17 (1948): 27, n. 2: "It should be stressed that the description of the seduction does not take more than one distich in the Old-Babylonian version, and the consequence of the 'Fall' of Enkidu was laconically described (Penn.-tablet II:5) as '[the pl]ace where he was born—he forgot!'" Thus, Oppenheim also took these passages as parallel to each other rather than as representing episodes that exist jointly in both versions, and understood the OB passage as representing the seduction and the forgetting.
20. It might either be a newly created resumptive repetition or the remnant of an earlier account (e.g., the OB) that was left in this position even after the shift in order to serve as the resumptive repetition.
21. While I arrived independently at my conclusion regarding the difference between the accounts, note that the difference between the OB and SB accounts was already noticed by Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," 27, n. 2, and 26, as well as by J.A. Bailey, "Initiation and the Primal Woman in Gilgamesh and Genesis 2–3," *JBL* 89 (1970): 138–39, repeated in idem, "Male, Female and the Pursuit of

the animals and their rejection of him. It is not the animals that reject Enkidu; rather, it is Enkidu who immediately turns his back on nature as a consequence of his experience with an urbane woman. In support of the claim that the text did not originally contain a return to and a rejection by animals is the remark by Shamhat in SB I 208 // OB P ii 54: *ammēni itti nam-maššē tarappud šēra*, "Why do you roam the steppe with the wild animals?" This question makes perfect sense in a recension where the option of running with the animals still existed for Enkidu. But it is contra-factual and meaningless in the present SB version, for there he is in fact unable to run with the animals even if he wanted to. If we were to imagine line 196 through the first word of line 203 of the SB version as a secondary development inserted in order to develop a new theme and were to skip over these when reading the text, Shamhat's question would make perfect sense.

Thus, in the SB version, Enkidu leaves nature not by his own choice but because the animals will not have him once he has been intimate with and become related to humans. Earlier, in the OB version, on the other hand, the choice was his. And he rejected the animals / nature in favor of humans / civilization. For the equivalent of SB's rejection by the animals is OB P ii 47, where lovemaking causes him to forget the place of his birth (*šēram imtaši ašar iwwaldu*). Here, in the OB version, the power of the prostitute is emphasized as is the inherent attractiveness of city life of which she is the representative. Animals are really unimportant in this early recension. Thus, in the OB version after seven days of lovemaking, the courtesan asks Enkidu why he wants to go back to nature. He no longer wants to, and this agrees with the double level of lovemaking: animal and then human; for it is not because of the initial act of sex but through the experience of sexuality in the context of a human relationship over the course of seven days that Enkidu forgot the place where he was born. Only at a later stage of the development of the epic was the account of Enkidu's turning back to the animals and their repudiation of him introduced between the seven days of lovemaking and the speech of Shamhat to Enkidu.

The introduction of the repudiation as background for his return to the courtesan and for his readiness to accept her persuasion to become part of human culture may possibly be the result of a failure by redactors or scribes to realize that there were two stages in the lovemaking<sup>22</sup> and that the latter stage was intended to cause Enkidu to distance himself from the animals and join human culture. But the animals may very well have also

Immortality in the Gilgamesh Epic," *La Parola del Passato Rivista di Studi Antichi* 31 (1976): 435–37.

22. Could the insertion of line 183 have contributed to such a misunderstanding in antiquity as it has in modernity?

been introduced in order to provide a background and context for the appearance of the hunter. This, too, suggests that the hunter may not have been part of the episode originally.

#### *Development of the Scene: A More Far-Reaching Reconstruction*

Earlier we sketched the development of our text by assuming that while the various speeches underwent development, that is, evolved in stages, all the characters were present in the original text. In actuality, it is perhaps more reasonable to presume that underlying the discrepancies that we have noticed are more pronounced developments and to suggest a more radical reconstruction. Neither of the scenarios precludes the other.

To be sure, the episode may have originally centered on Enkidu, a hunter, his father, and Shamhat. But, the humanization of a wild man, generally, and of Enkidu, specifically, does not require the presence of a hunter.<sup>23</sup> We may suggest, therefore, that originally the main character in the episode was the courtesan and that she seduced Enkidu without any involvement on the part of the hunter. The elimination of the hunter and his father also eliminates the loci of difficulties as well as the difficulties themselves. At a later stage in the development of the text, the hunter was introduced into the story. Certainly his speech to the courtesan is dependent—as we have seen—on the narration of Shamhat's seduction of Enkidu, a narration that can stand on its own. There are a number of problems that are solved or phenomena explained by this suggestion. The hunter's later appearance would explain why his speech depends not only on the narration but also on Gilgamesh's advice. More important, it would explain the appearance of the hunter's father, which seems to be unnecessary to the plot of the story, and his speech (and role), which seems to be redundant. For once the hunter was introduced, he was provided with a father, in whose mouth was placed the already existing speech of Gilgamesh.

In support of the primacy in our account of the courtesan and the later introduction of the hunter, we would point to imbalances in the episode in which Enkidu curses (and then blesses) those responsible for his imminent death. Whereas the curse upon the hunter is short, running only to some six lines (VII 94–99), and refers to the hunter in the third person, that upon

23. Note that there are accounts in both the Orient and the Occident of the humanization of a wild man by a woman without the involvement or assistance of a hunter. See, e.g., C. A. Williams, *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite*, Parts 1–2, *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* (Urbana) 10/2 (1925) and 11/4 (1926), e.g., pp. 12, 19, 25–36 (= "The Legend of Rishyasringa in India") and passim; and R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 124.

the prostitute is relatively long, covering close to thirty lines (VII 102–31), and addresses her in the second person. Moreover, at least in the SB version, Shamash, when responding to the curse, refers only to the prostitute (VII 132ff.) in his address to Enkidu, and Enkidu, for his part, then (VII 148–62), blesses only the prostitute in an attempt to neutralize his earlier curse.<sup>24</sup> The differences between the curses and the presence of a blessing only upon the prostitute<sup>25</sup> support the primacy of the courtesan and our claim that the hunter was only afterward introduced into the seduction scene of Enkidu.

But we have not yet explained why the hunter was introduced, and once introduced, why he was provided with a father. The answer is suggested by the very features of the hunter's story that are most perplexing: Why is the hunter's reaction to Enkidu exaggerated and an overreaction? Why is the hunter presented as somewhat helpless and in need of an adult's advice? Why is his father's speech identical with Gilgamesh's? All these difficulties are resolved once we realize that the hunter's character and story were intended to foreshadow or anticipate those of Gilgamesh. Hence, his description is identical with that of Gilgamesh in Tablet X. There, similar lines recur in descriptions of Gilgamesh: see, e.g., lines 8–9, 40–45, esp. 42–43;<sup>26</sup> Gilgamesh's reaction is appropriate to his demanding and drastic experience in the wild, whereas the hunter's behavior, on the other hand, is not appropriate and is an overreaction. The hunter is presented in this way only because he is modeled on Gilgamesh, and the description of his experience in the wild taken over from a description of

24. Note that in Shamash's response following the curses in the MB Ur text, the hunter is mentioned (though apparently not discussed) in a broken line (rev. 43 [George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 298]) not found in SB. Even here Enkidu in response blesses only the prostitute. Perhaps this represents an abortive attempt at assimilating and expanding the treatment of the two personages.

25. An alternative explanation for the absence of a blessing of the hunter might be that such a blessing would undercut the effectiveness of the identification of Gilgamesh with a lower-class roaming / homeless hunter subsequent to Enkidu's death and his experience of the "bad" fortune associated with this way of life.

26. D.O. Edzard, "Kleine Beiträge zum Gilgameš-Epos," *OrNS* 54 (1985): 48–49, has also noted that the last two lines of the description of the hunter are found also in the descriptions of the roaming Gilgamesh. He, too, sees this as intentional. But rather than serving primarily to create an identification of hunter and Gilgamesh by this form of foreshadowing, he interprets it as a form of parody: "Der Dichter hat also zwei Ausdrücke, die er erst später auf den verzweifelt Gilgameš anwenden wird, parodierend vorweggenommen und dies als Abschluss seiner Beschreibung des zu Tode erschrockenen Jägers. Ich halte bei der hohen literarischen Qualität des GE eine solche Deutung für näherliegend als die Annahme, der Dichter habe sich für ganz verschieden zu beurteilende Situationen mit demselben Phrasenrüstzeug versehen." (p. 49)

Gilgamesh in the wild. As part of the identification with Gilgamesh, he is presented as being in need of a parent and of a parent's advice. And just as Gilgamesh goes to his mother for help, so does the hunter go to his father when he is in difficulty. His father plays the same role as does Gilgamesh's mother. His father is, therefore, provided with a speech that has been copied from Gilgamesh's speech so that he may play his role.<sup>27</sup> That is, his father was given a speech in order to forge a connection with Gilgamesh and thus give the father a role similar to that of Gilgamesh's mother.<sup>28</sup>

That the redactor wished us to make the connection of hunter and Gilgamesh is indicated not only by the aforementioned literary usages but also by the fact that whereas the hunter is usually referred to as *šayyādu*, the first time he is introduced he is referred to as *šayyādu ḥābilu-amēlu*. This conflation provides an express link with Gilgamesh, for Gilgamesh in his speech to Suduri expressly compares himself to a *ḥābilu*: *attanaggaš kima ḥābilim qabaltu šēri* (OB Meissner, ii 11).

To summarize: An earlier form of our episode existed in which a courtesan drew Enkidu from the wild.<sup>29</sup> This account emphasized the power and attractiveness of sex and of its purveyors. The city was defined in terms of this sexuality, and the beauty and desirability of a city with courtesans as its characteristic inhabitants were thereby emphasized: see I 226–31, esp. 230–31: "And the harlots are comely of figure, / graced with charm, full of joy",<sup>30</sup> cf. III 122–23 and VI 158. At a later stage, the hunter was introduced, in part in order to foreshadow Gilgamesh's later identity and activities. The balance of the episode changes with his introduction. He is set into a confrontation with Enkidu; he is provided with a father; the father takes on a speech belonging to Gilgamesh; and he himself gives a speech that mixes together the narrative description of the courtesan's

27. I certainly do not deny the existence of leveling in our text, but this term merely describes a process or mechanism and does not yet provide a full explanation for the phenomenon. The same applies to expansion and repetition.

28. Note that below, note 45, I consider the possibility that the speech may have originated with the hunter's father and was only later carried over to Gilgamesh. But regardless of whether Gilgamesh's or the father's speech is the more original, it is clear that lines 135–39 were added in order to connect the two identical speeches and to place the father's instructions in their new context. See already Jastrow (and Clay), *An Old Babylonian Version*, p. 41.

29. It is possible to construct an analysis whereby the original story began with the hunter, his father, and the wild man. Thus, the original episode would not have included the courtesan at all, and she would have been added only secondarily. However, I have preferred positing a version centering on the wild man and the courtesan as the more original because it allows one to resolve more difficulties and explain more features of the text.

30. Translation: George, *Gilgamesh*, p. 553.

actions with the speech of Gilgamesh. The detailed relative chronology of the speeches here in this reconstruction is the same as that of the more conservative reconstruction.

Moreover, in this later stage, a greater emphasis is placed upon animals, and the famous scene of the repudiation of Enkidu by the animals is introduced. The animals that belong to the world of the hunter are now given at least as much weight as is sexuality. The wild is set up as a reasonable counterpoint to the city. At this point in the evolution of the work, the writer introduced the notion that one might well prefer the wild over the city, if not permanently then at least at certain periods of one's life.

*Broader Reconstruction: The Prehistory and Formation of the SB Epic*

The identification of Gilgamesh with the hunter, or, rather, the foreshadowing of Gilgamesh by means of a hunter is not a mere happenstance or literary ploy—it is of great significance for the understanding of the epic. I shall pursue that issue elsewhere. Here, we should try to reconstruct the early history of the Enkidu episode and then to extend the discussion beyond the episode itself. Thus far, I have proceeded as if the development of the episode took place within the context of the formation of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Actually, it is far more likely that the episode took form independently of the story of Gilgamesh. The independence of the story would obtain whether one assumes that the tale originally centered on a wild man and hunter, or, as I have assumed, on a wild man and woman. And, if it is the case that a version of the tale once had an independent existence, it is equally clear that while some of the internal developments in the episode took place after the tale became part of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*,<sup>31</sup> other devel-

31. As an example of a development that took place after the episode became part of the epic, I note one development that is of some relevance for the discussion. Regardless of what developmental scheme is chosen to explain the text, it seems likely that the overt involvement of Gilgamesh in the scene, whether as an instructor to the hunter or as an immediate goal of the action, is secondary. In the early epic, Gilgamesh became aware of the coming of Enkidu only through his own dreams and his mother's interpretation of them. Their encounter was due to the gods; it was not due to any intentional act on the part of the hunter, the courtesan, or Gilgamesh himself. In support of this, note, e.g., the absence of any mention of Gilgamesh in Shamhat's speech to Enkidu in OB P ii 53ff., where she tells him of her plans to bring him to Uruk (contrast the mention of Gilgamesh in SBI 207ff., esp. 211 // 218). In the OB P text, Enkidu became aware of Gilgamesh only through the unexpected meeting with the traveler, who explained to Enkidu that he was bringing food to the city for a wedding in which Gilgamesh would be a participant. If Gilgamesh were originally involved in bringing Enkidu to the city, one would have expected Enkidu to be led to the city earlier in the story or at the command of Gilgamesh. Thus, only when the episode was linked to the story of Gilgamesh did Gilgamesh become the initiator and the courtesan was transformed into his agent. This

opments would likely have taken place before the tale was taken over by the epic composer.

Thus, I imagine—with such early interpreters of the epic as M. Jastrow Jr. and such later ones as W.L. Moran<sup>32</sup>—that the tale of Enkidu and Shamhat began not with the epic but originated in a story of a primitive man<sup>33</sup> and his first encounter with sex. Subsequently, the female partner would have been replaced by a courtesan.<sup>34</sup> The tale would likely have included the bringing of the wild man to a city even before its incorporation into the epic.

In any case, some form of the tale would have developed independently of the personage and story of Gilgamesh. But even after the linkage of the episode with the story of Gilgamesh, the woman could easily have sufficed to humanize the wild man. Subsequently, the hunter was introduced,<sup>35</sup> and the humanization of Enkidu led up to his encounter with Gilgamesh and their expedition to conquer Huwawa. They succeed in killing Huwawa, and this act alone caused the gods to decree death for Enkidu, for, as I have argued elsewhere, this version did not yet include the Gilgamesh-Ishtar encounter and the battle with the bull of heaven of Tablet VI.<sup>36</sup> Subsequently, a redactor created and/or incorporated an Akkadian version of the story of Gilgamesh, Ishtar, and the bull of heaven.

Our model thus far has been that of a straightforward linear development. Thus, the epic would have developed by means of expansion and inclusion of independent Gilgamesh materials. But we may also recall that in non-Mesopotamian accounts of the capture of the wild man, occasionally either the hunter or the lady may appear alone and lead the wild man to civilization.<sup>37</sup> Considering the prehistory and development of the epi-

transformation probably did not take place immediately upon the linking of the tale to the story of Gilgamesh, but only sometime afterward.

32. Jastrow (and Clay), *An Old Babylonian Version*, pp. 39–47; W.L. Moran, "Ovid's *Blanda Voluptas* and the Humanization of Enkidu," *JNES* 50 (1991): 121–27.

33. Cf. J.H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), 198–213.

34. This replacement may have taken place after the incorporation of the tale into the epic, but more likely it took place before that incorporation and the designation of the wild man as Enkidu.

35. In principle, it is possible that the hunter was introduced into the story of the wild man and the courtesan even before that story was linked with the story of Gilgamesh. My preference, however, has been to date the introduction of the hunter sometime after the linkage because of my understanding of his larger literary role in the epic.

36. Abusch, "Ishtar's Proposal and Gilgamesh's Refusal: An Interpretation of the *Gilgamesh Epic*, Tablet 6, Lines 1–79," *History of Religions* 26 (1986): 180ff.

37. For the hunter alone, see, e.g., Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 16–17; for the lady alone, see above note 23.



sode involving Enkidu, Shamhat, and the hunter and thinking about the implications of this evolution for the history of the epic, I begin to see another possibility and to wonder if we should not view the present epic as the result not of a linear development but rather of the conflation of two independent parallel versions.

What forms might these two versions have taken?

In one version, the emphasis would have been on the conflict between the life of a city dweller and that of a hunter. The purpose or, at least, the excitement of life was to be found in the hunt. In this version, at the instigation of either Gilgamesh or the hunter's father, Enkidu was captured by a hunter who first separated him from the animals and then brought him to Gilgamesh via the sheepfold. Their friendship led to the abandonment of the city in favor of an expedition against Huwawa. This expedition resulted in the death of Enkidu. This version is male (and martial<sup>38</sup>) centered and does not involve an overt male/female conflict. We only find the introduction of the female in the attempt at a resolution in which Siduri is made to suggest: "Look down at the child who holds your hand, / Let a wife ever delight in your lap."<sup>39</sup> (This resolution agrees with the emphasis that I have reconstructed for the OB version.<sup>40</sup>)

In the other version, the emphasis would have been on the conflict between a rustic, traditional life and a life in an attractive cosmopolitan city, epitomized by the sexual behavior and institutions of an urbane environment. In this version, Enkidu was seduced by a courtesan. His intimate contact with her caused him to lose his interest in the natural world; he was drawn to the city<sup>41</sup> and to Gilgamesh perhaps by his desire to take over Gil-

38. Compare, e.g., the myth of Erra, tablet I.

39. See Abusch, "Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part 1: The Meaning of the Dialogue and Its Implications for the History of the Epic," in M. E. Cohen et al., eds., *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda, 1993), 1–14.

40. Abusch, "The Development and Meaning of the Epic of Gilgamesh: An Interpretive Essay," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 616–18.

41. Presumably, this version did not have a section describing Enkidu's encounter with and service for the shepherds (such would have been part of the hunter version). Hence, we understand why in the scene describing the encounter between Enkidu and the traveler (OB P iv), Enkidu and Shamhat are shown sitting together as if the scene had no connection whatsoever with the shepherds and sheepfold mentioned in the preceding column. Note, also, the absence of any mention of shepherds in Shamhat's speech to Enkidu when she advises him to leave nature and proceed to the city. I do assume that the feeding scene now associated with the sheepfold probably was originally associated with Shamhat because of VII 132ff., where Shamash mentions feeding, etc., among the good deeds that Shamhat did for Enkidu.

gamesh's sexual role.<sup>42</sup> They became friends and distanced themselves from the sexual life of the city, for their friendship was now set up as a counterpoint to the feminine. This conflict is epitomized in Ishtar's proposal and Gilgamesh's rejection and in the subsequent killing of the bull of heaven of Tablet VI. As in the other version, this conquest led to the death of Enkidu. Resolution is found in the integration of the hero into a city life in which public culture is characterized not by male/female relationships, but by royal communal deeds. (This resolution agrees with the emphasis that I have reconstructed for the SB eleven-tablet version.<sup>43</sup>)

If the suggestion of the existence of two parallel versions that were subsequently combined turns out to be correct, we may also wish to reconsider our understanding of the prehistory of the episode involving Enkidu, Shamhat, and the hunter. Earlier, we approached the episode with a supplementary model in mind and assumed that an earlier form of the episode would have been supplemented by themes that emphasized a new *Tendenz* (original wild man-courtesan supplemented by hunter, etc. or—the approach we did not follow—wild man-hunter supplemented by courtesan) and that at some point in this development, the tale was connected to the story of Gilgamesh. In light of the possible existence of two parallel versions of the Akkadian Gilgamesh story, perhaps we should assume instead that there were two accounts of the Enkidu episode that were joined together when the parallel versions of the epic were combined.<sup>44</sup>

If so, we may imagine the following development: To each one of our Gilgamesh stories, a different version of the wild man account was attached. The version that was attached to the Gilgamesh story that centered on the conflict with Ishtar and the bull of heaven involved a wild man and a courtesan from the city who draws him away from the animals, introduces him to the human modes of sexual intercourse, eating and drinking, and leads him to the city. The version that was attached to the Gilgamesh story that centered on the conflict with Huwawa involved a wild man and a hunter who manages to trap the wild man who had been protecting the

42. This explanation of Enkidu's behavior fits the story as I imagine it; it is no more than a guess and is not stated in the text. There should, of course, be a broader social force at play here, but I cannot yet construct a more convincing personal motivation for Enkidu's desire to stop Gilgamesh. (I leave aside the possibility that the Enkidu character is simply an unmotivated puppet in the hands of the gods.)

43. Abusch, "Development and Meaning," 618–20.

44. Note that even if the more general idea of two forms of the epic is not correct, the episode itself may still have existed in two forms, and the SB version of the episode created by combination rather than supplementation. In any case, there may not be a profound difference between the combination of parallel stories and supplementation because supplements also often derive from existing stories and are not free-floating, non-corporeal motifs.



animals against him and to introduce him to the community of shepherds, where he eventually functions as a guardian of humans against the very animals that he had earlier protected.

When the two stories were joined, the various characters were brought into conjunction with each other, and either Gilgamesh suggested to the hunter that he take the courtesan to the countryside to seduce Enkidu and the hunter's father was then made to repeat the same speech or the hunter's father was the first to make the suggestion and his speech was then repeated by Gilgamesh.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the activities in the sheepfold are

45. I have assumed throughout that the instructions originated with Gilgamesh. But in a tale that included (whether originally or secondarily) the courtesan, the hunter, and the father, it is nonetheless possible that the instructions to the hunter to fetch a courtesan might have originated with the hunter's father rather than with Gilgamesh. I am not yet able to resolve the problem to my own satisfaction and decide the direction of the borrowing in a definitive manner.

Let us note, therefore, some of the arguments in favor of each position. In favor of assuming that the instructions originated with Gilgamesh: (a) If the hunter and his father were introduced into the epic in order to foreshadow and parallel Gilgamesh (and his mother)—as I imagine the case to be—the literary effect of this innovation would probably have been to cause further developments in the episode to center, first and foremost, on Gilgamesh, thus suggesting that the speech would have been created for him. (b) In the hypothetical version that included only the hunter, the hunter did not make use of a courtesan, and thus his father would not have had an occasion to advise him to fetch one. In favor of assuming that the instructions originated with the hunter's father: (a) If, as suggested above, note 31, originally Gilgamesh was not actively involved in bringing Enkidu to Uruk, the speech would have more likely been created for the father and put into Gilgamesh's mouth only when he was later made into an active participant in the scene. (b) The carry over of the speech from the father to Gilgamesh is in line with the tendency in literature for activities and accomplishments of secondary characters to be transferred to major ones (e.g., the killing of Goliath, attributed first to Elhanan and then to David), rather than the reverse. (c) Although I do not believe this to be the case, I should note that if prior to its incorporation in the epic, the tale already told a story about a courtesan, a hunter, and his father similar to that found in our present epic, then the speech would probably have originated with the hunter's father.

In both the "minimal" and the "more far-reaching" reconstruction, I have described the development of our episode on the assumption that the speech originated with Gilgamesh and was transferred to the hunter's father. I still prefer that scenario. But should the speech have originated with the father, I would stipulate the following development. The hunter was introduced into the story of Gilgamesh (or a tale that already included the hunter was linked up to the Gilgamesh account) in order to foreshadow and parallel Gilgamesh. The connection with Gilgamesh was achieved by means of the description of the hunter and the creation of a father who advised his son what to do. These were sufficient to link Gilgamesh to the episode, and an express connection was not necessary. A later redactor felt the need to introduce Gilgamesh into the action—thus distorting the thrust of the story, for as noted Gilgamesh knew of Enkidu through his dreams, and Enkidu's appearance and their encounter should have been in the nature of an unexpected

combined with the sexual dalliance of Enkidu and the courtesan on their way to Uruk.

Perhaps, then, our epic is the consequence of the conflation of these two literary traditions. Hence, our present account. Conflation would certainly explain the occurrence of the various parallel characters such as the hunter and the courtesan or the courtesan and the alewife, as well as doublets such as the battle with Huwawa and the subsequent one with the bull of heaven. The one tradition would have given its imprint to the OB version, the other to the SB eleven-tablet version.

But I do not wish to press this point too hard in the absence of documentary evidence or of a detailed analysis of the lexical and stylistic features of the putative traditions. For the moment, I shall assume the correctness of the linear model and adhere to my earlier conclusion that the Gilgamesh-Ishtar encounter and the subsequent conflict with the bull of heaven were incorporated into an epic that already had a developed story about Enkidu, the hunter, the courtesan, and Gilgamesh, as well as the account of the expedition against Huwawa. All the same, we should keep an open mind regarding the possibility that the present epic is a conflation of two parallel accounts.

event. Gilgamesh was given an overt role in the episode and was now actively involved in the solution of the problem created by Enkidu's appearance. As part of this process, he was made to repeat the hunter's father's speech (and the two speeches were connected by the insertion of I 135–39).



PROVISIONS FOR A CASE OF  
CONFLICTING COMMITMENTS  
IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY B.C.E. TREATIES

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I.

A CASE OF CONFLICTING COMMITMENTS refers to a situation in which one of the parties to a treaty is unable to stand behind his promises to the other party because of promises he gave to a third party. Such a situation is likely to occur when a ruler—be it a sovereign king, vassal king, or an overlord—concluded separate treaties with more than one party, and then a state of hostilities was declared between the other two parties. In such a case, and particularly if these treaties included provisions of military alliance, his promises would become contradictory, and if the drafters on his behalf did not provide for such a case in advance, he could well have found himself unable to fulfill his commitments to those other parties.

While the possibility of such a situation should have concerned the drafters of treaties everywhere and in all periods of history, as a real problem it is particularly known to have existed in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. There, not only was the disreputable practice of vassals doing homage to more than one lord, at one and the same time, a widely accepted practice that became a norm, but different criteria were also offered to help the vassal decide to which of his warring masters he should lend his support.<sup>1</sup> What is more, no onus was placed on the vassal for this seemingly unscrupulous practice.

As for the ancient Near East, while a case of a vassal betraying his fealty to his overlord and transferring his allegiance to another overlord was quite common (Artzi 1996), we do not find examples of subordinate kings who committed themselves to more than one overlord at one and the same time. What we do find are some parity treaties where their drafters

1. Ganshof 1961: 49f., 102f.; Bloch 1962: 211–14.

did anticipate a situation of conflicting commitments and explicitly stipulated the steps to be taken by the signatory parties should such a situation arise. One such treaty is *CTH* 41.I, the treaty of Šunaššura, king of Kizzuwatna, drawn up for him by the Hittite king Tudḫaliya (either I/II or III),<sup>2</sup> in the fifteenth century B.C.E. In a recent publication I was able to touch upon the specific paragraph in question only very briefly.<sup>3</sup> Here I would like to elaborate on it a bit further.

II.

*KBo* I, 5: ii, 42–45 and 52–55 present a parallel stipulation in which only the names of the respective kings change places. Lines 42–45 provide the following stipulation:

<sup>42</sup>šum-ma KUR<sup>KI</sup> a-i-ú-um-ma it-ti <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši nu-kur-tam iṣ-ša-ab-bat  
<sup>43</sup>K[UR<sup>KI</sup>] a-nu-mu-ú a-na <sup>m</sup>Šu-na-aš-šu-ra ša ni-iš DINGIR-lim-šu  
<sup>44</sup>[<sup>d</sup>]UTU-ši a-na <sup>m</sup>Šu-na-aš-šu-ra ERÍN.MEŠ ti-il-la-tam i-ir-ri-iš  
<sup>45</sup>[<sup>m</sup>Š]u-na-aš-šu-ra ERÍN.MEŠ ti-il-la-tam i-na-an-di-na-aš-šu

The language of lines 42 and 44–45 does not pose any difficulty:

If some country starts war against the Sun, ... (and if) the Sun requests auxiliary troops, Šunaššura will send auxiliary troops.

It is, however, line 43 and the corresponding line 53 that pose a problem. Weidner (1923: 98/99) read in lines 43 and 53: *šanīš ilim-šu*, and translated the entire sentence: "(so handelt) dieses La[nd] (auch) gegen Šunaššura bzw. seinen Gott." Lexicologically, reading here *šanīš* in the sense of "or, otherwise," may be correct.<sup>4</sup> Contextually, however, it does not make much sense, even if only for the fact that according to this reading, such an enemy country would be regarded as also an enemy of the (personal?) god of Šunaššura (or, according to ii, 52–53, of the Hittite king), a request unattested elsewhere.

Beal (1992: 117) and Beckman (1996: 17) correctly understood this phrase as referring to an oath (*ša niš ilim*), namely a treaty. Beal translated the sentence: "If some land begins hostilities with His Majesty, the aforementioned land is under oath for Šunaššura." Beckman translated: "If some land begins war against His Majesty, that land is covered by Šunaššura's oath." Following these renderings it would mean, that *whichever* land opens hostilities against one of the signatories, the military provisions that immediately follow (A ii, 44–48, and 54–58 respectively)

2. In favor of Tudḫaliya I/II, see Beal 1986 and Wilhelm 1989; in favor of Tudḫaliya III, see Houwink ten Cate 1998.

3. Altman 2004: ch. 13.

4. Cf. *AHW*, 1164, sub *šanīš* I (sub mng. 4); *CAD* Š/1, 387a, sub *šanīš* (sub mng. 2).

would apply. These provisions set down the following arrangement: If the affected party from these hostilities asks for help, the other party must provide it. Yet, if that other party does not explicitly permit its forces to be employed in overt battle, its forces should remain in the country of the affected party only as a garrison, while the army of the latter is deployed in actual battle against the enemy.

This may still accord with the next provision (A ii, 63–69, and iii, 2–10 for the reverse case), which deals with a more serious incident where an enemy invades the country of one of the signatories:

If a strong enmity arises against the Sun, and the enemy invades his land en masse, (then) if the land of Šunaššura is free (of enemy), (you,) Šunaššura, with your *hurādu*-forces, shall come to my aid. If you are occupied with some matter, send your son at the head of your *hurādu*-forces (and) shall he come to my aid. (ll. 63–69)

In this case, the second party no longer has the option to evade a direct engagement with the enemy forces and, though this is not set down explicitly, such fighting is definitely implied.

It is, however, the next provision (A iii, 7–10, and 11–13 for the reverse case) that does not accord well with the above translations of lines ii, 42–48 and 52–58 by Beal and Beckman. This provision lays down the following obligation:

Whoever starts war against the Sun, he is certainly Šunaššura's enemy. To (me,) the Sun, Šunaššura certainly (will be) my supporter. With him (=the enemy) we shall do battle. (ll. 7–10)

It is true that while lines ii, 42–62 speak about an enemy *country*, lines iii, 7–13 speak about an enemy *personage*. Yet, it is quite obvious that the reference in lines iii, 7–13 is made not to some noble person revolting against his king—for this case was already covered in A i, 60–ii, 21—but rather to an enemy *king*. But if it is indeed the case, what would then be the difference between this case and the former one in lines ii, 42–62, where a country is the enemy? Why, when an enemy country declares war against one of the signatories, should the other party have the option not to join in the battle, while when an enemy king declares war, the other party is obligated to take an active part in the fighting?! Thus, whether we would follow Weidner's translation or that of Beal and Beckman of ii, 42–62, there is an unexplained ambiguity and even inconsistency with lines iii, 7–10 (and respectively, iii, 11–13).

Moreover, the rendering "If some land starts war with the Sun, that land is covered by Šunaššura's oath" in lines ii, 42–43 (and 52–53 for the reverse case) would also raise questions in view of lines ii, 22–41, and particularly ii, 22–25. Lines ii, 22–25 lay down the following case:

If so[me] other land (i.e., not belonging to one of the signatories) starts war [against] the Sun, and Šunaššura hears (about it), he will inform [the Sun]. If some other land starts war against Šunaššura, and the Sun hears (about it), he will inform Šunaššura.

No mention is made here to the effect that this land is "covered by Šunaššura's/the Sun's oath," and one is left to wonder what makes the case of lines ii, 42–43, 52–53, to require this statement?

It is, therefore, quite obvious that when drafting lines ii, 42–62 the drafters should have had something different in mind. The simplest and most logical way to understand their intention is to take these lines as referring to a case in which one of the contracting parties is bound by treaty to a hostile third party. So, despite the grammatical and stylistic difficulties, and pace the reading of *AHw* 1164, s.v. *šaniš* I (sub mng. 4), and *CAD* Š/1, 386b, s.v. *šaniš* (sub mng. 2), I would rather follow the translation suggested long ago by Luckenbill (1921: 183). Reading here *ša niš ilim šu* (or better: *ša niš ilim-šu*), I would understand line 43, "this country is to Šunaššura (53: to the Sun) under his oath." Stylistically, this is an awkward translation of lines 43 and 53. From the legal point of view, however, it is the most logical. Accordingly, I would translate lines 42–48 (and lines 52–58 with the names of the kings respectively changing places) as follows:

If some country starts war against the Sun, (and) Šunaššura is bound to this coun[try] by his oath (literally: this country is to Šunaššura under his oath), (and if) the Sun requests auxiliary troops, Šunaššura (nevertheless) will send auxiliary troops.

(Yet,) if Šunaššura provides the troops (and) says: "Against the enemy lead them out!" he (the Sun) may lead them out. If he (Šunaššura) does not say this, they will remain in his (the Sun's) country to guard (it).

Lines 42–48, 52–58 do not specify the potential enemy. It is entirely clear, however, that the previous relations between Kizzuwatna and Mitanni referred to in the prologue of the treaty were of utmost concern to the Hittite drafters. Some other statements made in this treaty confirm this.

First, already in the prologue, there is the statement that:

Now the (people of the) country Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle, (and) chose their stable. From the Hurrian they separated (and) shifted (allegiance) to the Sun. (A i, 30–32)

This is immediately followed by a second statement:

The Hurrian sinned against the Hatti country, but against the country Kizzuwatna he sinned greatly. The country Kizzuwatna rejoices very much indeed over its liberation. Now the Hatti coun-

try and the country Kizzuwatna are free from their oaths (to the Hurrians). (A i, 32–36)

By this, the drafters made it clear that on concluding the present treaty with Ḫatti, Kizzuwatna had not merely allied itself with another country beside Mittani, but had actually severed all previous ties with the Hurrians. This was complemented by the correlated assertion made in the stipulatory section (A iv, 25–31):

Furthermore: The tablet of the oath, which had been made (previously), we surely erase it; the word of the Hurrian (king)—we surely discard. Indeed, Šunaššura is no longer [the subordinate] of the Hurrian (king). We are making another tablet. Šunaššura, indeed, will not send his messenger to the Hurrian (king), and will not allow the messenger of the land of Ḫurri into his land.

Finally, the drafters were careful to add the assertion that Kizzuwatna's departure from the Hurrians is in force not only for the present but also for the future (iii, 48–49):

In the future, the land of Kizzuwatna to the land of the Ḫurri never will turn.

These assertions were aimed at depriving Šunaššura the right to claim that he cannot stand behind his promises to the Hittites because his older treaty with the Hurrians was still valid. These assertions, however, should be seen in their proper perspective. As Korošec (1982, 1983) has convincingly argued, the stipulatory section of the treaty exhibits a strange mixture of features characterizing parity treaties with features characterizing subordination treaties. This mixture suggests that the stipulatory section had undergone a later revision that reduced Kizzuwatna's status from that of a peer country to that of an ordinary vassal-country. This was done by adding lines i, 38–48, and iii, 37–iv, 39, which are characteristic of a vassal treaty, while keeping the older, parity part, i 49–iii 36. Lines A, ii, 42–48, 52–58 belong, therefore, to the earlier phase, when Kizzuwatna was still regarded and treated as a peer and as an independent country. Lines i, 30–36 of the prologue,<sup>5</sup> and lines iii, 48–49 and iv, 25–31, on the other hand, belong to and reflect the later phase, when Kizzuwatna lost its independence and became subordinated to Ḫatti. So, while in A ii, 42–48 there is nothing to obligate Šunaššura to sever his relations and contact with the Hurrians, the stipulation in iii, 48–49 and iv, 25–31 did compel it. And while, according to ii, 46–48, Šunaššura had the option to refuse to send in

5. For the ascription of the prologue to the later phase, see my arguments at the end of Chapter 13, in Altman 2004.

his army in the fighting against the Hurrians, in the later phase he lost this privilege, as it is particularly clear from lines A iv, 19–22.<sup>6</sup>

There is, however, another version of the treaty with Šunaššura, CTH 131, which reflects a still earlier phase in the relations between Kizzuwatna and Ḫatti.<sup>7</sup> This is particularly clear from rev. 7'–10', which had the provision that in case the king of Mittani starts war against Ḫatti, Šunaššura must not [help] the Hurrian king nor let the Hurrian army pass through Kizzuwatna on its way to attack Ḫatti. Yet,

If it suits Šunaššura, he will [come to the aid] of the Sun. But if it does not suit him, he will not go. (9'–10')<sup>8</sup>

Namely, while according to CTH 41.I: A, ii, 47–48, Šunaššura was required in such a case to at least furnish the Hittites garrison troops, CTH 131 did not request even this. A similar option is given to the contracting parties in two still earlier treaties concluded between Ḫatti and Kizzuwatna—the treaty between Telipinu and Išputaḫšu (KUB XXXI, 82: 9'–12') and the treaty between Taḫurwaili and Eḫeya (KBo XXVIII, 108: 8'–14').<sup>9</sup> These treaties also explicitly added that if one of the contracting parties chose not to send the requested troops, he would not be transgressing the oaths.<sup>10</sup>

It is obvious then that the drafters of these three treaties, much the same as in CTH 41.I: A ii, 42–48, 52–58, anticipated a situation of conflicting commitments. And they were careful to word the text so as to enable the contracting parties to claim "impossibility" and not be accused of failing to fulfill their oaths.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, the same concern on the part of the drafters of parity treaties seems to be reflected in still another treaty of about the same time (fifteenth century B.C.E.) from northern Syria: the treaty concluded between Niqme-

6. "Another thing, whenever (I,) the Sun go to battle against another land, either against [the land] of Ḫurri or against the land of Arzawa, Šunaššura is to provide 100 teams of horses (for chariots) and 1000 infantry-men, (and) on campaign with the Sun he shall go." Note, that in this case the drafters no longer define the war as one that was started by a third party, which means that Šunaššura had to supply the requested troops even if the campaign was initiated by the Hittites.
7. Cf. del Monte 1981: 214ff.; Beckman 1999: 18.
8. The translation of Beckman (1999: 26) is followed; cf. del Monte 1981: 218f.
9. For both these sections, see del Monte 1981: 210.
10. KBo XXVIII, 108: 13': *i-na ni-iš DINGIR-lim lu-ú pá-aṭ-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-er*; see also line 9' (restored), and KUB XXXI, 82: 10' (partly restored).
11. While the relevant provisions in KBo XXVIII, 108 and KUB XXXI, 82, do not specify the potential enemy as Mittani, or as one with whom one of the contracting parties is bound by a treaty, one must assume that these treaties as well included similar reservations in the preceding lines now lost. For, otherwise, the provision regarding a defensive alliance against an external enemy would have lost any meaning and would not have a place in these treaties.

pa, king of Alalah, and Ir-<sup>d</sup>IM, king of Tunip (AT 2). Lines 73–75 have the following provision:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>73</sup>[šum-m]a ERÍN.MEŠ Hur-ri EN-lí<sup>13</sup> šum-ma it-ti LUGAL ERÍN.MEŠ  
 H[u-r-r]i na-kir<sup>14</sup> ù a-na-ku<sup>74</sup>[m]a-mi-it-šu ša LUGAL ERÍN.MEŠ Hur-ri  
 EN-ia la a-ḥa-ap-pi<sup>75</sup>r a-na-mu-ú a-wa-te<sup>meš</sup> iš-tu ma-<sup>r</sup>mi-ti lu-ú i-pá-  
 aš-šar

The passage is stylistically poorly worded, and seems to have some grammatical errors, while the two breaks in its first line (73) make it still more difficult to be rendered. No wonder that none of the translations offered could solve the grammatical and stylistic problems without emending it one way or another<sup>15</sup> and, even so, they still leave the reader with many unanswered questions.

As the text stands now, and without having collated it, I would not venture to offer another rendering. But, as I understand it, the passage seems to start with the statement of one party, no doubt by Niqmepa,<sup>16</sup> declaring that the king of the Hurri-people is his overlord.<sup>17</sup> This is followed by what seems to stipulate that if “<the words of the treaty>”<sup>18</sup>

12. Lines 72–74 according to Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 222, whose transliteration and restorations are followed here. For previous reading see Wiseman 1953: 28, with a copy of the text on Pl. III.
13. For the reading EN-lí, see already Speiser 1954: 20.
14. Wiseman read here Hur-[ri ú]-na-kir.
15. The following four translations were offered: Wiseman 1935: 30: “(If) either with the Hurrian-warriors or with the king of the Hurrian warriors I am in opposition, and (if) I do not observe<sup>7</sup> the oath of the king of the Hurrian-warriors, my lord ... I according to the terms from the oath they shall indeed free (me?).” Reiner 1969: 531f.: “[If] (any) Hurrian (*subject of*) our lord becomes an enemy of the king of the Hurrians, I will not break the oath made with the king of the Hurrians, my lord, (*unless*) he releases me from these stipulations of the oath.” Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 222: “Wenn sich (mit) den Hurru-Leuten mein Herr, wenn mit dem König sich die Hurru-Leute verfeinden, so werde ich selbst den Eid gegenüber dem König der Hurru-Leute, meinem Herren, niemals brechen, (es sie denn, daß) dieser die Worte aus dem Eid auflöst!” Hess 2000: 330f.: “As for the king of the Hurrian lord’s army, if there is en[mity with the army of the Hurrian, my lord], then I will not break the oath of my lord, the king of the Hurrian army, (*unless*) he shall indeed release (me from) the words from the oath.”
16. The stipulation is worded as a declaration made by one party only. And while we know of Alalah as having been subordinated to Mittani at that time, it is not known that this was the case with Tunip.
17. The words [šum-m]a ERÍN.MEŠ Hur-ri EN-lí do not make much sense. I would have rather restored the first word as [LUGAL], reading the first sentence as a nominal clause: “[The king] of the Hurrian-people is my (over)lord!” This declaration would then provide the explanation for the reservation made in the rest of the passage.
18. Or, alternatively, “<specific provision of the treaty>” (in all probability in reference to lines 69–72; see note 19 below); or else, “<I>.” The subject of the protasis was no

would conflict with the (interests) of the king of the Hurrian people (=Mittani), one party (Niqmepa, for sure) would not break his (former) oath to the Hurrian king, his overlord, and these (specific?) terms of the treaty<sup>19</sup> would (in such a case) be exempted from the (present) oath.<sup>20</sup> Niqmepa seems to be worried lest he would stumble upon a situation where his new commitments according to the present treaty would contradict his commitments to his Hurrian overlord. This declaration was thus aimed to ensure that in such a case he would be released from his commitments to the king of Tunip.

### III.

The above-presented provisions indicate quite clearly that, if not explicitly provided for in advance, a conflict of promises given to different parties was not tolerated. Yet, as far as I am aware, a concern on the part of the drafters, lest the parties stumble into a situation of conflicting promises, is found only in the above-mentioned treaties.<sup>21</sup> The fact that this concern is

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doubt omitted by the ancient scribe (unless Wiseman’s restoration in line 73, Hur-[ri ú]-na-kir is correct, pace the collation of Dietrich and Loretz). I cannot concur with the renderings of Reiner and of Dietrich and Loretz, who make the Hurrian people the subject. Why, if some quarrel breaks out between the Hurrian overlord and his people (or troops), should it affect in some way the treaty between the rulers of Tunip and Alalah to the extent that such a case was needed to be provided for in advance?! And why, in such a case, was there a need to inform in advance the second party (Ir-<sup>d</sup>IM, most likely) that his partner (Niqmepa, most likely) would not break his oath to his Hurrian overlord? Dietrich and Loretz understood it as a fidelity pledge (“treuegelöbnis”). But why was there a need for such a loyalty declaration addressed to a third party, who—in contrast to AT 3: 40–42—is not mentioned as involved in any way in this treaty?! And why was this loyalty declaration restricted only to a case where the Hurrian overlord encountered hostility from his people?! The only way in which this provision would make sense and have relevance to the treaty is to emend the text by making the present treaty, one of its provisions, or one of the two signatories, the subject of the protasis.

19. The reference is made very probably to the preceding, much damaged provision (ll. 69–72), which seems to be a sort of a defense agreement. This latter provision was apparently the reason for including the reservation made on lines 73–75.
20. Reiner translated the last words, “(*unless*) he releases me from these stipulations of the oath.” This was followed by Dietrich and Loretz, “(es sie denn, daß) dieser die Worte aus dem Eid auflöst!” and similarly by Hess. However, would we ascribe to the drafter the presumption of such an unrealistic possibility that the overlord may release his subordinate king from his loyalty oath just *in a time of war or hostilities*?! Indeed, treaties are expected to take into account potential occurrences, but by no means such an absurd hypothesis. It seems, therefore, that we have to take again the present treaty, or just a specific provision (ll. 69–72), as the subject of the second part of the apodosis.
21. It was argued that the treaty between the rulers of Ebla and A-bar-QA contains some sort of a limited mutual defense agreement (ll. 112–32; Sollberger 1980: 136).

not reflected in the ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties is quite understandable. In contrast to the practice in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, the vassal kings of the ancient Near East were not allowed to have at one and the same time more than one overlord. And if they had, it was their fault, and by no means could they claim "impossibility" as a defense for failure to meet their treaty obligations.

However, even in subordination treaties, we would still expect the drafters to take care lest promises given to the subordinate king by his *overlord* conflict with promises given by the latter to another party. A case in point is again the prologue of the Šunaššura treaty (CTH 41.I: A, i, 5–37).<sup>22</sup> There, the drafters took pains to demonstrate that the new commitments the Hittite king made to Šunaššura did not conflict with the Hittite commitments to the Hurrians. The Hittite claim in that case was, that the Hittite commitments to the Hurrians were discharged since the Hurrians had already long before transgressed their oaths to the Hittites (A i, 20–25, 32–33, 35–36). A quite opposite case is found in the prologue of the Šattiwaza treaty (CTH 51.I). There, the Hittite drafters did have an interest to announce in advance that the previous promises given by Šuppiluliuma (I) to Artatama (II)—the archenemy of Tušratta, Šattiwaza's father—were still valid, despite his new promises to Šattiwaza (A, obv. 1–2). This was very likely made in order to enable Šuppiluliuma to transfer his support and alliance from Šattiwaza to Šuttarna (III), the son of Artatama (II), should the political situation necessitate it in the future.<sup>23</sup>

If we were to expect reflections of a concern for a situation of conflicting commitments, it is in the first place in the parity treaties, as it is indeed the case with the treaties discussed in the previous section. Unfortunately, however, the available number of parity treaties is too small to enable a conclusion as to whether or not such a situation really concerned the draft-

Sollberger understood these lines as obligating the parties that in case some enemy confronts one party, the other party "shall guaranty (protect?) the yield" of the attacked party. That is, the other party shall send garrison troops to the land of his ally, a provision that is very similar to the one of CTH 41.I: A ii, 44–48, 54–58. There is, however, no agreement on the translation of these lines. Lambert (1987: 360) understood the obligation put there on the other party to only "arrest" the offender, whereas Edzard (1992: 195f. [§§2–3]) understood this clause quite differently: "Wenn jemand (gegenüber von =) aus dem Grenzgebiet von A-bar-QA<sup>ki</sup> an die Stelle eines (Untertanen von) Ebla zu treten versucht; wenn derjenigen aus dem Grenzgebiet von A-bar-QA<sup>ki</sup> ist, [wird er sterben]" (§2; the same is repeated in the next paragraph for the reverse case).

22. Note that I view these lines as belonging to the later redaction of this treaty, which converted it into a subordination treaty; see above note 5.

23. For a discussion of the role of the reference made in the Šattiwaza treaty to the alliance of Šuppiluliuma with Artatama, see in Altman In Press.

ers of treaties in the ancient Near East.<sup>24</sup> The more so as many of these parity treaties do not refer to any military alliance,<sup>25</sup> or are ad hoc agreements against a specific common enemy,<sup>26</sup> or are too fragmentary.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, it may be noted that there are at least two treaties that include defense provisions but *do not* provide for, and do not take into account, a situation of conflicting commitments. These are the treaty concluded between Niqmaddu II of Ugarit and Aziru of Amurru (Syria, the fourteenth century; RS 19.68 = PRU IV, 284f.), and the treaty concluded between Hattušili III, king of Hatti, and Ramesses II, king of Egypt (thirteenth century; latest edition: Edel 1997). However, at least from the Niqmaddu-Aziru treaty, no conclusion may be drawn since the military commitment of Aziru was unilateral, and it seems as if Niqmaddu had bought it for money.

As for the Hattušili-Ramesses treaty, it may be noted that only Hatti was then under a threat of attack, so that the Hittite drafters should not have had any interest in releasing the Egyptian party from providing military aid. As for the Egyptian drafters, while I would not impute their disinterest to provide for a case of conflicting commitments to inexperience,<sup>28</sup>

24. Apart from the above-mentioned treaties concluded between Hatti and Kizzuwatna and between the rulers of Tunip and Alalakh, the corpus of parity treaties includes the following treaties: (1) between the ruler of Ebla and the ruler of A-bar-QA (northern Syria, twenty-fourth/twenty-third century; see Sollberger 1980; Lambert 1987; and Edzard 1992); (2) between the cities Šadlaš and Neribtum (the Diyala region, nineteenth century; Greengus 1979: no. 326); (3) between Till-Abnû of Apum and the city of Aššur (eighteenth century; Eidem 1991); (4) between Zimri-Lim of Mari and Hammurabi of Babylon (eighteenth century; Durand 1986); (5) between Zidanta of Hatti and Piliya of Kizzuwatna (fifteenth century; Otten 1951 [CTH 25]); (7) between Idrimi of Alalakh and Piliya of Kizzuwatna? (northern Syria, fifteenth century; Wiseman 1953: 31–32 [AT 3]); (8) between a Hittite king and Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna (fifteenth century; Meyer 1953 [CTH 26]); (9) between Niqmaddu II, king of Ugarit, and Aziru, king of Amurru (Syria, fourteenth century; RS 19.68 = PRU IV, p. 284f.); (10) between Hattušili III, king of Hatti, and Ramesses II, king of Egypt (thirteenth century; most recent edition: Edel 1997); (11) a limited parity treaty between the cities of Carchemish and Ugarit drawn up by Inī-Teššub, king of Carchemish (northern Syria, thirteenth century; RS 17.146 [and 18.115] = PRU IV, pp. 154–160; see also RS 17.230 and 18.19 = PRU IV, 153f., 169).

25. This is the case with the treaties between the cities of Šadlaš and Neribtum, between Idrimi and Piliya (AT 3), and between the cities of Carchemish and Ugarit.

26. This is the case with the treaty between Zimri-Lim and Hammurabi.

27. This is true of the treaties between Zidanta and Piliya and between a Hittite king and Paddatiššu of Kizzuwatna.

28. The fact that no other Egyptian treaties were found can by no means be taken as indicative that the Egyptian did not conclude treaties with foreign countries. Thus, for example, I cannot imagine that Artatama I, Šuttarna II, and Tušratta, successive kings of Mittani, would have given their daughters in marriage to Thutmose IV and Amenophis III, kings of Egypt (see EA 17 and 29), without a treaty having been concluded between them. For a supporting view, see Raymond Westbrook in:

we may still ascribe it to Egypt's powerful geopolitical standing at that time and to its lesser concern for transgressing its oaths and breaking its promises.

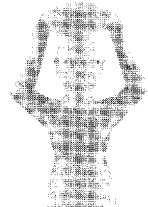
As it stands now, only treaties drawn up in the fifteenth century B.C.E. by Hittite drafters, and most probably also by North Syrian drafters, disclose sensitivity to a situation of conflicting commitments. We are still, however, not in any position to draw any further conclusions. But the few available examples tells us to be alert enough to any new evidence to the attitude of the ancient drafters of treaties to this question.

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Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook (eds.), *Amarra Diplomacy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press:2000, 40–41. For a different view, see in this volume P. Artzi, "EA 42."



## ḤANŪM: NOM ETHNIQUE OU NOM GÉNÉRIQUE?

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DANS SON ÉTUDE CLASSIQUE sur les tribus de Mari<sup>1</sup> Kupper consacre le premier chapitre à la tribu des Hanéens.<sup>2</sup> Dans mon étude en hébreu<sup>3</sup> sur les tribus amurrites de Mari, dans laquelle j'ai essayé de mettre à jour l'ouvrage de Kupper, j'ai parlé, moi aussi, tout au long de l'ouvrage de la tribu Ḥanŭm. Une année après la parution de mon étude, a paru un article commun de Charpin et Durand<sup>4</sup> où les auteurs sont arrivés à une nouvelle conception du terme Ḥanŭm: "Hanéen est un terme général, qui peut englober Sim'alites et Yaminites... Que Sim'alites et Yaminites soient deux branches du même groupe hanéen... Il est donc clair que Hana ne saurait avoir le sens descriptif de "nomades"... le terme [Hanéens] qui embrasse la réalité ethnique la plus large... une redéfinition des tribus hanéennes, divisées en deux branches principales: les "nordistes" (Sim'alites) et les "sudistes" (Yaminites)""<sup>5</sup> Dans la version française de mon ouvrage<sup>6</sup> j'ai résumé ainsi la thèse de Charpin et Durand: "à l'origine, on aurait eu affaire à un seul groupe ethnique, celui des Hanéens, qui se serait scindé en deux à un moment donné: le groupe du nord, dans le triangle du Ḥabar (Bini-Sim'al) et le groupe du sud, sur le moyen-Euphrate (Bini-Yamina), comme les Mawali, qui se divisent en Šemāliyīn et Qibilyīn, "les gens du

nord et les gens du sud", appellations qui ne représentent plus de réalité géographique".<sup>7</sup> Il faut aussi signaler que Charpin et Durand s'opposaient à l'avis de Gelb selon lequel: "From the cases in which the Ḥaneans are mentioned in connection with other ethnic designations, as in *Ḥa-na-a DUMU.MEŠ ia-mi-im* or *Ḥa-na<sup>MEŠ</sup> Ja-ma-ḥa-mu-um*, one may draw the conclusion that the term 'Ḥaneans' may have acquired secondarily a general meaning 'nomads', 'bedouins'".<sup>8</sup> Et dans une note il écrit:<sup>9</sup> "Some such secondary semantic development is probably implied in the case of Aḥlamŭ Aramaja and MAR.TU Su-ti-um; for parallels cf. also *Ja-mu-ut-ba-la-ju Ḥa-bi-ru*". A cela Charpin et Durand répliquaient: "Dans cette façon de voir, le terme Hanéen désignerait un mode de vie, non un groupe ethnique. Une telle position ne saurait toutefois être retenue, pour plusieurs raisons", qu'ils énuméraient.<sup>10</sup> Mon avis était proche de celui de Gelb: "on pourrait aussi envisager la possibilité que dans certains cas Ḥanŭm est employé comme un nom général signifiant "nomades". On trouve maint exemple de nom ethnique devenu nom général. Citons d'abord un exemple tiré de la première campagne de Sennachérib où le nom Aramu est employé d'abord comme nom général (I.39), puis comme nom ethnique (I.49). Le second exemple est biblique: Ismaélites dans Ps 83:7 est un nom ethnique tandis que dans Jug 8:24 il est employé comme nom général".<sup>11</sup>

Par la suite, il semblerait, si je ne m'abuse, que Durand ait changé d'avis, comme on peut s'en apercevoir, par exemple, au titre du IX<sup>e</sup> chapitre de LAPO 17: "Les Bédouins", c'est-à-dire le *hanŭm/hana*, qui est "un générique, non un ethnique",<sup>12</sup> ou à propos de la lettre ARM II.53 (voir ci-dessous § 5.1.1); en s'opposant à l'interprétation de Kupper, Durand écrit: "le texte ne fait pas permuter "scheichs des Hanéens" et "scheichs des Benjamins", mais considère les premiers ["Benjamins"] comme une partie des seconds ["Hanéens"]. Cela indique un sens large de "hanéen" pour lequel une traduction par "Bédouin" et non par un ethnique semble nécessaire". "Bédouin" fonctionne ici comme "Benjaminite privé de ses villes". Le "Hanéen" conformément à son étymologie qui l'apparente à l'hébreu HNH, "installer une tente", est donc véritablement le "nomade".<sup>13</sup>

Selon Durand *hanŭm* peut, d'après les circonstances, se référer aux tribus suivantes:

1. J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957). Je tiens à remercier mon ancien Maître le Professeur J.-R. Kupper pour avoir eu l'amabilité de lire mon manuscrit, et de me faire part de ses précieuses remarques et observations.
2. Pp. 1-46.
3. *Les tribus amurrites de Mari* (Tel Aviv 1985).
4. D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, "Fils de Sim'al': les origines tribales des rois de Mari", *RA* 80 (1986): 141-83.
5. Pp. 153-55, 183.
6. *Les tribus amurrites de Mari*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 108 (Gottingen, 1991).

7. P. 88.
8. I.J. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples", *JCS* 15 (1961): 37.
9. P. 37, n. 32.
10. Pp. 154-55.
11. TAM, 88.
12. LAPO 17, 417.
13. LAPO 17, 449. En passant, nous voulons signaler que la racine hébraïque ne signifie pas "installer une tente", mais "camper".



1. Bini-Sim'al: Nous avons rassemblé plusieurs citations de Durand, en vue d'éclairer son point de vue:
  - (a) "Il est vraisemblable que quasiment toute la population du royaume non benjaminite était bensim'alite".<sup>14</sup>
  - (b) "hana" signifie de façon large "Bédouin" et de façon étroite "bensim'alite".<sup>15</sup>
  - (c) Deux sous-chapitres portent le nom: "La mobilisation des Bensim'alites"<sup>16</sup> et "Bensim'alites sous Samsî-Addu"<sup>17</sup> alors que les lettres traduites dans ces sous-chapitres parlent des Hanéens.
  - (d) "La façon de voir les choses change cependant lorsqu'on accepte de considérer comme Bensim'alites tous les prétendus "Hanéens" de ces régions [toute la Djéziré du nord-ouest, allant du Zalmaqum benjaminite au Subartu... le territoire des grands centres urbains de l'Ida-Maraş]".<sup>18</sup>
  - (e) "dans la très grande majorité des cas, surtout dans l'ample correspondance qui vient de la Haute-Djéziré, *hanûm* vaut "Bensim'alite".<sup>19</sup>
  - (f) "Ces Bédouins [Hânûm dans ARM V.51] sont très vraisemblablement des Bensim'alites, étant donné leur habitat",<sup>20</sup>
  - (g) "s'ajoutant aux 2000 Bédouins [Hânûm dans ARM I.42.5, 10] recrutés par Yarîm-Addu dans la Haute-Djéziré occidentale, lesquels étaient très vraisemblablement des Bensim'alites".<sup>21</sup>
  - (h) "Samsî-Addu eut lui-même beaucoup de difficultés pour recenser ses propres Bédouins; ces derniers devaient également représenter les transhumants bensim'alites qui passaient depuis le Zalmaqum jusqu'au Sud-Sindjar [cfr. TAM, 112–13] et peut-être au-delà".<sup>22</sup>
  - (i) "Qui étaient ces Bédouins [Hânûm dans ARM I.82.14] de Qattunân à recenser? À moins de supposer de très grands changements à

14. LAPO 17, 519.

15. J.-M. Durand, "Itûr-Mêr, dieu de la justice et des serments", Jurer et maudire: pratiques politiques et usages juridiques du serment dans le Proche-Orient ancien, S. Lafont (éd.), *Méditerranée* 10–11 (1996): 68.

16. LAPO 17, 464–70.

17. LAPO 17, 477–80.

18. LAPO 17, 477.

19. LAPO 17, 418.

20. LAPO 17, 480a (ARM V.51).

21. LAPO 17, 338.

22. LAPO 17, 339.

- l'époque de Zimri-Lim, ils appartenait à la tribu des Bensim'alites".<sup>23</sup>
- (j) "Les Bédouins [Hânûm dans ARM X.170.16]...doivent représenter l'escorte bensim'alite...".<sup>24</sup>
  - (k) "Cet ennemi [dans ARM III.15] pourrait être Benjaminite. Les troupeaux bédouins [=Hânûm, ll. 11, 23] seraient dès lors ceux des Bensim'alites".
  - (l) "Bahdî-Addu est le général qui conduisit à Babylone des troupes bensim'alites [Hânûm dans ARM II.118] de Mari".<sup>25</sup>
  - (m) "En opposant les clans de Yabasâ aux "Bédouins" [=Hânûm] en général [ARM XXVIII.95.25, 30], la formulation revient à dire que le terroir n'est pas le bien d'une minorité mais celui de tous les Bensim'alites".<sup>26</sup>
  - (n) Cfr. 2c.
2. Bini-Yamina:
    - (a) "Le texte [A.2741] ne se comprend plus si *ha-na* [l. 8] est traduit ici par "Hanéen", compris comme une tribu différente des Benjaminites". "il est facile de montrer que *hanûm* est à comprendre comme "Benjaminite".<sup>27</sup>
    - (b) " 'Bédouin' [ARM X.91.3' Hânûm] doit signifier 'benjaminite' ".<sup>28</sup>
    - (c) "Si ma reconstitution des événements est juste, on voit que 'Bedouins' (ARM X.31.14 Hânûm) dans la première partie de la lettre signifie 'Benjaminites' et 'Bensim'alites' dans la seconde (ARM X.31.5' Hânûm)".<sup>29</sup>
  3. Bini-Sim'al et Bini-Yamina: à propos de Hânûm, qui apparaît dans le traité entre Zimri-Lim et Ibal-pî-El, que Durand traduit par "Bédouins",<sup>30</sup> il note: "Bensim'alites, comme Benjaminites".<sup>31</sup>

En fait, il y a eu trois temps dans la conception qu'on peut se faire du terme Hânûm:

23. LAPO 17, 338–39.

24. LAPO 18, 416–17, n. c.

25. LAPO 17, 201, n. a.

26. LAPO 18, 156, n. e.

27. LAPO 16, 630, n. b; LAPO 17, 418.

28. LAPO 18, 377, n. c.

29. LAPO 18, 435, n. c.

30. LAPO 16, 454, § 2'.

31. Loc. cit., p. 456, n. d. Voir aussi LAPO 17, 416.

1. Celle que Kupper a proposée dans *Nomades*: il s'agirait d'une tribu particulière.
2. Un terme ethnique général, d'après Charpin et Durand dans *RA* 1986.
3. Un terme générique (Bédouin) et non ethnique, d'après la position plus récente de Durand dans *LAPO* 17.

À présent nous voulons examiner la base de données qui nous avons établie concernant le titre de notre étude: "Ĥanûm—nom ethnique ou nom générique?":

### 1. Les clans ĥanéens

1.1. Dans une liste de distribution d'huile pour les garnisons de Mari et de Šuprum,<sup>32</sup> qui est divisée en huit colonnes, sont énumérés 222 "Ĥanéens résidant à Mari" (V.4–8), et 36 "Ĥanéens résidant à Šuprum" (V.56–59). Ces deux groupes comprenant 258 hommes "Ĥanéens résidant à Mari et à Šuprum" relevant de Ka'ala-El (V.60–64 [ou: 57–61]). Les gens qui figurent dans la liste sont répartis en sous-groupes, des clans, des *gāyūm*'s. Les gens de Mari comprennent 30 hommes du clan Yer'u (I.32–35), 27 du clan Yakallit (II.3–5), 35 du clan Amurru (II.42–45), 12 du clan Yabasu (II.59–60), 29 du clan Naḥanum (III.29–32), 7 du clan Niḥad (III.41–42), 24 d'un clan dont le nom manque (III.68–70), 15 du clan Ibaḥu (IV.20–22), 43 d'un clan dont le nom manque (IV.[67–70]). Les résidents de Šuprum comprennent 9 hommes du clan Yabasu (V.19–20), 9 du clan Niḥad (V.30–31), 9 d'un clan dont le nom manque (V.41–42) et 9 du clan Yer'u (V.52–53).

Pour Durand ces Ĥanûm sont des Bini-Sim'alites: "C'est chez les Bensim'alites, d'autre part, que se recrutait la garde bédouine (la prétendue garde "hanéenne"), que l'on voit être dirigée par des Bensim'alites aussi éminents que Hâli-hadun ou Kalâlâlum, en ZL 5', par exemple (XXVI/1, p. 238)".<sup>33</sup> Et Yakallit est une "tribu bensim'alite".<sup>34</sup> De même, pour Ozan un NP ĥanéen de la liste de Birot est un " "Bédouin" (bensim'alite)".<sup>35</sup>

Par contre, il nous semble qu'il est peu probable que dans une liste sortie de la bureaucratie palatine, qui représente la précision même, on emploierait un terme vague, générique et non pas un terme précis, un terme ethnique, pour désigner ces *gāyūm*'s. En outre, on peut comparer

32. TEM III, 16–19, tablette AB.

33. LAPO 17, 465.

34. LAPO 17, 457, n. d.

35. FM III, 291, n. 4, mais pourtant à la page 292 il écrit "la garde hanéenne de Zimri-Lim".

les deux cas suivants où on emploie le nom ethnique pour préciser à qui appartiennent des tribus bini-yaminites: 1. Dans la grande inscription de Yaḥdun-Lim on trouve trois tribus bini-yaminites, qui sont identifiées explicitement comme appartenant aux Bini-Yamina: Uprapûm, Amnanûm et Rabbûm (M.2802.III.3–21). 2. De même, dans une lettre de Kibri-Dagân, le gouverneur de Terqa, apparaissent trois tribus: Uprapûm, Yaḥrurûm, et Amnanûm, qui sont elle aussi identifiées comme étant de Bini-Yamina (ARM III.50).

1.2. Parmi les clans ĥanéens on trouve aussi le clan Yumaḥamiyu,<sup>36</sup> comme cela ressort de la lettre FM III.136. Or, Guillot écrit: "Yumaḥammû, un clan bensim'alite; cf J.-M. Durand, "Peuplement et sociétés" *Amurru* 2 (à paraître)".<sup>37</sup> De même: "Yumaḥammû est le nom d'un clan bensim'alite ... Yatarum est à la tête d'un contingent militaire bensim'alite".<sup>38</sup> Il nous semble, que l'identification de Yumaḥammû comme un clan bini-sim'alite, est basée exclusivement sur la supposition générale, selon laquelle Ĥanûm égale nomades égale Bini-Sim'al. Cfr. aussi § 5.1.4.

### 2. Ĥanûm suivi d'un nom de clan

2.1. Ĥanûm-Naḥanayû. Cfr. § 10.

2.2. Ĥanûm-Yamaḥamum

La'ûm, le gouverneur de Mari, écrit à Yasmaḥ-Addu: "Les moutons des Ĥanéens et des particuliers du Aḥ-Purattim ont traversé (le fleuve) en direction des torrents. Onze bergers relevant de Šamaš-mušallim et Ĥanûm-Yamaḥamum ont tous traversé (le fleuve)" (ARM V.81.5–10 = LAPO 17, 473, no. 723).

### 2.3. Ĥanûm-Yabasa

Ibal-pî-El, le commandant de la force expéditionnaire mariote en Babylonie, écrit à Zimri-Lim: "J'ai placé Sûlum à la tête des Ĥanûm Yabasa et Biḥirum à la tête de Ašarugayim" (A.486+M.5319.51–52). Villard suivant Durand traduit le mot Ašarugayim par "des autres clans",<sup>39</sup> et dans LAPO Durand traduit:<sup>40</sup> "des Bédouins Yabasa... des clans ašarugayu" et il note: "Pour cette grande division des clans bensim'alites, cf. "Nomades". ["Peuplement et sociétés à l'époque amorrite", dans *Amurru* 2 (à paraître)]".<sup>41</sup>

36. Voir TAM, 82–83.

37. FM III, 287, n. c.

38. FM III, 287.

39. FM I, 142 et 143, n. g.

40. LAPO 17, 203.

41. P. 205, n. l.

Les locutions Ḥanûm Naḥanayû, Ḥanûm Yamahamum et Ḥanûm Yabasa correspondent à la locution Sutûm Meḥalisayû, qu'on trouve dans une lettre de Baḥdi-Lim écrite à Zimri-Lim: "Les Sutûm Meḥalisayû ont dé[couvert] de l'argent, un trésor, au (Mont) Bisir" (ARM VI.44.5-6 = LAPO 18, 219, no. 1047). Or, comme Sutûm est un nom ethnique il en ressort que Ḥanûm lui aussi devrait être un nom ethnique.

### 3. Ḥanûm suivi d'un nom de tribu: Bini-Yamina ou Bini-Sim'âl

#### 3.1. Ḥanûm-Bini-Yamina

3.1.1. Zimri-Lim donne l'ordre à Ḥabduma-Dagān de "détruire les parcs à moutons et les ovins des Ḥanéens Bini-Yamina et de faire passer le Balih (à ceux-ci)" (A.1086).

3.1.2. Ikšud-appašu écrit à Yasmaḥ-Addu: "[Mon Seigneur] m'a envoyé po[ur réu]nir les Ḥanéens Bini-Yamina" (M.8512.5-6).

3.1.3. Yaḥdun-Lim, un chef bini-yaminite, écrit à Zimri-Lim: La nouvelle du rassemblement de Ḥanûm Bini-Yamina m'étant parvenue, je suis parti d'Aḥunā et je suis arrivé à l'assemblée de Ḥanûm (ARM XXVIII. 25.8-11).

3.1.4. Sūmu-Ḥadû, le premier gouverneur de Mari, écrit à Zimri-Lim: J'ai entendu la [lettre] de mon seigneur et la lettre de Turum-nakte, (roi d'Apum). [que mon seigneur] m'envoyées. [Quand] j'ai entendu ces [let]tres, j'ai rédigé une lettre et je l'ai envoyée à Iṣi-epuk et Yašub-Dagān, que pour conduire les moutons du pays, que mon seigneur devant les Ḥanéens Bini-Yamina les a...". (FM II.116.3-8).

3.1.5. Sūmu-Ḥadû, le premier gouverneur de Mari, écrit à Zimri-Lim: "Là-bas, les Ḥanéens Bini-Sim'âl sont rassemblés par-devant mon seigneur. Qu'ici les Ḥanéens Bini-Yamina se rassemblent!" (FM II.116.40-41).

#### 3.2. Ḥanûm-Bini-Sim'âl

3.2.1. Dans un fragment d'une lettre dont le nom de l'expéditeur et du destinataire manquent nous lisons: "Et, depuis l'an passé, depuis que les Akkadiens (= Ešnunna) sont montés, le Ḥanûm Bini-Sim'âl paît dans le pays du Yamutbal" (A.505.21-23').

3.2.2. Samsi-Addu écrit à son fils Yasmaḥ-Addu: "Recueille 1000 hommes entre les deux Su[hum], et recueille 1000 hommes parmi le Ḥanûm [Si]m'aluni, et 500 hommes entre les Uprapéens, les Yariḥéens, les Yaḥruréens et les Amnanéens" (ARM I.42.26-32 = LAPO 17, 16-17, no. 448).

3.2.3. Yarkab-Addu, le roi de Ḥanzat (dans Zalmaqum, au nord de Ḥarrān) écrit à Zimri-Lim: "Le Ḥanûm Bini-Sim'âl et Yamutbal sont en communauté de sang" (ARM XXVIII.36.12-14).

#### 3.2.4. Cfr. § 3.1.5.

Les locutions Ḥanûm-Bini-Yamina et Ḥanûm-Bini-Sim'âl montrent soit que les Bini-Sim'alites et Bini-Yaminites sont des sous-fractions de Ḥanûm, comme c'était autrefois l'avis de Charpin et Durand, soit que le nom Ḥanûm est un nom général, comme c'était l'avis de Gelb, et maintenant l'avis de Charpin et Durand.

#### 4. Ḥanûm inclut les Uprapû, Yabasa et Asarugayû

Dans une lettre du temps de Yaḥdun-Lim, dont je n'ai vu que le résumé<sup>42</sup> on parle d'un groupe de 462 soldats qui ont accompagné à Mari le butin de Yaḥdun-Lim. Ils sont répartis en deux catégories: ceux des villes "fils du pays" et les Ḥanéens, qui appartiennent aux Uprapû, Yabasa et Ašarugayû (CRXLVI<sup>e</sup> RAI [Paris 2000]).

Les Uprapû sont des bini-yaminites, tandis que les Yabasa et Ašarugayû sont des Ḥanéens. Nous pouvons expliquer ce phénomène soit par le fait que les Bini-Yaminites sont des sous-fractions de Ḥanûm, et donc que leurs clans appartiennent bien entendu au Ḥanûm, soit que le nom Ḥanûm est un nom général pour désigner les bédouins.

#### 5. Ḥanûm se confond avec Bini-Yamina ou Bini-Sim'âl

##### 5.1. Ḥanûm s'alterne avec Bini-Yamina

5.1.1. Yasmaḥ-Addu, le roi de la tribu bini-yaminite Yariḥûm, écrit à Zimri-Lim: "Précédemment déjà j'ai écrit à mon seigneur au sujet des troupes et mon seigneur m'a écrit: monte sur les bateaux de Laḥun-Dagān (un chef uprapéen) et viens. Voilà ce que mon seigneur m'a écrit. Maintenant, je suis disposé à partir, mais les hommes de Yariḥûm, les *sugāgû* des Ḥanéens sont arrivés et m'ont retenu. Autre chose: les *sugāgû* des Bini-Yaminites se sont rassemblés à Zalpaḥ, puis ils se sont rendus à Aḥunā, et Šū[rā-ḥammu et Yarīm-Lim] ont siégé et à [Šūrā-ḥammu et] Y[ar]im-Lim ils ont parlé. Les *s[ugāg]û* des Ḥanéens se sont levés et à Yar[im-L]im et Šūrā-ḥammu ont dit: [al]lez vers Zimri-Lim et réclamez nos villes. [S]i Laḥun-Dagān [ne] veut pas aller, ou nous le tuerons, ou bien, lui-même, nous le chasserons de son trône. Voilà ce que disent les *sugāg[û]* des Bini-Yaminites. Or ça, [ma]intenant Yarīm-Lim, Šūrā-ḥammu et les *sugāgû* v[on]t chez mon seigneur. Tout ce qu'ils réclament, que mon seigneur ne leur refuse pas; et moi, j'arriverai après

42. Le résumé de la communication de D. Charpin, *Nomades et Sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient Ancien*, XLVI<sup>e</sup> RAI (Paris, 2000), 8.

eux!" (ARM II.53). On constate l'alternance entre "Les *sugāgu* des Hānéens... ont dit" (ll. 17–19) et "Voilà ce que disent les *sugāgu* des Bini-Yaminites" (ll. 25–26)—dans les deux cas on se réfère au même groupe.

5.1.2. Après la conquête de la ville de Mišlān (ARM XXVI.282.14–15) on conseille à Zimri-Lim: "Il faut conduire à la frontière deux Hānéens vivants et, à la frontière, les mutiler. Ils doivent aller, vivants, aux Bini-Yamina pour dire que mon Seigneur a pris de force la ville de Mišlān" (ll. 19–25). Que vont faire ici ces deux Hānéens, car la ville de Mišlān est une ville bini-yaminite? Et s'il s'agit en effet des "Hānéens-Bini-Yaminites", pourquoi distingue-t-on entre "deux Hānéens" (l. 19) et Bini-Yamina (l. 22)?

5.2. Hānûm se confond avec Bini-Sim'al

5.2.1. Dans une lettre de Yatarum, le gouverneur de Qaṭṭunān (FM III.135), nous trouvons la reprise<sup>43</sup> suivante: "Les Hānéens vont biens. Les troupes de mon Seigneur vont bien" (l. 4) repris par "Les troupes vont bien. Les Bini-Sim'alites vont bien" (l. 5').

5.2.2. Dix rois d'Idamaras ("les rois de tout le pays") se sont réunis avec Qarni-Lim, le roi d'Andarig, et les Hānéens, A.1610+A.3670+M.9399.4–12 [= A.1212], et ils sont désignés par la suite par le mot "les armées", l. 15. À la fin de cette partie de la lettre on lit: "Les Bini-Sim'al et les armées vont bien", ll. 19–20.<sup>44</sup>

5.2.3. Yaḥdun-Lim portait le titre "roi de Mari et du pays de Hānûm", tandis que sur la légende du sceau d'une de ses filles nous lisons: "roi de Mari et du pays des Bini-Sim'al".<sup>45</sup>

5.2.4. Hali-ḥadun écrit à Zimri-Lim ce qui suit: j'ai délibéré ainsi avec les *sugāgu* et les Hānéens: Ešnunna et Qarni-Lim demeurent à Šubat-[Enli]l, il est à craindre qu'ils écrivent aux Bini-yamina et qu'alors Bini-yamina, Qarni-Lim et Ešnunna se joignent et ensemble attaquent les petit bétail des Bini-Sim'al. À cela j'ai réfléchi dans mon coeur et je suis inquiet (A.2954.4–16).

Le fait que Hali-ḥadun délibère avec les Hānéens dans une affaire qui touche le Bini-Sim'al pourrait signifier que les deux noms se réfèrent au même groupe.

43. FM III.135.4, 5'

44. Cfr. LAPO 17, 267, n. c: "On voit qu'ici 'Bédouins' est repris par 'Bensim'alites'".

45. Voir Ö. Tunca, dans *Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (Ankara, 1993), 631–32 et pl. 121, 8–9. Pour la lecture DUMU Ši-im-[a-al], cfr. D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, *RA* 80 (1986): 152 et n. 56.

5.2.5. Le peuple du Numḥā répond, probablement à son roi Ḥammurabi: "Je suis en bons termes avec Babylone, nonobstant mon frère Bini-Sim'al..." (A.3577.30'–32') d'autre part, le Hānûm répond à quelqu'un: "... afin que nous puissions entrer chez nos frères Numḥum". ARM XXVI.358. 6'.

On pourrait conclure d'après cette comparaison que les Hānûm en question sont des Bini-Sim'al.

6. Hānûm est opposé au Bini-Yamina ou au Bini-Sim'al

6.1. Hānûm opposé au Bini-Yamina

6.1.1. Cfr. 5.2.4.

6.1.2. Yaqqim-Addu, le gouverneur de Saggarātum, écrit à Zimri-Lim deux lettres qui nous paraissent traiter de la même affaire.

Dans la première lettre il écrit: Dans mon entourage (ou: de mes sources), j'ai appris ceci: "Les moutons paissent dans le pâturage [des B]ini-yamina [jus]qu'à<sup>46</sup> Lasqum". [Un Upr]apéens est [arri]vé et [a di]: "Les moutons [paissent] dans le pâturage". Et (il a ajouté) ceci: "... vont se réunir". [À présent] j'ai écrit afin d'élucider cette affaire. Lorsqu'on aura élucidé l'affaire, [j'éc]rirai à mon seigneur [un rappor]t complet (ARM XIV.85 = LAPO 17, 474, no. 724).

Il est possible que dans la seconde lettre il raconte les résultat de l'examen qu'il a fait:

J'ai envoyé des gendarmes jusqu'à L[a]s[qum] pour exa[mine]r la chose, et ils m'ont rapporté l'information que voici: "Les moutons des Hānéens paissent jusqu'à Lasqum" (ARM XIV.81.4–8 = LAPO 17, 537, no. 752).

D'après une lettre d'Ilšu-nāšir, le gouverneur de Qaṭṭunān, nous savons que le campement des Bini-yaminites est installé à Lasqum même et jusqu'à Manuḥatān (ARM XXVII.17.22–24). Il s'agit donc bien du pâturage des Bini-Yaminites: c'est un Uprapû, donc un Bini-yaminite, qui rapporte l'affaire. S'il s'agit bien de la même affaire dans les deux lettres (ARM XIV.81; 85), on voit un Bini-Yaminite se plaindre que des Hānéens paissent dans le pâturage des Bini-Yaminites. Par conséquent, ces Hānéens ne sont pas des Bini-Yaminites.

6.2. Hānûm et Bini-Sim'al sont frères Zimri-Addu, le gouverneur de Qaṭṭunān, écrit à Zimri-Lim:

46. [a]di, cfr. ARM XIV.81.4.

Quant aux nouvelles des Hanéens dont mon seigneur m'a écrit: "les nouvelles que tu apprendras, écris-(les) moi en priorité!", tous les Hanéens qui sont arrivés à Qaṭṭunān,—(et il y a) 20 ou 30 Hanéens qui vont chez moi—eh bien! Ils ont constaté que les campements sont en bon état et qu'il n'y a pas de perte dans leurs bergeries. Ils demeurent ici à la disposition (ou: dans l'attente) de leurs frères, mais... leurs visages [sont attristés] par la honte, et ils ne cessent de dire: "Que devons-nous faire? Quatre [de nos frères], de la race Bini-Sim'ālites, ont humilié un puissant personnage (ou: un puissant personnage de la race Bini-Sim'ālite) et se conduisent comme ils ne devraient pas le faire: c'est pourquoi nos visages sont attristés à cause de nos frères". Voilà ce qu'ils disent tous d'une seule voix (ARM XXVII.133.24b-40).

#### 7. Hanûm inclut Bini-Yamina et Bini-Sim'al

Sîn-tiri, le gouverneur de Harrân, écrit à Yasmaḥ-Addu une lettre dont nous avons déjà cité le passage suivant: "[Au sujet des Han]éens qui ont [trav]ersé sur la rive ultérieure, à propos desquels mon seigneur m'a écrit en ces termes: les Hanéens qui ont traversé, Bini-Sim'ālites (ou) Bini-Yaminites, quel est leur *gā'um*?" (A.2560.4-8).

On peut conclure soit que les Bini-Sim'ālites et Bini-Yaminites sont des sous-fractions de Hanûm, soit que le nom Hanûm est un nom général.

#### 8. Le pâturage de Bini-Yamina // le pâturage de Hanûm

*māt Yamḥad māt Qaṭanum u māt Amurruum niKḥum ša Bini-Yamina  
niKḥum ša Hanûm Idamaras*

Dans une lettre (dont le numéro n'est pas donné) écrite par un *merḥûm* (préposé aux pâturages royaux) il est dit: "comme le pays de Yamḥad, le pays de Qaṭanum et le pays d'Amurruum sont le *niKḥum* (?) de Bini-Yamina, et dans ce pays Bini-Yamina se rassasient d'orge et paissent dans leur pâturage, ainsi depuis *darkatum* (?) le *niKḥum* (?) de Hanûm est Idamaras".<sup>47</sup>

Fleming écrit: "It describes the long-accepted pasturage of the Sim'alite 'Northerners'". Et dans une note il ajoute: "it offers an excellent example of the Hana as 'our tent dwellers', for the Sim'al".

Par contre, le parallélisme montre, nous semble-t-il, que Bini-Yamina correspond à Hanûm, et comme Bini-Yamina est un nom ethnique, le Hanûm doit l'être lui aussi.

47. D. Fleming, "Mari and the Possibilities of Biblical Memory", *RA* 92 (1998): 61, n. 91.

9. Dans une lettre de Zakura-abum, le roi de Zalluḥān, nous lisons: "Autre chose. Tu (Zimri-Lim) a dit: "Zalluḥān n'est pas idamarasienne (DUMU *Idamaras*), (mais) sim'alite ([DUMU *Si*]-*im-a-al*)". Que mon seigneur écrive à Ibal-pi-el pour que les gens de mon district aillent de concert avec les Hanéens en direction de la frontière, et qu'il pose sa droite sur moi". (ARM XXVIII.79.34-39). Kupper écrit à propos de ces lignes (p. 109): "La dernière partie de la lettre contient une curieuse affirmation mise dans la bouche de Zimri-Lim: 'Zalluḥān n'est pas idamarasienne, (mais) Sim'alite.' Sans doute l'attribution d'un territoire à une ethnie est-elle ici en jeu. L'Idamaras est par excellence la zone de peuplement hanéen, et à l'intérieur du groupe hanéen, on oppose d'ordinaire ses deux branches: Yaminites et Sim'alites. Si 'idamarasien' veut dire 'hanéen', l'opposition entre Hanéens et Sim'alites est inattendue, surtout dans cette zone; en effet, les Yaminites sont, eux, installés plutôt sur le moyen Euphrate". Ce qui nous paraît encore plus significatif est l'emploi presque simultané de Bini-Sim'al (l. 36) et de Hanûm (l. 37), et cela prouve, nous semble-t-il, qu'il s'agit ici de deux ethnies différentes.

#### 10. Le Yaḥrurum bini-yaminite veut entrer dans le Bini-Sim'al

Dans une lettre de Sammetar, le gouverneur de Terqa, nous lisons: Autre chose: Urānum (le *sugāgum* de Dabiš, un village de Yaḥrurum, dans le district de Saggarātum) et les Anciens de Dabiš sont venus me trouver pour me dire: "depuis l'origine (?) nous faisons partie du Yaḥurrā, mais nous ne sommes point Yarrādum (?). Nous n'avons point dans la steppe de clan-nomade ni de Chefs-*kadûm*. Nous sommes ... aux Yaḥurréens, mais nous voulons entrer au sein des Bini-Sim'ālites, dans Niḥadû (*ina Niḥadî*; un village dans le district de Saggarātum), et nous voulons tuer les ânon!" (A.981.32-41).

Charpin (*NABU* 92/31) traduit *ina Niḥadî* par: "(comptés) parmi les Niḥadéens". et il conclut: "le *sugāgum* de Dabiš et ses Anciens viennent trouver Sammêtar pour être 'naturalisés' Sim'alites, et plus précisément entrer dans le clan des Niḥadéens, bien connu comme un des soi-disant clans 'hanéens' ". Il voit dans cet exemple la confirmation de la théorie d'après laquelle Hanûm égale "nomades". Or, d'après Durand: "Niḥad est bien connue pour être, elle aussi, une bourgade de la rive droite de l'Euphrate, au nord de Terqa".<sup>48</sup> En examinant mon fichier, j'ai pu constater, que Durand avait raison, car quand il s'agit du nom du clan la forme est Niḥad, Niḥada, tandis que la forme du nom de la bourgade est

48. J.-M. Durand, "Unité et diversité au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite", dans D. Charpin et F. Joannès (éds), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 Juillet 1991) (Paris, 1992), 120.

Niḥadû<sup>KI</sup>, Niḥadû, Niḥad<sup>KI</sup>. En conséquence on devrait traduire: "nous voulons entrer au sein des Bini-Sim'ālites, dans (le village) Niḥadû (dans le district de Saggarātum)". Mais de toute façon, il doit y avoir une relation entre le bourg Niḥadû et le clan ḥanéen Niḥad (cfr. ARM XXIII. 87.36: *Ḥanûm Niḥad<sup>KI</sup>*).

#### 11. Ḥanûm se confond avec Ḥanûm-Naḥanayû et avec Bini-Sim'āl

Zimri-Addu, un chef militaire dans le contingent mariote envoyé à l'aide de Ḥammurabi, lors de la bataille de Ḥirītum en Babylonie en l'an ZL 9', écrit à Zimri-Lim à propos d'un serviteur de celui-ci: "[Un] Ḥ[an]ûm Naḥanayû [qui...] montait [au] pays de Šubartu, est arrivé à l'improviste, dénué de tout, de (chez) l'ennemi". Dans la suite de la lettre on se réfère à lui d'abord comme "Ḥanûm" tout court, puis comme "[un Bini]-Sim'āl" (ARM XXVII.151.85-86, 91, 95, 97).

Nous pouvons expliquer cette alternance soit par le fait que les Bini-Sim'āl sont une sous-fraction de Ḥanûm, soit que le nom Ḥanûm est un nom général, bédouin qui se réfère ici aux Bin-Sim'āl.

#### 12. [Yamutbal] et Bini-Sim'āl sont *pursātum* de Ḥanûm

Ḥittipanum (peut-être le vizir d'Atamrum, roi d'Andarig) écrit à Baḥdi-Lim, le gouverneur de Mari, une lettre où il dit: "instaurons en[tre nous la paix] et de bons rapports. [Yamutbal] et Bini-Sim'āl, depuis des temps immémoriaux, ont des liens de confraternité<sup>49</sup> et sont *pursātum* de Ḥanûm" (A.3572.6'-10').

Le mot *pu-úr-sà-at* (*Ḥanîm*) est un hapax legomenon. Il est fort possible que le terme nous donne la clé des rapports entre les Bini-Sim'āl (et le Yamutbal) et le Ḥanûm, mais nous ne sommes pas sûr de sa signification.<sup>50</sup>

Après avoir passé en revue la base de données concernant la question "Ḥanûm—nom ethnique ou générique?", il faut se demander si nous avons abouti à une réponse non équivoque. La réponse à cette question est, pour le moment au moins, négative, car nous avons vu que Ḥanûm est à la fois un nom ethnique et générique. Il peut se référer à l'ethnie Ḥanûm et il peut se référer aux ethnies Bini-Yamina et surtout Bini-Sim'āl. Il y a encore

49. Cfr. M. Anbar, "L'origine tribale de Zimri-Lim, roi de Mari" dans *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad, Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Ö. Tunca et D. Deheselle (éds.) (Liège, 1996), 8-9.

50. Durand (p. 116), qui traduit en italique: *rameaux*, se demande s'il s'agit du pluriel de *purustum*, qui signifierait "rameau", "branche". Dans LAPO 17, 492, no. 734, n. d., il semble être plus sûr quant à la signification "rameau", "branche ethnique". Sa traduction de Ḥanûm par "ethnie bédouine" semble en contradiction avec sa théorie de l'acception "générique et non ethnique" du terme *ḥanûm*.

bien des ambiguïtés. La raison de ces ambiguïtés réside, sans doute, dans le fait que même les liens tribaux des tribus nomades et semi-nomades modernes sont compliqués à retracer et à plus forte raison des liens entre tribus qui ont disparu il y quatre mille ans.

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ARM V	G. Dossin, <i>Correspondance de Iasmaḥ-Addu</i> , ARM V, Paris 1952.
ARM VI	J.-R. Kupper, <i>Correspondance de Baḥdi-Lim</i> , ARM VI, Paris 1954.
ARM XXIII	G. Bardet, F. Joannès, B. Lafont, D. Soubeyran et P. Villard, <i>Archives administratives de Mari</i> , ARM XXIII, Paris 1960.
ARM XXVI	J.-M. Durand, D. Charpin, F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher et B. Lafont <i>Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1-2</i> , ARM XXVI/1-2, Paris 1988.
ARM XXVII	M. Birot, <i>Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân</i> , ARM XXVII, Paris 1993.
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- A.486+M.5319 P. Villard, "Parade militaire dans les jardins de Babylone", *FM* I (1992), pp. 138-40.
- A.505 J.-M. Durand, "Unité et diversité au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite", dans D. Charpin et F. Joannès (éds), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 Juillet 1991), Paris, 1992, p. 114, n. 146.
- A.981 Cfr. A.505, p. 118-119; D. Charpin, *NABU* 92/31.
- A.1086 G. Dossin, "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari", *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur R. Dussaud*, Paris 1939, p. 989d.
- A.1610+A.3670  
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A.1212 J.-M. Durand, "Les Anciens de Talhayum", *RA* 82 (1988): 109.
- A.2560 D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, "Fils de Sim'al': les origines tribales des rois de Mari", *RA* 80 (1986): 180.
- A.2954 N. Wasserman, "The Particle assurre/ē in the Mari Letters", *FM* II (1994), p. 326.

- A.3080 J.-M. Durand, "Fourmis blanches et fourmis noires", dans F. Vallat (ed.) *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran, Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*, Paris 1990, pp. 102-4.
- A.3572 Cfr. A.505, p. 114 (= *LAPO* 17, 492, no. 734).
- A.3577 J.-M. Durand, "Espionnage et guerre froide: la fin de Mari", *FM* I, 45, n. 39.
- M.2802 G. Dossin, "L'inscription de fondation de Iaḫdun-Lim", roi de Mari, *Syria* 32 (1955): 4-17.
- M.8512 *ARM* XXVI/1, p. 436b.



## EA 42, THE EARLIEST KNOWN CASE OF PARŠU, “CORRECT INTERNATIONAL CUSTOM”

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THE TERM *paršu*, as the key-definition of the correct rules of “the international game,”<sup>1</sup> occupies in the thirteenth century B.C.E., in the period of “Pax (Egypto-)Hittitica” (1258–1200 B.C.E.), a fundamental position in the conduct of good relations among Hatti, Egypt, and Assyria.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, most important to realize that this term was already active in the core period of the archive itself—the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E.—as we learn from EA 42, a Hittite state-letter.

EA 42

(VAT 1655; VS 11, 15; WA 16)

OBV. (“about 4–5 lines missing”; Knudtzon)

5. *lu-ú šul-mu a-na* [...]
  6. LÚ.MEŠ GAL-*ka a-na* ÉRIN[.MEŠ-*ka* ANŠE.KUR.RA-*ka*]
  7. GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ka* ù *i-n*[*a* ŠÀ-*bi* KUR-*ka* *lu-ú šulmu*]
- 
8. ŠEŠ-*ia* *ki-a-am* ši-*mé* [...?]
  9. *a-ba(-)a-bi-ni* iš-*tu* [*pa-na-a-nim-ma* (?)]
  10. [*šum*(?; Kn.)-*ma*] iš-*tu* KUR URU *Hi[-ku-up-taḫ* (?)...]
  11. [*šum-ma* (?; Kn.)] iš-*tu* KUR-*tim* [URU *Ḫa-at-tu-ša* (?)]
  12. *i-la-x* [ ] [*it-ti a-ḫa-meš* (?)]

1. Raymond Cohen, *International Politics: The Rules of the Game* (London and New York: Longman, 1981).
2. For the definition and characterization of this period, see Itamar Singer, *A Political History of Ugarit*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt 1, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten: Bd. 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 646–83. This period is within the “Extended Age of the Amarna Archive, 1460–1200 B.C.E.”; see P. Artzi, *Bar Ilan Studies in History* (I), Bar Ilan Publications (1978), 25–42.

13. *a-na ba-ni[-tim]* [*id-bu-bu* (?)] × [ ] [ŠEŠ-*ia* GAL/DUB.SAR.MEŠ-*šu* (?)]
14. *li-iš-al-ma* [*li-i-de* (?)]

- 
15. ù *i-na-an-na* DUB-BA-*ka* *ša* [*ta-aš-pu-ra* (?)]
  16. *šum-ka e-li* *šum-ia am-mi-ni* [ ]
  17. ù *ma-an-nu* *ša ba-a-na-a-ti* [ ]
  18. *uš-bal-kat-ma pār-sú ki-na-an-[na]*
  19. ŠEŠ-*ia aš-šum sú-lum-me-e* [ ]
  20. *ta-aš-pu-u-ra-a* ù *šum-ma* [ ]
  21. *am-mi-ni tu-ra-ab-bi* ù *a[-na-ku-ma ki-ma]*
  22. *na-bu-ul-tim ki-a-am ḫa-as*(?)-[*sa-ku* (?)] [...]
- (For the rest [ll. 22b–28], see below, in the Commentary.)

### TRANSLATION

(significantly influenced by Moran, “Amarna Letters” (our note 3).

OBV.

5. [ ] may all go well; for [ ]
  6. Your magnates, for [your] troo[ps, your horses]
  7. Your chariots and i[n your country may all go well!]
- 
8. My Brother! Hear thus:
  9. Our grandfathers [from the earliest times (?)]
  10. [eith]er from the land of the city of Hi[kuptah] (=Egypt (?))
  11. [or] from the land of the [city of the Hattuša] (=Hatti) (?)
  12. ... (?) [with each other (?)]
  13. [talked (?) with the] finest [(words)]; [ ] . [My Brother his ministers/scribes]
  14. should interrogate [and then he will know (?)]
- 
15. But now, as to the (latest) tablet that [You sent me (?)],
  16. Why did you [put (?)] Your name over my name?!
  - 17–18. So who is (between us) who upsets [these (?)] fine relations [of the early period (?)] Thus is the correct international rule?
  - 19–20. My Brother! Did you write to me [in your present letter (?)] about peace-treaty? So, if [you are really intending to this (?)],
  21. why are you elevating yourself (above me) while I [like] a [co]rps[e] am considered/mentioned?!
- (For the rest [ll. 22–28], see Commentary.)



## COMMENTARY

The Hittite origin of our letter<sup>3</sup> was recognized already in the earliest stages of systematic research; as Knudtzon(-Weber) stresses,<sup>4</sup> the nearest relative of our letter preceding EA 41, a Hittite state-letter sent by Šuppiluliuma I to Amenhotep IV. By now, armed with extensive knowledge of the Hittite state-letters of the thirteenth century, with grammatical-cultural studies of R. Labat, I. Durham, and G. Beckman, and especially with the help of the "Zeichenlexikon,"<sup>5</sup> there are no doubts at all about the Hittite identity of our letter. In the following, I hope to show its "pure Hittite spirit."

The purpose of the letter was already accurately noted by O. Weber (EAK II, p. 1093). The first part of the letter mentions good relations from the times of the grandfathers of both parties. But now—states the second part of the letter (ll. 15–28)—in spite of the fact that Pharaoh writes in his (lost) letter about "Bundesgenossenschaft" (see line 19, "sulummû") the king of Egypt committed an *ethical* offense (see Part 3, Special Studies 1 and 2) against his Hittite brother, by an offending formulation of his own (quasi-)superior international status.

W.L. Moran, who in his translation (see our note 3) almost did not treat the first part of our letter, also recognizes that in our letter the Egyptian royal addressee is invited to recall the earlier good relations between Hatti and Egypt in their grandfathers' time. On the other hand, he proposes to emend the HI-sign in l. 10 to H[ur-ri]; as Moran formulates it "perhaps a defense is offered of Hittite attacks on 'Hurri country'... i.e., Mittani."<sup>6</sup>

My long-standing view is that the first part of our letter is dedicated *solely* to past relations—support for this view appears in l. 13, stating the excellence of these relations. Then, in the second part of the letter, there suddenly appears a contrasting, very serious breach of the *paršu*.

## FIRST PART (ll. 5–14):

ll. 5–7. Part of the greeting section. It is quite reasonable to suppose that this section is arranged according to the "northern" Hittite *usus*: the separation of the address-section from the greeting-section by "scribal lines," as, e.g., in the other EA Hittite state letters, EA 41:4–6; 44:5–6.

3. W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 116, n. 1.
4. J.A. Knudtzon (O. Weber, E. Ebeling), *Die El Amarna Tafeln*, I–II (Leipzig, 1907–1915), 1093.
5. R. Labat, *L'Akkadien de Baghaz-köi* (1932); J. Durham, *Studies in Bogazköy Akkadian*, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University 1978; Ch. Rüster - E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989); Gary Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattuša," *JCS* 35 (1983): 97–114.
6. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 116, n. 2.

- l. 8. "Hear me!" Such a call to attention is common in every language. But for a Semite, and especially a Jew, the imperative *šime!*, שִׁמְעֵנִי, has a special significance, because one instantly feels the deep seriousness of the following message.<sup>7</sup>
  - l. 9. *aba(-)abini!* "our grandfathers," a form without contraction, comp. Labat, *L'Akkadien de Boghaz-köi*, 89: *a-ba a-bi* "my grandfather."<sup>8</sup> This formulation means that the writer of EA 42 wishes to return to the very beginning of relations between Egypt and Hatti.  
An emendation *iš-tu panânimma* seems acceptable.<sup>9</sup>
  - l. 10+11. Equalizer-distributive *šumma-šumma* of Knudtzon introduces the most problematic part of the declaration; I stress again that there is no place—and sense—to insert here "contemporary" problems as Moran suggested. The historical survey continues, but, of course, there is no way, for the present, to prove that my coming emendations are "factually" correct. Nevertheless, I think, that their direction is correct: to show there was a symmetry in the good relations leading to the finest level (see ll. 13–14).
  - l. 10. *Hikuptah* is written with the standard Hittite definitive of state and its capital KUR.URU. This emendation identifies the ancient Egyptian capital, Memphis.  
There are indications that Memphis served as a "secondary capital" [for foreign affairs?] during the Empire Period in the times of Amenhotep II, Thutmes IV, and Amenhotep III.<sup>10</sup> It seems that the Egyptian "grandfather" is Amenhotep II. See below, at the end of the discussion on ll. 13–14 and the return to l. 9 ("grandfathers").  
As to the Hittite side, we shall return to it in the comments to lines 13–14. It is noteworthy that *Hikuptah* serves as comparison in a Gublaite popular saying (so I understand it) (EA 84:37 [normalized]): *amurmi(?)*: *Gubla kîma Hikuptah ibaššat ana šarri*; translation according to Moran, *Amarna Letters*: "Look(?), Gubla is like *Hikuptah* to my lord!" Moran adds an important observation (p. 155, n. 12): "This may be a saying (also EA 139:8) going back to much earlier times when Byblos was a very important port for the Egyptians and Memphis was the capital of Egypt."
  - l. 11. Emendation "*Hattuša*" creates a logical pair with the first emendation.  

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7. See CAD Š/2, 281, 2.a).
  8. CAD A/1, 67 *abu* A, p. 70 d) 1 'a'.
  9. See AHw, 818, EAK II 1488, Labat, *L'Accadien de Boghaz-köi*, 179.
  10. H. Kees, *Ancient Egypt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 173; D. O'Connor and Erich Cline (eds.), *Amenhotep III, Perspectives of His Reign* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 262–70.

l. 12. I am unable to reconstruct the beginning of this line, although it is certain that here begins to emerge the positive statement on Egyptian-Hittite historical relations.

l. 13. This central positive statement is built on the remains: *ana banīti*.<sup>11</sup> "(our grandfathers) [talked] with the finest [words]." The proposed emendation with *dabābu* is based on the style of certain historical introductions in the Amarna documents, stressing constant dialogue.<sup>12</sup>

The following l. 14 is directly connected to l. 13 and closes the first part of our letter. The Hittite royal writer concludes *his* findings and now calls his Egyptian brother to do the same: *lišāl*, "ask, question, investigate, interrogate experts," GAL, *rabū* "ministers"; or: DUB.SAR, "scribes," officials dealing with documents on the same topic: the high positive quality of past relations between Egypt and Hatti. At this point we introduce additional sources that teach us how the Hittite king treats international problems: he turns to his archive to research the past. We learn about this method from a source that is related to an event not very distant from the "present," supposing, of course, that the parties involved in EA 42 are Amenhotep IV and Suppiluliuma I.<sup>13</sup> We read (JCS 10 [1956]: 3, 98) that close to the conclusion of wedding negotiations with the Egyptian queen, the widow of Tutankhaten/amon,<sup>14</sup> Suppiluliuma asked<sup>15</sup> for the tablet of the treaty (*išhiulaš*). To this treaty, obviously concluded between Egypt and Hatti in an earlier period, we will return shortly. But before that, let us continue with the text of "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma." The king now asked his ministers to read aloud the text of the treaty, concluding that "as in the past, Egypt and Hatti will be continuously friendly with each other."

Comparing the situations, it seems that in the preparation of EA 42 a similar process operated: the review of past relations on the basis of archival documents, *perhaps the same treaty*.

As to the treaty, which proves that the Egyptians are in the category of "friendliness" toward Hatti, it is referred to in the "The Deeds of

11. CAD B, 80; opposite, 81 *la banitu* "detrimental words."

12. E.g., EA 8:8–10, *dabābu* with *qabū*.

13. H.G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Muršili II," JCS 10 (1956): 41–68, 75–98, 107–30.

14. On this famous affair, see William I. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 2nd edition revised (SAOS 42) (Chicago 1990), 22–29; add, E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi*, Band I (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 14, no. 1 = KBo XXVIII, 51, first letter of the widow. KUB III 51 = Edel, *Korrespondenz*, text 2, second letter of the widow.

15. Here is written *namma* translated by Güterbock "again"; but as it was explained to me by Itamar Singer, its meaning is in the opposite direction (temporal posteriority): "then," "next," "after that."

Suppiluliuma" (p. 98) as the "Kuruštama treaty."<sup>16</sup> According to the "Deeds," "formerly the storm-god took the people of Kuruštama, sons of Hatti, carried them to Egypt, and made them Egyptians; and the storm-god concluded a treaty between the countries of Egypt and [they] were continuously friendly with each other." In other words, people from Kuruštama (perhaps) immigrated to Egyptian territory in "Syria" and (perhaps) also "Canaan," but the Egyptian received them well and (perhaps) gave them autonomy and permitted treaty-based relations with their homeland. This is the reason that Egypt is recognized as "friendly" with Hatti.<sup>17</sup>

Let us return to the question of the identification of the "grandfathers," mentioned in l. 9. As to the Egyptian grandfather, there is a strong possibility that he is Amenhotep II, mentioned above in relation with Hiktuptah-Memphis. He is a contemporary of Tudḫalija I of Hatti (or II), who was able to turn the fortunes of his kingdom and (re-)enter Syria, taking Halab-Aleppo from Mittani. This new situation (re-)opened a common boundary with Egypt. It is quite possible that this short period served as background to the Kuruštama treaty with its lasting positive results, defining Egypt as friendly. All this happened, of course, *before* the establishment of the Egyptian-Mittanian peace, caused by the sudden recovery of Mittani and the re-occupation of Aleppo.<sup>18</sup>

16. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 31–33, 35; "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma," 98; fragments of the treaty and secondary sources (from the Middle Hittite period, ca. 1430–1380): A. Ünal, *RIA VI* (1983), 373–74; CTH 134. On the theological and moral involvement because of the (possible) break of this treaty by Suppiluliuma I, see A. Malamat, "Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel," *VT 5* (1955): 1–12; now reprinted in: A. Malamat, *History of Biblical Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), [341]–52; the article analyzes the causality-seeking of Muršiliš II (as noted, the author of the "Deeds" of his father) in relation to the Kuruštama treaty. I stress here that there will be in my paper no further discussion on the political consequences of this supposed act; I am interested only in the possible use of the treaty in the evaluation of Egyptian-Hittite relations in EA 42.

17. By contrast, the behavior of the king of Mittani toward Hatti obstructing the solution of the flight of emigrants of Išūwa is to be clearly classified as "non-friendly," "inimical"—with far-reaching results; see A. Altman, *Bar Ilan Studies in Assyriology, Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* (Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), [177]–206, especially pp. 180–82.

18. Thanks to the guidance of Itamar Singer and the help of Idan Breuer. See CAH II, 13 (1973), 679; G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts 1* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), no. 4, 88–90, Treaty between Muwatalli II of Hatti and Talmi-Sharruma of Aleppo; see p. 89, §5 (Tudḫalija).

On the date of the Kuruštama treaty (cf. above our note 16), see Horst Klengel, *Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 96 and note 48: a far possibility that the "Kuruštama Vertrag" was concluded already in the times of Thutmes III who received gifts from Hatti on the eve of his victory over Mittani (year

## SECOND PART (ll. 15–28):

- l. 15. *u inanna*, “but now” (\*comp. [Biblical] Hebrew letter stylistics: “זָרָה”), continued by *casus pendens*: *ṭuppaka* “in relation to your (latest) letter.”
- l. 16. Stress—formulation, “Your name” etc., pointing out instantly the fault in Pharaoh’s letter: “Your NAME *above* my NAME,” a situation of inequality. NAME here means the entire string: royal personal name with its status titles<sup>19</sup> and attributes; see CAD S/3, 292. This anomalous situation described in our text is clearly *against* the *parṣu*; for the classification of this *parṣu* see Special Studies 2.
- The missing verb after *ammīni* “why,” translated by Moran as “put,” may be *tušarbi*, “you exalt yourself”; see CAD R, 48, 9.a), and Special Study 1.
- l. 17–18a. Comparative balance between the first and the second part of the letter.
- In l. 13, in the first part of our letter it was stated that the relations were conducted *ana banīti*, “in the finest degree.” Now in l. 17 it is stated that these *banātu* are completely “upset”; see CAD N, 19, 5.
- l. 18b. Now, appears, for the first time, the key expression *parṣu* in a conclusive position. See Special Study 2.
- ll. 19–20 with l. 20–21. The Hittite king makes clear to his Egyptian brother that by his behavior of self-elevation he not only transgresses the *parṣu*, but also totally contradicts himself: in a situation of oppressing inequality, which he himself created, he writes about a peace agreement! The word *sulummū* was so understood already at the beginning of the EA research (see above, Commentary, b).

Although Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 42 translates: “did you write to me with peace in mind,” we learn from the article on *sulummū* in CAD S, 327 that the largest section presents extracts from “a) peace agreements between countries,” opening with a citation from the treaty between Egypt and Hatti (normalized): *ana nadāni su-lum-ma-a damiqa aḥḥūta damiqa ina bē[rīni adi darīti]*, “to establish good peace-agreement and brotherly relations between us forever”; (see also Special Studies). Even our case of EA 42 is cited here.

33, 41); p. 106: a much greater possibility of the conclusion of the Kuruštama Treaty in the times of Tudḥaliya I, in Document group A8. See also p. 110 with note 116 (Thutmose III, Amenhotep II); see also p. 163 in relation to the “The Deeds of Suppiluliuma”; Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 128–29. The author also takes into account the possibility of the conclusion of the Kuruštama Treaty already in the times of Zidanta and Thutmose III. Nevertheless he agrees that “it could belong to a later period.”

19. On royal titles, see with lit., P. Artzi and A. Malamat, “The ‘Great King,’” in: *The Tablet and the Scroll*, FS W.W. Hallo (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), 28–38.

What is the meaning of the statement in EA 42? It means, that Egypt proposes a peace-agreement to Hatti. This proposal was presented in the letter anteceding EA 42. Indeed, this is a most unusual situation, because Egypt is not used to initiating treaties.<sup>20</sup> All the known cases of treaties with Egypt (as the already mentioned Kuruštama treaty) are of Hittite initiative. So, we are confronted by a new Egyptian policy renewing relations with Hatti and abandoning Mittani. This is indeed a revolution.

In the following I try to reconstruct this process. At the Bellagio Conference of 1996 on Amarna Diplomacy (see publication in note 20), Betsy M. Bryan gave an important lecture on “The Egyptian Perspective of Mittani.” She pointed out that in the last years of Amenhotep III, in spite of his deep personal involvement with Tušratta, king of Mittani, in his royal-personal inscriptions at Luxor the “Mittanian enemy” reappears again. And this happens after seventy years, the happy days of Amenhotep II (see above), who, as one of “our grandfathers,” “abandoned” the short-lived Hittite friendship, and joyously received the Mittanians as new allies. From the possible causes of this change proposed by the lecturer, the best is—in my opinion—that, after all, Amenhotep III foresaw the coming eclipse of Mittani.

However, in the discussion following the lecture I voiced my opinion: Amenhotep IV and his advisers, with or without “coregency,” influenced the last period of ailing Amenhotep III, to abandon Mittani to its collapse and to try and renew relations with Hatti.<sup>21</sup> Thus, with Amenhotep IV’s beginning of rule, a series of diplomatic attacks were launched, represented by Egyptian state letter X<sub>1</sub>, which opened the new era of relations with Hatti. Hittite state-letter EA 41 (and EA 44, see below) is the reaction to this lost letter. Then comes Egyptian state-letter X<sub>2</sub> with its damaging formulation, causing the reaction of EA 42, a Hittite state-letter, already well known to us. A special feature of this letter-exchange is the heavy presence of intended or mistaken formulation/diplomatic gaffes: EA 41, without the title *šarru rabū* to the king of Egypt, then the gaffe of the Egyptian letter X<sub>2</sub>, inviting the reaction of EA 42.<sup>22</sup> See Special Study 1.

This reaction reaches its peak with l. 21’ “self-elevation” (for explanation see Special Studies 1, 2) and then in l. 21b the reaction: “I am like a corpse, because you aggressiveness makes me ‘dead.’”<sup>23</sup>

20. See R. Westbrook, “International Law in the Amarna Age,” in R. Cohen and R. Westbrook (eds.), *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, 40–41. In spite of the arguments of the author, the samples presented show that there is no Egyptian initiative of treaties—until EA 42!

21. See P. Artzi, “Mitanni File,” in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 205–11.

22. See a similar case of “gaffe” cited in Artzi-Malamat, “The ‘Great King,’” 35, no. 62.

23. For *nap/bultu* (Knudtzon: “Leichnam”), see AHw, 799 (Kadaver); CAD N/1, 328;

The last lines (22b–28) of our letter (with Moran and Knudtzon) are damaged. I concentrate on the following lines only:

- 24 ...[aš-ḫ]ur ù šum-ka  
 25 [a-pa-aš]-ši-it ù  
 27 [um-ma-]a LÚ DUB.SAR (1) Ra-[ ]  
 28 x ma la a ti x  
 24 ...I wrote but/and your name...  
 25 I will remove and...

#### COMMENTS (completely tentative)

- 24–25 seems to be a counter-measure: “You, the king of Egypt, caused grievous damage to the ‘fine relations’ by elevating yourself above me. Now I will facilitate my international classification-system against your international standing by removing your name (=your states name) from my constantly updated list of equal kings.” For example, in the treaty between Tudḫalija IV and Šauskamuwa, king of Amurru there is a political directive: “and the kings who are my equals<sup>24</sup> in rank are: the king of Egypt, the king of Babylonia, the king of Assyria, and the king of Ahhijawa.”<sup>25</sup>
- 27–28. As recognized by Knudtzon and Moran, there is a scribal message at the end of our letter (but no *šulmānu*, gift, section, which is another negative indicator). The remains of the scribal message are unclear.

#### SPECIAL STUDY 1

“Your name above my name.”

The query is: What is the exact meaning of this protest? To reach the solution I present here the stages of research made through ninety years.

Stage I opened in 1915 with EAK II, 1094; it continues down to 1987, 1992. The general conclusion was that the culprit was identified in the (lost) address-section of our letter. It was printed out that the letter was (intentionally) not formulated in the “usual manner,” *ana RN<sub>2</sub> qibima umma RN<sub>1</sub>* “To the royal addressee<sub>2</sub> (in the *first* place), thus (says) the royal writer<sub>1</sub> (in the *second* place),” but in a much less usual manner: “*umma RN<sub>2</sub>*

Hebrew נבלה. The very penetrating use of נבלה in Biblical Hebrew as a totally powerless entity could illustrate the use of *nabultu* in our text.

24. Akkadian *mihru*, CAD M/2, 57, 2, Akkadiogram in the Hittite text of this treaty, KUB XXIII 1, IV 1 (CTH 105): “LÚ MIḪR[UT]I, “equals.”

25. G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 101, §11.

*ana RN<sub>1</sub>...*” “Thus (speaks) the royal writer (*in the first place!*) to the royal addressee (*in the second place!*).” Nevertheless, Knudtzon already noted that this “less used” formulation was known from the Amarna archive:

- EA 5, from Egypt to Babylonia;  
 EA 31, from Egypt to Arzawa (in Anatolia);  
 EA 41, from Hatti to Egypt.  
 Add: EA 34, from Alašia–Cyprus to Egypt.

*Interim Note:* In 1967 E. Salonen published his monograph on the opening formulas of the Mesopotamian letter-literature.<sup>26</sup> His findings remained mainly unnoticed in relation to solving our problem, namely, that there are *two* address-systems, *ana* and *umma*; see below.

More recently, the Egyptologist W. Murnane, investigating the relations between Egypt and Hatti in his book *The Road to Kadesh*, 35–36, is confronted with our problem and proposes—in the spirit of the *first* stage of research—the following answer (showing clearly that the findings of Salonen remained unnoticed): In EA 41 *Šuppiliuma I reacts* to a letter of Amenhotep IV on the eve of his coronation, criticizing the small amount of gifts. Because of that, he uses the *umma* formulation (*sender in first position*). Now in his (lost!) answer Amenhotep IV *reacts* in kind, also using the *umma* formulation, *which leads to the “name”-scandal*. Let me stress here that all these suppositions are erroneous, but a fact—and an embarrassing one—remains: in EA 41, the Hittite king refrains from calling his Egyptian brother “Great King.”

#### Second Stage: The Solution

In 1987 and 1992 Moran, citing the “first stage views” of E. Edelman and W. Helck<sup>27</sup> on the deliberate use of *umma* in EA 42, loses his patience with this view, stating, that if this view is correct, then the “addressee” (cf. EA 42!) is quite unfamiliar with Hittite practice. This observation of Moran is ironic. The “addressee,” the author of EA 42, was Hittite, so he must have been perfectly aware of the standard(!) Hittite practice, the *umma*-address formulation. That means that the solution of the “names” lies in another direction, without any relation to the address-formula.<sup>28</sup>

26. Erkki Salonen, *Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonischen-assyrischen Briefen*, Societas Orientalis Fennica, XXXVIII (Helsinki, 1967).

27. W.L. Moran, *Les Lettres d'El Amarna* (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 213, n. 3; *Amarna Letters*, 116, n. 3.

28. We note here as a “transitory stage” between Stages 1 and 2 the views of Cord Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), n. 286. He expresses doubts about Stage 1 and points out that the Ramesside-Hittite correspondence of the thirteenth century uses the *umma*

I suggest that the Introduction to Moran's *Amarna Letters* (p. XXII) clearly points the way to the solution; (may I be permitted to note that the entire problem was clarified by me many years before Moran's publication). Indeed, in the entire cuneiform corpus of the ancient Near East there are *two* letter-address systems, as mentioned above, *ana* and *umma*. The *ana*-system began to operate already in the Ur III period<sup>29</sup> and subsequently became the sole format in the south. In the Amarna Age ("core" and "extended")<sup>30</sup> it was used by Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Mittani, and, in the majority of cases, Alašia.

The *umma*-system is earlier than the *ana*-system. It first developed in Ebla (*emba*) and in the Old Akkadian Period (*umma*) (mid-/second part of the third millennium), and, besides some samples in the Ur III period (see Sollberger, *Ur Correspondence*, 90, nos. 369, 370) it became the heritage of the Anatolian north, accepted as the standard addressing format of the Hittite state documents and letters; it was used in Syria and throughout all the Phoenician seacoast influenced by the Hittites. Here it is important to note with Moran (*Amarna Letters*, Introduction XXII–XXIII), that because the [potential(!)] status-consciousness of the *umma* system (sender in the *first* place), a dependent or a vassal had to address his lord not by the *umma*-system but by the *ana*-system (see below in relation to EA 44). I would like to clarify: both systems need qualificatives, as, e.g., *šarru* "king," *ardu* "servant," *māru* "son" (cf. EA 44!) etc.

The true situation begins to emerge: *indeed the "name" scandal has nothing to do with the address-system*. To bolster this conclusion, let us selectively examine the use of the *umma*-format in the Amarna archive (for the list, see already above). It is very important to realize that the Egyptian Foreign Service had a Hittite desk and was fully aware of the language and the *umma* letter-format (and its "*ana*-solution"). So, addressing in EA 31 the Anatolian Hittite kingdom of Arzawa, Pharaoh uses, correctly, this standard format opening: *umma Ninmuwariya* "so (speaks) Amenhotep III," etc. (sender in the *first* place)—and nobody is hurt!

Now we turn to the Hittite state-letters. Before concentrating on EA 41 and 42, we note that in the "diplomatic attack" (see already above), Zitaš, the brother of Šuppiluliuma I, also participates with EA letter (– and passport) 44 aimed at renewing trade relations. The *ana*-formulation of this letter is a sterling demonstration of the rule formulated above by Moran.

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system only! See Edell (who obviously changed his views), *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz*.

29. See E. Sollberger, *Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* (Augustin, 1996), no. 91 nn. 371, 372, 373.

30. "Core": the Archive itself (ca. 1350–1333 B.C.E.); "extended" see Artzi, *Bar Ilan Studies in History*.

EA 41 (see above) is a full-fledged Hittite state-letter, sent by the founder of the Hittite New-Imperial period, Šuppiluliuma I to Amenhotep IV, using—of course!—the standard *umma* format. It is important to point out again that this letter is an *answer* to Pharaoh's letter. In his historical introduction, he stresses his disappointment, pointing out the historical tradition of a mutual fulfilment of needs. This statement differs from that of EA 42 on pure principles (see below), because it is based on practical trade relations; nevertheless, it stands above other similar statements of the other royal state-letters against the reduction of the quantity (and quality) of the Egyptian gold by Amenhotep IV. Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria is astonished in EA 16 at receiving so meagre an amount of gold. His purpose is equality, and profitable trade (besides secret strategic considerations). Burnaburiša II of Babylonia, writing EA 11, protests against the reduction in "pomp and circumstances" by Amenhotep IV, because he is anxious for positive international public opinion about his relations with Egypt. Tušratta, king of Mittani, needs desperately the Egyptian gifts at their former high level, because their grade influences the national public opinion of Mittani, a vital factor for Tušratta's survival.<sup>31</sup>

EA 42 is a completely different document: it contains a pure, treatise-type presentation of international rules and principles as demanded by the new device of international rules, *paršu*, introduced by the Hittite political, moral(!), and legal thinking (see below, Special Study, 2). To solve the problem of "names" we must simply follow the text and its commentary, especially from l. 15 on. The Hittite side stresses that an anomaly occurred: no more *banātu*, "fine relations," but *rubbû*, "self-elevation."

What was the written expression to this *rubbû*, self elevation, which hurt so deeply the extremely well-developed Hittite international sensitivity?<sup>32</sup> Moran, in a somewhat cryptic sentence, thinks that: "perhaps we should think...of a list of names in hierarchical order..." (see Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 116, n. 3).

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31. For Aššur-uballiṭ I in EA 16, see Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 38, ll. 13–18; P. Artzi, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 24 (1997): 320–36. For Burnaburiša II, Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 21–23; see 22, ll. 19–23. For a different translation, see Artzi-Malamat, "The 'Great King,'" 34, n. 55. For Tušratta, see P. Artzi, in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 205–11.

32. A. Altman in his article on RS 17.132, letter of Šuppiluliuma I to Nikmaddu II, king of Ugarit, points out, using the relevant section in our letter, that this sensitivity was a common sign with the same political dynamics as expressed in the Ugarit letter. In spite of Ugarit great efforts to remain in a (practically impossible) "neutral" position between the great powers (Egypt and Hatti), the Hittite king turns to him with the status-definition (ll 17b–18): *tammar dumqa ša šarru rabû bêlka udammiqakku* "you will see the benefits that the Great King, your lord (!P.A.) gives to you with graciousness." See A. Altman, *Bar Ilan*, vol. XX–XXI (1983), 329–48 (Hebrew; English summary, p. XXX).

The only cases known to me of the use of additional titles in Egyptian-Akkadian international state-letters come from the time of the thirteenth-century Ramesside-Hittite correspondence (see note 14). Raamses II sometimes adds to his usual titles (*šarru rabû, šar (mât) Mišri*) either the title "*in-si-ib-ja*" (very freely translated: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt") or, the cuneiform translation of the fourth name of Pharaoh, DUMU<sup>d</sup>UTU, "Son of the Sun-god."<sup>33</sup> But from the fourteenth century no such example is known to me.

Finally, the *only* solution to the query "your NAME above my NAME" is that, in letter X<sub>2</sub>, the Egyptian king elevates (*rubû!*) himself to the title LUGAL GAL, *šarru rabû*, "Great King,"<sup>34</sup> while denying it to his Hittite brother, and at the same time proposing a peace treaty—an atrocious situation, invoking quasi-vassalage (cf. our note 32). Thus, a gross transgression of the *paršu* occurs; see Special Study 2.

#### SPECIAL STUDY 2

##### *paršu, ul paršu*

##### *paršu*

The sources of this term have been collected in AHw, 835–36, but I have the privilege of using the CAD draft of *paršu*, by the kind permission of its editor, Prof. Martha Roth.

The basic meaning of *paršu*<sup>35</sup> is theological; (CAD) 1, rite, ritual; ... 3. divine authority, power, office; ... 4. symbol, insignia; 5. authoritative decision, command, decree. With this section begins to emerge the international *paršu*, by citing the decisive sentence from the Egyptian-Hittite paritetic peace-treaty (see commentary to ll. 19–20) of 1258 B.C.E.<sup>36</sup> Then follows in CAD the most significant section for us: "6. custom, practice," which includes all the relevant citations, except EA 42: 17, the earliest example.

I believe it is all-important to separate the international uses of *paršu* and cite them in a separate section, diachronically. Presented here is what

33. See Elmar Edel, *Ägyptische Ärtzte...* (Westdeutscher Verlag 1976), 17–20. There is a further Egyptian title (in cuneiform transliteration) *né-eb ta-a-wa*, "the lord of both lands" (Edel, p. 18). On the names of Pharaoh see: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1982), 71–76.

34. See Artzi-Malamat, "The 'Great King.'"

35. See Benno Landsberger, "Schwierige Akkadische Wörter," *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* 2 (1924–1925): 64–68; p. 67:4 "Werk der Götter."

36. For chronology see: Itamar Singer, *A Political History of Ugarit*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* Abt. 1, Bd. 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 606–8, 646.

would constitute "Section 6a,"<sup>37</sup> which presents and classifies the occurrences of the international *paršu* diachronically.

Before presenting the main entry, we offer here an example of the separate, individual *paršu*, which is meaningful for several reasons. First, it is the southernmost (western) occurrence of this term. Second, it comes not from Hittite territory but, on the contrary, from an Egyptian imperial vassal, Rib-Haddi of Gubla-Geval-Byblos. Third, it has a definite individual-international content of a historical-political tradition of a vassal toward his overlord—and *vice versa*. In EA 117:82 Rib-Haddi expects Pharaoh to fulfill his obligations *kīma parši ša abbūtika*, "according the traditional rules of your forefathers." In EA 118:40–41, Rib-Haddi promises his overlord to serve him *kīma parši ša abbūtija*, "in my forefathers' tradition."

Now we enter into the diachronic display, which presents *paršu* between rulers and states.

First, the earliest known *paršu*: EA 42:18 (see above, comments to ll. 16–28). This first earliest known *paršu* is the rule of correct relations between friendly(!) equals, intending to agree upon a peace-treaty. The rules are: strict observation of mutual honor,<sup>38</sup> *equal royal titles and brotherhood*, without any one-sided self-elevation,<sup>39</sup> pressure and patronization, in sum, the preservation of the *banātu*-level.

Second, "eternal" *paršu*. Let us consider the thirteenth century B.C.E., the period of Pax Egypto-Hittitica, ca. 1258–1200 B.C.E. (within the Extended Age of the Amarna archive, ca. 1460–1200 B.C.E.).<sup>40</sup> The gap of one hundred years between the two occurrences of *paršu* symbolizes the long march—military-political, ideological—on "the road to the battle of Qadeš,"<sup>41</sup> which opened the way to the paritetic treaty between Egypt and Hatti.<sup>42</sup>

In this treaty, the first *paršu* of EA 42 and the entire situation described here with the simile of "cadaver" returns to its full, powerful life. Reading

37. Cf. AHw, 836, section C; "D, in Bo, usw 1) Sitte, Herkommen." There is no separate entry for international *paršu*.

38. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 115, titles our letter with "A question of honor."

39. Self-elevation, arrogance is a critically damaging international transgression; e.g., *šutarruḫū*, "to boast, to be arrogant, haughty." This is the definition of Tušratta of Mittani's behavior toward Šuppiluliuma I in the historical introduction of the treaty with Kurtiwaza of Mittani; see CAD Š/2, 39, 4. Such behavior invites similar reaction; see in the same section, and in our letter.

In the books of the great prophets and especially of Isaiah, the international arrogance of the great powers decides their destiny; see Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel, translated and abridged by Moshe Greenberg* (The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 378–95. See, e.g., the most accurate characterization of Assyria in Isaiah 10:5–9.

40. See Singer, *A Political History of Ugarit*, 646.

41. W. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*.

42. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 90–94.

the introduction of the treaty and the declaration of intentions to reach *sul-lummû*, cited in EA 42, l. 15, one realizes that all the requirements of the first *paršu* are fulfilled here by the words of Raamses II to Hattušiliš III, thus symbolically correcting the heavy damage of Egyptian letter X<sub>2</sub> (mentioned above) anteceding EA 42. So, this process is now concluded by the second *paršu*, which has an unique significance: it is "eternal."<sup>43</sup>

Treaty, ll. 24–25: *amur paršu ša darīti ša* <sup>d</sup>UTU u <sup>d</sup>Tešup *īpušū ana māt Mišri qādu māt Hatti salāma u aḥutta ana la nadāni (amēl) nakru ina berišunu* "Consider this *eternal rule* that the sun-god (of Egypt) and the storm-god (of Hatti) promulgated for Egypt with Hatti: peace and brotherhood and the prohibition of war between them."

This second *paršu*, standing between heaven and earth, between theology and secularization, wishes to reach a culminating aim: "eternity," that is, international permanence. This idea, the creation of Hittite international philosophy, must be paired with another achievement, that of the "united political mind between the great powers," *tēmu*.<sup>44</sup>

As a third international *paršu* we introduce here the *paršu* of international personal relations, as defined in the letter of Hattušiliš III to Adad-Narāri I or to Šalmaneser I, king of Assyria:<sup>45</sup> *paršu ša šarrānu šarrūta aššabatūni u šarrānu miḥrūšu šulmanāti damqūti lubulta ša šarrūti šamna ḫaba ša napšūši ušēbilāniššu u attā ūma annitamma la tētepuš!* "Because it is traditional custom, that when kings attain their kingship, the kings equal with him, precious gifts, royal garments, good oil for anointing send him; but you did not act accordingly at that occasion."

This personal *paršu*, in particular, characterizes Hittite international thinking. Knowing very well that there are systems and customs aimed at strengthening intimate royal personal relations,<sup>46</sup> the introduction of *paršu* aims to up-grade these relations to "permanence." The final aim of *paršu* is, indeed, permanence and stability in international relations, a total innovation.

43. "*paršu ša darīti*" (treaty l. 24); see CAD D, 114, eternity, lasting continuity.

44. See my article in *FS Moshe Weinfeld: "Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern International Relations. . .: The Force of "tēmu," "Mind."*

45. KBo I 14: R. 5–10; see with lit. and translation Amir Harrak, *Assyria and Hanigalbat*, (Hildesheim: Olms, 1987), 286, s.v.

46. One of the most brilliant innovations of the age of the (extended) Amarna archive is the "family metaphor" of (Old) Babylonian origin. It encompasses all the political leaders and views them *as one family*; see *Amarna Diplomacy*, General Index, 302 s.v. family metaphor. One of the "norms" (reconstructed *paršu*-type rules of the "Great Kingship") is the "Life-Cycle Diplomacy," which uses state/personal events as an opportunity to bolster relations; see Artzi-Malamat, "The 'Great King,'" 35, Norm 5. See also Raymond Cohen, "All in the Family: Ancient Near Eastern Diplomacy," *International Negotiation* I (1996): 11–28.

Although the number of actual international *paršu*-occurrences is small, their influence is great. In our article "The 'Great King,'" we identified many other cases that have the ideological potential of *paršu*.<sup>47</sup>

*ul paršu*: (some act, behavior) is not according to the socially, ritually, internationally accepted custom, tradition, rule; unethical, amoral.

This negative definition of *paršu* is, as is *paršu* itself, of Hittite origin. On its important relation to a certain Hittite expression and its ideology, see below, "Special Note."

We concentrate here on the *ul paršu* occurrences related to a central problem: behavior toward envoys, in other words, the issue of diplomatic immunity.<sup>48</sup> The declarations to be presented here are the result of a certain diplomatic incident, incompletely described in two state-letters belonging to the thirteenth-century Egyptian-Hittite correspondence in Edel, *Korrespondenz*, I, 96–97, no. 39, KUB III, 61 and Edel, I, 98–99, no. 40, KUB III 81. Both are answers of Raamses II, responding to letters from Hattušiliš III. Apparently, two Hittite envoys, the more prominent between them being Zawa, behaved in some unspecified negative way. They were obviously detained and Hattušiliš III asks about their situation. Pharaoh's reaction shows his displeasure, calling, in Text 39:06, Zawa "*kalbu*," "a dog."<sup>49</sup> The envoys were at first detained (39, l. 5'), perhaps even threatened with execution. Now Raamses II "calms" his brother by announcing that, according to his request, he satisfied himself by putting manacles and leg irons on him/them (49 R, 4). It seems that, after all this, the Hittite king demanded that they be sent home.<sup>50</sup>

The result of this incident is a series of Hittite *ul paršu* declarations, all related to the immunity of ambassadors.

(a) Edel, *Korrespondenz*, text 39, KUB III 61, letter of Raamses II to Hattušiliš III; the latter is cited in Rs l. 2 saying: *mār šipri ana dāk[i ul paršu]*, "it is against the acceptable custom to kill an ambassador."

(b) Edel, *Korrespondenz*, text 40, KUB III 81: Hattušiliš III declares (o., l. 6' 51) that Raamses' act of putting fetters on the ambassador(s) is also

47. Artzi-Malamat, "The 'Great King,'" 33–36 (2.5.5).

48. See *Amarna Diplomacy*, 301, s.v.: D. Elgavish, "Did Diplomatic Immunity Exist in the Ancient Near East?" in: *Journal of the History of International Law* 2 (2000): 73–90.

49. *Kalbu*, dog (=servant), used here as invective; see CAD K, 72 k); in Hebrew (Bible and Lachish letters): see Sh. Ahituv, *A Collection of Hebrew Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik and Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 35–36 [Hebrew].

50. For a similar situation in the Amarna archive, documented in EA 29, see P. Artzi, "Mittani" in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 211. D. Elgavish, *The Diplomatic Service in the Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Sources* (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1998), 212–15.



against the acceptable custom: [mārē šipri an]a qātišunu u ana šepēšunu kurši ana šakāni ul paršu.

(c) in the same letter there is another declaration, obviously again a citation from the letter of the Hittite king: mārī šipri ana kalē [ina] ašrišunu ul [paršu], "to arrest, detain ambassadors in their place (of their service = Egypt) is against the acceptable custom."<sup>51</sup> And then a generalizing declaration, again by the Hittite king, Edel, *Korrespondenz*, text 47, KBo VII 11, 0, l. 6': m]ār šipri ana lummuni ul [paršu], "It is against acceptable custom to treat an ambassador badly."

Finally, we can surely add here that the "answer" to the question in EA 42:18 paršu kinanna?! is "ul paršu."

#### Special Note

The "Hittite connection" of (paršu -) ul paršu: the Hittite expression *natta āra*, "not correct," "not right," "not ethical."

I learned of this expression and its connection with our term from two articles by Yoram Cohen: Y.C. -1: "Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society. A Study of the Hittite Expression *natta āra* ('not permitted')," M.A. Thesis (Tel Aviv University 1997), written under the supervision of Itamar Singer; forthcoming in the series *Texte der Hethiter*" (see note \* in Y.C. -2, 113). Y.C. -2: "The Image of the 'Other' and Hittite Historiography," in: *Proceedings of the XLVe RAI, Part I, Harvard University, Historiography in the Cuneiform World* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2001), 113-29. See now his monograph "Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society," TH no. 24.

According to Y.C. -1, 116 note 27, the (ul) paršu = (*natta*) āra connection was known long ago. By the guidance of FHWB, 1952, 27, we can find the lexical placement of the Hittite expression. CTH<sup>2</sup> no. 303 = KBo I, 42 = MSL XIII, 140, Izi Boghazköi, Tablet A, ll. 232-34: niḡ.giḡ = [ik-ki-b]u = Ú.UL a-a-ra ("not right, not permitted"). See CAD I-J, 55, *ikkibu*, lex. sec. For the definition "taboo" see Y.C.-1, note 112 (FHWB: "Greuel").

As to the relation with *paršu*, FHWB notes only: "akk. entspricht *paršu*." Y.C.-1, 27, b states that it has long been recognized that the Akkadian expression *ul paršu* is a "translation" of the Hittite expression *natta āra*. The basis of this statement, besides FHWB, is found in the following bibliographical sources (see Y. Cohen -1, 27, note 116): A. Goetze, Review Article on E. Forrer, *Forschungen in OLZ* (1930): 285-92; Friedrich-Kammenhuber HW<sup>2</sup>, 219; G.F. del Monte, *Il Trattato fra Mursili II di Hattuša e Niqmepa di Ugarit* (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1986), 96-97.<sup>52</sup>

51. Elgavish, *The Diplomatic Service in the Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Sources*, 215-16.

52. I thank Itamar Singer for the guidance.

#### Examples of the use of *natta āra*:

Among the examples presented by Y.C. -1 and -2, I was able to isolate only *one* of international status (Y.C.-1, 31 = Y.C.-2 122). From the treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Huqqana of Hayasha, §10:8 "Curse" (Yoram Cohen's translation): "Should Huqqana align himself with an enemy (=changing allegiance; P.A.), may they (the Oath Deities listed in §8) not make it *āra* for you (pl.)." Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 25 translates: "and they shall not make it permissible (=āra; P.A.) for both of you."

As Y.C.-2 explains quite well on p. 122, the Hittite kings demanded the keeping of international standards—*āra*—by the vassals, regardless of their natural or ethnic origin. Indeed, these cases (see n. 38 on the same page) are touching *paršu*, *ul paršu*.

All the other cited *natta āra* cases are ritual, societal, sexual "rules," standards reflecting the values of Hittite society.<sup>53</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The Hittite state-letter EA 42 is a milestone document in the advancement of the philosophy of international relations: *paršu*, the "order of rules" and not "prestige" or "interest,"<sup>54</sup> is the supreme common preceptor in perpetual international relations, potentially promoting them to *banātu*, the highest, finest grade of mutuality.<sup>55</sup>

53. See the brilliant article of A. Archi, "L'humanité des hittites," in *Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Leroche* (Paris: E. del Boccard, 1979), 37-48.

54. Cf. Mario Liverani, *Prestige and Interest, International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-110 B.C.E.* (Padova: Sargon srl, 1990).

55. For possible equivalence between ritual *paršu* and חוק, חוקה, see S. Cohen and V.A. Hurovitz, *JQR* 89 (1999): 27-29; this very far-reaching possibility must be researched, but it maybe pointed out instantly, that this equivalence can be extended to the other (secularized) meanings of *paršu* collected in Section 6a; e.g.; compare *paršu ša dariti* with Biblical Hebrew חוק עולם (Exod 30:21; Lev 6:11; 24:9; Jer 5:22).





## CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SOME PROVISIONS OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI'S FAMILY LAW

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SOME SCHOLARS maintain that early Mesopotamian law did not develop or change, but was a sort of static, unchanging "common law."<sup>1</sup> Others, however, are of the opinion that Mesopotamian law underwent changes under the influence of other law sources.<sup>2</sup> Kraus went even further, maintaining that one can assume that the author of the Code of Hammurabi knew well not only laws and law codes current in his time, but also legal literature of previous eras, e.g., the Laws of Ur-Namma and the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar. Likewise, in his opinion, we can assume that there was some borrowing from other law sources that preceded the Code of Hammurabi.<sup>3</sup> Yaron recently argued that "in several instances, an intra-Mesopotamian comparison of earlier sources with the latest (i.e., with the Laws of the Hittites), attest to movement and change."<sup>4</sup>

In this article I will attempt to show that there was some point of reference not only between the Code of Hammurabi (LH) and earlier law

codes, but also between LH and earlier scholastic-legal literature. This inclination came to the fore in the continuity of certain legal norms. Nevertheless, changes and new developments did occur. In order to limit the scope of the paper, only six issues will be presented, all concerning Family Law.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *The Legal Validity of a Marriage Not Performed according to Current Law*

The first case concerns the legal validity of a marriage not performed in accordance with current law. We will point out the continuity and differences between sections of three law codes: (a) §11 of the Laws of Ur-Namma (LU), the earliest available ancient Middle Eastern code (2100 B.C.E., which preceded LH (1750 B.C.E.) by about 400 years; (b) §§27–28 of the Laws of Eshnunna (1770 B.C.E.), which apparently preceded LH by only a few dozen years; and (c) §128 of LH.<sup>6</sup>

#### Laws of Ur-Namma §11

(A vi 250–254, B i 30–36) tukum-bi nu-ma-su dub ka-kéšda nu-me-a lú úr-ra-na ba-an-ná kù nu-lá-e	If a man has sexual relations with the widow without a formal written contract, he will not weigh and deliver any silver (as a divorce settlement).
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#### Laws of Eshnunna §§27–28

(A ii 31–34) šumma awilum mārāt awilim balum šāl abiša u ummiša iḥussima u kirram u rik<sā>tim ana abiša u ummiša la i[škun] ūmī šattim ištīat ina bitišu lišimma ul aššat	If a man marries the daughter of another man without the consent of her father and mother, and moreover does not conclude the nuptial feast and the contract for (?) her father and mother, should she reside in his house for even one full year, she is not a wife.
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1. See mainly R. Westbrook, *Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Law, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* 26 (Paris: Gabalda, 1988), 1–4. See also, Westbrook, "What is the Covenant Code?" in *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*, B. Levinson, ed., JSOT Supp. 181 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 22.
2. See, e.g., Viktor Koroséc, "Le Code Hammurabi et les droits antérieurs," *RIDA* 3<sup>e</sup> série 8 (1961): 11–27; M.T. Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71:13 (1995): 13–14; S. Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et Justice dans L'Antiquité orientale*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 165 (Fribourg, Suisse: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 2–3.
3. F.R. Kraus, "Ein zentrales Problem des altmesopotamischen Rechts: Was ist der Codex Hammu-rabi?" *Geneva*, n.s. 8 (1960): 283–96 at 290 §128 of the Code of Hammurabi.
4. R. Yaron, "The Nature of the Early Mesopotamian Collections of Laws: Another Approach," in *La Codification des Lois dans l'antiquité*, E. Levy, ed. (Paris: de Boccard, 2000), 65–76.

5. We are now working on a comprehensive study of family law in the Laws of Ur-Namma, the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, the Laws of Eshnunna, and the Code of Hammurabi.
6. For the dates of various law collections, see Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 13, 57, 71.

(A ii 34–37, B ii 1–2) *šumma <...>*  
*riksātīm u kirram ana abiša u ummiša*  
*iškunna ihussi aššat ūm ina sūn awilim*  
*iššabbatu imāt ul iballut*

If he concludes the contract and the nuptial feast for (?) her father and mother and he marries her, she is indeed a wife; the day she is seized in the lap of another man, she shall die, she will not live.

#### Code of Hammurabi §128

(xxviii 25–34) *šumma awilum aššatam*  
*iħuzma riksaṭiša la iškun sinništum šī*  
*ul aššat*

If a man marries a wife but does not draw up a formal contract for her, that woman is not a wife.

All three sections concern the question of the legal validity of marriages not arranged according to current law, but realized by a man and woman living together. In other words, all deal with: What creates a legal relationship termed “marriage” between a man and woman? Researchers have commented on the similarity of LH §128 to §27 of the Laws of Eshnunna (LE).<sup>7</sup> But we will attempt to prove that the main legal rules had already appeared in LU §11.

The protasis of the Laws of LU §11 concerns whether a man and widow who live together thereby create a marriage relationship even if they have no formal marriage contract. Apparently, the basis of this protasis is that sexual relations with an unmarried woman still under her father’s authority do not create a legal relationship. Perhaps, however, in the case of a widow who is not under anyone else’s authority and who has consented to an intimate relationship, there may be a lawful relationship between her and the man with whom she lives.

The protasis of LE §27 describes the following case: (a) a man married a young woman who was under the jurisdiction of her parents, without their agreement; (b) for unknown reasons no legal relationship was created after the marriage; (c) the couple has lived together for a long time, at least a year.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to deduce from the wording of the protasis the exact circumstances of the case.<sup>9</sup> But it is clear that the man and woman lived together like a married couple *de facto* without the consent of the

7. E.g., Yaron, “Collections of Laws,” 71.

8. R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, Second Revised Edition (Jerusalem-Leiden: Magnes Press, 1988), 200–5.

9. Apparently Yaron was also not certain of the circumstances: at first he considers it flight, and shortly afterward, terms it abduction. See Yaron, “Collections of Laws,” 71.

woman’s parents and without undergoing the legal procedures involved in a marriage. It is, therefore, possible that there was either a secret agreement between the girl and the man, and they eloped,<sup>10</sup> or that the young woman was abducted against her will. Elopement or abduction tended to lead to a recognized marriage.<sup>11</sup> Thus the question posed by the protasis is: Are they legally married?

The protasis of LH §128, too, describes a case in which a daughter under the legal authority of her parents lives in the home of a man with whom she ran away or by whom she was abducted without her parents’ agreement, and conducts herself as his wife *de facto*. The question is: Are they considered a married couple?

In the protasis of LH §128, this problem is presented by means of a general case: “If a man marries a wife, but does not draw up a formal contract for her.” It is, therefore, closer to the legal problem discussed in the protasis of LU §11 than to what appears in LE §27.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the fact that the protasis in each of the three laws presents a different case, the same legal principle appears in all three: the apodosis of LH §128, like LU §11 and LE §27, determines that if the relationship was not in accord with formal law, there is no legal validity to the relationship.

The similarities between LE §27 and LH §128 are expressed not only in the common legal problem discussed, but also in the usage of the expression *ul aššat* (she is not a wife) in the apodosis of the two sections, which determines the legal status of one who forms an unlawful relationship.

Continuity in this legal section comes to the fore because according to LH as well, a relationship that was not arranged according to customary law had no legal validity. It is possible that in the apodosis of LH §128 there is a new factor or some change relative to LE §27,<sup>13</sup> but there is nothing new

10. J.J. Finkelstein, “Sex Offences in Sumerian Laws,” *JAOs* 86 (1966): 169.

11. On the legal validity of marriage upon flight, especially after abduction in various cultures, see, for example: M. Hertzveld, “Gender Programatics: Agency, Speech, and Bride Theft in Certain Mountain Villages,” *Anthropology* 9 (1985): 25–44; J. Evans-Grubbs, “Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine and Its Social Context,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 9 (1989): 59–83.

Scholars have not discussed extensively the legality of non-formal marriages in the ancient Near East or in biblical Israel. In a recent article, we submitted that there is evidence that elopement and abduction marriages existed, and they created legal and moral problems in the ancient Near East. In some societies, under certain circumstances they were considered legal marriages. See Joseph Fleishman, “Shechem and Dinah—in the Light of Non-Biblical and Biblical Sources,” *ZAW* (to be published in 2003/ Heft 4).

12. For a comprehensive discussion of the difference between the protasis of LE §27 and the protasis of LH §128, see Yaron, *Laws of Eshnunna*, 200–4; *idem*, in “Collections of Laws,” 71–72.

13. Yaron, “Collections of Laws,” 71–72.

compared to LU. LH §128, like LU §11, determines that a formal marriage contract is the main condition for granting legal validity to a marriage, whatever the status of the woman.<sup>14</sup>

Thus we find no legal innovation in LH §128.

## 2. *The Rights of a Sick Wife*

The second case concerns the rights of a married woman who has become ill. We will endeavor to show the continuity and changes with regard to such rights between §28 of the Code of Lipit-Ishtar (1930 B.C.E.) (LL) and LH §§148–149.

### Laws of Lipit-Ishtar §28

(B xix 1'–8', F ii 26-iii 6, J iii 1'–6', Li 1'–5') tukum-bi lú-ù dam-nitadam-a-ni igi-ni ba-ab-gi<sub>4</sub> ù šu ba-an-lá-lá é-ta nu-ub-ta-è dam-a-ni dam galamna ba-an-du<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>12</sub> dam-egir-ra dam-nitadam in-íl-íl

If a man's first-ranking wife loses her attractiveness or becomes a paralytic, she will not be evicted from the house; however, her husband may marry a healthy wife, and the second wife shall support the first-ranking wife. (Var. he shall support the second wife and the first ranking wife).

### Code of Hammurabi §§148–149

(xxxii 65–81) *šumma awilum aššatam iḡuzma la'bum iššabassi ana šanitim aḡāzīm panišu ištakkan iḡḡaz aššassu ša la'bum išbatu ul izzibši ina bīt ipušu uššamma adi balḡat ittanaššiši*

If a man marries a woman, and later *la'bum*-disease seizes her and he decides to marry another woman, he may marry, he will not divorce his wife whom *la'bum*-disease seized; she shall reside in quarters he constructs and he shall continue to support her as long as she lives.

14. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether the contract was oral or written, or if a marriage without a formal contract was completely invalid, or if what a woman lacked without a formal contract was the rights of *aššat awilum*. For discussion of such problems, see: G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 247; S. Greengus, "The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract," *JAO* 89 (1969): 505–14; R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, *AfO Beiheft* 23 (Horn, Austria: Ferdinand Berger & Sohne, 1988), 13.

(xxxii 1–9) *šumma sinništum šf ina bīt mutiša wašabam la imtagar šeriktaša ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušallamšimma ittallak*

If that woman should not agree to reside in her husband's house, he shall restore to her her dowry that she brought from her father's house, and she shall depart.

Both LL §28 and LH §§148–149 deal with the rights of a wife in her husband's house after she has become ill. This subject is not mentioned in LU. There is a difference, however, in the protasis of the two sections. In LL §28 the protasis concerns two instances: (a) a man's first wife is no longer attractive to him; (b) the first wife has become ill. Neither instance mentions what the husband wishes to do. On the other hand, in the protasis of LH §148, only the fact of her being ill is mentioned, and it is noted that the husband wishes to marry another woman.

The apodosis of the relevant sections in LH determines the following rules, which do not differ from LL: (a) the husband is not permitted to divorce his ill wife;<sup>15</sup> (b) he is permitted to marry an additional wife; and (c) the husband must continue to provide for his ill wife.

The apodosis of LH §§148–149 includes two differences that are new legal rules. First, the husband cannot send away his wife to live elsewhere, that is, outside of his home, as for instance, to her father's house.<sup>16</sup> He is obligated to enable her to live in his home throughout her lifetime.<sup>17</sup> Second, the woman is permitted to divorce her husband if she does not wish to live with him after he has married another woman; in such a case, she is not treated like a woman who wishes to be divorced from her husband unlawfully.<sup>18</sup>

15. It is possible that the apodosis refers to the matter of divorcing an ill wife despite the fact that the protasis does not mention his wish to divorce, because this is noted in LE §28, which was known to the formulator of this section of the Code of Hammurabi.

16. Apparently, PBS 5 100 of the ancient Babylonian period documents an incident of a husband wishing to send his pregnant, sick wife to her father's home, but his friend prevented him from doing so. See E. Leichty, "Feet of Clay," in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, H. Behrens et al., eds., Occasional Publications of the S. N. Kramer Fund, 11 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1989), 353. Roth thinks that the husband was ill and wished to send his pregnant wife to her father's house so that she would not be in his house watching his own decline in health. M.T. Roth, "Reading Mesopotamian Law Cases PBS 5 100: A Question of Filiation," *JHNSO* 44 (2001): 272–73. We think that Leichty's opinion sounds more reasonable. But what is important for this study is that, in the opinion of both scholars, the woman was to be sent to her father's house, just as Tamar was sent by her father-in-law Judah to her father's house (Genesis 38:13).

17. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Laws*, 77–78.

18. LH §§142–143 determine that a woman who wishes to be divorced in circum-

### 3. Continuity and Change in the Punishment for Adultery

In the third case, continuity and change in the punishment of adulterers will be examined by comparing LU §7 with LE §28 and LH §129.

#### Laws of Ur-Namma §7

(A v 225–231, B i 1–10, C iv 86–92) §7 If the wife of a young man, on her own initiative, approaches a man and initiates sexual relations with him, they shall kill that woman; that male shall be released.

#### Laws of Eshnunna §28

(A ii 34–37, B ii 1–2) *šumma <...> riksātīm u kirram ana abiša u ummiša iškunma ṭhussi aššat ūm ina sūn awilim iššabbatu imāt ul iballuṭ* If he concludes the contract and the nuptial feast for (?) her father and mother and he marries her, she is indeed a wife; the day she is seized in the lap of another man, she shall die, she will not live.

#### Code of Hammurabi §129

(xxviii 42–53) *šumma aššat awilim itti zikarim šanīm ina itūlim ittašbat ikassū-šunūtima ana mē inaddūšunūti šumma bēl aššatim aššassu uballaṭ u šarrum warassu uballaṭ* If a man's wife should be seized lying with another male, they shall bind them and cast them into the water; if the wife's master allows his wife to live, then the king shall allow his subject (i.e., the other male) to live.

The protasis of LU §7 describes an incident in which a married woman initiates intimate relations with a man who is not her husband. The language used does not inform us whether the man knew she was married. The apodosis determines that only the woman is punished; the man is freed. It is possible to conjecture that only the adulterous woman is punished because she was the initiator, whereas the man is not punished even if he knew that she was married. But it is more reasonable to assume that

stances that do not grant a wife a divorce is punished by death. See Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 81.

the man did not know that the woman enticing him was married and, therefore, he is deemed innocent.<sup>19</sup> Had he known she was married, he would be punished; but we have no way of knowing the nature of his punishment.<sup>20</sup>

Likewise, the apodosis of LE §28 does not note any punishment for a man who had intimate relations with a married woman. The law regarding adulterers is mentioned only in the second part of the apodosis; in LH §129, on the other hand, almost a complete section is devoted to this matter. According to both provisions, an adulteress who is caught in the act (*flagrante delicto*) is sentenced to death. In this the Code of Hammurabi continues the legal tradition known in LU §7 and LE §28. However, in this case, the Code of Hammurabi institutes three new rules: (1) there is mutuality in punishment: either the same punishment is meted out to both transgressors or both are freed;<sup>21</sup> (2) the nature of the punishment is specified. Only in the apodosis of LH §128 do we learn that "They shall bind them and cast them into the water";<sup>22</sup> and (3) a husband has the authority to forgive his wife.<sup>23</sup> If he forgives his wife, the adulterer is not punished either.

#### 4. When is the Wife of a Captive Permitted to Remarry?

The question of continuity and change in the fourth case will be discussed relative to the question when may the wife of a captive wedded to another man? This issue will be examined by comparing LH §§133a–135 to LE §29.

#### Laws of Eshnunna §29

(A ii 38–45, B ii 3–7) *šumma awilum ina harrān šeḥtim u sakpim it[tašlal] ulu nahbutum ittaḥbat amī [arkūtim] ina mātim šanītimma itta[šab] aššassu šanūmma itaḥaz u māram ittalad inūma ittūran aššassu ita[bbal]* If a man should be captured or abducted during a raiding expedition or while on patrol(?), even should he reside in a foreign land for a long time, should someone else marry his wife and even should she bear a child, whenever he returns he shall take back his wife.

19. See §14a of the Middle Assyrian Laws, which absolves a man from punishment if he can prove that he did not know he was lying with a married woman. Finkelstein, "Sex Offences," 370–71; R. Westbrook, "Adultery in Ancient Near Eastern Law," *RB* 97 (1990): 550–51.
20. This contrasts with Westbrook's opinion in "Adultery," 551, that he was given the death penalty as stated in Middle Assyrian Laws, §14a.
21. Yaron, "Collections of Laws," 72.
22. Cf., Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 82–83.
23. Finkelstein, "Sex Offences," 371–72. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Laws*, 35; M. Stol, "Private Life in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, J.M. Sasson, ed. (New York: Scribner, 1995), 485, 494.

## Code of Hammurabi §133a–§135

(xxx 7–17) <i>šumma awilum iššalilma ina bitišu ša akalim ibašši [ašš]assu [...]-ša [...ana bit šanim ul ir]rub</i>	If a man should be captured and there are sufficient provisions in his house, his wife [... she will not] enter [another's house].
(xxxix 18–26) <i>šu[mma] sinništum šī [pa]garša la iššurma ana bit šanim iterub sinništam šuāti ukannušima ana mē inaddūši</i>	If a woman does not keep herself chaste but enters another's house, they shall charge and convict that woman and cast her into the water.
(xxix 27–36) <i>šumma awilum iššalilma ina bitišu ša akalim la ibašši assaššu ana bit šanim irrub sinništum šī arnam ul išu</i>	If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, his wife may enter another's house; that woman will not be subject to any penalty.
(xxix 37–56) <i>šumma awilum iššalilma ina bitišu ša akalim la ibašši ana panīšu aššassu ana bit šanim iterubma māri ittalad ina warka mussa itūramma ālšu iktašdam sinništum šī ana hawiriša itār mārū warki abišunu illaku</i>	If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, before his return his wife enters another's house and bears children, and afterwards her husband returns and gets back to his city, that woman shall return to her first husband, the children shall inherit from their father.

The protasis of LE §29 as well as of LH §133–§135 are significantly different in their presentations of the case of a captive's wife. But both deal with the question: When may the wife of a man missing by *force majeure* marry another man even though the legal relationship between the woman and her husband has not been canceled?

On the basis of the apodosis of LE §29, one can conclude that if a man is missing through no fault of his own, his wife may marry another man any time. It was probably assumed that a man missing for a long period of time (which is not specified) would not return.<sup>24</sup> But if the first husband did return, he was permitted to take his wife back from her second husband,<sup>25</sup> although the apodosis leads one to understand that he was not

24. Yaron, *Laws of Eshnunna*, 206–8; Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 87.

25. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 51; Greengus, "Legal and Social Institutions," 469, 481 n. 14.

obligated to do so. It is reasonable to assume that the legitimate marriage with the second husband would be nullified when the first husband returned. This makes it clear that his first marriage had not been canceled. It is important to note that the apodosis does not state what happens when the first husband returns to any child that was born to the second husband.

In LH §133a–§135 one can see some continuity, and some change. The continuity is expressed in that the wife of the missing person may wed another, even though the first marriage was not canceled. The difference lies in the fact that the Code of Hammurabi adds a new criterion to the legitimate marriage of the wife of a missing person with another man: Do the wife and child have sufficient sustenance or not?<sup>26</sup> Here there is no mention of how long the husband has been away.<sup>27</sup> If she has enough food to eat, she may not remarry; if she does, she is sentenced to death like an adulteress.<sup>28</sup>

The protasis of LE §29 notes the reasonable possibility that the wife of a captive gave birth to a child with her second husband, but the apodosis does not state what happens to the child if the woman returns to her first husband. On the other hand, the second part of the apodosis of LH §135 relates to this matter and determines that if the marriage to the second husband was legitimate, then the children of the second husband remain with him because they were born to him of a legal wife in every sense. It is possible to infer from LH §135 that the lawgiver was aware of LE §29, and he filled in the missing concluding section of the apodosis.<sup>29</sup>

26. Cf. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 87; Greengus, "Legal and Social Institutions," 469, 481 n. 1.

27. According to §36 of the Middle Assyrian Laws, a wife must wait five years; according to §45 of the same collection, the wife need wait only two years.

28. Ver Steeg is of the opinion that it is possible that the wife of a missing person is not given the death penalty like an adulteress, but her guilt is tested by her undergoing the Divine River Ordeal. See Russ Ver Steeg, *Early Mesopotamian Law* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2000), 120.

We are of the opinion that this assumption is not realistic, because in the apodosis of §129 of the Code of Hammurabi the adulteress is punished by *inaddūšunūti ina mē* (she is thrown into the water), and this is certainly the death penalty. Likewise, the apodosis of §133a mentions that the punishment is *ana mē inaddūši* (she shall be thrown into the water). There is no reason to think that it means anything other than that she will be given the death penalty like an adulteress. Moreover, §132 states that the guilt or innocence of a woman accused of adultery by a stranger who is, however, not caught in the act will be tested by her undergoing the Divine River Ordeal. In the case described in §133a it is clear that the woman is married, but engaged in intimate relations with someone other than her husband despite the fact that there was sufficient food in her home. There is nothing here that will be tested by supernatural means and, therefore, it is preferable to understand that she is punished like an adulteress.

29. We agree with Yaron, "Collections of Laws" 74, that these sections reflect a high level of expertise in formulation.

5. *The Legal Connection between a Married Man who Fled From His City and His Wife*

In the fifth case, the similarity between LE §30 and LH §136 will be discussed relative to the legal ties between one who ran away from his city and his wife.

Laws of Eshnunna §30

(A ii 45–?, B ii 8–10) *šumma awīlum ālšu u bēlšu izērma ittaḥbit aššassu šanūmma itaḥaz inūma ittūram ana aššatišu ul iraggam* If a man repudiates his city and his master and then flees, and someone else then marries his wife, whenever he returns he will have no claim to his wife.

Code of Hammurabi §136

(xxxix 57–73) *šumma awīlum ālšu iddimma ittabit warkišu aššassu ana bit šanīm iterub šumma awīlum šū ittūramma aššassu iššabat aššum ālšu izēruma innabitu aššat munnabtim ana mutiša ul itār* If a man deserts his city and flees, and after his departure his wife enters another's house—if that man then should return and seize his wife, because he repudiates his city and fled, the wife of the deserter will not return to her husband.

The protases of LE §30 and LH §136 are formulated similarly. Both concern the wife of a man who willingly deserts his home. Can she marry another man even though her legal relationship with the first husband was not terminated because of death or divorce?

Both apodoses determine that the abandoned wife may marry another man.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, she may do so after it becomes clear that her husband willingly left his city. According to the apodosis of LH §136, the permission does not depend on food in the house as in §134. The formulator of the apodosis of LH §136 added a motive clause "because he repudiated his city (lit., hated his city) and fled."

For his deeds he deserves the serious punishment of losing any rights in his home.<sup>31</sup> The formulation of the apodosis in the Code of Hammurabi

30. Driver-Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 285–86; Finkelstein, "Sex Offenses," 369; Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 51; B.L. Eichler, "Literary Structure in the Laws of Eshnunna," in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, F. Rochberg-Halton, ed., American Oriental Series 67 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987), 75.

31. A man who flees his parents' house is punished likewise. See, for example, YOS

is slightly more detailed, but there is no new law. Thus I agree with Yaron that there has been no substantive change in the law.<sup>32</sup> We have here a case of continuity.

6. *The Punishment of One Who Repudiates His Parents*

In the sixth case, the focus will be on the similarity between law norms in the Code of Hammurabi and legal norms in ancient legal-scholastic literature preceding the Code of Hammurabi regarding the legal authority of a father to uproot his legitimate offspring from his house and thus negate the son's rights as a son and heir.

I will now present a connection between two sections of the Code of Hammurabi and earlier legal-scholastic literature that deals with legitimate reasons for disinheriting a man of his father's home, and thus of his status as son and heir.

§4 of Sumerian Family Laws (YOS 1:28), that is probably from the nineteenth century B.C.E., states:

<p>§4 (iv 19–29) tukum-bi ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nu ad-da-mu nu ama-mu ba-an-dug<sub>4</sub> é a-šà kiri<sub>6</sub> arad-arad ní-gur<sub>11</sub>-ra ib-ta-è-a ù kù-bi šám til-la-a-ni-šè in-na-ab-sum-mu</p>	<p>If he (the son) declares to his father and mother "You are not my father," or "You are not my mother," he shall forfeit house, field, orchard, slaves, and possessions, and they shall sell him for silver (into slavery) for his full value.</p>
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"You are not my father" and "You are not my mother" are *verba solemnia* that define denial of parental authority. According to this section, the one who repudiates his parents receives a dual punishment: cancellation of his right to inherit his father's property and cancellation of his status as a free man. It is important to stress two facts. First, the actual language of the document gives no indication that this applies only to an adopted child, so we can understand that the rules determined in both sections apply to whomever the law recognizes as a man's child, that is, a natural child born in wedlock or an adopted child.<sup>33</sup> Second, the repercussions are the same whether a father or a mother is denied.

2:50, which, apparently, is from the beginning of the second century B. C. E. For a study of this document, see: Joseph Fleishman, *Parent and Child in the Ancient Near East and the Bible* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1999), 172–74.

32. Yaron, "Collections of Laws," 75.

33. This is opposed to the prevalent scholarly opinion that the case concerns an adopted child. See, for example, Roth, *Law Collections*, 44; Stol, "Private Life," 485 (n. 23), 492.

These sources determine the following legal principles. (a) There are restrictions on parental authority to uproot a legal child from the status of son and heir. (b) Uprooting a legal offspring is lawful only when the son repudiates his parents. (c) A son's denial of his parents and his punishment for such conduct is not an internal family matter only, but is of public concern. A society interferes by means of legal authorities when there is a split between a child and his parents.

In *Ana ittišu* (7 3 23–33) (a Sumerian and Akkadian bilingual source), dated to the eighteenth century B.C.E.,<sup>34</sup> we read that the punishment for a son who repudiates his father is as follows [7 3 23–28]:<sup>35</sup>

tukum-bi dumu ad-da-na-ra	<i>šumma māru ana a[bīšu]</i>	If a son to his father
ad-da-mu nu-me-a	<i>ul abi a[ttā]</i>	"You are not my father"
ba-an-na-an-du <sub>11</sub>	<i>iqta[b]i</i>	says
umbin mi-ni-in-ak-a	<i>ug[alla]bšu</i>	the son's hair shall be shaven
gār-ra-aš mi-ni-in-dù-e	<i>abb[ut]tum išakkanšu</i>	the sign of a slave shall be placed on him
ù kù-<<babbar<\>>- ga-aš mi-ni-in-sum	<i>u ana kaspim inamdinšu</i>	and he shall be sold.

The punishment for a son who repudiates his mother is as follows (7 3 29–33):

tukum-bi dumu ama-na-ra	<i>šumma māru ana ummišu</i>	If a son to his mother
ama-mu nu-me-en	<i>ul ummi attā</i>	"You are not my mother"
ba-an-na-an-du <sub>11</sub>	<i>iqtabi</i>	says,
kis <sub>4</sub> -a-ni umbin	<i>muttassu ugal&lt;la&gt;būma</i>	half the hair on his head shall be shaven
ù-bi-in-si-eš		
uru <sup>ki</sup> -a mi-ni-ib nigin-e- [n]e	<i>ālam usahḫarūšu</i>	he shall be sent around the city

34. B. Landsberger, *Die Serie ana ittišu*, MSL 1 (Roma, Sumptibus Pontificii Inst. Biblici, 1937), 526.

35. Transliteration and translation based on M.T. Roth, "Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: A Study of FLP 1287, A Prism in the Collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilm, 1979, 192–93.

ù é-ta-ba-ra-e<sub>11</sub>-dè      *u ina bītim ušēšūšu*      and he shall be sent  
away from his home.

*The Crime:* In this document, the expression "You are not my father" or "You are not my mother" is a *verba solemnia* that is defined as repudiation of parents.

*The Punishment:* There is a difference between one who repudiates his father and one who denies his mother. He who denies his father is sold into slavery; whereas he who denies his mother is merely sent away. However, the common denominator of the two punishments is that he who denies his parents is punished by disinheritance—by being uprooted from the status of son and heir, a punishment that already appeared in §4 of the "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet."

With regard to the one who denies his father, the only punishment mentioned is that of being sold into slavery, whereas in the "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet" the punishment set before being sold is loss of house, field, orchard, slaves, and property.

The document expresses current legal principles that were already in existence according to the "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet." (a) There were restrictions on parental authority to uproot their children from the status of son and heir. (b) Uprooting a legal offspring was legitimate only when the son repudiated his parents. (c) A son's denial of his parents and his punishment for such conduct was not only an intra-family matter, but was also a public matter. The society interfered by means of legal authorities in the split between the child and his parents. (d) Similar to "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet" §4, in the formulation of this document there is no indication that the law applies only to an adopted child. Therefore, both sections of the law can be understood as applying to anyone whom the law considered a person's child, that is, to natural or adopted children.

It must be stressed that the definition of the child's conduct in this document is identical to that mentioned in "Sumerian Family Laws." This means that we have before us not only a legal tradition that is part of the legal norm, but also the use of the same *terminus technicus* to define the legal problem.

#### Code of Hammurabi §§168–169

(xxx 9–24) *šumma awīlum ana mārišu nasāḫim panam ištakan ana dajānī māri anassaḫ iqtabi dajānū warkassu iparrasuma šumma mārum arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim nasāḫim la ublam abum mārašu ina aplūtim ul inassaḫ*

(xxxv 25–36) *šumma arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim nasāḫim ana abišu itbalam ana ištīšū panīšu ubbalu šumma arnam kabtam ađi šinišu itbalam abum mārašu ina aplūtim inassaḫ*

If a man should decide to disinherit his son and declares to the judges, "I will disinherit my son," the judges shall investigate his case and if the son is not guilty of a grave offence deserving the penalty of disinheritance, the father may not disinherit his son.

If he should be guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance by his father, they shall pardon him for his first one; if he should commit a grave offence a second time, the father may disinherit his son.

Lines 9–14 constitute a protasis to §§168–169, as they contain two facts that clarify the circumstances of the incident: (a) the father wishes to deprive his son of his status as son and heir (ll. 9–12); and (b) the father approaches the judges and notifies them of his wish (ll. 13–14).

The apodosis sets the following rules. (a) The judges are to investigate the circumstances (ll. 15–17). (b) If the son does not deserve the grave punishment of disinheritance, the father may not uproot his son from his status as son and heir (ll. 18–24). (c) But if the son deserves such punishment, the first time the son commits such an offence, he must be forgiven (ll. 25–31). (d) If the son does not change his conduct, and upon committing the offense a second time does deserve the punishment, then the father is permitted to uproot his son from his status as son and heir (ll. 32–36).

The language of the apodosis does not inform us of what offense the son committed, and of what facts the judges must investigate. On the basis of legal documents of the Old Babylonian period that concern sanctions against legal offspring, however, one can conclude the nature of the son's offense in §§168–169. Apparently, the son did not fulfill his legal obligations to his parents. For example, he did not accept their authority, or his obligation to feed them and sustain them. The non-fulfillment of such obligations constitutes sufficient cause to permit parents to deprive their child of his status as son and heir.<sup>36</sup>

These sections rule that only judges could determine if a son could be disinherited. A father was not permitted to do so on his own, even if the son committed a crime that legally could bring about deprivation of legal status. Such an act, with decisive legal repercussions on the fate of the child and his immunity before society, was under legal supervision. This ruling in §§168–169 significantly restricted the authority of the father, and provided a very important defense of a child's status.

The protection of the legal status of a child is expressed in these sections also in the judges' obligation to investigate the circumstances of the case. Judges were not permitted to be satisfied with the father's announce-

36. See Fleishman, *Parent and Child*, 148–243.

ment to them: *māri anassāḥ* ("My son, I uproot"), that is, "I wish to deprive my son of his legal standing." Thus the judges were not authorized to say that if the father approached them knowing the results of his approach, this indicated that he was right and should be believed. On the contrary, they were obligated to investigate the circumstances of the case. Neither law nor society stood behind a father who had turned against his son, simply because he was head of the family. Rather, they extended legal aid to the one who was right—son or father—and a son's fate did not depend on the arbitrariness of his father. A father could bring a false charge against his son, and thus disinherit him. Likewise he was not permitted to cause his son to be without a home for conduct that the law did not punish by uprooting, by eviction of a son from his father's house.

After investigating the matter, if the judges concluded that the child's conduct did not justify disinheritance, that is they concluded that there was no legal charge that required executing such punishment, the father was not permitted to disinherit his son. Such a law was not a legal innovation of §§168–169. It concurred with a legal principle that is found already in the legal-scholastic documents mentioned above, and likewise in documents that harshly punished parents who abrogated unlawfully the legal approach toward children.<sup>37</sup>

Some scholars<sup>38</sup> maintain that the final section of §169 (ll. 32–37) determines that the father may receive permission from the court to disinherit his son only if he can prove that his son's conduct was not a one-time occurrence. But the words *arnam kabtam adi šinišu itbalam* can be translated "if he sins a grave sin a second time." According to this interpretation, the father must appear twice in front of the judges, not once. The first time, after the judges determine that there was criminal behavior toward the father, the father cannot evict his son from his home; on the contrary, he must forgive him. It is very possible that after the first conviction, the judges warn him not to repeat his criminal behavior.<sup>39</sup> Only the second time—and again after the judges have ruled that the son continued to behave sinfully toward his father, is the son permitted to punish his son by breaking the legal connection between them. This interpretation is preferable also because only in this way can the court be convinced that the son is guilty of conduct that warrants eviction from his house; the father had, indeed, forgiven him the first time.

The apodoses of LH §§168–169 do include a new ruling that has not been found in earlier or even later Near Eastern legal sources. Here it

37. See §§5–6 of the "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet" and *Ana ittišu* 7 3 23–33.

38. E.g., Driver-Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 349.

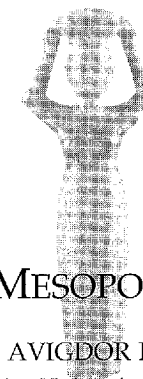
39. Ver Steeg, *Early Mesopotamian Law*, 100.



determines, that even if the child was found guilty of offensive conduct toward his father and, therefore, deserving of the serious punishment of disinheritance from his legal status as son and heir, nevertheless he should be forgiven the first time and the father has no right to evict him from his house. The child undergoes the grave punishment of being uprooted from his status as a lawful child in his father's home, only if he repeats such offensive conduct.

In my opinion, these sections adopted the norms found in legal-scholastic documents, which perhaps reflected common law, and that provided significant defense for the legal status of a child. Here a new and important defense was added. According to the new law, a child who committed a crime could not be disinherited unless he was first given the opportunity to improve his conduct. It is the interference of the judges that is the innovation in these sections, not the supervision of the legal system that is demonstrated in the restraints on a father's authority to depose a son from his status as son and heir. It was considered incumbent upon the father and society to minimize the instances of disinheritance.

In conclusion, a more comprehensive study should provide a much clearer picture. All relevant aspects should be investigated and possible similarities in approach and language should be compared. This paper has focused on the continuity and change in six family laws. We selected these examples and noted that they lead to the conclusion that the formulators of the laws in the Code of Hammurabi not only knew the Laws of Ur-Namma, the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, and the Laws of Eshnunna, but also legal traditions found in scholastic sources such as the "Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet" and the *Ana ittišu* collection. Against the background of their knowledge of traditional laws and codes, the Code of Hammurabi formulators created a continuous system of laws; at the same time, they were open to innovations and determined new legal norms that merit additional comprehensive study.



## HAMMURABI IN MESOPOTAMIAN TRADITION

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dub-sar-gal-zu-<sup>d</sup>Nisaba  
geštú-zu šu ħu-ma-ni-du<sub>7</sub>-àm  
<sup>m</sup>Ya-qu-ub TUR zà-mí<sup>1</sup>

A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO, on the eve of the decipherment of cuneiform, an educated man nurtured on the Judeo-Christian and Classical traditions could have been expected to know of more than a dozen ancient, pre-Per-sian, Mesopotamian monarchs, including: Nimrod and Amraphel, kings of Shinar; Tiglath-pile-sar or Pul, Shalmanesar, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Osnapar, kings of Assyria; Berodach- or Merodach-baladan son of Baladan, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, Belshazzar, Nabonas-sar, Nabopolassar, and Nabonidus, kings of Babylon; and Sardanopolus whom they certainly would not have known to associate with Osnapar even though they are both apparently to be identified with Ashurbanipal. They might have known also Nergal-shar-ezer but might not have identified him as king Neriglissar. How ironic it is that today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, after an hundred and fifty years of archaeological discoveries and historical research that have restored hundreds of kings to the collective human memory, one may assume that the average educated

1. Jacob Klein's illustrious mentor Samuel Noah Kramer was the first to suggest that the author of the law code traditionally attributed to Ur-Namma was, in fact, his son Šulgi. In light of this proposal it is most fitting that I dedicate to Jacob, my teacher and world's foremost expert on Šulgi, this article about Mesopotamia's most famous legislator, Hammurabi. Parts of this paper were presented at the 2001/2002 conference on "Hammurabi and His Age Celebrating the Centenary of the Discovery of Codex Hammurabi" held by the Israel Society for Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, an organization to which Jacob has contributed yeoman effort and unbounded devotion in establishing and maintaining.

man or woman will recognize, perhaps by deed but usually only by name, only a handful of kings, among whom are: the still legendary Nimrod; an unnamed Assyrian king (Sennacherib) who "came down like a wolf on the fold," Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed the Temple; Assurbanipal, the king of Assyria who amassed a famous library; the heroic, legendary Gilgamesh; and Hammurabi, king of Babylon. A sign of the times is that the army of Sadaam Hussein, self-proclaimed heir to his illustrious Mesopotamian forebears, contained a Nebuchadnezzar division, and on the last day of the Gulf War, a decade ago, the last Iraqi division destroyed by General "salmat-qaqqadi" Schwarzkopf was none other than the Hammurabi division.

If Nebuchadnezzar is a household word because of his role in the fate of Jerusalem, and Gilgamesh features in reading lists of world-literature courses because of the power and human appeal of the epic in which he stars, Hammurabi's renewed renown may be attributed mostly to a major discovery made exactly a century ago. Between December, 1901 and January, 1902 the French archaeologists working at Susa in Persia under Jacques de Morgan and Vincent Scheil uncovered the famous black pillar displayed today in the Louvre in Paris, upon which are engraved in cuneiform the Laws of Hammurabi (LH).<sup>2</sup> The laws were thought for many years, and in popular circles still are considered to be the first laws in human history. Hammurabi was the precursor of Moses, Solon, and Justinian, his legislation predated the Torah, the Gortyn Code, and the Twelve Tablets of Rome, and particular parallels between the Babylonian and biblical laws created great excitement in the Western world, thirsty for knowl-

2. W.F. Leemans, "Hammurabi's Babylon, Centre of Trade, Administration and Justice," *Sumer* 41 (1979/81): 91–96 says: "It is especially the [distribution of justice all over the country, manifesting itself in law-giving and in jurisdiction by the king and judges of Babylon] that gives Hammurabi, notwithstanding the short period of his domination over almost the whole of Mesopotamia, a place in world history." For a photograph by Gustave Jéquier showing the unearthing of the stela during the Susa excavations of 1901–1902 see *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, ed. P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1992), 160 fig. 45. For manuscripts known from Nineveh and Assur prior to the discovery of the Louvre stele, see G.R. Driver, J.C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), vol. 1, 27–28. The laws were first known as the "Code of Assurbanipal," and Bruno Meissner had identified them as coming from the First Dynasty of Babylon (B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," *BA* 3 [1898]: 493–523). But as early as December 1901, still ten months before the publication of the Susa find, Friedrich Delitzsch had identified them as belonging to Hammurabi (F. Delitzsch, "Zur juristischen Litteratur Babyloniens," *BA* 4 [1902]: 78–87). He suggested that Hammurabi had compiled an authoritative law codex on the basis of pre-existing laws, and that the laws' presence in Assurbanipal's library indicated their importance.

edge about the origins of Western Civilization in general and Holy Scriptures in particular.<sup>3</sup> Hammurabi is so well known today that a "Google" search of the internet yields more than ninety-one thousand "hits," including numerous and sundry subjects ranging from translations of the laws and historical surveys, through video games, rock-songs and various products bearing the name or picture of the king. Of all the Mesopotamian kings already mentioned, only Nebuchadnezzar outnumbers Hammurabi in cyberspace popularity.

There is no doubt, therefore, that Hammurabi is one of the few Mesopotamian monarchs to have won fame far beyond their own time, and to have fulfilled the aspiration of all Mesopotamian sovereigns for eternal life and renown. But to what extent was Hammurabi known among ancient Mesopotamians themselves? Was he a major character, a culture hero, or just a footnote in history? In particular, what impact did his laws have on subsequent generations in Mesopotamia itself?<sup>4</sup> In this paper I will briefly survey and examine the ancient evidence of Hammurabi's fame and influence in ancient Mesopotamia, and, to a certain extent, in neighboring lands.<sup>5</sup>

3. For the impact of the discovery, see M. David, "The Codex Hammurabi and Its Relation to the Provisions of Law in Exodus," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 7 (1950): 149–78, esp. 148–53. David, in fact, goes on to dispute the purported connections between LH and the biblical Book of the Covenant.
4. An interesting piece of possible monumental evidence for Hammurabi's reputation as a purveyor of justice in his own time is a votive seal dedicated to the god Mišarum for the life of Hammurabi by a certain Enkizišagal. See W.G. Lambert "Cylinder Seal With Votive Inscription" in *Ozrot Arzot Hamiqra. The Eli Borowski Collection*, ed. R. Merhav (Tel Aviv Museum, Modan: Tel Aviv, 1987), 33. I am grateful to Ms. Roni Feingold for bringing this item to my attention.
5. It is already recognized that Hammurabi was a known figure among later Mesopotamian scribes, and that he was emulated in particular by Nebuchadnezzar I and II, for which, see briefly: F.M.Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of His Time (About 1700 B.C.)*, Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, 9 no. 10 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1946), 368; D.S. Vanderhooft, *The Neo-babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Later Prophets*, Harvard Semitic Museum Monographs 59 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1999), passim. The most extensive treatment of the impact of LH on the subsequent millennium is the recent article by M.T. Roth, "Mesopotamian Legal Traditions and the Laws of Hammurabi," *Chicago Kent Law Review* 71:13 (1995): 13–40, esp. 15–21. She discusses the significance of the colophons on the various manuscripts for how the laws were known and transmitted, and the impact the impressive stele itself would have had on its viewers when displayed as war booty or trophy. However, there is some new relevant material and some of the older material can stand reevaluation, for there is far more to learn about how LH was studied and understood. I supplement and carry forward here ideas alluded to briefly in my earlier monograph V.A. Hurowitz, *Inu Anum širum. Literary Structures in the Non-Judicial Sections of Codex Hammurabi*, OPSNKF 15 (Philadelphia: [University Museum], 1994), passim, and

in somewhat greater detail in my article "Canon and Canonization in Mesopotamia – Assyriological Models or Ancient Realities?" in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Division A. The Bible and Its World*, (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 1\*–12\*, esp. 10–12. In the later publication I suggest that LH actually achieved what can be called a "canonical" status in ancient Mesopotamia. Briefly stated, Hammurabi's laws enjoyed divine impetus and royal authority, were published in written form and publicized orally, were intended to be normative, and even though they never realized their intended status they were studied, interpreted, and emulated in the schools of ancient Mesopotamia. Moreover, the description of the promulgation of the laws is very similar to the description of promulgating the Torah in Deuteronomy 31–32. It is only the myopic view of "canonization" as a process limited mainly to text stabilization that has blinded Assyriologists to the aspects of LH resembling the biblical canon, on the one hand, and the New Testament canon, on the other. As far as numbers of copies, distribution, and longevity, LH certainly ranks with the lexical lists, omen corpora, and other types of texts that are considered "canonical." On the teaching and oral transmission of LH, see V.A. Hurowitz, "Spanning the Generations. Aspects of Oral and Written Transmission in the Bible and Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Freedom and Responsibility. Exploring the Challenges of Jewish Continuity*, ed. R.M. Geffen, M.B. Edelman (Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav, 1998), 11–30. In a recent study, H. Steible has analyzed the formula marking the transition from the prologue to the epilogue (*inūmīšu šumma*) and its predecessors in the inscriptions of Uru'ningina and the Ur-Namma and Lipit-İstar codes, and suggests that it indicates that the laws were actually legitimated by divine authority, comparing Exod 20:1ff. and Num 12:8. See H. Steible, "Zu den Nahstellen in den altmesopotamischen Codices," in *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, AOAT 252, ed. J. Mahrzahn, H. Neumann, (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), 447–45. I will not discuss the possible influence of Hammurabi's laws in the Persian Empire under Darius. On this subject, see A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948), 119–34; M.A. Dandamaev, V.G. Lukomin, in *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989), 123. I will also not discuss the famous, but unlikely suggestion that Amraphel of Gen 14:1, 9 was, in fact, Hammurabi. For this, see F. M.Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon*, 16–18 and most recently J.-M. Durand, "Réalité amorrites et traditions bibliques," *RA* 92 (1998): 3–39, esp. 16–22. Durand denies the Amraphel-Hammurabi connection, but suggests that the character of Hammurabi would be a more likely precedent for Nimrod! Discussions of Hammurabi and his reign are to be found in all histories of ancient Mesopotamia. For a recent, brief survey of Hammurabi and his times, see J.M. Sasson, "King Hammurabi of Babylon," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J.M. Sasson (New York: Scribner, 1995), vol. 2, 901–15. Earlier studies include F.M.Th. Böhl, *King Hammurabi of Babylon*; H. Tadmor, "Hammurabi and His Age" (Hebrew), in *The Personality and His Generation*, The Eighth Conference for Historical Study (Jerusalem: The Israel Historical Society, 1963), 39–56; C.J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, chapter V (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1965); H. Schmökel, *Hammurabi von Babylon. Die Errichtung eines Reiches* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1979); H. Klengel, *Hammurabi von Babylon und seine Zeit* (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1980); H. Klengel, "Hammurabi von Babylon: Neue Information aus dem Schriftzeugnis seiner Zeit," in *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Mori, H. Ogawa, N. Yoshikawa,

## I. LH IN THE STREAM OF TRADITION

Undoubtedly, the prime testimony that Hammurabi's name lived on beyond him for many generations is the same illustrious work that has revived his name some thirty-seven centuries after his death. In order to show the world and the gods that he was truly a "King of Justice," a *šar mīšarim*, who spread justice throughout the realm, Hammurabi prepared in his final days a collection of laws or legal precedents that he set up in several copies in the important temples of different cities.<sup>6</sup> This famous composition, called nowadays "The Laws of Hammurabi" (LH), or "Codex Hammurabi," was known to the ancient scribes by its incipit as *inu Anum širum*, "When exalted Anum." Study of the various manuscripts reveals that monuments bearing the laws were displayed in Babylon the capital city, Nippur, the religious center, and Sippar, the city of Shamash, god of Justice whose place Hammurabi fills "by coming out like Shamash / the sun to the Black-headed to light up the land," *kīma Šamaš ana šalmāt qaqqadim wašemma mātīm nuwwurim*.<sup>7</sup> These steles were testimony in stone that the king had carried out his divine commission to eliminate wickedness and evil from the land so that the strong may not oppress the weak.<sup>8</sup>

Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Cultures Center in Japan, V (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 179–91. For possible echoes of Hammurabi's laws in Hellenistic times, see S. Dalley and A.T. Reyes, "Mesopotamian Contact and Influence in the Greek World," in *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*, ed. S. Dalley (Oxford: Oxford University, 1998), 85–106, esp. 104. For alleged "influence" on Roman law, see R. H. Pfeiffer, "The Influence of Hammurabi's Code Outside of Babylonia," in *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München. 28. August bis 4. September 1957*, ed. H. Franke, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1959), 148–49. Most peculiarly, there is no article on Hammurabi of Babylon in *Reallexikon des Assyriologie*.

6. For the role of writing down the laws in developing his royal image, see Z. Yang, "King of Justice," *AuOr* 9 (Fs. M. Civil) (1991): 243–49. The present paper takes no interest in the Mesopotamian law collections preceding LH and perhaps utilized in its composition. For this often discussed topic, see most recently R. Yaron, "The Nature of the Early Mesopotamian Collections of Laws: Another Approach," in *La codification des lois dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. Ed. Lévy, Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg. Travaux du center de recherché sur le proche-orient et la grèce antiques (Strasbourg: de Boccard, 2000), 65–76.
7. See V.A. Hurowitz, *Inu Anum širum*, 10, 65, 82–86 and passim.
8. The standard text edition of LH is now in R. Borger, *BAL<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 1, 2–50. For a recent normalized transliteration, translation, and select bibliography, see M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, SBL Writings from the Ancient World 6 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1995), 70–142, 251–53, 255–66. Note also M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws. Text, Translation and Glossary*, The Biblical Seminar 73. Semitic Texts and Studies, 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). According to J.G. Westenholz, Hammurabi was the first to use the term *narû* "to

The stele now in the Louvre stood for half a millennium in Ebabbara, Shamash's temple in Sippar. It was plundered around 1200 B.C.E. by Šutruk-naḫunte I, king of Elam, and set up in Susa.<sup>9</sup> By displaying the stolen monument in his own capital, the Elamite conqueror certainly wished to glorify his own name, but as luck would have it he is not quite a household word nowadays and he ended up aggrandizing and eternalizing Hammurabi! A posthumous "slap in the face" to pretentious Šutruk-naḫunte is the colophon to a Neo-Babylonian copy of the prologue found about a decade ago at Sippar.<sup>10</sup> The colophon reads:

DUB 1 KAM *i-nu* AN *ši-ru-um*  
 NU AL.TIL *ki* KA *ša-ṭá-ru*  
 GABA.RI NA<sub>4</sub>.RÚ.A *la-bi-ri*  
*ša* *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi*  
 LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> *i-na* Šu-š<sup>ki</sup>  
*uš-zi-zu*

The first tablet of *Inu Anum širum*  
 Not finished. According to the inscription  
 on a copy of an ancient stele  
 that Hammurabi,  
 king of Babylon,  
 in Susa  
 erected.

This colophon indicates that the scribe who recorded the tablet copied the prologue from a copy that had been copied from the stele that stood in Susa. The ultimate source of this manuscript must have been, therefore, the

signify a monumental inscription written to be read out by posterity." See J.G. Westenholz, "Narû-literature: Its Applicability to Genre Research or the Use and Abuse of a Modern Scholarly Construct" (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Westenholz for showing me her unpublished manuscript. Cf. also her preliminary study, idem, "Writing for Posterity: Naram-Sin and Enmerkar" in *kinattutu ša dārāti, Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1993), 205–18.

9. For this king's other accomplishments as an art collector, see D.T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam. Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*, Cambridge World Archaeology (Cambridge University: Cambridge, 1999), 233–36. See also *The Royal City of Susa*, ed. P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon, 159–62.
10. See A. Fadhil, "Der Prolog des CODEX HAMMURAPI in einer Abschrift aus Sippar," in XXXIV<sup>ème</sup> *Rencontre assyriologique internationale, 6–10/VII/1987- Istanbul* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1998), 717–29, esp. 726–28. For a different understanding of this passage, see D. Charpin, "Le soldats d'Assurbanipal ont-ils détruit le Code de Hammurabi lors du sac de Suse?" N.A.B.U. 2003 no. 4 (décembre), 87–88, no. 77.

famous stele itself. But the most interesting thing is that this colophon conveys the message that it was not the king of Elam who set up the stele in Susa, but Hammurabi himself! This implies either that the scribe was unaware of the real history of the stele, or that he did not want to tarnish the honor of the revered Babylonian king by admitting to it. Instead, he enhanced his glory, making Hammurabi mighty enough to impose his laws as far from home as remote Elam.

A famous Assyriological riddle, asked most incisively by F.R. Kraus, is "What were the Laws of Hammurabi?"<sup>11</sup> Bound up with this riddle is a corollary question, namely, "were Hammurabi's laws normative and followed in the courts?" These questions arise from the facts: (1) that there seems to be very little clear evidence that legal documents ever cite LH; and (2) that when the issues at hand are those covered in LH, they are not decided in ways consistent with LH. This is not the place to address this complex and venerated problem, but it may be said with certainty that even if Hammurabi's laws were in force their practical application was minimal.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, it is absolutely clear that the laws themselves as well as the framework prologue and epilogue were copied and learned in scribal schools for many generations, being passed down as part of Mesopotamia's intellectual heritage.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, it also seems that the laws

11. See F.R. Kraus, "Ein zentrales Problem des alt-mesopotamischen Rechtes: was ist der Codex Hammu-rabi?" in *Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien, Geneva 8* (1960): 283–96; cf. J. Bottéro, "The 'Code' of Hammurabi," in *Mesopotamia. Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods*, tr. Zainab Bahrani, Marc van de Mieroop (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1992), 156–84.
12. See R. Westbrook, "Cuneiform Law Codes and the Origins of Legislation," *ZA* 79 (1989): 201–22; idem, "Biblical and Cuneiform Law Codes," *RB* 92 (1985): 247–64; R. Yaron, "Enquire Now about Hammurabi, Ruler of Babylon," *The Legal History Review* 59 (1991): 223–38, esp. 237–38. Yaron finds the influence of Hammurabi's original legislation on later periods minimal, and similarities between LH and later codes are either illusive or need not be explained as deriving from literary dependence. W.W. Hallo has recently suggested that the Old Babylonian "edicts" may be "reactions to the earlier Laws of Hammurabi in particular." See W.W. Hallo, "Slave Release in the Biblical World in Light of a New Text," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 79–93, esp. 93. Most recently M.T. Roth, "Hammurabi's Wronged Man," *JAOS* 122 (2002): 38–45 has suggested that the epilogue, which describes the purpose of the stela, is not inviting the wronged man to present his case to Hammurabi himself for legal remedy, but merely to pronounce it before the stone monument and thereby find solace in prayer and the blessings offered by the king.
13. Study of the Laws of Hammurabi in the schools is vividly illustrated by two small exercise tablets dating to the Kassite period, one from Nippur (N5489), the other of unknown provenance (MAH 10828 = Boissier, Bab 9, 1926: pl. 1 = ms I in the lists

were transmitted and copied as more than just a literary work of art, as asserted, e.g., by F. Böhl.<sup>14</sup> In fact, we will see that Mesopotamian scribes were intimately familiar with the composition, they studied it while copying it, and in at least one case that I will discuss in detail later, it profoundly informs significant parts of an entirely new composition. All these things are impressive unto themselves. How much more striking they are when contrasted with the ancient treatment of Mesopotamia's other known law codes. The law collections of Ur-Namma and Lipit-İštar, the laws from Eshnuna, the middle Assyrian laws, the Neo-Babylonian laws, and a few fragmentarily preserved additional works are represented occasionally by more than a single exemplar indicating they were copied in schools, yet none of them outlives the time frame of its composition. Of all these law collections, only LH transcends the Old Babylonian period, becoming no less a part in the so-called "Stream of Tradition" than some lexical lists and omen collections.

The prominent place LH had in the Mesopotamian scribal curriculum is shown by parts of fifty-three manuscripts recovered at ten sites and from all ages, ranging from the Old Babylonian through the Neo-Babylonian periods.<sup>15</sup> Some manuscripts are from the complete law corpus that would have filled several tablets. The number of tablets actually used for inscribing the laws, and the distribution of laws among the tablets varied,<sup>16</sup> although the prologue and epilogue were often allotted individual tablets indicating scribal awareness of their literary distinctiveness.<sup>17</sup> There are

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of Borger and Roth). The former contains a broken extract, probably from law 1, while the later contains law 7 preceded by two lines of Lipit-İštar A. See N. Veldhuis, "Kassite Exercise: Literary and Lexical Extracts," *JCS* 52 (2000): 67–94, esp. 71–72.

14. F.M.Th. Böhl, *Hammurabi of Babylon*, 368.
15. For a recent list of manuscripts, see M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 251–53. Roth's list updates that of Borger in *BAL*<sup>2</sup>. Add to these lists the two Neo-Babylonian manuscripts of the prologue from Sippar mentioned in A. Fadhil, "Der Prolog des CODEX HAMMURABI in einer Abschrift aus Sippar." Add also K. 18470 (see W.G. Lambert, *NABU* 1992, no. 129). For a discussion of the variants between the manuscripts and an attempt at a classification into manuscript families, cf. J. Laessøe, "On the Fragments of the Hammurabi Code," *JCS* 4 (1950): 173–87.
16. J. Laessøe, *JCS* 4 (1957): 173–87, determines by intricate measurement and calculations that the partially preserved manuscript he publishes originally contained five tablets. However, a Late Babylonian manuscript (Borger's text W) with a colophon numbering it as the seventh tablet and ending with law 154 would have contained around 14 tablets if complete.
17. I disagree with J.J. Finkelstein and others such as N. Wasserman, "CT 21, 40–42. A Bilingual Report of an Oracle with a Royal Hymn of Hammurabi," *RA* 86 (1992): 1–18, who regarded the tablets containing only the prologue as evidence that this

excerpt tablets indicating interest in particular laws, and some tablets have rubrics added designating internal, thematic divisions of the complete corpus. These rubrics show that studying the laws involved more than mechanically copying them out, but included analysis of the content.<sup>18</sup> Åke Sjöberg has published an example of a Sumerian version of the epilogue containing several Akkadian glosses, raising the possibility that other parts as well, including the laws, were translated.<sup>19</sup>

Numerous exemplars of LH were discovered at Kyunjik, but not all copies found there were inscribed necessarily at the site by Assurbanipal's scribes. This is shown by a reference to *dināni ša Hamm[urabi]*, "the laws of Hamm[urabi]," in a record of tablets sent to the library from various places.<sup>20</sup> Reference to the laws in particular rather than the composition in its entirety (which would have been called *inu Anum širum*) shows that the owner of the tablet prior to its requisition by the king had in his possession only the laws and not the framework.<sup>21</sup> This might indicate his interest in

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section of the composition was at first an independent literary work and secondarily was attached to the laws. In fact, although the laws probably circulated independently, the so-called "prologue" and "epilogue" were composed as a framework for the laws in order to turn them into a monumental inscription. For detailed argumentation, see V.A. Hurowitz, *Inu Anum širum*, 82–86.

18. For the relationship between the rubrics and the juristic categories of the laws, see J.J. Finkelstein, "A Late Old-Babylonian Copy of the Laws of Hammurabi," *JCS* 21 (1967): 39–48, esp. 42–43. Further indication of the fluidity of the text resulting from didactic purposes may be the orthographic, grammatical, and lexicographic changes in the later manuscripts in contrast to the older ones (discussed by Finkelstein). Since the Louvre stele has no divisions into individual "laws," the changes in section divisions marked by lines or spaces indicate content analysis rather than rote copying, and changes in such divisions also may reflect changes in understanding of the laws. See J.J. Finkelstein, *The Ox that Gored*, TAPS 71/2, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981), 17. For the essential nature of some of the textual variants, see P. Barmash, "Interpretation in Mesopotamian Law Collections," in *Shalom Paul Festschrift* (in preparation).
19. Å.W. Sjöberg, "Was There a Sumerian Version of the Laws of Hammurabi?" *Aula Orientalis* 9 (1991): 219–25.
20. See W.G. Lambert, "The Laws of Hammurabi in the First Millennium," in *Reflets des deux Fleuves, Volume de mélanges offert à André Finet*, Akkadica Supplementum VI, ed. M. Lebeau and P. Talon (Leiden, Peeters, 1989), 95–98; cf. F.M. Fales, J.N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration*, State Archives of Assyria VII (Helsinki: Helsinki University), 69 no. 56 I 8'. In the late Old Babylonian manuscript published by Finkelstein, *JCS* 21 (1967): 39–48, the laws are called *šind[at Hammurabi]*. If there is a semantic difference between *šindatum* and *dinum*, such as "royal decree" for the first and "precedential cases" for the second, this would indicate that following Hammurabi's death his laws were perceived of differently than they were during his life.
21. For the significance of the library records in general, see S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," *JNES* 42 (1983): 1–29.

the laws themselves rather than the glorification of Hammurabi. Interestingly, the same inventory (l. 5') mentions the composition *šarru ana dīni [iqūl]*, which is none other than the well-known "Fürstenspiegel" or "Advice to a Prince." The inclusion of both compositions in a private collection may indicate that the owner had some particular interest in enlightened monarchy and sound governance.

I have already mentioned the rubrics as signs that studying the laws went past merely copying out the text but extended at least to content analysis. Wilfred Lambert has published three fragmentary texts from the first millennium citing LH. One is the library record just mentioned. Another is a small fragment of a late-Babylonian tablet bearing a commentary to laws 2 and 3 on the obverse and 23 and 25 on the reverse.<sup>22</sup> The commentary is lexical rather than legal. In one case it provides the proper Akkadian reading of a Sumerogram. A gloss on <sup>d</sup>ID in law 2 reads *na-a-ri*, indicating either that the river itself is intended and not the god of the river, or that the proper reading of the ideogram is *nārum*. This gloss shows, ironically, that ancient scribes faced the same questions about proper reading that modern Assyriologists have.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, on the colophon of this tablet the composition analyzed is called *šumma [amēlu]*, and from this we may surmise that for pedagogic purposes, the laws were considered an independent composition. The colophon itself reads [(...)*ša-a-t*]ú *šu-ut* KA *ša šumma [a a-me-lu...]*, which Lambert translates "Extracts and comments on *If [a man]*." We should note that this means literally "oral extracts," which could imply orally transmitted comments, or תורה שבעל פה. In any case it indicates that legal exegesis was in fact written down. The third of Lambert's texts is a commentary citing the first line of the entire composition, *inu Anum šīrum*. This text contains citations from religious-literary compositions such as "Marduk's Address to the Demons," *Enūma eliš*, a prayer to Marduk, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, and Anzu. Interestingly, most of the works cited in this commentary are connected directly with Marduk, and even the Anzu myth is the basis of an important part of *Enūma eliš*. If so, this tablet may be evidence that LH had religious significance, being somehow associated with worship of Marduk.

22. W.G. Lambert, in *Mélanges André Finet*, 95–98; cf. P. Barmash, "Interpretation in Mesopotamian Law Collections," in *Shalom Paul Festschrift* (in preparation).

23. For the modern disagreement over the proper reading, see W.G. Lambert, "Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice," *Iraq* 27 (1965): 1–11, esp. 11.

## II. LH AND "NEBUCHADNEZZAR(?), KING OF JUSTICE"

The most interesting composition, indicating intimate knowledge of the entire LH at a very late period is BM 45690, published by Lambert as CT 46 no. 45 and edited in *Iraq* 27 under the name "Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice" (KJ).<sup>24</sup> This text describes the land, plagued by social inequity and judicial corruption before the advent of an anonymous (probably mentioned in missing part of text), just king who reformed society through legislation, building courts, and fairly judging the poor and the down-trodden. Certain echoes of LH, including the prologue, epilogue and laws, brought Lambert to suggest that the good king is being portrayed as a new Hammurabi.<sup>25</sup> I will now study this work to reveal the full extent of the similarities and the fascinating way in which the LH material is employed. First, I will examine the affinities between KJ's non-specific acts and those of Hammurabi in his prologue and epilogue (1–6), and then the parallels between the specific cases tried by KJ and Hammurabi's laws (7–10).

(1)

The beginning of the text has been lost,<sup>26</sup> but the first surviving line accuses the corrupt king (obv. II 2):

24. W.G. Lambert, "Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice." For revised translation, see B. Foster, *Before the Muses* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1996), vol. 2, 748–52. W. Von Soden, Review of A.K. Grayson, *BLHT*, ZA 65 (1975): 282–85, esp. 283 provides some improved readings. On p. 284 and idem "Kyros und Nabonid. Propaganda und Gegenpropaganda," in *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*: ed. H. Koch, D.N. Mackenzie, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Ergänzungsheft 10 [1983] 61–68) and P.R. Berger, "Der Kyros-Zylinder mit dem Zusatzfragment BIN II Nr. 32 und die akkadischen Personennamen im Danielbuch," ZA 64 (1974): 192–234, suggested that the king is actually Nabonidus. Von Soden bolsters his argument by suggesting as a possible join BM 34113, edited by A.K. Grayson, *BHLL*, 87–92, no. 8, which mentions in the introductory section Nebuchadnezzar and Amēl-Marduk. But P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.* (YNER 10, New Haven and London: Yale, 1989), 4–5, maintains Lambert's identification of the king with Nebuchadnezzar. An additional connection between KJ and an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar is pointed out by D.S. Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire*, 44 n. 153. The connection with Nebuchadnezzar is accepted as well by D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon*, The Schwich Lectures of the British Academy, 1983 (Oxford: The British Academy, 1985), 100–1. Unavailable to me at the time of writing, this article was H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften*, AOAT 256 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2001), 579–88.
25. For additional parallels with LH's prologue and epilogue, see as well G. Ries, *Prolog und Epilog in Gesetzen des Altertums* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche, 1983), 67–71.
26. Even if we follow von Soden's suggestion and join to the tablet Grayson, *BLHT* no. 8, the basic content, being a negative depiction of society, does not change.

*purussâšîna la iparras*

He does not decide their legal decisions.

This is the opposite of Hammurabi, who, in describing how he fulfilled his commission, announces that he erected the law stele (xlvi 71–72):<sup>27</sup>

*purussê mâtîm ana parâsim*

(in order) to decide the legal decisions of the land.

Likewise, in his charge to the king of the future Hammurabi describes his own laws as (xlvi 70–71):

*purussê mâtîm ša aprusu*

the legal decisions of the land that I decided.

(2)

The dismal situation in the land prior to the “King of Justice’s” appearance is described (obv. II 3):

*dannu enšu iħabbil ana dînu la maši malâšu*

the strong oppresses the weak who cannot afford a trial.

In contrast, Hammurabi was selected (i 37–38; xlvi 59–60):

*dannum enšam ana lā ħabâlim*

(in order) that the strong not oppress the weak...

(3)

Before the “King of Justice” appeared (obv. I 5):

*šakanakku u rubû itti akû u almat la izzazzû maħar dayyânî*

governors and princes do not stand with the cripple or the widow before the judges.

The previous sentence (parallel 2), combined with this one (obv. II 3, 5) are remarkably similar to Hammurabi’s description of his mission found the epilogue (xlvi 59–62):

*dannu enšam ana lā ħabâlim*

*ekâtîm almattîm šûtešurîm*

(in order) that the strong will not oppress the weak,  
and (in order) to do justice for the cripples and widow.

27. Hammurabi sets up his stela *dîn mâtîm ana diânîm purussê mâtîm ana parâsim*. This fuller phraseology should be compared to language in the so-called “Uruk Prophecy,” where we read: *arkîšu šarru illâmma dîni mâti ul idânu purussê mâti ul iparras... arkîšu šarru ina qereb Uruk illâmma dîna mâti idânu purussê mâti iparras...* (H. Hunger, S.A. Kaufman, “A New Akkadian Prophecy Test,” *JAOS* 95 [1975]: 371–77, esp. 372 rev. 9–11).

(4)

KJ goes on to describe the previous king’s shocking perversion of justice and indifference to the needy. The text is not totally clear, but it seems that the corrupt king is accused of taking bribes, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, not hearing the case of the underprivileged who cannot afford to pay the required Baksheesh.<sup>28</sup>

Against this background, and quite suddenly, the text starts describing the new king, the “King of Justice” (obv. II 22):

*ana dîni kitti u mišari lā iggi*

*lā iskup mûša u urri*

To conduct just and righteousness trials he does not slacken;  
He did not rest at night or day.

In a similar fashion, Hammurabi boasted (xlvi 11–16):

To the black headed people whose shepherding Enlil had given me,  
and whom Marduk had entrusted to me

*ul egu aħî ul addi*

I did not rest and was not careless

(5)

Afterward we are told that the “King of Justice” wrote laws for the good of the land and the city (obv. II 23–25):

*dînu u purussâ ša eli bēli rabî Marduk ħabi*

*ana dummuq kiššat niši u šūšubu Akkadê šakna*

*ina milki u šitultu ištattarma*

*riksātu āli ana damiqtu urakkis*

Laws and legal decisions that were pleasing to the great lord Marduk  
And are established to benefit all mankind and give stability to Akkad  
With counsel and deliberation he constantly wrote  
And legislated for good the laws of the city.<sup>29</sup>

28. These lines may reflect the so-called “Fürstenspiegel,” *BWL* 112 l. 11, and see V.A. Hurowitz, “Advice to a Prince: A Message from Ea,” *SAAB* 12 (1998): 39–53, esp. 50.  
29. This line should be compared with Fürstenspiegel ll. 51–54.

*riksišun upaġtarūma // narâšunu ušannû*

*ana ħarrâni ušēšûšunûti // ana adê imannûšunûti*

*Nabû tupšar Esagil // sâniq kiššat šamê u eršeti*

*muma’ir gimri // mu’addû šarrûtu*

*riksât mâlišu upaġtarma // aħîta isâm*

(If an advisor and courtier) will abrogated their binding contracts and will change their tablets,

And send them out to a military campaign, and assigns them to hard labor—  
Nabû, scribe of Esagil, who inspects the entire heaven and earth,



These deeds remind us, of course, of the very writing of the laws. Hammurabi specifically mentions (xlvi 74–75):<sup>30</sup>

*awātiya šūqurātīm ina narīya ašturma*

My most valuable words on my monument I wrote.

Later on he refers to his “inscribed monument” (xlvi 9–10) *narīya šaṭram* and “the words of justice that I wrote on my monument” *awāt mišarim ša ina narīya ašturu* (xlvi 64–67, cf. 78–79, xlix 3–4, 19–21). We should bear in mind with regard to this parallel that writing down laws was by no means a common occurrence in ancient Mesopotamia as is indicated by the miniscule number of law codes that have reached us.<sup>31</sup>

## (6)

The first legal anecdote, to be discussed below, is followed by a short note that the “King of Justice” abolished bribery and Baksheesh from the land (obv. III 14), the result being (obv. III 15–16):

*libbi māti uṭibba*

*māta šubta nēḫta ušēšib*

*mugallītu aj ušaršīšināti*

The heart of the land I made good  
he caused the land to dwell in a restful dwelling  
he permitted no one to make them afraid.

These words are essentially identical or synonymous with Hammurabi’s pronouncement in the epilogue (xlvi 33–39):

*šir mātim uṭib*

*niši dadmē aburri ušarbiš*

*mugallitam ul ušaršīšināti*

The body of the land I made good  
I made the people of the inhabited world crouch in pastures  
I permitted no one to make them afraid.

## (7)

The parallels we have mentioned so far involve general descriptions of the “King of Justice” that recall Hammurabi’s self-depictions in the prologue and epilogue to LH. One might argue that these parallels don’t evidence specific relationships between the two characters but that both are

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Director of totality, designator of kingship,  
will undo the bonds of his (the king’s) land, and will determine (a fate) of enmity.

30. See Z. Yang, *AuOr* 9 (Fs. M. Civil) (1991): 248–49.

31. See Z. Yang, “King of Justice,” (above n. 5).

reflections of some ideal type of king.<sup>32</sup> However, the linguistic similarities are at some places so close and extended (especially nos. 2, 3 and 6), that literary dependence is a more likely explanation. Moreover, as we will see now, there are other parallels that are much more specific to Hammurabi’s laws, and the combination of all the parallels leaves little room to doubt that LH has particularly and extensively influenced this composition.

Immediately after the statement that the “King of Justice” built a law court comes a description of some cases that were tried therein. The first case, described in great detail (obv. III 3–14), is that of a person who returned to the court after a trial ended in order to have the verdict reversed on the basis of newly entered false testimony. This person was decapitated, and a clay model of the severed head was displayed in the courthouse entrance, inscribed with the inscription (obv. III 8–9):

*amēlu ša dīnšu dīnu ṭuppi purussāšu šaṭruma baramte kunukki  
arkānu inīma itūra ana dīnim*

(this is the head of) a man whose judgment was judged, whose tablet of verdict was written down and sealed by seal, and who subsequently changed and returned to judgment, (and for this his head was cut off).

There is, of course, nothing in LH resembling this bizarre method of publicizing the crime and its punishment. Nonetheless, more careful investigation reveals that the act of the criminal is strikingly reminiscent of Hammurabi Law 5:

“If a judge renders a judgment, decides a legal decision, and deposits a sealed opinion, after which he reverses his judgment (*šumma dayānum dīnam idīn purussām iprus kunukkam ušezib warkānum dīnšu iteni*), they shall charge and convict that judge of having reversed the judgment that he rendered and he shall pay twelve-fold the claim resulting from that judgment; moreover, they shall unseat him from his judgeship in the assembly, and he shall never again sit in judgment with the judges (*ul itārma itti dayyāni ina dīni ul uššab*).”

Both the anecdote in KJ and statute in LH relate to the reopening of a case that has already been completed, and the harsh punishment meted out to the one who reopened it. Moreover, as we have indicated by leaving some passages in transliteration, there is striking linguistic similarity between parts of the descriptions of the offenses. In the parallel passages (given above in transliteration) there are only stylistic changes due to the contexts, and even the use of *barāmu* in KJ along with *kunmuku* in LH is an addition of a synonym not affecting the meaning.

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32. For a wide gambit of parallels to the language used in describing Hammurabi, see M. Weinfeld, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: Magnes, The Hebrew University, 1995), *passim*.



But the relationship between the texts is not simply one of a common topic and some shared language. Careful analysis reveals that the incident in KJ actually has the makings of a “halakhic-midrash anecdote” based on the Hammurabi law. To be more specific, the anecdote is based on the law on the one hand, and it clarifies something about the law on the other hand. In both texts a verdict is changed and the perpetrator of the change is severely punished. However, in Hammurabi’s law, the verdict is reversed by the judge, while in KJ it is the plaintiff who changes his testimony. This difference alerts us to a certain problem in the law of Hammurabi. To be precise, the law *as written* seems to be a blanket prohibition on reopening a case and would thereby preclude appeal. But this can hardly be a just measure, for if a good reason arises to retry the case and change the verdict, there is no reason the case should not be reopened. In fact, ancient and modern courts as well enable such things to happen. Why then may the judge not reverse himself? A reason is provided by KJ. We learn from the deed of the “King of Justice” that the new evidence entered in the appeal is in fact false evidence (III 4–5; *ana surrātu u lā kīnātum*) and hence the severe punishment. This would imply that the judge in Hammurabi’s law, who is also punished severely by dismissal from the court, has either taken a bribe or has somehow colluded with the plaintiff to render a false judgment. It is for this reason why an appeal is prohibited, or, rather, if the evidence entered is false it may not be a basis for reversal, and a reversal is prohibited only in such cases. Briefly stated, the anecdote limits to specific cases (i.e., where the new testimony entered is false) what seems to be a law of overly wide applicability (a blanket prohibition on retrial).

(8)

The result of KJ’s exemplary act of justice is (obv. III 11):

*raggu u šēnu ippalsūma ihuzū šahāṭu imid tubqati*

base and wicked men would see it, abscond, and never be heard of again.

The flight of the base and wicked men is, in fact, a fulfillment of Hammurabi’s divine commission (I 27–49):

*raggam u šēnam ana hulluqim*

To abolish the base and the wicked.

It is likewise a fulfillment of Hammurabi’s wish for the king who will appear in the land in the future and who will read his laws (xlvi 59–54):

*raggam u šēnam lissulḥ*

May he eradicate the base and the wicked.

In other words, KJ, through his legal actions and demonstrating the strictness of his justice, has effectively eradicated evildoers and brought about the objectives of Hammurabi’s own commission as he performed it himself, and as he desired his successors to do.<sup>33</sup> KJ’s act concretizes by specific deed Hammurabi’s commission that is couched in general terms of a goal.

(9)

After a short, textually corrupt paragraph reporting that the “King of Justice” made the hearts of the gods happy and offered them sacrifices (obv. III 17–21), KJ returns to judicial matters. In obv. III 21 we find:

*amēlu eli amēli nērtu iddīma la uktīn*

A man accused another man of murder but did not convict him.<sup>34</sup>

It is obvious, as Lambert has already indicated, that this description is a nearly verbatim rehearsal of the crime described in the protasis of Hammurabi’s first law:

*šumma awilum awilam ubbirma nērtam elišu iddīma la uktīnšu mubbiršu iddāk*

If a person accuses another person of murder but does not convict him—  
His accuser shall be executed.

If LH 1 is the law it is surprising that in KJ the accuser was not executed as unconditionally called for in the apodosis. Instead, the accuser and the accused are both subject to the River Ordeal. This is, of course, what is done to the person accused of witchcraft but not proven guilty in Hammurabi’s second law. The description of the ordeal in KJ is, to be sure, much longer and more detailed than in LH 2. In fact it is the longest and most detailed depiction of the Ordeal available.<sup>35</sup> But what, may we ask, has the

33. On the literary relationship between the two lines in LH and the prospective aspects of the epilogue in carrying Hammurabi’s mission into the future enabling his successors to act justly, see V. Hurowitz, *Inu Anum širum*, 49–50.

34. *uktīn*, D-perfect of *kānu*, is usually translated “prove it (the accusation of murder).” However, this translation is problematic because *nērtam*, the supposed antecedent of the accusative suffix, is feminine. Accordingly, following Th. Jacobsen’s analysis (presented in his lectures at the Hebrew University in 1984), the legal language is to be taken as metaphoric with *ubburu*, “accuse,” meaning literally “to tie up” and *kunnu* meaning “to keep the person tied up,” or figuratively “to convict him.”

35. For this ordeal, see now P.-A. Beaulieu, “A Note on the River Ordeal in the Literary Text ‘Nebuchadnezzar King of Justice,’” *NABU* 1992, 58–60; W. Heimpel, “The River Ordeal in Hit,” *RA* 90 (1996): 7–18. A very late memory of the River Ordeal may be preserved in Arabic literature, for which see C. Janssen, *Babil, The City of Witchcraft and Wine. The Name and Fame of Babylon in Medieval Arabic Geographical Texts*, Mesopotamian History and Environment, Memoirs 2 (University of Ghent: Ghent, 1995), 206–7. For the River Ordeal in Kaniš, see C. Günbatti, “The River

River Ordeal to do with false accusation of murder? Why was ordeal substituted for execution? The answer is provided if we realize that this is another instance of “Halakhic Midrash” solving a difficulty in the law. Looking at Hammurabi’s first law, *again taken literally*, we find it quite severe and unexplainable. It requires talion punishment for mere accusation, and not only for commitment of a crime. As in the case of changing a verdict that we have already examined, it is unthinkable that unproven accusation alone should deserve such a punishment. After all, inability to produce additional witnesses or convincing evidence required for a conviction does not necessarily mean that the accuser has lied or is malicious. Unproven accusations are not necessarily false accusations, and it is unconscionable that they be regarded in the same way. In fact, the accusation may actually be true, even if it can’t be substantiated. Introducing the Ordeal and bringing the gods into the judicial process is the way of getting out of the predicament caused by a lack of evidence or corroborating testimony. What the “King of Justice” has done is combine LH 1 and 2 (that both raise the same difficulty), and apply the solution proposed for the second crime (false accusation of witchcraft) to solving the problem in the first (unproven accusation of murder).

As an added bonus, by requiring both accuser and accused to undergo the River Ordeal, the “King of Justice” corrects another inadequacy in Hammurabi’s law that required only the accused to be tried by ordeal.<sup>36</sup>

It is worth noting here that by requiring the Ordeal for an unproven accusation of murder, and applying the apodosis of law 2 to law 1, the “King of Justice” has transformed the problematic law of Hammurabi into a law identical in principle with the law of the malicious lone witness (עד זומם) in Deut 19:16–21.<sup>37</sup>

If a man appears against another to testify maliciously and gives false testimony against him, the two parties to the dispute shall appear before the Lord, before the priests or magistrates in authority at the time, and the magistrates shall make a thorough investigation. If the man who testified is a false witness, if he has testified falsely against his fellow, you shall do

Ordeal in Ancient Anatolia,” in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. W.H. van Soldt, et al. (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001), 151–60. The author suggests that this may reflect Mesopotamian influence (p. 183), but, in any case, it pre-dates LH.

36. An interesting parallel to this display of egalitarianism is found in *m. Soḥa* 5:1, where the ordeal for the woman suspected of adultery is imposed on her husband as well to see whether he is free of guilt.

37. For the importance of the Deuteronomical law for illuminating the LH passage, see Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 2 62–63. KJ adds the element of a public display of the punishment, for which see next note.

to him as he schemed to do to his fellow. Thus you will sweep out evil from your midst; others will hear and be afraid,<sup>38</sup> and such evil things will not again be done in your midst...

In KJ’s reformulation of LH 1, as well as in Deuteronomy, there is only one witness, so he can’t prove his accusation. The accused is therefore subject to divine judgment, the Babylonian by way of the Ordeal, and the Israelite by way of whatever was done by the priests standing before the Lord—be this an ordeal or an oath.<sup>39</sup> The difference between the Deuteronomical law and the two Mesopotamian sources is that Deuteronomy has expressed in general terms a legal principal that the Mesopotamian texts express by specific illustrations.

(10)

The case of the unproven accusation is followed by another incident (obv. IV 24–27), this time of a man who slanders or libels another (*amēlu eli amēli iddi tukki*),<sup>40</sup> and takes an oath in the name of Šamaš after having prepared a magic circle (*nīš Šamaš izkur ukīn gišḥurra*) in which one customarily stood when taking an oath. The tablet breaks off in the middle so this anecdote cannot be fully understood, and there is not enough evidence to venture a reconstruction. Nonetheless, it seems that the accuser has testified falsely under oath. False testimony is the crime dealt with in LH 3 and 4 where a man testifies falsely against another man (*ana šībūt sarrātim wašū*) concerning capital and then monetary offenses.<sup>41</sup> The differences between

38. The language of Deut 19:20 *והנשארים ישמעו ויראו ולא יזכיפו לעשות עוד כדבר הרע הזה* “and those who remain will hear and be afraid, and will no longer continue to do like this wicked thing,” and the public display of the punishment in order to strike fear into the hearts of the people should be compared to the conclusions to two of the anecdotes in KJ obv. III 11: *ana naplusu kiššat niše ina bābi kamī ša bīt dīni šāšu ušāskin ana ūmu šātu raggu u šēnu ippalsūma ḫuzū šahātu imid tubqati*, “for the viewing of all people, he placed it (the model of the severed head) in the outer gate of the court; base and wicked men would see it, abscond, and never be heard of again”; rev. iv 21–23: *imurā niši itammā pulḫātu matati kālīšina rašubbat zāna ajjābi lemnu u zamānu puzrat itaḥaz*, “the people saw and spoke of it fearfully; all the world was borne down with awe. The enemy, the wicked one, and the hostile betook themselves into hiding.” Cf. also the biblical pair *וירא* and *וירא* in Exod 14:31; Isa 41:5; Ps 40:4; 52:8; Job 6:21, etc. as well as the pair *שמע* and *ירא* in Deut 13:12; 21:21; 1 Sam 7:7; 17:11; 1 Kgs 3:28; Jer 26:21, etc.

39. The oath and ordeal are mentioned side by side as alternate means of trial in the document from Kaniš discussed by C. Günbatti, “The River Ordeal in Ancient Mesopotamia,” 152, ll. 19–22.

40. Text restored according to Von Soden, *ZA* 65 (1975): 283. Von Soden translates *tukku* as “Verleumdung,” whereas Foster renders “denounced.” Cf. Hebrew *תוך* (Ps 10:7; 55:12; 72:14). Most telling is the association of *תוך* with oaths in Ps 10:7 *אֵלֶּה פִּיהוּ מְלֵא תוֹךְ בִּרְמִיָּה וְתוֹךְ* “His mouth is full of oaths (אֵלֶּה), deceit and fraud (תוֹךְ).”

41. LH3 and 4 are formulated to be two parts of the same law. The meaning of *sarratum*

KJ and LH are that different words are used for "lie," and the language used for accusation in LH 1 and 2 (*amēlu eli amēli X iddi*) is used here rather than *ana šibūt sarrātim wašū* from laws 3 and 4.

It turns out, therefore, that KJ reflects not only general statements about the Hammurabi's pursuit of justice as described in the prologue and epilogue, but the language and substance of the first five laws. First the fifth law (changing a verdict because of false testimony), and then, consecutively, the first four laws (unproven accusations and uncorroborated testimony) are at the basis of the "King of Justice's" actions. One might note that LH 6 opens a section about theft, leaving laws 1–5 to create a coherent thematic unit. If so, and if KJ did not discuss any additional legal matters (the text being broken), we find the KJ appreciates the literary makeup of LH and has chosen to base itself on a single, well defined portion of the text.<sup>42</sup>

The message KJ conveys to any ancient reader familiar with LH will be that the "King of Justice" reigned according to the laws legislated by Hammurabi, applying them in ways indicating awareness of the laws' imprecision and need for appropriate interpretation. The contemporary scholar may surmise that LH were known to the author of KJ, who regarded them as exemplary laws, the fulfillment of which was essential to maintaining a just society. As for the history of Mesopotamian law, we learn that even if there is little evidence that Hammurabi's laws were ever normative, they served as a source for later jurisprudence when refracted through the prism of Halakhic Midrash. We also learn that even while copying the laws, they were studied to the extent that the legal problems they raised were discerned and resolved by reformulation. Although we find such treatment of LH evidenced only a millennium after their publication, there is no reason to assume that such exercises did not exist at a somewhat earlier date.<sup>43</sup>

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is problematic. Drive and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 1 67 suggest that it is "a general term for wrongdoing." However, CAD, Š/2, 401a s.v. *šibūtu* 2b) persists in translating "false testimony." Roth, *Law Collections*, 81 translates law 3 "if a man comes forward to give false testimony," and solves the problem of translating law 4 by rendering "If he comes forward to give (false) testimony for (a case whose penalty is) grain or silver...." This solution seems quite reasonable, for the basic meaning of *sarrātum* is undoubtedly "lie," and it is difficult to imagine the semantic development required by Driver and Miles. The proposed parallel with the KJ passage confirms this interpretation.

42. Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 2 43 recognizes this section as "Offences against the administration of justice," as opposed to the next twenty-one passages, which deal with "Offences against property."
43. It remains to be determined who the king is, and whether the actions ascribed to him were real or fictitious. This does not affect, however, the attitude toward the laws and the way they would have been applied.

### III. LH OUTSIDE MESOPOTAMIA

It appears as if LH may have been known in some form outside Mesopotamia proper.

R. Borger discovered that the curses concluding the treaty from the ninth century between Šamši-Adad V, king of Assyria, and Marduk-zākir-šūmi, king of Babylon, are nearly identical to the curses concluding LH.<sup>44</sup> In somewhat a similar fashion, Aharon Demsky suggested that part of the curse formula found its way in Canaanite form to the Phoenician burial inscription of Ahiiram, king of Byblos.<sup>45</sup>

The similarities between the laws of Hammurabi and the laws in the biblical Book of the Covenant are well known, but they do not necessarily indicate direct influence of the Babylonian composition on the biblical law code, for there are other ways of explaining them. On the other hand, Moshe Weinfeld suggested that the term חוקים ומשפטים צדקים in Deut 4:8 is a translation of the Akkadian term *dīnāt mišarim*, which Hammurabi uses to describe his own laws, and that the verse ומי גוי גדול אשר לו חוקים ומשפטים צדקים ככל התורה הזאת אשר אנכי נתן לפניכם היום is intended to contrast the laws in the book of Deuteronomy with LH.<sup>46</sup> In my own study of the prologue and epilogue, I suggested that the statement לא דבר רק הוא מכם in Deut 32:47, used to designate the covenant and the selection of Israel by giving them laws that are ולהפארת לשם ולהללה in Deut 26:19, are directed against the words of Hammurabi's epilogue:

*anāku awātūa nasqā epšētūa šāninam ul išā  
ela ana la ḥassim rēqa  
ana emqim ana tanādātīm šušā*

I, My words are select, my deeds have no rival  
But to the one who is not wise, they are empty  
While to the wise they are issued for praise.

It is worth mentioning in this connection Deut 4:6, which says about the laws and statutes *היא חכמתכם ובינתכם לעיני העמים אשר ישמעון את כל* *החוקים האלה ואמרו רק עם חכם ונבון הגוי הגדול הזה*. Both of them connect the laws with wisdom and wise men. This evidence may indicate that LH was

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44. R. Borger, "Marduk-zākir-šūmi I. und der Kodex Hammurapi," *Or* 35 (1965): 168–69; S. Parpola, K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA II (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki University, 1988), 4–5 no. 1.
45. A. Demsky, "Mesopotamian and Canaanite Literary Traditions in the Ahiiram Curse Formula" (Hebrew), in *H. L. Ginsberg Volume. Eretz Israel 14*, ed. M. Haran (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 7–11, 122a\*. Note that according to R. Borger, *Or* 35 185ff., these curses made their way into Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties as well.
46. See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 150–51.

known in the ancient Near East in general, and that the Deuteronomist refers to it to say that his laws are even better.

#### IV. HAMMURABI IN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

We have spoken so far about the memory of Hammurabi mainly as it is expressed in copying, studying, and making literary use of the law code. To this we should add that the relief on top of the stele could have been the inspiration for the depiction of Šamaš on the famous "Sun-Disk Tablet" (King, BBS<sup>t</sup> 36) of Nabû-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, in the ninth century.<sup>47</sup> However, his fame was preserved in other ways as well.<sup>48</sup> Evidence

47. See U. Seidl, "Das Ringen um das richtige Bild des Šamaš von Sippar," *ZA* 91 (2001): 120–32.

48. It comes as no surprise that he is still mentioned in several seal impressions, a document or two, and as a component in personal names during the time of his son Samsu-ilūna (see S.I. Feigin, *Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-ilūna*, YOSBT 12 [New Haven and Yale: Yale University, 1979], 34b). It is also natural that he is mentioned in his son Samsu-ilūna's titulary in a bilingual royal inscription from that king's twenty-fourth year (D.R. Frayne, *RIME* 4, 389 Samsu-ilūna E.4.3.7.8 l. 23). His construction work in the city of Luḫaia is mentioned in an inscription of his grandson Abi-ešuh (D.R. Frayne, *RIME* 4, 405 Abi-ešuh E.4.3.8.1 l. 16'). His forty-three year names are given in Old Babylonian Date Lists A, B, C, F, I, K, L, M, O, and P (see RLA 2 164–82, s.v. Datenlisten; M.J.A. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon* [Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1999], vol. 1, 39–45; vol. 2, 105–74), one of which (F) dates as late as the seventeenth year of Ammi-šadūqa. He appears also in the Babylonian King List 7 and Larsa King List 15 (RLA 6 89, 100, 129). In the latter, his name is deified. His war against Rīm-Šin is mentioned in the Chronicle of Early Babylonian Kings, (A.K. Grayson, ABC, 155 Chronicle 20B, obv. 8–12). His name appears as *Ammurabi* in the Chronicle of Market Prices (Chronicle 23:7) as it is in a Neo-Assyrian letter and some peripheral royal inscriptions from Suḫu (see below). Although these texts indicate that Hammurabi would have been known to native historians as late as the Neo-Babylonian period, there is nothing obviously remarkable about these attestations that would make him anything more than a detail of ancient history. A well-known text designated popularly as "Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty" is a tablet for use in the *kispu*, funerary cult, for the family of Ammi-šadūqa, but Hammurabi is only one of nineteen names listed, and he seems to have no special distinction (see J.J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966): 95–118). In the Larsa King List (preserved on a practice tablet), where the length of his reign is written above an erasure, he is given thirteen years, indicating the length of reign in that city, whereas in King List 7 he is said to reign 55 years. Since Hammurabi restored nearly thirty temples, as known from the prologue of LH as well as from original building inscriptions, it may be assumed that his memory was preserved in some form at those places, especially if restoration of the temples would result in uncovering old building inscriptions. For temples associated with Hammurabi, see A.R. George, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Mesopotamian Civilizations 5 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1993), passim. For Hammurabi's royal inscriptions, see D.R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (2003–

that he was revered posthumously, perhaps even as a god, comes from as late as the accession year of Samsu-ditāna when we find a man bearing the name Hammurabi-šemi, with the royal name serving where the divine element is expected in a theophoric name.<sup>49</sup> Additional evidence, also from the late Old Babylonian period, comes from a report of an omen query dated to the time of Ammišaduqa concerning a statue of Hammurabi (*a-na*

1595 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto, 1990), vol. 4, 332–71. This collection includes twenty inscriptions of the king, and another twenty-two inscriptions of various types associated with his servants but mentioning his name. There are several royal hymns in his honor but no evidence that they entered the "stream of tradition." Cf. Å. Sjöberg, "Ein Selbstpreis des Königs Hammurabi von Babylon," *ZA* 54 (1961): 51–70; idem, "Prayers for King Hammurabi of Babylon," in *Ex Orbe Religionum. Studia Geo Widengren* (Studies in the History of Religions. Supplements to Numen, XXI; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 58–71; N. Wasserman, "CT 21, 40–42. A Bilingual Report of an Oracle with a Royal Hymn of Hammurabi." Literary texts associated with Hammurabi include the Agušaya hymn, which was composed during his reign so that he would hear it and be granted eternal life (B.R.M. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar. Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin. Tanatti Ištar*, Cuneiform Monographs 8 [Groningen: Styx, 1997], 87 Agušaya B V 1 26), and the Old Babylonian Lover's Dialogue in which an oath is taken by his name (B. Foster, *Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, [Bethesda, Md., 1993] vol. 1, 92–95, translation with previous bibliography). Hammurabi may have been considered, jokingly perhaps, a patron of pornography. The *pārum* poem published by W. von Soden, "Ein spät-alt-babylonisches *pārum*-Preislied für Ištar," *OrNS* 60 (1991): 339–43, which I have shown to be a humorous, off-color composition (V.A. Hurowitz, "An Old Babylonian Bawdy Ballad," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, M. Sokoloff, [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 543–58), is to be dated on paleographic and linguistic grounds to the late Old Babylonian period. Nonetheless, its colophon attributes it to the accession year of Hammurabi. Von Soden comments (p. 242 on l. 23), "Ob die ursprüngliche Fassung dieses Liedes wirklich auf das Akzessionsjahr Hammurabis zurückgeht, muss fraglich bleiben, da man in Babylonien auch sonst bisweilen Dichtungen in eine frühere Zeit datierte als die ihrer Abfassung." If this is so, it is possible that the puerile author of this piece may have considered the great king Hammurabi just the right person to grant imprimatur for his own spoof on a cultic poem. Attributing the work to Hammurabi's accession year makes it all the more humorous—as if Hammurabi had nothing better to do when coming to power than to sponsor lewd literature. Whatever the intention of the author, this attribution would indicate that Hammurabi's reign was recognized even after his death as a time of artistic accomplishment worthy of other artistic achievements.

49. See H. Klengel, "Hammurabi und seine Nachfolger im altbabylonischen Onomastikon," *JCS* 28 (1976): 156–60. The personal names in which he appears from the time of his son Samsu-ilūna were certainly given to people born when Hammurabi was still alive. Thus, although they would preserve his memory they cannot be taken as evidence of active reverence.

ALAM *ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi ta-wi-tum ep-še-et*, "the oracular query was performed concerning a statue of Hammurabi".<sup>50</sup>

The omen report just mentioned indicates that Hammurabi's statues (undoubtedly inscribed) were somehow maintained and revered after his death. Moreover, some of his royal inscriptions were copied. A Sumerian inscription telling of the dedication of several cult vessels is known from a copy dating to the fourteenth year of Samsu-ilūna, showing that already his successors started copying his inscriptions (RIME 4 p. 345 E4.3.6.11). Much later, a copy of the bilingual statue (CT 21 40–42 = LIH 60) was found in the Neo-Babylonian library recently uncovered at Sippar, a library containing many other literary and scholarly texts.<sup>51</sup>

Three royal inscriptions of Hammurabi are known only in Neo-Babylonian manuscripts. One of them is a Neo-Babylonian copy of a Sumerian royal inscription that was originally considered a hymn.<sup>52</sup> This partially preserved work of self-praise starts off by the king calling himself DINGIR KALAM-[ma-na], "god of his land." A second (LIH 96 = RIME 4 p. 356 E4.3.6.19), is too fragmentary to say anything about. The third (LIH 59 = RIME 4 336 E4.3.6.3) claims to be a copy of an inscription of Hammurabi found in the Enamtila temple in Babylon, deposited by the copyist in Nabû's temple Ezida in Borsippa "for his (the scribe's) life, happiness and the hearing of his prayers" (l. 27). Was copying a Hammurabi inscription particularly meritorious? It is apparently a Neo-Babylonian forgery, as shown by the late Moshe Held.<sup>53</sup> If indeed it is a forgery, it would place Hammurabi in a category along with Manistushu who was "honored" in the Neo-Babylonian period with a forgery (the so-called "Cruciform Monument"). As is well known, imitation is the greatest form of flattery, and

50. Bab. 2 plate 6, cited here according to I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner*, BiMes 12 (Malibu: Undena, 1983), 120.

51. See F.N.R. Al-Rawi, A.R. George, "Tablets from the Sippar Library. II. Tablet II of the Babylonian Creation Epic," *Iraq* 52 (1990): 149–57, esp. 149 n. 1. An earlier report published in *Iraq* 49 (1987): 248–49 mentions "a copy of a Hammurabi inscription commemorating the building of the walls of Sippar." See now A. Fadhil, G. Pettinato, "Inno ad Hammurabi da Sippar," *Orientalis Antiqui Miscellanea* 2 (1995): 173–87 (references courtesy of D. Charpin).

52. See E. Sollberger, "Two Old-Babylonian Royal Inscriptions" in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences 19, ed. M. De Jong Ellis (Hamden: Archon, 1977), 197–99, no. 1.

53. M. Held, "Is LIH 59 an Old Babylonian Royal Inscription?" unpublished manuscript of lecture delivered at American Oriental Society, St. Louis, 1979. I am grateful to Balfoura Held and Chaim Cohen for making this manuscript available to me. The text is considered by Frayne in RIME 4 to be an authentic Old Babylonian text in Neo-Babylonian manuscript. See also A.R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 40 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 326. For the colophon, see H. Hunger, BAK no. 140.

being the subject of a pseudepigraphic inscription is an indication of high esteem.

From the Neo-Babylonian period there comes as well an example of an authentic Hammurabi inscription being uncovered while restoring the Ebabbara temple in Larsa. Nabonidus reports that when he rebuilt this temple (VAB 4 p. 238, Nabonid No. 3 ii 20–25):

I saw an inscription of Hammurabi, an ancient king, who 700 years before Burnaburiash built for Shamash the Ebabbara temple and ziqqurat on the old foundations.

In the continuation of the text Nabonidus tells that he built the temple according to the form of Hammurabi (p. 240 ii 58–iii 5). There were two Kassite kings named Burnaburiash, and the second of them reigned in the fourteenth century, not more than four centuries after Hammurabi. If so, the distance of 700 years given in the inscription is way too large, and it seems that rather than being an historically accurate figure it is a typological number that indicates ignorance of, or disregard for history on the one hand and regarding Hammurabi as a legendary king of hoary antiquity on the other.

Just as KJ was influenced by LH, so there are literary influences of Hammurabi's inscriptions on later royal inscriptions. W.W. Hallo has pointed out the use of certain phrases from the prologue and epilogue in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon II and Assurbanipal.<sup>54</sup> The Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, and especially those of Nebuchadnezzar II, make even greater use of royal titles and various literary clichés based on Hammurabi's inscriptions. P.R. Berger has pointed out at least five passages in Nebuchadnezzar's monumental inscriptions that reflect language taken from the prologue and epilogue of LH.<sup>55</sup> D.S. Vanderhooft adds the suggestion that Nebuchadnezzar's title *šar mišarim* is borrowed from Hammurabi as well.<sup>56</sup>

There are other titles as well that appear in inscriptions of later kings and may have been borrowed directly or indirectly. We cannot in this con-

54. W.W. Hallo, "Proverbs Quoted in Epic," in *Lingering Over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, P. Steinkeller (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1990), 203–17, esp. 205. He mentions specifically *dannum enšam ana lā ḥabālim*.

55. P.-R. Berger, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. Königsinschriften des ausgehenden babylonischen Reiches (626–539 a. Chr.)*, AOAT 4/194–95. See also G. Ries, Prolog und Epilog in Gesetzen des Altertums, 64–71.

56. D.S. Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire*, 44. For this title in Assyrian inscriptions, see H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib, King of Justice," in *Sefer Moshe – Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*, ed. S. Paul, Ch. Cohen, A. Hurvitz (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, Ind., 2002, forthcoming).

nection present a definitive study of this matter, and a survey of Seux, *ÉR* raises numerous epithets of Hammurabi that were held by later kings. To be sure, many of these correspondences may be coincidental or reflect common Mesopotamian or Babylonian practice rather than any specific cognizance of Hammurabi. We list here tentatively only what seem to us as the most likely candidates for having been intentionally borrowed at some stage from Hammurabi. For reasons such as peculiarity, rarity and distribution the first group, marked by a double asterisk, seem more likely borrowings than the second, marked with a single asterisk.<sup>57</sup>

57. Other titles that are shared but probably do not reflect borrowing are as follows:
- abūb tuqmati*, "Storm of Battle" — may be reflected in *abūb tamḥāri* used by Tuḫulti-Ninurta I and Tiglath-pileser I (*ÉR* 34).
- ašarīd šarri*, "leader of kings" — may be reflected in *ašarīd kala mālikī*, "leader of all potentates" used by Assurnasirpal II (*ÉR* 14).
- ša DN ibnūšu ina/ana X*, "whom DN created in/for X" — reflected in *ša DN<sub>1</sub> u DN<sub>2</sub> ina/ana X* — used by Sīn-šar-iškun (*ÉR* 52).
- mubbib šuluḫ TN*, "who purifies the lustration rites of TN" (*ÉR* 75) — may be reflected in *išippu mubbib šuluḫḫī ilāni rabūti* of Adad-nerari I (*ÉR* 109) and *mubbib šuluḫḫī u nindabē* of Shalmanesar I (*ÉR* 74).
- muddiš TN* is a common title, held first by Hammurabi (*ÉR* p. 75).
- mukil nindabē rabūtim ana TN*, "who maintains great offerings for TN" — reflected by *mukil nindabē* used by Shalmanesar III (*ÉR* 144–45).
- migir Ellil*, "favored by Ellil" — used by Merodach-Baladan I, Nebuchadnezzar I, Assurnasirpal II, Esarhaddon. Numerous kings use *migir DN* (*ÉR* 163).
- migir ilāni rabūti*, "favored by the great gods" — used by Agum-Kakrime, Merodach-Baladan II, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon (*ÉR* 163–64).
- migir Ištar*, "favored of Ištar" — used by Shalmanesar I, and cf. *migir Ištar šarrati*, "favored of Queen Ištar" used by Shalmanesar III and Esarhaddon (*ÉR* 164–65).
- migiršu*, "his favorite" — used by Nebuchadnezzar I (*ÉR* p. 167). Cf. *migir+PN* suffix used by Assurnasirpal I, Assurnasirpal II, Shalmanesar III, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, Sīn-šar-iškun.
- lā muparkū ana TN*, "who does not neglect TN" — titles with *lā muparkū* used first by Lipit-Ištar and then with variations by Šamši-Adad V, Adad-nerari III, Assurnasirpal I, Sargon II, Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus, Neriglissar (*ÉR* 186).
- narām Aja*, "beloved of Aya" — *narām DN* used by many kings (*ÉR* 189–96).
- nibit Ellil*, "called by Ellil" — *nibit DN* used by many kings (*ÉR* 205–7).
- pāliḫ ilī*, "fearer of the gods" — title and variants used by many kings (*ÉR* 212–18).
- pāliḫ DN*, "fearer of DN" — used by many kings.
- pāqīd TN* — "guarder of TN" — variants used by Shalmanesar I, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nabonidus (*ÉR* 218–19).
- rē'ūm*, "shepherd" — used by numerous kings with modifiers.
- rīnum kadrum munakkip za'iri*, "fighting wild ox who gores the enemy" — cf. *rīm šarri*, "wild ox of kings" used by Yaḥdun-lim (*ÉR* 250).
- rubū*, "prince" — used by many kings with modifiers (*ÉR* 251–56).
- rubū na'du*, "pious prince" — used by numerous Babylonian and Assyrian kings (*ÉR* 254–55).

- \*\**etēl šarri*, "prince of kings" — used by Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus (*ÉR* 91).
- \*\**muštešmi kibrat arba'im*, "who causes the four quarters to obey" — used by Samsu-ilūna (*ÉR* 323).
- \*\**mutēr Lamassišu damiqtim ana ālim Assur*, "who returns his good Lamassu to the city Assur," and *mutēr ālim Eridu ana ašrišu*, "who restores the city of Eridu to its place" — both titles are found in the prologue to LH, and seem to be combined in *mutēr Lamassi Ešarra baḫilti ana ašrišu*, "who restores the abandoned Lamassu of Ešarra to its place" used by Sennacherib (*ÉR* 340–41). Two of the titles are associated with Assur, and two refer to restoring the *Lamassu*. The *Lamassu* in LH is the good nature or the protective deity of the city, whereas in Sennacherib's inscription it seems to be the statue of Assur. There may be a word play between *Aššur* and *ašru*.
- \*\**muḫṭib libbi Marduk bēlišu*, "who makes good the heart of Marduk his lord" — used by Nebuchadnezzar II (*ÉR* 347–48).
- \*\**nuḫuš niši*, "abundance of the people" — used by Ammi-šadūqa (*ÉR* 209).
- \*\**rē'ū niši*, "shepherd of people" — reflected in *rē'ū niši rabūtim*, "shepherd of the multitudinous people" used by Nebuchadnezzar II; *\*rē'ū niši rapšātim*, "shepherd of the widely (settled) people" used by Agum-kakrime, Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus (*ÉR* 248–49).
- 
- šulūl mātim*, "protection of the land" — cf. *šalūlu kibratī*, "protection of the regions (of the earth)" used by Assurnasirpal II; *šulūl ummānāte*, "protection of the troops" used by Sennacherib; *šulūl X*, used by Esarhaddon (*ÉR* 266).
- šāgiš ayābi*, "extinguisher of the enemies" — compounds containing *šāgiš* are used by various Assyrian kings (*ÉR* 269).
- šarru*, "king," *šarrum dannum*, "strong king" — general, universal royal titles.
- šar māt Šumēri u Akkadē*, "King of Sumer and Akkadē" — widespread title first used by Ur-Namma.
- šar kibrat erbetti*, "king of the four regions" — universal title first used by Narām-Sīn.
- \**šēmū Ellil/Šamaš*, "attentive to Ellil" — cf. *šēmū ili rabūti* of Samsu-ilūna; *šēmū ilāni* of Tuḫulti-Ninurta I.
- mušaklil X*, "who perfects X" — used in numerous combinations with many kings (*ÉR* 329–31).
- tīb kibrat erbettim*, "onslaught of the four quarters" — cf. *tīb lā maḥar*, "unequaled onslaught" (Tuḫulti-Ninurta I), *tīb lā nu'u*, "irreversible onslaught" (Assur-bēl-kala).
- ušumgal šarri*, "Great Dragon of Kings" — cf. *ušumgallu* with modifiers used by Shalmanesar I, Shalmanesar III, Tiglath-pileser I, Assurnasirpal II, Esarhaddon (*ÉR* 355–56).

- \*ša Erra rûšu ušakšidu nizmassu**, “who Erra, his companion, causes him to attain his ambition” — reflected almost exactly in *ša Erra rašubbu ušakšidûšu nizmassu* “who Erra, the mighty, causes him to attain his ambition” used by Nabopolassar (ÉR 142).
- \*šar mīšarim**, “King of Justice” — used by Babylonian kings and Assyrian kings ruling in Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar I (ÉR 316–17).
- \*šar tašimti**, “king of discernment” — used by Kurigalzu (ÉR 320).
- \*šarrum le’ûm**, “capable king” — used by Samsu-ilūna (ÉR 297).
- \*šēmû Ellil/Šamaš**, “attentive to Ellil/Šamaš” — reflected in *šēmû ili rabûti* used by Samsu-ilūna; *šēmû ilāni* used by Tukulti-Ninurta I (ÉR 322).
- \*šēmû Šamaš dannum**, “the mighty listener to Šamaš” — used by Kurigalzu. In the Kurigalzu text (RA 29 [1932]: 96, 7), this title is preceded immediately by *šar tašimti*, also a title held by only Hammurabi and Kurigalzu (ÉR 322–23).
- \*talim Zababa**, “twin of Zababa.” Reflected in *talimšunu* “their (Zababa’s and Istar’s) twin” — used by Samsu-ilūna (ÉR 337).
- \*zērum dāri’um ša šarrūtim**, “eternal seed of kingship” — used by Assurbēl-kala, Merodach-baladan II, Assurbanipal, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Cyrus, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur. This title is abbreviated by *zēr šarrūti*, “seed of kingship,” used by Agum, Esarhaddon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn. Cf. also *zēr šarri darû*, “eternal seed of kings” (ÉR 375–77).
- \*bābil hegallim ana TN**, “bringer of plenty to TN” — may be reflected in *bābil igisê rabiūtum ana TN*, “bringer of many gifts to TN,” used by Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus (ÉR 46).
- \*emqum**, “wise” — used by Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus (ÉR 82).
- \*gitmalum**, “accomplished” — used by Itti-Marduk-balaṭu (ÉR 97).
- \*migir Šamaš**, “favored of Šamaš” — reflected in *migir šāšu* used by Nabopolassar and *migir Šamaš u Anunitum* used by Šagaraktašuriaš in an inscription reportedly found by Nabonidus (ÉR 166).
- \*muštālum**, “reflective” — used by Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar (ÉR 171).
- \*muštēmiqum**, “devout supplicant” — used by Nebuchadnezzar II (ÉR 171–72).
- \*na’du**, “pious” — used by Tukulti-Ninurta I, Nebuchadnezzar II (ÉR 180–81).

- munēh libbi DN** — used by Assurbanipal (ÉR 182–83).
- \*mupaḥḥir niši saphātim**, “who gathers the dispersed people” — used with certain variations by Kurigalzu, Merodach-baladan II, Esarhaddon (ÉR 210–13).
- \*qarrādu**, “hero” — used by Samsu-ilūna, Agum-Kakrime, Adad-nerari II, Assurnasirpal II. UR-SAG common among Hittite kings (ÉR 229–30).
- \*rubû ellu**, “pure prince” — used by Adad-nerari I, Eriḫa-Adad (ÉR 252).
- \*ša epšetūšu eli DN ṭābā**, “whose deeds are good to DN” — variant and expanded forms used by Tukulti-Ninurta I, Sîn-šar-iškun, Assurbanipal, Assur-dan I, Assurnasirpal II, Esarhaddon (ÉR 348–50).
- \*ša ḥaṭṭašu išarat**, “whose scepter is just — may be reflected in *ša ina mēšer ḥaṭṭišu ultēšuru nišē u dadmē*, “who by the justice of his scepter directs people and the populated world,” used by Tukulti-Ninurta I (ÉR 90).
- \*šamšu Bābili mušēši nūrim ana māṭ Šumērim u Akkadim**, “Sun of Babylon who gives out light the land of Sumer and Akkadē — cf. *šamšu kiššat nišē* “Sun of all the people” used by various Assyrian kings from Tukulti-Ninurta I to Esarhaddon, and *šamaš mātišu*, “Sun of his land” used by Nebuchadnezzar II (ÉR 283–84).
- \*muṭib libbi ili /DN/+pronoun**, “who makes good the heart of the gods/DN — used by Tukulti-Ninurta I, Nabû-apla-iddina, Nabonidus, Adad-šum-ušur (ÉR 347–48).
- \*muṭaḥḥid nuḥšim bitam Egalmah**, “who makes abundance plentiful in the temple, Egalmah” — cf. *muṭaḥḥid ekurri/ešrēti* etc. — used by Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus (ÉR 351–52).
- \*wašru**, “humble” — used by Nebuchadnezzar I, Esarhaddon, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar, Nabonidus (ÉR 366).
- \*zāninum na’dum ša Ekur**, “pious provider for Ekur,” *zānin TN/ešrēti*, etc. — used by Tiglath-pileser I, Assur-bēl-kala, Assurbanipal, Sargon II, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar II, Nabonidus. Antiochos Soter, Šamši-Adad V, Merodach-baladan II, Nabonidus, Shalmanesar III (ÉR 372–75).

The most interesting use of the Laws of Hammurabi by a royal inscription, in a way resembling the use made in King of Justice, occurs in the so-called Cylinder Inscription of Sargon II, king of Assyria describing the building of Dūr-šarru-kīn (Khorsabad).<sup>58</sup> In lines 50–52 we read:

58. The text has been edited most recently by A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus*



*kāma zikir šūmāja*

*ša ana našār kitti u mišari / šūtešur la le'i / la ḥabāl enši imbūni ilāni  
rabūti*

*kasap eqlēt āli šāšu kī pī ṭuppāte šājimānūte kaspu u siparru ana bēlišunu  
utirma,*

*ana riggāte lā šubšī*

*ša kasap eqlī lā šebū eqlu miḥir eqlī ašar pānūšunu šaknu addinšunūti.*

In accordance with the calling of my name —

By which the great gods called me for the purpose of guarding justice  
and righteousness/ doing righteously with the impotent/ and not  
harming the weak—

Silver for the fields of that city according to the bills of sale, silver and copper,  
I returned to their owners;

So as not to create wickedness,

To whoever did not want the silver price of the field, I gave a field for a field  
wherever he desired.

This passage is essentially a name Midrash on the name *šarru-kīn*, in which the name is not taken to mean “the legitimate king” or “the king is legitimate,” but, rather, “the king is just” or “the king does justice.” However, the justice Sargon performs is described in the Midrash on the basis of the famous lines from the prologue:

*mišaram ina mātim ana šūpīm  
raggam u sēnam ana ḥulliqīm  
dannum enšam ana la ḥabālim*

followed by:

*ana šūtešur niši mātim...  
kittam u mišaram ina pī mātim aškun*

It is clear that the king of Assyria is portraying himself here as a new Hammurabi. Moreover, the offer to purchase the fields or replace them with other fields reflects in language and theme laws 36–41, which treat of the same topics. Sargon does not perform Hammurabi’s laws exactly as they are written, but he acts in the spirit of those laws and even makes use of specific terms and expressions from those laws (*kaspum*, *eqlum*, *ṭuppum*, *šāmu*, *šājimānum*, and *eqlum... ana bēlišu itār*).

*Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1993), 29–44, 289–96. For a more detailed discussion of this inscription in general and this passage in particular, see my article “Dūr-šarru-kīn — An Image of the Royal Builder” in I. Ephal (ed.), *History, Historiography and Ideology: Papers read at a conference in honor of Hayim Tadmor in celebration of his eightieth birthday held at the Israel Academy of Sciences, Jerusalem, 20 November, 2003* (in preparation) [in Hebrew].

Even outside the Mesopotamian heartland we find mention of Hammurabu (sic! ending with u rather than i).<sup>59</sup> In the inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of Suḥu and Mari in the eighth century, the governor traces his lineage to *zēru dāru lipu rūqu ša Tunammisaḥ mār Hammurabu šar Bābili*, “the eternal seed, the distant descendant of Tunammisaḥ, son of Hammurabu, king of Babylon.”<sup>60</sup> It is clear that this lineage is artificial, combining various sorts of elements.<sup>61</sup> Tunammisaḥ is the name of a Kassite tribe, and probably symbolizes the entire Kassite dynasty. If so, the name Hammurabu may also be symbolic or schematic, representing the entire dynasty of kings reigning in pre-Kassite Babylonia. Most interesting, two of the inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur (p. 381 no. 17 ll. 30–32; p. 384 no. 18 col ii ll. 9–12) say that this king established the daily sacrifices *kī pī Hammurabu šar Bābili šarri maḥrīja*, “according to Hammurabu, king of Babylon, a king before me.”

#### V. HAMMURABI IN NON-LEGAL AND SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

Last of all, Hammurabi has found his way into “professional” literature of a non-legal nature including lexical, medical, magic and divinatory texts. The best known such passage is in 2R 44, a “name book” of Sumerian, West Semitic, and Kassite personal names of kings and scholars accompanied with Akkadian interpretations.<sup>62</sup> In line 21 we find <sup>m</sup>*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi*:

59. See A. Cavigneaux, B.K. Ismail, “Die Statthalter von Suḥu und Mari im 8. Jh. V. Chr.,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21 (1990): 321–456, pl. 35–38, esp. 326 (discussion); 341 no. 11. 14 (<sup>l</sup>*Am-mu-ra-bu*); 343 No. 21. 3 (<sup>l</sup>*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bu*); 359 no. 41. 3 (<sup>l</sup>*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bu*); 364 no. 5 vs 1. 3 ([...*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bu*]); 378 no. 16 vs. 3 [...*am-mu-ra-bi* (translated p. 379 Ammurabi); 381 no. 17 l. 14 (*ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi*); 381 no. 17 l. 31 (*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bu*); 384 no. 18 l. 5 (*ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi*); 384 no. 18 col ii l. 11 (<sup>l</sup>*ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi*). Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 2 117 n. 2 mention this form as the name of a private person, citing Ungnad, VS iv 2 6.

60. The title *zēru dāru*, “eternal seed,” is used only by Shalmaneser I (Seux, ER, 375). It may be an abbreviation of the title *zēru dārium ša šarrūtim* “eternal seed of kingship,” found in the prologue to LH v 1–2 and used subsequently by Assur-bēl-kala, Merodach-baladan II, Assurbanipal, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, Cyrus (Seux, ER, 375–77). Note also *zēr šarrūti*, “seed of kingship,” used by Agum, Esarhaddon, and Šamaš-šum-ukīn, as well as *zēr šarrūti dārū*. For the meaning, origin and development of the title, cf. W.G. Lambert, “The Seed of Kingship,” in *Le palais et la royauté (Archéologie et civilisation)*, XIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre assyriologique internationale organisée par le groupe François Thureau-Dangin Paris, 29 juin – 2 juillet 1971, ed. P. Garelli (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1974), 467–40.

61. R. Mayer-Opificus, “Das Relief des Šamaš-rēš-ušur aus Babylon,” in *Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, AOAT 240 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Betzold & Bercker Kevelaer, 1995), 333–48, esp. 343, typifies this genealogy as wishful thinking, “Wunschdenk.”

62. For a description of this text, an edition of cols. 2 and 3 and references to studies of



<sup>m</sup>*Kim-ta-ra-pa-áš-tum*, “(the name) Hammurabi means ‘extensive family’” (CAD, K, 377b s.v. *kimtu* f), seemingly indicating that at the time of this scribe the name was read as Hammurabi rather than Hammurapi.<sup>63</sup> The name begins a new section of the text. The previous section (ll. 1–20) listed Sumerian names of “kings of after the Flood who were not arranged after each other” (l. 20; *an-nu-tum LUGAL.E šá EGIR a-bu-bi a-na sa-dir a-ḥa-meš la sad-ru*). Hammurabi is followed by the names of Ammi-Sadugga and a selection of Kassite kings beginning with Kurgalzu, Simbar-šipak, Ulamburiaš, Nazimaruttaš, Meli-šipak, Burnaburiaš, and Kadašman-Enlil, etc. The selective nature of this list of royal names, as well as Hammurabi’s placement at the beginning of the second section, may indicate that he enjoyed some special prestige or commanded some special interest in scribal circles.

As for Hammurabi in medical contexts, we should first note, that according to M. Stol, slave sale contracts post-dating Hammurabi by fifty years have been reformulated to reflect LH 279–81, which deal with slaves suffering from epilepsy. H. Klengel suggests that Samsu-ilūna’s “edict” prohibiting the purchase of citizens from Ida-maraš and Arrapha as slaves is based on LH 280–81.<sup>64</sup>

As for professional literature proper, a medical text (BAM 159 IV 16ff. = Von Weiher, SpBTU II no. 50 vs. 10–14, esp. 12) names Hammurabi as a person who was cured of an eye affliction by the prescription given in that text.<sup>65</sup> In other words he is a medical reference. This association of the prescribed cure with Hammurabi can be compared with other texts that associate certain recommended cures with “experts” (*ummānū*) or with ancient kings.<sup>66</sup> He also appears in a broken context on a fragment of a catalogue of

the Kassite names, see W.G. Lambert, “Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity,” *JCS* 11 (1957), 1–14, esp. 5, 12–13.

63. For brief discussions of the reading of the name, see Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 2 117–18; J. Sasson, *CANE* 902; M. Streck, “Hammurabi oder Hammurapi,” *Archiv Orientalni* 67 (1999): 655–69.

64. See M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia*, Cuneiform Monographs 2 (Groningen: Styx, 1993), 133–35.

65. See E. Reiner, “The Uses of Astrology,” *JAOS* 105 (1985): 589–95, esp. 594; idem, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 85/4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 41, 129.

66. Cf. E. Leichty, “Guaranteed to Cure” in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 9, ed. E. Leichty, M. deJ. Ellis, P. Gerardi (Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 1988), 261–64; cf. I.L. Finkel, “On Late Babylonian Medical Training” in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honor of W.G. Lambert*, ed. A.R. George, I.L. Finkel (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 137–223, esp. 142.

incantation incipits,<sup>67</sup> and in a colophon to a tablet of SA.GIG along with the compiler, the legendary scholar Esagil-kīn-apli.<sup>68</sup> In both texts, Esagil-kīn-apli is the descendant of Asaluhḫi-mansum, who is designated an *apkallu* of Hammurabi. Associating the king with a mythological figure makes him a legendary figure himself.<sup>69</sup>

Turning to the realm of magic, toward the end of a very fragmentary amulet text(?) of Esarhaddon, published by R. Borger with additional restorations by F. Köcher, there is reference to “throat stones” (NA<sub>4</sub> GÚ), of Narām-Sin and Hammurabi.<sup>70</sup> A text from Assur also mentions an amulet necklace consisting of 10+x stones and dedicated to Hammurabi.<sup>71</sup>

Most interesting, however, is a Neo-Assyrian letter from Kyunjik to a king from a certain Ašarēdu “the Younger” (ABL 255).<sup>72</sup> He relates to some ritual (*nēpešu*) the king has performed and says:

The tablet that the king is using is [defec]tive and not whole.

Now then, I have written and fetched from Babylon an ancient tablet made by King Ammurabi and an inscription (*maštaru ša pani Ammurabi šarru*) from before King Ammurabi.”

67. See M. Geller, “Incipits and Rubrics,” in *Studies in Honor of W.G. Lambert*, 225–58, esp. 232 VAT 14093 1’.

68. See J.V. Kinnier Wilson, “Two Medical Texts from Nimrud,” *Iraq* 18 (1956): 130–46, esp. 137 and Pl. XXIV ND 4358 rev. 12; I.L. Finkel, “Adad-apla-iddina, Esagil-kīn-apli, and the Series SA.GIG” in *Studies Sachs*, 143–49, esp. 148 B rev. 19’; W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957): 6–7, 13–14; D.J. Wiseman, J.A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, CTN 4, (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1996), no. 71. See also, the colophon to incantation catalogue KAR 44 27 (edited anew by M. Geller, *Studies in Honor of W.G. Lambert*, 248 l. 27; cf. earlier A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, Revised Edition completed by Erica Reiner, [Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1964], 366 n. 25; I. L. Finkel, *Studies ... Sachs* 150; idem, *Studies ... Lambert*, 183). In this late text Hammurabi is given the title LUGAL ŠŪ (*šar kiššati*), a title not used in Babylonia before the Kassite period.

69. W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 11 (1957): 1–14, esp. 6–7 makes the provocative suggestion, “It would have been no surprise if descendants of the famous king Hammurabi were outstanding members of Kassite scribal schools, as under the Third Dynasty of Ur scribes are known to have belonged to the upper strata of society, and this was doubtless the case in all periods.” This statement is endorsed by I. Finkel, *Studies Sachs*, 145 n. 16.

70. R. Borger, Ash., 118 K10220+K10463 Rs. 4; F. Köcher, “Ein verkannter neubabylonischer Text aus Sippar,” *AfO* 20 (1963): 156–58, esp. 158. Only parts of the first five and last seven lines are extant. The text starts with Esarhaddon’s titulary and concludes with a request from Šamaš to announce the plan of an enemy, and grant a good destiny and favorable cledons.

71. See F. Köcher, *AfO* 20 (1963): 158.

72. See S. Parpola, *Letters From Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University, 1993), 118 no. 155; cf. CAD, M/1, 396b s.v. *maštaru* b).

It is unclear whether this letter refers to two texts, one composed by Hammurabi and the other in his possession, or whether the text made by Hammurabi is a copy of an older text in his possession, but in either case the connection of the text with Hammurabi gives it an aura of antiquity and authority. Again, Hammurabi has found his place playing a legendary role as an author or a transmitter of efficacious ancient ritual lore.

Finally, a detailed text concerning Hammurabi survives in divinatory literature. A six-column tablet found at Nimrud, which is the seventh in a series of *tamītu* prayers (*tamūt ikribi*) consisting of at least eight tablets, begins with a twenty-three-line prayer entitled in its colophon (ll. 24–25) *ta-mit DU KASAL DIŠ DIB URU Ka-sal-luḫ-ḫe šá Ħa-am-mu-ra-bi*, “A *tamītu* incantation of Hammurabi for going on a journey/campaign to capture the city Kasalluḫḫe.”<sup>73</sup> After the standard introductory formula, the text begins with a statement that Hammurabi is preparing all his troops, in all eight different types including: troops of the palace, troops of the palace gate, troops of the chariot, infantry, onslaught troops, troops of the field, troops of the assembly, troops of the south and the fields of the land, and such troops that Marduk rules.<sup>74</sup> It then asks for military instructions such as: “Should he (Hammurabi) examine and choose the chariots of the soldiers? Adānšu-lukšud son of Sīn-naḫrāri, who exercises command over the soldiers, should he go at the head or advance from(?) the center of the army?” (8. GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *re-di-i li-is-suq li-bir-ma* 9. *A-dan-šū-lu-uk-šū-ud DUMU*<sup>md</sup>XXX-ÉRIN.TÁḪ 10. *ša a-ki-lu-ut re-di-i ip-pu-šú* 11. *pa-ni-šú-nu li-iš-bat-ma AŠ a-bu-un-na-ti* 12. *li-ir-di*). He also inquires as to the route “Should he take the eastern route toward the Tigris and go toward Kasalluḫḫe” (KASKAL<sup>d</sup>UTU.È nig máš 13. ÍD.IDIGNA *li-iš-ba-at-ma* 14. *a-na URU Ka-sal-luḫ-ḫe DU-ku*). Kasalluḫḫe, which is the object of the campaign, appears

Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 158 regards this letter as an indication that “The Assyrians were aware of their indebtedness to the Old Babylonian period.”

73. J. Laessøe’s hand copy of this text, which should have been published by Lambert, has now appeared in D.J. Wiseman, J.A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, pl. 40–41 no. 63. A photograph of the obverse is on pl. 148. Cf. W.G. Lambert, “Literary Texts for Nimrud,” *AfO* 46/47 (1999–2000): 149–55, esp. 63. The text appeared too recently to be cited extensively in CAD, but see vol. R 236a s.v. *redû* 2a3’, 249b s.v. *redû* 1a in lines and 9–12 vol. S 20b s.v. *sādu* A for ll. 3–5 cited courtesy of Lambert.

74. 1. [<sup>d</sup>UTU] EN *di-nim* <sup>d</sup>IM EN *bi-ri*  
 2. [ÉRIN.ME]Š? É.GAL ÉRIN.MEŠ KÁ É.GAL ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>gis</sup>GIGIR  
 3. ÉRIN.MEŠ GİR.MIN ÉRIN.MEŠ *gi-ip-ši* ÉRIN.MEŠ *na-me-e*  
 4. ÉRIN.MEŠ *pu-uḫ-ri* ÉRIN.MEŠ *su-ti-i*  
 5. *u sa-ad* KUR ÉRIN.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *i-be-lu*  
 6. x]-*ma Ħa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 7. *i-ša-am-me-du* DIŠ *ú-kan-nu ù x ?*

two other times in this text (ll. 14, 18) but is mentioned nowhere in Hammurabi’s inscriptions or date formulae, and indeed there seems to be no place attested with exactly this name. It is perhaps to be identified with the yet-unlocated north-Babylonian city Kazallu that is frequently attested and appears in a middle-Babylonian geographical list from Ugarit with the spelling *Ka-zal-luḫ*<sup>ki</sup>. D.O. Edzard writes “Vielleicht ist die Stadt in der Hammurabi-Zeit untergegangen.”<sup>75</sup> *Tamītu* prayers are the Old Babylonian predecessors of the Neo-Assyrian, Sargonid oracular queries to Šamaš, and like their successor genre with which they share certain structural and formulaic elements they are composed in association with the events they record.<sup>76</sup> If the event described in this text is not fictitious, it indicates that there is literature concerning Hammurabi’s reign in general and his military activities in particular that has yet to be discovered.<sup>77</sup> The existence of a text with such historical and military information as this one contains would guarantee that Hammurabi would be remembered long after his death for military prowess as well as his laws and other contributions. That Hammurabi enjoyed some special prestige or commanded unusual interest may be indicated by the fact that as a rule the *tamītu* prayers in this series are anonymous, while the only three kings whose names have been preserved in them are Abi-ešuh, Samsu-ditāna and Hammurabi.

#### CONCLUSION

This survey has produced evidence that Hammurabi was well known throughout Mesopotamia for more than a millennium after his death. His fame may have extended to the Mesopotamian periphery and surrounding lands as well. Whether he was known to the public-at-large or only to an educated elite of scribes and courtiers depends, of course, on the extent to which history in general and scribal lore in particular were known in

75. Cf. D.O. Edzard, s.v. Kazallu, *RIA* 6, 542–43. D. Charpin, *RA* 91 (1997): 188–90, has discussed this campaign.

76. For the *tamītu* genre, see W.G. Lambert, “The ‘Tamītu’ Texts,” in *La divination en mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines, XIV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Strasbourg, 2–6 juillet 1965)*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 119–23; idem, “Questions Addressed to the Babylonian Oracle. The *Tamītu* Texts,” in J.-G. Heintz (Hrsg.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l’Antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 15–17 juin 1995* (Paris 1997), 85–98; I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod. Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA 4 (Helsinki: Helsinki University, 1990), xxix.

77. We should note, in this context, contemporary omen reports from Mari that mention Hammurabi. See J. Nougayrol, “Rapports paléo-babyloniens d’haruspices,” *JCS* 21 (1969): 219–35, esp. 229a M 34, 231a N rev. 8’.

broader circles. Some details of his career show signs of having been occasionally distorted and idealized, but this is part of the process of turning into a legend. His greatest influence was in scribal education in general, and legal training in particular, but he made his impact on other areas as well. Most important, he achieved his life's ambition of being the ideal "King of Justice" in Mesopotamian consciousness, and his *dīnāt mišarim*, even though not obviously normative in his own lifetime, remained a model for justice until the twilight of Mesopotamian civilization.<sup>78</sup>

78. This article had been completed before the appearance of D. Charpin, *Hammu-rabi et Babylone* (Paris: PUF, 2003), a popular study that concludes with a chapter on "La mémoire de Hammu-rabi," (pp. 271–75). For a more detailed study, see D. Charpin, "Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite (2002–1595)" in P. Attinger, M. Wäffled, eds., *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonischer Zeit, Annäherungen* 4, OBO 160/4 (Fribourg and Göttingen, 2004), 25–480. I am grateful to Prof. Charpin for his useful comments on the present article. For a new look at the stele from Susa, see now B. Andre-Salvini, *Le code de Hammurabi* (Paris: Reunion des Musées Nationaux, 1 January, 2004). An article by P. Barmash, "Interpretation in Mesopotamian Law Collections," will appear in the upcoming *Festschrift* for Shalom Paul, eds. Chaim Cohen, Victor Hurowitz, Y. Muffs, Baruch Schwartz, Jeffrey Tigay. I thank Dr. Barmash for permitting me to refer to her contribution.



## THE AKKADIAN VERBAL SYSTEM: DERIVATIONAL AND INFLECTIONAL STRATEGIES

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INTERDIGITATION OF ROOTS AND PATTERNS is justly regarded as the innermost core feature of Semitic languages. Its productivity is especially overt in the generation of verbs. Being the very core of any Semitic language, students of Semitic languages encounter the question of verbal formation at their very first stages. They learn how to discern a verbal form and analyze it according to its overt signs. Yet, this acquired intuition rarely finds itself properly analyzed. The question is plain and clear: what are the minimal components of each of the encountered forms? In other words: how many morphemes can be discerned there?

Other questions may follow:

- What is the relationship between form and meaning of the distinct elements that constitute a Semitic verb?
- Where, on the scale between derivation and inflection, can any of the Semitic verbal morphemes be located?
- How do the distinct elements join the root and what can be learned from it on the distinction between derivation and inflection?
- What is the meaning of boundedness in this respect?

In what follows, I will try to state my own view regarding the verbal system in Akkadian. But before doing so, let me state briefly that my primary methodological principle is the economy of analysis, a fundamental requirement that, so I believe, helps also in elucidating the reality behind linguistic usage. Let me say further that I look at languages structurally and synchronically, without any regard to their history. Speaking of structural elements of language, I would like to emphasize that my aim is to figure out what is the nature of each of the structural entities of language, in our case, the individual morphemes, whether they are marked elements or their meaning is derived from the context: in other words, whether their

apparent meanings are to be regarded as implicatures<sup>1</sup> or as their fundamental, marked meanings. This latter issue is not central to our analysis here, but worthy of noticing, as it may help in evaluating the overall methodology.

According to these lines, weak verbs are not treated separately from the sound verb. This actually means that roots can be either consonantal or vocalic (an issue I dealt with in Izre'el 1991), and this does not affect the morphemic structure, only the phonemic or morphophonemic one. Examples for attested roots are:  $\sqrt{akl}$ ,  $\sqrt{epš}$ ,  $\sqrt{ubl}$ ,  $\sqrt{šal}$ ,  $\sqrt{bel}$ ,  $\sqrt{šim}$ ,  $\sqrt{kun}$ ,  $\sqrt{kla}$ ,  $\sqrt{šme}$ ,  $\sqrt{bni}$ ,  $\sqrt{mnu}$ , to mention those used in the paradigms at the end of von Soden's GAG.<sup>2</sup>

Also, as I formulated already in the above mentioned study (Izre'el 1991), Akkadian has only one set of personal prefixes:

*a-, ta-, i-, ni-*

This actually means that the initial *u* of the D and Š stems is not part of the prefix but part of the pattern. The attachment of the personal prefixes to the stem is governed by morphophonological rules. Examples:

*ni+prus* → *niprus* (G)  
*ni+ttapras* → *nittapras* (N)  
*ni+uparris* → *nuparris* (D)  
*ni+ušapris* → *nušapris* (Š)  
*ni+aḥuz* → *niḥuz* ( $\sqrt{aḥz}$ )  
*ni+erub* → *ni:rub* ( $\sqrt{erb}$ )  
*ni+ubil* → *nubil* ( $\sqrt{ubl}$ )

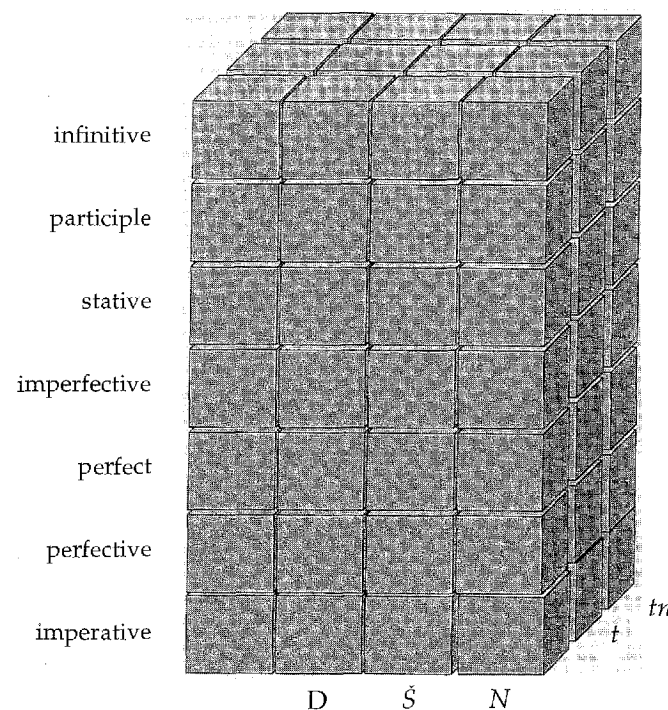
For further details, see Izre'el 1991.

One last comment I should make at this point is that I have excluded from the description the marginal stems (ŠD, R), which are constructed according to similar principles as described below.

1. The term "implicature" is used here (after Dahl 1985: 11) to mean something that can be inferred from the use of a certain linguistic category or type of expression, although it cannot be regarded as belonging to its proper meaning.
2. While some authors have indeed treated Akkadian roots as containing vowels in some positions (in particular *mediae infirmae* and *ultima infirmae* verbs), they tend to mark these vowels as long (GAG: §§104,105; Ungnad 1992: §§82–83; Buccellati 1996: §44.4; cf. §45). There is no support for such a view. I regard root radicals as short, especially since I take length as a distinct phoneme in Akkadian (cf. the functioning of length as an individual morpheme in Akkadian to mark the plural, as will be shown in Izre'el and Cohen, 2004: §3.3.2.1; cf. already Izre'el 1998: §§1.2, 2.2.4).

The Akkadian verbal system can be described as a three-dimensional complex (Figure 1):

FIGURE 1: A Descriptive 3D Matrix: The Akkadian Verbal System



This matrix is set to include all possible combinations of the verb complex (GAG §95). Each dimension in this matrix is a reflection of a single rank of morphemes: the primary stems (G, D, Š and N), the secondary stems (*Gt*, *Gtn*, *Dt*, *Dtn*, *Št*, *Štn*, *Ntn*), and the TMA (=tense-mood-aspect) morphemes (imperfective [=present-future/durative], perfect, perfective [=preterite], imperative), as well as the related nominal forms (stative, participle, infinitive). The primary stems are described here as consisting of a single segment each. These are a doubling segment, *š*, and *n*. The left-most column consists of forms that are morphologically unmarked, i.e., the G stem. The secondary stems are also regarded as consonantal markers: *t* and *tn*. As with the rank-1 set, there are forms that are unmarked also in this set. The markers on the vertical axis are either vocalic patterns or patterns that include, in addition to vowels, also the consonant *t* for the perfect, a dou-

bling (or length) segment<sup>3</sup> for the imperfective and the G participle, and for all other participles the prefix *m*.

Patterns should be regarded as distinct morphemic units from the consonantal morphemes *š*, *n*, doubling, *t*, and *tn*. This is why I have chosen to divert from the common terminology that regards these morphemes and the respective patterns used in the verb conjugation as "stems" and will use the term "classes" instead. The term "stem" will be used henceforth to convey the unified string that includes both morphemes and the interdigitized root.

Separation between the segments in the stem is difficult in Hebrew, where patterns are constrained by rank-1 morphemes, each having its own unique pattern (including the morphologically unmarked class, *qal*). This is not so in other Semitic languages, as has been shown by Goldenberg (1994). Still, one must distinguish between the morphs that comprise the stem, and this must also be done for Hebrew (Izre'el, forthcoming).

While the general perception of the verbal system in Akkadian views patterns in conjunction with the primary morphemes as mentioned, there have been some divergent descriptions of the Akkadian verbal system that indeed tried to separate between the respective categories (notably Reiner 1966: §5.4 and Buccellati 1996: section B). While I will not analyze the existing theories and descriptions, there is still need to justify my adherence to the view of a unified pattern (without the consonantal augments) that includes both the vocalic string and the other segments (within patterns, viz., a doubling element for the imperfective and *-t-* for the perfect) rather than dissect them into smaller morph(eme)s. In accordance with my aim to reach a maximum descriptive economy, I wish to see the Akkadian verb inflection as a unified system rather than as consisting of distinct sub-systems. Therefore, I view all classes under a single umbrella, as I have shown in my treatment of the person prefixes mentioned briefly above. While the *-t-* segment, and especially the doubling segment, may be regarded as a TMA marker on their own, in other sections of the system other segments seem to mark the same notion, notably *i* vs. *a* in the D and Š classes, which mark aspectual differences in the majority of forms. In the imperative, forms such as *limad* as against *šabat* are unexplained unless the entire pattern is regarded as a marker. Also, the vowel between *R*<sub>1</sub> and *R*<sub>2</sub> in many G and N verbs, although it is constrained by the root (e.g., *iddin* – *inaddin*, *imkut* – *imakkut*), still in most verbal forms it does not, and one cannot take this vowel as consisting of part of the root, since its non-occur-

3. For doubling and length in Akkadian, see Reiner 1966: §4.1. Similarly to the perception held by Reiner, I take the length segment as consonantal in the environments discussed here. Therefore I will use the term "doubling" henceforth. See further Izre'el and Cohen 2004: §§2.1.3, 2.2.6.

rence in forms of the D and Š classes and in many (probably most) forms of the G and N classes (e.g., stative forms and the *a/u* verbs) remains unexplained. Therefore, I find it best to take the vocalic-consonantal tier as a single marker.<sup>4</sup> As for the initial *u* of the D and Š classes, along the same line of thinking, it is better explained as part of the pattern constrained by the respective class than an actual class marker.

While the three-dimensional matrix is a convenient didactic-descriptive tool, it seems that it works only in one direction of the learning process. When a student is confronted with the need to *recognize* forms in the course of reading a text rather than to *learn* the system through paradigms, this matrix is useful only as a comparative search tool, and the process of recognizing a form is handled quite differently. What should interest the linguist is both the generative process and the analytical process, and in what follows I shall endeavor to tackle these two facets of the morphemic structure in an orderly manner.

In transposing the three-dimensional organization into a generative one, one may convert the three-dimensional matrix into an operational tool where each axis will reflect the order of application of each of its respective markers to a selected root: one first applies any of the primary markers: doubling, *n*, or *š*. Only after a morph of this rank has been applied to the root, the *t* or the *tn* morph can be applied. Lastly, a pattern is applied.

One can formulate specific rules for the principles of joining bare roots to augments of either the primary or secondary rank, and for linking together patterns with the resulting strings. Each of these markers must be applied to a specific slot at or within the root string. The operational rules will determine confinements of clustering and ways of resolving clusters. The following rule-set is a simplified set of such rules, eliminating from the discussion, for now, the nominal forms.

RULE-SET: *The Formation of an Akkadian Verbal Form*

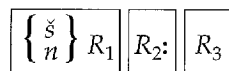
1. Choose root
2. Add rank-1 augment
3. Add rank-2 augment
4. Add TMA pattern
5. Add PGN (=person-gender-number) affixes<sup>5</sup>
6. Apply (morpho)phonological rules

4. As will be seen in some of the examples below, some *a* vowels that precede *R*<sub>2</sub> are taken as epenthetic vowels that are added at the (morpho)phonemic level. At this stage of research, only additional *a* vowels to the primary one are regarded as epenthetic.

5. When personal affixes are mentioned in this paper, they always imply subject

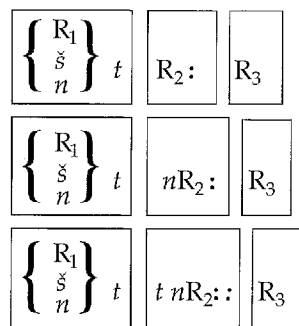
As regards pre-designed slots for each of the augments and clustering rules, I should mention that some of these rules are handled on the morphemic level, even before any clustering rules on the surface level are applied. Thus, of the primary augments, *n* and *š* are always applied before the first radical:  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{š} \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} R_1 R_2 R_3$ . The doubling augment will be inserted between the second and the third root radical:  $R_1 R_2 : R_3$ .

After the application of these segments, a clustering principle of 2-2-1 is observable. This means that whenever a form is to include only these primary augments, the resulting form will have no more than two segments in the first and middle slots of the basic morphemic pattern, and no more than one in the last slot:



This clustering principle will hold also on the surface, i.e., it will be formulated also as a syllable-structure rule. There is only one exception to this principle in forms of *mediae vocalis* roots, which still needs further research.

When we set out to apply rank-2 augments, things can change:



At this stage, the first slot can hold up to two segments and the third slot can hold only one; the middle slot is open to include all other segments of the string. As has been shown by Goldenberg (1994), the augmented root is interdigitized into the pattern without regard to the elements that comprise this string. Thus, when a rank-2 augment is applied, it will enter into its pre-designed slot without any regard to the nature of the elements

affixes rather than complementation (=accusative/dative) or the attributive (=genitive) ones, which are applied at the very end of the process, and are, in effect, external to the generation of the basic form.

that are already found in the string. Therefore, as shown in the first line above, the augment *t* will be inserted always following the first segment in the string, whether it is a radical or an augment. In this case, the first radical of the root, which was located first before, will now move to the second slot if an augment (*š* or *n*) has already been added to the basic root. If the rank-2 augment is *tn*, as in the second line, the second segment of this secondary augment, i.e., *n*, will similarly find its place in the large "trash can," which is the slot in the middle. Long clusters will be resolved at a later stage, viz., at the morphophonemic level.

The same applies to clusters resulting from the application of TMA patterns with *t* or doubling, i.e., for the perfect and imperfective patterns, as shown in the third and last line. In fact, morphological clustering rules and the assignment of augments into specific slots, as well as rules that determine which elements are clustered together, determine the initial interdigitation rules of patterns into the already existing string.

The following table represents the morphemic level of clustering, just before the application of the external morphemes, i.e., the personal affixes, and before applying any rules on either the morphophonemic or the phonemic level (e.g., rules that will resolve long consonantal strings or the assimilation of *n*). Any further operations for cluster resolving that will take place at the surface levels will always result in the insertion of the epenthetic vowel *a*.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 1: Akkadian Verbal Forms: Morphemic Level<sup>7</sup>

	–	N	D	Š	
–	INF	•a•a•	Na••u•	•u•:u•	šu••u•
	PTCPL	•a•i•	muN•a•i•	mu•a•:i•	muša••i•
	STV	•a•i•	Na••u•	•u•:u•	šu••u•
	IMPV	•v•v•	Na••i•	•u•:i•	šu••i•
	PFV	•v•	N•a•v•	u•a•:i•	uša••i•
	PFC	•ta•v•	Nta••v•	u•ta•:i•	ušta••i•
	IMPFV	•a•:v•	N•a•:v•	u•a•:a•	uša••:a•

6. Please note further that this clustering principle defines mainly the patterns of the finite verbs and participles. In the other forms, where the initial segment of the string comes word-initially, some changes in clustering and in syllable structure can be observed.  
 7. Using Babylonian as a representative of Akkadian follows the grammatical tradition. The Assyrian system differs in some respects from the Babylonian one, yet not in its basic morphological structure.

		N	D	Š
<i>t</i>	INF	<b>•it•u•</b>	<b>•uta•:u•</b>	<b>šuta••u•</b>
	PTCPL	<b>mu•ta•i•</b>	<b>mu•ta•:i•</b>	<b>mušta••i•</b>
	STV	<b>•it•u•</b>	*	<b>šuta••u•</b>
	IMPV	<b>•it•v•</b>		<b>šuta••i•</b>
	PFV	<b>•ta•v•</b>		<b>ušta••i•</b>
	PFC	<b>•tat•v•</b>		<b>uštāt••i•</b>
	IMPFV	<b>•ta•:v•</b>		<b>ušta••:a•</b>
<i>tn</i>	INF	<b>•itan•u•</b>	<b>iNtan••u•</b>	<b>šutan••u•</b>
	PTCPL	<b>mu•tan•i•</b>	<b>muNtan••i•</b>	<b>mušta••i•</b>
	STV	<b>•itan•u•</b>	<b>Nitan••u•</b>	<b>šutan••u•</b>
	IMPV	<b>•itan•v•</b>	<b>Nitan••v•</b>	<b>šutan••i•</b>
	PFV	<b>•tan•v•</b>	<b>Ntan••v•</b>	<b>ušta••i•</b>
	PFC	<b>•tatn•v•</b>	<b>(Ntatn••v•)</b>	<b>uštāt••i•</b>
	IMPFV	<b>•tan•:v•</b>	<b>Ntan••:v•</b>	<b>ušta••:a•</b>

\* Nt forms are extremely rare, and seem to be incompatible due to notional constraints (see below).

Symbols: Root radicals are indicated by •; the primary markers are printed in bold roman small caps characters; the secondary markers are printed in bold italic characters; the patterns are printed in italics. Doubling is marked by :.

Abbreviations: INFinitive — ParTiCiPLE — STative — IMPerative — PerFective(="preterite") — PerFect — IMPerfective(="present-future"; "durative").

Space limitations do not permit me to list all the rules governing the generation of Akkadian verbs, especially since some of them are specific to individual verbal categories. Instead, some illustrative examples will be given.

[1]	1. Root	NDN	NDN
	2. Rank-1	NDN	NDN
	3. Rank-2	NDN	NDN
	4. Pattern	NDiN	NtaDiN
	5. PGN	taNDiNa:	taNtaDiNa:
	6. (Morpho)phonemics	taDDiNa:	taTtaDNa:
	=phonemic string	<i>taddina:</i>	<i>tattadna:</i>

In both verbs of example [1], no rank-1 or rank-2 segments are introduced, so that it is the bare root *ndn* that is interdigitized into a pattern. In the string on the left, the pattern consists of only one vowel, *i*, predetermined to come between the second and the third radical of the root. The quality of the vowel in this position is constrained by the root. The right-

hand string is interdigitized into the pattern of the perfect, which consists of the consonant *t*, the vowel *a*, and, again, the vowel *i*. All three segments of the pattern are so ordered as to admit the root segments in pre-determined locations (=slots). In the next step, which is the last on the morphemic level, the personal markers are added. Yet, the respective resulting forms still have to go through two (morpho)phonological processes, the assimilation of *n* and vowel deletion, until the surface structure of these verbal forms is observable.

The next set of examples demonstrates how patterns are interdigitized with either bare or augmented roots without regard to the nature of the comprising elements.

[2]	1. Root	PQD	PQD
	2. Rank-1	šPQD	PQ:D
	3. Rank-2	šPQD	PQ:D
	4. Pattern	<i>ušā</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">PQ</span> <i>aD</i>	<i>uPa</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">Q</span> <i>aD</i>
	5. PGN	<i>taušā</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">PQ</span> <i>aDa:</i>	<i>tauPa</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">Q</span> <i>aDa:</i>
	6. (Morpho)phonemics	<i>tušā</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">PQ</span> <i>aDa:</i>	<i>tuPa</i> <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 0 2px;">Q</span> <i>aDa:</i>
	=phonemic string	<i>tušapqada:</i>	<i>tupaqqada:</i>

On the left, the segment *š* is added before the first radical of the root, thus forming an augmented string *špqd*. On the right, a doubling segment is augmented in its own pre-designed slot between the second and the third radical, forming an augmented string *pq:d*. We thus have four-segment strings in both cases. No secondary augments are introduced. Now comes the interdigitation of patterns and the existing strings, being the combination of the root and either the augment *š* or the doubling augment. The augmented root is interdigitized into the pattern without regard to the elements that comprise this string. The pattern includes in both cases an initial *u* vowel, the vowel *a*, a doubling segment, and another *a* vowel. This pattern is an allomorph of the imperfective marker that is constrained by either rank-1 morpheme, {;} and {š}. The mentioned clustering principles are now manifest: the interdigitation process follows exactly the same rules in both cases, and result in a similar slot patterning of 1–3–1. After the application of the personal affixes, we come to the morphophonemic phase. The middle cluster is resolved by deletion of the doubling segment, and the resulting respective forms, *+ušapqad+* and *+upaqqad+*, both manifest an identical syllable structure. Another morphophonological rule will delete the vowel of the personal prefix that cannot hold when followed by the initial *u* of the pattern.

[3]	1. Root	PQD
	2. Rank-1	PQ:D
	3. Rank-2	PtnQ:D
	4. Pattern	uPtanQ::iD
	5. PGN	tauPtanQ::iDa:
	6. (Morphy)phonemics	tuPtaQ:iDa:
	=phonemic string	tuptaqqida:

In example 3, the same root is, again, augmented first by the doubling rank-1 marker in its slot between the second and the third root radical, as well as by the rank-2 augment *tn*. The resulting string now includes the three root radicals, the morpheme *tn*, and the doubling morpheme. This string is now interdigitized with the pattern, which has *u* at the beginning, *t* following the first segment of the augmented root, and *i* just before the final segment of the augmented root. Again, this form is generated without regard to the nature of the inserted segments, but rather with regard to the clustering rules. We can now apply the personal affixes and execute the morphophonological rules, which include resolving the extra-long middle cluster by dropping one of the two doubling segments, the assimilation of *n*, and the deletion of the vowel of the personal prefix.

The last set of examples shows that similar morphological rules are applied to all Akkadian roots without regard to the nature of their radicals.<sup>8</sup>

[4]	1. Root	PQD	AHZ
	2. Rank-1	šPQD	šAHZ
	3. Rank-2	štnPQD	štnAHZ
	4. Pattern	uštanPQaD	uštanAHaZ
	5. PGN	tauštanPQaDa:	tauštanAHaZa:
	6. (Morphy)phonemics	tauštanaPQaDa:	tauštanAHaZa:
	=phonemic string	tuštanapqada:	tuštanahhaza:

In this bipartite set, it is shown that all imperfective verbs can be treated similarly as having the doubling segment within their respective patterns. This doubling, which is not surfaced in the sound verb of the D and Š classes, is nevertheless existent in the surface structure of the weak verb. Therefore, we should postulate its existence also in the morphemic

structure of the sound verb. Thus, the sound root *pqd* will follow the very same rules of augmentation and interdigitation as the root *ahz*, and it differs only in its rules of clustering and syllable structure. This is shown in the first five steps of formation of the respective verbs of this example-set. When we compare the respective strings of the two verbs in phase 5, we see that they differ not in morphology but only in the type of phonemes that comprise the respective roots: whereas the first root has a consonant (*p*), the second has a vowel in this position (*a*). This difference affects the phonemic nature of the string in the middle slot: whereas it includes four sequential consonantal segments (three consonants and a doubling segment) in the sound verb, in the weak verb it includes one consonant (*n*) followed by a vowel (*a*, being the first root radical) and a consonant cluster consisting of a single consonant (*h*) and a doubling segment. The two respective strings will therefore require different morphophonemic processes before they reach their respective surface forms. The four-segment string of the middle slot in the sound verb will be resolved by an epenthetic vowel (*a*), while there is no need for any change in the stem of the weak verb. The only morphophonemic rule that operates on this latter string is the deletion of the vowel *a* of the person prefix, an operation that takes place also in the sound verb.

This, I hope, will suffice to give a taste of the type of rules that are operative in the generation of verbs in Akkadian. I believe that we can do better with a description that tries to see a unity of the system rather than a complex set of *ad hoc* rules, applicable to only sections of the entire verbal system.

I have hitherto touched only upon the formal aspect. As for meaning, it is not my aim to delve here into the subtleties of this matter, which is a moot question indeed. For our needs, it will be enough to note that

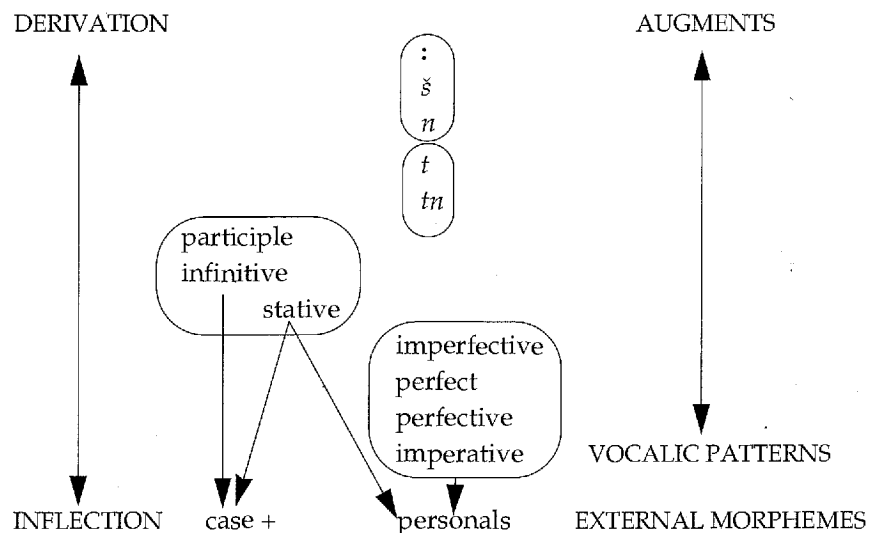
- (1) each of the morphs depicted on any of the three axes of the matrix represents a single morpheme in that it constitutes a minimal unit within the morphology of the language, and
- (2) none of these morphs can be shown to constitute only a part of a single morpheme in the overall structure of the language.

What is important for us here is the question of the *type* of meaning added by each of these morphemes and the order of their application. Figure 2 is illustrative of both the relationship between form and meaning within an Akkadian verb and the process through which it is constructed.

8. In fact, most of them, because the quadriradical verbs have a somewhat different behavior, although they too do not differ in their principles of construction



FIGURE 2: A Schematic Representation of the Akkadian Verb Formulation



The line on the left represents the derivational–inflectional continuum. The rank-1 augments (:, š, *n*) are usually regarded as derivational. It would be better to say that they are closer to the derivational end on a derivational–inflectional continuum (cf. Bybee 1985: ch. 4; further Aronoff 1994: ch. 5;<sup>9</sup> cf. Dressler 1989). The order of the rank-1 augments reflects their relative proximity to the derivational or inflectional ends of the continuum. So is the order of the *t* and the *tn* morphemes, i.e., our rank-2 augments.

The relationship between the *n* and the *t* morphemes is especially illustrative of this observation: while *n*, which is a rank-1 morpheme, usually indicates passive or middle voice, it can be found in active verbs, as in *nāplusu* “to look, to see.” Voice is found closer to the inflectional end of the continuum and, indeed, it shares this feature with the *t* morpheme, which is a rank-2 augment. The *t* morpheme indicates passive of the D and Š class verbs, along reciprocal and reflexive notions that are indicated by *t*-forms of the unmarked (G) verb. Still, non-active is not the only notion conveyed by the *t* morpheme and, like *n*, one finds *t*-forms of the verb also where an active notion is implied (Edzard 1965; Buccellati 1996: §§16.4–16.6).

9. Aronoff (p. 125) says that *binyanim* are obligatory in that no verb can exist outside of the *binyanim* system (obligatoriness is usually taken as a criterion of inflection; so also, *inter alios*, Bybee op. cit. 27 and Dressler op. cit. 6). This conclusion is a direct outcome of the common view that *binyanim* are sets of patterns, a view that is being challenged here.

The *tn* morpheme, which shares the same axis with the *t* morpheme, indicates the iterative, and thus may be regarded as a subcategory of the imperfective, which is unquestionably inflectional. Still, as is the case with the *n* and *t* morphemes, there are also cases where *tn* can be regarded as derivational (Edzard 1996; Buccellati loc. cit.). The derivational disposition in the case of *tn* verbs is much less prominent than in the cases of *t*, and especially in the case of *n*, and thus *tn* can be placed closer to the purely inflectional morphemes.

The verbal patterns mark aspect and mood, and can thus be viewed as purely inflectional. However, patterns are also used to mark the stative, the infinitive, and the participle, forms which have been hitherto left out of our discussion. These categories are interesting with regard to our discussion here, since they are nouns that share some syntactic properties with verbs. As far as morphological criteria are concerned, they can form part of the verbal paradigm and are generated along similar processes as finite verbs. These forms can be viewed somewhere mid-way on the derivational–inflectional continuum (cf. Dressler 1989).

The correlation between patterns and inflection cannot be established in the case of these three categories. I have placed these forms apart, albeit beneath the augments and above the purely inflectional patterns, since the application of patterns in these forms also follows the application of the consonantal morphemes.

Beneath the patterns, and at the end of the inflectional–derivational continuum, we find the external inflectional morphemes. Here, too, we see the nature of the stative as a nominal form that can take nominal inflectional morphology (case and other affixes) like the infinitive and the participle,<sup>10</sup> but also, when it is used as a predicate, it takes personal affixes and thus shares this generation rule with finite verbs. The stative, accordingly, is placed in our diagram between the verbal and nominal patterns.

Now, the diagram as drawn also reflects the order of application of rules as suggested above: a rank-1 morpheme is the first to be applied to the bare root; then a rank-2 morpheme is applied; the application of a pattern follows. It is to be noted that the nominal patterns are applied before any TMA pattern can be applied, as the latter are prevented from application once a nominal pattern has been applied. This rule also shows that the nominal patterns are closer to the derivational end of the continuum than

10. I see no reason to make a distinction between “stative” (as a morphological category) and “verbal adjective,” as is the common procedure in treating these two uses. For example, while asserting that “[b]eim verbum ist der St. das conjugierte Verbaladj. (...), wie dieses ein deklinierter St. ist; beide Kategorien sind also identisch” (GAG: 125; emphasis in the original), von Soden still refers to the stative and the verbal adjective as two categories, and accordingly lists two separate columns in his paradigms.

the TMA ones. Lastly, the external inflectional morphemes are applied. Therefore, this organization of morphemes that take part in the generation of an Akkadian verb shows that the order of application of the respective morphemes goes from the derivational to the inflectional.

It further shows that there is some rough correspondence between the derivational–inflectional continuum and the phonetic character of the morphemes involved, as is shown by the right-hand side of the diagram. Indeed, there is an interesting correlation between the type of morphemes and their function. Rank-1 and rank-2 morphemes, which are closer to the derivational end of the continuum, are consonantal; patterns are used for inflectional categories. If so, there is some intriguing feature that makes a distinction between verbal and nominal categories in this system, since in the nominal domain patterns are used as derivational markers. It should be noted that this observation holds only for internal morphology.<sup>11</sup>

There are still some curious observations that can be made about markedness and patterns,<sup>12</sup> or about iconicity and marking within the inflectional domain (Izre'el 1999–2000: 360–61; cf. Kouwenberg 1997: §2.2.4.2), but these must be left outside of the present investigation.

There are still some theoretical problems involved in the derivational–inflectional continuum with regard to the system of the Akkadian verb, and with regard to its applicability as a language universal or, rather, as a convenient tool for linguistic observation. For example, a thorough investigation of the meanings of the augments will show that the same markers can be used in either derivational or inflectional morphology, and may make us revise the theoretical concept altogether. To illustrate one type of problems involved, I should mention the distinction between the so-called  $\dot{S}t_1$  and  $\dot{S}t_2$  categories of the Akkadian verb, which differ in both meaning and form. A re-evaluation of the notion of meaning in this respect may further entail some modification in the type of rules or their order of application as formulated above, since these two  $\dot{S}t$  categories not only differ in meaning, but also in the form of interdigitation of the consonantal string to the imperfective pattern: the surface forms of the respective stems are


$u\dot{s}taR_1R_2aR_3$  and  $u\dot{s}taR_1aR_2:aR_3$  (GAG: §94; Buccellati 1996: §§13.1,16.4,17.1; Huehnergard 1997: §36.1).

In any case, if we accept the notions of derivation and inflection as such, this type of continuum is a necessary emendation to the concept, and it reflects the relative proximity of any of the morphemes to either the derivational or the inflectional end, taking into account also the type of morphological marking. Moreover, unless it marks a TMA signifié, each of the internal morphemes taking part in verb formation is in itself not discretely derivational or inflectional, but a series of points on a derivational–inflectional continuum. Obviously, there are implications for the configuration of the meaningful units along this line. This can be one contribution of Semitic linguistics to the general study of language.

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11. There seems to be a similar correlation between markedness and the type of pattern used in the inflectional domain: the more marked inflectional categories are augmented by either a consonant (the perfect) or a doubling segment (the imperfective), whereas the less marked are recognized by purely vocalic patterns (imperative, perfective). It is intriguing, though, to note that in Semitic languages the perfective is the less-marked category, which stands against the more widespread tendency among the world languages for the perfective to be the marked component in the pair perfective:imperfective (Dahl 1985: ch. 6; Bybee 1985: 147).
12. For example, the difference in marking of the participles, where the G-participle is marked by a vocalic pattern (the length segment is a matter of interest to be further explored), while it is marked by an extra consonant (*m*) elsewhere.



*Eṭūtu* “DARKNESS” AND *Iṭṭu* “CLAY”:  
POETIC LICENSE OR CORRUPTION DUE TO  
ETYMOLOGICAL SIMILARITY?  
ANOTHER INTERPRETATION

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וראיתו אני שיש יתרון לחכמה  
מנהסכלות כיתרון האור מנהחשך:  
החכם עיניו בראשו והכסיל בחשך הולך  
(Ecl 2: 13–14)

To Prof. Jacob Klein, teacher, mentor, and friend—  
A sage who walks modestly in the path of light.

IN THE COLORFUL DESCRIPTION of the flood in Tablet XI of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, games of light and darkness play a prominent role in conveying an ingenious feel of the terror involved in the catastrophe descending on the world. A high point in the storm seems to have been when the gods

[*mim*]ma namru ana eṭūti uttirrū

“turned everything that had been light into darkness” (l. 106).

and further when the storm

[*kullat*] māti kīma<sup>du</sup>[*skarpat*]i iḥp[i]

“shattered the earth like a clay pot” (l. 107).<sup>1</sup>

We propose that the sentiment conveyed by these similes is that the previous world, which had been meaningful, in the realm of light, and therefore *known*,<sup>2</sup> has been reduced into chaos—into the unknown and unfathomable. Nothing has been left of the former known world of pre-flood times.

1. The reading of the line is according to CAD H, 171a; cf. Tigay 1982: 222 n. 25. Tournay and Shaffer 1994: 232 n. 47 read [*išid/kalama*] māti kīma karpati [...] iḥp[*u-u*]-p[*i*] “Les assises de la terre se brisent comme un vase.”
2. In the sense of some inculcated cultural frame of reference; see more below.

When Bēlet-ilī, the sweet-voiced mistress of the gods (l. 117), mourned the cruel destruction wrought by the flood, she says, in what is supposed to reflect the same image of l. 106, as follows:

*ūmu ullū ana ṭiṭṭi lū itūrma*

“the former day<sup>3</sup> had indeed turned into clay” (l. 118).<sup>4</sup>

Now, since in cuneiform sources usually people turn into clay,<sup>5</sup> while days turn into darkness,<sup>6</sup> this variation of *ṭiṭṭu* for *eṭūtu* could be explained as “a case of poetic license” or as a corruption (or a folk etymology?) resulting from the similarity between these two words.<sup>7</sup>

Tigay hypothesizes that, since the goddess is talking of a specific day, *ūmu ullū* “that day,” she might be cursing the day on which the assembly of the gods had convened to decree the destruction of the world by the flood.<sup>8</sup> Her curse might therefore have been something like “let that day return to darkness,” assuming that *ṭiṭṭu* is a corruption for *eṭūtu*.

We may construe these lines as curses directed by the aggrieved goddess against the day of the catastrophe—or, perhaps, against the day it had been decreed—or as emphatic statements describing the horrible results of this catastrophe; but in either case the following argument would not be affected.

In my view, no poetic license is involved here, nor any corruption (or folk etymology) due to the phonological similarity of *eṭūtu* with *ṭiṭṭu*.

3. The past, the times prior to the flood.
4. The parallel line in the Old Babylonian version of the flood in *Atraḥasis* reads as follows: *ūmum lidda'im litūr likil* “the day had indeed become dark, it truly had become gloomy” (III iii 34f.). See Lambert and Millard 1969: 94f. and comments on p. 162.
5. And see *Gilg.* XI 133: *u kullat tenēšēti itūra ana ṭiṭṭi* “and all humanity had turned into clay!” Cf. X ii 12, said of Enkidu. Livestock too may turn into clay (see *The Epic of Erra* IV 150—AHw, 1392a 6b), as well as city walls (PSBA 17, 139, 12—AHw, 1335b 21c)—denoting total destruction (and see *tāru/turru ana karmi* “to turn/reduce into ruins” or better *ana til abūbi turru* “to reduce [a place] into a heap of ruins [as though after a flood]—CAD A/1, 78a b). For the theme of destruction resulting from wars and other catastrophic events, see further below.
6. And note again the parallel line in *Atraḥasis*. See in general Hecker 1974: 173f.
7. Thus Tigay 1982: 293f. n.
8. Both this line and the parallel line in *Atraḥasis* have, indeed, been construed by some scholars as harboring curses rather than emphatic statements as I have understood them. See first Lambert and Millard’s translation of the line on p. 95; see also Tournay and Shaffer 1994: 232 and n. n on p. 233; Jacobsen and Nielsen 1992: 192; and finally Shifra and Klein 1996: 125: 144–45 (*Atraḥasis*) and 280: 118 (*Gilgamesh*). One is reminded here of Job’s curse of his day of birth in Job 3: 3–9, which also involves turning the day into darkness (see Jacobsen and Nielsen in extenso, pp. 194–204). Tigay also duly mentions Job’s curse in his note to *Atraḥasis* III iii 37 on p. 294.

These two words seem to share some conceptual common denominator having to do with the state of affairs that resulted from the catastrophic flood and, therefore, both words seem to be in place, for they convey the same idea.<sup>9</sup>

Let us explore this conceptual common denominator. When the Mesopotamian sources say that people, or the world, have turned into clay, what does this simile or metaphor purport to convey? What is the underlying idea? Of course, the first thought that comes to mind is the one based on the notion of returning to dust in the biblical sense, which means ceasing to be.<sup>10</sup> I think one could go a bit deeper in divulging the inner sense of this simile. It seems to me that this simile builds on the chaotic and formless aspect of clay before it is formed into some meaningful, defined, and recognizable form. Clay in its primordial state is a formless matter that defies definition and categorization into some *known* pattern.<sup>11</sup> Only after being worked, incised with some demarcating lines, and molded does it assume a meaningful form.<sup>12</sup> Reducing the former days, the world in general, or even human civilization into clay means reducing the known, familiar, and defined world into a chaotic, undefined, and undefinable mess.

The same sentiment seems to underlie the simile of the earth as a shattered clay pot in line 107.<sup>13</sup> This simile, which occurs elsewhere as a legal symbolic act, has been interpreted by the present writer<sup>14</sup> as conveying an act of total annihilation, of reducing "a meaningful whole into irreparable mass of meaningless pieces" (p. 76). This is no different from reducing the earth into clay, for in both cases order is turned into chaos, into that which lacks the qualities of knownness or knowability.

When one turns to the notion of darkness, one realizes that the same idea seems to underlie certain usages of terms for darkness in various sim-

9. Cf. already Saporetti 1982: 60, who also seems to perceive here two related concepts having to do with the day: it turns either to darkness or to clay.

10. Jacobsen and Nielsen 1992: 192 n. 8.

11. Note that the most common form of clay found in Mesopotamia is as water-laid silt, clay deposits carried by the rivers and accumulated by periodic inundations.

12. See the interesting remark in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar quoted in CADE, s.v. *epru* 188b 3: *kisurrāšu lā šūdū epiru katmu* "its (the temple's) outline was not recognizable, (being) covered with debris (earth, dust)." *Epru* "dust, earth" functions in a few places with a similar sense to *tiṭṭu* "clay." See, e.g., *The Descent of Ishtar* l. 8: *ašar epru būbūssunu akalšunu tiṭṭu* "where their sustenance is dust and clay their food." As we shall see below, darkness too functions in close syntagmatic relation to those substances in this myth, showing thus that all convey somehow the same idea. In fact, the words *tiṭṭu* and *eṭūtu* occur here in two consecutive lines (8 and 9, respectively). And cf. the parallel lines in *Gilg.* VII 186–94.

13. Cf. Tigay 1982: 222 n. 25 with references.

14. Malul 1988: 74ff.

iles and metaphors. In many cuneiform sources, darkness (*da'ummātu, ikletu, eṭūtu*) is the abode of the non-world of chaos, of that which is unknown and unknowable, of that which swarms with mysterious, unknown, frightening, and dangerous entities. Closer to our theme are those similes that describe the result of various natural and humanly caused catastrophic events in terms of darkness, gloom, dreariness, obscurity, and the like. Note the following examples.

One should first direct attention to descriptions of devastations wrought in times of war by conquering armies on conquered territory. In some royal inscriptions, such devastations of the enemy's land and habitations are expressed not only in terms of destroying, burning, and killing, but also in terms of reverting the whole conquered territory into total desolation and chaos. Note, e.g., the expressions *tāru/turru/emū ana karme/karmeš, kišubbi/kišubbiš, tilli/tillaniš, epri*, as well as *tiṭṭi/tiṭṭiš*, which stand paradigmatically parallel to *tāru/turru/emū ana da'ummāti, eṭūti, mūši*, etc.; and note the use of *sapānu* "sweep, level, lay desolate," which is very frequent in descriptions of devastations brought on the land by various causes—including floods and conquering armies.

Now, it is interesting to note that, beside the paradigmatic parallelism between such expressions as *tāru/turru ana karme*, etc. and *tāru/turru ana da'ummāti* etc., which points to their underlying common conceptual denominator, in such descriptions of total destruction caused by various causes, darkness too may be employed to convey the same sentiment. See, e.g., the following statement in an inscription of Assurbanipal: *eli Elamti da'ummatum iksurū* "they (the Assyrian troops) spread gloom over Elam."<sup>15</sup>

Thus, *tāru/turru ana* darkness would convey the same idea as the simile *tāru/turru ana tiṭṭi, karme*, etc. In both cases it is a state of chaos (or rather a chaotic non-state), when the former known order is no more and everything is in obscurity.

In regard to obscurity and mysteriousness connected in particular with darkness and gloom, the Mesopotamians believed in certain demons and personified sicknesses that were thought to bring about darkness in daylight and to cause gloom and confusion in the land. Note, e.g., CT 16, 19: 33–37:<sup>16</sup>

*erpetu šapītu ša ina šamē da'ummata išakkanšunu*  
*zīq šāri tebūtu ša ina ūmi namri eṭūta išakkanšunu*

15. Streck Asb. 184 r. 1—CAD D, 123b.

16. In this and in the following quotations from bilingual texts only the Akkadian lines are quoted.

"they (the demons) are a dense cloud which makes darkness in the sky, they are a blast of rising wind which brings darkness in broad daylight."<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting that such demons are said to have their "limbs torn asunder," and their bodies "filled with darkness."<sup>18</sup> Note also the following line: BIN 2, 22: 31f. (CAD E, 64a lex.): *urrub šillašu ukkul ina zumrišu nūru ul ibašši* "(the demon's) shadow is somber, he is dark, there is no light in his body."

Elsewhere such demons are described as lacking hands and feet<sup>19</sup> or as neither male nor female.<sup>20</sup> More significant seem to be those lines that explicitly assign to such demons the quality of being obscure, mysterious, and unknown. Note the following:

*ina šamê ul uttaddû ina eršeti ul illammadû*

"they cannot be discerned in heaven, cannot be known on earth";<sup>21</sup>

*šunu ina mimma šumšu ul uttaddû ina šamê u eršeti ul illammadû*

"they cannot be recognized anywhere, cannot be known in heaven or on earth."<sup>22</sup>

Lacking hands and feet or being neither male nor female means being an undefinable entity, something that defies accepted rules and inculcated lines of demarcation. Also, being unrecognized or unknown in heaven or and/on earth means that people cannot fathom the essence of that which is undefinable according to accepted rules and norms. This is exactly the idea conveyed by describing these demons as dark or as having their bodies filled with darkness. Darkness is the abode of the mysterious and the unfathomable; and as long as something is covered with darkness, it cannot be perceived according to accepted rules of definition and categorization. It is in a state of chaos.

To bring the foregoing remarks to bear on the theme of this article, I would cite two more significant lines from the flood story, which refer to the immediate effect of the flood. *Gilg.* XI 111–12 reads:

*ul immar aḫu aḫašu*

*ul uttaddû niši ina šamê*

"One person could not recognize the other.

The people could not be fathomed from heaven."

17. Quoted in CAD E, 413a lex. And see also CT 17, 4: 6ff. and CT 16, 19: 29f. (both in D 123a lex.).

18. CT 17, 31: 27f.—CAD D, 123b lex.

19. CT 17, 29: 11f.—CAD Š/2, 295a lex.

20. CT 15, 15 v 37f.—CAD Z, 110b lex.

21. CT 17, 41 K.2873: 5f.—CAD I/J, 21a lex.

22. CT 16, 44: 106f.—CAD I/J, 21a lex.

In view of the foregoing discussion, these could be construed again perfectly as conveying that sense of total chaos and mess, that situation of confusion and lack of coordination, when no lines of demarcation could be drawn and, therefore, no recognizable features of the former world could be fathomed—and that, of course, is the immediate result of the catastrophic event of the flood. The parallel lines in *Atraḫasis* clearly tie this confusion to the havoc wrought by the flood:

[ul] *imur aḫu aḫašu*

[ul] *utteddû ina karāši*

"One person could not recognize the other.

They could not be fathomed in (or: because of) the destruction."

(III iii 13–14)

Whereas light is the abode of all that is known, defined and familiar, all that is the hallmark of culture and civilization, darkness is the hallmark of chaos, of that state that is opposite, and antagonistic, to civilization.<sup>23</sup> Returning the former days to darkness means returning everything back to chaos, much as reducing the earth to clay means reverting it back to that state before the gods of creation had placed on it the form of civilization.

Knowing that the flood in ancient Near Eastern *Weltanschauung* was a cosmic event that divided human primordial history into two distinct phases—the rudimentary civilization before the flood, and the human civilization as we know it after the flood—it is clear that, following the lead of the scheme of rites of passage, the passage from one stage to the other had to be through a period of non-world, when all we know is no more—much like that primordial non-world before the creation.

There is another simile in the Mesopotamian sources that expresses also that notion of a non-world of chaos into which the civilized world could be reverted as a result of some catastrophic event—whether wrought by nature or by the deeds of man—and it too occurs in the description of the flood in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. XI 105 reads:

*ša Adad šuḫarassu ibā'u šamê*

"Adad's awesome stillness swept across the heavens."

One should note first the syntagmatic juxtaposition of this simile with the simile of darkness (l. 106) and that of the shattered pot (l. 107) that must be significant. This impression is strengthened by another juxtaposition

23. For a general survey of the symbolism of light and darkness in Mesopotamian sources, particularly with reference to the various deities responsible for light and darkness, see von Soden 1960. For the symbolism of light and darkness in the Bible see Hempel 1960.

between deathly silence and darkness in the third dream of Gilgamesh in tablet IV iii 16:

*ūmu ušharrir ūšā ikletum*

"The day became deathly silent, and darkness loomed."

The whole description in this dream conveys a sense of terror in the face of the unfathomable and, therefore, silence and darkness may have something in common in conveying this sentiment.

That stillness and darkness may have been fathomed in similar terms by the Mesopotamian person may also be gathered from the use of stillness to describe the tiara of the moon. Usually, the moon is said to be surrounded by a tiara (*agû*) of light (*šalummatu*) or darkness (*da'ummatsu*); but there is the possibility that it is an *agê šaqummati* "a tiara of stillness."<sup>24</sup> And see also the following statement regarding the moon: *šaqummes īme* "(the moon) has become still."<sup>25</sup>

The significance of the simile of silence may be also gathered from its occurrence in the notion of awesome stillness, even dumbfoundedness, in the myth of Anzû. A state of chaos descended on the universe after the mythical bird, Anzû, had stolen the tablets of destiny, denying the supreme god Enlil of his power of *illilûtu* and causing the world to revert to a stand still. See the following lines from the Standard Babylonian version of this myth:

18. *enūma* <sup>d</sup>Enlil irammaku *mê ellūti*

19. *šaḥḫūma ina kussī agūšu šaknu*

20. *ṭuppi šimāti ikšudā qātuššu*

21. <sup>d</sup>enlilūta ilteqi *nadū paršē*

22. *Anzû ipparišma šadūssu [igguš]*

23. *ittatabak šaḥurratum šakin qū[lu]*

24. *abu malikšunu š[uḥarru]r <sup>d</sup>Enlil*

25. *[ki]šša ištaḥaṭ nammurass[u]*

18. When Enlil was bathing in the pure water,

19. (when) his tiara, removed, was lying on the throne,

20. He (Anzû) seized in his hands the tablets of destiny.

21. He stole the supreme power (and therefore) the divine decrees were off.

22. Anzû flew off and went to his mountain.

23. Awesome stillness fell (lit. poured over), deathly silence reigned.

24. The father, their counselor, Enlil, has become dazed.

25. The sanctuary divested itself of its terrifying splendor.<sup>26</sup>

24. *Ach Supp. Sin* 1: 33—CAD Š/2, 33b.

25. CT 16, 20: 97, CAD E, 414a lex.

26. CT 15, 39 ii 18–25; cf. the Old Babylonian version in *RA* 46 (1952): 88.

Awesome stillness could also be "poured" (*tabāku*) by kings upon the conquered enemy and territory. E.g.:

*mālak 10 ūmī 5 ūmī ušharibma šaqummatu atbuk*

"For a distance of 15 days' march I laid (that region) waste and spread the silence of desolation (there)."<sup>27</sup>

And

*āli aḥāt āli šēru bamāti šaqummatu ušmalīma ušālīka namūiš*

"He filled the region inside and outside the city, the steppe, the open country, with deadly silence and turned it into a desert."<sup>28</sup>

And see the picture of a complete desolation drawn in STC 2 p. 81: 76:

*šuharrur sagēa šuharrurat aširti eli bīti bābi u qarbatija*  
*šaqummati tabkat*

"In deathly silence lies my shrine, in deathly silence lies my sanctuary, gloom is spread over the house, the gate, and my meadows."

(CAD Š/2, 33b)

Now, beside the above-attested syntagmatical relation between darkness and deathly silence, it is interesting to note another significant juxtaposition in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, this time between silence or stillness in line 132 and clay in line 133, both lines referring to the aftermath of the flood:

*appalsamma ūma šakin qūlu*

*u kullat tenēšēti itūra ana ṭiṭti*

"I observed the day<sup>29</sup>—deathly silence reigned;

And all humanity had turned into clay!"

That chaotic state caused by the flood could thus be described not only in terms of darkness or the unfathomable form of clay, but also by deathly silence.

Finally, as said in n. 12 above, the two similes of clay and darkness occur in a significant syntagmatical juxtaposition in the *Descent of Ishtar* lines 8 and 9, respectively, and in *Gilg.* VII 186–94; and this fact should be viewed in the context of the above syntagmatical relations between darkness and stillness, on the one hand, and stillness and clay, on the other.

Returning to the main theme of this article, the conceptual common denominator underlying the concepts of darkness and clay, the foregoing

27. Streck, *Asb.* 24 iii 3, 100 iii 51—CAD Š/2, 33b.

28. 4R 20 No. 1: 3f.—CAD N/1, 249a lex.

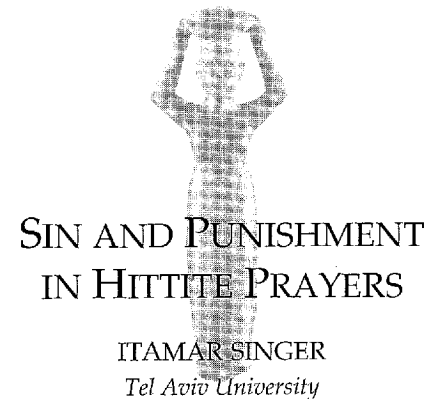
29. Or weather, or still and probably better in the same sense as in l. 118: the times. A variant reads *tāmata* "sea"; Tournay and Shaffer 1994: 234 + n. 56.b b.

discussion has attempted to unravel what might be called the general epistemic background behind the resort to the similes of darkness and clay in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and in other contexts.

The words *ešūtu* "darkness" and *tištu* "clay" refer both to the same substance, which, from the point of view of the Mesopotamian person, could epitomize or symbolize that state of chaos that ruled the pre-creation non-world as well as the non-world between the two phases of civilization, that passage stage brought about by the cataclysmic event of the flood. The ancient speaker of Akkadian, or the expert writer of Akkadian poetry, perceived then both words as carrying the same weight and significance, and he could use either of them when he wanted to convey the sense of some chaotic and undefinable state caused by some significant event. One also could say finally that the speaker/writer of Akkadian may have been quite aware of the sound pun between these two words and he may have made a deliberate use of it in his writing.

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## SIN AND PUNISHMENT IN HITTITE PRAYERS

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THE INTEGRATION OF Hittite sources, alongside Mesopotamian and Egyptian ones, in comparative biblical studies has steadily increased in recent years.<sup>1</sup> This welcome tendency has been greatly facilitated by the recent publication of reliable and easily accessible translations of Hittite texts, both in general anthologies that have augmented the insuperable ANET<sup>2</sup> and in monographs dedicated to specific literary genres.<sup>3</sup> Whereas in the past many of the parallels drawn between the Hittite and the biblical worlds rested on specific references or on limited text groups, it is now much easier to obtain a more representative and reliable picture of the investigated subjects. One should not forget that the Hittite archives cover

1. For some recent comparative studies of Hittite and biblical subjects, see H.A. Hoffner, Jr., "Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study," *Tyndale Bulletin* 20 (1969): 27–55; J.C. Moyer, "Hittite and Israelite Cultic Practices," in *Scripture in Context II*, eds. W.W. Hallo et al. (Winona Lake, 1983), 19–38; M. Weinfeld, "Traces of Hittite Cult in Shiloh and in Jerusalem," *Shnaton (Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near East Studies)* 10 (1986–89): 107–14 (Hebrew, with English Summary); M. Greenberg, "Hittite Royal Prayers and Biblical Petitionary Psalms," in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung*, eds. K. Seybold and E. Zenger (Freiburg, 1994), 15–27; C.H. Gordon, "Father's Sons and Mother's Daughters: The Problem of Indo-European-Semitic Relationships," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons, Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on His 80th Birthday*, eds. G.D. Young et al. (Bethesda, Md., 1997), 271–78; N. Wazana, "The Tribal Boundaries in Light of Tarhuntašša's Border Description," *Shnaton (Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies)* 12 (2000): 165–86 (Hebrew, with English Summary).
2. Such as *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (TUAT) and W.W. Hallo, ed. *Context of Scripture I–III* (CoS).
3. Notably, the volumes of the series *SBL Writings from the Ancient World* (Scholars Press): H.A. Hoffner in M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta, 1995); idem, *Hittite Myths*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, 1998); G.M. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, 1999); I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (2002).

a period of more than four hundred years, during which there were important developments and changes in many domains of Hittite thought and culture.

In this article, dedicated to Ya'akov Klein, a leading expert on Sumerian hymns and prayers, an attempt will be made to follow the development of the idea of responsibility for sin and its divine punishment within the corpus of Hittite prayers. I only provide translations of the quoted passages, but the reader may easily find references to text editions, translations, and discussions in my recent volume of *Hittite Prayers*;<sup>4</sup> all references in the present article are to text numbers and paragraphs therein. Restorations in square brackets are based on duplicate and parallel texts, or, in rare cases, on clear context.

A few preliminary remarks on Hittite prayers are in order. (1) The Hittite texts originate from the royal archives of Hattusa and other administrative centers (Tapikka, Sapinuwa, Sarissa). Private archives, as found in other cuneiform corpora, have not been discovered (as yet) in Hatti. Thus, all Hittite prayers (some two dozen) are composed by or in the name of a king, or, in a few cases, other members of the royal family. The prayers of ordinary pious persons are still unknown. (2) The majority of Hittite tablets date to the last period of the Hittite kingdom in the thirteenth century B.C.E., but these include numerous copies and redactions of older texts. The chronological references below refer to the original composition of the texts, as disclosed by their language and content, rather than the date when they were copied down. (3) Hittite prayers, as most literary genres, were profoundly influenced by Mesopotamian prototypes, either by direct borrowing or through Hurrian mediation.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, a serious comparison of Hittite and biblical prayers can only be accomplished with reference to the *tertium comparationis*, i.e., the Mesopotamian prayers, which exerted considerable influence on the prayer corpora of all other Near Eastern cultures, including the biblical.

The earliest Hittite prayers (nos. 1–3) are, in fact, invocations requesting blessing for the royal couple and success on the battlefield. They are preserved only in Middle or Late Hittite copies, but their language points to Old Hittite origins. Their authorship is not known. Similar short spells are also embedded in Old Hittite ritual and festival texts. The occasion for the discord is often blamed on the sinful “evil tongue” of adversaries, which may even include members of the king’s own family, as in the Invocation of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld (no. 1, § 3):

4. See previous note.

5. See, e.g., I. Singer, “Some Thoughts on Translated and Original Hittite Literature,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 15 (1995): 123–28.

If his [father] defamed [him], do not listen to him. If [his] mother defamed [him], do not listen to her. If [his brother] defamed him, do not listen to him. If his sister defamed him, do not listen to her. If his in-law or his companion defamed him, do not listen to him.

Royal intervention against those who spread malice before the gods is the subject of an invocation addressed jointly to the Sun-god and the Storm-god, which includes some imaginative similes (no. 2, § 5'–6'):

Whoever should henceforth carry to the lips of the gods an evil against the king, bring the evil word of the gods crashing down on his own head and his entourage(?). As the snake does not [miss(?)] its hole, may the evil word return to <his> own mouth. / As the rear wheel does not catch up with the front wheel, [let] the evil word likewise [not catch up with the king and the queen].

In this invocation we encounter for the first time a reference to absolution of (the king's?) sins, but, unfortunately, the context is fragmentary (no. 2, § 1): “O gods, absolve my/their sins!”<sup>6</sup>

Full-fledged personal prayers make their appearance only in the early fourteenth century B.C.E., after the annexation of Kizzuwatna and other south-eastern Anatolian regions deeply impregnated with Hurrian culture. The development of the new literary genre can be credited to a large extent to Kantuzili the Priest, the son of Tudhaliya I and Nikalmati, who held the post of high priest in Kizzuwatna.<sup>7</sup> He composed several ritual texts, including a Hurrian invocation to Teššub and Hebat, and, most importantly, the outstanding prayer to the Hittite sun-god, Istanu (no. 4a). The latter, which is a Hittite adaptation of a Babylonian “incantation for appeasing an angry god,”<sup>8</sup> is, in fact, the only prayer in the corpus that is not attributed to a king or a queen, a fact that highlights the role of Kantuzili as the leading intellectual of his age. Besides the prayer of Kantuzili (no. 4a), there are two parallel versions attributed to an unnamed king (no. 4b) and to a “son of mankind” (no. 4c). The phrases describing the suppliant’s agony contain some of the most moving expressions in Near Eastern literature. Claiming his innocence, the suppliant lists various religious taboos that he has never transgressed, and he begs his god to reveal to him through divination the cause of wrath:

6. The enclitic possessive pronoun can be either 1st pers. sg. or 3rd pers. pl.

7. I. Singer, “Kantuzili the Priest and the Birth of Hittite Personal Prayer,” *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. P. Taracha (Warsaw, 2002), 301–13.

8. W.G. Lambert, “Dingir.šà.dib.ba Incantations,” *JNES* 33 (1974): 267–322; H.G. Güterbock, “Appendix: Hittite Parallels,” *JNES* 33 (1974): 323–27.



Never did I swear by my god, and never did I then break the oath. What is holy to my god and is not right for me to eat, I have never eaten and I did not thereby defile my body. / Never did I separate an ox from the pen, and never did I separate a sheep from the fold. I found myself bread, but I never ate it by myself; I found myself water, but I never drank it by myself (no. 4a, §§ 3'–4'). ...

... Whichever deity gave me this sickness, whether that deity is in heaven or whether he is in earth, you, O Sun-god, shall go to him. Go and tell that deity: My god, what have I ever done to you and how have I sinned? My god, you created me, you made me, a human (lit. a son of mortality). But I, what have I done to my god? / The merchant man holds the scales under the Sun and falsifies the scales. But I, what have I done to my god? I am anxious and my soul is flowing to another place (4b, § 15'–16').

From the numerous dramatic passages contained in this prayer, it is worth quoting the one that best describes the basic human condition (no. 4a, § 5'):

Life is bound up with death and death is bound up with life. A human does not live forever. The days of his life are counted. Even if a human lived for ever, and evil sickness of man were to be present, would it not be a grievance to him?

Kantuzili's prayer and its parallel versions introduce the concept of personal responsibility for sins committed and their resultant punishment. However, the suppliant is unaware of the nature of his sins and begs his god to reveal them through divination in order to be able to make restitution. This is a major change in comparison to the prayers in which the cause of calamity is blamed on others, either disloyal members of the royal family (nos. 1–2) or some outside enemy, such as the unruly Kaska tribes (no. 5).

The recognition of individual responsibility carries with it a protest against the indiscriminate punishment of the good together with the evil. This notion first appears in a fragmentary Middle Hittite prayer (no. 7), roughly contemporary with Kantuzili's prayer. It is later reproduced, more or less verbatim, in a prayer of Mursili II to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (no. 8, § 10):

Whoever is (a cause of) rage and anger to the gods, and whoever is not respectful to the gods, let not the good ones perish with the evil ones. Whether it is a single town, a single house, or a single person, O gods, destroy only that one.

The same theme<sup>9</sup> recurs in the prayers of Mursili's son, Muwatalli II (no. 19, § 6):

9. Distantly echoing Abraham's haggling with God over the destiny of Sodom in Gen 18: 20–32.

If some single town, or some single house does wrong, take vengeance for it, If some single town, or some single house does wrong, take vengeance for it, O god, on that single town, or on that single house, and [destroy] it. But do not take vengeance for it on the lands.

With Mursili II (ca. 1321–1295) we reach the heyday of Hittite prayers. The eventful biography of this prolific Hittite king, both on the personal and on the national level, occasioned a vivid dialogue with the gods, containing some of the most powerful expressions in Hittite literature. His father, the great Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1344–1322), was a valiant military man who shattered one empire, Mittani, and dealt a serious blow to another, Egypt. However, the victorious return to Hatti soon turned sour when a virulent plague broke out in the army and spread through the entire land. Suppiluliuma and his eldest son, Arnuwanda I, died of it, and the difficult task of investigating the causes of divine wrath was left to the young king Mursili II. Oracular inquiry determined that the epidemic had been brought to Hatti by Egyptian captives carried off from the battlefield of Amqa in central Syria. The unbearable calamity, which decimated the population of Hatti for two decades, was conceived of as punishment for grave sins, the nature of which was yet to be discovered through a lengthy process of oracular consultations and prayers. Various offenses weighing heavily on the collective conscience were put forward to the gods in the so-called Plague Prayers.<sup>10</sup> Considering Mursili's youth, it is perhaps not too surprising that the results pointed exclusively to offenses committed by his father: the neglect of offerings to the Mala (Euphrates) River, the violation of the treaty with the Egyptians, and, perhaps the gravest sin of all, the murder of the legitimate heir to the throne, Tudhaliya the Younger. The historical information contained in these confessions is invaluable, but in the present context it is more relevant to observe the ways in which Mursili dealt with the results of his inquiry. Attempts have been made to establish the sequence of the Plague Prayers on the basis of an assumed development in Mursili's moral stance, from a total denial of guilt to the assuming of responsibility for the sins of his father.<sup>11</sup> This, however, is by no means certain and other criteria may also be suggested.<sup>12</sup> In any case, these

10. There are at least eight prayers dealing with the plague (nos. 7–14), including the four that have been designated as such in A. Goetze's seminal study, "Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I/2 (Weimar, 1930), 161–251.
11. H.G. Güterbock, "Mursili's Accounts of Suppiluliuma's Dealings with Egypt," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 66 (1960): 57–63; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "Hittite Royal Prayers," *Numen* 16 (1969): 81–98.
12. I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods through the Storm-god of Lightning* (Atlanta, 1996), 151.

prayers present an early precursor of the biblical dictum "The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Ezekiel 18:2).<sup>13</sup>

O Storm-god of Hatti, my lord! O gods, my lords! So it happens that people always sin. My father sinned as well and he transgressed the word of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord. But I did not sin in any way. Nevertheless, it so happens that the father's sin comes upon his son, and so the sin of my father came upon me too. I have just confessed it to the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and to the gods, my lords. It is so. We have done it. But because I have confessed the sin of my father, may the soul of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of the gods, my lords, be appeased again. May you again have pity on me, and send the plague away from Hatti. Let those few makers of offering bread and libation pourers who still remain not die on me (no. 11, § 8).

The first step in Mursili's argumentation vis-à-vis his divine judges is confession of the sins committed: "It is so. We have done it." In the following paragraph he even switches from plural to singular: "I have done it." His confession is intended to appease the gods, as illustrated by the parallel situation between a master and his servant, or, more metaphorically, of a bird seeking refuge (no. 11, § 9):

I am now continuing to make my plea to the Storm-god, my lord, concerning the plague. Hear me O Storm-god, my lord, and save my life! [I say] to you [as follows]: The bird takes refuge in the cage, and the cage preserves its life.<sup>14</sup> Or if something bothers some servant and he makes a plea to his lord, his lord listens to him, [has pity] on him, and he sets right what was bothering him. Or if some servant has committed a sin, but he confesses the sin before his lord, his lord may do with him whatever he wishes; but since he has confessed his sin before his lord, his lord's soul is appeased, and the lord will not call that servant to account. I have confessed the sin of my father. It is so. I have done it.

The next step in absolving the sin is providing restitution to the gods. Mursili argues that the punishment itself, the perishing of so many people in the pestilence, suffices for restitution, indeed is disproportionate to the gravity of the sins. Nevertheless, if the gods are not yet satisfied, he is willing to provide still more if they reveal to him their will (no. 11, § 9, continuing the previous quotation):

13. On inherited guilt in the Old Testament and the ancient Near East, see J. Scharbert, "Unsere Sünden und die Sünden unserer Väter," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 2 (1958): 14–26; M. Greenberg, "Hittite Royal Prayers and Biblical Petitionary Psalms," in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung*, eds. K. Seybold and E. Zenger (Freiburg, 1994), 22–23.
14. An almost identical expression recurs in no. 19, § 71. For the rendering of *taptappa*-as "cage" (rather than "nest"), see Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer*, 66.

If there is some restitution (to be made), then there has already [been paid (?)] much for this plague [caused by (?)] the prisoners of war who were brought back from Egypt (i.e., from Egyptian territory) and by the civilian captives who were brought back. [And] since Hatti has made restitution through the plague, it [has made restitution] for it twenty-fold. Indeed, it has already become that much. And yet the soul of the Storm-god of Hatti, my lord, and of all the gods, my lords, is not at all appeased. But if you want to require from me some additional restitution, specify it to me in a dream, and I shall give it to you.

In parallel to these moral arguments, Mursili, like other kings before and after him, makes extensive use of "beneficial arguments," i.e., demonstrating to the gods that it is in their best interest to suspend the plague lest no one remain to attend to them (no. 8, §§ 6–7):

O gods, What is this that you have done? You have allowed a plague into Hatti, and the whole of Hatti is dying. No one prepares for you the offering bread and the libation anymore. The plowmen who used to work the fallow fields of the gods have died, so they do not work or reap the fields of the gods. The grinding women who used to make the offering bread for the gods have died, so they do not [make] the gods' offering bread any longer. /

The cowherds and shepherds of the corrals and sheepfolds from which they used to select sacrificial cattle and sheep are dead, so that the corrals and sheepfolds are neglected. So it came to pass that the offering bread, the libations, and the offering of animals have stopped. And you, O gods, proceed to hold the sin against us in that matter.

Finally, since nothing seems to appease the gods, Mursili expresses his loss of confidence in human wisdom, and implores the gods further for divine revelation (no. 8, § 7):

To mankind, our wisdom has been lost, and whatever we do right comes to nothing. O gods, whatever sin you perceive, either let a man of god come [and declare it], or let the old women, [the diviners, or the augurs establish it], or let ordinary persons see it in a dream.

Eventually, the plague must have subsided, since the subject is not mentioned in the prayers of Mursili's successors. However, the pestilence was not Mursili's only misery, for the gods also punished him cruelly in his personal life. According to Hittite tradition, his father's widow, a daughter of the Babylonian king who assumed the name Tawannanna, maintained her queenly rank and became increasingly domineering toward her stepson and his wife Gassuliyawiya. At first, Mursili tolerated her intrigues, but when his wife was struck down by a mysterious illness, he conducted a legal suit against Tawannanna, which led to her deposition and banishment from the palace. In his despair he sought to save his beloved wife through a substitution ritual (no. 15), all to no avail, for she eventually

died. To Mursili, the death of his wife was a punishment far in excess of the crime, a moral issue that he expresses in his exculpation prayer (no. 18, § 1')<sup>15</sup> even more vigorously than in the Plague Prayers:

I consulted the gods, my lords, and it was determined for me by oracle to execute her (i.e. Tawannanna). To dethrone her was also determined for me by oracle. But even then I did not execute her; I only deposed her from the office of priestess. Since it was determined for me by oracle to dethrone her, I dethroned her and I gave her an estate. Nothing is lacking to her desire. She has food and drink (lit. bread and water) and everything stands at her disposal. She lacks nothing. She is alive. She sees the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. I imposed only this one punishment: I punished her with this one thing, that I sent her down from the palace and I deposed her from the office of priestess for the gods. I imposed only this one punishment. O gods, set this case down before yourselves and investigate it! Has now her life gone bad? Because she is alive, she sees the Sun-god of Heaven with her eyes and eats the bread of life. And my punishment is the death of my wife. Has it gone any better? Because she killed her, throughout the days of my life [my soul(?)] goes down to the dark Netherworld [on her account(?)] and it ... -s for me. She has bereaved(?) me. Don't you, O gods [recognize] who was really punished?

The concluding rhetorical question in Mursili's pleading insinuates for the first time a certain doubt in the wisdom and fairness of a divine judgment, which he believes has failed to find a balance between the transgression and its punishment. A similar concern will be stated more affirmatively in the prayer of his son Hattusili.

Muwatalli II (ca. 1295–1272), who confronted Ramesses II at the Battle of Qadesh, conducted a radical religious reform in the wake of which the capital was transferred from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa in southern Anatolia.<sup>16</sup> The central theme in his penitential prayer (no. 19) is the past neglect of the cults of Kummanni, an important cult center in Kizzuwatna, including the expropriation of divine property. In his criticism of his predecessor he joins the tradition initiated by his own father, Mursili II. His consistent use of the first person plural is noteworthy, whether it refers to the royal pair or to the people of Hatti in general (no. 19, § 1, § 12'):

We have invoked the Storm-god, lord of heaven and earth, king of the gods, and [we confess] offence and sin before him, [and we dispel the

15. H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Prayer of Mursili II about His Stepmother," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 187–92.

16. I. Singer, *Muwatalli's Prayer*, 191–93; "From Hattusa to Tarhuntassa: Some Thoughts on Muwatalli's Reign," in *Acts of the III<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Hittitology*, eds. S. Alp and A. Süel (Ankara, 1998), 536–41.

Storm-god's anger]. We have invoked Hebat, queen of heaven, and we dispel the Storm-god's anger.

... If he has given away these good things of the Land of Kummanni, and if the god(?) [has demanded(?)] them, and if he appealed to the deity of Arusna, now behold, in that matter the king's father [is responsible]. Take vengeance [on him]!

A typical extenuating circumstance in Muwatalli's prayers is the unintentional transgression of human speech. Once pronounced, the offensive words never vanish, but are rather stored somewhere in the dark earth, and only the gods of the Netherworld may dispel them:

Since we are only human, the words that we know, [which came] forth from our mouths, [...], and those that we do not know, which did not come forth from our mouths, [if] they [are the cause of anger(?)], may the Netherworld deities look for them in the dark earth. [May they find them(?)] ... that day, and may they be dispelled (no. 19, § 12').

Thereafter, I shall make the matters of my own soul into a plea. Divine lords, lend me your ear, and listen to these my pleas! And the words that I will make into a plea to the divine lords, these words, divine lords, accept and listen to them! And whatever words you do not wish to hear from me, and I nevertheless persist in making them into a plea to the gods, they merely emerge from my human mouth; refrain from listening to them, divine lords (no. 20, § 4).

After Muwatalli the land of Hatti sank into a severe political crisis that led to civil war. The legitimate heir, Urhi-Teššub/Mursili III, was deposed, and his uncle Hattusili "III" (ca. 1267–1237 B.C.E.) took the reins of power. However, the usurpation of the throne weighed heavily on his conscience, and he addressed a penitential prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna in which he strove to exculpate himself not only with regard to his own deeds, but also to those of his predecessors (no. 21, § 2; § 4):

Hattusili, your servant, and Puduhepa, your maid, have made this plea as follows: Whenever my father, Mursili, while still alive, offended the gods, my lords, by some deed, I was in no way involved in that deed of my father; I was still a child. When the case against Tawannanna, your maid, took place in the palace, how my father curtailed the power of Tawannanna, the queen, though she was the servant of the deity, you goddess, my lady, were the one who knew in [your] soul, [whether the curtailing of the power of the queen] was your wish [or whether it] was [not your wish. He caused] the curtailing of the power [of Tawannanna, but I was not involved in the matter] at all. It was [a matter of compulsion for me. If the goddess, my lady, is] somehow [angry about that matter, then] the one who conducted [that case against Tawannanna has already become a god (i.e., died). He stepped down from the road and has already paid for it] with his head. [But I] was not involved [in that decree. I was still a child. O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, [do not protract that affair

against me. To protract such a thing against me during my days is not right]. ...

... When it came to pass that the case against Danuhepa, your priestess, took place in the palace, [how he curtailed the power of] Danuhepa until she was ruined together with her sons and all her men, lords and subordinates, that which was inside the soul of the goddess, my lady, nobody knew, namely, whether the ruination of Danuhepa was the wish of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady], or whether it was not her wish. In any case, I was not involved in that matter of the ruination of Danuhepa's son. On the contrary, when I passed judgement over him, he was dear to me. Nobody was destroyed by the order of the word of my mouth. The one who did that evil thing—if somehow the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry over the matter of Danuhepa—that one who did that matter of Danuhepa (i.e. Muwatalli) has already become a god. He stepped down from the road and paid for it with his head. O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Do not drag up again the matter of Danuhepa against me and the land of Hatti during my days! To drag up again such a thing against me during my days is not right. The one who has carried out the matter of Danuhepa, that one has already paid for it himself.<sup>17</sup>

The expression used twice by Hattusili to protest against the reopening of old sins—*natta āra(n)*, “not right”—has recently been investigated by Yoram Cohen.<sup>18</sup> It is used to define the borders of unacceptable behavior in Hittite society. Using it in relation to a major deity is a most daring statement and, as pointed out by Cohen, an impersonal grammatical construction is used to somewhat mitigate its effect. Still, this is probably the most audacious protestation against unfair divine judgment in Hittite literature and it is not easily matched in other ancient Near Eastern cultures.

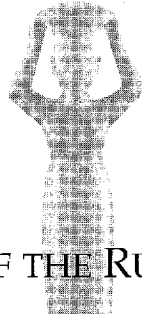
Each king discussed thus far had his own style and way of argumentation, but they all shared the conviction that the main suspect in provoking divine wrath was their own father. Credit must be given to Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1227–1209 B.C.E.) for assuming personal responsibility for a ritual transgression. Even so, “the days of Suppiluliuma” are mentioned later on in the text, unfortunately in fragmentary context (no. 24, § 1).

Tudhaliya has made [a plea] as following: I have sinned [against the Sun-goddess of Arinna], my lady, and I have offended the Sun-goddess of Arinna, [my lady]. [And when] I began to get oracular guidance, (it turned out that) I neglected your festivals. [If you], O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, became angry with [me] on account of some festivals, take care [of me] again, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! May I defeat the enemy! [If you, O Sun-goddess] of Arinna, my lady, will step down [to me], and I shall defeat the enemy, I shall [confess] my sin [before you] and never again [shall I omit] the festivals. I will not again interchange the spring and [autumn festivals]. [The festivals of spring] I shall perform only in the spring, [and the festivals of] autumn I shall perform only in the autumn. I shall never leave out [the festivals(?)] in [your] temple.

This brief survey on the concept of sin and punishment in Hittite prayers, I hope, will stimulate more interest in the potential contribution of Hittite studies to the history of ideas in the ancient Near East in general and in biblical studies in particular.

17. This passage is augmented by the joining piece 1193/c, for which see I. Singer, “Danhuepa and Kurunta,” in *Anatolia Antica. Scritti in ricordo di Fiorella Imparati*, eds. S. De Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi (Firenze, 2002), 739–51.

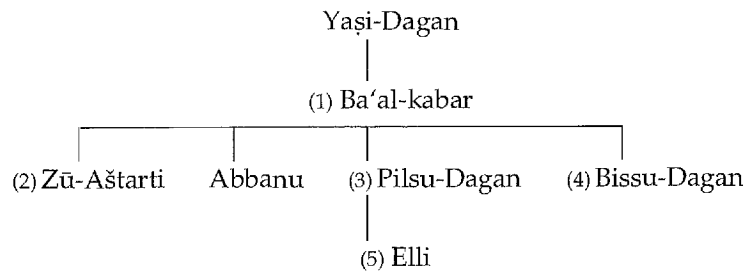
18. “Taboos and Prohibitions in Hittite Society: A Study of the Hittite Expression *natta āra* (‘not right’),” M.A. Thesis (Tel Aviv University, 1997); “The Image of the ‘Other’ and Hittite Historiography,” in *Historiography in the Cuneiform World I (Proceedings of the XLV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale)*, ed. T. Abusch et al. (Bethesda, Md., 2001), 113–29. [For *natta āra*, see also the article by P. Artzi in this volume—eds.]



## THE ORDER OF THE RULERS OF EMAR

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IN 1975, well before the texts from Emar were published, Daniel Arnaud<sup>1</sup> proposed the following reconstruction of the order of the kings who ruled Emar during the period of Hittite domination of Emar (c. 1325–1187? B.C.E.):<sup>2</sup>



- \* Abbreviations are those of the CAD; note additionally: ASJ = A. Tsukimoto, “Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection,” *ASJ* 12 (1990): 177–259 (nos. 1–16), *ASJ* 13 (1991): 175–333 (nos. 17–42), *ASJ* 14 (1991): 289–310 (nos. 43–50); BLMJ = J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets* (Groningen, 2000); Dalley = St. Dalley/B. Tessier, “Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar and Elsewhere,” *Iraq* 54 (1992): 83–112; Emar VI = D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d’Aštata. Emar VI. Textes sumériens et accadiens*. Tomes 1–3 (1985); RE = G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (1996); SMEA = D. Arnaud, “Tablettes de genres divers du Moyen-Euphrate,” *SMEA* 30 (1992): 195–248; TSBR = D. Arnaud, *Textes syriens de l’âge du bronze récent*, Aula OT. Suppl. 1 (1991).
- Daniel Arnaud, “Les textes d’Emar et la chronologie de la fin du Bronze Récent,” *Syria* 52 (1975): 89–90.
  - Those names preceded by numbers are those whom Arnaud considered to be kings. The numbers indicate the order of succession.

This scheme, with some modification,<sup>3</sup> has been accepted by all scholars who have treated the royal family of Emar.<sup>4</sup>

Arnaud designated as rulers of Emar only those persons who bear the title “king” in the texts.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Abbanu was not included in the king-list because no text designates him as “king”;<sup>6</sup> apparently the same consideration applied to Yaši-Dagan. Moreover, when Arnaud published his study, Ba’al-kabar, the son of Elli, was known only as the son of Elli, and there was no textual evidence that he ever became a king.

In a study of the chronology of the legal texts discovered at Emar,<sup>7</sup> I proposed that Yaši-Dagan, the father of Ba’al-kabar, should be counted among the kings of Emar. Furthermore, I added Abbanu, the son of Ba’al-kabar, as well as Ba’al-kabar, the son of Elli, to the list of kings of Emar, thus extending the length of the dynasty to five generations.

The witness lists of the texts recording the sale of property by Ninurta and the elders of Emar served as the key evidence in defining who was king. In these texts, only the names of those persons who were definitely attested as kings appear in the initial position of the list. They are followed by either the brothers of the king or by his son who in turn became king.<sup>8</sup>

Employing this criterion, it seems clear that Yaši-Dagan also served as king. Indeed, in those Ninurta sale texts in which he is listed as a witness his name appears in the initial position and is followed in some cases by his brother; in other cases, he is followed by his son, Ba’al-kabar, who later became king. As Yaši-Dagan was a member of the royal family, indeed the father of a person specifically identified in the texts as “king,” it seems logical that he, too, was a king.

- The existence of Bissu-Dagan was first challenged by J.-M. Durand, *RA* 83 (1989): 184; see also M. Dietrich, “Die akkadischen Texte der Archive und Bibliotheken von Emar,” *UF* 22 (1990): 35; F.M. Fales, “Notes on the Royal Family at Emar,” in D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds., *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: Études sur la civilisation offertes à Paul Garelli* (Paris, 1991), 81–84 and esp. n. 22; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 54 (1992): 83 n. 9.
- See Fales, *ibid.*; G. Beckman, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (Padua: Sargon srl, 1996), xii; M. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar: The Chronology, Synchronisms, and Socio-Political Aspects of a Late Bronze Age Fortress Town* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 8) (Louvain: Peeters Press, 2001), 23. D. Beyer, *Emar IV: Les sceaux* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 20) (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2001), 13.
- Both Pilsu-Dagan and Elli are referred to as “king” in *Emar* VI 42. Ba’al-kabar is designated as “king” in *Emar* VI 141.
- Arnaud, “Les textes d’Emar,” 89. However in TSBR 1:17 note 17–20 he does consider Yaši-Dagan to be a king of Emar.
- A. Skaist, “The Chronology of the Legal Texts from Emar,” *ZA* 88 (1998): 45–71, esp. 58–59.
- At present, the one exception is Ba’al-kabar son of Yaši-Dagan.

Another argument has recently been advanced in favor of counting Yaši-Dagan among the kings of Emar.<sup>9</sup> There are a number of persons who regularly appear in the witness lists headed by Ba'al-kabar, not only in the Ninurta sale texts but in other legal texts as well. It has been suggested that these people were royal functionaries of Ba'al-kabar. As these same persons occur fairly regularly in the witness lists headed by his father, one can conclude that they were royal functionaries also of king Yaši-Dagan. These same arguments are also applicable to Abbanu and Ba'al-kabar the son of Elli.

However, the recent publication by Beyer<sup>10</sup> of the seals impressed on the texts published by Arnaud provides conclusive evidence that Yaši-Dagan, Abbanu, and Ba'al-kabar the son of Elli were kings of Emar. The Dynastic Seal of Emar, which is found only on texts whose first witness is a king of Emar,<sup>11</sup> was impressed on *TSBR* 1, in which the witness list is headed Yaši-Dagan. Similarly texts *Emar* VI 2; 3; 126; *TSBR* 5; 6 record Abbanu as the first witness and contain the impression of the Dynastic Seal of Emar. So too, text *TSBR* 13 records the name Ba'al-kabar the son of Elli in the initial position of the witness list and it also bears the imprint of the Dynastic Seal of Emar.

The position of Zū-Aštarti in the order of kings as proposed by Arnaud has not been questioned, for he is specifically identified as the son of Ba'al-kabar. Furthermore, his brother Abbanu, who very likely succeeded him as king, is listed among the witnesses in the witness lists headed by Zū-Aštarti. Yet there are a number of difficulties that arise with this view.

The order of witnesses in the witness lists of Zū-Aštarti begins with Zū-Aštarti, who is followed by his brother Abi-Rašap, who in turn is followed by another brother Abbanu.<sup>12</sup> Curiously, Pilsu-Dagan, who succeeded Abbanu, is nowhere mentioned in the Zū-Aštarti texts. The immediate questions are: What happened to Abi-Rašap and why was Pilsu-Dagan not mentioned? It has been suggested that Abi-Rašap died in the lifetime of Zū-Aštarti and that Pilsu-Dagan was too young to be included in the witness list.<sup>13</sup>

A more difficult problem relates to the fact that in the witness lists headed by the various kings of Emar, we note the names of persons who were witnesses in the texts of the preceding king. But if, as postulated, Zū-

9. See Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 22.

10. See n. 3.

11. See the list in M. Yamada, "The Dynastic Seal and Ninurta's Seal: Preliminary Remarks on Sealing by the Local Authorities of Emar," *Iraq* 56 (1994): 60–61. For a list of more examples of the Dynastic Seal, see Beyer, *Emar* IV, 432–35.

12. *ASJ* 8; 26; *Emar* VI 17; RE 8; 9; 79; *TSBR* 55.

13. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 9.

Aštarti was the successor of Ba'al-kabar the son of Yaši-Dagan, he would then be the only king whose witness list did *not* contain the names of persons from the preceding reign, in this case his father Ba'al-kabar. By way of contrast the witness lists of Abbanu, who was reckoned as the successor of Zū-Aštarti, contain persons who were witnesses in the reign of his father, Ba'al-kabar.<sup>14</sup>

There are a number of names common to the witness lists of Zū-Aštarti and Elli, the son of Pilsu-Dagan: Zū-Aštarti and Ibni-Dagan, the sons of Aḫi-malik, and Aḫi-abu the son of Bēlu-malik.<sup>15</sup> If Zū-Aštarti is placed before Abbanu, then we must explain why these men are not mentioned in the texts of Abbanu and his successor Pilsu-Dagan. Adamthwaite<sup>16</sup> has recently suggested that there were two people with the name Zū-Eia. He presented two arguments. First, no such person is named in the texts of the kings who ruled between Zū-Aštarti and Elli. Hence, to identify the Zū-Eia of the Zū-Aštarti texts with the Zū-Eia of the Elli texts "represents too large a chronological gap."<sup>17</sup> Second, the Zū-Eia of the Zū-Aštarti texts is never associated with a brother by the name of Ibni-Dagan whereas the Zū-Eia of the Elli texts is quite often associated in the witness lists with a brother Ibni-Dagan.

Actually there are two Zū-Aštarti texts<sup>18</sup> overlooked by Adamthwaite in which Zū-Eia is listed together with his brother Ibni-Dagan. There is thus every possibility that the Zū-Eia and Ibni-Dagan of the Zū-Aštarti and Elli texts are the same persons. We thus return to the question: Why were these people not mentioned in the texts of Abbanu and Pilsu-Dagan?

All the available Zū-Aštarti texts were written by one Imlik-Dagan. A scribe with the same name wrote *SMEA* 2, a text that must be dated close to, or in the time of Elli.<sup>19</sup> Now Imlik-Dagan appears in this text (*SMEA* 2) in association with Zū-Eia and Ibni-Dagan, sons of Aḫi-malik. Curiously, Adamthwaite argues that Imlik-Dagan of *SMEA* 2 is the same scribe who wrote the Zū-Aštarti texts.<sup>20</sup> But for some reason he did not take into

14. Šadida DUMU Namarti appears in *Emar* VI 126, which is dated to Abbanu and in *Emar* VI 144, a Ba'al-kabar text.

15. Zū-Eia appears in Zū-Aštarti texts *ASJ* 8; 26; *Emar* VI 17; RE 8; 9; 79; *TSBR* 55; and in *BLMJ* 6; 8 11; *Emar* VI 97; 141; 142; RE 23; *TSBR* 11; 59; which are Elli texts. Ibni-Dagan appears in Zū-Aštarti texts RE 8; RE 79 and in Elli texts *BLMJ* 11; *Emar* VI 141; 142; RE 23; *TSBR* 11. Aḫi-abi DUMU Bēlu-malik appears in Zū-Aštarti texts RE 8; 79; and in Elli text *BLMJ* 11.

16. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 13–14.

17. I assume that he means that there was too long a time period for some one to be active in the time of Zū-Aštarti and also in the time of Elli.

18. RE 8, ll. 48–49; RE 79, ll. 27–29.

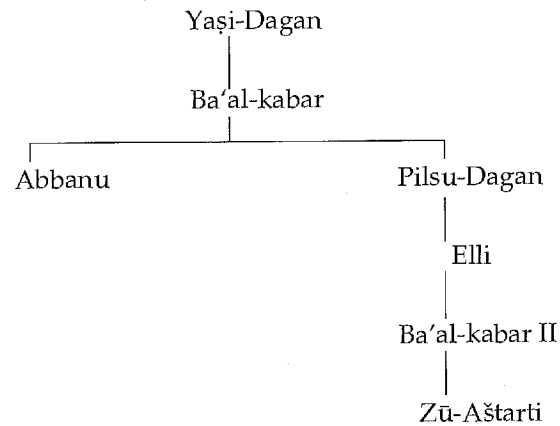
19. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 23.

20. *Ibid.*

account the "chronological gap" between Zū-Aštarti and Elli, which served as the basis for his argument against identifying the Zū-Eia of the Zū-Aštarti texts with the Zū-Eia of the Elli texts. Did Imlik-Dagan fall out of favor in the reign of Abbanu only to be restored to favor in the time of Elli?

Another point that must be explained. If Zū-Aštarti ruled prior to Abbanu, why is the scribe Abī-kapi, who was active in the reigns of Ba'al-kabar, Abbanu, and Pilsu-Dagan, not active in the reign of Zū-Aštarti?<sup>21</sup>

Based on the above questions, we propose a different order of the kings of Emar under the Hittite domination:



In our view then, as stated in the texts, Zū-Aštarti was the son of Ba'al-kabar, however not of Ba'al-kabar I, but of Ba'al-kabar II the son of Elli. It is thus obvious why Pilsu-Dagan is not listed in the witness lists headed by Zū-Aštarti. Nor should it be surprising that the scribe Abī-kapi does not appear in the Zū-Aštarti texts, which were much later than Pilsu-Dagan. Hence, it is not necessary to argue, as was noted above, that Abī-Rašap, who is listed in the second position in the witness list after Zū-Aštarti, died during the lifetime of Zū-Aštarti. Abī-Rašap may or may not have become king in succession to Zū-Aštarti; there is simply no evidence one way or another. The re-occurrence of the name Abbanu should not be considered out of the ordinary for there is ample evidence of papyponymy in the royal family of Emar.<sup>22</sup>

21. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 22, raised the question as to whether he may have fallen out of favor in the time of Zū-Aštarti.

22. There is (1) Ḫemiya the son of Ba'al-kabar I in *Emar* VI 8; 10; 137; 138 and Ḫemiya the son of Pilsu-Dagan in *ASJ* 4; 25; RE 23; 86; TSB 11. (2) Iššur-Dagan the son of Ba'al-kabar I in *BLMJ* 5; *Emar* VI 8; 10; 137; 138; 139; 140; 158; TSB 54 and Iššur-

The witness lists of Zū-Aštarti then do list witnesses who were recorded in the witness lists of the preceding kings. The witnesses Zū-Eia and Ibni-Dagan sons of Aḫi-malik, and Aḫi-abu son of Aḫi-malik do occur in texts prior to the reign of Zū-Aštarti. In view of the fact that only three texts of Ba'al-kabar II are available,<sup>23</sup> we may consider that his reign was rather brief. We thus do not see any "chronological gap" between Elli and Zū-Aštarti. The fact that witness lists of the various kings of Emar contain the names of persons from the preceding reigns may serve as an indication of administrative continuity at Emar.

The question then must be raised: Does placing Zū-Aštarti as the last king of Emar affect, in any way, the timespan of the kings of Emar? Adamthwaite<sup>24</sup> determined that the timespan of the archives relating to the kings of Emar was approximately seventy to eighty years. One of the ways that he employed was to consider the maximum possible length of time attributable to the activity of two scribes, Abī-kapi and Imlik-Dagan.

Thus, he noted that the scribe Abī-kapi was active from the reign of Ba'al-kabar through part of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan (though not in the time of Zū-Aštarti), a period of *four* kings, which could have lasted up to forty years. However, if Zū-Aštarti is the last king of Emar, then we can consider the length of the reign of the *three* kings, Ba'al-kabar I, Abbanu, and through at least part of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan, as extending over forty years. It needs be pointed out that the forty years is a possible maximum; it may be less.

Imlik-Dagan, according to Adamthwaite, was active from the reign of Zū-Aštarti through Elli, though he did not write royal legal documents in the reign of Pilsu-Dagan. His activity as a scribe could thus extend to a maximum of forty years. Therefore, if one combines the length of activity of the two scribes Abī-kapi and Imlik-Dagan, allowing for a certain overlap for both scribes during the reigns of Zū-Aštarti and Pilsu-Dagan, we arrive at an approximate maximum of seventy years from Ba'al-kabar I through

Dagan the son of Pilsu-Dagan in RE 59. (3) Bēlu-malik the son of Ba'al-kabar I in *Emar* VI 126 and Bēlu-malik the son of Elli in RE 81. (4) Aḫ?-malik the son of Ba'al-kabar I in *BLMJ* 3; *Emar* VI 125; 180; 183; RE 3; 21; 49; TSB 7 and Aḫ?-malik the son of Pilsu-Dagan *Emar* VI 127 and Aḫ?-malik the son of Elli in RE 81 and Aḫ?-malik the son of Ba'al-kabar II in TSB 13.

23. I consider the text published by A. Tsukimoto "An Akkadian Field Sale Document Privately Held in Tokyo," *Acta Sumerologica* 14 (1992): 311-14, to be a text of Ba'al-kabar the son of Yaši-Dagan despite the fact that the handcopy reads "Ba'al-kabar son of Elli." All the witnesses occur in texts of Ba'al-kabar I; none of them is to be found in texts of Ba'al-kabar II or in the texts of his father, Elli. A collation may help clear up the problem.

24. Adamthwaite, *Late Hittite Emar*, 24-25.

to the reign of Elli, who, according to Adamthwaite, was the last king of Emar.

However, if we place Zū-Ašarti after Elli and Ba'al-kabar II, then we must consider the possibility that the scribe Imlik-Dagan may have been active for a maximum of about forty years (most likely less)—from the reign of Elli through Zū-Ašarti. If we consider the reign of the three kings Ba'al-kabar, Abbanu, and through at least part of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan as extending over forty years and add the rest of the reign of Pilsu-Dagan through Zū-Ašarti, we arrive at a higher figure. The total timespan of the royal archives of Emar from Ba'al-kabar I through Zū-Ašarti could reach one hundred years.

In our view, until we discover a text that records the actual duration of the reigns of the individual kings, we must rely on synchronisms with rulers whose dates are known.<sup>25</sup> Allowing for the fact that the dynasty treated in this study ruled Emar from the conquest by the Hittites c. 1325 B.C.E. until the destruction of Emar c. 1180 B.C.E., six generations of kings of Emar would fill this period quite nicely.

25. D. Arnaud, "Les Hittites sur le moyen-Euphrate: protecteurs et indigènes," *Hethitica* 8 (1987): n. 14 notes the existence of an unpublished text from Tell Fray that mentions the Hanigalbatean attack on Emar that is recorded in Emar VI 42. The abettor of the attack was Adad-nērārī I of Assyria 1295–1264. If so, we then have a synchronism between Adad-nērārī and Pilsu-Dagan. This would tend to confirm my proposal in *ZA* 88 (1998): 66–67 that Pilsu-Dagan ascended the throne of Emar before or around 1270. For different views and further details on the date of the occupation of Tell Fray, see Amir Harrak, *Assyria and Hanigalbat* (1987), 111.



## NEW AKKADIAN LOANWORDS IN JEWISH BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC

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THIRTY YEARS have now elapsed since the publication of S.A. Kaufman's important study, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*.<sup>1</sup> This was the first comprehensive monograph to appear on the subject since Zimmern's *Akkadische Lehnwörter*, which appeared in 1917, and the salient advances in both Assyriology and Aramaic studies are well evident to anyone who has used this work. In addition to cataloguing and analyzing the loanwords, Kaufman dealt with many more issues of the Akkadian-Aramaic symbiosis, including phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as the consequences of his study for our views on the development of the Aramaic dialects.

In a review of Kaufman's book published shortly after its appearance,<sup>2</sup> the present writer pointed out that the Aramaic dialects may be divided into two distinct groups on the basis of their corpora:

1. The epigraphic dialects<sup>3</sup> dating from approximately the tenth century B.C.E. to the third century C.E., which are known exclusively from inscriptional material and whose corpora are relatively small;
2. The literary dialects<sup>4</sup> dating from the first millennium C.E., which are almost exclusively known from manuscript sources, each with its own complicated history of transmission and which are generally represented by very large corpora.<sup>5</sup>

1. Chicago 1974.

2. See this writer's review in *Kiryat Sefer* 51 (1976): 464–73 [Hebrew].

3. Viz. Old Aramaic, Official Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, Hatran. Biblical Aramaic is included in this group because of its limited scope.

4. Viz. Targumic Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Syriac, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic.

5. Indeed, the Syriac corpus dwarfs all the other corpora put together.



Since 1974, the number of new Akkadian loanwords in the epigraphic dialects has increased from newly published epigraphic texts. In the Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriye there are two new loanwords, viz. גוגל [l. 2] < Akk. *gugallu* "canal inspector" (CAD G, 121) and אדקור [l. 4] < Akk. *adagurru* "a vessel for liquids" (CAD A/1, 93), which were borrowed for the moment and afterward disappeared from Aramaic.<sup>6</sup> This text also has the earliest occurrences of מרה [ll. 3, 5] < Akk. *mātu* "country."<sup>7</sup> From the Aramaic legal clay tablets from Mesopotamia we now have מקרה [NTA 23\*:1] "bale" < Akk. *magarrutu* (CAD M/1, 240),<sup>8</sup> הרי "a dye made from a plant" < Akk. *hurātu* (CAD H, 247), and גבי "alum" < *gabū* (CAD G, 7).<sup>9</sup> In the Wadi Daliyeh papyri from the late Persian period (fourth century B.C.E.),<sup>10</sup> which follow the Neo-Babylonian legal tradition, we find the loanwords שחרץ [1:3; 3:2; 6:3; 9:4] "full price" < Akk. *šim hariš* CAD H, 103 and אטיר מכיר [3:3] "paid and received" < Akk. *maḥir eṭir* CAD M/1 56. In Standard Jewish Literary Aramaic, the word נפתן < *naptānu* "food, banquet" (CAD N/1, 319) now occurs for the first time in Tobit 2:2 [4QpapTobit a ar 2:11], the phrase ירי דול "handiwork"<sup>11</sup> < Akk. *dullu*, in the Genesis Apocryphon 20:7, and דפרן "variety of juniper" < Akk. *duprānu* (CAD D, 189) in the Testament of Levi 35:16.<sup>12</sup>

As to the literary texts, their sheer quantity required Kaufman to rely mainly on the existing dictionaries and the secondary literature in order to gather the material. A re-evaluation of all the vocabulary of the literary dialects on the basis of a re-studying of their vast literature was clearly beyond the scope of his study.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, it is clear that a re-evaluation of the vocabulary of the large corpora of the first-millennium C.E. Aramaic literary dialects in light of modern Akkadian lexicography<sup>14</sup> is likely to turn up previously unrecognized loanwords. The recently published new dictionaries of both Jew-

6. For a discussion, see, e.g., Greenfield, AKY, p. 251ff.

7. See AIOA 71. The word appears elsewhere in OA in Bukān 8. (See the writer's discussion in *IEJ* 49 [1999]: 112.) Two additional words dealt with by Kaufman that appear for the first time in OA the Tell Fekheriye text are כורתן [l. 38; v. also Bukān 2] "pestilence" AIOA 74 and חנוור [l. 36] "oven" AIOA 108.

8. The text was originally published by E. Lipinski, in E. Wardini (ed.), *Built on Solid Rock*, Knudsen Festschrift (Oslo, 1997), 193. For the Akkadian identification, see, *ibid.*, 189.

9. See S. Zawadzki, *WZKM* 90 (2000): 220.

10. See D.-M. Gropp, *Wadi Daliyeh II, The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh* (DJD 28) (Oxford, 2001), 22–24 with previous literature.

11. For a discussion of this phrase, see below.

12. See ATTM, 557.

13. See his statement on p. 30.

14. Since Kaufman published his book, AHW has been completed and CAD is nearly so.

ish Palestinian Aramaic and Samaritan Aramaic<sup>15</sup> have both added new Akkadian loanwords and has shown the existence of known Akkadian loanwords in these dialects that had not been previously noted.<sup>16</sup> However, because of their proximity to the Akkadian speaking area, the eastern dialects—Syriac,<sup>17</sup> JBA, and Mandaic—are more promising as sources of Akkadian loanwords. Indeed, in an article that appeared before the publication of his book, Kaufman already pointed out several previously unrecognized Akkadian loanwords in JBA.<sup>18</sup> N.M. Waldman later identified אורהא (JBA), הורהא (JPA) "a net trap for birds or fish" < Akk. *ḥuḥaru* (CAD H, 224),<sup>19</sup> and M. Fuchs pointed out ביל לישני "one who knows foreign languages" < Akk. *bēl lišāni* (CAD L, 215).<sup>20</sup>

By far the largest number of new Akkadian loanwords has now been discovered in JBA. The recent lexical work undertaken by the present writer in the preparation of his DJBA was an opportunity to restudy the question of the Akkadian loanwords in this dialect.<sup>21</sup> The database for the new dictionary was compiled entirely from reliable manuscripts of the various tractates of the Babylonian Talmud and the post-Talmudic literature, and it contains many words never included in the previous lexica.

The following list contains all the Akkadian loanwords in JBA that do not appear in AIOA. For the sake of completeness Akkadian loanwords from the realm of *Realia* that the writer deems certain have also been

15. See JPA and SA.

16. JPA – 1. מיסס "a part of a ruminant's stomach" [DJPA 320] < Akk. *misissam* (CAD M/1, 111). This word was previously thought to be a loan from Latin *omasum* "bullock's tripe" (see: Krauss, *Lehnw*, 320), but in light of its closer phonetic and semantic similarities with the Akkadian word this new suggestion is more likely, especially since it goes together with another Akkadian loanword for a ruminant's stomach רקי (הרה) (see: Kaufman, AIOA 90); 2. פרחלבן "an aromatic essence" [DJPA 842] < Akk. *puruḥlibnu* (AHw, 882). Although this word may not have originated in Akkadian, this language is certainly the source of it in JPA and SA; 3. כוסבר [DJPA 254], [ib. 264], and נפה [ib. 355] are attested for this dialect.

SA - The following words now listed in DSA should be added to the attestation in AIOA: אגור (p. 7), אפר #1 (p. 57), אריה (p. 62), אהון (p. 71), ארר (p. 164), זיק (p. 229), מכס (p. 468), משכן #1 (p. 491), נהתום (p. 518), נכסין #2 (p. 527), רקי (p. 850), שבבה (p. 862), שיר (p. 888).

17. The latest Syriac dictionary was published in 1928 and since then many new texts (including epigraphic material) have been published. The additions to the Syriac lexicon in these publications have yet to be collected.

18. Viz. אורהא < *amāru* "brickpile," אסיהא < *esittu* "mortar," פתיהא < *pattā* "canal," הורהא < *ḥurdu* "reed roof," שיבבה < *šēbābi* "neighbor" (see *Leshonenu* 36 (1972): 28–33; 102–4).

19. See *JANES* 6 (1974): 125.

20. See *Leshonenu* 41 (1977): 75.

21. Since the reader can find complete textual references to the JBA sources in DJBA, they have not been included in the present article.

included.<sup>22</sup> The list also contains Akkadian loanwords that are listed in AIOA but for which no attestation in JBA was given.

1. אֲגוּרָא "kiln-fired brick" (DJBA 78)—Add to Akk. *agurru* (AIOA 33).
2. אֲדָרָא #1 "a type of tree" (DJBA 82)—< Akk. *adāru* "an indigenous tree" (CAD A/1 102).
3. אֲדִינָא [*\*אֲדִינָא\**] "unripe date" (DJBA 82)—< Akk. *uḫinnu* "fresh, green dates" (AHw, 1404).
4. אֲבוּנָא "projection" (?) (DJBA 84)—perhaps < Akk. *ubānu* "finger, lobe of an organ" (AHw, 1399, mng. 7, 8).<sup>23</sup>
5. אֲדִינָא "a type of container" (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *udū* pl. "metal containers and utensils" (AHw, 1402, mng. 2).<sup>24</sup>
6. אֲדִינָא #1 "an alkaline plant, alkali" (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *uḫūlu* "alkaline plant" (AHw, 1404 [cf. Sy אֲדִינָא, אֲדִינָא LS 12]).
7. אֲדִינָא "a net trap for birds or fish" (DJBA 86)—< Akk. *ḫuḫaru* (CAD H, 224).<sup>25</sup>
8. אֲדִינָא "goose" (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *ūsū* #2 (AHw, 1438) < Sum. *uz* (cf. Ma אֲדִינָא f. MD 9, Sy אֲדִינָא LS 184).
9. אֲדִינָא #2 "dimness of the eye" (DJBA 87)—< Akk. *uklu* I "darkness" (AHw, 1406) [root *ekēlu* "to be dark"]. The conventional derivation of this word occurring among a list of diseases of the eye from the root אֲדִינָא does not give a proper meaning for this word. This word should also be compared to Ma אֲדִינָא "a dimmed eye" (MD 349), which occurs in a text dealing with diseases of the eye.<sup>26</sup>
10. אֲדִינָא "stump of the palm branch" (DJBA 92)—< Akk. *uppu* #2 (AHw, 1424, mng. 4)<sup>27</sup> [cf. Sy אֲדִינָא BBah 85:1].<sup>28</sup>
11. אֲדִינָא "bramble" (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *\*awurdinnu* < *amurdinnu*, *mur-dinnu* "bramble" (CAD A/2, 90).
12. אֲדִינָא "threshold" (DJBA 122)—Add to Akk. *askuppattu* (AIOA 37).

22. Kaufman deliberately excluded these words from his work.

23. See M. Geller, *BiOr* 43 (1986): 740.

24. The text in the Escorial ms. reads: אֲדִינָא דִּדִּינָא, a container of dinars, BM 28b(11). This corresponds in ms. H to אֲדִינָא "money bag."

25. See above, p. 577.

26. For a different interpretation, see: J.N. Ford, *UF* 30 (1998): 263.

27. See Landsberger, *Date Palm*, 35.

28. See Löw, *Flora* 2, 326ff.

13. אֲמָתָא #4, in phrase אֲמָתָא דִּדְרִינָא "lower millstone" (DJBA 142)—< Akk. *ummatu* [*ša erī*] (CAD E, 323 [Lex.], AHw, 1415, mng. 8). This word occurs also in the MH calque אֲמָתָא דִּדְרִינָא Er 89a(26). There is no reason to connect it with the common Aramaic word אֲמָתָא "cubit" but rather with the above Akkadian word with the same meaning.
14. אֲנָתָא "type of jar" (DJBA 144)—perhaps < Akk. *unūtu* "utensil" (AHw, 1422). This word occurs in a magic bowl written in JBA in the phrase אֲנָתָא דִּמְיִשְׁתָּא "jar of oil," similar to the phrase אֲנָתָא דִּמְיִשְׁתָּא occurring once in BT.<sup>29</sup>
15. אֲסִנָּי "Dilmun dates" (DJBA 149)—< Akk. *asnū* (CAD A/2, 338) [cf. OfA אֲסִנָּי pl. DNWSI 89].<sup>30</sup>
16. אֲצוּנָא in the phrase אֲצוּנָא דִּדִּיקְלָא "young sprout of the date palm" (DJBA 159)—< Akk. *āšitum* (*gišimmarum*) (AHw, 1475, s.v. *wāšitū*). The etymological derivation of this word from the root *\*wšy* points to its Akkadian origin, since the parallel Aramaic root is *\*yʿy* (< *\*wʿʿ* < PS *\*wʿʿ*).
17. אֲרִישָׁא "tenant farmer" (DJBA 167)—< Akk. *\*ārišu* (CAD E, 306).<sup>31</sup> The form of this word with *šin*, which is consistently found in all of the better manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud and in the Geonic tradition, is the correct JBA form and was borrowed into Aramaic from the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, the form of the word with *samekh* (אֲרִישָׁא) entered Western Aramaic from the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian<sup>33</sup> and from there into MH אֲרִישָׁא (Jastrow 120). Its occurrence in the printed editions of JBA texts should be considered a corruption due to the common MH form.<sup>34</sup>
18. אֲשֻׁחָא "fir tree" (DJBA 172)—< Akk. *ašūḫu* (CAD A/2, 478) [cf. Ma אֲשֻׁחָא MD 40, Arab شُوح Wehr 492]. This is most likely an Akkadian loanword since it was originally borrowed from Sumerian, where it may also not be native.<sup>35</sup>
19. אֲשֻׁלָא #2 "a rush" (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *ašlu* B (CAD A/2, 449). The fact that in both Akkadian and JBA these words refer to an object used to stuff a mattress points to their identity.<sup>36</sup>

29. See the discussion of Ch. Müller-Kessler, *ANES* 36 (1999): 169ff.

30. See M. Sokoloff, *Kiryat Sefer* 51 (1976): 466, n. 19; Stol, *Beer*, 160.

31. While the attested forms of the common noun are *errēšu* and *ērišu*, the form *\*ārišu* can be assumed on the basis of *ārišūtu*, var. of *errēšūtu* in NA (CAD E, 306).

32. Contra AIOA, p. 49, n. 88.

33. Cf. SA אֲרִישָׁא DSA 64, CPA אֲרִישָׁא Schulthess, LSp 18.

34. See Sokoloff, op. cit., 468.

35. See SLOB, p. 161.

36. See the evidence in DJBA, op. cit.

20. **בַּבַּת דַּאֲבֻלִּים** "city gate" (DJBA 184)—< Akk. *bāb abullim* (CAD A/1, 84 [OA, Nuzi]). Both of these words are listed individually in AIOA, but the above borrowed phrase is not given. It should be noted that on the basis of the JBA evidence, it appears that the phrase survived long after the latest Akkadian references to it, which date to the middle of the second millennium B.C.E.<sup>37</sup>
21. **בוֹשִׁינָא** "a plant, lamp" (DJBA 192)—Add to *bušinu* (AIOA 45).
22. **בוֹשְׁלָא** "ripening of dates" (DJBA 193)—< Akk. *bušlu*. This word appears in the phrase **כִּמְרָא בּוֹשְׁלִי** most likely borrowed from < Akk. *\*bušul kimri* (CAD B, 351).<sup>38</sup>
23. **בֵּיל לִישְׁנִי** "one who knows foreign languages" (DJBA 201)—< Akk. *bēl lišāni* (CAD L, 215 [NA]).<sup>39</sup>
24. **בִּינָא** "tamarisk" (DJBA 202)—< Akk. *bīnu* A (CAD B, 239) [cf. Sy **ܒܝܢܐ** LS 69, Ma 2# **בִּינָא** MD 61].
25. **גִּירִיהָא** "murray/lamprey" (DJBA 283)—< Akk. *giritu* (CAD G, 89) [Ma **גִּירִיהָא** MD 92, Sy **ܓܝܪܝܗܐ** LS 129].<sup>40</sup>
26. **גַּצָּא** "lime" (DJBA 297)—< Akk. *gaššu* B (CAD G, 54) [cf. **ܩܘܨܐ** DNWSI 231, Sy **ܓܘܨܐ** LS 129]. This word, which was previously known only from **ܩܘܨܐ** and Syriac, now appears once in JBA in a Talmudic quotation found only in the Aruch and in a Geonic responsum as a gloss for **סִיד** MH.
27. **גִּשְׁוֹרָא** (DJBA 305)—< Akk. *gušuru* (CAD G, 144). While the form **גִּשְׁוֹרָא** is more common in JBA,<sup>41</sup> the more original form with *gimel* is also attested in this dialect.
28. **דֹּלָא** "craft" (DJBA 318)—< Akk. *dullu* (CAD D, 173, mng. 3), in the phrase **דֹּל יְדֵי** "handicraft," partial calque < Akk. *dullu qātē* [NB] ib. 176. The phrase is first attested in Qumran Aramaic **דֹּל יְדֵי** GAP 20:7 and later in JBA in the correct spelling **דֹּל** according to the manuscript sources.<sup>42</sup>

37. It is generally assumed that Akkadian loanwords did not enter Aramaic earlier than the eleventh century B.C.E., when the Arameans first came into contact with speakers of Akkadian.

38. See DJBA 563, s.v. **כִּמְרָא** 1#.

39. See M. Fuchs, *Leshonenu* 41 (1977): 75.

40. See Salonen, *Fischerei*, 185ff.

41. See DJBA 605.

42. See H.L. Ginsberg and S. Lieberman, *JNES* 18 (1959): 147; D. Boyarin, in M.-Z. Kaddari and S. Sharvit (eds.), *Studies in the Hebrew Language and the Talmudic Literature, Dedicated to the Memory of M. Moreshet* (Ramat Gan, 1989), 38ff. [Hebrew].

29. **דֹּר שִׁינֵי** "row of teeth" (DJBA 322)—< Akk. *dūr šinnī* (CAD D, 197) [lit. wall of teeth]; cf. Sy **ܕܘܪ ܫܝܢܝܐ** LS 147.<sup>43</sup>
30. **בֵּי טַמְנִיָּא** in **בֵּי טַמְנִיָּא אֲרַבָּא טַמְנִיָּא** "necromancer" (DJBA 84), **בֵּי טַמְנִיָּא** "house of mourning" (DJBA 212)—While the syntax of the first term is not entirely clear, it seems likely that the word **טַמְנִיָּא**, **טַמְנִיָּא** in both phrases should be connected with Akk. *ešemmu* "spirit,"<sup>44</sup> a word that was also borrowed into BH **אֲשֵׁמָה**.<sup>45</sup> The Geonim—whose reading was **בֵּי טַעְמָא**—connected it with Aramaic **טַעְמָא** "reason."<sup>46</sup>
31. **קֻבְּשָׁנִי** "a species of bird" (DJBA 555)—< Akk. *kubšānu* (CAD K, 485).<sup>47</sup>
32. **כִּמְרָא** 1# "a type of dates" (DJBA 563)—< Akk. *kimru* A "a quality of dates" (CAD K, 373).<sup>48</sup>
33. **כֻּפְּיָא** "type of fish" (DJBA 565)—< Akk. *kuppû* B "eel-like fish" (CAD K, 551). Since this word was borrowed into Akkadian from Sumerian,<sup>49</sup> a loan into Aramaic seems certain.
34. **כֻּרְכִּיָּא** perhaps "goose" (DJBA 566)—< Akk. *kurkû* (CAD K, 561). This word is also of Sumerian origin.<sup>50</sup>
35. **מַגְבִּיָּא** "alum"—< Akk. *aban gabî* (AHw, 272; CAD G, 7) [cf. Sy **ܡܘܓܒܝܐ** BBah 998:15]. As noted above, this word was borrowed earlier into OtA in the form **מַגְבִּי**,<sup>51</sup> and the form with prefixed *mem* is most likely a remnant of the pronounced determinative *aban*.<sup>52</sup>
36. **נַבָּא** "louse's egg" (DJBA 725)—< Akk. *nābu* B "louse" (CAD N/1, 40) [cf. Sy **ܢܒܐ** louse's egg LS 418].
37. **נִשְׁחָא** "book, copy" (DJBA 737)—< Akk. *nišhu* "section of a series" (CAD N/2, 267, mng. 3). This word is known from late JBA of the Geonic writings.
38. **נִסְחָנִי** "*Ammi copticum*" (a plant) (DJBA 751)—< Akk. *nīnû* "a medicinal plant" (CAD N/2, 241) [cf. Sy 2# **ܢܝܢܘܐ** LS 432, Ma **נִינִיָּא** MD 299]. The Talmudic usage referring to a medicinal plant points clearly to a borrowing from Akkadian.

43. See T. Kwasman, *NABU* (1999): 60.

44. It is perhaps a *nisbe*-form shortened from the original word or an emphatic form of the plural.

45. See HAL 36.

46. See the literature quoted in DJBA ib.

47. This loanword was pointed out in AHw 497.

48. See supra, s.v. **בִּישְׁלָא**.

49. See SLOB, p. 276, no. 262: *gún-bí*.

50. See SLOB, p. 364, no. 421: *kur-ge*.

51. See S. Zawadzki, *WZKM* 90 (2000): 220.

52. On the *b-m* interchange in NB, see AIOA, 137.

39. נִסְחָנִי “male inflorescences of the date palm” (DJBA 752)—< Akk. *nashu* “uprooted (plant)” (CAD N/2, 25). Like most of the Aramaic vocabulary related to date palm culture, this word was also borrowed from Akkadian.
40. נִבְבָּא דְקִנִּי “reed drain pipe” (DJBA 771)—< Akk. *naššabu ša qanê* (CAD N/2, 52 [Lex.]; CAD A/1, 329 [Lex.]). This derivation was originally suggested by J.N. Epstein.<sup>53</sup>
41. סְבִיָּא “wine retailer” (DJBA 783)—< Akk. *sābū* “innkeeper, beer merchant” (CAD S, 5). Since the root \*sby is not known anywhere in Aramaic, a loanword is very probable here.
42. סְ(ו)פְלָא “a medicinal plant” (DJBA 826)—This should perhaps be connected with the Akkadian *supālu*-plant (CAD S, 390ff.), which was used extensively in the preparation of medicines.
43. 2# סִלְיִתָּא “afterbirth” (DJBA 804)—< Akk. *siltu* (CAD S, 264). Since the regular word for this object in JBA is שְׁלִיִּיתָא (DJBA 1149), the likelihood of a loan is high.
44. 1# סִלְתָּא “piece of wood” (DJBA 805), 1# סִלְתָּא “to split or cut up a tree trunk into many pieces”—< Akk. *siltu* B “shaving, splinter” (CAD S, 267); *salātu* “to cut, split into many parts” (CAD S, 94). This root was traditionally connected with סִלְתָּא “fine flour” but this is unlikely from the contexts.
45. סִיסְיִן “camomile” (DJBA 807)—< Akk. *sissin libbi* “a medicinal plant” (CAD S, 327, mng. 6).
46. 1# סִיסְנָא “date spadix, branch” (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *sissinnu* “date spadix” (CAD S, 325) [cf. Sy *سببنة* LS 487].
47. סְמִתְרִי “dragon’s blood” (i.e., red-colored heart of *Dracaena cinnabari* used as a medication)—< Akk. *šam terinni* “a medicinal plant” (DAB 8; AHw, 1348, s.v. *terinnu*).<sup>54</sup>
48. סְפֵר מְתָא “town official” (DJBA 828)—< Akk. *šāpir mātīm* “governor” (CAD Š/1, 456, mng. 2a). While the Akkadian term originally designated an important official, as a result of the semantic degradation of the term מְתָא in JBA from “land” to “town,” the compound phrase indicates now as well also a less important one.

53. See *Babylonisch-aramäische Studien, Festschrift i Anledning af Professor D. Simonsens 70-Aarige Fødselsdag* (Copenhagen, 1923), 306.

54. For another example of the pronunciation of the determinative *šammu* with a plant name, see שְׁבִלְיָתָא [DJBA 1103].

49. סְרַסְיָא “brewer” (DJBA 832)—< Akk. *sirāšū* (CAD S, 306).<sup>55</sup>
50. פְּרִדְיָא “vineyard” (DJBA 927)—< Akk. *pardēsu* “garden, orchard” (AHw, 833) < OP *paridaida* “pleasure garden.”<sup>56</sup> In JBA this word almost exclusively means “vineyard,” a meaning already found in NB, through which the word was borrowed into Aramaic;<sup>57</sup> cf.: *pardēsa ana karāni* a vineyard [lit. orchard for wine] (CT 22:198,16).<sup>58</sup>
51. צִירְחָא “feverish inflammation” (DJBA 963)—This word occurs in JBA in the phrase צִירְחָא דְלִיבָא < Akk. *širīḫti libbi* “intestinal inflammation” (CAD Š, 207).<sup>59</sup>
52. צִרְיָא, pl. צִרְיָא “palm-band” (DJBA 971)—< Akk. *šarū* “a part of the date palm” (CAD Š, 115).
53. קְרִיָּא “owl” (DJBA 983)<sup>60</sup>—< Akk. *qadū* A (CAD Q, 51).
54. 1# קִוְרָא “terminal bud (‘heart’) of the date palm” (DJBA 1001)—< Akk. *uqūru* (AHw, 1427) [cf. Sy *قوة* LS 656].
55. רִיפְקָא “hoeing” (DJBA 1077)—< Akk. *ripqu* A (CAD R, 366).<sup>61</sup>
56. 1# שְׁבִרְיָא “night- and day-blindness” (DJBA 1106)—< Akk. *šubrur* “dimmed or darkened (of eyes)” [relative adj.]; cf. *ša ināšu šubrurā* one whose eyes are blinded MSL 12 183:5 [v. AHw, 1547], *barāru* G to become dim! (of eyes) (CAD B, 106).
57. 2# שְׁבִשָּׁא “to collect a fee on agricultural crops” (DJBA 1106), שְׁיִבְשָּׁא “a levy placed on agricultural crops” (DJBA 1132)—< Akk. *šabāšu* “to collect taxes levied on agricultural crops” (CAD Š/1, 6, mng. 2); *šibšu* “an agricultural tax” (CAD Š/2, 383). The verbal root together with its derived noun occurs in the Babylonian Talmud in a passage dealing with the prohibition against charging interest<sup>62</sup> and was explained by Rashi as “property owners who lend wheat to tenant farmers for seed, and they repay them new wheat (at harvest time) at the granary,” a practice that is forbidden because of usury. This root clearly has no connection with the other two JBA roots שְׁבִשָּׁא, which mean “to corrupt” and “to cajole” respectively. The phrase, however, corresponds exactly

55. See Stol, *Beer*, 159.

56. See HAp, 137.

57. See M.A. Dandamaev, *Acta Iranica* 23 (1984): 113ff.

58. For this reading, v. AHw, 833.

59. See Geller, *Vademecum*, 26.

60. Aside from JBA, this word occurs in Aramaic only in Targum Onkelos.

61. In AIOA 87, the verb is given but not the derived noun.

62. The text reads: הַנְּהוּ דְשִׁבְשִׁי שְׁיִבְשָּׁא “those who collect the agricultural fee” BM 73a (24; EsF1).

- to Akkadian *šibišni ul tašabbaš* “you will not collect our š.-tax” (CAD Š/2, 383). While in Akkadian the term generally refers to a tax levied by the authorities, some of the passages cited in the lexica clearly refer to a fee paid by the cultivator to the owner of the field.<sup>63</sup>
58. שׁוּגְרִיא “basket woven out of palm leaves” (DJBA 1115)—< Akk. *šugrū* “basket” (CAD Š/3, 202). Following the treatment of this word by Löw,<sup>64</sup> in which he showed the correct form and meaning of this word on the basis of a Geonic passage,<sup>65</sup> Landsberger correctly pointed out the Akkadian origin of the term.<sup>66</sup>
59. שׁוּרְבִינָא “species of cypress (*Cyprinus horizontalis*)” (DJBA 1124)—< Akk. *šurmēnu* (CAD Š/3, 349) [cf. Sy שׁוּרְבִינָא LS 806, Ma שׁוּרְבִינָא MD 457].
60. שׁוּרִינָא “sinew, vein, bronchus” (DJBA ib.)—< Akk. *šer’ānu* “sinew, tendon” (CAD Š/2, 308) [cf. Sy שׁוּרִינָא# nerve, membrane, artery LS 808, Ma שׁוּרִינָא MD 463, mng. a]. In addition to the general term, we also find שׁוּרִינָא דְעֵינָא corresponding to Akkadian *šer’ān inī* “veins of the eyes” (CAD Š/2, 311).<sup>67</sup>
61. שׁוּרִינָא# “a type of date” (DJBA 1139)—< Akk. *šišūtu, šušū* “a quality of dates” (CAD Š/3, 124, 277) [cf. MH שׁוּרִינָא Jastrow 1567].
62. שׁוּרִינָא# “undeveloped dates” (DJBA 1147)—< Akk. *suluppū* “(ripened and plucked) dates” (CAD S, 373).<sup>68</sup>
63. שׁוּרִינָא “to benefit” (DJBA 1182)—< Akk. *ušarši* “to let someone acquire,” s.v. *rašū* A Š, mng. 10 [cf. Sy שׁוּרִינָא# to confer a favor LS 745]. Since the root שׁוּרִינָא occurs only rarely in JBA and always in the meaning of “to collect a debt,” this *šafel* form, which corresponds both in form and meaning to the specific Akkadian word, should strongly be considered to be a loan.
64. תּוּחַלָּא, תּוּחַלָּא “basket made of woven palm leaves, type of date” (DJBA 1196)—< Akk. *tuhallu, t. ša suluppī* “t.-basket for dates” (AHw, 1366).

63. E.g., he will plant the field with date palms *ina ebūri šalšu šibšu ana bēl eqli inandin ... zēru mala ultaddū akī* US<sub>2</sub>.SA.DU šibšu [ana b]ēl eqli inandin “from the (total) yield he will give one third as š.-tax to the owner of the field, for as much as the field remains fallow he will pay š.-tax to the owner of the field according to the (rate paid by his) neighbors” (CAD Š/2, 385 [NB]).

64. See Löw, *Flora* 2, 347.

65. Cf. נקרא חותלות שלתמרים וכלי הוא מעלין שלדקל שגודלין אותו כאריג או כמעשה עבות Otzar Hageonim Ketubbot 245:10.

66. See Landsberger, *Date Palm*, 37.

67. See M. Geller, *BiOr* 43 (1986): 740.

68. See Löw, *Flora* 2, 342.

65. תּוּחַלָּא “species of date palm” (DJBA 1211)—< Akk. *tālu* “young date palm” (AHw, 1312) [cf. Ma תּוּחַלָּא MD 478].

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following non-Assyriological abbreviations are employed in this article:

AF	H. Zimmern, <i>Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss</i> , Leipzig 1917.
AIOA	S. Kaufman, <i>The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic</i> , Chicago 1974.
Akk	Akkadian.
ATTM	K. Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer</i> , Göttingen 1984.
BBah	R. Duval (ed.), <i>Hassan bar Bahlul, Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule</i> , 3 vols., Paris 1898–1901.
BH	Biblical Hebrew.
Bukân	OA inscription from Bukân (Iran) [cited acc. to edition in M. Sokoloff, <i>IEJ</i> 49 (1999): 107+].
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic.
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods</i> , Ramat Gan & Baltimore 2002.
DJPA	Idem, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period</i> , 2nd ed., Ramat Gan & Baltimore 2002.
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols., Leiden 1995.
DSA	A. Tal, <i>A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic</i> , 2 vols., Leiden 2000.
GAP	J.-A. Fitzmyer, <i>The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1<sup>2</sup></i> , Rome 1971.
Geller, <i>Vademecum</i>	M. Geller, “An Akkadian Vademecum in the Babylonian Talmud,” in S. Kottke et al. (eds.), <i>From Athens to Jerusalem, Medicine in Hellenized Jewish Lore and in Early Christian Literature</i> , Rotterdam 2000. Pp. 13–32.
Greenfield, AKY	M. Paul et al. (eds.), <i>Al Kamfei Yonah, Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology</i> , 2 vols., Jerusalem 2001.
HAL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament</i> , 2 vols., Leiden 1995.
HAp	W. Brandenstein, <i>Handbuch des Altpersischen</i> , Wiesbaden 1964.
Ḥaṭ	Ḥatra
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> .
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature</i> , New York 1903.
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.
Krauss, <i>Lehnuw</i>	S. Krauss, <i>Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum</i> , II, Berlin 1899.
Landsberger, <i>Date Palm</i>	B. Landsberger, <i>The Date Palm and Its By-Products according to the Cuneiform Sources</i> , Graz 1967.

- Löw, *Flora* I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, 4 vols., Vienna and Leipzig 1924–1934.
- LS C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., Halle 1928.
- LSp Fr. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*, Berlin 1903.
- Ma Mandaic
- MD E.-S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963.
- MH Mishnaic Hebrew.
- NTA A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*, Geneva 2001.
- OA Old Aramaic.
- OfA Official Aramaic.
- Salonen, *Fischerei* A. Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*, Helsinki 1970.
- SLOB S.-J. Lieberman, *Sumerian Loanwords in Old Babylonian*, I, Cambridge 1977.
- Stol, *Beer* M. Stol, "Beer in Neo-Babylonian Times," in L. Milano (ed.), *Drinking in Ancient Societies; History of the Ancient Near East*, Studies VI, Padua 1994. Pp. 155–183.
- Sy Syriac
- Wehr H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961.



## MONEYBAGS IN NEO-BABYLONIAN TEXTS

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IT IS BOTH an honor and a pleasure to contribute to this anniversary volume in honor of Jacob Klein, a distinguished scholar and old friend of mine. Though his research interest is far from the Neo-Babylonian period, and the moneybags referred to in the title of the present paper are not the best present for an anniversary, I hope that the virtual and ancient money dealt with below would be of some interest to him.

The sense of the word *hindu*<sup>1</sup> is unproblematic; it means a leather bag and refers in most Neo-Babylonian texts to a moneybag for keeping gold or silver.<sup>2</sup> According to lexical lists cited in CAD H, 192b, a *hindu* could be tied with a string. A hoard of silver, wrapped in three separate textile bags, hidden between 750 and 600 at Elephantine in Egypt, shows that the bags were tied up, two by a cord, and one by a copper wire (Noeske 1991: 342 and 1993: 204). From some Neo-Babylonian texts we learn that the bags referred to in the tablets were sealed.<sup>3</sup> Finally, mention of moneybags—once even of a sealed moneybag—occurs in the Old Testament as well.<sup>4</sup> We may thus presume that moneybags were, perhaps as a rule, tied up and sealed, and we may even conclude that this was a popular way of keeping money in the first millennium all over the ancient Near East.

This is all the more probable because we have plenty of Old Babylonian references to sealed silver, which is usually interpreted as silver

1. In Neo-Babylonian texts, the writing is, as far as I am aware, always *hi-in-du*, earlier *hi-im-tu* and *hi-in-tu* as well.
2. For the meaning, see CAD H, 192b and AHW, 346b. For gold in moneybags see Camb. 34, and for silver, see BM 63968 [Bertin 1592], BM 74502 [Bertin 1700]; Graziani 1991, no. 2, Krecher 1971: 258–59, Nbk. 10, Nbn. 215, 228, 673, 1047, 1048; TCL 12, 120 (in fact the same bag as in Nbn. 1048).
3. TCL 12, 120; Graziani 1991, no. 2.
4. Gen 42:35 and Prov 7:20; for a sealed bag, though in figurative sense, see Job 14:17.

sealed in bags.<sup>5</sup> Besides, we know from an Old Babylonian hoard, buried in 1738 BC, that the bags were pre-weighed (from  $\frac{1}{3}$  up to 15 shekels, see below), tied up, then sealed in a royal office before being put into circulation.<sup>6</sup> Since both Old and Neo-Babylonian texts presumably refer to the same custom, it is legitimate to conclude that this was one of the usual ways of using money in Mesopotamia for at least two millennia. Accordingly, *kaspum kankum* and *kaspu ina KUŠ ħindi* are related expressions, used in the second and first millennia respectively.

In some cases, we come across a term, *reĥet/u ħindi*, "leftover of the bag,"<sup>7</sup> which suggests that some bags were used unfastened or unsealed after they were opened and some money from them had been spent. It is not too hard to accept that silver was usually kept in leather or textile bags, tied up and sealed. However, the fact that silver was sometimes used in open moneybags is far more difficult to explain, though there are at least three texts that explicitly refer to silver in open bags (*ħindu paĥirtu*).<sup>8</sup> The question is: How was silver kept in open bags without being lost, and why were these bags left open? Furthermore, in at least one text the open bag was described as tied up and sealed,<sup>9</sup> which raises the question of whether the term "open" refers to bags being physically open.

Interestingly, according to all three references, very big sums were lent in the open bags.<sup>10</sup> As the same probably could be done with closed bags, it is not easy to imagine what would be the difference between giving a loan in open or unopened moneybags. The weights of the bags offer no obvious explanation, since they differ in every case. The smallest sum is 34 shekels, leftover from a bag,<sup>11</sup> while in another case, the leftover is much

5. *kaspum kankum*, for references see CAD K, 153a, Stol 1982: 150–51, Reiter 1997: 93–95, Stol 1999: 575–76 and 579–80. According to Reiter (1997: 93), the qualifier *kankum* does not necessarily imply a bag; it might also refer to the quality of the silver.

6. Published by Arnauld, Calvet, Huot 1979. Though the linen bags disappeared completely, some bullae conserved the imprint of the strings that once closed the bags (Arnauld, Calvet, Huot 1979: 6; Fig. 11 [p. 7] shows one of these bullae, L. 76.60). The weights of the bags are written on the bullae; the place of the weighing and the name of the officer responsible for the authorization of the bags are described on the seals.

7. *re-ĥe-tu KUŠ ħi-in-du* (BM 63968 [Bertin 1592]), *re-ĥe-et KUŠ ħi-in-du* (Scheil 1926: 46), see also KÜ.BABBAR *ša ul-tu KUŠ ħi-in-du* "silver from the bag" (Nbn. 1047), or *mi-ĥi-tu ša KUŠ ħi-in-du* "deficit of the bag" (BM 76–11–17, 1220 [Bertin 463], cited in CAD M/2, 146b, e 2').

8. Krecher 1971: 258–59; Nbk. 10; Graziani 1991, no. 2.

9. Graziani 1991, no. 2.

10. This is also true for the sums lent from the bag (e.g., Nbn. 1047), which is, consequently, also an open bag, in that case against warranty, to third parties.

11. BM 63968 (Bertin 1592).

bigger, 113 shekels.<sup>12</sup> As a rule, both open and closed moneybags contained large sums, from one up to more than ten minas of silver. Therefore, the problem of open moneybags remains. Unfortunately, the texts are terse, and refer only to the sums in the bags, without any further information.

Krecher came to the conclusion that a moneybag that was tied up and sealed could only be used as a whole, whereas one could use an open moneybag either as a whole or as a container from which to disburse smaller amounts.<sup>13</sup> Based on a new text,<sup>14</sup> and following a suggestion of M. Weszeli, this logical conclusion was refuted by Jursa (1993:13). He pointed out that an open moneybag was opened for inspection and then sealed again, and its contents could be constantly controlled. In other words, open moneybags, like the unopened ones, were used as a whole.

If we realize that silver used as money often contained small pieces, up to 0,01 grams, as the hoards reveal, it is in fact difficult to suppose that such small pieces could be kept in open bags. On the other hand, I am not entirely convinced that the phrase *ħindu paĥertu rakistu u kaniktu* should be understood, with Jursa, as "bag opened (for inspection of the parties and afterward) tied up (again) and sealed."<sup>15</sup> The expressions *riĥit ħindi*, and *miĥit ħindi*, referred to above,<sup>16</sup> point to the fact that parts of the sums were spent after the bags were opened. Another tablet offers some new perspectives.

Text Nbn. 673 lists various silver objects, summarized in lines 12–14, given to the smiths for repair. However, this is followed in lines 14–15 by a passage whose interpretation is disputed. CAD H, 193a reads "20 minas, 55 shekels of silver *la(-)ŠĪR(-)tum ina KUŠ ħi-in-di ina bit qātē*," with the remark that the context is obscure. According to Salonen (1975:45), the correct reading is *te!-ĥir-tum*, but he could propose no translation.<sup>17</sup> None of these readings gives acceptable sense to the passage and they are thus open for discussion. I would read 20 $\frac{2}{3}$  MA.NA 5 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR *la KÉŠ-tu<sub>4</sub> ina KUŠ ħi-in-di ina É.ŠU.II*. The literal translation would be "20 minas 45 shekels of silver, not tied up, in the money bag, in the 'hand-house'" (i.e., a wing of building used as a workroom or storehouse [CAD Q, 198]). Based

12. Scheil 1926: 46.

13. "abgezählter Betrag an Bargeld zur Verwendung nur im Ganzen" and "abgezählter Betrag an Bargeld zur freien Verwendung im Ganzen wie in Teilen," Krecher 1971: 257.

14. Graziani 1991, no. 2, collated and corrected by Jursa (1993: 13).

15. "Lederbeutel, (zum Inspektion des Inhalts durch die Parteien) geöffnet, (und danach wieder) zugebunden und versiegelt," Jursa 1993: 13.

16. See n. 7.

17. "20 $\frac{2}{3}$  Minen 5 Sekel... Silber (sind) in einer Ledertasche im 'Handhaus'."

on the above passages, it would be tempting to explain the phrase *la KÉŠ-tu<sub>4</sub>* as a feminine form and relate it to silver deposited inside the store in an open moneybag (*hīndu lā rakistu*). This solution is problematic, however, partly because it is unlikely that money would be kept in such a place in an open bag, and partly because the attribute should have been placed after the bag. Consequently, we have to understand it as plural (*lā raksūtu*), in which case it refers to the silver. The passage translates thus as "20 minas 45 shekels of loose silver, deposited in the store in a leather bag." We have to presume that the bag was tied up in the store; otherwise the silver could have been easily lost or stolen. The phrase suggests, however, that under usual circumstances silver was kept wrapped even in a closed moneybag, otherwise it would have been redundant to state that the silver was loose. But how, and especially why, was silver tied up before being put into the bag, and how should we understand the explicit references to open moneybags?

I would exclude the possibility that silver was used in open bags, and that it was more convenient to state on the tablet that the bags were open than to tie them up. If, however, a bag was opened only for inspection and then immediately closed, it would have hardly been necessary to refer to it as an "open bag." In fact, opening, inspecting, and closing a bag, even if this implied a new sealing, must have been a common practice. A moneybag is, nevertheless, something special, and this practice would have been easy only if it was the owner of the bag who checked and re-sealed his moneybag. My impression is, however, that this was not the case, and this is the explanation for the use of open moneybags.

A juxtaposition of textual and archaeological evidence suggests that the sealing of moneybags was the prerogative of some institutions, most often the temple and palace. Concerning the Old Babylonian period, Stol (1999: 575) concluded recently, in my mind convincingly, that the sums weighed with the stone of Šamaš were authorized in the Sippar temple. Other sums might have been approved by other temples, cities (e.g., NA<sub>4</sub> *Mari<sup>ki</sup>*, É *ālim* etc.), associations of merchants (NA<sub>4</sub> *DAM.GĀR*), or the king (NA<sub>4</sub> *LUGAL*, *mātim*, etc.).<sup>18</sup> The Larsa hoard (Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979) proves that various quantities of silver were sorted, checked, and pre-weighed in the royal weighing-office at Ur, placed in bags, then sealed and put into circulation, and finally buried together in a jar in the Ebabbar temple. It is of importance that only one out of the twelve bags found in that temple was sealed by an official of that institution;<sup>19</sup> the rest were sealed by

18. For references, see CAD A/1, 59.

19. Bulla L.76.60, sealed by Bēlanum, son of Šin-magir, servant of the god Šamaš, see Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979: 17. The editors suggested, though with a question-

a royal assayer of the House of Truth in Ur, in the name of his king, as is mentioned on the bullae.<sup>20</sup> We know of several such offices in other towns as well, especially in Sippar and Babylon.<sup>21</sup>

It can be presumed that this custom was maintained after the Old Babylonian period as well, that the Neo-Babylonian moneybags played the same role, and further that the sealing of a bag, just like the minting of coins, could be done only by authorized persons. A bag sealed with an official seal, with the bulla mentioning the weight of the silver, could probably be used without further weighing or controlling, as is shown by the expression *manūtu ša Babilī*. This term refers, contrary to the suggested "standard for commuting Greek and Parthian coins into Babylonian shekels,"<sup>22</sup> to the "Babylonian way of counting (money)."<sup>23</sup> If I am right in this conclusion, a *hīndu* that was opened, that is, its seal was broken, even if its content was only checked, could not be re-stamped by its owner. Such bags might have been called open bags, that is, bags that had to be weighed on the balance. Seen in this perspective, the wrapped silver in an otherwise probably closed bag, referred to above, can be seen in a new light. The Larsa hoard was made up of twelve small bags, amounting respectively to  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, 1,  $1\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $1\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 5,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and 15 shekels, each wrapped and sealed separately. On the accompanying tablet, however, only the total weight of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mina  $4\frac{1}{6}$  shekels was mentioned. It is thus not entirely unlikely that the Neo-Babylonian bags, weighing, as a rule, several minas, according to the texts, were in fact also made up of smaller bags to facilitate their use in everyday business.<sup>24</sup> This is at least suggested by the unusual reference above to unwrapped silver in the bag, and there are some more texts that point in this direction.<sup>25</sup> In any case, we need some more explicit references—or a new Mesopotamian hoard of this period—to prove this theory.

mark, that this person replaced the royal official during the revolt of Rim-Sin II (Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979: 56).

20. For the royal weighing office at Ur, see Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979: 18 and Stol 1982: 151.

21. See Stol 1982: 151 and n. 76, Stol 1999: 574. However, the references to the weighing offices at Uruk (Stol 1999: 574), or Larsa (Reiter 1997: 93), are probably wrong. See also the references quoted by Arnaud, Calvet, Huot 1979: 56, nn. 4–5.

22. See the discussion by Stolper (1993: 22–23), and lastly by van der Spek (1998: 214).

23. I will return to this problem in a separate article.

24. Unfortunately, not one Neo-Babylonian hoard known to me contains silver wrapped into bags. Nonetheless, this is most probably due to the fact that all hoards were found by illicit diggers. In Israel, for example, hoards that contain silver in pre-weighed bags are well known from controlled excavations, see, e.g., Briand and Humbert 1980 or Stern 1998.

25. Text Camb. 34 lists several bags of gold given to the goldsmiths: one bag of 5 minas, two bags of  $1\frac{5}{6}$  minas and 6 shekels, three bags of 1 mina and  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel, 4 bags of




The conclusion suggested in the present paper is that the word *hindu*, “moneybag,” has probably two related meanings. Sometimes it is just a moneybag used to keep money belonging to an individual or institution.<sup>26</sup> More often, however, it is a pre-weighed and authorized moneybag of a definite weight that could be used, like coins, as individual units. The open moneybag, *hindu paṭertu*, is a similar bag, the official seal of which was, for whatever reason, broken, and which was later tied up, or even sealed with a private seal, but was considered as bullion, and had to be weighed out on a scale.<sup>27</sup>

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56 shekels, and 5 bags of a broken quantity of gold. It is striking to see that the bags are not enumerated one by one, a fact that suggests that they were kept together, with their total weight registered on the tablet. The same is suggested by the sums of 20⅔ minas 5 shekels and 11 minas 18 shekels, registered in tablets Nbn. 673 and 1048 respectively (the latter is the same bag as in TCL 12, 120).

26. See, for example, the reference to the moneybag of year 5 (*ina hindi ša MU.5.KÁM*) in tablets Nbn. 215 and 228 (one moneybag to collect taxes and donations of a given year?).  
27. For a good parallel to this custom in ancient Israel, see Isa 46:6.



OFFSPRING OF SILENCE, SPAWN OF A FISH,  
SON OF A GAZELLE...:  
ENKIDU'S DIFFERENT ORIGINS  
IN THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS of Prof. Jacob Klein in the study of Mesopotamian literature need no reiteration. This short contribution is offered to him with deep appreciation, hoping that its subject will fall within his manifold interests—for Enkidu is Gilgameš's closest comrade, Gilgameš is Šulgi's “brother and friend,”<sup>1</sup> and Šulgi, is, I have basis to believe, the jubilarian's favorite Mesopotamian hero.

The role of Enkidu in the *Epic of Gilgameš* is pivotal, however his persona remains enigmatic.<sup>2</sup> In the following I would like to tackle one puzzling question regarding Gilgameš's friend, namely the different, perhaps even contradictory ways the epic renders the origin of Enkidu, and the impact of his personal conundrum—hinted at by the multiplicity of answers to this question—on the development of the plot.

I. “Offspring of Silence”: The Cosmological Origin of Enkidu

In the first tablet of the Standard Babylonian Version of the epic of Gilgameš we read about the creation of Enkidu, whose coming into being was deemed necessary by the great gods in order to balance Gilgameš's tempestuous behavior in Uruk: “They summoned Aruru, the great one: ‘You, Aruru, created [mankind], now fashion what Anu has thought of! Let him be a *match* for the storm of his heart, let them vie with each other, so Uruk may be rested.’ The goddess Aruru heard these words, what Anu had

1. Šulgi D 291–93. See J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns. Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981), 82.
2. From the vast literature concerning Enkidu, see recently A. Westenholz and U. Koch-Westenholz, “Enkidu—the Noble Savage?,” in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature. Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W. G. Lambert*, eds. A.R. George and I.L. Finkel (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 437–51.

thought of she fashioned within her" (SB I 94–100).<sup>3</sup> Deceit by the assembly of the gods and conceived by Anu's idea that incubated within her, Aruru turned into the *Opus* itself: "The goddess Aruru, she washed her hands, took a pinch of clay, threw it down in the wild. In the wild she created Enkidu, the hero, offspring of silence, knit strong by Ninurta" (SB I 100–4).<sup>4</sup>

This creation—one cannot call it "birth"—depicts in simple words a complex cosmological event. The transmutation of clay into a living creature occurred when Aruru "took a pinch of clay" and "threw it down" on the ground. The verbal form *iktariš* (SB I 101), which describes Aruru's action, reverberates a few lines later in the mysterious designation of Enkidu as *kišir* "Ninurta" (SB I 104), which, in turn, is echoed in *kišru ša* "Anim," mentioned when Gilgameš, anticipating his encounter with Enkidu, dreams about "a rock from the sky" (SB I 247–50).<sup>5</sup> It may be deduced, I submit, that the clay Aruru took was not simple terrestrial clay, but a divine, possibly celestial matter, and that the goddess washed her hands in order to procure this special material, similarly, perhaps, to the way Enki/Ea removed dirt from under his fingernails and created Šaltum (in Agušaja A v24),<sup>6</sup> or Kurgarra and the Galaturra (in *Inanna's Descent* 222–23).<sup>7</sup>

The crucial point is that Enkidu's creation in this passage is non-copulative and non-personal, almost an inorganic reproduction. Aruru, the divine *mater creatrix*,<sup>8</sup> is neither Enkidu's mother nor a midwife assisting in his birth. The impersonal character of this creation is amplified by the fact

3. A. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh A New Translation* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: The Penguin Press, 1999), 4–5. On the goddess Aruru, see the article by Jeremy Black in this volume.
4. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 5. See J.H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 192–97.
5. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 10.
6. *Ea eršum rūšam ša šuprišu ad sebišu iqqur qātiššu ilqe <ša> pišu Šaltam ibtani*, "Ea the wise dug out the dirt from under his fingernails seven times. He took spittle (lit. <that> of his mouth) in his hand, created Šaltum"; see B. R.M. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar. Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin. Tanatti Ištar* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), 79 and 91, n. 39. Cf. CAD S, 251<sup>b</sup> and CAD R, 432<sup>b</sup>.
7. *umbin-si-ni mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm kur-gar-ra-aš ba-an-dím umbin-si-mina-kam-ma mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm gala-tur-ra-aš ba-an-dím*, "He (Enki) removed some dirt from the tip of his fingernail and created the Kurgarra. He removed some dirt from the tip of his other fingernail and created the Galaturra"; see W.R. Sladek, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld," Ph.D. diss., (The Johns Hopkins University, 1974), 131, 170.
8. For Aruru and other creating goddesses, see M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible. Its Mediterranean Setting* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000), 74–83, where previous literature can be found.

that the name of the wild, strong, and hairy creature just created is not mentioned at all. He is referred to as *ilitti qūlti*, "offspring of silence" (SB I 104), an epithet that proves that there was no one in the wilderness to pronounce his name. Only after seventy lines is the name "Enkidu" first introduced in the epic (SB I 174), and this, unsurprisingly, happens when the human, civilized surrounding, in the person of the harlot Šamḫat, approaches the nameless creature. But more than a name, Enkidu fatefully lacked an essential substance: mother's milk.

## II. "Spawn of a Fish": The Degraded Origin of Enkidu

The impersonal nature of Enkidu's creation is mirrored in Humbaba's curse. Having arrived at their destination, Gilgameš and Enkidu are confronted by the guardian of the Cedar Forest. Humbaba's first words are directed to Gilgameš: "Why have you come into my presence?" (SB V 85). Then he turns to Enkidu with these spiteful words: "Come, Enkidu, you spawn of a fish, who knew no father, hatchling of terrapin and turtle, who sucked no mother's milk!" (SB V 86–87). To underpin these harsh words Humbaba mentions that this meeting is not his first encounter with Enkidu: "In your youth I watched you, but near you I went not" (SB V 88).<sup>9</sup> Indeed, in the Old Babylonian version of the epic Enkidu himself tells Gilgameš, just before departure, that in the past he had seen the Guardian of the Cedar Forest: "I knew him, my friend, in the uplands, when I roamed here and there with the herd" (OB Y iii14–15).<sup>10</sup> Thus, Humbaba's insults are not accidental, but triggered by the fact—known to the audience as to Humbaba—that Enkidu cannot name his progenitors and that his origin is opaque. Moreover, as will be presently discussed, at this point in the epic Enkidu had already been adopted by Gilgameš's mother and, therefore, Humbaba's humiliating words are even more painful, since they degrade both his cosmological origin and his status as step-brother of Gilgameš. To be sure, Humbaba aimed his words precisely at Enkidu's most vulnerable point, namely that he did not drink mother's milk—hence the introduction of fish and amphibious animals, archetypes of non-mammal creatures.

A similar topos of creating a series of animals, most of them mammals, from spawn of fish is found in the Sumerian myth *Enmerkar and Ensuhgir-ana* (previously known as *Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna*). Toward the end of the myth Urgir-nuna, the sorcerer serving the king of Aratta, encounters Sagburu, a wise woman from Ereš. The two magicians engage in a magical combat in which they throw spawn of fish (NUN, read agargara) into the Euphrates, thereby creating different creatures. Five times in succession

9. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 41.
10. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 109.

the sorcerer's creatures are overcome by the animals produced by the wise woman. Urgimuna created a carp out of the spawn of fish but it was taken away by an eagle created by Sagburu. Urgimuna transformed the spawn to a ewe and a lamb but they were seized by a wolf created by the wise woman. Urgimuna caused a cow and a calf to come out of the spawn, but these were seized by a lion created by Sagburu. Similarly, an ibex and a wild sheep created by the sorcerer were seized by a leopard that Sagburu caused to be born from the spawn. In the final round of the transformation duel a gazelle created by the sorcerer was seized by a tiger that the wise woman has created from the spawn. The image of a gazelle-like creature born out of spawn of fish is therefore not entirely novel.<sup>11</sup>

Enkidu does not respond to Humbaba, but the effect of the insult is immediate. When the vanquished Humbaba starts pleading before Gilgamesh for his life, promising him as many cedars as he wishes and mentioning Gilgamesh's mother—by now she is also the mother of Enkidu!—the latter urges Gilgamesh to kill Humbaba without delay (SB V 145–55; 157–58). Humbaba, realizing that his fate lies now in Enkidu's hands, tries to persuade Gilgamesh's companion not to kill him (SB V 175–80). However, Enkidu does not even grant Humbaba an answer. Rather, he urges Gilgamesh to do away with the monster—and Gilgamesh slays Humbaba in the thick of the woods. Thus, Humbaba's spiteful words to Enkidu determine the fate of the Guardian of the Cedar Forest, and as consequence, also the fate of the two main protagonists of the epic.

### III. "Milk of Wild Asses": The Natural Ancestry of Enkidu

But there is another reference in the epic to Enkidu's obscure origin, connected to the leitmotif of his deprivation of mother's milk. The very first words of the lament of Gilgamesh over Enkidu read: "'O Enkidu, [whom] your mother, a gazelle, and your father, a wild donkey, [did raise,] whom the wild [asses] did rear with their milk, whom the beasts [of the wild did teach] all the pastures..." (SB VIII 3–6).<sup>12</sup> With these words the mourning Gilgamesh tries to comfort his dead friend's troubled spirit by assigning him, *post mortem*, what he lacked perhaps more than anything else when alive, namely biological progenitors and mother's milk. Interestingly, the picture of Enkidu drinking wild animals' milk exists in the Old Babylonian version: "the milk of the beasts is what he was suckled on" (OB P iii 1 and

11. A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuĥkešdanna. A Sumerian Narrative Poem* (Philadelphia, 1976), 54–56: 228–48. A new edition of the text can be found in J. Black et al., *The Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature* § 1.8.2.4 (Enmerkar and En-suĥgir-ana), <http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk/>.

12. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 63. For the reading of these lines see CAD S, 318<sup>b</sup> c).

v20).<sup>13</sup> Yet the Old Babylonian version does not say that it was his mother's milk that Enkidu used to drink, nor that Enkidu had any biological parents. The Old Babylonian text remarks that Enkidu used to drink wild animals' milk just to explain the astonishing fact that, when offered bread and beer, the wild creature did not know what to do with these most basic victuals. The Standard Babylonian version, on the other hand, expands on this point and returns to the theme of Enkidu's emotional pain concerning his inability to name his parents, and his deprivation of true mother's milk.

### IV. "I Take For My Son...": Enkidu's Emotional Bond

The last episode in the epic to be treated here is the adoption of Enkidu by Gilgamesh's mother, Ninsun. The passage is unfortunately badly preserved, but it is clear that, just before the two companions departed for their perilous voyage to the Cedar Forest, Ninsun adopted Enkidu as her son: "'O mighty Enkidu, you are not sprung from my womb, but henceforth your brood will belong with the votaries of Gilgamesh, the priestesses, the hierodules and the women of the temple'. She put the symbols on Enkidu's neck" (SB III 121–24).<sup>14</sup> The culmination of the ceremony—a typical performative speech-act, combining verbal declaration with accompanying ritual<sup>15</sup>—was the pronouncement: "Enkidu, whom [I love,] I take for my son" (SB III 127).<sup>16</sup> Despite his not being biologically descended from Ninsun, Enkidu gained an inalienable bond with the goddess and, as a consequence, with her son Gilgamesh. In striking contrast to Enkidu's epithet "offspring of silence" (SBI 100–4), the durable attachment of Enkidu to Ninsun commences when Ninsun called Enkidu by his name, both providing him with a family and identifying him.

It is not hard to understand why Ninsun decided to adopt Enkidu. It was clear to her, as to the elders of Uruk, that without Enkidu the chances of Gilgamesh returning home safely from his expedition were very slight. Enkidu must remain beside him all the way, to guide and protect him. As for the return journey, Gilgamesh will gladly return to Uruk triumphantly, to his natal town that is also his kingdom, and where his mother lives. But what would prevent Enkidu from staying in the uplands, so well known to him since his youth? It would have been only natural for Enkidu to try and re-integrate into the wilderness, to return to the mountains, his native

13. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 104 and 106.

14. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 27. Cf. CAD Q, 49<sup>b</sup> d) s.v. *qadištu*.

15. On performatives in Akkadian literature, see N. Wasserman, *Style and Form in Old Babylonian Literary Texts* (Leiden–Boston: Brill–Styx, 2003), 168–69.

16. George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 27. For the reading *a-na-ku* <sup>d</sup>EN.KI.DÙ DUMU!-[ia...], see R.J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994), 104 n. 22.

environment, rather than going back to the civilized world, to Uruk. Ninsun's love and affection drew him to her against what may have been his natural inclination, and by formally offering Enkidu her motherhood she obliged him, emotionally, to return with Gilgameš to Uruk.

From his mysterious cosmological creation through his adoption by Ninsun, via the degraded version of his origin in Humbaba's curse and the natural ancestry assigned to him by Gilgameš, Enkidu's insatiable yearning for tangible parental origin appears to be a forceful drive throughout the epic.

#### APPENDIX

##### "Born of Earth":

##### Evidence for Spontaneous Generation in Old Babylonian Incantations

Short cosmogonies, often construed in a chain-like pattern ("X gave birth to Y, Y gave birth to Z," etc.), are typical of Mesopotamian incantations and medical texts.<sup>17</sup> In such descriptions of creation, muddy surroundings are regarded as engendering small creatures, such as flies and worms, e.g., the Old Babylonian incantation YOS 11, 5: 1–4: "Anu inseminated heaven; heaven bore earth. Earth bore stench; stench bore mud; mud bore the fly; the fly bore the worm. The worm, daughter of Gula... (caused damage to the baby's eye, etc.)."<sup>18</sup>

I would like to draw attention to three Old Babylonian incantations, not construed in the chain-pattern, in which a similar notion of creation can be found. The first text, one of the rare and interesting incantations originating from Mari, is against a biting scorpion. Lines 5–6 of this incantation read as follows: *ka-ri-iš-ma i-na ap-si-im ṭi<sub>4</sub>-da-šu' / ul-da-aš-šu a-suru-um* ..., "his clay is pinched off in the Apsû; the foundation of the wall bore him...."<sup>19</sup> The second incantation, dealing with the catching of a snake, is found on the reverse of YOS 11, 19 (the obverse bears an incantation against Lamaštu). In lines 18–20 of this incantation we read: *[s]a-ḫu-um ID [...]* / *sa-ḫu-um la ID [...]* / *ib-ba-ni i-na šer[im](AB.[SIN?])*,<sup>20</sup> "The meadow..., the meadow..., he was born in the fur[ow...]."<sup>21</sup> The third passage comes from YOS 11, 3, a badly preserved and only partially under-

stood incantation against a worm.<sup>22</sup> Lines 7–9 of this incantation read: *mi-tum iš-tu er-še'-tīm / i-ba-lu-ṭa-am-ma / la te-li*, "even when the dead will come to life from the netherworld, you (i.e., the worm?) may not come forth (from the earth)." As J. van Dijk remarked, the author of this incantation "seems to think that the dead may come to life from the earth, just as the worm is generated from the mud."<sup>23</sup>

Ancient Mesopotamians were observant naturalists and knew that low, drenched, and muddy areas were breeding habitats for worms, flies, and clayey crawling creatures such as scorpions and snakes. The cited passages seem to go one step further and equate contiguity and causality. They take these environments—referred to as *Apsû*, *asurrûm*, *sāḫum*, *šer'um*, and *uššum*<sup>24</sup>—not only as areas where reptiles and insects live and breed, but more specifically, as *prima materia*, which literally produce and procreate these creatures.

This concept of procreation was not restricted to the Mesopotamians. In *The Generation of Animals* Aristotle presented the concept of spontaneous generation of bloodless animals—but not snakes and scorpions—"which come into being not as the result of the copulation of living animals, but out of putrescent soil and out of residues."<sup>25</sup> Similarly the Babylonian Talmud knows of a certain valley where a particular mouse is incarnated; on the first day its body is still half earth and half flesh, but by the next day its embodiment is complete and it becomes totally flesh. The same account tells of a certain mountain where snails are rapidly born after the rain.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the idea of spontaneous generation continued to be vividly debated in European scientific thought until the Victorian era.<sup>27</sup>

Further study is required in order to better assess the ancient Mesopotamian view of spontaneous generation of worms, snakes, and scorpions, especially as this notion was not unique, since there is enough textual and iconographic evidence to prove that Mesopotamian scholars were quite aware of, and even intrigued by, the copulative reproduction of reptiles and by their complex courtship behavior.<sup>28</sup>

22. See *tu-ul-tum*, in the first line of the text.

23. J. van Dijk, YOS 11, p. 17.

24. See YOS 11, 4: 24, an incantation that mentions a snake living in a foundation pit (*uššum*).

25. A.L. Peck, *Aristotle: Generation of Animals* (London and Cambridge, Mass.: The Loeb Classical Library, 1943), 5, 715a (see also 761b and 762a).

26. *B. Sanhedrin*, 91a.

27. See recently J.E. Strick, *Sparks of Life: Darwinism and the Victorian Debates over Spontaneous Generation* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The Harvard University Press, 2000).

28. See A. Cavigneaux, "La Période du Scorpion dans les Formules Magiques Sumériennes (Texts de Tell Haddad V)," *ASJ* 17 (1995): 75–99.

17. See, e.g., J. Bottéro, "Les textes cosmogoniques mineurs en langue akkadienne. Variations mythologiques sur le thème de la Cosmogonie," in *Mythes et rites de Babylone* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1985), 279–328, and N. Veldhuis, "The Fly, The Worm, and the Chain," *OLP* 24 (1993): 41–64.

18. Cf. Veldhuis, *OLP* 42 (1993): 62.

19. A. Cavigneaux, "Magica Mariana," *RA* 88 (1994): 155–61.

20. See W. Farber's collation in YOS 11, p. 64 to this line, which suggests TAB.BA or AB for the last sign.

21. For *sa-ḫu-um*, see CAD S, 56, s.v. *sāḫū* A (*sāḫū*), "meadow, waterlogged land." This is the first attestation of this lemma in Old Babylonian.

# MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVE AS ATTRIBUTIVE AND PREDICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE JERUSALEM-AMARNA LETTERS

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## 1. Introduction

To understand the Akkadian language, it is a well-known and accepted fact that it is imperative that each of its dialects should be studied. This is even more so when dealing with Peripheral Akkadian (PA), the *lingua franca* of the ancient Near East in the second millennium B.C.E. This is a form of Akkadian consisting of numerous dialects and sub-dialects, used by a select group of speakers and scribes belonging to a certain academic custom or to a specific scribal school.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the Jerusalem Amarna letters it should be noted that the scribe of these letters is constantly *extra chorum* and compared with other scribes in a wider setting, he may be considered as no longer simply an anomaly, but as an alien. In short, it would appear as if the Jerusalem Amarna letters reveal a large component, which may be called northern. What characterizes him in Palestine is paralleled in the writing and language we find as we move northward along the lines of the several Syrian traditions.<sup>2</sup>

A comprehensive and detailed investigation of any of these corpora is a prerequisite so as to understand the basic system of its language, as well as to identify the linguistic characteristics it shares with other PA dialects. Such an investigation could also be beneficial for the study of the historical progression regarding the different dialects and sub-dialects operative in

the periphery, as well as for the examination of the historical development of the Akkadian *lingua franca* of the western periphery, or WPA. It is, therefore, necessary that each local or regional group of texts be considered *a priori* as representing a particular dialect.<sup>3</sup>

The letters considered as originating from Jerusalem, all addressed to the pharaoh, king of Egypt, are: EA 285 to 290, all of them from the vassal <sup>c</sup>Abdi-Heba concerning the following topics:

- 285 A soldier becoming the ruler of Jerusalem
- 286 The throne being granted and not inherited
- 287 The very serious crime of the vassals Milkilu and Tagi against <sup>c</sup>Abdi-Heba
- 288 Neglect involving the <sup>c</sup>Apiru
- 289 A reckoning demanded, involving Milkilu and Tagi
- 290 Three against one involving Milkilu, Šuardata, and Ginti.

In this paper attention will be given to proper (natural) adjectives, as well as pseudo adjectives (stative verbs used adjectively as also certain "standard" expressions that reveal adjectival constructions).

## 2. Proper Adjectives

### 2.1. Morphology of the Adjective

#### 2.1.1. Notes on the Gender of Some Adjectives

Though considered, but for the sake of simplicity, text emendations and corrections will not be indicated. Moreover, only if and when special reference is made to a form of the adjective will the text containing the form be indicated.

Adjectives are used attributively, predicatively, or independently (substantively) and, therefore, take on the gender of the noun to which they relate.<sup>4</sup>

#### A. Masculine adjectives:

- rabû* "large, great, important, eminent"
- dannu* "strong, severe, hard, difficult, fortified"

1. See Sh. Izre'el, "A New Translation of The Amarna Letters," *BiOr* 47/5/6 (1990): 577-604, pp. 578, 583-84, also A.F. Rainey, "A New Translation of The Amarna Letters—After 100 Years," *AfO* 36/37 (1989/1990): 56-75, pp. 56-58.

2. See William L. Moran, "The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters," in *Unity and Diversity*, Hans Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts, eds. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 146.

3. See J.P. van der Westhuizen, "Morphology and Morphosyntax of the Verb in the Amqi Amarna Letters" *JSem* 3/1 (1991): 55-56, as also Sh. Izre'el, *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* Vol. I, Harvard Semitic Series (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1991), 10-11. For *lingua franca* as interlanguage, see *Amarna Diplomacy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 10 and 235-36.

4. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 186-88, Anson F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, Vols. I-IV, Handbook of Oriental Studies, The Near and Middle East (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), I 161-72.

## B. Feminine adjectives:

<i>dannatu</i>	"strong, powerful, great, mighty"
<i>banātu</i>	"eloquent, pleasant, nice, friendly"

## 2.2. Indication of Number in Adjectives

To designate plural adjectives the morpheme /*ut*/ is inserted between the stem and the case ending.<sup>5</sup>

Because of spelling practices it is not always possible to verify the nature (i.e., quantity and quality) regarding the final vowel of an adjective. It is for this reason that we are frequently unable to study the phonological and the morphological differences between the singular and plural forms of some adjectives not marked with respect to their gender, as is the normal case with the masculine noun. The following form represents an example of the plural marker, in our corpus, added to an adjective written syllabically:

*ma-ṣar-ta*<sub>5</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> for *maṣṣarta* "watch" (actually "watches" when read in conjunction with the noun it modifies), EA 289:30.<sup>6</sup>

The plurality of adjectives may be distinguished in the written form of the language by a number of means, such as:

1. The plural determinative, usually with Sumerograms, but as well as with adjectives written syllabically (as in the example above).
2. Case endings in *status rectus* (occasionally with Sumerograms as determinatives) where the final vowel of the direct object (accusative) is represented by a *-ca(m)* in the singular whilst in the plural it is represented by either a *-ce* or a *-ci(m)* sign.
3. Case endings in the *status constructus* (*construct state*), when and where the adjective has a *vocalic case ending* when in the *construct state*.
4. Syntactic agreement.
5. The context.<sup>7</sup>

In some instances of substantivized adjectives the most effective case-forms by which the number (singular or plural) of such adjectives may be determined are the accusative and genitive forms, which are in the singular either an accusative ending *-a(m)* or a genitive ending *-i(m)* and in the plural an oblique ending *-e(m)*. Hence:

5. See Izre'el (1991 I), 121 and for Ugaritic Peripheral Akkadian, J. Heuhnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, Harvard Semitic Series 34 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 146.  
6. Cf. Rainey (1996 I), 139 and 150.  
7. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 112–13.

*rabâ* (acc.) *rabî* (gen.) *rabûte* (obl.) "the great one(s)"

In the light of this evidence, it is suggested that in Jerusalem-Amarna Akkadian the distinction between singular or plural forms of the adjective is only occasionally indicated by the final/case vowel.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2.1. Traditional Usage of Signs

The majority of the adjectival forms, as well as the derived adjectival forms in our corpus, are written syllabically though a few forms are written logographically (using Sumerograms) without any form of indication as to case and plurality, such as:

<i>dannu</i> (KAL.GA)	"strong, severe, powerful"
<i>rabû</i> (GAL)	"large, great"

The actual meaning of the adjective, as well as the case and number, is to be determined by the context.

## 2.2.2. The Number of the Masculine Adjective

The following are examples of some masculine adjectives, written with syllabograms, singular and plural (plurality, where applicable, indicated by means of a plural determinative):

<i>ka-ab-tu</i> , <i>kab-ta</i>	"heavy, honored"
<i>lam-nu-um</i> , <i>la-am-na</i>	"evil"

## 2.2.3. The Number of the Feminine Adjective

The following is the only feminine adjective written with syllabograms:

<i>ba-na-ta</i>	"eloquent." <sup>9</sup>
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## 2.2.4. Exceptional Plural Forms

Adjectives in the plural masculine are normally formed with the ending *-ûta/a/i(e)*, however, in our corpus there are no adjectives with this form of the plural. There is, nevertheless, one derived adjective (verbal adjective/stative)<sup>10</sup> where the scribe used an exceptional plural form, *ḫalqu* "lost" as in EA 288:56 *ḫal-qu* ... *ḫa-zi-a-nu-ti* "lost (are) ... (the) mayors." In

8. Cf. GAG, 77 § 61k and Arthur Ungnad (transl. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.), *Akkadian Grammar*, SBL Resources for Biblical Study 30 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1992), 47 § 38.1.  
9. Cf. Kaspar K. Riemschneider, *Lehrbuch des Akkadischen*, *Lehrbücher für das Studium der Orientalischen und Afrikanischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1969), 38 § 3.2.  
10. Cf. Riemschneider (1969), 45 § 4.2, and Izre'el (1991 I), 125–27 § 2.3.3.3.

the plural feminine adjectives are formed with the ending *atu/a/i(e)*, as in *a-wa-ta<sub>5</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ba-na-ta* “eloquent words.”<sup>11</sup>

### 3. Morphosyntax of the Adjective

#### 3.1. The Case System

In the Semitic languages the case system signifies syntactic relations. The “nominative” case signifies the predicative relation, the “accusative” the adverbial relation, and the “genitive” the attributive relation. In the Jerusalem letters, apparently, this practice is normally in accordance with the use in standard Akkadian.<sup>12</sup>

##### 3.1.1. Syntactic Relations

- A. Nominative—predicative relation. In this case the adjective functions either as a subject or as a nominal predicate.<sup>13</sup>
- ... *qāt* \ \ ... *zu-ru-uḥ šarri dannatu te-le-ek-ké<sup>KUR</sup> na-aḥ-ri-ma<sup>ki</sup>* ...  
... the strong arm \ \ hand of the king took the land of Nahrima ... (288:34–35). Subject.
- ... *dannu bītu danniš* ...  
... the house is well fortified ... (287:34). Predicate.
- B. Accusative—adverbial relation. In this case the adjective functions either as a direct object or an adverb.
- ... *ù ú-ba-á'-ú ar-na kab-ta rabâ* (GAL) ...  
... “and they sought (to commit) a very serious crime” ... (287:35). Direct object.
- ... *ḥa-an-pa ša iḥ-nu-pu a-na mu-ḥi-ia* ...  
... they have treated me impiously ... (288:7–8). Adverbial relation, a WS Canaanitism.<sup>14</sup>
- C. Genitive—attributive relation. In this case the adjective normally functions as the second component in a genitive construction,<sup>15</sup> or it follows after a preposition.

11. Since *awatu* is treated as feminine in our corpus (cf. Izre'el, 1991 I, 107), the adjective *banū* modifying *awata* must also be in the feminine plural *banata*.  
12. See Izre'el (1991 I), 178–79.  
13. Cf. Huehnergard (1989), 215.  
14. See Moran (1975), 166 n.78.  
15. Cf. GAG, 187 § 133 a and f and see David Marcus, *A Manual of Akkadian* (University Press of America, 1978), 50 § 9.1 as also Ungnad (1992), 110 § 101b.

... *a-wa-ta<sub>5</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> [ša] [ba]-na-ti* ...

... words of eloquence (288:64–65). In a genitive construct chain.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately there are no examples in our corpus of a proper adjective in the genitive following a preposition, but to illustrate this type of construction we use a pseudo adjectival construction, the two substantives being syntactically in apposition:

... *a-di amēlū* (LÚ.MEŠ) *ma-šar-te<sub>9</sub>* ...

... together with the garrison of soldiers ... (287:47). Following a preposition.<sup>17</sup>

However, there are also cases where the adjective is the first component in a genitive construction for the sake of special emphasis.<sup>18</sup>

... *ma-ad akālē ma-ad šamnē ma-ad lubšātē* ... (287:44)<sup>19</sup>

... much food, much oil, much clothing ...

##### 3.1.2. Construct States

- A. Genitive Attributive Constructions—A genitive construction can also be employed to construct an attributive relation between a noun and an adjective or between a noun and a noun.<sup>20</sup>

... *a-wa-ta<sub>5</sub><sup>MEŠ</sup> ša ba-na-ti* ...

“... words of eloquence/eloquent words” (lit. “words eloquent”) (EA 288:64–65). (See note 16 supra).

Substantivized adjectives and human substantives, to denote “titles” of functionaries, are formed by genitive constructions between nouns and adjectives.<sup>21</sup>

... *amēlū* (LÚ.MEŠ) *ma-šar-te<sub>9</sub>*

... a garrison (men/people watching) ... (287:46–47).<sup>22</sup>

16. William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 332 n.12, suggests a reading [*ša na*]-*ad-na-ti* “that I have offered.” However, in all the other corresponding instances a form of *banū*/*banātu* is used. If we accept the emendation of *ša*, then we can retain the reading *banāti* as the genitive formation with *ša* (cf. Ungnad [1992], 113 § 104a).  
17. See Moran (1975), 154.  
18. Cf. GAG, 187 § 133 a and f; see also Marcus (1978), 86 § 16.3.  
19. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 193 for the adjective preceding the substantive it modifies, but used as attribute and not as predicate. Since the other two words are in the oblique case the third one should also be in the oblique case.  
20. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 205 for the three possible constructions of genitive relations.  
21. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 209 for genitive constructions to denote titles of functionaries.  
22. See Rainey (1996 II), 384 and cf. to Izre'el (1991 I), 209–10, where he points out that

With the genitive attributive of character, a genitive construction is used, where a noun in the genitive performs the function of an attributive adjective.<sup>23</sup>

... *a-di e-tel-li* <sup>L1</sup>*pa-ú-ru* <sup>LÚ</sup>*rābiš šarri* ...

... until Pauru, the royal commissioner, comes up ... (287:45).<sup>24</sup>

... <sup>LÚ</sup>*ú-e-eḫ šarri* *a-nu-ki* ...

... I am a royal officer ... (287:69)

- B. Construct with Pronominal Suffixes—To present a complete paradigm of the declension of the adjective in a construct state with pronominal suffixes is, due to inadequate examples of this nature, not possible.

### 3.1.3. The Demonstrative Pronoun-Adjective *annû*

Though not an adjective in the strict sense of the word, the demonstrative adjective surely deserves discussion at this stage within this investigation.<sup>25</sup>

- A. Nominative *annû* (*anni'u*) *an-ni-ú epši* PN ...

"This is the deed of PN" (287:29). Predicative use.

*epšu māti an-ni-ú*

"This deed against the land" (290:25). Attributive use.

*epšu ša ēpušū an-ni-iú* (*an-ni-wa*)

"This is the deed they committed" (289:12). Predicative use, though the demonstrative does not, as is expected, precede the subject.<sup>26</sup>

f. sg. (*annītu*) ... *šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši mātu an-ni-tu a-na šarri* ...

"... if this land belongs to the king ..." (289:15–16) Attributive use.<sup>27</sup>

- B. Accusative *anni'a* (*anniwā*) *ḫaziānu ša eppaš epša an-ni-à*

"as for a mayor who commits such a deed" (289:9) Attributive use.

both adjectives and substantives can serve as attributes, syntactically in apposition to the substantive it modifies.

23. See Marcus (1978), 22 § 4.5 for the noun of the genitive in a construct chain in the function of an adjective modifying the noun in the construct.
24. Cf. Moran (1975), 165 n. 73 for *šarri* employed as an attributive adjective "royal" modifying *rābiš* "commissioner."
25. See Ungnad, (1992), 35 § 29a, where he points out that the demonstrative pronoun with respect to gender, case, and number inflects like the adjective
26. See A. Gianto, "Subject Fronting in the Jerusalem Amarna Letters," *OrNS* 63 (1994): 221 for reasons of subject fronting in this case.
27. See Rainey (1996 I), 95 explaining the use of the nominative in this case.

f. sg. (*annīta*) [*a-*] *mur māt* <sup>URU</sup>*ú-ru-sa-lim an-ni-ta*

"Consider this land (of) Jerusalem" (287:25) Attributive use.<sup>28</sup>

- C. Genitive *anni'e ina ašri an-ni-e*

"... in this place." (286:11). Attributive use.

f. sg. (*annīti*) *i-na šatti an-ni-ti*

"... in this year ..." (286:58). attributive use.

## 4. Pseudo Adjectives

### 4.1. General

As with the proper adjective, the pseudo adjective, stative (the conjugated form of the verbal adjective),<sup>29</sup> could also be used attributively, predicatively, or independently. When the stative is used in this connotation it nearly always expresses a state of being, meaning that, for the most part, it is used passively.<sup>30</sup> However, in our corpus we have examples only of the predicative use of these pseudo adjectives, unless we take EA 289:44 (see below) attributively.

### 4.2. Morphology of Pseudo Adjectives/Statives Used as Adjectives

#### 4.2.1. Notes on the Gender of Some Pseudo Adjectives

- A. Masculine pseudo adjectives

*ḫalqu* "lost"

*paṭar* "desert, depart, defect, rebel, be faithless ('abtrünnig' with *ana*)"

- B. Feminine pseudo adjectives

*ḫalqat* "lost"

*paṭarat* "desert, depart, defect"

#### 4.3. Indication of Number in Pseudo Adjectives

Since in the present corpus only the third person of the pseudo adjective is prevalent, we shall concentrate on these forms only. The endings for the third person plural normally are *-u* for the masculine and *-a* for the feminine.

28. See Rainey (1996 I), 74 for the use of the demonstrative in an attributive sense.
29. See Richard Caplice, *Introduction to Akkadian*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 40, also Izre'el (1991 I), 211–20 § 3.4. Cf. also to Riemschneider (1996), 45 § 42 for his discussion of the nominalized form of the stative as verbal adjective.
30. Cf. Rainey (1996 I), 180–81 for his detailed discussion of statives used as predicates, particularly his note on EA 289:26.



*ḥaliq* (sg.) *ḥalqū* (pl.) "lost"  
*paṭarat* (sg.) *paṭrā* (pl.) "abandon." The addition of the third f.s. suffix *-at* is most probably to comply with a suffix conjugation form, a characteristic of the native West Semitic dialect of the scribe.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4.3.1. Masculine Pseudo Adjectives

*ia-a-nu-mi* 1<sup>en</sup> *amēlu ḥa-zi-a-nu ... ḥal-qu gab-bu*  
 "There is not one city-ruler left ... all are lost/deserted" (EA 288:39–40).<sup>32</sup>

*la-a i-qa-bi-ú ... ḥal-qu gab-bi amēlu ḥa-zi-a-nu-ti*  
 "Will they not declare ... that all the city rulers are lost" (EA 288:54–56). The hand of the Jerusalem scribe is quite obvious in this example.<sup>33</sup>

... <sup>1</sup>*abdi-ḥe-ba pa-ṭa-ar-mi a-na šarri<sup>ri</sup> bēli-šu*  
 "Abdi-Ḥeba is faithless to the king his lord" (EA 286:7–8).<sup>34</sup>

*pa-ṭa-a-ri* <sup>1</sup>*ad-da-ja a-di amēlu ma-ṣar-ti*  
 "deserted is Addaja together with the garrison" (EA 287:46–47).<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.3.2. Feminine Pseudo Adjectives

Unfortunately we have no examples of the feminine pseudo adjective in the plural in our corpus. In all the cases where we would expect such an adjective in the plural, the scribe uses the feminine pseudo adjective in the singular.<sup>36</sup>

... *pa-ṭa-ra-at mātāt šarri bēlī*  
 "... the lands, of the king my lord, are deserted" (EA 286:35–36) (actually we should read "is deserted" but with "lands" in English this will not make sense).<sup>37</sup>

31. See Rainey (1996 II), 288–89 and 358.

32. See Gianto (1994), 219–20 for his interpretation of "no mayor remains loyal to the king" for "not a single mayor remains to the king" and fronting of the more important element.

33. Cf. Moran (1975), 154 as also Rainey (1996 III), 215.

34. See Moran (1992), 236 as well as Gianto (1994), 211 for translating *paṭarmi ana* as "rebelled against."

35. See Rainey (1996 II), 383–84 for his discussion on the infinitive used in the sense of a finite verb.

36. Cf. Moran (1975), 162 n.46 and Rainey (1996 I), 78–80 for an exposition of "lands" as a possible singular entity.

37. See Moran (1975), 162 n.46 and Rainey (1996 I), 200 for the possible reading of "land" in the singular in EA 286:35–36 and taking "all the lands" as "the entire land."

*gab-bi māt šarri<sup>ri</sup> pa-ṭa-ra-at*  
 "The entire land of the king is deserted" (EA 289:44), or attributively "the entire deserted land of the king" to qualify *māti* in line 43.

#### 5. Some "Standard" Expressions with an Adjectival Connotation

##### 5.1. General

In this section attention will be given to some expressions of frequent occurrence in which one substantive qualifies another substantive adjectivally.

##### 5.2. The Expression *amēlu ḥaziānu*

The following are some translations for this expression: "regent, governor, mayor, city ruler." Depending on the position in which a person with the title *amēlu ḥaziānu* functions, he could be a regent, a governor, a mayor, a city ruler, or whatever a person with authority in his specific situation or position is called in order to define his position, his function, his office, or his occupation.<sup>38</sup> Probably an *amēlu ḥaziānu* could represent a man/person with authority or an authoritative person.<sup>39</sup>

##### 5.2.1. Singular Examples

###### A. Nominative

*a-mur a-na-ku la-a amēlu ḥa-zi-a-nu ...*  
 "behold I am not just a city-ruler ...." (EA 285:5–6; 288:9–10)

*ia-a-nu-mi amēlu ḥa-zi-a-nu a-na šar-ri ...*  
 "there is not a mayor to the king"/the king has no mayor" (EA 286:52; 288:39).<sup>40</sup>

*amēlu ḥa-zi-a-nu ša e-pa-aš ep-ša an-ni-à*  
 "as for a governor who commits this deed" (EA 289:9).

In our corpus there are no singular examples in the accusative and genitive.

38. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 209 §3.3.3.2).

39. Cf. Moran (1975), 156 regarding a concern for origins of authority, title, and status mentioned in the Jerusalem letters. The main crux is the interpretation of the claim to be a soldier (garrison commander) and not a governor.

40. The fact that we here have the subject of *iānu* in the nominative case instead of in the accusative case (the latter a feature of the Canaanised EA texts, representing a character of WS speech) is in keeping with standard Akkadian grammar, a characteristic of the scribe of the Jerusalem letters (cf. Rainey [1996 I], 167 and 182, also Moran [1975], 154 and 156).

5.2.2. Plural Examples<sup>41</sup>

A. Nominative—there are no nominative plural examples in our corpus, except if we, in accordance with Rainey,<sup>42</sup> take *amēlū ḥa-zi-a-nu-ti*, the third example of the accusative (EA 287:24), as a nominative. This, however, could be in contradiction elsewhere with Rainey.<sup>43</sup>

B. Accusative

... *u li-il-qí amēlūte ḥa-zi-a-nu-te<sub>9</sub>* ...  
 "... that he may fetch the mayors ..." (EA 285:19)  
 ... *ù amēlūte ḥa-zi-a-nu-te<sub>9</sub> ta-za-ia-ru* ...  
 "... but you hate the mayors ..." (EA 286:19)  
 ... *ia-a-nu-mi ... amēlūte ḥa-zi-a-nu-te<sub>9</sub> a-na šarri* ...  
 "... there will be no mayors to the king..." / "... the king will have no mayors ..." (EA 287:24).<sup>44</sup>

C. Genitive

... *šalmu a-na gab-bi amēlū ḥa-zi-a-nu-te<sub>9</sub>* ...  
 "... all the mayors are peaceful (there is tranquility for all the mayors)" (EA 288:27)  
 ... *ù ḥal-qu gab-bi amēlū ḥa-zi-a-nu-te<sub>9</sub>* ...  
 "... and all (of) the mayors are lost." (EA 288:56).<sup>45</sup>

Apparently, in the foregoing examples the two substantives, *amēlū ḥaziānūte*, are in apposition, forming an attributive relation.<sup>46</sup>

41. Izre'el (1991 I), 210 § 3.3.3.3, suggests a reading "mayors," which he deduces from the lit. "men mayors." This, however, could be regarded as a case of overlapping since one connotation of *amēlūte ḥaziānūtu* is "mayors." Perhaps a more appropriate general designation would be lit. "men authoritative," who, when functioning in a certain capacity, could be regarded as "mayors."

42. See 1996 III, 202.

43. See 1996 I, 155, 167 and 182.

44. We would have expected in two of the three foregoing examples an accusative or oblique case for the subject, with case ending *te* for the direct objects and, though wrongly, also for the subject of *iānu* in the third example if we accept Rainey (1996 I), 155, which most probably could reflect WS influence. However, a characteristic of the Jerusalem scribe is to employ the subject of *iānu* in the nominative case, in accordance with standard Akkadian grammar (see Rainey, III, 202).

45. Apparently *gabbi* is the construct of *gabbu* (see Izre'el [1991 I], 173 § 3.1.5), in which case it takes the noun it qualifies in the genitive/oblique case ending with case vowel *-i* or *-e* respectively (cf. Rainey [1996 I], 155 and 196–200).

46. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 178–85 and 210.

5.3. The Expression *amēlū maššartu*5.3.1. Some Preliminary Notes on *maššartu*

*maššartu* is a substantive derived from a verbal root *nšr*, "to watch/guard."<sup>47</sup> Liverani,<sup>48</sup> points out the parallelism between *našāru* "protect, guard, watch" and *balātu* "life, be well, provision, living" as two key actions culminating on a material level in the parallelism between *maššartu* "garrison" and *balātu* "victuals." On referring to Izre'el,<sup>49</sup> we have the following exposition on *nšr*: *na-šī-ir* "guard" *na-aš-ši-ru-te* "guards." The expression *amēlū maššartu* also forms an attributive relation of nature, quality, character, disposition etc.<sup>50</sup> For example, the word *sarratum* is a substantive derived from the root *srr* "to lie, be/act false/treacherous."<sup>51</sup>

5.3.2. Examples of *amēlū maššartu*

In our corpus there are, except for one case with a singular substantive LÚ (EA 287:51), only plural examples of this expression, or rather a substantive with a plural marker LÚ.MEŠ and the attribute *maššartu* in the singular,<sup>52</sup> except the one instance (EA 289:30) where the scribe uses the singular form of the attribute but with a plural determinative *ma-šar-ta<sub>5</sub>*.<sup>MEŠ</sup>

A. Nominative

... *ia-a-nu-mi amēlū ma-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> šarri<sup>ti</sup> it-ti-ia* ...  
 "... no garrison of the king is with me ..." (EA 289:36).<sup>53</sup>

B. Accusative

... *ša-ka-an ... amēlū ma-šar-ta* ...  
 "... he stationed a garrison ..." (lit. "... men watching/guarding ...") (EA 286:27).

... *ia-a-nu-mi amēlū ma-šar-ta* ...  
 "... there is no garrison ..." (EA 286:33).

47. See GAG, 64 § 56b.

48. "Political Lexicon and Political Ideologies in the Amarna Letters," *Berytus* 31 (1983): 53.

49. 1991 I, 125. On p. 181 we have *a-nana-ša-ri* "to guard" and on pp. 183 and 216 LÚ.MEŠ *na-aš-ši-ru-te* MEŠ "guardsmen" (lit. men watch[ing]).

50. Cf. GAG, 191 § 136, for his reading of *šibūt sarratim* as "witness of falsehood, false witness."

51. Izre'el (1991 I), 210–11 points out that both adjectives and substantives can serve as attributes and that their syntactical status is in apposition to the modified substantive, giving as examples: (p. 186) nominative LÚ.MEŠ *sa-ru-tu* "treacherous people" (lit. men/people false/of lies); (p. 187) genitive *a-na* LÚ.MEŠ *sa-ar-ru-ti* "to the treacherous people" (lit. men/people of lies).

52. See Rainey (1996 I), 150 for his discussion of *maššartu*.

53. Cf. Rainey (1996 I), 175, for a substantive retaining the case vowel in the construct.

... ù lu-ma-še-ra amēlū ma-šar-ta ...  
 "... and may he send garrison troops ..." (EA 286:45).<sup>54</sup>  
 ... mu-še-ra-an-ni amēla ma-šar-ta ...  
 "... send me a garrison soldier ..." (EA287:51).  
 amēlū ma-šar-ta<sub>5</sub> taMEŠ ša tu-ma-še-er ...  
 "The garrison troops which you sent ..." (EA 289:30).  
 ù lu-ma-še-er šarru 50 amēlū ma-šar-ta a-na na-ša-ar māti ...  
 "So may the king send 50 guardsmen (men guarding) to guard  
 the land ..." (EA 289:42–43).

### C. Genitive

... ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-ta-lu it-ti [LÚ ma-šar-ti] [a-na] ÌR.MEŠ ...  
 "... auxiliary troops ... let them come with [a garrison for]  
 (regular) service" (EA 287:39–40).<sup>55</sup>  
 pa-ša-a-ri<sup>1</sup> ad-da-ja a-di amēlū ma-šar-ti ...  
 "Addaya has deserted with the garrison ..." (EA 287:46–47).<sup>56</sup>

### 5.4. The Expression šābu piṭātu

The expression consists of two substantives syntactically in apposition, the second an attribute of the first, the qualified substantive.<sup>57</sup> The substantive, *šābu* "troops" is a collective noun, written as a prederminative ÉRIN.MEŠ, actually read as a word, particularly as in our case when used in conjunction with the Egyptian term *piṭātu* "archers," which is, however, in this expression best read as "regular (army) troops."<sup>58</sup> The syntactic relation between the generic prederminative ÉRIN.MEŠ and a specific term, such as the military *piṭātu*, may vary from passage to passage, for example *šābi šēpē* "infantry" (lit "troops of feet") and ÉRIN.MEŠ *til-la-ta* "auxiliary troops" (lit "troops help").<sup>59</sup>

54. See Rainey (1996 II), 217–18 for his view on the Jerusalem scribe's use of WS constructions such as precatives.
55. Emendation according to Moran (1992), 329 n.10. However, we would suggest to either read the plural LÚ.MEŠ *ma-šar-ti* in accordance with all the other cases of this expression in our corpus, or retain the singular LÚ *ma-šar-ti* in accordance with EA 287:51 and read as "the man of the garrison" or interpret it as "the garrison commander."
56. Strictly speaking, *paṭāri* is actually an infinitive in the sense of a genitive-attributive (cf. Ungnad [1992], 118 §109g). Izre'el (1991 I), 268 §3.9 refers to the infinitive when used in this sense as "Infinitive significant," designating a predicative idea in a simplified attributive-like form. Rainey (1996 II), 383 states that this one use of the infinitive, which has no parallel in Akkadian, is its function as a finite verb. See Moran (1975), 154 for *adi* = "[together] with."
57. See Izre'el (1991 I), 210.
58. See Rainey (1996 I), 132 and Moran (1992), xxxi n. 100.
59. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 203 and 210 respectively.

### 5.4.1. Examples

#### A. Nominative

šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi šābu pi-ša-tu ...  
 "if there are no regular troops ..." (EA 285:15–16).<sup>60</sup>  
 ... lu-ši-mi amēlū šābu pi-ša-ti ...  
 "... that the regular troops ... may come forth ..." (EA 286:54).  
 šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši amēlū šābu pi-ša-ti ...  
 "If there are regular troops ..." (EA286:57).  
 ... šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi amēlū šābu pi-ša-ti ...  
 "... if there are no regular troops ..." (EA 286:59). In this case the  
 prederminative is in the construct with *piṭāti* in the geni-  
 tive in a genetical construction.<sup>61</sup>  
 šum-ma i-ba-aš-ši i-na šatti an-ni-ti šābu pi-ša-tu<sub>4</sub> ...  
 "If this year there are regular troops ..." (EA 287:20–21).  
 ... šum-ma ia-nu šābu pi-ša-tu<sub>4</sub> ...  
 "... if there are no regular troops ..." (EA 287:23 and 290:22).  
 ... šum-ma ia-a-nu-mi šābu pi-ša-tu<sub>4</sub> ...  
 "... if there are no regular troops ..." (EA 288:51, 57).

#### B. Accusative

The predicative negation *iānu/yānu*, due to WS influence, takes its subject in the accusative, a noticeable feature of the Canaanite Amarna letters.<sup>62</sup> However, the Jerusalem scribe adhered to standard Akkadian grammar, the subject of a clause with *iānu* as predicate being in the nominative.<sup>63</sup> This is the reason why there are no examples of *šābu piṭātu* in the accusative. However, there is one example as direct object.

... lu-ma-še-ra šābē pi-ša-ti ...  
 "... he may send the army ..." (EA 287:18).<sup>64</sup>

#### C. Genitive

... li-is-kin šarri<sup>ti</sup> a-na šābi pi-ša-ti ...  
 "... may the king provide for regular troops ..." (EA 287:17).<sup>65</sup>

60. Emendation according to Moran (1992), 325 n. 7.

61. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 203.

62. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 181 and Rainey (1996 I), 182.

63. See Rainey (1996 III), 202.

64. We would have expected a reading *pi-ša-ta* (accusative) if treated as triptotic adjective, or *pi-ša-te/te<sub>3</sub>* (oblique) if treated as diptotic substantive (see Rainey [1996 I], 155, for deviation from the expected of the Jerusalem scribe).

65. Note that *šābi* is the construct of *šābu* and *piṭāti* is the genitive of *piṭātu* (see Izre'el [1991 I], 203 and Rainey [1996 I], 132), the expression being in the genitive after the

## 6. Observations

## 6.1. General

## 6.1.1. Writing Features

The majority of the adjectives in our corpus, particularly derived adjectives (statives), are written syllabically (with syllabograms). However, a few of the proper adjectives are written ideographically, that is with a Sumerian ideogram (Sumerogram), such as *dannu* = KAL.GA/GA.KAL, *dannatu* = <sup>MUNUS</sup>KAL.GA, *rabû* = GAL, without any indication of case and number. This means, we have to rely mainly on the forms written syllabically for an investigation and determination of the gender and case of the adjectives.

## 6.2. Regarding the Morphology of the Adjectives

## 6.2.1. Masculine Adjectives

There is one instance where we have an adjective in the plural with an indication of plurality: *amēlū ma-šar-ta<sub>5</sub>*<sup>MES</sup> (289:30). The masculine adjectives, singular and plural, apparently all comply with standard Akkadian practice.<sup>66</sup>

## 6.2.2. Feminine Adjectives

Both feminine adjectives in our corpus, singular and plural, comply in their declension with standard Akkadian practice.

## 6.2.3. Formation of the Plural Adjectives

In the Jerusalem letters the morpheme designating the plurality of the adjective is a long vowel. As in standard Akkadian this long vowel is attached to the *u*-vowel of the syllable *-ut-* of the masculine, situated between the nominal (adjectival) stem and the appropriate case ending. In the Akkadian of the Jerusalem letters adjectives are triptotic also in the plural, hence the question of vocalic length and an [e] timbre for the case ending is not relevant. Feminine adjectives add a plural ending *-atu(m)* to the nominal stem.

## 6.2.4. Different Ways of Writing Adjectives

- A. Using Sumerograms—The use of Sumerograms for writing adjectives is fairly consistent as attested by KAL.GA/GA.KAL = *dannu*, GAL = *rabû*, <sup>MUNUS</sup>KALAG.GA = *dannatu*.

preposition *ana*. It may, therefore, be proposed to either read *šābē piṭāte* (*pī-ta-te<sub>3</sub>*) as accusatives in apposition, or *šābē piṭāti* as accusative in a construct chain.

66. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 186–92.

- B. Using syllabograms—In the syllabic writing of adjectives (adjectival constructions) variations do occur, as for example *ša-li-mu* and *šal-mu*, (EA 287:12 and 288:27 respectively) “peaceful.”

## 6.3. Regarding the Morphosyntax of the Adjective

## 6.3.1. The Case System

## A. The syntactic relations

- Nominative—In the limited number of cases where a nominative can be verified, it is apparent that the nominative is employed either as the subject in a verbal sentence or as the predicate (predicative construction) in a non-verbal sentence.<sup>67</sup>
- Accusative—There are some few adjectives in the accusative conforming in syntactical application to normal standard Akkadian but with a considerable number of Canaanitisms due to the presence of a large West Semitic component (see 3.1.1.[B] above).
- Genitive—In both the construct chain (attributive construction) and in a construction with a preposition the use of the genitive conforms to standard Akkadian practice (see 3.1.1.[C] above).

## B. Construct states

- In genitive constructions—From the examples in our corpus it is evident that the bound form of the adjective or the substantive serving as adjective<sup>68</sup> functions in a genitive construction in order to construct an attributive relation.  
In those instances where reference is made to the pharaoh, with *šarri*, performing the function of an attributive adjective, it is done without the epithet *bēli-ia*, for example *rābiš šarri*—“the royal commissioner.”<sup>69</sup>
- Pronominal Suffixes—There are no examples of adjectives (proper or pseudo) with pronominal suffixes.
- The demonstrative pronoun-adjective *annû*.

These forms, in all three cases (syntactic relations), in every respect, inflect like adjectives, revealing an Assyrian component, a feature of the Jerusalem scribe's language. In two instances—both in the same letter—the scribe uses the sign *wa* (/PI/) for the final syllable (EA 289:9 and 289:12).<sup>70</sup>

67. See 3.1.1.[A] above and Gianto (1994), 219 at EA 288:34–35 for subject fronting.

68. GAG, § 64; cf. Ungnad (1992), 50 § 41 and Huehnergard (1989), 149 and 153.

69. Cf. Moran (1975), 165 n. 73.

70. It should be noted that both instances of the demonstrative adjective deviating from the normal as found in the other examples of the demonstrative adjective, as also

6.4. *Pseudo Adjectives*6.4.1. *General*

Though we have in our corpus examples mainly in a predicative function, apparently we have one example (EA 289:44) of an attributive pseudo adjective.<sup>71</sup>

6.4.2. *Morphology of Pseudo Adjectives*

## A. The gender of pseudo adjectives

- a. Masculine pseudo adjectives—There are a few masculine stative/permansives functioning as masculine (pseudo) adjectives.
- b. Feminine pseudo adjectives—As with the masculine there are also a number of feminine stative/permansives functioning as feminine (pseudo) adjectives.

6.4.3. *Number in Pseudo Adjectives*

- A. Masculine pseudo adjectives—We have both singular and plural masculine pseudo adjectives, complying in their declension/inflexion with standard Akkadian practice.<sup>72</sup> They are mostly in the nominative or a nominative in a construct chain. We have fronting of the subject for the sake of prominence though the adjective functions as predicate.<sup>73</sup>
- B. Feminine pseudo adjectives:—Though in some instances modifying plural substantives, we have feminine pseudo adjectives only in the singular.<sup>74</sup> In one case (EA 289:44) the pseudo adjective is apparently used attributively.

the deviation from the expected normal of the obeisance formula, are found in EA 289. Add to this the fact that the use of substantives in the stative/permansive as predicate are practically unknown in these texts, except for the one noteworthy example of a learned expression in EA 289:26 (see Rainey [1996 I], 180). All this could lead to the assumption that the Jerusalem letters were compiled by more than one scribe.

71. Cf. GAG, 100 § 77. See also note 71.

72. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 211–13.

73. See Gianto (1994), 211 at EA 286:7–8 regarding subject fronting for the sake of prominence.

74. See Moran (1975), 162 n. 46 for the use of singular predicates with KUR.ĪLA.

6.5. *Standard Expressions with Adjectival Connotation*6.5.1. *General*

There are a number of expressions in our corpus where one substantive modifies another substantive adjectivally.

6.5.2. *amēlu ḥaziānu*

We have examples of this expression, used to identify a person with authority in the capacity in which he functions, in the singular and plural in all three of the syntactic cases. There is, however, some discrepancy regarding the syntactic case of this expression when governed by the existential negative particle *iānu/yānu*.<sup>75</sup> In the singular this expression functions only in the nominative in apposition.<sup>76</sup> In the plural, on the other hand, we have this expression in apposition only in the accusative and genitive in a construct chain in which case the examples of *ḥa-zi-a-nu-te* are outnumbered by those of *ḥa-zi-a-nu-ti*.<sup>77</sup> Once again there is a discrepancy in the translations of Rainey of EA 288:56.<sup>78</sup>

6.5.3. *amēlu maššartu*

This expression defines a military institution and, therefore, except for one example, all the examples in all three syntactic cases are in the plural, though there are some discrepancies encountered in the morphosyntax of this expression.<sup>79</sup>

6.5.4. *šābu piṭātu*

This expression, consisting of two substantives syntactically either in apposition or in a construct chain in all three the syntactic cases functioning only in the plural, however, with some discrepancies, also has a military connotation.<sup>80</sup>

75. Rainey (1996 I), 155 states that, with the Jerusalem scribe, the case of the subject of *yānu* is accusative, but in 1996 III, 202, he states that in standard Akkadian the subject of *yānu* is in the nominative and that only the scribe of the Jerusalem letters maintains this standard case usage.

76. See Gianto (1994), 220 regarding EA 288:39–40.

77. See Rainey (1996 I), 155.

78. Rainey (1996 III), 80, reads "... the lands ... are lost ... and all of the city rulers are lost?" and p. 215 reads "... the land is lost ... and the city rulers are lost?"

79. The emendation by Moran (1992), 329 n.10 reads LÚ *ma-šar-ti* not LÚ.MEŠ *ma-šar-ti*, while Gianto (1994), 222 at EA 289:30, reads *ma-šar-ti*<sup>MEŠ</sup> instead of the accusative *ma-šar-ta*<sub>3</sub> MEŠ, for the direct object.

80. Gianto (1994), 216, at EA 287:17, in his translation does not allow for the preposition *ana* and translates *li-is-kín ... a-na šābi pi-ṭa-ti* as "may (he) provide ... archers (regular troops)" instead of "may (he) provide ... for (the) archers (regular troops)."

## 7. Conclusions

## 7.1. General

The fact that the adjectives are written in logograms, as well as in syllabograms, most probably points to a transitional period between Old Akkadian, when adjectives were written almost exclusively with Sumerograms<sup>81</sup> and its later dialects, when adjectives were written with syllabograms.

From the Mesopotamian border areas we have some distinctive dialects known as Peripheral Akkadian (PA),<sup>82</sup> one of which is labeled Western Peripheral Akkadian (WPA), the language of the Amarna letters. The PA dialects developed from the Akkadian linguistic continuum dating from a period earlier than that of our texts, of which the source is primarily Babylonian, particularly Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian.

The majority of the lexemes in the domain of the lexicon can be traced to a Babylonian origin, for example *dannu* "strong, powerful, mighty," *haziānu* "mayor," *iānu* "there is not/no."<sup>83</sup>

Therefore, it may be assumed that the language employed by the scribe of the Jerusalem letters, though with traits of Canaanite, WS, and Assyrian, is basically Akkadian developed from an early linguistic structure similar to that of Old Babylonian and, to a certain extent, Middle Babylonian dialects of normative Akkadian.<sup>84</sup>

## 7.2. Regarding the Morphology of the Proper Adjective

## 7.2.1. Masculine Adjectives

Masculine adjectives, though they decline mainly in accordance with normative Akkadian, deviations in the construction of some adjectives, if and where they occur, could be ascribed either to WS influence or be regarded as Assyrianisms.<sup>85</sup>

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Rainey (1996 I), 163, gives a translation "may my king show concern for the regular troops (*šābi pi-ṭa-ti*) and a partly contradicting translation in 1996 II, 218 "may the king take thought for the army (*šābi pi-ṭa-tu*)." Furthermore, addressing the king as "my king" is very personal and familiar and this could lead to a case of "familiarity breeds contempt." It is, however, to be doubted whether the scribe of the Jerusalem letters would make himself guilty of such an anomaly. On the other hand, the king could be addressed as "my king" as a token of reverence for the king in certain circumstances.

81. Cf. MAD 2<sup>2</sup>:20–23 for an exposition on Logograms.

82. Cf. Riemschneider (1996), 17–18 § 0.10.

83. Cf. Izre'el (1991 I), 355–59.

84. Cf. Riemschneider (1996), 98 § 13.16 and 140–42 § 21.1–21.11.

85. Cf. Franz M. Th. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909), 85–89 § 38, for WS influence and Moran (1975), 152–55, for Assyrianisms.

## 7.2.2. Feminine Adjectives

Where the plural marker—the length segment—characteristic of the plural is placed between the nominal stem and the case ending holds true also in the case of the feminine adjective, being triptotic as well.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, it may be surmised that the distinction between singular and plural forms of the adjectives in the Jerusalem letters, where the length segment is added to the nominal stem, is true for the masculine as well as for the feminine, except for the fact that the value of the feminine is *-at-* and not *-ut-*.

## 7.2.3. Formation of the Plural

Substantivised adjectives, when written syllabically, where obscurity can arise, particularly with the case vowel, the plural marker MEŠ is employed to distinguish the nature of the case ending, for example, *ma-šar-UD*<sup>MEŠ</sup> to be read *ma-šar-ta<sub>5</sub>* "watches" (EA 289:30).

In the morphological system of the noun or substantivised adjective, being diptotic, in Jerusalem Akkadian, the plural marker of the oblique is /e/ in contrast with either /a/ for the accusative or /i/ for the genitive.

In the PA dialect of the Jerusalem letters the vowels *i* and *e* have allophonic distribution. Apparently there had been the one phoneme /i/, pronounced [i] when short, [i:] when long and accented and [e:] when long and unaccented, for example *akale*, *šamme* (EA 287:16, 44) and *ú-e-e* (EA 287:47).<sup>87</sup>

In Jerusalem Akkadian, therefore, it would seem that the difference between the genitive singular and the oblique plural of substantivised adjectives is not represented by a change in vocalic timbre, but rather by the length segment added to the final (case) vowel indicating the difference between singular and plural. Hence, the morpheme marking the plurality of the substantivised adjective in the Jerusalem letters is a vocalic length segment attached to the final (case) vowel.

## 7.2.4. Different Ways of Writing Adjectives

The few inconsistencies, as well as the different ways of writing adjectives, point to a language in the process of developing. Though all the scribes may insist that they wrote their letters in Akkadian—what we term WPA—there are so many external influences, such as WS Canaanite influences as well as influences from the languages of neighboring countries such as, in our case, Assyrianisms, that what we have in the Jerusalem letters is by far not even a pure PA language. Therefore, deviations from nor-

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86. See Izre'el (1991 I), 121.

87. Cf. Böhl (1909), 36 § 23h and Izre'el (1991 I), 72, 112, and 179.

mative Akkadian may, in some instances be ascribed either to WS influence (e.g., *saduq* "the right is") or an Assyrianism (*haziānu* "authoritative" ["with authority"]).

### 7.3. Regarding the Morphosyntax of the Adjective

#### 7.3.1. The Case System

The three case system of the Jerusalem letters is, in general, identical to that of normative Akkadian and as such complies with Old Babylonian and, to a certain extent, with the language used in Middle Babylonian letter-writing.<sup>88</sup>

- A. The syntactic relations—The fact that there are no real examples of the misuse of cases, as well as very few deviations from the normative Akkadian syntactic relations, points to the further fact that, in regard to the adjective, the scribe (or scribes) of the letters under discussion attempted to adhere to WPA standards.
- B. Construct states—The implementation of a final long vowel /e/ in contrast to final long /i/ of normative Akkadian,<sup>89</sup> when and where it occurs in the bound form of the plural oblique, for example *la-ma-de<sub>4</sub>-ka* (EA 287:59), could perhaps be ascribed to WS influence.
- C. The demonstrative pronoun-adjective *annū*—The fact that in EA 289 the scribe uses the sign *wa* (/PI/) for the final syllable of *annū* and *anna* respectively, as well as the difference in the obeisance formula, in contrast to the other Jerusalem letters, could point to more than one scribe responsible for the Jerusalem letters.

#### 7.4. Pseudo Adjectives

General—Because the pseudo adjective, in our corpus, nearly always expresses a state of being, it functions mainly in the predicative. In the one probable case, describing the condition of the subject, it functions as an attribute (EA 289:44).

##### 7.4.1. Morphology of the Pseudo Adjectives

- A. The gender of pseudo adjectives
  - a. Masculine pseudo adjectives—The masculine pseudo adjectives decline mainly according to normative Akkadian and adhere to a triptotic case system.
  - b. Feminine pseudo adjectives—The feminine pseudo adjectives also decline mainly in accordance with normative Akkadian,

88. Cf. Riemschneider (1969), 140–42 § 21.

89. Cf. Riemschneider (1969), 39 § 3.5.

except for the addition, in some cases, of the third f.s. suffix *-at* to comply with the form of a suffix conjugation, a character of the native WS dialect of the scribe. This pseudo adjective also adheres to a triptotic case system.

##### 7.4.2. Indication of Number in Pseudo Adjectives

In our corpus the third person of the pseudo adjective is prevalent due to the nature of the context in which it functions. The ending of the feminine and for the third person plural masculine corresponds with that of the proper adjective without the case ending and without the *-t* in the plural. Thus, the plural endings are normally *-u* for the masculine and *-a* for the feminine. The pseudo adjective is, therefore, by virtue of its use actually a conjugated noun and then mainly in the third person.

- A. Masculine pseudo adjectives—The masculine pseudo adjective, in our corpus, functions mainly in the plural nominative (or nominative in a construct chain), since it modifies the plural subject of the sentence. In sentences where we have fronting of the subject, this is for the sake of prominence as in EA 286:7–8. In cases where *iānu* and *ḫalqu* are employed in the same sentence referring to the same subject an appropriate translation would be "there remains no loyal subject."
- B. Feminine pseudo adjectives—Contrary to the masculine, the feminine pseudo adjective, in our corpus, functions mainly in the singular. This could be because the scribe considered the plural subject, to which the adjective relates, as a collective entity.

In the one case (EA 289:44) where the pseudo adjective is used as an attribute in the clause, the entire clause is also used as an attribute, parenthetically, to qualify *māti* in line 43. Thus, the land to be protected is "the entire deserted land of the king."<sup>90</sup>

#### 7.5. "Standard" Expressions with an Adjectival Connotation

##### 7.5.1. General

These expressions, constituting two substantives in an adjectival relation, are used to indicate certain entities describing persons in certain positions, functions, offices, or occupations.

90. Gianto (1994), 222, considers subject fronting as a means to shift the topic entity to the land that the 50 men had to protect, but he still regards this clause to be in a predicative sense and not in an attributive sense.

7.5.2. *The Expression amēlu ḥaziānu*

From the examples where the scribe uses this expression in the singular, we may conclude that the two substantives, forming this expression, are used in apposition and, furthermore, that this would also be the case in the plural. However, though the scribe knows the sign for TA and uses it where applicable, yet where this expression functions in the plural as direct object as also in the genitive as dependent case, the scribe uses the sign for TI in the final case syllable. We may thus conclude that the scribe, in both the aforementioned cases, used the TI sign for the oblique case to be read as *-te* represent in writing by *te*.

Furthermore, EA 287:24 (5.2.2. above) should be taken as an example in the nominative,<sup>91</sup> in a construct chain (see footnote 44 above), and read ... *ia-a-nu-mi ... amēlūt ḥa-zi-a-nu-ti a-na šarri ...*, or, on the other hand, the scribe reverted to the WS speech of the Canaanized EA texts,<sup>92</sup> using the accusative.

7.5.3. *The Expression amēlu maššartu*

This expression in the accusative case outnumbers its use in the other syntactic cases. This phenomenon may be ascribed to the fact that the capacity or function of the persons designated by this expression usually is the direct object of the sentence in which it is used.<sup>93</sup>

In the one example, EA 287:51, where the scribe uses the substantive in the singular LÚ(*amēlu*) and Knudtzon ad loc. translates as "... Besatzungs-Mannschaft ..." this may be ascribed to an interpretation of *amēlu* as a commander of the garrison, the "garrison-man."<sup>94</sup>

Since in EA 289:30 this expression functions as direct object it thus calls for the accusative case *amēlū ma-šar-ta* (*ta*<sub>5</sub> for *tū*).<sup>95</sup>

91. See Rainey (1996 III), 202.

92. See Rainey (1996 I), 167 and 182.

93. Knudtzon ([1915] 1964 I), 860, in EA 286:33 incorrectly uses the accusative for this expression as subject of *iānu* (Rainey, 1996 I, 182), whereas it should be in the nominative (Rainey, 1996 III, 202).

94. Moran (1992), 329 for EA 287:39, suggests as emendation LÚ *ma-šar-ti*, to be understood as "garrison commander" in charge of the regular troops.

95. Gianto (1994), 222, wrongly reads the nominative *ma-šar-tū* instead of the accusative *ma-šar-ta*, while Rainey, in this case, gives two different translations for this expression, namely "guardsmen" (1996 I, 139 and II, 153) and "garrison troops" (1996 III, 56). In view of line 34, where it is stated that Addaya has sent 20 men to Egypt, the better translation in this case would be "guardsmen."

7.5.4. *The Expression šābu piṭātu*

This expression is, due to the nature of the functions executed by the persons belonging to the profession indicated by it, used mainly in the nominative, either in apposition or nominative in a construct chain.<sup>96</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

EA	El Amarna Letters.
GAG	W. von Soden. <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> .
MAD 2 <sup>2</sup>	I.J. Gelb. <i>Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary</i> . No. 2, Second Edition.
PA	Peripheral Akkadian.
WPA	Western Peripheral Akkadian.
WS	West Semitic.

96. With regard to EA 287:17, Rainey has some contradictory transliterations and translations. He correctly regards *pi-ta-ti* as the genitive of *piṭatu* after the preposition *ana* but translates *šarri* as "my king," whereas in another instance (1996 II, 218) he retains the nominative *pi-ta-tu*, disregarding the influence of the preceding preposition *ana* (as does Gianto, 1994, 216) and, furthermore, translates *šarri* as "the king." Since, in this case, *ana* governs the expression *šābu piṭatu*, we would opt for the genitive *piṭati* and since "my lord" is usually represented by *bēli-ia* logically "my king" would be represented by *šarri-ia*. Therefore, *šarri* may be taken to represent "the king" in the definite state (see n. 80 supra).





## CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEO/LATE-BABYLONIAN DOCUMENTATION\*

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THE EDITION OF thirteen unpublished Neo/Late-Babylonian documents presented below (A, B, D, E) and the preliminary prosopography of the Borsippian officials (C), where more unpublished material is evaluated, are our modest tribute to the eminent jubilar.

### A.

*An Early Neo-Babylonian Deed from Borsippa and Its (Quasi-)Duplicate*

BM 26523—Agreement concerning property between a father and his son, 8.XI.5 Esarh. (676/5 B.C.E.):

1. MU 5 KAM<sup>d</sup>ŠÁR-PAP-MU,<sup>1</sup> [LUGA]L ŠÁR
2. tag-mi-il-ti šá<sup>m</sup>š/za-r'a]-[...]
3. ù<sup>md+</sup>EN-ik-šur DUMU-šú šá<sup>din-</sup>'nu'
4. it-ti a-ḫa-meš ú-gam-mi-lu

\* The copies were made by Tikva Zadok, who also collated the pertinent tablets. Ran Zadok is responsible for the transliteration, translation, and interpretation (in short, for the whole article except for the copies). We should like to thank Professors P. Steinkeller, S. Cole, P.-A. Beaulieu and the Harvard Semitic Museum for permission to publish the HSM tablet (and to quote from other unpublished HSM tablets), which belongs to the Harvard Semitic Museum (especially Drs. J. Greene and J. Armstrong), and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the BM tablet. We are indebted to W.W. Hallo for permission to publish the Yale texts, as well as to Ulla Kasten for her kind assistance. The IAC tablets are quoted with kind permission of Professors J.M. Robinson and Tammi Schneider of the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate University. We thank them for their generosity and hospitality. The photographs of HSM 1904.4.27 are copyright of the Harvard Semitic Museum. Abbreviations: desc. = descendant; f. = father; s. = son. The abbreviated rulers' names are self-evident. The months in Roman figures are the Babylonian.

5. a-ki-i 15 GI<sup>meš</sup> šá AŠ pa-ni KÁ.GAL
6. šá a-na<sup>m</sup>šá<sup>d+</sup> AG-šur-ú SUM<sup>nu</sup>
7. ù 8 GI<sup>meš</sup> šá a-na <<sup>m</sup>si-lim-DINGIR SUM<sup>nu</sup>
8. É šá DA É\*<sup>m</sup>ú-sip-pi
9. ù 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-ni
10. <sup>md+</sup>EN-ik-šur id(text like DA)-dag-gal
11. A[Š k]a-nak<sup>na4</sup>DUB MU<sup>meš</sup>
12. DIŠ IGI<sup>[m]</sup> dUTU<sup>1</sup>-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup> A<sup>m</sup>ár-kát-A+A (squeezed A rather than šá)-i-ti (only 3 wedges)-SIG<sup>5</sup><sup>qa</sup> (on edge)
13. [lú]GAR.UMUŠ bar-sip<sup>ki</sup>
14. DIŠ IGI<sup>md+</sup>AG-SUM<sup>na</sup>-MU A<sup>m</sup>ZÁLAG-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal
15. lúKU<sub>4</sub>.É lúš[ā-t]am [é<sub>1</sub>-zi-da
16. IGI<sup>md+</sup>AG-ga-mil A<sub>1</sub> [...]

### REVERSE

17. <sup>m</sup>TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>-A+A<sup>m</sup> AŠ-x]-[...]
18. <sup>m</sup>sag-gi-lu A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi<sup>1</sup>
19. <sup>m</sup>in-di-ib-<sup>d+</sup>EN A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi
20. <sup>md+</sup>AG-NUMUN-ba(text ZU)-ni A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi
21. <sup>md+</sup>AG-tè<-me>-DÙ A<sup>lú</sup>NAR
22. <sup>m</sup>qat(text BA)-na-a A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi
23. <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ú-sal-lim A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi
24. ù<sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR<sup>na4</sup>DUB
25. <sup>md+</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-ḫi
26. bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup>ZÍZ.ÀM
27. U<sub>4</sub> 8 KAM

BM 87281—same day as BM 26523 (almost a duplicate, except for some additional witnesses):

- 1(date) [...][...LUGA]L, 'ŠÁR
2. [tag]-mi-i[l]-<sup>nt</sup>'i šá<sup>m</sup>š/za<sup>1</sup>-ra-<sup>r</sup>a-(x)x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>tu<sub>4</sub>(?)
3. ù<sup>md+</sup>EN-ik-šur DUMU-šú šá<sup>din-nu</sup>
4. it-ti a-ḫa-meš ú-gam-mi-lu
5. a-ki-i 15 GI<sup>meš</sup> šá AŠ pa-ni KÁ.GAL
6. šá a-na<sup>m</sup>šá<sup>d+</sup> AG-šur-ú SUM<sup>nu</sup>
7. ù 8 GI<sup>meš</sup> šá <DIŠ><sup>m</sup>si-lim-DINGIR SUM<sup>nu</sup>
8. É šá DA É<sup>m</sup>ú-sip-pi
9. ù 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-ni
10. [<sup>md+</sup>E]N<sub>1</sub>-I,k-šur id(text DA)-dag-gal
11. [AŠ ka-nak<sup>na4</sup>]DUB MU<sup>meš</sup>
12. [DIŠ IGI<sup>md</sup>UTU-NUMUN-B]A<sup>šá</sup> A<sup>m</sup>ár-kát-DINGIR<sup>me</sup>-SIG<sub>5</sub>
13. [lú]GAR.UMUŠ bar-s]ip<sup>ki</sup>

14. [DIŠ IGI<sup>md+</sup>AG-SUM<sup>na</sup>-MU A<sup>m</sup>ZÁLAG]-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal  
 15. [lú<sup>lú</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>.É<sup>lú</sup>šà-tam é-zi-da]

## REVERSE

16. [...][x<sup>m</sup>ba-ri<sup>2</sup>-lú<sup>2</sup>]  
 16'. [<sup>m</sup>in-di-ib-<sup>d+</sup>EN A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-<sup>hi</sup>  
 17'. [<sup>md+</sup>AG-NUMU]N-<sup>DÛ</sup> A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-<sup>hi</sup>  
 18'. [<sup>md+</sup>A]G-tè-me-DÛ<sup>1</sup> A<sup>\*</sup>lú<sup>lú</sup>NAR  
 19'. [<sup>m</sup>r<sup>qat</sup>-na-a A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-<sup>hi</sup>  
 20'. <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-ú-šal-lim A<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-<sup>hi</sup>  
 21'. ú<sup>lú</sup>UMBISAG šá-tir<sup>na</sup>4DUB  
 22'. <sup>md+</sup>EN-ŠEŠ<sup><meš></sup>-SUM<sup>na</sup> DUMU<sup>m</sup>ba-ri-<sup>hi</sup>  
 23'. bār-sipa<sup>ki</sup> ití ZÍZ.ÀM U<sub>4</sub> 8 KAM

## COMPOSITE TRANSLATION

Year five of Aššur-aḥa-iddina, king of the world. Agreement, which Š/Zarā[x]tu(?) and his son Bēl-iḫsur have mutually reached in the(ir) legal case (claim). (The plot) amounting to 15 reeds (situated) opposite the city gate, which was given to Ša-Nabû-šū and the eight reeds which were given to Silim-ilu, the house adjacent to Usippi's house, and four minas of silver belong to Bēl-iḫsur.

(Witnesses) at the sealing of this document:

Witness: Šamaš-zēra-iqīša son of Arkât-ili-damqā, governor of Borsippa; witness: Nabû-nādin-šumi son of Nūr-Papsukkal, a person privileged to enter all parts of the temple (lit. "temple enterer"), the chief administrator of the Ezida; witness: Nabû-gāmil son of [...]; Bābilāyu <son of?> Ina-x[...]; Saggilu descendant of Barīḫu; Indi(b)-Bēl son of Barīḫu; Nabû-zēra-bani son of Barīḫu; Nabû-tēma-ēpuš son of the Musician; Qatnā descendant of Barīḫu; Nergal-ušallim son of Barīḫu; and the scribe, writer of the tablet, Bēl-aḥḫē-iddina son of Barīḫu. Borsippa, month XI, day eight.

## REMARKS

- 1, 4. *ú-gam-mi-lu* is D of G-M-L (*gummulu*). This is the first occurrence of such a form. Before the publication of this deed, only *gamālu* G "to spare, to be obliging, to perform a kind act, to act so as to please"; and Š "to make mutual concessions" (OB only, CAD G, s.v.) are recorded. *tagmiltu* in line 1 is a nominal form (*taprist*, nomen actionis of the D stem, cf. GAG, §56 I as well as J.A. Scurlock, "Taklimtu: A Display of Grave Goods?" NABU 1991/3). *Tag-mi-il-ti ú-gam-mi-lu* looks like an internal object (objectum effectum). It may be that D in this case is close in meaning to G (cf., e.g., *gamāru* and *gummuru*). N.J.C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1997), 103 (cf. 85)

groups *gamālu* together with verbs denoting possession, control, care and love/hate, and characterizes it as a common transitive verb of which a D-stem is not attested (low degree of transitivity). This characterization is to be somewhat modified in view of this new document. *Tagmiltu* is rendered here as "agreement" rather than "obligation" in view of the fact that it is reached by both parties, and seems to be closer in meaning to "concession, pleasing act." This agreement between the father and his son presumably regulates the inheritance.

6. Ša-Nabû-šū is presumably the same individual as Ša-Nabû-šū desc. of *Ba-r[i(?)]-lú[?]* who is mentioned 41 years later (BM 26533, unpubl. from 635/4 B.C.E.). At that time he must have been a fairly old person: BM 26533 is a deed of inheritance according to which Ša-Nabû-šū hands over his house and field to female members of his family (see R. Zadok, "Contributions to Babylonian Geography, Prosopography and Documentation," in *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. O. Loretz, K.A. Metzler and H. Schaudig. AOAT 281. Münster: Ugarit, 875f.; cf. Zadok, "Some Additions and Corrections Concerning NB/LB Documentation," NABU 2002/66). Silim-ilu, who, like Ša-Nabû-šū, must have been a close relative of Bēl-iḫsur (presumably his brother) is otherwise unknown.
18. *Nabû-tēma-ēpuš* "Nabû has carried out the plan," for *tēma(m) epēšu* cf. AHw, 1386b, s.v. *tēmu(m)*, 6, a (OB), 1387, 11, a (peripheral MB). For a three-element anthroponym with the same middle component, cf. NA (specimen name) *Nabû-tē-me-ú-tir* (see J. J. Stamm, MVAeG 44 [1939], 231, 320). The ancestor's name is not recorded after the early Neo-Babylonian period. On the whole, the onomasticon of this period differs to some extent from that of the "Chaldean" and Achaemenid periods and preserves some ancient survivals, e.g., *Pa-kaš-tu* (<sup>lú</sup>ENGAR "farmer," BRM 1, 17, 12 from [x+?]3 Nabû-nāšer, i.e., sometime between 745 and 735 B.C.E.). It is the same name as *Ba-ka-aš-ti* from Old Babylonian Tikunani (M. Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*. Documenta Asiana. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per gli studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche [Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1996], vii, 42, cf. Zadok, review of Salvini in *AfO* 46–47 [1999–2000]: 355a).
- 22'. It is interesting that the scribe erred in writing his own name. Was the copy written by his apprentice?

## B.

*Five Neo-Babylonian Deeds from the Archive of Libluṣ son of Ninurta-ibni or Related to It*

## a. Archive of Libluṣ son of Ninurta-ibni:

The four deeds published below can be added to another four (TMH 2/3, 44, 70, 71, 73, see R. Zadok, "Archives from Nippur in the First Millennium B.C.," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers Read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July 1983*. PIHANS 57 (ed. K.R. Veenhof [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986], 283). These eight documents cover the period between 30.IX.604/3 and 14.IX.598/7 B.C.E. The related deed from Iltuk (below, b) falls within this period. Nos. 1, 2 below have a drawing of a sun (both have a pattern of waves); the same pattern of four nail marks is also scratched twice on the upper edge. An almost similar drawing is found on the left edge of TMH 2/3, 73 and a smaller drawing is visible on the left edge of TMH 2/3, 70, both from the same archive. It is noteworthy that these four deeds were written by four different scribes. For etching a drawing instead of sealing cf. K. Radner, *Die Neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. SAAS 6 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), 40: III.3.D, who quotes S. Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8–7 Jh. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln und Tonverschlüssen*. SAAS 1 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1992), 42, n. 56. They mention two documents from Uruk. GCCI 1, 385 is a deed (slave sale, 553/2 B.C.E.) with a drawing of a bird's head. The administrative document GCCI 1, 368 (551/50 B.C.E.; recording receipt of silver) has a drawing of a bird. The place of issue is not indicated, but the principal, Arad-Ištar, is also recorded, e.g., in YOS 6, 32, 28 (554/53 B.C.E.), 61, 2 (551/50 B.C.E.) and 206, 1 (544/3 B.C.E.) from Uruk. HSM 1899.2.103 from Borsippa, 610/09 B.C.E. (archive of Nabû-mukîn-apli s. of Nādinu desc. of Ilūta-bani), an unpublished promissory note for silver, has also a drawing of a bird's head on the left edge. The fragmentary deed BM 94589 (unpubl.), which belongs to the Borsippean archive of Lā-abāšī-Marduk s. of [x-Marduk desc. of Iddina Papsukkal (dated to 10[(+x)].I.- time of Dar. I, i.e., sometime between 521 and 486 B.C.E.), has on the left edge an atypical arrangement of eight fingernail marks (a ninth one was presumably in the damaged section of the left edge). It concerns the release of a slave (to be published by C. Wunsch). It is interesting that none of the above-mentioned documents is a sale contract where fingernail marks are expected.

1. HSM 1904.4.27—(see photographs below; the archive owner acts as the debtor here); Nippur, 30.IX.1 Nbk. II (604/3 B.C.E.). Promissory note for

an exceptionally large quantity of cuscuta: short-term (slightly over one month).

1. 22 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BĀN ka]-si-ia
2. šá<sup>m</sup>šī-rik-ti [A, <sup>m</sup>gi-mil-lu
3. AŠ UGU <sup>m</sup>lib-luṣ A <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DÙ
4. U<sub>4</sub> 1 KAM šá<sup>iti</sup>ZÍZ ka-si-ia
5. i-nam-din ki-i la it-tan-'nu'
6. a-ki-i KILAM šá TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
7. KÙ.BABBAR i-nam-din

## REVERSE

8. lú<sup>mu</sup>-kin-ni <sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN
9. A <sup>md+</sup>AG-BA<sup>šá</sup>
10. <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-ki-ti-GIŠ A <sup>m</sup>šul-lum
11. <sup>m</sup>na-šir A <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-SU
12. u<sup>lú</sup>UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-PAP A <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-TIN<sup>†</sup>
13. EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>GAN U<sub>4</sub> 30 KAM
14. MU 1 KAM <sup>md+</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-ú-šur
15. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

LE. E. Four nailmarks and a drawing (see above).

## TRANSLATION

(1) 22 kors, 2 pānu and 3 seahs of cuscuta (2) due to Širiktu son of Gimillu, (3) which are debited against Libluṣ son of Ninurta-ibni. (4) On 1.XI (5) he will deliver (4) the cuscuta. (5) If he does not deliver (7) he will pay (in) silver (6) according to the rate of Babylon. (8) Witnesses: Itti-Šamaš-balātu (9) son of Nabû-iqīša; (10) Zēr-kitti-līšer son of Šullumu; (11) Nāšeru son of Ninurta-erība; (12) and the scribe Ninurta-nāšer (or -ušur) son of Nergal-uballit. (13) Nippur, month IX, day thirty, (14) year one of Nebuchadnezzar (15) King of Babylon.

## REMARKS

2. The creditor Širiktu son of Gimillu acts as the debtor in TMH 2/3, 44 from -.X.600/599 B.C.E. He is also listed in an administrative record of offerings from 4.VI.568/7 B.C.E. (TMH 2/3, 240, 49, very probably from Nippur).
6. It seems reasonable that the rate of the capital Babylon was higher than that of provincial towns such as Nippur.
- 8–9. Šamaš-balātu son of Nabû-iqīša witnessed also TMH 2/3, 44, 71. Zēr-kitti-līšer son of Šullumu is found in an undated administrative record (TMH 2/3, 217, 12: [NUMUN-ki]t-ti-GIŠ; script early "Chaldean").

2. BM 27952—(copy by T. Zadok below; the archive owner is the creditor); Nippur, 9.XII.3 Nbk. II (602/1 B.C.E.). Promissory note for barley: short-term loan (about four months) with interest.

1. 2 GUR 4 BÁN ŠE.BAR šá<sup>m</sup>lib-luṭ
2. A<sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DÙ AŠ UGU<sup>md</sup>U.GUR-MU
3. A<sup>m</sup>MU-MU\* AŠ UGU 1 GUR 2 BÁN-ti
4. ŠE.BAR AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup>-šú a-di-i (followed by an erasure)
5. itišU ta-rab-bi

LO. E.

6. lú<sup>hi</sup>mu-kin-ni<sup>md</sup>+EN-šú-nu
7. A<sup>md</sup>+AG-MU-DÙ

REVERSE

8. <sup>md</sup>UTU-SIG<sup>iq</sup><sub>5</sub>
9. A<sup>md</sup>MAŠ-DÙ u<sub>1</sub> [ú<sup>hi</sup>UMBISA]G
10. <sup>md</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ-M[U<sup>2</sup> A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>r]e<sup>2</sup>-mut (followed by an erasure)
11. EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> itišE<sup>1</sup> U<sub>4</sub> 9 KAM
12. MU 3 KAM<sup>md</sup>+AG-NÍG.DU-PAP

U. E.

13. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

(Triad of nail marks preceded by a circle and eight small nail marks on upper edge; drawing on left edge [presumably also made with the nails]; the other two edges are inscribed.)

#### TRANSLATION

(1) Two kors and four seahs of barley due to Libluṭ (2) son of Ninurta-ibni, which are debited against Nergal-iddina (3) son of Šuma-iddina (or Nādin-šumi). Each kor (5) will bear interest (of) (3) three seahs (4) of barley until (5) (the month of) Tammuz (IV).

(6) Witnesses: Bēšunu (7) son of Nabû-šuma-ibni; (8) Šamaš-udam-miq (9) son of Ninurta-ibni (or -bāni) and the s[cribe] (10) Šamaš-aḫa-iddina(?) son of Rēmūtu(?). (11) Nippur, month XII, day nine, (12) year three of Nebuchadnezzar (13) King of Babylon.

#### REMARKS

2–3. The debtor acted in the same capacity in TMH 2/3, 71 from 8.I.4 Nbk. II (601/600 B.C.E.).

3. BÁN-ti – the last sign is a phonetic complement (pl. of *sūtu*). Actually 30% interest. The same rate is found in GCCI 2, 5; UET 4, 67, 82, 84 (= BR 8/7, 72; Ur, 655/4 B.C.E.), 85; cf. H. Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 48/1 (Berlin: Akademie, 1956), 20, n. 43a.

8–9. The second witness has the same paternal name as the creditor and is probably his brother in view of the fact that he acted as the debtor in the related deed from Iltuk (below, b), although the given and paternal names are rather common.

3. VS 3, 4 (VAT 5367) = NRV 228; Nippur, 15.VII.4 Nbk. II (601/600 B.C.E.). The archive owner is the creditor; debtor: Šamaš-zēra-iqīša son of Aplā; 2 *pānu* of sesame to be delivered in IX (i.e., within six weeks); in case of non-delivery he will pay interest in sesame (amount not specified, see San-Nicolò and Ungnad, NRV 235 ad loc.).

Witnesses:

Šamaš-balāṭu son of Šamaš-iqīša (acted as the scribe in TMH 2/3, 39, 10 from Nippur, 15.XII.2 Nbk. II = 603/2 B.C.E.); Taqīšu son of Ninurta-iddina; Ninurta-na'id son of Abu-ukīn;

Scribe: Ina-Ekur-rab son of Ulūlayu.

(The published copy has no fingernail marks.)

4. BM 27884—Dilbat, 5.VIb.5 Nbk. II (600/599 B.C.E.; the archive owner is the creditor)

1. 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá<sup>m</sup>lib-luṭ
2. A<sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ib-ni AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup>
3. mīR-d<sup>gu</sup>-la A<sup>m</sup>tab-né-e-a
4. AŠ<sup>it</sup>APIN i-nam-din
5. ki-i la it-tan-na
6. a-ki-i ma-ḫi-ri šá<sup>it</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>
7. ŠE.BAR AŠ UGU šá 1 GÍN 2 BÁN AŠ dil-bat<sup>ki</sup>
8. i-nam-din

LO. E.

9. lú<sup>hi</sup>mu-kin-ni<sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ba-na

REVERSE

10. A<sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU
11. <sup>md</sup>XXX-NÍG.DU A<sup>m</sup>e-tel-lu
12. ù lú<sup>hi</sup>UMBISAG<sup>m</sup>ši-[ri]k-ti-d<sup>MAŠ</sup>
13. A<sup>m</sup>it<sup>it</sup>KIN-A+A dil-bat<sup>ki</sup>
14. it<sup>it</sup>KIN 2 KAM U<sub>4</sub> 5 KAM
15. MU 5 KAM<sup>md</sup>+AG-NÍG.DU-ú-šur
16. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

U. E.

17. ú-īl-ti šá ŠE.GIŠ.Ī
18. ḫi-pa-ta

## TRANSLATION

(1) 15 shekels of silver due to Libluṭ (2) son of Ninurta-ibni debited against (3) Ardi-Gula son of Tabnē'a. (4) He will repay in VIII. (5) If he does not repay, (8) he will repay (7) two seahs of barley for one shekel (of silver) (6) according to the rate of III (7) in Dilbat.

(9) Witnesses: Ninurta-bana (10) son of Ninurta-aḥa-iddina (or -nādin-šumi and 11) Sîn-kudurru son of Etellu; (12) and the scribe Širikti-Ninurta (13) son of Ululāyu. Dilbat, (14) month VIb, day five, (15) year five of Nebuchadnezzar (16) King of Babylon. (17) The promissory note of sesame (18) is destroyed (=void).

## REMARKS

3. The debtor is not recorded in other documents of this archive; was he from Dilbat?

12-13. This scribe wrote also TMH 2/3, 44 from Nippur, -X.600/599 B.C.E.

b. A related deed from Iltuk:

BM 27836 — Loan of silver payable in barley; 30.XII.4 Nbk. II (601/600 B.C.E.)

1. 8 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR šá<sup>m</sup> tab-né-e-a
2. A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> šu-la-a AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup>
3. <sup>md</sup>UTU-SIG<sup>iq</sup> A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> MAŠ-DÙ
4. a-ki-i KILAM šá<sup>iti</sup> SIG<sub>4</sub>
5. MAŠ GÍN 2 BÂN ŠE.BAR i-nam-din

## REVERSE

6. <sup>li</sup>mu-kin-ni <sup>m</sup>ba-laṭ-su
7. A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> la-ba-ši <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-NUMUN-DÙ <A-šú šá>
8. <sup>md</sup>IŠKUR-MU-KAM <sup>li</sup>UMBISAG
9. <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ <sup>uru</sup>il-tuk
10. <sup>iti</sup>ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 30 KAM MU 4 KAM
11. <sup>md+</sup>AG-NÍG.DU-PAP LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(1) 8 shekels of silver due to Tabnē'a (2) son of Šulā debited against (3) Šamaš-udammīq son of Ninurta-ibni. (5) He will deliver two seahs of barley for half a shekel (of silver) (4) according to the rate of exchange of Simānu (III).

(6) Witnesses: Balāssu (7) son of Lā-abāši, Marduk-zēra-ibni <son of > (8) Adad-šuma-ēreš (and) the scribe (9) Marduk-šuma-ibni. Iltuk, (10) month XII, day thirty, year four of (11) Nabû-kudurra-ušur King of Babylon.

## REMARKS

1-5. Other loans of silver payable in barley are, e.g., VS 4, 8 = NRV 164 (Sippar, 14(?).III.18 Npl = 608/7 B.C.E.), Nbk. 112, 7 (Babylon, Egibi archive, 6.X.17 Nbk II = 588/7 B.C.E.), and VS 4, 28, 29 (Ālu-ša-Nādinu, 15.IX.38 Nbk. II = 567/6 B.C.E., archive of Ṭabiya s. of Bēl-ušallim desc. of Sîn-ilu). The rate of exchange in Nbk. 112 is ½ shekel for two seahs of barley as in this deed. San Nicolò and Ungnad, NRV 203 ad 171 point out that the average price of 30 seahs (180 ŠILA) of barley was one shekel of silver (or slightly less).

3. For the debtor see ad a, 2 above.

9. <sup>uru</sup>il-tu-uk was situated in Bit-Dakkūri according to Luckenbill, OIP 2, 52, 38 from the beginning of Sennacherib's reign. <sup>uru</sup>il-tuk is the place of issue of a deed (part of a compendium) from 1.XII.20 Ashurbanipal (649/8 B.C.E.), cf. J.A. Brinkman and D.A. Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society: A Survey of Dated Babylonian Economic Texts, 721-626 B.C.," JCS 35 (1983): 22: J.15. The deed concerns a palm grove situated in Bit-Kinā, a settlement that was part of Bit-Raḥē of Bit-Dakkūri (AnOr 9, 4, vi, 43; see San Nicolò, BR 8/7 [ABAW NF 34, 1951], 39). "Iltuk" is also recorded in Kohler and Peiser, *Rechtsleben* 1, 10: 84-2-11, 78 (=BM 77344, a nearly complete tablet) from 10.IX.3 Cyr. (= 536/5 B.C.E.), (E. Leichty, J.J. Finkelstein and C.B.F. Walker, *Tablets from Sippar* 3. Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum 8 [London: British Museum Publications, 1988], 99 have 10.VIII.3 Cyr.; bought from Spartali & Co.). A field situated on the "Kaldu" canal is mentioned there. Both parties (Marduk-nādin-aḥi s. of Nergal-uballit and Kidin-Marduk s. of Iddina-Nabû husband of Ramū'a) belong to the clan of Bēl-ēteru. Members of the same clan, viz. Mušezib-Marduk and Nergal-iddina sons of Marduk-bān-zēri, are the second party (debtors) in a slightly later deed from Bit-Raḥē. The deed (Cyr. 240), which was issued on 11.XII.6 Cyr. (533/2 B.C.E.), was written by Nergal-iddina and belongs to the Egibi archive. The first of the two witnesses is Zakir s. of Mušallim-Marduk desc. of Bēl-ēteru and the second one is Bēl-iddina s. of Nabû-ušuršu desc. of Egibi. Zadok, "Zur Geographie Babylo niens während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters," WO 16 (1985): 55-56: "Edu" (not far from Borsippa) is perhaps to be read Kaldu; Nāru-ša-Balāssu flowed in the area of Dūru šá<sup>m</sup> Ma-la-ḥi-x-al(?) in the district (*pīḥatu*) of <sup>uru</sup>Kal-du according to OECT 10, 400 from 0. Sîn-šuma-lišer (found in Kish, cf. G. Frame, "A Siege Document from Babylon Dating to 649 B.C.," JCS 51 [1999]: 106). Iltuk may derive from Š-W/Y-K (with N/LB <lt> for /š/), cf. OSyr. *swk'*, *swkt'*, Bibl. Heb. *šwkh* "branch" (and the OT

toponym *Šwkw*, Septuagint Σωκω) on the one hand and Arab. *šawka* "power, valor," as well as the related anthroponyms Saf. *Šwk(t)*, Arab. *Šawkat* (G.L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*. Near and Middle East Series 8 [Toronto and Buffalo: Toronto University, 1971], 363), and *'bdšwk* (R. Zadok, "The Ethno-linguistic Character of the Semitic-Speaking Population of Mesopotamia and Adjacent Regions between the 1st and 7th Centuries A.D.: A Preliminary Survey of the Onomastic Evidence," in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor, 61, ed. S. Graziani [Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2000], 2259) on the other.

My previous interpretation of this toponym in R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (2nd ed., Jerusalem: Wanaarta, 1978), 37–38, is to be abandoned. The same applies to the early Neo-Babylonian anthroponym *Il-ti-ḥa-ni* (J.A. Brinkman, "A Legal Text from the Reign of Erība-Marduk (c. 775 B.C.)," in *Dumu-e<sub>2</sub>-dub-ba-a: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 11 [eds. H. Behrens and M.T. Roth, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1989], 39, 3, cf. Zadok, *West Semites*, 37 with n. 13), which may be another case of Neo-Babylonian <lt> for WSem. /š/. It ends in -ān and may be based on Š-W/Y-H, cf. Bibl. Heb. *šyḥ* "bush, shrub, plant," OSyr. *syḥ* "Artemisia Judaica," Arab. *ših* "idem" on the one hand and "to speak" (Heb. and Aram., related to Arab. *šāḥa* "to be eager, diligent"?) on the other.

### C.

#### *A Preliminary Prosopography of Borsippean Functionaries during the Late Post-Kassite, Assyrian, "Chaldean" and Early Achaemenid Periods*

The governor of Borsippa and the chief administrator of the Ezida, as well as most of the canal inspectors of Borsippa, belonged to long-established Borsippean clans, who are basically prebendaries of the Ezida (a, 1, 6, 11, 30 and b, 1, 4, 12 are explicitly described as *erib-bitī* of the Ezida, see for the time being, G. Frame, "The 'First Families' of Borsippa during the Early Neo-Babylonian Period," *JCS* 36 [1984]: 67–80). Familial ties are discernible. It is noteworthy that in one case two successive governors (a, 18–19 below) belong to the same clan (the cases of a, 14–15 are not beyond doubt). Another governor (a, 4 below) held the office before and after the period of another member of his clan (a, 5 below). One governor (a, 19 below) is the father of a later chief temple administrator (b, 12 below). No less than three successive chief temple administrators belong to the same clan (b, 4–6

below). Likewise, another two successive chief temple administrators belong to another clan (b, 9–10 below; the cases of b, 15–17 are open to doubt). A temple governor (a, 20) was perhaps son of a *gugallu* (f, 1 below). The brother of a *gugallu* acted as his aid and later succeeded him in office (f, 4–5 below). On the other hand, the commissioner and the inspector of the Ezida, as well as the chief palace official of Borsippa, were royal appointees (it is noteworthy that the names of d/1 and e/2 below contain *šarru* "king"). All the documents were issued in Borsippa unless otherwise stated. The governor of Borsippa, and the chief administrator of the Ezida occur in most cases as witnesses. Both are generally juxtaposed: the governor precedes the chief administrator (generally as the first or second witness; names from unpublished sources are also given in transliteration; for the late-Assyrian period see in general G. Frame, *Babylonia 689–627: A Political History*. PIHANS 69 [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992], 272–73). Several governors and chief administrators appear in legal cases (a, 10, 24, 26; b, 15, 17) or are active in transactions (a, 17, 20, 21, 23, 27; b, 21).

a. Governor (*šākin-tēmi* see Brinkman, PKB, 307–9; CAD Š/1, 161–64)<sup>1</sup>

1. Nabû-šuma-imbi desc. of Ēda-ēter (or Aššur), reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun, i.e., sometime between 760 and 748 B.C.E. (W.G. Lambert, "Literary Style in First Millennium Mesopotamia," *JAOS* 88 [1968]: 126, Ib, 23, see Brinkman, PKB, 225, 355). He is also recorded in a deed from 7.VI. of the same ruler (R. Zadok, "Two N/LB Documents from the British Museum," *NABU* 1997/11, 10–11: BM 26528, 22–23).

2. Nabû-lē'i desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā, 23.IV.7 Merodach-Baladan II (715/4 B.C.E., VS 1, 37, v, 10–11, see E. Unger, "Barsippa," *RIA* 1, 425b; Landsberger, *BBEA*, 356–57, n. 110); Nabû-lē'i (<sup>d+</sup>AG-Ā.GĀL), governor (place not mentioned), same time (ABL 542, 11–12, see CAD Š/1, 162a).

3. Šamaš-zēra-iqīša desc. of Arkât-[ilī-damqā], 15.XII.[x] Esarhaddon (sometime between 680 and 669 B.C.E., Speleers, *Recueil*, 278 (O.638, 7, see Landsberger, *BBEA*, 30; Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 19:I.28; 20, ln. 4; Frame, *History*, 272); <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>-NUMUN-BA<sup>š</sup>A<sup>m</sup>Arkât-A+A-i-ti-SIG<sup>qa</sup> (on e., cf. above, A), 8.XI.5 Esarhaddon (676/5 B.C.E., BM 26523, 12–13, unpubl., cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 18:I.10 [read 26523 instead of 29523], see Frame, *History*, 272, n. 21).

1. B. Landsberger (*BBEA* 30) suggested that Nādin-aḫi bēl-pīḫati (<sup>lu</sup>EN.NAM, perhaps from the early reign of Esarhaddon, T.G. Pinches [and E.F. Weidner], "Ein babylonischer Eponym," *AfO* 13 [1939–41]: 51–55 and pl. 4, 5) was the governor of Borsippa, but this cannot be proven and Frame, *History*, 281 with n. 83 does not assign him to any place. The research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation.

4. Nabû-bêl-šumāti desc. of Iliya, 3.XII.7 Ššu (661/60 B.C.E., TCL 12, 9, 24–25); sometime after 6 Ššu (662/1 B.C.E. – 653/2 B.C.E., CT 10, pl. 7, r. 47, Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 38:K. 169); 25.I.12 Ššu (656/5 B.C.E., L. 4724, r. 4 [F. Joannès apud Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 29:K. 50a]); 7.IX.12 Ššu (A. Goetze, “Additions to Parker and Dubberstein’s Chronology,” *JNES* 3 [1944]: 44, n. 13: YBC 11426, 20); 13.IX.12 Ššu (Goetze, “Additions,” 44, n. 13: NBC 8397, 23–24); 10.IV(?) / VII(?) 14 Ššu (654/3 B.C.E., Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 31: K 83: CBS 7756, r. 1–2); 22.II.15 or 16 Ššu (653/2 or 652/1 B.C.E., VAT 13392, 24, see Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 36: K 151); and --- [Ššu] (sometime between 667 and 648 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 17, 25–26, see Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 38: K 173; Frame, *History*, 232, 272 with n. 22). Nabû-bêl-šumāti sent an undated letter (ABL 834) to the Assyrian king.

5. Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḫi) desc. of Iliya, 19.IX.8 Ššu (660/59 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 11, 25, cf. Landsberger, *BBEA* 357–58; Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 27:K.29); 5.III.10 Ššu (658/7 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 12, 21); 7.X.12 Ššu (656/5 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 23, 18’ = MAH 16232, see Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 29–30: K 60–61); 9.-.12 [Ššu] (OECT 12, A 131, 22, see Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 30: K 67; Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 23).

6. Marduk-nāšir desc. of Nūr-Papsukkal, 16.III.7 Kand. (641/40 B.C.E., TCL 12, 6, 28, cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 41:L. 21, Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 24). [+<sup>d</sup>AMAR.[UTU-x A <sup>m</sup>x]-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal 23. <sup>lú</sup>KU<sub>5</sub>.É [<sup>d</sup>+AG <sup>lú</sup>GAR.UMUŠ] [bār<sup>1</sup>-sip<sup>ki</sup> (= cf. a, 1 who was an *erib biti*, BM 87279 from --- Asb., 1st w.)]

7. Nabû-zēru-līšer desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā, 21.VI.13 Kand. (635/4 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 14, 24, cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence,” 44:L. 68, Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 25); <sup>d</sup>+AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā (Ár-kát-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-SI<sub>1</sub>[G<sub>5</sub>]), 28.XII.13 (12+[1]) Kand. (635/4 B.C.E., BM 26533, 15–16, unpubl.).

8. Nabû-šar-ilāni-x<sup>1</sup>-a-ni [desc. of ...], 11.XI.3 Npl. (623/2 B.C.E., BM 109859, 15–16, unpubl.).<sup>2</sup>

9. Nabû-aḫḫe-bullit (<sup>d</sup>+AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ) desc. of Basiya (? BA?-si?-[ia/iá]), 15.VIII.7 Npl. (619/8 B.C.E., BM 26475, 24–25, cf. the duplicate BM 26525, 26, both unpubl.); <sup>d</sup>+AG-PAP<sup>me</sup>-TIN A <sup>m</sup>Ba-si-ia (BM 82611, 18’, unpubl., date lost); cf. below, b, 7.

2. First witness to a contract recording the sale of one week of the Oxherd prebend of the Ezida by Nādinu <s. of Bēlšunu> to Nabû-kešir [s. of Nabû-kāšir], both of the Oxherd clan (a later copy, no nail marks visible).

10. Mar-duk, not explicitly of Borsippa, but the deed recording his decision concerning a field in Nagītu was issued there and the witnesses, as well as, probably, the principals are Borsippeans, 29.IV.12 Npl. (614/3 B.C.E., VS 6, 9, 2, see Unger, “Barsippa,” 426a).<sup>3</sup>

11. Zēru (?<sup>1</sup>NUMUN(?))-[...] <sup>17</sup>. <sup>lú</sup>KU<sub>5</sub>.É <sup>d</sup>+ [AG... <sup>lú</sup>GAR.UMUŠ bār-sipa<sup>ki</sup>], 30 (text 31).II.18 Npl. = 608/7 B.C.E. (BM 94556, 16f).

12. Ilē’i-Marduk (DA-<sup>d</sup>[AMA]<sub>1</sub>R.UTU) desc. of the Carpenter (Naggāru, <sup>lú</sup>NAGAR), date lost (script early Neo-Babylonian, possibly Npl. or beginning of Nbk. II’s reign). The prosopography of the deed (BM 26493, 21, unpubl., contract [sale of a palm grove by Līširu]) is so far of no help due to the lack of filiations.

13. Šamaš-ku[...] (<sup>d</sup>UTU-ku-x)[x-x] desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā (EGIR<sup>meš</sup>-[...], IAC 419, 23–24; unpubl.), [<sup>lú</sup>GAR.UM], UŠ bār-sip<sup>ki</sup>, date lost, but the script and format are early Neo-Babylonian.

14. Mukīn-M[arduk]/N[ergal] (? DU-<sup>d</sup>U.G[UR]/A[MAR.UTU(?)]) desc. of [the Carpenter] (<sup>lú</sup>[NAGAR]), 18.V.8 Nbk. II (597/6 B.C.E., BM 26482, 21–22, unpubl.). (=14 or 15?) [DU/DÛ(?)]-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU A <sup>lú</sup>NAGAR - .III(?).[...] (BM 87239, r. 5’).

15. [Ib]-ni-Marduk desc. of the Carpenter, 23.VIII.8 Nbk. II (597/6 B.C.E., OECT 12, A 98, 25–26).

16. Nabû-ēter-napšāti desc. of Ilūta-bani, 21.II.13 Nbk. II (592/1 B.C.E., VS 5, 6 = NRV 34, 28–29, see Unger, “Barsippa,” 426a).

17. Šuzubu (Šu-zu-bu), 2.V.15 Nbk. II (590/589 B.C.E., concerning crude bitumen, BM 29085, 8, unpubl.).

18. Nabû-šuma-ibni (<sup>d</sup>+AG-MU-DÛ) desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā (EGIR-DINGIR<sup>me</sup>-SIG<sub>5</sub>), 21.VIII.22 Nbk. II (583/2 B.C.E., BM 26487, 37).

19. Širikti-M[arduk] (Ši-rik-ti-<sup>d</sup>A[MAR.UTU]) s. of Nabû-iqbi desc. of [Arkât-ilī-damqā], [x]+6.III(?) .40 Nbk. II (565/4 B.C.E., Nbk. 374, r. 2–3, listed as the first witness before the judges; cf. Unger, “Barsippa,” 426a); Širikti-Marduk (Ši-rik-ti-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU) desc. of Arkât-ilī-damqā (EGIR<sup>meš</sup>-DINGIR-SIG<sub>5</sub>, BM 94593, 23–24, the first witness of an unpublished damaged and fragmentary deed concerning transfer of a building plot in the Abul-uqni quarter of Borsippa)—date lost, and the prosopography is not

3. *Bēl-kāšir* (?<sup>d</sup>+EN-ka-[šir(?)]) desc. of *Šillāyu* (GISSU-A+A), the messenger of an anonymous governor (<sup>lú</sup>DUMU šip-ri šá <sup>lú</sup>GAR.UMUŠ), acted as the fourth (last) witness to a deed belonging to the Oxherd archive (*Rēmūt-Nabû* desc. of Oxherd vs. *Aplā* s. of *Bēlšunu* desc. of *Ea-ibni*, BM 27855, Borsippa, 23.I.15 Npl. = 611/10 B.C.E., cf. Kennedy, “Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society. Part II: A Survey of Babylonian Texts 626–605 B.C.,” *JCS* 38 [1986]: 199:T.15.4).

of much help, but the script is early "Chaldean." The period of his office preceded that of his son, Nabû-šuma-ukīn, the chief administrator (below, b, 12).

20. Nabû-nādin-šumi (<sup>d+</sup>AG-na-din-MU) s. of Nādinu (SUM<sup>ma</sup>) desc. of Ibnāyu (DÜ-A+A), 16.IV.1 AmM (561/60 B.C.E., BM 28933, 2–3, 13, unpubl.); issued in Bit-Ina-tēšī-ēter on Nār-Barsip (É<sup>m</sup>AŠ-SÜH-SUR GÚ I<sub>7</sub> bar-sip). He possibly was the son of a *gugallu* (below, f, 1). The *gugallu*-tax of Nār-Barsip is mentioned in the deed.

21. Nabû-nādin-aḥi (<sup>d+</sup>AG-na-din-ŠEŠ) s. of Mušēzib-Marduk (mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU) desc. of Ibnāyu ([DÜ(?)]-A(?)+A; his title is damaged: <sup>lú</sup>x] [(x) ba]r-sip<sup>ki</sup>), Borsippa, 3.VI.0 Ner=560/59 B.C.E. (BM 29035, 4f.; archive of Arkat-ilāni (Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē s. of Nabû-mukīn-apli, presumably father of 24 below). The deed (almost duplicate of BM 96285) is related to BM 28933. The mayor (*ḥazannu*) of Mankisi (<sup>ur</sup>man-na-ki-si) is also mentioned.

22. Nabû-mukīn-apli (<sup>d+</sup>AG-DU-A) desc. of the Boatman (Malaḥḥu, <sup>lú</sup>MÁ.LAḤ<sub>4</sub>), 21.X.1 Ner.= 559/8 B.C.E. (BM 85312, 26f.); s. of Nabû-bēšunu (<sup>d+</sup>AG-EN-šú-nu) desc. of Malaḥḥu, 23.-.2 Nbn. (554/3 B.C.E., BM 28862, 21–22).

23. Nabû-mukīn-apli (<sup>d+</sup>AG-DU-A) s. of Šuma-iškun (MU-GAR) desc. of the Oilpresser (Šaḥit-ginē, <sup>lú</sup>ŠUR.GINA), 15.VII.9 Nbn. = 547/6 B.C.E. (BM 17702, 4–5, unpubl.); <sup>d+</sup>AG-DU-DUMU.NITA (without filiation), 13.X.9 Nbn. (547/6 B.C.E., BM 102315, 5–6, unpubl.). According to BM 102315, Nabû-mukīn-zēri s. of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina desc. of Aššur (or Ēda-ēter) received 59.5 shekels of silver from Nabû-ēter-napšāti s. of Nūrē'a desc. of Iliya on account of the governor (apart from a previous unspecified sum of silver that an anonymous messenger of Nabû-mukīn-zēri received). Nabû-ēter-napšāti s. of Nūrē'a desc. of Iliya acts as principal in BM 17702 as well.

24. Šamaš-zēra-iqīša (<sup>d</sup>UTU-NUMUN-BA<sup>šá</sup>) s. of Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē (<sup>d+</sup>AG-DIB-UD.DA) desc. of Arkāt-ilī-damqā (Ár-kát-DINGIR<me>-SIG<sub>5</sub>), -.16 [Nbn] = 540/39 B.C.E. It is a litigation concerning fraud (issued in Bit-šar-Bābili). His slave (*qallu*) Na'id-Šiḥu (Na'-id-ši-i-ḥu) is mentioned.

25. Nabû-ēter-napšāti <sup>lú</sup>GAR.[UMUŠ], 30.II.2 Cyr. (537/6 B.C.E.; principal in a *ḥarrānu*-transaction, OECT 12, A 110, 3). His alphabet scribe (*sepīru*) Rēmūt-Nabû s. of Mušēzib-Šamaš desc. of Raksu participated in the transaction.

An anonymous governor is mentioned in the administrative record BM 25966, 2–3 (unpubl., concerning 20 kors of barley given as expenses upon the governor's authorization) from VI. 7. Cyr. = 532/1 B.C.E. The document is probably from Borsippa, in view of the fact that the other two individuals mentioned, viz. the recipient (and scribe) Ēter-Nabû (E-tē-ru-<sup>d+</sup>AG) s. of Nabû-zēra-ukīn (<sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-DU) and the deliverer Nādinu

(N[a-di]n) s. of Balātu (TIN), belong to Borsippean clans (descendants of Kidin-Sin and Arkāt-ilī-damqā respectively).

26. Nabû-aḥa-ušabši (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-GÁL(?)<sup>šá</sup>), 7.VII.7 Camb. (523/2 B.C.E. (BM 22102, 2, unpubl) is recorded in a legal case of Libluṭ s. of Gāmilu desc. of Iddina-Papsukkal. Uqūpu s. of Nabû (<sup>d+</sup>AG)-z[a](?)-[b]a(?)-di, the official in charge of a custom station (*rab-kāri*, <sup>lú</sup>GAL ka-a-ri), and <sup>f</sup>Nuptā are also involved.

27. Mušallim-Marduk (mu-šal-lim-<sup>d+</sup>AMAR.'UTU'), Borsippa, 26.VI.4 Dar. I = 518/7 B.C.E. (BM 82780, 2f.). 3000 bricks of M. were received by Rēmāni-Bēl slave (*qallu*) of the *sukallu*-official from the hands of Nabû-mušētiq-ūdē s. of Nabû-aḥa-šubši desc. of Iddina-Papsukkal.

28. Mušēzib-Bēl (KAR-<sup>d+</sup>EN, his seal), 17.VIII.12 Dar. I (510/09 B.C.E., VS 6, 128, e., see Unger, "Barsippa," 426a).

29. Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>mes</sup>-MU) is mentioned in an undated administrative record of small cattle (HSM 1895.1.28, 3, unpubl.)<sup>4</sup> together with a certain Rēmūtu and Nabû-aḥa-ittannu, the *gugallu*. The latter is recorded on 11.VII.501/500 B.C.E. (see below, f, 9).

30. [... <sup>lú</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É <sup>d+</sup>AG s. of Marduk-šuma-ušur (or nādin-aḥi, <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ) desc. of x] [(x)], heading the witnesses' list, 29.I(?)<sup>25</sup> Dar. 1=497/6 B.C.E. (BM 94554, r.).

31. Adad-sir-idiri (West Semitic), --- Dar. I (not later than 486 B.C.E., HSM 1931.1.9, 16), second witness out of four (preceded by Id-di-ia s. of B/Pu-di-ia).

32. Nabû-zēra-šubši (<sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-GÁL(?)<sup>šá</sup>) s. of Nabû-ēter-napšāti (<sup>d+</sup>AG-SUR-ZI<sup>mes</sup>) desc. of Iliya (DINGIR-ia), 6.X.[x RN, apparently early Achaemenid] (BM 26516, r. 2–3, unpubl.).

33. Nabû-aḥa-bullit (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-bul-liṭ) <sup>lú</sup>GAR.UMUŠ of an unspecified city is mentioned in an undated letter (BM 87313, 11f. sent by Aḥḥē(?)<sup>2</sup>-mā (ŠEŠ<sup>mes</sup>?<sup>2</sup>-ma-a') to his equal ("brother") Šumā (MU-a). There is no homonymous governor in another Babylonian city and if Nergal-nāšir (l. 9) is the same as the inspector (below, C, 3) it stands to reason that Nabû-aḥa-bullit was the governor of Borsippa. A gatekeeper named Ḥašdāyu (Ḥaš-da-A+A <sup>lú</sup>DU<sub>8</sub>) and Balātu s. of Šumā (MU-a) are also recorded in the same letter.

Nabû-mukīn-apli son of an anonymous governor of an unspecified place is recorded in the undated administrative record BM 29204, 8–9 (unpubl.). The script and shape are early "Chaldean." The provenience cannot be established, but Borsippa is not unlikely. (The three other indi-

4. The reverse has an impression of his seal (a worshipper with his right hand raised in front of three pedestals and a bird).



viduals mentioned are Etellu, Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina and Nabû-apla-iddina; none has a filiation.)

34. Aḥuṣunu s. of Lā-abāši, presumably desc. of Bābayu, Late-Achaemenid (M.W. Stolper, "Achaemenid Legal Texts from the Kasr: Interim Observations," in *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*. 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.–26. März 1998 in Berlin (ed. J. Renger). Saarbrücken, 371 with n. 14).

b. Chief temple administrator (*šatammu*, see Brinkman in CAD Š/2, 190b–191a)

1. Nabû-šuma-iddina desc. of Aqar-Nabû, time of Nabû-šuma-iškun, i.e., sometime between 760 and 748 B.C.E. (Lambert, "Literary Style," 126, lb, 22, see Brinkman, PKB, 300 with n. 1969); the *šatam ekurrāti* is mentioned only then (Nabû-ēter, see Unger, "Barsippa," 425b, Brinkman, PKB, 300 with n. 1971; 345).

2. Zākuru desc. of Nūr-Papsukkal, time of Aššur-nādin-šumi (sometime between 699 and 694 B.C.E., J.A. Brinkman and S. Dalley, "A Royal Kudurru from the Reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi," *ZA* 78 [1988]: 81–84, iii, 15', see 89–90).

3. Nādinu (Na-di-nu), early reign of Esarhaddon? (Pinches [and Weidner], "Ein babylonischer Eponym," 51–55, see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 62: S.7, and G. Frame, "Another Babylonian Eponym," *RA* 76 [1982]: 157–66; cf. Landsberger, BBEA, 30; Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 26). Is he identical with b, 4 below with an abbreviated name?

4. Nabû-nādin-šumi desc. of Nūr-Papsukkal, 15.XII.[x] Esarhaddon (sometime between 680 and 669 B.C.E., Speleers, *Recueil*, 278, 8, see Landsberger, BBEA, 30; Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 27); <sup>d+</sup>AG-SUM<sup>na</sup>-MU A<sup>m</sup>ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal<sup>lu</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>.É<sup>lu</sup>š[ā-t]am<sup>é</sup>,<sup>é</sup>-zi-da, 8.XI.5 Esarhaddon (676/5 B.C.E., BM 26523, 12–13, unpubl., cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 18:I.10 and A above, see Frame, *History*, 272); perhaps to be restored in IAC 419, 25: [x, [...]-[<sup>d</sup>A]G, (?) <sup>lu</sup>šā-tam<sup>é</sup>-zi-d[a]; <sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-MU, 3.XII.7 Ššu (661/60 B.C.E., TCL 12, 9, 26); 5.III.10 Ššu (658/7 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 12, 23–24, cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 28:K. 34); 25.I.12 Ššu (656/5 B.C.E., L. 4724, r. 4 (F. Joannès apud Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 29:K. 50a); 7.IX.12 Ššu (Goetze, "Additions," 44, n. 13: YBC 11426, 21–22); 13.IX.12 Ššu (Goetze, "Additions," 44, n. 13: NBC 8397, 21–22); 7.X.12 Ššu (656/5 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 23, 19' = MAH 16232, see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 29–30: K 60–61); <sup>d+</sup>AG-na-din-MU, 9.-.12 [Ššu] (OECT 12, A 131, 22, see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 30: K 67); 10.IV(?)/

VII(?) 14 Ššu (654/3 B.C.E., Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 31: K 83: CBS 7756, r. 1–2, unpubl.); 22.II.15 or 16 Ššu (653/2 or 652/1 B.C.E., VAT 13392, 24, unpubl., see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 36: K 151); <sup>d+</sup>AG-SUM<sup>na</sup>-ḥé-pé <desc. of >ZĀLAG (only the end of the sign is copied)-<sup>d</sup>pap-sukkal, -.-. [Ššu] (TMH 2/3, 17, 27–28, a later copy; see Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 38: K 173; Frame, *History*, 232, 272 with n. 27).

5. Nabû-apla-iddina desc. of Nūr-Papsukkal, 16.III.7 Kand. (641/40 B.C.E., TCL 12, 6, 30, cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 41:L. 21, Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 28).

6. Zēr-Bābili desc. of Nūr-Papsukkal, 21.VI.13 Kand. (635/4 B.C.E., TMH 2/3, 14, 26, cf. Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 44:L. 68, Frame, *History*, 273 with n. 29); his full name was Nabû-zēr-Bābili-ukīn(? <sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>]-[DU? A<sup>m</sup>][x(x)]) according to BM 26533, 17–18 (unpubl.) from 28.XII of the same year.

7. Nabû-šuma-iškun (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>um</sup>) desc. of Iliya (damaged), 11.XI.3 Npl. (623/2 B.C.E., BM 109859, 17–18); the ancestor's name is restored according to BM 82611, 19' (unpubl., date lost) and from BM 26475 = 26525, 27 (DINGIR-iá) from 15.VIII.7 Npl. (619/8 B.C.E.).

8. Aplā desc. of [...], -.VI.3+[x] Nabû(<sup>d+</sup>AG)-x' [...] (Npl. or Nbk. II, i.e., sometime after 619/8 or 602/1, but presumably before 597/6 B.C.E. in view of 9; BM 96136, r. 3'–4').<sup>5</sup>

9. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (<sup>d+</sup>AG-[TIN-su(?)]-iq-bi) desc. of Iliya (DINGIR-ia), 30 (text 31).II18 Npl. = 608/7 B.C.E. (BM 94556, r. 3); <sup>d+</sup>AG-[TIN-su(?)]-iq-bi, 18.V.8 Nbk. II (597/6 B.C.E., BM 26482, 23–24, unpubl.); [<sup>d+</sup>A]G(!)-TIN-su-iq-bi [desc. of ...], 23.VIII.8 Nbk. II (597/6 B.C.E., OECT 12, A 98, 27–28). [<sup>d+</sup>A]G(!)-TIN-su-[i]q-bi A<sup>m</sup>, DINGIR-iá (BM 87239, r. 6'), -.III(?) year and RN lost.

10. Nabû-ēter-napšāti desc. of Iliya, 21.II.13 Nbk. II (592/1 B.C.E., VS 5, 6, 29).

11. Nabû-šuma-iškun (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-GAR<sup>um</sup>) desc. of Hušābu (Hu-šab), 21.VIII.22 Nbk. II (583/2 B.C.E., BM 26487, 38).

5. He is probably preceded by the governor whose name is lost (presumably one of the governors listed above, a, 9–11). The damaged deed records the sale of certain days of the baker's prebend of the Ezida by Nabû-aḥḥē-erība and his daughter(?) Šaḥitu to Nabû-aḥa(?)-ibni s. of Nabû(?)-mukīn-apli for 32 shekels. Among the witnesses there is a descendant of the Kidin-Sīn clan. Members of the latter clan were among the prebendary bakers of the Ezida in the Achaemenid period.

12. Nabû-šuma-ukîn s. of Širikti-Marduk desc. of Arkât-ilî-damqā (a chief temple administrator son of a governor, above a, 19) married Gigitu daughter of King Nergilissar, 1.I.1 Nergilissar (559/8 B.C.E., Evetts, Ner. 13 = Sack, Ner. 13, 1, 7). It is noteworthy that just ten months later his office was occupied by another individual.

13. Rēmūtu s. of Nabû-zēra-šubši desc. of Iliya, 24.V.Nerigl. (559/8 B.C.E., MAH 16009 r. 6; I would like to thank the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, and Dr. J. Chamay for permission to quote this tablet); = 14?

14. Rēmūt-Bēl (re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>EN) desc. of Iliya (DINGIR-iá), 21.X.I Ner. = 559/8 B.C.E. (BM 85312, 27f.).

15. Nabû-šuma-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-SUM<sup>na</sup>) s. of Kīn-Marduk (Ki-i-ni-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU) desc. of the Carpenter (<sup>lu</sup>NAGAR), 23.-2 Nbn. (554/3 B.C.E., BM 28862, 23–24, unpubl.); and VIb.10 Nbn. (546/5 B.C.E., IAC 267, 9–10, unpubl.: the paternal name is written DU-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU).<sup>6</sup> His messenger, Ḥabašīru s. of [...], is the first witness in a deed from 22.VII.13 Nbn. (543/2 B.C.E., C. Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk*. Cuneiform Monographs, 3 [Groningen: Styx, 1993], 214). The scribe of this deed, Nabû-šāpik-zēri s. of Nabû-ušallim desc. of Arkât-ilî-damqā and the recipient, whose paternal name begins with Ezida, are probably Borsippeans as well.

16. Nabû-mukīn-apli son of Šulā desc. of Šikkū'a, 4(?)V.17 Nbn. (539/8 B.C.E., TCL 12, 119, 11–12); he is listed as the first witness (l. 25) before the chief administrator (*šatanmu*) and the commissioner (*bēl-piqitti*) of the Eanna. He was still in office after the Achaemenid conquest of Babylonia. BM 101987 from Borsippa, 8.IX.2 Cyr. = 537/6 B.C.E. states that the governor transferred (for one mina of silver) the shepherd's prebend of the Ezida and the irregular offerings (*guqqānē*) of Nanā and Sutitu of months I and XI from the share of Nabû-zēra-ibni s. of Marduk-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḥi) desc. of Oxherd to Nabû-kīn-zēri s. of Aplā of the same clan according to the king's claims (*a-ki-i di-ba-at* LUGAL); (this is the first occurrence of *dibbāt*,

6. Silver property of the Ezida ("[property] of Nabû king of the world," MAN ŠÚ) is debited against Zēr-Bābili s. of Nabû-šuma-iškun desc. of Ilūta-bani (25 Nbk. II–11 Nbn) and his son Mušēzib-Bēl (1 AmM – 13 Dar. I, see F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa. La famille Ea-ilūta-bāni. Étude d'un lot d'archives familiales en Babylonie du VIIIe au Ve siècle av. J.-C. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes - IVe section, sciences historiques et philologiques*, II: Hautes études orientales, 25 [Geneva: Droz, 1989], 426 with refs.). The chief administrator is listed as the first witness before the commissioner Nabû-šarra-ušurša-rēššarri, Zēr-Bābili s. of Šumā desc. of Ilūta-bani (*ērib bitī* also according to A 179 from 18 Nbk. II; IAC 267 would be his latest occurrence, cf. Joannès, *Archives*, 426–27 with refs.), Nabû-mukīn-zēri s. of Nabû-šuma-iškun desc. of Ēda-ēter (or Aššur, AŠ-ŠUR) and the scribe. It is indicated that the deed bears the fingernail mark of the chief administrator.

pl. in Neo-/Late Babylonian; otherwise, it occurs only in Old Babylonian, see AHw, 168b and cf. CAD D, 131b). <sup>d+</sup>AG-DU-A s. of <sup>5</sup>[xxx] desc. of <sup>m</sup>šikku-ú-a a relative of 15, Borsippa, 8.VIII.3 Cyr. (536/5 B.C.E., BM 26583); transfer (for one mina of silver) of the shepherd's prebend of the Ezida and the irregular offerings (*guqqānē*) of Nanā and Sutitu of months I and XI from the share of Nabû-zēra-ibni s. of Marduk-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḥi) desc. of Oxherd to Nabû-kīn-zēri s. of Apia of the same clan according to the king's claims (same transaction as BM 101987).

17. Nabû-mukīn-zēri (<sup>d+</sup>AG-DU-NUMUN) s. of Nabû-mukīn-apli (<sup>13.d+</sup>AG-DU-A) desc. of Šikkū'a (šikku-ú-a), 18.VIb.2 Cyr. = 537/6 B.C.E. (BM 94705, 12f. with a seal impression). Possibly s. of 16.

18. [...] desc. of [x(x)]-Papsukkal (<sup>r</sup>,<sup>d</sup>SUKKAL), "Chaldean" or early Achaemenid (date not preserved, CT 56, 818, 2).

19. Nabû-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi, <sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-MU), 18.I.2 Camb. (528/7 B.C.E., BM 102280, 9, unpubl.).

20. Nabû-šuma-lišer (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU\*-SI.SÁ), 29.iv.4 Dar. I (518/7 B.C.E., BM 29087, 6, unpubl.). He received (via his proxy Bēl-iddina s. of Marduk-šuma-iddina desc. of Kidin-Nanā) rations of the bakers of the Ezida from their foreman Šaddinnu s. of Balāssu desc. of Bēliyā'u.

21. Nabû-uballit (<sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>), s. of Nabû-aḥa-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-MU) desc. of Kudurānu, 15.VI.8 Dar. I = 514/3 B.C.E. (BM 102012, 3). Creditor: 22;0.4 of dates, assessed rent (*imittu*) of a palm grove in his farm (URU šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>) situated in the inundated area of Kudurru (<sup>garim.m</sup>NÍG.DU; debtor Nūrē'a s. of Ea(?)-aḥa-iddina desc. of Ilšu-abišu). <sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>, - .III.[x]+2 Dar. I (sometime between 519/8 and 512/1 B.C.E., BM 26552, 6, 10, unpubl.). Nabû-kīn-zēri s. of Aplā desc. of Oxherd acted as his proxy. The latter is not recorded after 21.X.10 Dar. I = 512/1 B.C.E. (BM 94620, cf. below, f, 4); <sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN<sup>it</sup>, BM 102279, 2.18, administrative), VI.10 Dar. I = 512/1 B.C.E.: dates given upon his authorization; 16.X.10 Dar. I = 512/1 B.C.E. (BM 26572, 7.10): legal decision.

22. Nabû-šuma-[x] (or -nādin-[x] (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-x)) [<sup>lu</sup>š]à-tam é-z[i-da], 9.- (the ductus looks "Chaldean" or early Achaemenid, OECT 12, A 163, 22–23); = 12, 15, 19 or 20 above?

Anonymous scribes (<sup>lu</sup>D'U'B.SAR<sup>mes</sup>), a governor, chief temple administrator, inspector, foreman of measurers (<sup>lu</sup>PA šá <sup>lu</sup>man-di-di<sup>mes</sup>), as well as gate keepers of the house of the divine meal (<sup>lu</sup>Ī.DU<sub>8</sub> šá É nap-ta-nu) and reed workers are listed in this sequence in the administrative document BM 25849 (undated), where the following deities are paired together: Nabû and Nanā, Marduk and Bēltiya (<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-iá), Šutitu and Mār-bitī. This leaves little doubt that the document is about the Ezida temple of Borsippa.

c. Inspector (*qīpu*) of the Ezida

1. Perhaps Taklāk-ana-Nabû (the name of the temple is not preserved, 9 Ššu, [659/8 B.C.E.], F.X. Steimmetzer, "Die Bestattungsurkunde des Königs Šamaš-šum-ukîn von Babylon," *ArOr* 7 [1935]: 318, 20; see Landsberger, *BBEA*, 356–57, n. 110; Brinkman and Kennedy, "Documentary Evidence," 38:K. 169).

2. Bēl-ēter (<sup>d+</sup>EN-KAR<sup>er</sup>) <sup>lú</sup>qī-i-pu šá é-zi-da, 18.VIb.2 Cyr. =537/6 B.C.E. (BM 94705, 14 and seal impression).

3. Nergal-nāšir s. of Nabû-bān-zēri desc. of Ilšu-abišu, originated from a clan of Borsippean prebendaries. His land near the great gate of Adad borders on the way of the exorcist's house (É <sup>lú</sup>a-ši-pu, see Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* [= études des textes de TBER, Recherches sur les grandes civilisations, 5]. Paris: Recherches sur les grandes civilisations, 1982 [= TEBR], 303, n. 2 ad 80); 6.XII.493/2 B.C.E. (VS 6, 155, 17): the deed records a huge sum of silver (0.5 talent and 6.5 minas) for the work of the king (followed by: x) [...]. Debtor: Ša-Nabû-idūšu s. of Lā-qīpu the chief of the archers (*rab-qašti*) of the chariot fief (*bīt-narkabti*) of Nergal-nāšir. Perhaps identical with <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-PAP, who is mentioned without title in the undated letter BM 87313, 9, where the governor is also mentioned (above, a, 33).

d. Commissioner (*bēl-piqitti*, a royal official)

1. Nabû-šarra-ušur (<sup>d+</sup>AG-LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-ÜR) <sup>lú</sup>SAG LUGAL <sup>lú</sup>EN pi-qit-tú é-zi-da, VIb.10 Nbn. (546/5 B.C.E., IAC 267, 11).

2. Nabû-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-[SU]M<sup>na</sup>) <sup>lú</sup>SAG LUGAL EN pi-qi-ti é-zi-da, 18.VIb.2 Cyr. =537/6 B.C.E. (BM 94705,15).

3. Bullissu (Bul]-liṭ-su), time of Darius I (sometime between 521 and 486 B.C.E., CT 22, 244 = Ebeling, *NBB*, 242, 2, see Unger, "Barsippa," 426a).

e. Chief palace official (*rab-ekalli*, <sup>lú</sup>GAL É.GAL) of Borsippa, see Unger, "Barsippa," 424b, 426a)

1. Ardi-Bēl, creditor (143 kors of dates), connected with the Ezida; 7.VI.1 Camb. (529/8 B.C.E., VS 3, 71 = NRV 252, 2).

2. Bēl-šarra-bullit, recipient of one sheep for the king (given by a Borsippean), 11(?)X.3 Camb. (527/6 B.C.E., TCL 13, 153, 6).

f. Canal inspector (*gugallu* conventional translation). He was in charge of collecting various imposts due from the agricultural produce, see M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit*. AfOB 25

[Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1995], 49–55 with lit.).

1. Nādinu s. of Šūzubu desc. of Ibnāyu, 25.VII.1 Nbn (BM 29061, 1–2, 4, unpubl.) - 30.I.3–11 Nbn. (555/4 – 553/2 or 545/4 B.C.E. (BM 29198, 1–2, 6, unpubl.); f. of a, 20 above?)

2. Nabû-nāšir (<sup>d+</sup>AG-na-šir) s. of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bullit) desc. of Kidin-Sîn, 3.I.8 Dar. I (514/3 B.C.E., BM 95560, 2, unpubl.), recipient of a considerable sum (2–5 minas, text damaged) of white silver (of the *nuhḫutu* quality of which <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> is alloy) from Nabû-zēra-šubši s. of Nabû-ēter-napšāti desc. of Iliya.

3. Lā-abāši, not explicitly of Borsippa, but mentioned in the archive of the Borsippean Ardiya s. of Šulā, (owner of a field measuring 0;1.2 kor), Bīt-Zēriya (near Borsippa), 11.XII.11 Dar. I (511/10 B.C.E., HSM 1904.6.25, 1–2, unpubl.); concerning, inter alia, 0;3.2 of dates, which Šamaš-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi) s. of Šamaš-zēra-ibni desc. of Mušēzibu gave to Persian(s, <sup>lú</sup>par-sa-A+A). Šamaš-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi) s. of Lā-abāši also acted as principal.

4. Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (<sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN-su-E) s. of Taqīš-Gula (ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME) desc. of the Carpenter (<sup>lú</sup>NAG<sub>1</sub>AR<sub>1</sub>), 25.I.12 Dar. I (510/09 B.C.E., BM 102259), when his brother, Nabû-ēter-napšāti, received on his written authority the *ilku*-tax of [the *urāšu*-workers] of Elam for IV.11–III.12 Dar. I (share of Rēmūt-Nabû and his father of the Oxherd clan). He acted as recipient of *ilku*-tax of the *urāšu*-workers of Elam (for X.9–X.10 Dar. I, share of Rēmūt-Nabû and his father of the Oxherd clan) as early as 21.X.10 Dar. I (512/1 B.C.E., Moore, *NBDM* 26, 6–7). BM 94620 from the same day is almost a duplicate:

1. *il-ki* [šá-ra]-šú šá KUR NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup>
2. šá ul-tu <sup>iti</sup>Z[ÍZ] (AB in Moore, *NBDM* is very probably a mistake)  
'MU' 9 <sub>1</sub>KAM, <sup>mda</sup>ri-ia-muš
3. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR a-di 'q[í]-it <sup>iti</sup>AB
3. MU 10 KAM ma-la ḪA.LA šá <sup>md+</sup>re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>AG
4. [A-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-DU-NUMUN A <sup>lú</sup>SIPA GU<sub>4</sub><sup>meš</sup> ù]
5. <sup>md+</sup>AG-DU-NUMUN AD-šú <sup>md+</sup>AG-TIN-su<sub>1</sub>-[E]
6. A-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME A <sup>lú</sup>N[AGAR]
7. šá ú-ra-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>A[G AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup>]

7. From the context there is some reason to suspect that Ardi-Nabû s. of Nabû-ēter-napšāti desc. of Itinnu, who is mentioned without title in --.7 Cyr. (532/1 B.C.E., *TMH* 2/3, 219, 5–6), was the *gugallu* of Borsippa then.

LO. E.

8. <sup>m</sup>re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>AG ma-<sup>hi</sup>[r 1-en ta-a<sub>4</sub>]  
9. il-qu-ú

REVERSE

10. <sup>lu</sup>mu-kin-ni <sup>m</sup>lib-lu-tu [A-<sup>šú</sup> <sup>šá</sup> <sup>m</sup>gu-za-nu]  
11. A <sup>m</sup>šá-DIŠ-LUḪ, <sup>m</sup>re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>AG A-<sup>šú</sup> <sup>šá</sup> [<sup>md+</sup>AG-MU-x]  
12. A <sup>m</sup>šar-ra-<sup>hi</sup> <sup>md+</sup>AG-KAR-ZI<sup>m[es]</sup> A-<sup>šú</sup> <sup>šá</sup>  
13. <sup>m</sup>ta-qiš-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME A <sup>lu</sup>NAGAR <sup>md+</sup>[AG-na-din-ŠEŠ]  
14. DUB.SAR A-<sup>šú</sup> <sup>šá</sup> <sup>md+</sup>EN-KAR<sup>er</sup> A <sup>me</sup>-g[i-bi]  
15. <sup>bár</sup>, -<sup>sipa</sup><sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>AB U<sub>4</sub> 2L, [KAM]  
16. MU 10 KAM <sup>md</sup>a-a-ri-[...]

U. E.

17. [LUG]AL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

His brother, Nabû-ēter-napšāti is mentioned as recipient of *upiyāti*<sup>8</sup> dues without title on 6.III.15 Dar. I (507/6 B.C.E., for the period ending in III.15 Dar. I, share of Rēmūt-Nabû and his father) via Iddina s. of Ubāru desc. of Šarraḫu (HSM 1895.1.8 = BM 102004, 6–7, duplicates, both unpubl.). Nabû-balāssu-iqbi the *gugallu* received the same dues and share of the same members of the Oxherd clan on 9.VIII.15 Dar. I (507/6 B.C.E., HSM 1899.2.145, 6–7, unpubl.). Nabû-bullissu (presumably alias of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi) received the same dues from the same individuals (for the period X.16-III.17 Dar. I) on 21.IX.16 Dar. I (506/5 B.C.E.) according to BM 102010 (unpubl.). The same receipt is recorded in BM 102262 (unpubl.) from 22.-.16 Dar. I, but there the *gugallu* is his brother.

5. Nabû-ēter-napšāti (<sup>d+</sup>A]G-[SUR-ZI]<sup>m[es]</sup>). It is probable that BM 102262 postdates BM 102010 by one day. He is the recipient of *upiyāti* dues from the same individuals (Bēl-ittannu is also mentioned in a broken passage) for 1.V.12 – end of IV.13 Dar. I = 510/9–509/8 B.C.E. according to BM 82724.

6. Bazuzu s. of Nabû-nāšir (<sup>d+</sup>AG-PAP) desc. of Kidin-Sîn (probably s. of 2 above), 20.III.8 Dar. I = 514/3 B.C.E. (BM 82635). According to Bazuzu's written order (*šipirtu*), Nabû-nādin-šumi s. of Kalbā via his proxy Nergal-iddina (<sup>d</sup>U.GUR-SUM<sup>ma</sup>) s. of Šullumu desc. of Šangū Šamaš (probably not from Borsippa) received [x] kors of barley from Ḥašdāyu s. of Bēl-aplā-iddina desc. of Balātu in Bit-rab-bīti (<sup>urru</sup>É-GAL-É, according to the measure

8. For the term *upiyatu* (a kind of royal impost), which occurs in the same context in several documents of this dossier, see M.W. Stolper, "Three Iranian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Texts," in L.D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young (eds.), *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7 (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977), 254–59. The term *urāšu* refers to workers performing a compulsory service (like corvée, see Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 121 with n. 234, where earlier literature is quoted).

of one *pānu*). The latter settlement might have been situated near Marad, the place of issue of this receipt. The witnesses do not seem to be Borsippian: the first one, Nabû-kin-zēri s. of Ilē'i-Marduk belongs to the Dammē'a clan, which is recorded in Marad (cf. Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora: Israelites and Judeans in Pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia* [Tel-Aviv: Diaspora Research Institute, 2002], 28). Bazuzu (with his title, but without filiation) is mentioned in BM 94545 from Borsippa, 6.VIb.11 Dar. I = 511/10 B.C.E. He, together with Nabû-balāssu-iqbi s. of Ardi-Gula desc. of Naggāru (via his proxy Nabû-ēter-napšāti s. of Taqīš-Gula of the same clan), received the *upiyāti* dues (formulated as *il-ki šá ú-ra-šú šá LUGAL šá KUR ELAM<sup>ki</sup>*) for XI.10-VIb.11 Dar. I from Rēmūt-Nabû s. of Nabû-kīn-zēri desc. of Oxherd (including his father's share).

7. Nabû-aḫḫē-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU) and

8. Nabû-bullissu (<sup>d+</sup>AG-bul-liṭ-su), his son, acted simultaneously as *gugallu* according to BM 21965 from Borsippa, 25.III.18 Dar. I = 504/3 B.C.E. (Šaddinnu archive). Bēl-māri-Nabû (EN-DUMU-<sup>d+</sup>AG) s. of Zēr-Bābili (NUMUN-TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>) desc. of Šá-DIŠ-LUḪ is the recipient according to BM 94896 from Borsippa, time of Darius I. Nabû-zēru-lišer (<sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ) s. of Mušēzib-Bēl (mu-še-zib-<sup>d+</sup>EN) desc. of Zērūtu is probably identical with Bēl(recte Nabû?)-zēru-lišer s. of Mušēzib-Bēl desc. of Zērūtu, who acted as proxy of the *gugallu* Nabû-kāšir (below, 11). The latter's name is followed by *de-ki-i*, presumably for *dekū* "summoner" (with omission of the determinative LÚ) It stands to reason that the individuals who acted as proxies of the *gugallu* were basically summoners. The royal tax of the *ḫir-galū*-flour for supplying the army was delivered by Nabû-aḫḫē-iddina and Šaddinnu to the royal palace (presumably in Borsippa).

9. Nabû-aḫa-ittannu (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu), 11.VII.21 Dar. I (501/500 B.C.E., BM 29089, 3, unpubl.). He had a palm grove with clods and cracks (*akkullāti*). Nidintu s. of Šumā, an oblate of the Ezida, had to deliver 2:1.4 of dates and by-products as an assessed rent (*imittu*) of this palm grove in the house of Šaddinnu s. of Balāssu desc. of Bēliyā'u in VIII. It is stated that he will not destroy the live part (of the date palm, *ra-aṭ-bi AŠ ŠĀ<sup>bi</sup> ul i-da-ak-ku*). He (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu <sup>lu</sup>GÚ.GAL, over a crack) is also mentioned in BM 29416, 6 from Borsippa, 3.X.[x]+2 Dar. I = sometime between 519/8 and 486/5 B.C.E.

10. Nabû-aḫḫē-ēreš (<sup>d+</sup>AG-PAP<sup>me</sup>-APIN) s. of Nabû(? <sup>d+</sup>AG?)<sub>-XX<sub>1</sub></sub>, is not explicitly of Borsippa, but mentioned in the archive of the Borsippian Šaddinnu s. of Balāssu desc. of Bēliyā'u, 12.IX.22 Dar. I (500/499 B.C.E., BM 29173, 2, 7, unpubl.; concerning the large amount of 129 kors of dates).

11. Nabû-kāšir (or -iksūr, <sup>d+</sup>AG-KÁD) the *gugallu* of Borsippa, Borsippa, 20.II.26 Dar. I (496/5 B.C.E., BM 17707, 5f.). Itti-Nabû-balātu s. of Nabû-ušuršu desc. of Basiya acts as proxy of the *gugallu* concerning two

hired workmen (<sup>lu</sup>HUN.GÁ<sup>meš</sup>) belonging to Nabû-iddina and Murānu sons of Marduk-šuma-ibni desc. of Atkuppū. Rēmūt-Nabû s. of GUR (Muterru?) received these workmen for a month (14.11–13.111.25 Dar. I = 497/6 B.C.E.) from Iddina-Nabû s. of Nabû-šuma-ukīn desc. of Nabû-unammir on account of Nabû-iddina and Murānu. The same *gugallu* (AG-KÁD) via his proxy Bēl-zēru-lišer s. of Mušēzib-Bēl desc. of Zērūtu received the *upiyāti* dues for [x]-VIII.26 Dar. I from Nabû-aḥḥē-iddina s. of Nabû-zēra-ibni desc. of Nanahḥu and Aḥušunu s. of Bazuzu of the same clan according to BM 94797 from Borsippa, -.V.26 Dar. I = 496/5 B.C.E.:

1. <sup>lu</sup>ú-ra-šú šá šá-da-du š[á ka-a-ri pa-ni(?)<sup>g</sup> BAN]
  2. šá ú-pi-ia-a-tú, šá N[I]M.MA<sup>ki</sup>, šá 'ul-tu' [it<sup>x</sup>]
  3. MU 26 KAM a-di TIL (qit) it<sup>i</sup> APIN MU 26 KAM
  4. <sup>m</sup>da-ri-ia-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> ḤA.LA šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-nu DUMU-šú šá
  5. <sup>m</sup>ba-zu-zu DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu, <sup>md</sup>+EN-NUMUN-SI.SÁ
  6. DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>+EN DUMU <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-ú-tu AŠ na-áš-par-tu<sub>4</sub>
  7. šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-KÁD <sup>lu</sup>gú-gal bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>md</sup>+AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU
  8. DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-NUMUN-DÙ DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu
- LO. E.
9. ù <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-nu DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-zu-zu DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu
  10. ma-ḥi-ir 1-en TA.ĀM TI-ú
- REVERSE
11. <sup>lu</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>md</sup>+EN-a-na-mi-ri-iḥ-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú šá
  12. <sup>m</sup>lu-UD.DU-DIŠ-ZÁLAG DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu <sup>m</sup>ni-din-tú
  13. DUMU <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu <sup>md</sup>+AG-A-MU DUMU-šú šá
  14. <sup>md</sup>ŠKUR-NIGIN<sup>ir</sup> DUMU <sup>m</sup>šik-ku-ú-a
- (space)
15. <sup>m</sup>MU-<sup>d</sup>+EN DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-MUJ-G[I].N[A](?)
  16. DUMU <sup>m</sup>ga-ḥal bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> it<sup>i</sup> IZI U<sub>4</sub>, [x KAM]
- U. E.
17. MU 26 KAM <sup>m</sup>da-ri-[...]
  18. LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGA[L ...]<sup>9</sup>

9. Cf. TMH 2/3, 220–222 = Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa*, 288f. It may be that another receipt, BM 94896 from Borsippa, time of Darius I is related as well. Its operative section runs as follows:

1. KÜ.BABBAR šá ú-ra-šú 'šá' [
2. A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-PAP<sup>me</sup>-MU <sup>lu</sup>x] [x(x)] 'x' 'ma-la
3. ḤA.LA šá <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-šú-nu A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-zu-zu A <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu (squeezed on edge, cf. l. 6)
4. šá a-di qí-it šá it<sup>i</sup>ŠE šá MU 17 KAM
5. <sup>m</sup>EN-DUMU-<sup>d</sup>+AG A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN-TIR<sup>ki</sup> A <sup>m</sup>šá-DIŠ-LUH (also acted as the scribe)

12. Iddina-Nabû s. of Rēmūtu desc. of Arad-Ea, 21.XI.33 Dar. I (489/8 B.C.E., VS 6, 160, 1–11) is the recipient of *upiyāti*-dues via his proxy Mušalim-Marduk s. of Iddina-Nabû desc. of Iliya (cf. M. Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmanni*. PIHANS 86 [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1999], 108, n. 455; R. Zadok, "Some Issues in the History of the Israelites and Judeans in Pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia," in *Studies in the History and Culture of the Jews in Babylonia. Proceedings of the Second International Congress for Babylonian Jewry Research, June 1998* [eds. Y. Avishur and Z. Yehuda], Or-Yehuda 2002, 263).

g. Palace scribe (<sup>lu</sup>DUB.SAR É.GAL)

Dayyān-šarra-ušur is the first witness (before the four judges, who all belong to well-known Borsippian clans). This royal official has a name containing *šarru*; Borsippa, -.0 RN lost; HSM 1895.1.1, 35 and 47. His seal is mentioned, but since the tablet is a copy, no seal impressions are reproduced. Oxherd archive: Aplā s. of Remut-Gula desc. of Oxherd.<sup>10</sup>

## h. Judges

### h.1. Collegia

h.1.1. A collegium of six or seven judges is recorded in HSM 1895.1.1, which records a house sale in Borsippa. It is dated to the accession year of a ruler whose name is lost (day and month are broken). The buyers are Aplā s. of Rēmūt-Gula desc. of Oxherd and Nabû-šuma-ukīn s. of Nabû-šuma-erība desc. of Mār-biti-iddina. The sellers are Nabû-šuma-ukīn s. of Širiktu desc. of Arkāt-ilāni-damqā and his brother Mušēzib-Marduk. The first witness is the scribe of the palace (followed by the judges). It is a copy of the deed. The original was extensively sealed (by the buyer, the palace scribe, the judges, and the scribe) and had, in addition, at least the nail marks of the sellers. It is remarkable that the scribe wrote *-šu* instead of *-šú* at the end of several words.

1. Marduk-šākin-šumi (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-GAR-MU)
2. Gimil-Gula (gi-mil-<sup>d</sup>gu-la)
3. Nabû-zēru-lišer (<sup>d</sup>+AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ)
4. Nabû-iddina (<sup>d</sup>+AG-SUM<sup>ma</sup>)

6. AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-šú-nu A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-zu-zu A <sup>m</sup>na-na-ḥu
7. ma-ḥi-ir e-tir 1-en TI-ú

10. The second witness in the deed HSM 1895.1.12 from Borsippa, 6.V.24 Dar. I = 498/7 B.C.E. is Bel-ēter s. of Nabû-šarra-ušur the alphabet scribe of the *sukallu* (a court official, <sup>lu</sup>su-ka-la). It is noteworthy that this royal functionary has a paternal name with *šarru*.

5. [DN]-mukîn-zēri ([<sup>d</sup>DN]-<sub>1</sub>DU-NUMUN)
6. Nabû-ēter-napšāti (<sup>d+</sup>AG-KAR-ZI<sup>meš</sup>)
7. Nabû-iddina (<sup>d</sup>AG-SUM<sub>1</sub><sup>[ma]</sup> different one?)

Aplā as an active person is recorded only here and in NBDM 54 from 2.x.2 Nbn.=554/3 B.C.E. His brother, Mušēzib-Marduk, is recorded on 25.IV.3 Ner. = 557/6 B.C.E. (BM 26625). His father, Rēmūt-Gula (s. of Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit), acted between 11.V.4 Npl. = 622/1 (BM 26507,26574) and 21.VIII.22 Nbk.II = 583/2 B.C.E. (BM 26587). It may be not too far off the mark to assume that the accession year here is that of Amēl-Marduk, Nerig-lissar, Lā-abāši-Marduk, or Nabonidus (562/1, 560/59 or 556/5 B.C.E.).

h.1.2. Bīt-šar-Bābili, 7.VIII.3 Nbn. = 553/2 B.C.E. (both explicitly described as "judges of Borsippa," <sup>lu</sup>DI.KU<sub>5</sub><sup>meš</sup>, bar-sip<sup>ki</sup> BM 29378).

1. Mušēzib-Bēl (mu-še-zib-<sup>d+</sup>EN) s. of Nabû-udammīq (<sup>d+</sup>AG-<sup>u</sup>-da<sup>1</sup>-am-mi-iq) desc. of Arkāt-ilāni-damqā (<sup>2</sup>ār-ka-a-ti-DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-dam-qa).

2. Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit (<sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-bul-liṭ) s. of Nabû-zēra-ibni (<sup>3</sup><sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-ib-ni) desc. of Kidin-Sîn (ki-din-<sup>d</sup>XXX). The case was also brought before another collegium of three judges, who are mentioned with their given names only, viz. Nergal-aḥa-ušur (or -nāšir-aḥi, <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-ŠEŠ-ÜRÜ), Šuma-ukîn (MU-GLINA) and Mušēzib-Bēl (mu-še-zib-<sup>d+</sup>EN). The last one is homonymous with the descendant of Eppeš-ilī, who was a judge of Nabonidus in Babylon (see C. Wunsch, "Die Richter des Nabonid," in *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1977*. AOAT 252, ed.J.Marzahn and H. Neumann [Münster: Ugarit, 2000], 579). If he is physically identical (the name is common), then it is likely that the collegium of three judges is that of Nabonidus based in Babylon. The scribe of the deed, Ilē'i-Marduk (DA-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU) also belonged to the Eppeš-ilī clan.

## h.2. Individuals

1. Libluṭ: lib-lu-<sup>1</sup>tu desc of Oxherd (<sup>lu</sup>SIPA GU<sub>4</sub>), Borsippa, 6.VIII.32 Dar. I = 490/89 B.C.E. (BM 25629, 24f.; his seal impression on u.e.); lib-luṭ desc. of Oxherd, Borsippa, 12.XII.33 Dar. I = 489/8 B.C.E. (BM 25633,19; seal impression on l.e). In both cases he is listed before the witnesses. In both tablets the paternal name is omitted in the caption. Both are property deeds from the archive of Šaddinnu s. of Balāssu desc. of Bēliya'u.

2. Ipriya, judge and

3. Ga-'x]-PA(?), judge of the palace gate are mentioned in VS 6, 128 from 17.VIII.12 Dar. I (510/09 B.C.E.); i-k below are mentioned in the same deed.

I. In charge of the law (*ša muḥḥidāti*) Šellibu.

j. Upadētu

Šulum-ana-Bābili.

k. Herald (<sup>lu</sup>NIMGIR=*nāgiru*) Sîn-i[li(?)].

l. Treasurer (*ša muḥḥi quppi* or *rab-quppi*, cf. Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, 99ff.)

1. Nabû-šuma-ukîn (<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU-DU) s. of Iddina-Nabû <sup>8</sup>(MU-<sup>d+</sup>AG)<sup>lu</sup>GAL *qup-pu* received an unspecified sum of silver, the price of one day (10.VII) of an unspecified prebend (very probably of the Ezida) from his namesake s. of Aplā. The latter got this silver from Nabû-uballit s. of Nabû-šuma-iddina desc. of Ilšu-abišu. The silver was given to the treasurer for paying the *ilku*-tax of years 13–15 of Darius I (BM 95856 from Borsippa, 24.IV.15 Dar. I = 507/6 B.C.E.).

2. Sūqāyu (SIL-A+A) s. of Iddinā (SUM<sup>na</sup>-a) desc. of Ardūtu (ĪR-<sup>u</sup>-tu), *ša muḥḥi quppi* <sup>lu</sup>šā UGU *qu-up-pu* possibly brother of Aḥa-ušur (ŠEŠ-PAP?), [Borsippa], VIII.489/8 B.C.E. (BM 26785, 12). His messenger Gimillu is recorded (l. 13). This official is presumably identical with Sūqāyu s. of Nabû-nādin-aḥi desc. of Ardūtu (provided that Iddinā is a hypocoristicon of Nabû-nādin-aḥi), who acted as guarantor (no title), Borsippa, 10.XII.493/2 B.C.E. (BM 102011).

m. Head of the temple enterers, high priest

(ŠEŠ.GAL, cf. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple, Sippar: Its Administration and Its Prosopography* [= PIHANS, 80] [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1997], 149f.):

Nabû-bēlšunu (<sup>d+</sup>AG-EN-šū-nu), principal, concerning bricks, compulsory workmen (*u-ra-sū*) and archers (sg. <sup>lu</sup>BAN), Borsippa, 22(?)<sup>1</sup>.VIII.32 Nbk. 11 =573/2 B.C.E. (BM 102318, promissory note for silver).

n. Lamentation priest (*kalū*) of Nabû (Ezida)

His field was adjacent to that of Šaddinnu, the bakers' foreman, near Nār-Miḥir.

Lā-abāši (la-ba-ši) <sup>lu</sup>GALA(!) <sup>d+</sup>AG, Borsippa (or its region), -.2 Dar. I = 520/19 B.C.E. (BM 29020,2).

## D.

## Four Late Babylonian Deeds from the Yale Babylonian Collection

1. NBC 6140 (light brown, horizontal rectangular, 57×42×22 mm; copy by T. Zadok below); Ba/Ma-gu- 4? VIII.20 Dar. I (502/1 B.C.E.); promissory note to deliver hollow reeds (pipes) within eleven days.

1. [x] GUN *gu-ub-ba-tu*<sub>4</sub>
2. [šá] <sup>md</sup>ISKUR-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-<sup>r</sup>x
3. AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup> <sup>md</sup>DI-E<sup>ki</sup> A-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG<sub>1</sub>-[x] [(x)]
4. U<sub>4</sub> 15 KAM šá <sup>iti</sup>APIN<sub>1</sub> S[UM?]<sup>m?</sup>

## REVERSE

5. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>md</sup>ISKUR-*ad-din* [A-šú]
6. šá <sup>m</sup>ha-an-ka(?) -zu <sup>m</sup>hu-din-na(?) [A-šú]
7. šá <sup>md</sup>ISKUR-na-din-MU <sup>m</sup>ba-s[i-ia/iá]
8. A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU <sup>md</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR A-šú [šá <sup>m</sup>x(x)]
9. <sup>lú</sup>UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>UTU-MU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>e-ri-[šú?]
10. <sup>ur</sup>uBa/Ma-gu-<sup>iti</sup>APIN U<sub>4</sub> 4 [KAM]

## U. E.

11. [MU (10+?) 22] [±1-4] KAM <sup>m</sup>da-ar-ia-<sub>1</sub>muš,
12. <sub>1</sub>LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR<sup>meš</sup>

## TRANSLATION

[x] talents of hollow reeds (pipes) (2) due to Adad-aḥa-iddina son of Ninurta-aḥa-[x] (3) debited against Šulum-Bābili son of Nabû-[xx]. (4) He will deliver (the hollow reeds) on the 15th day of Araḥsamnu (VIII).

(5) Witnesses: Adad-addin (or -aba-uballit?) son (6) of Ḥankazu(?), Ḥudinna(?) son (7) of Adad-nādin-šumi, Basiya (8) son of Aḥḥē-iddina, (and) Šamaš-ilu son of [xx]. (9) Scribe Šamaš-iddina son of Ērešu. (10) B/Magū, month VIII, day four, (11) year [10+?] 22 [±1-4] of Darius (12) King of Babylon, King of Lands.

## REMARKS

1. *gubbatu*, which occurs only here (not in CAD or AHw), is an Aramaic loanword. C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1928), has on 100b, s.v. *gwbṭ*: “*canna excavata, qua candela exstinguuntur*” (a hollow reed, pipe, used for extinguishing candles). This is a lexical hapax contained in Hassan Bar Bahlūl, *Lexicon Syriacum* (ed. R. Duval [Paris: E. Leroux, 1888]), 1, 459, 17 (where *gwbṭ* is explained in Arabic).
10. The location of B/Magū is unknown.

2a. NBC 6159 - duplicate of NBC 6238; Šiḥu, 4.V.29 Dar. I (493/2 B.C.E.) promissory note to repay silver.

1. [(0!)] 2 MA.NA ½(!) MA.NA 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú*
2. šá, <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-ú-šur A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ka(!)-ak-ú-su
3. AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup> <sup>md+</sup>EN-MU A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>ISKUR-nu-úr-'
4. u <sup>m</sup>la-qip-pi A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-rib-tu TA
5. U<sub>4</sub> 20 KAM šá <sup>iti</sup>KIN KÙ.BABBAR-ĀM
6. 2½(!) MA.NA 7 GÍN *qa-lu-ú* AŠ <sup>uru</sup>ši-<sup>h</sup>u(!)
7. [AŠ K]<sub>1</sub>AR<sub>1</sub> LUGAL AŠ <sub>2</sub>[a-mir-ti]-šú *i-nam-din-nu-*
8. [*išten pu-ut šá-ni-i na-š*]u-ú šá *qé-reb*
9. [KÙ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 2½ MA.NA] 3(+?) 4 GÍN *qa-lu-ú*
10. [...] ù

## LO. E.

11. [...] [ta' AN.TA, *mu-ru\*-qu i-nam-din*
12. [ḤA.LA šá] 'KASKAL<sup>lh</sup> šá <sup>md</sup>ad-du-ŠEŠ-MU
13. [A-šú] šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-ú-šur *a-da-nu*

## REVERSE

14. *ú-íl-ti ul GÁL-*
15. <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu <sup>md+</sup>EN-A-MU A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>XXX-PAP
16. <sup>m</sup>a-eq\*-ba-<sup>iti</sup>APIN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>DU<sub>10</sub>.GA-ia
17. <sup>m</sup>id-di-ia A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ki-šir-ia <sup>m</sup>AŠ-qi-bi-<sup>d</sup>ŠĀR
18. A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>SĀR-NUMUN-DÙ <sup>md+</sup>EN-SUR A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>re-mut-<sup>d+</sup>EN
19. <sup>md</sup>XXX-TIN<sup>it</sup> A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN <sup>md</sup>ISKUR-NUMUN-MU
20. A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>UTU-MU <sup>md</sup>da-gan-na-na A-šú šá
21. <sup>m</sup>ki-šir-ia <sup>lú</sup>UMBISAG <sup>md</sup>UTU-SU A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
22. AŠ <sup>uru</sup>ši-<sup>h</sup>u(text *bat*) URU\* šá(?) <sup>d(?)</sup>EN(?)<sub>1</sub> <sup>iti</sup>IZI
23. <sub>1</sub>U<sub>4</sub> 4 KAM MU 29 KAM <sup>m</sup>da-ri-mu-šú LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>
24. <LUGAL>KUR.KUR

## REMARKS

For Ninurta-aḥa-ušur s. of Kakkusu cf. e.g., H.G. Stigers, “Neo- and Late Babylonian Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection,” *JCS* 28 (1976): 33:18 from Sippar, 17.II.21 Dar. 1= 501/500 B.C.E. and thoroughly C. Waerzeggers, *Het Archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, Ph.D. Dissertation (unpubl.; Ghent, 2002).

2b. NBC 6238 (copy by T. Zadok below) – duplicate of NBC 6159; it has larger signs. It was presumably copied from NBC 6159 in view of line 13 (superfluous <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu) and line 17 and possibly line 10.

1. 2½ MA.NA 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú*
2. šá <sup>md</sup>MAŠ-ŠEŠ-ú-šur A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ka(!)-ak-ú-su

3. AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup> md+EN-MU A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> IŠKUR-nu-úr-'
  4. u<sup>m</sup> la-qip-pi A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ki-rib-tu ul-tú
  5. U<sub>4</sub> 20 KAM šá<sup>it</sup> KIN KÛ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub>
  6. 2½ MA.NA 7 GÍN qa-lu-ú AŠ<sup>uru</sup> ši-ḫu(!)
  7. AŠ KAR LUGAL AŠ SAG.DU-šú i-nam-din-nu-'
  8. išten pu-ut 2-i na-šu-ú šá qé-reb
  9. KÛ.BABBAR-a<sub>4</sub> 2½ MA.NA 7 GÍN e-ṭi-ir
- LO. E.
10. KÛ.BABBAR 5 GÍN x SAG.SAG (equivalent of qa-lu-ú in NBC 6159, miscopied by the scribe?)
  11. <<DIŠ>> DIŠ E ri-ta AN.NI mu-ru-qu<<x>> i-nam-din
- REVERSE
12. ḪA.LA šá KASKAL<sup>II</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> ad-du-ŠEŠ-MU
  13. A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> MAŠ\*-ŠEŠ-ú-šur <<lu<sup>mu</sup> kin-nu>>
  14. a-da-nu ú-íl-ti ul GÁL-'<sup>lu</sup> mu-kin<sub>7</sub>
  15. md+EN-A-MU A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> XXX-PAP<sup>ma</sup> eq-ba-'
  16. A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> DU<sub>10</sub>.GA-ia<sup>md</sup> id-di-ia A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ki-šir-ia
  17. m<sup>AŠ</sup>-qí-bi(text iq)-d<sup>ŠÁR</sup> A-šú šá<sup>md</sup> ŠÁR-NUMUN-DÛ
  18. md+EN-SUR A-šú šá<sup>re</sup> mut-d+EN<sup>md</sup> XXX-TIN<sup>#</sup>
  19. A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> KI-d+AG-TIN<sup>md</sup> ad-du-NUMUN-MU A-šú šá<sup>md\*</sup> UTU-MU
  20. md<sup>da</sup> gan-na-na A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> ki-šir-ia
  21. lu<sup>UMBISAG</sup> md<sup>UTU</sup>-SU(text ZU) A-šú šá<sup>m</sup> KAR-d\*AMAR.UTU<sup>uru</sup> ši-ḫu(!)
  22. URU\* šá(?) BI<sup>it</sup> IZI U<sub>4</sub> 4 KAM MU 29 KAM
  23. md<sup>da</sup> ri-ia-muš LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR

## TRANSLATION

2½ minas and 7 shekels (i.e., 2 minas and 27 shekels) of refined silver due to Ninurta-aḫa-ušur son of Kakkūsu debited against Bēl-iddina son of Addu-nūrī and Lā-qipu son of Kiribtu. From the 20th day of Elul they will repay the aforesaid silver, 2½ minas and 7 shekels, in its capital at Šiḫu in the quay of the king. Each assumes warranty for the other. Whoever is available will make full payment: 2½ minas and 7 shekels. He will pay the refined silver to xx (in order?) to clear (the sold property?) from claims (*murruqu*). Share of a *ḫarrānu* transaction of Addu-aḫa-iddina son of Ninurta-aḫa-ušur. There is no term for the promissory note.

Witnesses: Bēl-apla-iddina son of Sīn-nāšir/ušur; Eqbā son of Ṭābiya; Iddiya son of Kiširiya; Ina-qībi-Aššur/Iššar son of Aššur/Iššar-zēra-ibni; Bēl-ēter son of Rēmūt-Bēl; Sīn-uballiṭ son of Itti-Nabū-balātu; Addu-zēra-iddina son of Šamaš-iddina; Dagannāna son of Kiširiya; scribe: Šamaš-eriba son of Mušēzib-Marduk. Šiḫu, month V, day four, year 29 of Darius, King of Babylon, King of Lands.

## REMARKS

This is not an abstract promissory note, but the background is obscure as the lines NBC 6159, 9–14 = NBC 6238, 10–13 are partially damaged. A share of a *ḫarrānu* enterprise of the creditor's son is involved in the transaction. There are two debtors, as is expected for a *ḫarrānu* enterprise. Šiḫu is the place of issue of a deed that is dated on 5.III.18 Dar. II = 406/5 B.C.E. (A.H. Sayce, "Babylonian Contract-tablet Belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg," ZA 5 [1890]: 280, r. 10, cf. R. Zadok, R. Zadok, *Geographical Names according to Neo- and Late-Babylonian Texts*. Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes, 8 [with a map; edited by W. Röellig; Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1985], 279; perhaps from the Qaṣr archive, Babylon, see M.W. Stolper, "The Babylonian Enterprise of Belesys," *Pallas* 43 [1995]: 223:73). It is a promissory note for sheep that are to be delivered in Babylon (the tablet was purchased in Baghdad in 1810). Therefore, there is good reason for thinking that Šiḫu was situated in central Babylonia. Ālu-ša-Bēl (?) may be a section of Šiḫu or its suburb. The witnesses Iddiya and Dagannāna are brothers. The latter is a hypocoristicon based on the theophorous element Dagan. The latter was worshipped in Assyria, and the occurrence of Dagannāna together with another witness bearing Assyrian given and paternal names (Ina-qībi-Aššur/Iššar son of Aššur/Iššar-zēra-ibni) is another indication of Assyrian presence in this small settlement. None of the individuals mentioned in this deed has a surname; several names are explicable in West Semitic terms.

3. NBC 6245 (beige, horizontal rectangular, 65×53×21 mm; copy by T. Zadok below) – Nippur, 11.XII.6 Artaxerxes I = 459/8 B.C.E.; promissory note for barley to be delivered in the Ekur

1. 2, GUR ŠE.BAR [NÍG.GA<sup>d</sup>] [L'<sup>EN</sup> KUR.KUR šá ŠU<sup>II</sup> m<sup>KAL</sup>-a
2. m<sup>NUMUN</sup>-kit-ti-[i-šè]r u<sup>md</sup> MAŠ-MU<sup>lu</sup> ŠID<sup>meš</sup> šá É.KUR
3. AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup> md+EN-dan-nu A šá<sup>md</sup> EN.LÍL-ŠEŠ<sup>meš</sup>-MU<sup>iti</sup> ŠE
4. šá MU 6 KAM ŠE.BAR-' 2 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN AŠ<sup>giš</sup> ma-ši-ḫi šá<sup>d</sup> L
5. AŠ EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> DIŠ É NÍG.GA šá<sup>d</sup> L SUM<sup>in</sup>

## REVERSE

6. lu<sup>mu</sup> kin<sub>7</sub> m<sup>MU</sup>-MU A šá<sup>m</sup> IR-ia
7. md<sup>MAŠ</sup>-PAP A šá<sup>m</sup> TIN
8. md<sup>MAŠ</sup>-MU A šá<sup>m</sup> MU-MU
9. m<sup>ú</sup>-bar-d<sup>XXX</sup> A šá<sup>md</sup> L-it-tan-\*nu
10. m<sup>(the anthroponym is not completed!)</sup>
11. md<sup>MAŠ</sup>-SU lu<sup>UMBISAG</sup> A šá<sup>md</sup> MAŠ-PAP EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> [it]i ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 11 KAM
12. MU 6 KAM m<sup>aš</sup>-taḫ-šá-si LUGAL KUR.KUR

## U. E.

13. šu-pur md+EN-dan-nu



## TRANSLATION

(1) Two kors of barley property of Illil master of lands, which are in the hands of Dannā, (2) Zēr-kitti-lišer and Ninurta-iddina the accountants of the Ekur, (3) debited against Bēl-dannu son of Illil-aḥḥē-iddina. In XII, 11th day, year six, (5) he (scil. Bēl-dannu) will deliver (4) the aforesaid barley—two kors, three *pānu* and two seahs—in the measure of Illil (5) in Nippur at the storehouse of Illil.

(6) Witnesses: Šuma-iddina son of Ardiya, (7) Ninurta-nāšir/ušur son of Balāṭu, (8) Ninurta-iddina son of Šuma-iddina, (9) Ubār-Sin son of Illil-ittannu, (and 11) Ninurta-erība, the scribe, son of Ninurta-nāšir/ušur. Nippur, month XII, day 11, (12) year six of Artaxerxes King of Lands. (13) Fingernail mark of Bēl-dannu.

## REMARKS

1. The quantity in kors can be restored as ,3, as well, but cf. line 4; were the 3 PI 2 BĀN inserted in tiny script under '2', i.e., between lines 1 and 2? The remnants are not clear.
- 1-2. Compare the names of the accountants of the Ekur: Illil-šuma-ukīn and Balāṭu (R. and T. Zadok, "LB Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection," *NABU* 1997/13, NBC 6150, 6157, 30.IX.430/29 – 23.I.429 B.C.E.); the latter = Illil-uballiṭ, McEwan, ROMCT 2, 60 ad 47); both in ROMCT 2, 47–51 and H.G. Stigers, "Neo- and Late Babylonian Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection," *JCS* 28 (1976): 24:3 (in the latter source - sons of Ea-bullissu); the former is also recorded in M.W. Stolper, "The *šaknu* of Nippur," *JCS* 40 (1988): 149–50: FLP 1455 (cf. 151–52) and Stigers, "Neo- and Late Babylonian Documents," 37:24 (where the latter = Illil-uballiṭ); Zēr-kitti-lišer (GIŠ), Taqīš-Gula, Illil-aḥḥē-iddina, Ninurta-iddina, Illil-ittannu and Balāṭu (17.iii.21 Artaxerxes; Stolper, "The *šaknu* of Nippur," 150: FLP 1480; Ninurta-iddina, Illil-ittannu occur together also in Zadok and Zadok, "LB Texts," NBC 6150); presumably Ninurta-aḥḥē-uballiṭ s. of Bēlšunu (Stolper, "The *šaknu* of Nippur," 153–54: BM 129094).
- 6, 8. The first witness is presumably the father of the third one.
13. The space where the (probably single) nail mark was impressed (before *šu-pur*) is broken. Four related fragments (notably NBC 9168) and many chips record the price of wool. Among them, NBC 9168a has the same seal as in Zadok and Zadok, "LB Texts," NBC 6150, 6157; under it: <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB <sup>md</sup>1x(x). One unnumbered fragment is dated to 26.X.35 [Artaxerxes I] (430/29 B.C.E.).

4. YBC 11571 (light brown, horizontal rectangular, 81×76×34 mm; copy by T. Zadok below), Dilbat, 3.VI.[...] Darius II (sometime between 423/2 and 409/8 or 407/6 and 405/4 B.C.E., seeing that 16 Dar. II has an intercalary Elul); promissory note to deliver an assessed rent (*imittu*) of dates.

1. 58 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA Z[AG.LU]
2. KÁ\* *maš*(? for *šá*?) *si* (both for I<sub>7</sub>\*?) *a-ḥu-nu šá* <sup>garim(?)</sup>*a-ḥu*<sub>1</sub>-[*nu*]
3. [Š]E(?).NUMUN(?) *šá* <sup>m</sup>1KI<sub>1</sub>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-TIN *ni-din-tú* LUGAL (the reading of the last sign was kindly suggested by M.W. Stolper)
4. [*šá a-n*]<sub>1</sub>*a*<sub>1</sub> <sup>m</sup>ú-ba/ma-zu <sup>lu</sup>par-sa-A+A
5. [SU]M<sup>na</sup> *šá* AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-A+A
6. A-šú *šá* <sup>m</sup>re-zi-iš-tu<sub>4</sub> AŠ UGU<sup>hi</sup>
7. <sup>md</sup>IB-DIŠ-É-šú A <sup>md</sup>BI.BI-MU
8. AŠ <sup>iti</sup>[AP]IN ZÚ.LUM.MA-'
9. ,58 GUR *gam-ru-tu* AŠ *dil-bat*<sup>ki</sup>
10. AŠ <sup>giš\*</sup>*ma-ši-ḥu šá* <sup>m</sup>bár-sipa<sup>ki</sup>-A+A

LO. E.

11. [K]I 1 GUR 1 BĀN *e-piš-tu*<sub>4</sub>

REVERSE

12. *tu-ḥal-la gi-pu-ú*
13. l[*ib*]-<sub>1</sub>*lib*<sub>1</sub>-<sub>1</sub>*bi man-ga-ga u bil-tu*<sub>4</sub>
14. [Š]<sub>1</sub>*á ḥu-šab' i-nam-din*
15. [<sup>lu</sup>m[*u*]-<sub>1</sub>*kin*<sub>1</sub>-*nu* <sup>md</sup>IB-NU[MU]N-GÁL<sup>š</sup>
16. [A(-šú *šá*) <sup>m</sup>ni-d]in-[*t*]<sub>4</sub>(?) [<sup>md+</sup>A]G-[ŠE]Š(?)-*it-tan-nu*
17. [A(-šú *šá*) <sup>m</sup>x]-<sup>r</sup>zu <sup>m</sup>[x<sub>1</sub>-[x]-<sup>d+</sup>EN A <sup>md+</sup>EN-na-din\*
18. [<sup>md</sup>DN-ú]-<sub>1</sub>*sur-šú* [A] <sup>md+</sup>EN-TIN-su
19. <sup>md+</sup>EN<sub>1</sub>-<sup>r</sup>e-ṭe-<sub>1</sub>ru<sup>1</sup> <sup>lu</sup>UMBISAG A <sup>m</sup>ni?-*d*<sub>1</sub>[n-...]
20. *dil-bat*<sup>ki</sup> <sup>iti</sup>KIN U<sub>4</sub> 3 KAM M[U ...]
21. <sup>m</sup>da-ri-ia-muš [LUGAL KUR.KUR]

## TRANSLATION

(1) 58 kors of dates assessed rent (2) of the ...(?) and the area(?) of Aḥūnu, which is in the irrigated farmland of Aḥūnu ([3] and?) all? in front of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, a crown grant given to (4) [(?)] Uba/mazu the Persian (5), which is in the hands of Barsippāyu (6) son of Rezištu are charged against (7) Uraš-ana-bītišu son of Nergal-iddina. (8) In month VIII (14) he will pay (9) all (8) the said (9) 58 kors (8) of dates (9) in Dilbat (10) using the measure of Barsippāyu (11) and with each kor a premium(?) of one seah (12) *tuḥallu*-baskets, *gipū*-baskets, (13) fronds, fibre and a load (14) of spades.

(15) Witnesses: Uraš-zēra-šubši (16) son of Nidintu; Bēl/Nabû-aḥa(?) -ittannu (17) [son of] Zu-x; [xx]-Bēl son of Bēl-nādin; (18) [DN-u]šuršu son of Bēl-bullissu.

(19) Bēl-ēteru, scribe, son of Nidin(?) [...]. (20) Dilbat, month VI, day 3, year [...] ([21] of) Darius, [King of Lands].

## REMARKS

2. An irrigated farmland (GARIM = *tamertu*), being, in a way, a body of water, is described as having a "gate" in Dar. 438, 6: KÁ šá<sup>garim</sup>kap<sup>1</sup>-ri-nu (cf. 438, 8; another inundated farmland had multiple gates according to Dar. 400, 3) and as possessing a "mouth" (or "mouths," cf. Zadok, *Geographical Names*, xxvii, n. 12; Zadok, "Notes on the Historical Geography of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria," *Abr-Nahrain* 27 [1989]: 156). Note KÁ<sup>meš</sup> of uruKur-bat (BIN 1, 128, 2f., but see Coquerillat, *Palmeraies*, 15a, 19a, who is of the opinion that these are gates of the Euphrates). Compare also perhaps *kilātu* "dam, irrigation dike" (pl. tantum, CAD K, 356f.). For É in connection with GARIM cf. perhaps A.ŠÀ É<sup>garim</sup>Ba-ši-tu<sub>4</sub> (VS 3, 141, 3) and [xx] É<sup>garim(?)</sup>Da-bi-'bi(?)' (J.A. Peat, review of J.-M. Durand, TBÉR and F. Joannès, TEBR, *AfO* 34 [1987]: 73a ad TBER pl. 31: AO 8599, 4). GARIM interchanges with É, e.g., in *Qalūnu* (Zadok, *Geographical Names*, 253). For a different interpretation of KÁ "entry, installment," see Jursa in M. Jursa and K. Radner, "Keilschrifttexte aus Jerusalem," *AfO* 47–48 (1995–96): 108 (Dilbat, 36 Nbk. II = 569/8 B.C.E.).
3. The reading of the personal name is very uncertain.
- 3–5. Cf. [n]i-din-tu<sub>4</sub> LUGAL šá a-na PN SUM<sup>na</sup> (OECT 12, AB 243 = M.W. Stolper, "Late Achaemenid Texts from Dilbat," *Iraq* 54 [1992]: 125, 2–3, see 126).
4. If the reading is correct, the Persian's name would go back to OIran. \*Hu-vazah- "well-promoting, advancing, leading."
5. The same individual is the creditor in the promissory note (½ mina of silver with interest [1 shekel per mina] in case the loan will not be repaid on time) BE 8, 121, 2, 6 (Borsippa, 5.VII.1 Artaxerxes II, i.e., 404/3 B.C.E.). His paternal name is spelled Ru-zu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub> in that deed. This name is presumably an Old Iranian superlative, but the form of its base is not clear (it reminds one of Avestan *razišta-* "the plainest, most exact, fairest, most righteous," but the form is different). The debtor in BE 8, 121 is A-ḥu-ia-a-le-e s. of Bi-ba-a, Aram. endorsement štr 'ḥyl'y(?!); the lower part of the last letter is at best very faint, therefore a damaged –y is not excluded, collated) *br byb'* ['] (a West Semitic name; the paternal name is atypical). The deed was written by the scribe Nabû-balāssu-

iqbi s. of Nabû-x and witnessed by Nabû-erība s. of Balātu, [Bē]-ušēzib s. of Bēl-iddina, Bēl-ušuršu s. of Bēl-uballit, and Bēl-iddina s. of Bēl-aḥa-iddina(?).

7. <sup>d</sup>BLBI = Nergal (KAR 142, iii, 32). The style of the filiations in this deed is inconsistent: A expresses here "son of" rather than "descendant of" seeing that it is not followed by any discernible surnames, although the scribe used also (at least once) A-šú šá, which unambiguously denotes "son of."
11. For *e/ipištu* "premium" or "additional payment," see Stolper, "Late Achaemenid Texts," 134 ad 12.  
The ductus resembles, to some extent, that of Columbia 360 (Stolper, "Late Achaemenid Texts," 127–28).

## E.

*Two Administrative Records from the Yale Babylonian Collection*

1. MLC 517 (beige, horizontal rectangular, 53×37×22 mm; copy by T. Zadok below)

1. 14 *dan-nu ma-lu'*-[ú KAŠ.DU<sub>10</sub>.GA]
2. 4 (GUR) 3 (PI) 2 BĀN ĀM AŠ? [(x)]
3. 1 ME 8 *tu-ḥal-la-a-ta*
4. 3 ME 50 *gi-pu-ú šá ú-ḥi-nu*
5. *šá<sup>m</sup>ta-li-mu*

## REVERSE

6. *a-na<sup>m</sup>gu-za-nu*
7. A-šú šá<sup>m</sup>A+A-lu *id-di-in*
8. AŠ DU-zu šá<sup>m</sup>MU-a-DINGIR<sub>1</sub>A<sub>1</sub>
9. <sup>m</sup>SIL-A+A [bá]r-sipa<sup>ki</sup>
10. <sup>iti</sup><sub>1</sub>BĀR?<sub>1</sub> U<sub>4</sub> × KA[M(?)]

## U. E.

11. 'MU] 'xx' (illegible traces) [...]

## TRANSLATION

(1) 14 full vats (large storage jars) of fine beer (2) that hold 4;3.2 kors each; (3) 108 small baskets (or bags, made of palm leaves); (4) 350 *gipû*-baskets with fresh (green) dates (5) that Talīmu gave (6) to Guzānu (7) son of Ayyālu.

(8) In the presence of Iddina-ilu son of (9) Sūqāyu. Borsippa, (10) month I(?) day [x], (11) year [x].

## REMARKS

1. The number is followed either by the noun and its adjective in singular, as is the case here, or by the noun and its adjective in the plural (*dannūtu malītu*), cf. CAD D, 98–99, s.v. *dannu*.
- 3–4. This is the normal sequence of the by-products of the date palm (*tuhallu* generally precedes *gipū*, see B. Landsberger, *The Date Palm and Its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources*. AfOB 17. Graz: E.F. Weidner, 1967, 36–37, 44–45, 48).

2. NBC 7691 (copy by T. Zadok below) VIII.35 Dar. I (487/6 B.C.E.; hardly Darius II in view of the script and format); purchased from H.F. Sachs on 23.XI.1942 according to slip found in its box.

1. UDU.NITÁ *te-lit-tu*<sub>4</sub>
2. *a-na gi-ni-e*
3. šá<sup>d</sup> *za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>* <sup>iti</sup>APIN
4. MU 35 KAM <sup>m</sup>*da-ri-muš* LUGAL
5. AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>m</sup>EZEN-*na-A+A* <sup>lú</sup>SIPA<sup>ú</sup>
6. 1 U<sub>4</sub> 17 KAM šá<sup>iti</sup> APIN
7. 3 U<sub>4</sub> 25 KAM šá<sup>iti</sup> APIN
8. AŠ ŠÀ<sup>bi</sup> *1-en pu-ḥa-a-du*
9. 4 U<sub>4</sub> 26 KAM šá<sup>iti</sup> APIN
10. 1 U<sub>4</sub> 4 KAM šá<sup>iti</sup> APIN

REVERSE

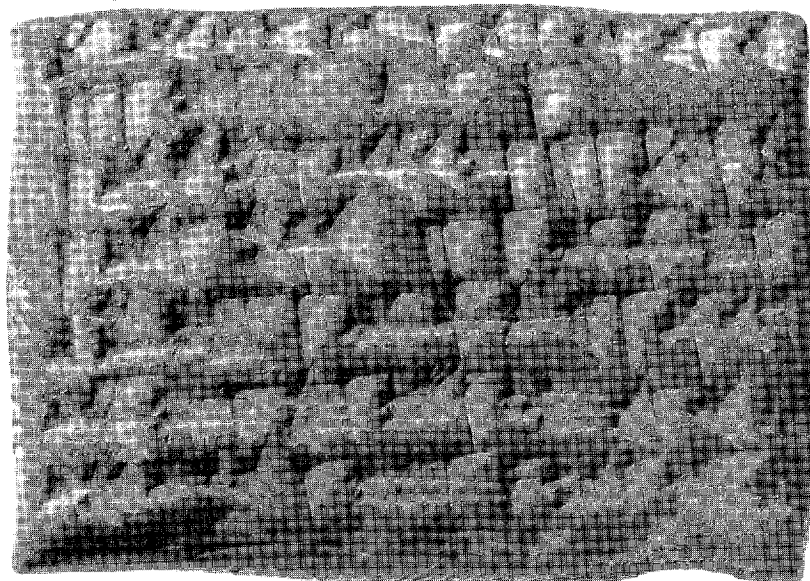
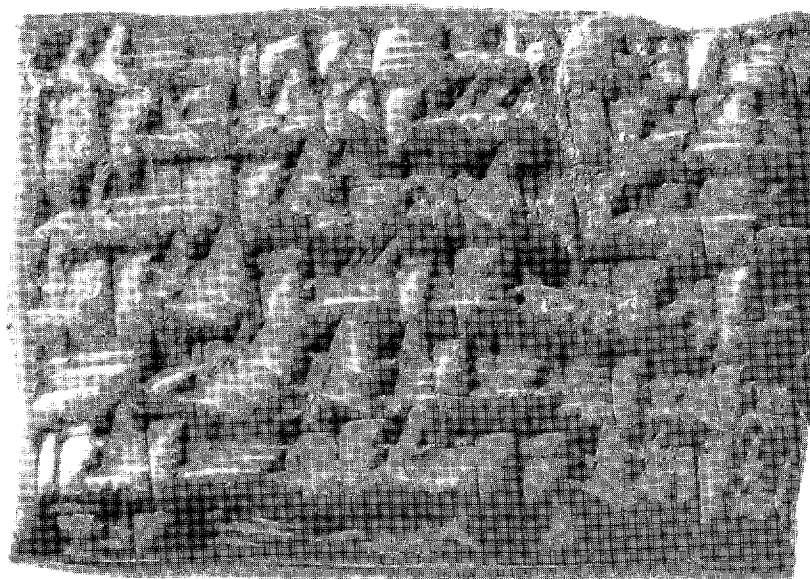
(Seal impression)

## TRANSLATION

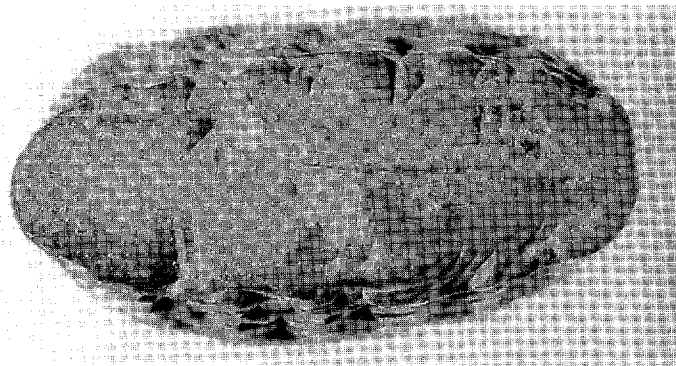
(1) Sheep, expenses (2) for the regular offerings (dues) (3) of Zababa for Araḥsamnu (VIII) (4) year 35 of King Darius, ([5] received) from the hands of Isināyu the shepherd. (6) One (small cattle) day 17 of VIII; (7) three (sheep) day 25 of VIII; (8) one lamb from it; (9) four (sheep) day 26 of VIII; (10) one (sheep) day 4 of VIII.

## REMARKS

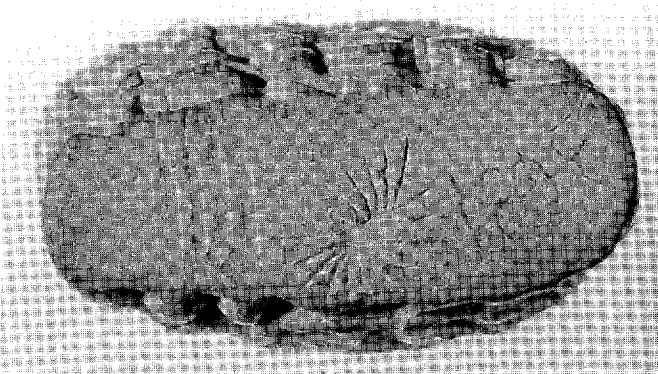
1. For *tēlitu* "impost" (on produce), "expenditures," cf. Joannès, TĒBR, 46–49, esp. 46, n. 1; Jursa, *Landwirtschaft*, 157a.
3. The provenience of this administrative record is not indicated. Zababa was worshipped not only in Kish, but also in Babylon.
- 6, 7, 9, 10. The sequence of days seems normal except for line 10.



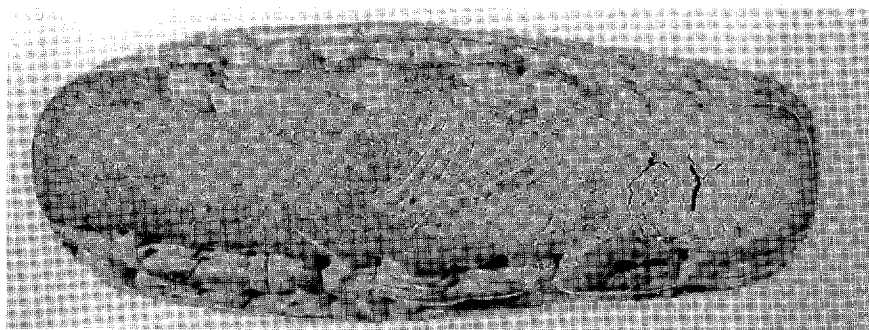
HSM 1904.4.27  
Obverse and Reverse



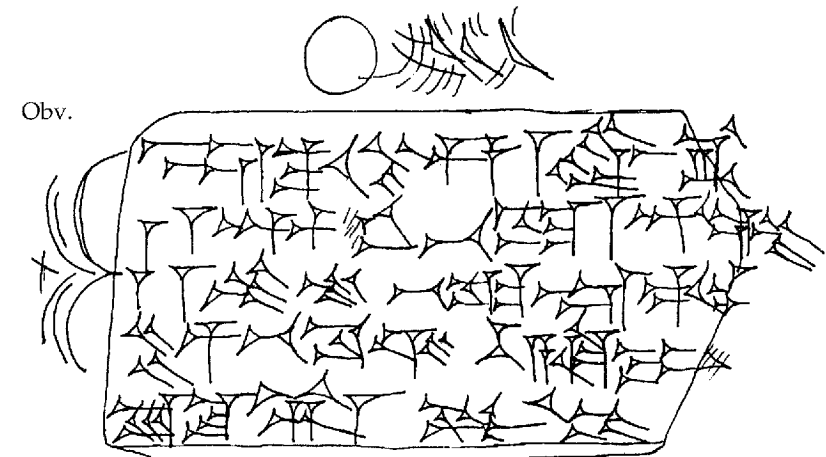
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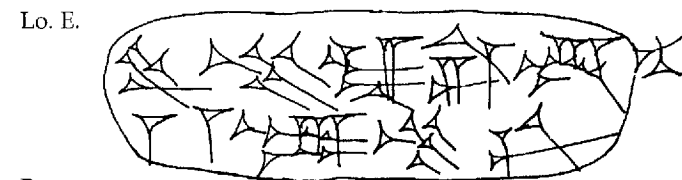
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HSM 1904.4.27 - Upper Edge



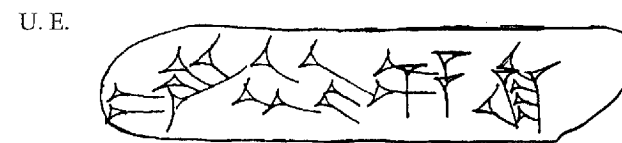
Obv.



Lo. E.



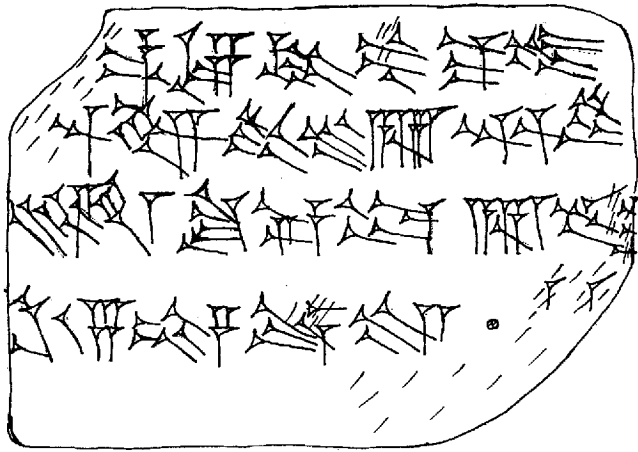
Rev.



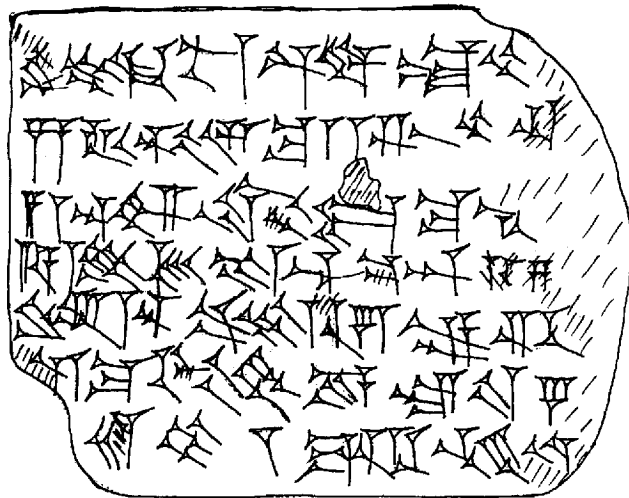
U. E.

BM 27952

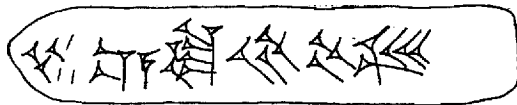
Obv.



Rev.

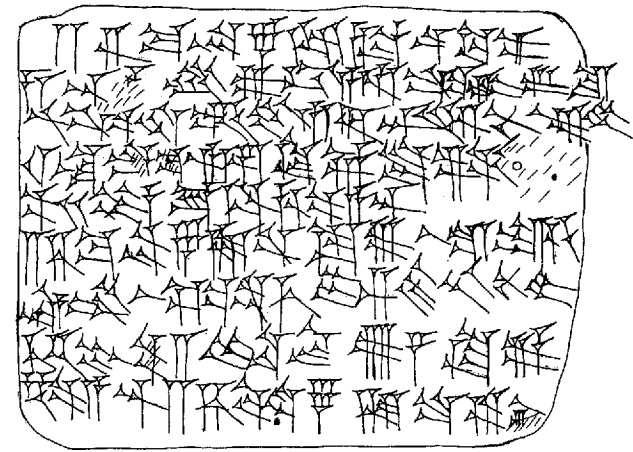


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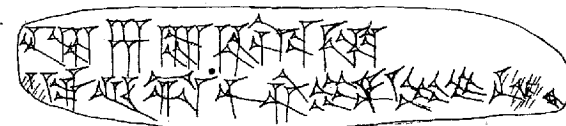


NBC 6140

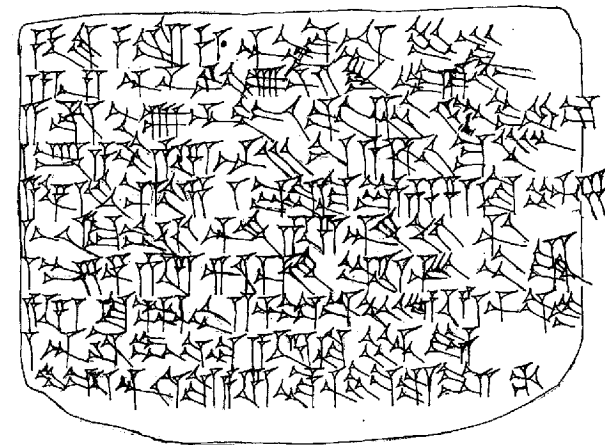
Obv.



Lo. E.



Rev.

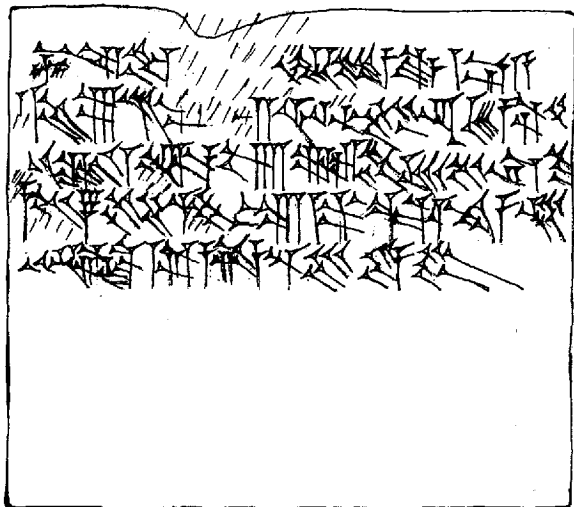


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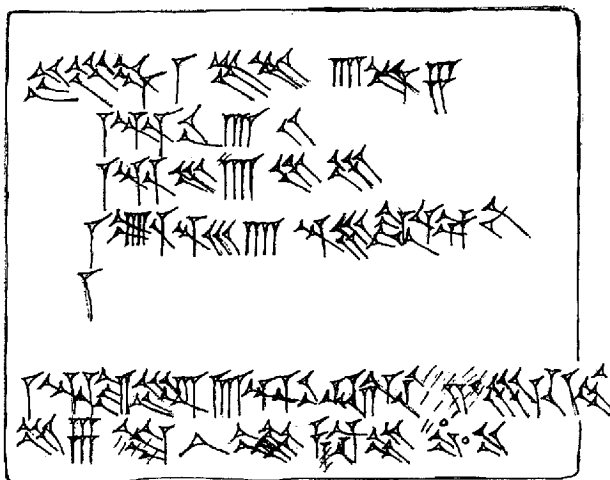


NBC 6238

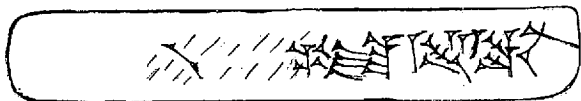
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Rev.

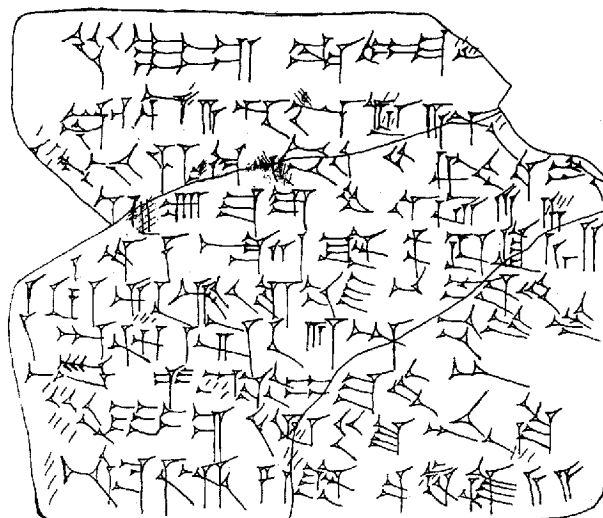


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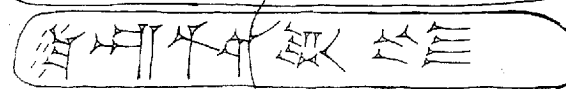


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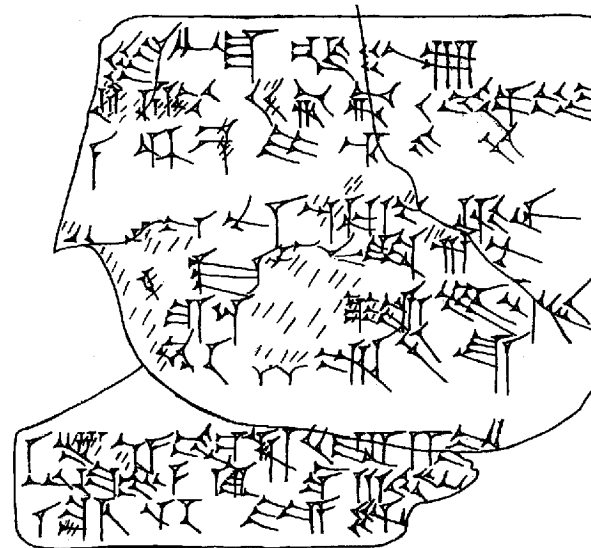
OBV.



Lo. E.

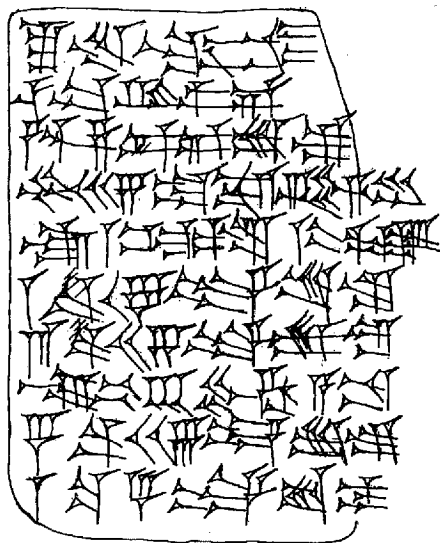


REV.

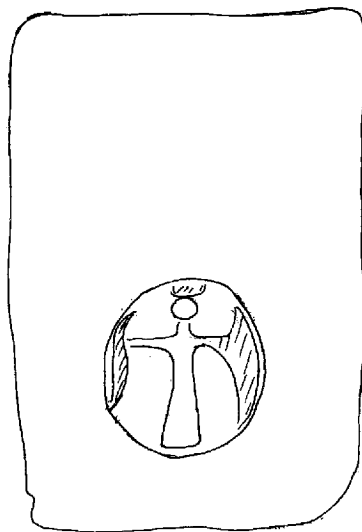


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Obv.

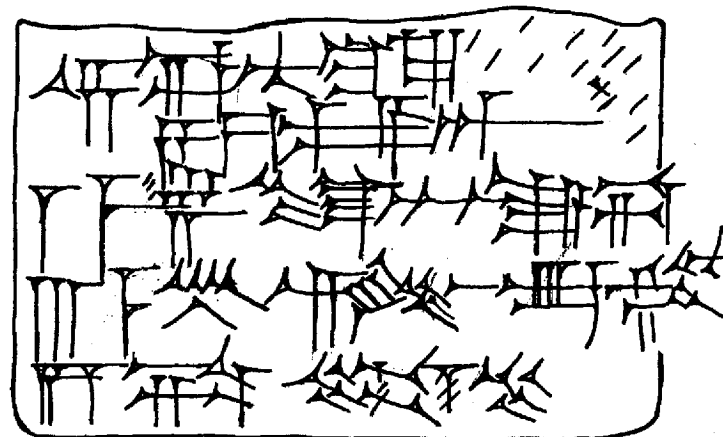


Rev.

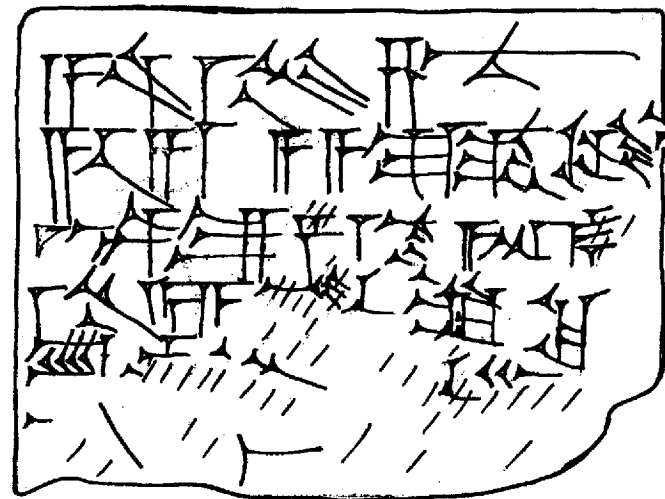


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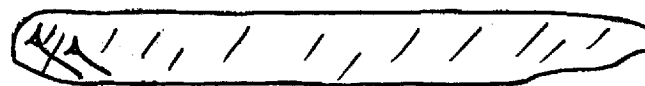
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MLC 517





POETRY AND THEOLOGY  
IN LAMENTATIONS 3:43–44 AND 5:7

ADELE BERLIN  
*University of Maryland*

IN ADDITION TO his Sumerological work, for which he is justly famous, Yaakov Klein has a long-standing interest in the Bible and in biblical scholarship, to which he has made significant contributions. A special interest of his is the book of Lamentations. He served as editor for this book in the *Olam Hatanakh* series and is preparing his own commentary on Lamentations for the *Miqra Le-yisrael* series. It is, thus, a pleasure to dedicate some exegetical comments on Lamentations to Yaakov, my friend and colleague for many years.<sup>1</sup>

Lamentations, like every book in the Bible, has what may be called a theological perspective in that it expresses views about God, his relationship to Israel, the Davidic covenant, the reason for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the question of what may follow the rupture between God and Israel that the destruction signals. The theology of the book has received quite a lot of attention, especially from Protestant scholars, for whom this topic was central in biblical studies and who attempted to draw out of Lamentations a coherent theological position.<sup>2</sup> But as Jon Levenson notes, "The effort to construct a systematic, harmonious theological statement out of the unsystematic and polydox materials in the Hebrew Bible fits Christianity better than Judaism because systematic theology in general is

more prominent and more at home in the church than in the *bet midrash* (study house) and synagogue."<sup>3</sup> As if to lend support to Levenson's words, Stephen A. Geller proclaims that "biblical religion has no theology" in the sense of "a systematic exposition of the principles of faith based on logical principles."<sup>4</sup> Lamentations is no different from other biblical books in this regard. Nowhere in the book is there a sustained logically argued presentation of its religious views, even on the central issue: the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. But while we may not speak of a "theology of Lamentations," we can and should note the book's premises and assumptions about God, Israel, and the world; and it is convenient to term them "theological," although perhaps "ideological" would suit better. These premises are not explained or debated as much as assumed to be part of the cultural baggage of the book's readers, and the poet calls upon them in order to make or dramatize his points. In Lamentations theology is placed in the service of poetry; the book is not theology put into poetic form, but poetry that makes use of theological ideas. I offer two examples showing the interaction of poetry and theology. The first makes a larger and rather different theological point than has heretofore been recognized, and the second has, in my view, been theologically overinterpreted. It is through interpreting the text as poetry, I claim, that its theological dimension can be best apprehended.

Lam 3:42–44

נחנו פשענו ומרינו אתה לא סלחת :  
סכותה באף וחרדפנו הרגת לא חמלה :  
סכתה בענן לך מעבור תפלה :

42. We have sinned and rebelled; you have not forgiven.
43. You have screened yourself<sup>5</sup> off in anger and pursued us, you killed without pity.
44. You have screened yourself in that cloud of yours, so no prayer could pass through.

1. These comments grew out of my *Lamentations, A Commentary*. I take this opportunity to put them in a broader context and to provide a more expansive explanation of my exegesis.
2. For example, Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, a book devoted to explaining the theology of Lamentations. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations*, justifies the inclusion of his essay on theology "by the fact that there is little written on the subject" (iii). He follows Gottwald's lead in filling the need for a more comprehensive discussion than is found in most commentaries, but notes that many commentaries include brief summaries of the book's theology.

3. Jon Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, The Old Testament, and Historical Criticism*, 51.
4. *Sacred Enigmas*, 2.
5. Hillers, *Lamentations*, 117, objects that סכותה in v. 43 is not reflexive, and he translates "you have enveloped us." Yet in v. 44 he renders it reflexively, "you have wrapped yourself." It is possible for the same form to have different syntactic functions, as Hillers argues, but I see no need for it here. Hillers also translates the root differently in each verse, thereby losing the lexical and phonemic repetition. Other exegetes, e.g., Renkema and Westermann, see no difficulty in rendering סכותה by a reflexive in both verses.



Lamentations 3 alternates between hope and despair, and between the language of lament and the language of reasoned argument that closely resembles wisdom literature, especially Job. Despite the valiant attempt to articulate a theodicy of comfort that precedes verse 40 (that God is good [v. 25], that the Lord has compassion [v. 32], that God is just and champions a just cause [vv. 34–36], that all things come from God [vv. 37–38]), reason cannot provide the comfort that the poet seeks. The book is, after all, not an intellectual exercise but a national lament, and the language of lament resumes in verse 40. That is not to say, though, that lament is devoid of theological thought.

Verses 40–44 form a poetic turning point. These verses form a transition to a new type of discourse, in which the speaker is “we” instead of “I” and in which God is addressed directly as “you” instead of being spoken about as “he.” Furthermore, verse 40 makes the transition from wisdom discourse to lament or penitential psalm. The words *שׁוּחַ*, “search,” and *בִּקַּרְתָּ*, “examine” occur often in wisdom texts (Prov 2:4; 20:27; Job 5:27; 28:3, 27),<sup>6</sup> whereas “return to the Lord” is at home in prayers of supplication. A clear gesture of supplication is the raising of the hands in v. 41, signalling the move to prayer.

Most important, these verses constitute a theological turning point. If God is indeed so good and so merciful, and if the people have sinned, the natural next step is that the people must repent and then they will surely be forgiven. But then, like a sudden jolt, comes verse 42, which starkly juxtaposes (without any grammatical conjunction) the admission of the people’s sin with God’s refusal to forgive. The accepted belief in the power of repentance has proved to be false. Contrary to Jer 18:5–12, which teaches that if the people change their ways God will change his mind about punishing them, our poet concludes that there is no direct relationship between repentance and forgiveness. This may be the most disturbing idea in the chapter, and in the entire book. The following two verses suggest, however, that the poet does not reject the power of repentance. Rather, he implies that repentance would be effective if only it could reach God. That it does not reach him is God’s fault. In a masterfully ironic allusion, the poet reinterprets a major religious principle about divine immanence, making the cloud by which God protected Israel the means through which he pursued them, and the cloud through which God revealed himself the vehicle by which he hides himself.

Previous exegetes did not recognize the presence of an allusion, or if they did, they did not fully appreciate its impact. Some link the image of God hiding himself in a cloud with v. 8, “he stopped up my prayer,” and

6. Westermann, *Lamentations*, 179.

with the idea of God’s hiding his face. Delbert Hillers goes further than many, putting the “cloud” in the context of the Israelite conception of God being enveloped in a radiant cloud, “through which he reveals himself, by which he overwhelms enemies, and in which he may hide himself, as here.”<sup>7</sup> He cites George Mendenhall’s study of the ancient Near Eastern tradition of the divine cloud, in which appears the following statement: “As late as Lam 3:44, the *’anan* is a covering preventing the penetration of prayers. This passage is very typical of later uses that seem to regard the *’anan* merely as a cloud or covering, but with the power of manifesting a divine personality almost entirely lost.”<sup>8</sup> Certainly the old concept of the *’anan* stands behind vv. 43–44, but Mendenhall and Hillers have misunderstood its use here. Both scholars take our verse literally, rather than as the poetic metaphor that it is, and they add it to their composite picture of the divine cloud. They fail to realize that our verse has appropriated the old concept of the divine cloud and, as it were, has misused it in order to make a dramatic statement about God. The concept of the cloud is not being further developed in Lamentations; it is being intentionally reversed. The point is not that, as Hillers puts it, only here does God hide himself in his cloud. Nor is our verse evidence for a diluted concept of the cloud, as Mendenhall intimates. On the contrary, the verse knows full well the meaning of the concept and invokes it in order to reverse its usual meaning.

The root *skk*, “to cover, veil, shield, screen,” which opens verses 43 and 44, usually has the positive connotation of “to protect from danger.” Its most frequent occurrences are in connection with the protecting wings of the cherubs and the *kapporet* (covering) of the Ark (Exod 25:20; 37:9; 1 Kings 8:7; 1 Chr 28:18). The cherubs and the *kapporet* form a kind of lid on top of the Ark and they serve as a base for God’s throne. This is the place where God is most immanent. The cloud, *’anan* (v. 44) has similar associations. It figures in the exodus and the theophany at Sinai (Exod 13:21; 14:19–24; 16:10; 19:16; 33:9–10; Lev 16:2). The cloud-pillar in the wilderness leads the people to safety. Psalm 105:39 calls the cloud by which God led the Israelites a protective cover, *masak* (from *skk*). The theophanous cloud, like the Ark (which becomes a portable Mt. Sinai), has a dual role: it is the locus of God’s revealing himself to the people, and at the same time it serves as a buffer that protects the people from direct contact with the divine, because contact with the divine is dangerous or even fatal. (Even Moses needed to be shielded [שָׂרָף] from seeing God directly [Exod 33:22].) It is to the cloud-pillar and to the cloud of the theophany that vv. 43–44 allude, but with the

7. *Lamentations*, 132. Renkema also links the verse with the theophany.

8. G. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation; The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 58.

opposite connotation. Rather than protecting the people as he did from the Egyptians, and leading them to safety, God pursues them and kills them. Rather than sheltering them from the numinous power of the divine, the cloud “protects” God from the people. The vehicle through which God reveals himself here becomes the means by which God keeps himself hidden—a barrier that an angry God has erected to keep out the prayers of the contrite Judeans. This is a devastating negation of a fundamental religious concept inscribed in traditional sources. It is a fierce indictment of God. Nowhere in Lamentations, and perhaps in the entire Bible, is God’s refusal to be present more strongly expressed. This is the climax of the poem’s pondering the nature of God, for at this point the poet reaches a theological impasse.

Now I am not suggesting that the poet seeks literally to overturn a traditional belief about the exodus or the revelation at Sinai, or about the concept of the divine cloud. He is using this concept for poetic effect, to dramatize his point about God’s absence at the time Israel needs him most. This is theology in the service of poetry, for the poetic message is primary. The poetry, with its emotional burden and its figurative language, reimagines God as hiding himself by the means through which he reveals himself. The poet’s hopelessness about getting a response from God suddenly becomes even deeper if we recognize the allusion and understand its impact. God is not merely hiding his face, as some exegetes put it; in this verse God is, in his very essence, a hidden deity.

Lam 5:7

אֲבֹתֵינוּ חָטְאוּ (וְ) אֵינֵם (וְ) אֲנַחְנוּ עֹנְתֵיהֶם סָבְלוּ

Our fathers sinned and are no more; and we suffer their punishments.

Chapter 5 is a prayer and is best understood as expressing the perspective of the Judean survivors who remained in Judah after the destruction. They are living in abysmal conditions as a result of the war and occupation. The description of suffering intensifies in vv. 7–14, as the physiological and psychological effects are emphasized. Verse 5 has received much treatment because of its difficulties and because of what appears to be its obvious theological implication.

The construction of the verse, with “our fathers” and “we” at the heads of the lines, emphasizes these subjects and the parallelism between them, but the relationship between the speakers and their fathers is ambiguous. Is it emphatic or contrastive? Do the speakers put themselves in the same camp as their fathers, or do they contrast themselves with them? And who are the “fathers”—the long-gone ancestors or the immediately preceding generation, which was lost in the destruction? Additional ambiguity adheres to *’awwon*, “sin” or “punishment.” Do the speakers bear the sin of their

fathers or suffer their punishment? Are the speakers guilty of sin or do they suffer unjustly? The ambiguity is, perhaps, further reinforced by the absence of the conjunctive *waw* in the *ketib* and its presence in the *qere*.

One line of interpretation suggests that not only is the present generation guilty of its own sins (3:42; 5:16), but as the children of sinners it sees itself as part of a long chain of sinners whose sins are now being punished. Compare Jer 3:25: “We have sinned against the LORD our God, we and our fathers, from our youth until this day”; and Jer 14:20: “We acknowledge, LORD, our wickedness, the guilt of our fathers, for we sinned against you.” Delbert Hillers is representative of this view:

The writer in v 7 confesses his own generation’s share in the guilt of the fathers. This verse has a superficial resemblance to the cynical popular saying quoted in Jer 31:29 and Ezek 18:2: “The fathers have eaten sour grapes; and the children’s teeth are set on edge,” but the tone and intention is much different here: the writer does not disassociate himself from the fathers—they are “our fathers”—or from their sin.<sup>9</sup>

According to this interpretation, the Judean survivors continue to feel a heavy burden of guilt. The destruction did not result only from the present generation’s sins, but from the long history of accumulated sin that God could no longer leave unpunished. Earlier generations escaped punishment, but this generation did not. Understood this way, the verse is not rejecting an accepted theological belief.

On the other hand, an alternate interpretation (at odds with 3:42 and 5:16) suggests that the present speakers do not view themselves as sinners and therefore feel that they are being punished (unjustly) for the sins of their ancestors. If the reforms of Josiah were successful and the people had ceased their idolatry, those living in 586 might have thought that they themselves were not guilty of sin, and that the destruction was punishment for the sins of previous generations.<sup>10</sup> The idea of one generation paying for the sins of another is found in Exod 20:5 and Jer 31:28–29, and our verse may be an acknowledgment of that principle. It may also be the beginning of a rejection of it. A more well-developed rejection is found in Ezekiel 18, where the prophet insists that each generation should be punished for its own sins, not for the sins of its ancestors. The very verses in Jeremiah and Ezekiel that Hillers noted and dismissed are invoked by scholars who see Lam 5:7 as part of the polemic against intergenerational punishment. For instance, Bernard Levinson, who is often brilliant at showing how a later text alludes to and subverts an earlier one, sees here “an intertextual allusion to the Decalogue’s doctrine of transgenerational

9. *Lamentations*, 164.

10. See, e.g., O’Connor, 1069; Provan, 128.

consequences of sin." Lam 5:7, according to Levinson, "amounts to a censure of a text."<sup>11</sup> Not only is the exodus doctrine unjust in and of itself, but in the context of the destruction it promotes a hopelessness on the part of the survivors, condemned as they are by the sins of previous generations.

It seems to me that both these interpretations of Lam 5:7 put too much emphasis on theology and not enough on poetic expression. Moreover, they take too literally the term "fathers," making it a question of which generation deserves the blame. Another possibility, adopted by Gottwald and Renkema, is to take "fathers" as a reference not to a previous generation but to the Judean leaders who were killed or exiled at the time of the destruction.<sup>12</sup> This eliminates the generation gap; the "fathers" and the speaker are contemporaries. Iain Provan notes the wordplay with v. 3: "we are orphans, fatherless"; in both cases the fathers are gone and the children must cope alone.<sup>13</sup> I would add that in both vv. 3 and 7 the survivors speak of themselves as the children of those who suffered the brunt of the destruction, but I view this as a literary trope, not an actual intergenerational portrait. The survivors feel orphaned, alone—indeed, this is the essence of being a survivor. Johan Renkema points out the unusual use of the verb *sbl*, "to suffer sin/punishment," instead of the more common *ʔwʔ*: "to bear sin/punishment"—that is, the speakers do not bear the guilt; they suffer the punishment. Renkema has assembled most of the pieces that form my interpretation, but yet he did not add them together to form a coherent picture. The point of the verse is not whether the speakers feel sinful, but that they continue to endure punishment. Some Judeans were punished for their sins by death or exile, says the verse, yet the destruction and exile were not the end of the punishment. Those remaining in Judah continue to suffer that punishment, no less than those who were killed or exiled (without reference to whether the former group deserved it or not). The aftermath of the destruction is part of the punishment. By putting it this way, the survivors equate their own experience with the experience of the destruction itself. It is not, then, a coincidence that the chapter goes on to describe scenes that are reminiscent of, and easily confused with, the descriptions of war and famine that emblemize the destruction. Later in the Bible this voice from Judah will be stilled, as the primary focus and status will be on the *golah* community. But for this moment, we hear the cry of the post-destruction Judean community, suffering along with their "fathers."

11. Levinson, "The Human Voice," 49.

12. Gottwald, 67; Renkema, 605.

13. Provan, 128–29; he says that the play on words "hinges on two different senses of 'fatherlessness.'" See also Renkema, 604.

Lamentations is not a book of theology *per se*, but it employs theological concepts to convey its message. These concepts should be understood within their literary contexts, for then we can better grasp the meaning of the poems. In the case of Lam 3:43–44, literary analysis has sharpened the theological image invoked in an allusion to the divine cloud. In Lam 5:7, a too heavy emphasis on theology clouded the picture, obscuring the suffering of the survivors. Lamentations is, above all, a book about suffering and Lam 5:7 can be seen as making a strong statement about the suffering of the survivors. The book is also about God, an angry God and an inaccessible God. God could not be more inaccessible than Lam 3:43–44 portrays him.

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## ECHOES OF THE SUMERIAN SACRED MARRIAGE MYTH IN THE QUR'ÂN AND BIBLE

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WHEN the Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology asked me to contribute an article to the Anniversary volume for Professor Jacob Klein, I felt honored and accepted without a second thought. Actually, it has been almost thirty years since I've retired from my museum-related work and my hands-on involvement with cuneiform tablets. I've been very active with promoting and lecturing about Sumerian civilization in my native country, Turkey. Indeed, most of my knowledge in this field was derived during my 1951–1972 tenure at the Istanbul Archeological Museum, when I worked along with Samuel Noah Kramer, as well as from reading his books and articles. He was an enthusiastic teacher, who let us partake of his vast knowledge and skill. I will always remember him with gratitude. His last help was to encourage me to translate his book *History Begins at Sumer* into Turkish. To be truthful, my English was not fluent enough to tackle such a serious assignment and I had been hesitant. His encouragement motivated me to begin and as it so happened, the book was published by the Turkish Historical Society just two months prior to his passing. I sent him a copy right away.<sup>1</sup> He responded with what turned out to be his last letter to me. As in every other country, his book was very well received in Turkey. Thus encouraged, I began to write Sumer-related books, in a down-to-earth, folksy tone.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, today there is great interest in Turkey for anything related to Sumer and its civilization.

1. Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, Tarih Sumer'de başlar, çeviren: Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1990, 1995, 1998.
2. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, *Zaman Tuneli ile Sumer'e Yolculuk*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Çocuk Edebiyatı, Ankara, 1993, Kaynak Yayınları İstanbul, 1997, 1998, 2000.
  - Sumerli LUDINGIRRA, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003.
  - İnanna'nın Aşkı, Sumer'de İnanç ve Kutsal Evlenme, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, 2003.
  - Gilgameş, Kahraman Kral, Kaynak Yayınları, 2000, 2001, 2003.

While working with Kramer, as well as reading other writers' books, I learned a great deal about Sumerian literature and mythology that had entered the pages of the Bible. In those days, virtually nothing was written about these subjects in Turkish. I became curious whether the Qur'ân contained similar subjects and, if it did, in what manner. So I dove into the three major religions' books, scrutinizing them with an eye peeled for how they expressed views on Creation, the beginnings of humankind, Eve being created from Adam's rib, Adam and Eve's exile from Paradise, the fallout between Cain and Abel, Job's trial, the story of the great flood, and how once there had been a single tongue that bound all people and then was lost due to the Tower of Babel disaster. In time, I unearthed the ties connecting Sumerian beliefs to the three major monotheist religions. This work was first published as an article and then as a book with more details added.<sup>3</sup> It was in this book that I correlated the Sacred Marriage songs of the goddess Inanna and her shepherd-god husband Dumuzi with the Song of Songs in the Bible.

The Qur'ân alludes to all these subjects but in a more superficial manner. At first I found nothing at all about the Sacred Marriage. However, in the 102nd Verse of Baqara Sura ("The Cow"), the angels Hârût and Mârût and their presence in the Babylonian era ("two angels in Babil") made me wonder. Later, as I studied other Islamic authors<sup>4</sup> and read further about these angels, I realized that they might reflect the Inanna/Dumuzi myth, albeit the motif had been altered. I would like to present here a brief outline of this myth.

Dumuzi, god of the shepherds, and Enkimdu, god of the farmers, want to marry Inanna, goddess of love and fertility. After much disagreement, Dumuzi is able to wed Inanna. In the ceremony, Inanna appoints Dumuzi as the godly king of the land. She crowns him, places the scepter in his hands, and bestows upon him great strength. Later, Inanna descends to the Underworld to visit her sister Ereshkigal, who rules there. Alas, to return from the Underworld, Inanna must choose someone to take her place. Realizing that Dumuzi was not saddened by her absence, she decides to choose him in her stead. Dumuzi's sister, Geštinanna, to ease her brother's confinement, appears in the divine assembly and accepts to stay half the year in place of Dumuzi. Six months later Dumuzi returns above and is

3. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, *Sumerlilerden Yahudilik, Hıristiyanlık ve Müslümanlığa ulaşan Etkiler ve Din Kitaplarına Giren Konular*, Belleten sayı 223, v. 58, 685–828.
  - Kutsal Kitapların Sumer'deki Kökeni, Bilim ve Utopya, Mart 1995.
  - Kur'an İncil ve Tevrat'ın Sumer'deki Kökeni, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004.
4. Turan Dursun, *Kutsal Kitapların Kaynakları*, Kaynak Yayınları (İstanbul, 1996), v. 3, p. 57, İlhan Arsel, *Şeriatın Kıssa'lar*, Kaynak Yayınları (İstanbul, 1996), 79.

reunited with his wife. Their wedding was celebrated with the king of the land representing the god and a priestess the goddess. Love songs were sung, accompanied by various musical instruments. Thus, the Sumerians believed that peace and prosperity had returned to their realm. Dumuzi's return marked the New Year in their calendar.

Themes of this Sumerian myth may find echoes in the religious literature of other Near Eastern cultures, which may have created new stories based on this myth.

We find parallels to the poems associated with this Sacred Marriage celebration in the Old Testament, in the "Song of Songs of Solomon,"<sup>5</sup> the theme of the wedding ceremony in the story of Abraham and Sarah's arrival in Egypt (Genesis 12),<sup>6</sup> and the theme of Dumuzi and Enkimdu winning Inanna in the Qur'ān, in the story of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt (102nd verse of Baqara Sura). The 30th and 102nd verses of Baqara Sura read as follows:

<sup>30</sup> Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: "I will create a vicegerent (Khalif) on earth." They said, "Whilst thou place therein one who will make mischief and shed blood? Whilst we do celebrate thy praises and glorify thy holy (name)?" He said: "I know what ye know not."

<sup>102</sup> They followed what the evil ones (Shaitans) gave out (falsely) against the power of Solomon: the blasphemers were, not Solomon, but the evil ones, teaching men magic, and such things as come down at Babylon to the angels Harut and Marut.

But neither of these taught any one (such things) without saying: "We are only for trial, so do not blaspheme." They learned from them the means to sow discord between man and wife. But they could not thus harm anyone except by Allāh's permission; and they learned what harmed them, not what profited them. And they knew that the buyers of (magic) would have no share in the happiness of the Hereafter. And evil was the price of which they sell their souls; if they but knew!<sup>7</sup>

It was impossible for me to derive any meaning from these verses. However, the Quranic super-commentaries mentioned above (note 4) offer various explanations. One of them is as follows:

As Allāh was about to send Adam onto the earth, the angels told Him: "You Allāh! Why do you place a being who will misbehave and shed

5. S.N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite, Aspects of Faith, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Sumer*, 1969.

6. M. İlmiye Çiğ, İbrahim Peygamber, Sumer Yazılarına ve Arkeolojik Buluntulara Göre, İstanbul 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, pp. 87-90.

7. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran, Text, Translation and Commentary* (Lahore, Pakistan, 1938, 1977).

blood onto the earth? Why should another being be necessary where as we speak in your favor, sublimate and worship you? We will obey you more than the earthly beings." And Allāh says to them: "Go ahead, choose two of the angels to be placed on earth and we see how they behave." They chose two angels named Hārūt and Mārūt and sent them to earth. God produced a very beautiful woman named Zohra to test how they will behave. The angels wanted to sleep with her right away. The woman said she might sleep with them should they recognize the presence of another god. The angels do not accept. The woman came back with a child and tells them that she will sleep with them if they kill the child. The angels said, "We won't do this." The woman who came back for the third time with some wine, made them drink it and had them do whatever she wants. Upon this occurrence, the God asked the angels whether they want to be punished on the earth or on the other world. They preferred to be punished on the earth. Thus they were hanged in a pit from their legs and taught people magic and witchcraft in that position. The woman named Zohra went up to heaven and became a star.

Thus, God proved to men that angels also behave like them on the earth. There is another variation of this story.

For the same reason, the angels Hārūt and Mārūt are selected and sent to Babel by God. They lived on the earth during the daytime and went up to heaven praying to Allāh. One day a very beautiful woman named Zohra applied to these angels to divorce her husband. Upon seeing this beautiful woman, they fell in love with her and wanted to sleep with her right away. The woman said that she would agree if they would drink wine and worship idols. They did what she asked, but the woman still refused to sleep with them. Instead, she told them she would sleep with them if they would teach her the proper prayer that would enable her to go up to the heavens. And as soon as she learned the prayer, she went up to the sky without having slept with them. God made a star out of her and the angels were hung in a well upside-down and suffered for their sins.

In this story there are three characters: Hārūt, Mārūt, and a very beautiful woman named Zohra. This is the name for Venus in Arabic. Inanna also represents Venus and is very beautiful. The gods Dumuzi and Enkimdu fell in love with Inanna just as the angels Hārūt and Mārūt had with Zohra. Inanna, then, corresponds to Zohra, and Hārūt and Mārūt to Dumuzi and Enkimdu. The fact that they were punished in Babel points to the possible source of the myth.

Interpreters of the Qur'ān suggest that there is no harm in learning about the science of magic and witchcraft on the condition that it will not be used for evil purposes and that one will continue believing in God.

*Abraham-Sarah and the Sumerian Sacred Marriage Myth*

The story of Abraham, who is accepted as a forefather by Jews, Christians, and Moslems alike, and his family also presents interesting characters in the Old Testament and Qur'an. In various sources I tried to find answers to issues that seemed very interesting to me.<sup>8</sup> Why did Abraham introduce his wife as his sister in Egypt? Why did god punish Pharaoh and not Abraham, even though Abraham had lied to Pharaoh? Why did the king give Abraham gifts? Why did Abraham's cousin Lot become rich together with him?

No answers were found in any of the sources I had. But when I read *The Message of the Scroll* by Yigael Yadin (New York, 1962, p. 145f.), where some of the Qur'an documents are discussed, I saw a new possibility, that this material is connected also to the Sumerian Sacred Marriage myth.

In the Genesis Apocrypha, discussed by Yadin, Sarah's beauty is described. Her hands, fingers, palms, legs, and hips are very beautiful; so lovely that the beauty of all the girls and brides cannot compare to hers. She is also a very smart woman. In the second part, the king of Egypt, upon hearing of her beauty, summons her to the palace and takes her as his wife. To save Abraham's life, Sarah tells the king that Abraham is her brother (whereas, in the Old Testament, Abraham says that his wife is his sister). Abraham is very happy that his wife told this lie but unhappy that she has been taken to the palace. Tearfully, he prays to God that the king will not sleep with his wife. Indeed, God sets plagues upon the king's palace with various disasters as described in the Old Testament. Two years later, the king finds out that Abraham's wife is responsible for all these troubles, and sends her into exile, accompanied by a concubine, and provides her with linen clothes, cattle, gold, and silver. In the meantime, Lot becomes very rich.

In the passage preceding this account, Abraham tells his wife about a dream he had on the night they had arrived in Egypt. In this dream, men come to cut down and uproot a cedar tree that is standing next to a date palm. The palm tree entreats them not to cut the cedar. Thus the cedar is saved. I understand the following fragmentary portion as follows: Sarah interprets this dream, saying: "They will look for you to kill you; they will set me free. I should tell them 'He is my brother.' I shall live for you; my soul will save you."<sup>9\*</sup>

8. Muazzez İlmiye Çığ, İbrahim Peygamber, Sumer yazılarına ve Arkeolojik buluntulara Göre. İstanbul, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004.

9\*. [Eds.—F.G. Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Brill, 1997) translate this fragmentary portion as follows: "[and I told her the interpretation] of th[is] dream. [I] sai[d:]...they want to kill me and leave you alone. This favor [o]nly [must you do for me]: in every place [we reach, say] about me: He

This part reminds me of Dumuzi's dream.<sup>10</sup> After Dumuzi escaped from under the earth, he had a dream in the meadow. In his dream, one of the two reed sticks is being uprooted. He related this dream to his sister Geshtinanna, the dream interpreter. She told him in great sorrow that he will be taken to the Underworld again and that she will remain upon the earth. Indeed, Dumuzi is taken to the Underworld again. However, his sister does not want him to remain there all the time and, before the gods, she accepts to stay in the Underworld for half a year in place of her brother. Thus the punishment to stay in the Underworld is split between brother and sister.

In my opinion, the similarities between the story of Sarah and the Sacred Marriage fertility cult are as follows:

- Both Sarah and the goddess Inanna are beautiful and wise women.
- Abraham dreams that one of the two trees was intended to be uprooted and Dumuzi dreams that one of the two bamboo sticks is uprooted.
- Abraham's dream is interpreted by his wife Sarah, and is told that he will be killed and she will be saved. Dumuzi's dream is interpreted by his sister, who tells him that he will be taken to the Underworld and that she will remain alive.
- Sarah says that her husband is her brother and goes to the palace to stay there for a while, sacrificing herself to save her "brother." Dumuzi's sister goes to the Underworld in her brother, Dumuzi's, place.
- In the Sacred Marriage Rite a priestess marries the king, just as Sarah, a respectable woman, marries Pharaoh.
- Fertility is enjoyed in the land of Sumer and people become rich following the consummation of the Sacred Marriage. When the marriage of Sarah and Pharaoh came to an end, Abraham and even his cousin Lot receive clothes, cattle, lots of gold, and silver in way of presents from the king. Thus prosperity comes due to marriage.

Thus, I believe there is great similarity between the Sumerian myth and this story. Furthermore, according to the Qur'an, Abraham did not lie when presenting his wife as his sister, as is written in the Old Testament. Rather, his wife presents Abraham as her "brother."

is my brother. And I shall live under your protection and my life will be spared because of you."]

10. Bendt Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* (Copenhagen, 1972), 57.

In my opinion, the questions in this story, discussed by many scholars of the Old Testament, can be answered. This issue is not handled in the Qur'an, and Hārūt and Mārūt are not discussed in the Old Testament. But they do exist in the poetry of both religions in one way or another.

Turning for a moment to the New Testament, the execution of Jesus with torture and the expectation of resurrection, and the fact that Mary is described as the ruler of the heavens, helper of warriors, and mother of those who suffer also reminds me of Dumuzi and Inanna.

This issue is mentioned in different versions in the *Thousand and One Nights*, in the story of Bediülcemal and Seyfülmeluk written in the sixteenth century by a Jagatai poet.<sup>11</sup> The story is as follows in the latter:

Seyfülmelik, son of the king of Egypt, falls in love with Bediülcemal, daughter of the king of the fairies living in the Babylon Rose Gardens. His efforts to win this girl and the powers she gives him after they are married reflect the story of Inanna and Dumuzi, the story of the Sacred Marriage. The king's son becomes the godly groom and brings prosperity, fertility, and happiness to the lands he rules.

It is customary for the people of Anatolia to go out to the countryside—and even to cemeteries—on May 6. This tradition may also be connected to the story of Inanna and Dumuzi. It is believed that the prophets Hizir and İlyas get together on that day and bring fertility to the land. Also, two stars are said to be joined together that night in the sky and those who can see this event get whatever they wish.

The fact that there are traces of Sumerian culture and mythology in various folk-tales and traditions in the holy books, which are believed to be dictated by God—although they are historically placed centuries apart from each other—shows how strong and dominant Sumerian culture was and how it influenced other Near Eastern cultures.

11. Gonül Tekin, *Seyfülmeluk ve Bediülcemal Hikayesinde Eski Yakın Doğu Kültüründen kalma unsurlar hakkında*, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Türk Bilgisi Araştırmaları (Massachusetts, 1985), 277–300.



## TWO MISUNDERSTOOD VERSES IN THE LATTER PROPHETS: JER 9:24, AMOS 1:13\*

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THERE IS NO THEMATIC CONNECTION whatsoever between the two verses to be discussed in this paper, Jer 9:24 and Amos 1:13.<sup>1</sup> They have been placed together here because their respective philological problems may each be solved (in my opinion) only through a proper evaluation of the semantic evidence (including the granting of clear priority to that evidence) found in the immediate and wider contexts of the two verses themselves and other related verses.<sup>2</sup> One difference between the two cases is that in the first, almost all the evidence is from Biblical Hebrew (BH), whereas in the second, important semantic evidence will be presented also from Akkadian.

### JER 9:24

This verse is a well-known crux. A mere perusal of some of the most respected translations is a clear indication that modern scholarship does not quite know what to do with this verse. In verse 25 (verses 24–25 make up

\* It is my great pleasure to offer this paper as part of the present Jubilee Volume in honor of my dear friend and colleague Ya'aqov (Jacob) Klein, one of the world's foremost Sumerologists, but also a ranking scholar in the area of Biblical Hebrew philology and Biblical Hebrew - Akkadian comparisons, the two concerns of the present contribution. This paper has been presented (in a somewhat abbreviated form) at the SBL International Meeting, Rome, July 11, 2001; Thirteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, Aug. 13, 2001; and The Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, March 19, 2002.

1. For my similar paper on two unconnected verses in the Book of Proverbs, see C. Cohen, "Two Misunderstood Verses in the Book of Proverbs (3:9; 6:30)," *Shnaton* 11 (1997): 139–52 [in Hebrew].
2. The method utilized here is "the Held Method," for which see C. Cohen, *Contextual Priority in Biblical Hebrew Philology*, *Vetus Testamentum Supplements* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, forthcoming).

the wider context), on the other hand, there are no unusual philological difficulties (other than the identification of the people designated as כל-כל-קצוצי פאה הישבים במדבר "all the desert dwellers who have the hair of their temples clipped,"<sup>3</sup> which has no direct bearing on the understanding of the previous verse). The following are four of the most widely quoted translations of Jer 9:24 together with the generally accepted translation of Jer 9:25:<sup>4</sup>

## Verse 24

הנה ימים באים נאם ה' ופקדתי על-כל-מול בערלה

"Lo, days are coming—declares the Lord—"

RSV: "when I will punish all those who are circumcised but yet uncircumcised—"

NEB: "when I will punish all the circumcised,"

NJPSV: "when I will take note of everyone circumcised in the foreskin:"

NRSV: "when I will attend to all those who are circumcised only in the foreskin:"

## Verse 25

על מצרים ועל יהודה ועל אדום ועל בני עמון ועל מואב ועל כל-קצוצי פאה הישבים במדבר כי כל-הגוים ערלים וכל-בית ישראל ערלי לב

of Egypt, Judah, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, and all the desert dwellers who have the hair of their temples clipped. For all those nations are uncircumcised, but all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart.

The state of modern research concerning the inherent philological difficulties of Jer 9:24 has been aptly summarized by W.L. Holladay as follows:<sup>5</sup>

As to the meaning of the passage, one hardly knows whether it is badly framed and/or badly preserved, or whether it is making a subtle and

3. On this expression (which occurs also in Jer 25:23 and 49:32, and is apparently a typological epithet of some sort referring to various Arab nomadic tribes living in the desert), see especially the following commentaries and the bibliography cited therein: J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1980), 322; W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 319; W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah I-XXV*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 215; J.R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 574. Note also I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem and Leiden: Magnes Press and E.J. Brill, 1982), 11 (with reference to the three aforementioned passages in Jeremiah): "The Arab custom of cutting the hair in a circle with the temple shaved is also known from Herodotus III 8."
4. The translation of Jer 9:25 is taken from NJPSV.
5. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 319.

ironic point, or both. Certainly what has been transmitted is far from easy to follow.

None of the commentaries on Jeremiah written since 1980 provides any new insight regarding the understanding of this verse, nor any innovative translation differing significantly from the four quoted above.<sup>6</sup> As will be discussed below, even the recent valiant effort by R.C. Steiner cannot truly be considered a new innovative approach, but rather a most elegant attempt to make some sense of the aforementioned impossible situation.<sup>7</sup> The same may be said (see also below) of the most recent attempt by Y. Hoffman in his brand new Jeremiah commentary in the *מקרא לישראל* series.<sup>8</sup>

The key to a proper understanding of Jer 9:24b is a proper appreciation of the very clear evidence provided by verse 25 in the wider context. While the immediate context of verse 24 clearly informs us that the background to this prophecy is that of the future (הנה ימים באים "Lo, days are coming") and that the main subject is circumcision (use of the technical terminology of the verb מרל "circumcise" and ערלה "foreskin"), it is methodologically inappropriate to attempt to draw any further initial semantic conclusions based on the phrase מול בערלה because that phrase is the philological crux in this verse and it must therefore be considered as the unknown (X) until all clear semantic evidence has been gathered and evaluated. In fact, the most important evidence is based on the clear structural relationship between verses 24 and 25, whereby verse 25 provides not only the detailed list of the nations to which the circumcision refers, but also the rationale (כי) for whatever is being said about the circumcision of these nations in verse 24. In other words, the phrase מול בערלה (X) must somehow correlate with the rationale כי כל-הגוים ערלים וכל-בית ישראל ערלי לב "For all these nations are uncircumcised, while all the House of Israel are uncircumcised of heart." This rationale can only be understood (cf. already LXX, Targum Yonatan, Peshitta, and Vulgate) if ערלים (referring to the other nations) means literally "(physically) uncircumcised," while ערלי לב

6. Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 321-22; M. Beula, *The Book of Jeremiah, Da'at Miqra'* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1983), 130-31 [in Hebrew]; Y. Hoffman, "כל מול בערלה," *Encyclopaedia 'Olam Ha-Tanakh - Jeremiah* (Ramat-Gan: Revivim, 1983), 68 [in Hebrew]; R.P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, OTL (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), 249-52; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 319-20; McKane, *Jeremiah I-XXV*, 213-15; P.C. Craigie, P.H. Kelley, and J.F. Drinkard, Jr., *Jeremiah 1-25*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 152-54; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 573-75.
7. R.C. Steiner, "Incomplete Circumcision in Egypt and Edom: Jeremiah (9:24-25) in the Light of Josephus and Jonckheere," *JBL* 118 (1999): 497-505.
8. Y. Hoffman, *Jeremiah*, *מקרא לישראל* (Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem: Am Oved, Magnes, 2001), 291 [in Hebrew].



(referring to the House of Israel, i.e., Judah) means metaphorically “(spiritually) uncircumcised of heart,” i.e., “their minds are blocked to God’s commandments.”<sup>9</sup> This meaning is evidenced especially by the parallelism in Deut 10:16: *וּמְלַחֵם אֶת עַרְלַת לִבְבְּכֶם // וְעִרְפְּכֶם לֹא תִקְשׁוּ עוֹד*: “Circumcise, then, the foreskin about your hearts // and stiffen your necks no more.” Here, “stiffening of the neck” underlies the common Biblical Hebrew idiom *עַרְף קָשָׁה עָרַף* “a stiff-necked people” with the same meaning.<sup>10</sup> This same figurative usage of the technical verb *מָוַל* “circumcise”<sup>11</sup> is also found in Deut 30:6 as follows: *וּמַל ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת-לִבְבְּךָ וְאֶת-לִבְבֵי יְרֵעֶךָ*: “Then the Lord your God will circumcise your heart and the hearts of your offspring to love the Lord your God with all your heart and soul, in order that you may live.” It is most significant that outside the Torah, this Deuteronomistic metaphoric usage of figurative circumcision for the hearts of the spiritually uncircumcised occurs (besides Jer 9:24–25) only in Jer 4:4 as follows: *הַמְלוֹ לָהּ וְהִסְרוּ ... עֲרְלוֹת לִבְבְּכֶם אִישׁ יְהוּרָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם* ... “Become circumcised for the Lord and remove the foreskins about your hearts, O men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem ....”<sup>12</sup> As will be explained presently, it is here contended

9. NJPSV, 790 (note c-c to Jer 9:25).

10. For this idiom, see Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13. Compare also Deut 10:16 (see in the text above); 31:27; 2 Kgs 17:14; Isa 48:4; Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; 2 Chr 30:8; 36:13.

11. As opposed to the regular, literal usage in passages such as Gen 34:14–15.

12. See especially M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 359 (#5). Note that this metaphorical usage of *עָרַל* “uncircumcised” is attested elsewhere referring to both the hearts and ears of disobedient Israelites and Judaeans (or at least resident aliens), but without the concomitant metaphorical usage of the technical verb *מָוַל* “circumcise”: Lev 26:41; Jer 6:10; Ezek 44:7, 9. As regards Jer 6:10, this is the only case where this metaphorical usage is applied to the ears. There is no doubt that it refers to the refusal to “listen” (*שָׁמַע*) to God’s commandments, as is often the parallel indictment to that of being “stiff-necked”: 2 Kgs 17:14; Jer 19:15; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; and especially Jer 7:26; 17:23. As regards Ezek 44:7, 9, this rather difficult passage (44:6–16) is best understood as referring to the abomination of admitting non-Israelite resident aliens (see *בני נכר* - verse 7) as part of the Temple personnel dealing with food-offerings (in direct violation of Lev 22:25). See, e.g., G.A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936), 479–80; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 453–54; L.C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 260–61; D.I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel - Chapters 25–48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 621–24. These resident aliens are described (Ezek 44:7, 9) as both spiritually *עָרַל לֵב* “uncircumcised of heart” (i.e., in this case not subject to God’s covenant with Israel and, therefore, not subject to His commandments) and physically *בֶּשֶׂר* “uncircumcised of flesh.” This distinction is somewhat similar to that in Jer 9:24–25 and will be discussed in the following note. Finally, note that the reference to Moses’

that like Jer 4:4, Jer 9:24–25 is (in part) based on the same aforementioned commandment in Deut 10:16.

Now, before proceeding to the new interpretation of the phrase *מָוַל בְּעֲרָלָה* (X) being suggested here, it is important to first summarize what has been learned from the semantic evidence presented up to this point. It must be emphasized that according to Jer 9:25, all the nations being discussed are uncircumcised: *כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם* are *physically* uncircumcised, whereas *יִשְׂרָאֵל* is *spiritually* uncircumcised.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the phrase *מָוַל בְּעֲרָלָה* (X) cannot be understood as “the circumcised,” “circumcised in the foreskin,” “circumcised only in the foreskin,” “circumcised, but yet uncircumcised” (the four translations quoted above), or “circumcised person possessing a foreskin” (Rashi’s interpretation as modified by A.B. Ehrlich and accepted by Steiner).<sup>14</sup> The following statement by Lundbom must be turned on its head: “The phrase [*מָוַל בְּעֲרָלָה* - C. C.] must mean ‘the circumcised’ regardless of the interpretation given to v. 25b [26b].”<sup>15</sup> It is rather v. 25b that clearly implies that all the nations being discussed are uncircumcised, regardless of the interpretation given to the crux *מָוַל בְּעֲרָלָה*. This is also the main reason why Steiner’s elegant attempt must likewise be rejected. Right at the outset, he claims as follows:<sup>16</sup>

uncircumcised lips in Exod 6:12, 30 (parallel to *לִשׁוֹן כִּבְדָה וְכֹבֵד לִשׁוֹן* “heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue” in Exod 4:10) represents a completely different technical medical usage (involving a speech impediment), for which see J. Tigay, “Heavy of Mouth’ and ‘Heavy of Tongue’: On Moses’ Speech Difficulty,” BASOR 231 (1978): 57–67; see also more recently C. Houtman, *Exodus*, Volume 1, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1993), 506–7; W.H.C. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 273–74. As opposed to Houtman, Propp, and some other scholars, the aforementioned parallel technical medical terminology in Exod 4:10 should be considered conclusive semantic evidence for determining the technical medical nature of the phrase *עָרַל שְׂפָתַיִם* (Exod 6:12,30) as well.

13. The precedent for referring distinctly in a single context to both the “physically uncircumcised” (Jer 9:25: *עָרְלִים*) and the “spiritually uncircumcised” (Jer 9:25: *עָרְלֵי לֵב*) is Ezek 44:7, 9 (see the previous note). In the latter two verses (which refer to the resident aliens among the Judaeans as both “physically” and “spiritually” uncircumcised), the identical idiom *עָרְלֵי לֵב* is used for the latter, whereas *עָרְלֵי בֶּשֶׂר* “uncircumcised of flesh” is used for the former. Here it must be emphasized that this is also the exact meaning of the term *עָרְלִים* in Jer 9:25 as already demonstrated above. Cf. especially Targum Yonatan’s rendering there of *עָרְלִים* and *עָרְלֵי לֵב* as *עָרְלִין בְּבִסְרוֹתָן* and *עָרְלִין בְּלִיבָהוֹן* respectively. Cf. also the similar renderings of LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate. Contrast the gratuitous emendation suggested in BHS, 802, n. 25a (emending *עָרְלִים* “probably” to *וְהָאֵלֶּה*!).
14. A. B. Ehrlich, *מקרא כפשוטו*, Vol. 3 (Reprint; New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1969), 195 [in Hebrew]; Steiner, “Incomplete Circumcision,” 500–5.
15. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 573.
16. Steiner, “Incomplete Circumcision,” 497–98.

But even if we accept the translation [מול בערלה "circumcised in the foreskin" - C. C.] as accurate, we still cannot give an answer to the most elementary question: Does the passage say that the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Arabs were circumcised or uncircumcised? The first sentence of the translation gives one answer, while the second gives another.

In view of the above evidence, the only methodologically acceptable answer to this fundamental question is that the phrase מול בערלה is the crux, while what is written in verse 25 is completely clear, indicating that the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Arabs (namely כל-הגוים) were (physically) "uncircumcised," whereas Judah (namely בית ישראל) was (spiritually) "uncircumcised of heart." Therefore, any interpretation of מול בערלה (like that of Steiner) that is not completely consistent with this basic understanding of verse 25 can only be rejected.

Such is also the case with Hoffman's most recent attempt.<sup>17</sup> Although Hoffman did consider the context of verse 25 in his attempt to understand the phrase מול בערלה in that he realized that verse 24 must be addressing both the גוים and Israel, he did not draw the concomitant conclusion that verse 25 is, in fact, explaining why the previous verse is addressing both the גוים and Israel as uncircumcised. Therefore, it is impossible to understand the term מול in verse 24 as referring to the circumcised people of Israel ("ישראל הנימולים"). This major problem with his interpretation is in addition to the questionable syntactical assumption that כל- in verse 24 refers to two different objects and the fact that no reason is stated as to why the גוים are being punished for not being circumcised!

According to the new interpretation of Jer 9:24b proposed here, Jer 9:24–25 should be read and translated as follows:<sup>18</sup>

הנה ימים באים נאם ה' ופקדתי על-כל מול בערלה:  
 על מצרים ועל יהודה ועל אדום ועל בני עמון ועל מואב ועל כל-קצוצי  
 פאה הישבים במדבר כי כל-הגוים ערלים וכל-בית ישראל ערלי לב:

Lo, days are coming—declares the Lord—when I will command everyone:  
 "Circumcise with respect to the foreskin!" [or as an infinitive construct without the previous colon - to circumcise with respect to the foreskin]<sup>19</sup>—Egypt,

17. Hoffman, *Jeremiah*, 291.

18. The only (insignificant) altering of the Hebrew MT is with respect to the word קל- (with *maqef* and without its own trop), which must be changed to כל (without *maqef* and with its own trop, probably שפחה, on the two-word unit על-כל, with the trop מרכא on the two words מול and ופקדתי. See the detailed semantic discussion concerning this word further on in the present study.

19. My original suggestion was indeed to translate מול as an ms. imperative "circumcise!" (see below). On March 19, 2002, during the discussion following my oral presentation of this paper at the Advanced Studies Institute of the Hebrew

Judah, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, and all the desert dwellers who have the hair of their temples clipped. For all those nations are (physically) uncircumcised, while all the House of Israel are (spiritually) uncircumcised of heart.

This new interpretation is completely consistent with the basic understanding of Jer 9:25 as discussed above and is based on the following internal philological evidence:

University in Jerusalem, Profs. Randall Buth and Jan Joosten both suggested (independently) the possibility that the form מול might be analyzed best as an infinitive construct rather than as a ms. imperative (i.e., ל'מול = "to circumcise"). Prof. Joosten added that in his opinion an imperative form in this context would require a direct speech marker such as לאמר "saying." After investigating this suggestion, my conclusion is that an infinitive construct form fits this context as well as an imperative and should be considered an equally likely possibility. The regular infinitive construct form ל'מול could certainly be shortened to מול, given the accusative syntactical function of the phrase מול בערלה in this context (there are no attested apocopated forms when the given phrase is in the nominative); see e.g., P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Subsidia Biblica (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991), 433 (n.1 to §124b and §124c). For other such cases of an apocopated infinitive construct in an accusative position, cf., e.g., Gen 24:50 (וימאן אדום נחן את-ישראל עבר בגבלו); Num 20:21 (לא נוכל דבר אליך רע או טוב); also Num 21:23; 1 Kgs 3:7 (לא ארע צאה ובה); 2 Kgs 16:15; Jer 7:23; 11:4–5; 32:13–14; 35:6–7; 36:5–7; 38:10; Amos 2:12; all together with the preceding verb צו "command," which, as will be shown forthwith has the same meaning of פקד "command" in the present context). [For a discussion concerning this as well as other syntactic structures including the verb צו, see especially E. Rubenstein, *Syntax and Semantics* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1998), 197–202 (in Hebrew).] Nevertheless, there are many exceptions to this rule (i.e., without לאמר) in similar contexts, which certainly allow for this less common usage in Jer 9:24b as well. See, e.g., Gen 27:8–10; Jos 1:9; Judg 4:6. Therefore, it is suggested here that the form מול in Jer 9:24 be understood either as an ms. imperative form, translating "circumcise!" (albeit in a less common syntactic usage without the direct speech marker לאמר "saying"), or as an apocopated infinitive absolute, translating "to circumcise" (= ל'מול). Note finally that there are several cases where verses (or at least complete phrases) appear with both forms: e.g., Gen 3:17 with imperative (לא האכל ממונו) vs. Gen 3:11 with infinitive construct (לבבלתי אקל-ממונו); Jer 35:6–7 with imperative (לבבלתי שחות...) vs. Jer 35:8–9 with infinitive construct (לא חשהו... לא חבנו...); Jer 36:5–7 with imperative (ויקראה) vs. Jer 36:8 with infinitive construct (לקרא).

(1a) *Precedents for the Meaning of פקד "command" in this Context*<sup>20</sup>

Ezra 1:2 = 2 Chr 36:23:

כה אמר כרש מלך פרס כל ממלכות הארץ נתן לי ה'  
אלה השמים והוא פקד עלי לבנות לו בית בירושלם אשר ביהודה:

Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: "The Lord God of Heaven has given me all the kingdoms of the earth and has commanded me to build Him a Temple in Jerusalem, which is in Judah.

(1b) *Precedents for the Meaning of כל "everyone" in this Context*<sup>21</sup>

Num 13:2: ... כל נשיא בהם:

... each one, a chieftain among them.

Jer 44:12: ... ותמו כל בארץ מצרים ...

... and everyone will perish in the land of Egypt ...<sup>22</sup>

20. Compare also (possibly) this same verbal usage in Num 4:27, 49 and (much more certainly) the similar usage of the plural substantive פקודים\* (Divine) commands" Ps 19:9; 103:18; 111:7; 119:21 times). For these usages, see, e.g., G. André, *Determining the Destiny - פקד in the Old Testament*, ConBOT 16 (Uppsala: CWK Gleerup, 1980), 36, 132, 172-73, 209-10; HALOT, 956, 959; W. Schottroff, "פקד," in E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1997), 1018-31 (esp. 1019-20, 1022-23, 1030). The same usage also occurs in the Ugaritic *Epic of King Kirta* for the Ugaritic verb *pqd* "give an order" (KTU<sup>2</sup> 1.16:6:14). See already H.L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret*, BASORSup (New Haven: ASOR, 1946), 31, 48; and most recently E. Greenstein, "Kirta," in S.B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, SBLWAW (SBL: Scholars Press, 1997), 40; D. Pardee, "The Kirta Epic," in W.W. Hallo et al., eds., *The Context of Scripture 1* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 342; N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, The Biblical Seminar (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 238; G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003), 677. Note finally that the syntactic structure of Ezra 1:2 = 2 Chr 36:23 is the same as Jer 9:24 if we understand the form מויל as an apocopated infinitive construct (= לְמוֹיל "to circumcise"). See the alternative translation (within the brackets) to the translation of Jer 9:24 proposed above and especially the previous note.

21. Cf. also Dan 11:37. Note finally my recent discussion of Hos 14:3, where a similar usage of כל "everyone" was likewise misunderstood in the MT (there too כל with *maqef* and without its own trop must be changed to כל without *maqef* and with its own trop; see n. 18 above). See C. Cohen, "The Enclitic-*mem* in Biblical Hebrew: Its Existence and Initial Discovery," in C. Cohen et al., eds., *Sefer Moshe - The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 253-54, n. 74. I hereby thank Alexsai Yuditzy, now a doctoral student in the Hebrew Language Department at Ben-Gurion University, for providing me with a copy of his unpublished seminar paper entitled "The Syntactical Structure of the Independent Substantive כל in the Dead Sea Scrolls" [in Hebrew]. This paper demonstrates conclusively to what extent this BH usage of כל continues on and is even further developed in Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew.

22. For the meaning of כל in this phrase, compare the parallel phrase in Jer 44:27 in the

Zeph 1:2-3: אסף אסף כל מעל פני האדמה נאם ה':  
אסף אדם ובהמה אסף עוף השמים ודגי הים ...

I will surely sweep away<sup>23</sup> everything from the face of the earth, declares the Lord. I will sweep away man and beast; I will sweep away the birds of the sky and the fish of the sea ...

Ps 8:7-9: תמשילהו במעשי ידיך כל שתה תחת רגליו:  
צנה ואלפים כלם וגם בהמות שרי:  
צפור שמים ודגי הים עבר ארחות ימים:

You have made him (man) master over Your creations, You have placed everything at his feet: All the sheep and oxen, and the wild beasts as well; The birds of the heavens, the fish of the sea, Whatever travels the paths of the seas.

Ps 145:15: עיני כל אליך ישברו ...

The eyes of everyone look to You expectantly ...

(1c) *Various Qal Imperative Forms of the Verb מול in Both Literal and Figurative Usages*<sup>24</sup>

Josh 5:2 (lit.): בעת ההיא אמר ה' אל יהושע עשה לך חרבות צרים  
ושוב מל את-בני ישראל שנית:

At that time the Lord said to Joshua: "Make flint knives and again circumcise<sup>25</sup> the Israelites for a second time!"

same wider context: ... ותמו כל-איש יהודה אשר בארץ מצרים ... "and all the Judaeans in the land of Egypt will perish...."

23. For this understanding of the phrase אסף אסף "I will surely sweep away," without recourse to "complicated emendations of the MT in order to force both words into the same root," see most recently A. Berlin, *Zephaniah*, AB (New York, 1994), 72. After bringing the important precedents from Jer 8:13 and Hos 4:3 (I would add the *qal* form of סוף in Isa 66:17) to show that both verbal roots "come to an end, expire" (here obviously in the *hiph'il*-construction) and אסף "gather," indeed, fit the present context of Divine punitive destruction, Berlin suggests either "that on occasion one may find an infinitive absolute plus finite verb from two different but related roots" (here she compares Jer 8:13 and Isa 28:28), "or, alternatively, one may note that some defective roots occur in alternate forms: e.g., ישב and שוב; יסר and אסר." Here, too, the comparison with Jer 8:13 is most appropriate. See most recently the detailed commentary in Lundbom, *Jeremiah*, 523.

24. Compare also the figurative usage of the *niph'al* imperative in Jer 4:4 (quoted above).

25. The form מול may be analyzed either as the *qal* infinitive absolute form of the root מול used as imperative, or as the *qal* imperative form of a secondary root מולל (as suggested, e.g., in HALOT, 594). For the latter possibility, see also n. 23 above (second possibility).

Deut 10:16 (fig.): ומלתם את ערלת לבבכם וערפכם לא תקשו עוד:

Circumcise, then, the foreskin about your hearts,  
And stiffen your necks no more!

Here it may be added that the prefixed *ב-* in the term *בערלה* is best taken as introducing an adverbial clause "Circumcise / to circumcise with respect to the foreskin" as in such cases as *קל ברגליו* "swift of foot" [i.e., swift with respect to his feet] (2 Sam 2:18; Amos 2:15; for additional cases, cf., e.g., DCH 2, 85: meaning 12). It was apparently deemed appropriate to emphasize the word *ערלה* in verse 24 because of the word play in verse 25 between *ערלים* "(physically) uncircumcised" and *ערלי לב* "(spiritually) uncircumcised of heart" and because of the fact that having an *ערלה* "foreskin" was the connecting factor between them.

In conclusion to this part of the present study, let me simply paraphrase the meaning of Jer 9:24–25 according to the new interpretation suggested here: In the (messianic) future, God will require all peoples to undergo circumcision with respect to the foreskin (*ערלה*). Those (other than the House of Israel) who are physically uncircumcised (*ערלים*) will literally undergo circumcision, while the House of Israel (i.e., Judah), the spiritually uncircumcised of heart (*ערלי לב*), will metaphorically undergo circumcision and thus will (from then on) be loyal to God's covenant and perform all His commandments.

A major implication of this interpretation is that the nations listed in Jer 9:25 (other than Judah) who are labeled *ערלים* "uncircumcised" are, indeed, physically uncircumcised. Therefore, under no circumstances should Jer 9:25 be used as evidence for circumcision outside of Israel during the Biblical period. On the contrary, this verse may indeed imply that its author was of the opinion that, aside from Judah, none of the other nations in the contemporary ancient Near East was physically circumcised, and that only in the future (perhaps at the coming of the Messiah) will God require them to become circumcised as well. It is thus completely appropriate that one of the most widely quoted papers on ancient Near Eastern circumcision makes no mention whatsoever of Jer 9:24–25.<sup>26</sup>

26. J.M. Sasson, "Circumcision in the Ancient Near East," *JBL* 85 (1966): 473–76.

### AMOS 1:13

As opposed to most recent commentaries on Amos,<sup>27</sup> it is here contended that the primary meaning of the phrase *ההרז הגלעד* is, in fact, "the mountains of Gilead" [= *הרי הגלעד*] rather than the usually accepted meaning "the pregnant women of Gilead," especially in light of the continuation of the verse, *למען הרחיב את גבולם* "in order to enlarge their territory." Although this passage was widely discussed among Jewish medieval commentators (see also below), and some (such as Menachem ben Saruq, Abraham ibn Ezra, Tanchum ben Yosef HaYerushalmi, and especially Rabbenu Tam)<sup>28</sup> even came close to the interpretation suggested here, they were unable to provide decisive evidence to prove their case, because such evidence was not yet available in their day. After discussing the immediate and wider contexts (Amos 1:3–2:3), it will be demonstrated that the key evidence is, in fact, the internal Biblical Hebrew usage of the verb *בקע* together with the equivalent usage of its Akkadian semantic parallel *batāqu*. This semantic equivalence will then be dramatically confirmed by a comparison between the Annals of Sennacherib (OIP 2, 32–33:18–34; cf. 28–29:23–32) with respect to the conquest of the forty-six Judaeen cities in 701 B.C.E. (*abtuqma*) and the words attributed to Sennacherib regarding the same event in 2 Chr 32:1 (*ויאמר לבקעם אליו*). Although this Akkadian evidence has been available for more than 140 years (since the publication of the Taylor Prism of Sennacherib's annals in 1861), it has hitherto remained unnoticed by biblical scholars, presumably because the comparison between the two verbs is not an etymological one, but is rather based on semantic equivalence alone.<sup>29</sup>

As regards the wider context of Amos 1:3–2:3, it must first be emphasized (against many modern commentaries [see below]) that not in all cases are the sins mentioned *particularly cruel*. In the cases of Gaza (1:6) and Tyre (1:9), the crime is the exiling or delivery of entire populations to Edom—in the case of Tyre the text adds that this was done while "ignoring the covenant of brotherhood." Now such crimes may surely be deemed reprehensible, but is it correct to label them as *particularly cruel*? Many

27. See especially the following: F.I. Anderson and D.N. Freedman, *Amos*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 281; S.M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 68 (especially n. 238); idem, *Amos*, Mikra LeYisra'el (Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem: Am Oved Publishers and the Magnes Press, 1994), 42 [in Hebrew]; M. Weiss, *The Book of Amos* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1992), Volume 1: 39–40; Volume 2: 62–63, notes 448–60.

28. See especially the comprehensive review of the various approaches (both modern and medieval) in Weiss, *The Book of Amos*, Volume 2: 63, n. 460 and see below.

29. Such semantic comparisons are in complete accord with "the Held Method," for which see n. 2 above. See also n. 43 below.

commentators claim that the cruelty here lies in the fact that these exiled populations were sold into slavery and they compare such verses as Joel 4:6 and Esth 7:4, but there is no hint of enslavement of populations in Amos 1:6, 9. Therefore, it cannot be said<sup>30</sup> that in all other cases the cruelty of the crime is emphasized and thus only the ripping open of pregnant women fits the wider context. In fact, of the five nations mentioned in this wider context (not including the present case of the Ammonites), only in three cases is cruelty emphasized (1:3, 11; 2:1), whereas in the remaining two (for which the crimes are more geo-political in nature) cruelty is nowhere specified.

As regards the immediate context of Amos 1:13: על בקעם הרות הגלעד, it would, at first, certainly seem that there must be a clear connection between Amos 1:13 and the three verses below, which refer specifically to “the ripping apart of pregnant women” (where both the verb בקע “rip apart, physically mutilate” and the substantive הרות “pregnant women” are present in each verse):

(2a) *Three Clear Contexts Referring to “Ripping Apart of Pregnant Women”*<sup>31</sup>

2 Kgs 8:12: ויאמר חזאל מדוע אדני בכה ויאמר כי ידעתו את אשר תעשה לבני ישראל דעה מבצריהם תשלח באש ובחריהם בחרב תהרג ועלליהם תרשש והרתייהם תבקע:

“Why does my lord weep?” asked Haza’el. “Because I know what harm you will do to the Israelite people: you will set their fortresses on fire, put their young men to the sword, dash their little ones in pieces, and rip apart their pregnant women.”

2 Kgs 15:16: אז יכה מנחם את תפסח ואת כל-אשר בה ואת גבוליה מתרצה כי לא פתחהו ויכהו ואת-וכל-הרותיהו בקע:  
(MT has at end of verse: בקע-ההרותיהו בקע)<sup>32</sup>

At that time, Menahem attacked Tifsah, all its inhabitants, and its border areas from Tirsah, because it did not surrender. He smote it and ripped apart all its pregnant women.

30. See, e.g., Weiss, *The Book of Amos*, Volume 2: 63, n. 460.

31. Note the Akkadian contextual parallel from a Middle Assyrian text (LKA 62) cited by M. Cogan, “Ripping Open Pregnant Women’ in Light of an Assyrian Analogue,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 755–57. Cf. already H.W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheten 2 - Joel, Amos*, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 195; idem, *Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 161. More recently, see Paul, *Amos*, 68. For a more recent discussion of this Akkadian text, including additional convincing literary evidence favoring Tiglat-Pileser I as its subject, see V. Hurowitz and J.G. Westenholz, “LKA 63: A Heroic Poem in Celebration of Tiglat-Pileser I’s Muṣru-Qumanu Campaign,” *JCS* 42 (1990): 46–49 (“Appendix: LKA 62”).

32. The emendations accepted here are all in accordance with BHS, 648, nn. 16cde and M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 169, 171.

Hos 14:1: תאשם שמרון כי מרתה באלהיה בחרב יפלו  
עלליהם ירששו והריותיו יבקעו:

Samaria must bear her guilt, For she has defied her God.  
They shall fall by the sword, Their infants shall be dashed,  
And their pregnant women shall be ripped apart.

There is, however, one very important element in Amos 1:13 that is not present or even alluded to in any of these three other verses, namely the immediately following clause: למען הרחיב את-גבולם “in order to enlarge their territory.” The key philological question here is simply: How does ripping open pregnant women lead *directly* to the enlargement of one’s territory?<sup>33</sup> That we are dealing here with a *direct* rather than an *indirect* connection between these two clauses is clear from the regular Biblical Hebrew usage of the conjunction למען “in order to,” which introduces purpose clauses (often followed, as in the present case, by the infinitive construct form).<sup>34</sup> There is no difference between this usage and that of the prefixed “ל” of purpose,<sup>35</sup> i.e., למען הרחיב את-גבולם = \*להרחיב את-גבולם. Cf., e.g., Gen 37:22: “And Reuben said to them: ‘Shed no blood! Cast him into that pit out in the wilderness, but do not touch him yourselves—למען להציל אתו מידם להשיבו אל אביו in order to save him from them and restore him to his father.’”

The reply to this key philological question, e.g., by M. Weiss,<sup>36</sup> is that the main cruelty here is not indicated by the slaying of pregnant women (whose fetuses are not even mentioned), but rather by *the purpose* of this violence למען הרחיב את-גבולם “in order to enlarge their territory.” This purpose was achieved not by regular combat, not even by the annihilation of populations in their entirety, but by one of the cruelest and most vicious forms of violence—splitting open pregnant women. Now this is a powerful midrash, but it still does not answer the key philological question: How does the ripping apart of pregnant women lead *directly* (למען) to the enlargement of one’s territory? A country can enlarge its territory only by adding land to its borders (in the ancient Near East usually by means of

33. This problem was also acutely recognized in N.H. Tur-Sinai, של מקרא 3/2 (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1967), 453 [in Hebrew]. Tur-Sinai, however, chose to solve the problem by radically emending the MT. Instead of למען הרחיב את גבולם, Tur-Sinai suggests the reading את זרעם השמיד למען! “in order to destroy their progeny.” He further suggests that the MT reading may have originally been the second clause of another unknown verse.

34. On the usage of the conjunction למען, see especially H.A. Brongers, “Die Partikel למען in der biblisch-hebräischen Sprache,” *OTS* 18 (1973): 84–96; and most recently DCH IV, 552–54.

35. See, e.g., DCH IV, 481–82.

36. Weiss, *The Book of Amos*, Volume 1:40.

conquest and annexation; cf., e.g., Exod 34:24). Now, certainly in the course of conquest or in its aftermath atrocities may be committed, but their bearing (למען) on the actual enlargement of the territory is not direct. At most, one may speak of an indirect connection, which would not fit the aforementioned usage of למען. Thus, it seems clear that appropriating a land-area like הרות הגלעד = הרות הגלעד "mountainous area of the Gilead"<sup>37</sup> fits much better contextually with the enlargement of one's territory than does the splitting open of pregnant women. Yet, on the other hand, it is difficult to escape the feeling that there must be some connection between the phrase הרות הגלעד על בקעם הרות הגלעד in Amos 1:13 and the three other aforementioned verses having to do with the splitting open of pregnant women.

The next key philological question that must be asked, and that will in the end lead to a decisive solution, is: Does there exist a Biblical Hebrew usage of the verb לבקע or לבקע that could be used with the land area of הרות הגלעד = הרות הגלעד as a definite object and that would lead directly to the enlargement of the subject's land, i.e., a usage connected to the military conquest and annexation of an enemy's land? In fact, three very clear occurrences of just such a geo-political technical military usage of בקע are extant in Biblical Hebrew with the meaning "sever off land, cut off territory from an enemy's land" as follows:

(2b) *The Geo-Political Technical Military Usage of BH לבקע "sever off land, cut off captured territory from the enemy's land"*<sup>38</sup>

Isa 7:6: נעלה ביהודה ונקיצנה ונבקענה אלינו  
ונמליך מלך בהוכה את בן שבאל:

37. Although the plural construct form הרות "the mountains of" is not extant elsewhere in the MT (in fact, neither is the plural construct form הרות "the pregnant women of"—the only plural occurrences are with pronominal suffixes in 2 Kgs 8:12, 15:16, and Hos 14:1 as quoted in section 2a above), the alternate plural construct forms הרות / הרות (הרות) / הרות "the mountains of" find their precedents in ימי / ימי "the days of" and שני / שני "the years of." Just as the plural construct forms ימות (Deut 32:7; Ps 90:15) and שנות (9 times) are only relatively rarely attested in comparison respectively with the regular forms ימי (236 times) and שני (26 times), so it is not surprising that the form הרות should occur only once in Amos 1:13 in comparison with the 37 occurrences of the regular forms הרות. Finally, it should be noted that while the form הרות "mountains" is not extant in any other ancient Semitic language (as opposed to the many cognates of הרות and שנות in such Northwest-Semitic languages as Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite, and Ugaritic, for which see, e.g., DNWSI, 448, 1170–71; DLU, 447, 527), at least the Akkadian semantic grammatical equivalent *šaduātum* is attested in Old Akkadian alongside the regular masculine plural forms *šadû* and *šadānu* "mountains" (see CAD, Š/1, 49).
38. Note that this specific technical meaning does not seem to ever have been suggested for the root לבקע. It is based primarily on internal BH contextual evidence (as indicated in the text above immediately after the three verses quoted) and on the

We will attack Judah and we will cut it off;<sup>39</sup> and we will sever it over to ourselves and appoint a king in its midst, namely Ben-Tab'al.

semantic equivalence with Akkadian *batāqu*, the general meaning of which (like BH לבקע) is "tear, rip / split apart, cut off / through, cleave." Both *batāqu* and לבקע are generally used, e.g., as follows (the best lexicographical discussion of these usages in BH is still S.E. Loewenstamm and J. Blau, *אויצר לישיין המקרא*, Volume 2 [Jerusalem: The Bible Concordance Press, 1959], 138–40 [in Hebrew and English]; cf. also more recently V.P. Hamilton, "בקע," NIDOTTE 1, 702–4; for the Akkadian usage, cf. especially CAD, B, 161–65): (a) the maiming of limbs (e.g., the belly; for BH, see section (2a) above; for Akkadian, cf., e.g., *Enūma Eliš* IV:101–2: *issuk mulmulla ištepi karassa qerbiša ubattiqa usallit libba* "He [Marduk] shot the arrow, it split open her belly, it ripped apart her insides, it pierced the heart"; note also the same usage for Ug. *bq<sup>c</sup>* in KTU<sup>2</sup> 1.19:III:3, 10, 18, 24, 32–33, 38: 'i/ybq<sup>c</sup> kbah/thm "I/he will rip apart his/her/their insides" and see also n. 52 below); (b) the splitting of wood (for BH, see Gen 22:3; 1 Sam 6:14; Qoh 10:9; for Akk., cf., e.g., SAA 5, #295: r. 7–8: *šumma šalmāti nimattah šumma ištēt ana 2-šu nibattaq* "whether we should lift them [the logs] whole or whether we should split each one into two"); (c) the splitting apart / cutting through of the earth / valleys / mountains (for BH, see Num 16:31; Mic 1:4; Zech 14:4 with V.A. Hurowitz, "Splitting the Sacred Mountain: Zechariah 14.4 and Gilgamesh V ii 4–5," *UF* 31 [1999]: 241–45 [comparing the usage of Akk. *hepû*; cf. the *Enūma Eliš* passage quoted above where *hepû* // *batāqu*]; for Akk., cf., e.g., VAB 4 174 ix 33–36: *ša manāma šarru mahri la ipušu šadim zaqrūtum ebtuqma abne šadim ulattīma upattā nerbēti* "What no former king had ever achieved [I achieved]: I cut through the steep mountains, I crushed the mountain rocks, and I opened up passes" [for the transportation of cedar trees]); (d) especially the diverting / splitting / bursting through of water (for full discussion and many examples in BH and in Akk., see the excellent study of J.C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes I," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 217–22, discussing first the cognate relationship between Akk. *batāqu* and MH פתק and then on page 222, n. 34 providing a detailed description of this parallel usage of BH לבקע). But the most significant evidence (suggested here for the first time) for the semantic correspondence between the technical usage of לבקע "sever off land, cut off captured territory from the enemy's land" in Amos 1:13 and the corresponding technical usage of Akk. *batāqu* is, in fact, the dramatic parallel between the words of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib, in his own annals (where the form *abtuq* is used) and the parallel usage of לבקע in 2 Chr 32:1 (quoted above) regarding precisely the same historical event, Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 B.C.E. For the Akkadian text and this comparison in detail, see section (2c) below. Finally, it should be noted that this Akkadian geo-political technical usage most probably has its roots in a technical administrative usage of *batāqu* having to do with the non-commercial (i.e., without monetary compensation) severing off and transferring over of part of the land owned by one party to the possession of another party (cf. CAD, B, 162: meaning 1c for several examples immediately following the two passages from the annals of Sennacherib quoted below in section (2c)). For further discussion of the relationship between these two technical meanings of *batāqu*, see n. 46 below.

39. For the similar technical usage of BH קצי / קצי / קצי, cf. especially 2 Kgs 10:32 as follows: בימים ההם החל ה' לקצות בישראל ויכם חזאל בכל-גבול ישראל "In those days, God began to cut off (parts of the territory) in Israel. Haza'el attacked them on all the borders of Israel." The following verse 33 then provides a geographical

2 Chr 21:17: ויעלו ביהודה ויבקעוה וישבו את כל-הרכוש  
הנמצא לבית המלך וגם בניו ונשיו ...

They attacked Judah and they severed off its land. They took as spoil all the property found in the king's palace, as well as his sons and his wives ...

2 Chr 32:1: אחרי הדברים והאמת האלה בא סנתריב מלך אשור  
ויבא ביהודה ויחן על הערים הבצרות ויאמר לבקעם אליו:

After these faithful deeds, King Sennacherib of Assyria invaded Judah and encamped against its fortified cities with the aim of severing them over to Himself.<sup>40</sup>

In each of these cases, technical terms are first used for military siege or invasion (... עלה; עלה ב...). These terms are immediately followed by the verb בקע, which in turn is followed in two cases by a reflexive preposition (Isa 7:6: "to ourselves"; 2 Chr 32:1: "to himself") and in two cases by actions that typify the geo-political aftermath of territorial conquest (Isa

description of the areas attacked. For this understanding of the verb לקצה in 2 Kgs 10:32 (together with the appropriate idiomatic translation "reduce"), see the excellent comment in Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 117. This meaning was first suggested in the medieval period by Sa'adya Ga'on in his Arabic translation of Isa 7:6 (see J. Derenbourg, *R. Saadia ben Josef al-Fayyūmī - Version Arabe d'Isaïe* [Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1896], 11 and n.1 [in Hebrew]) and was then accepted especially by Judah ibn Bal'am (see M. Goshen-Gottstein and M. Perez, *R. Judah ibn Bal'am's Commentary on Isaiah* [Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992], 55 [in Hebrew]). Contrast most recently S. Vargon, "Isaiah 7:18-25: Prophecy of Rebuke or Consolation," *JANES* 26 (1998): 109 and n. 10. Here the following two points may be added regarding the connection between the technical usage of לקצה in 2 Kgs 10:32 and the parallel technical usage of על בקע in Amos 1:13 (in addition to the obvious semantic connection between these two verbs in Isa 7:6 as quoted above): (a): In both verses, the clause including the technical meaning of the respective verbs קצי and בקע is followed by a second clause indicating the worsened state of the territorial borders of Israel (2 Kgs 10:32) or the improved state of the borders of Israel's enemy (Amos 1:13) [where the term גבול "border" is specifically mentioned in each case]. (b) One of the main general usages of both of these verbs is "the maiming of limbs": for קצי / קצץ, cf., e.g., Deut 25:12; Jud 1:6, 7; 2 Sam 4:12; Prov 26:6; for בקע, cf., e.g., 2 Kgs 8:12; 15:16; Hos 14:1 (the three passages quoted in section (2a) above); add 2 Kgs 2:24; Ezek 29:7; Hos 13:8. See also the Akkadian evidence for this semantic development in n. 38 above (usage a) and section (2c) and n. 50 below.

40. Note that the other two accounts in 2 Kgs 18:13 = Isa 36:1 use here ויהפשטם "and he conquered them" instead of ויאמר לבקעם אליו. The former is clearly a general stereotypic formula reporting the conquest of cities (cf. 2 Kgs 16:9), whereas the latter is much more specific and must be considered a reflex of the technical geo-political language of the Assyrian annals of Sennacherib (even though the words attributed to Sennacherib in 2 Chr 32:1 do not reflect the actual historical circumstances of the aftermath of the military campaign of 701 B.C.E.; see the discussion after section (2c) below). See also the discussion after section (2b) and n. 42 below.

7:6: appointing a new king; 2 Chr 21:17: appropriation of the spoils of the conquest).<sup>41</sup> The usage of the reflexive preposition, while not mandatory, is particularly instructive because it indicates that the verb בקע in these contexts cannot mean merely "conquer, capture" or the like,<sup>42</sup> but must include a semantic component referring to the transfer of the captured territory to the authority of the conqueror (perhaps one step before official annexation).

Two problems remain. The first is the lack of a precise precedent for this geo-political technical usage of בקע followed by את-גבולם or some similar statement. Such a precedent would provide the final proof that this must be the primary meaning of על בקעם הרויה הגלער in Amos 1:13. The second issue is the relationship between the two meanings of בקע, that of body mutilation and the technical geo-political military usage just discussed. Is this a matter of one root with different meanings (polysemy) connected via some semantic development or do these two diverse meanings reflect two homonymic roots (בקע I and בקע II)? Both these questions may be answered definitively on the basis of Akkadian semantic evidence that (as previously stated) has been available since the publication of the Taylor prism of the annals of Sennacherib in 1861, but that has never before been suggested (probably because the equivalence is only semantic and not etymological).<sup>43</sup> This Akkadian evidence is based on a comparison between that which is attributed to Sennacherib in 2 Chr 32:1 concerning

41. There are, in fact, five other occurrences of בקע, some of which may possibly belong here as well: 2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:2; 52:7; Ezek 26:10; 30:16. The key question with respect to each of these verses is: Do the immediate and wider contexts indicate the beginning of the conquest or its aftermath? If it is the beginning, then בקע could, indeed, conceivably mean "breach," implying that the outer defenses of the city had been penetrated and that this was the beginning of the final thrust leading to capture. While, at first glance, all five passages seem to be describing the aftermath of the conquest, it is not inconceivable that at least as regards 2 Kgs 25:4, Jer 39:2, and 52:7, the beginning of the final breach was noted as an historical event without providing details of the actual battle (cf., e.g., Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 317). With respect to Ezek 26:10 and 30:16, a description of the aftermath of capture seems much more likely than a bland notification of the beginning of the final thrust! If so, then at least some of these verses would be additional examples of the geo-political technical meaning of בקע discussed in the present study referring to the transfer of the captured territory to the authority of the conqueror.
42. Contrast, e.g., Loewenstamm and Blau, *לשון המקרא*, Volume 2, 138-39 (in Hebrew and English): "conquer."
43. Note that in 1882, E. Schrader had already compared Akk. *batāqu* in the two Sennacherib passages quoted here in section (2c) with BH בתק (a *hapax legomenon* in Ezek 16:40). See E. Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, Volume II (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1888), 221 (English translation of 1882 second enlarged German edition). This has been most recently noted also in G. Galil, *Israel and Assyria* (Haifa and Tel-Aviv: Haifa University and Zimora Bitan,



the conquest and severing off of the Judaeen fortified cities in Sennacherib's 701 B.C.E. military campaign against Judah, and that which Sennacherib himself states in his Assyrian annals regarding those same 46 Judaeen fortified cities and his conquest of them in 701 B.C.E. Sennacherib's words according to 2 Chr 32:1 (וַיִּאֶזְרַח לְבַקְעָם אֱלֹהִים) have already been quoted above as part of the last example in section 2b.

We now turn to the Akkadian parallel to these words in Sennacherib's own annals, where a second, no less important, example of this Akkadian usage is also found:

(2c) *The Same Technical Geo-Political Military Usage of the Akkadian Semantic Equivalent batāqu "sever off land, cut off captured territory from the enemy's land" from the Annals of Sennacherib (both with respect to the same military campaign to Judah in 701 B.C.E. referred to in II Chr 32:1 quoted above, and concerning another military campaign described in the same text)*<sup>44</sup>

OIP 2, 32–33:18–34: u Ḥazaqiya'u Ya'udâ ša lā iknušu ana nīriya 46 alānišu dannūti bit dūrāni u alāni šehrūti ša limētišunu ša nība lā iṣū ... alme akšud ... šallatiš amnu ... alānišu ša ašlula ultu qereb mātišu abtuqma ana Mitinti šar Ašdudi Padī šar Amqarruna u Šilli-Bēl šar Ḥaziti addinma uṣaḥḥir massu

As for Hezekiah the Judaeen, who did not submit to my yoke, I surrounded and conquered his 46 fortified cities, fortresses, and small towns in their environs which were innumerable, ... and counted (them) as spoil. His cities, which I had despoiled, I severed off from his land and gave to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padī, king of Eqron, and Šilli-Bēl, king of Gaza, and thus I reduced his land.

2001), 143 [in Hebrew], where Akk. *abtuq* is translated into modern Hebrew "קָרַעְתִּי" ("בִּיהַקְרִי"). For this correct etymological comparison (although obviously not semantically equivalent with regard to the technical geo-political meaning in the two Sennacherib passages), see also, e.g., H.R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholar's Press, 1978), 116–17 (where the semantically equivalent usage of *batāqu* in *Enūma Eliš* IV:101–2 is quoted as in n. 38 above) and the bibliography listed there. See also the discussion following section (2c) in the present study.

44. For the latest translations of the first text, see now M. Cogan, "Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem," in W.W. Hallo et al., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, Volume 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), 302–3; Galil, *Israel and Assyria*, 143 [in Hebrew]. For some textual variants in both texts (which are not particularly significant for the present study although some copies do omit *urappiṣ māti* "I enlarged my land" in the second passage), see OIP 2, 59:31–32; 68:14–17; 70:27–30; Borger BAL, 72–76 and most recently E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sannherib-Inschriften*, AfO Beiheft 26 (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität, 1997), 53:28–30; 54:49–53; 117. See also the notes to the two recent translations of the first text cited above.

OIP 2, 28–29:23–32: Šiṣirtu Kummaḥlum alāni dannūti adi alāni šehrūti ša limētišunu mā Bit-Barrū nagū ana gimirtišu ultu qereb mātišu abtuqma eli mišir Aššur uraddi ... urappiṣ māti

Šiṣirtu and Kummaḥlum, the fortified cities, together with the small towns of their environs and the entire district of the land of Bit-Barrū, I severed off from his land and annexed (them) to the border of Assyria. ... I thus enlarged my land.

From this parallel technical usage of Akk. *batāqu* in these two contexts, it is clear that this verb does *not* refer to a formal act of annexation (which in the Assyrian annals is usually expressed by Akk. *ruddū*),<sup>45</sup> but rather to the step immediately preceding, when the conquered land is severed from enemy territory. In the first passage, Sennacherib's annals inform us that the forty-six conquered Judaeen cities were not officially annexed to the Assyrian empire (despite 2 Chr 32:1: לְבַקְעָם אֱלֹהִים), but rather were handed over as gifts (Akk. *nadānu*)<sup>46</sup> to various allies of Assyria. It is presumably

45. See now the many examples in CAD, R, 242 (meaning 9c, 2'). See also AHw, 967a (meaning 5).

46. It is this usage of *batāqu* together with either *nadānu* "hand over as a gift" (first Sennacherib passage above) or *ruddū* "add territory, annex" (second Sennacherib passage above) that suggests the special connection of this technical geo-political meaning with the technical administrative usage of *batāqu* having to do with the non-commercial (i.e., without monetary compensation) severing off and transferring over part of the land owned by one party to the possession of another party (see the end of n. 38 above), either by the perpetrator of the act to the possession of a third party as a gift (*nadānu*) or as an addition to his own estate (*ruddū*). For this administrative usage of *batāqu* followed by *nadānu* with the identical import as that found in the first Sennacherib passage above (i.e., with reference to the handing over [or transferal] of the land severed from the property of one party by a second party [i.e., the perpetrator] to the possession of a third party), see, e.g., SAA XIV, #111:1–5: [zitti bit abi ša P]N<sub>1</sub> [ibtaq]ūni [ana P]N<sub>2</sub> aḥiṣu [idd]imūni "Share of the paternal estate that PN<sub>1</sub> severed off and handed over to PN<sub>2</sub>, his brother"; and in the same text even as hendiadys (lines 6–r. 6): zitti bit abi ... (borders of the parcel of land involved) ... PN<sub>1</sub> ana PN<sub>2</sub> ibtaqa ittīdin lū ḥāmu lū ḥuṣābu ibtaqū šulmu ina bi[r]u[š]u[nu] ... "Share of the paternal estate: ... (borders of the parcel of land involved) ... PN<sub>1</sub> severed off and handed over to PN<sub>2</sub>. They severed off (everything belonging to this parcel of land), be it a blade of straw or a splinter of wood. There is (now) reconciliation between them." For this administrative usage of *batāqu* followed by *ruddū* with the identical import as that found in the second Sennacherib passage above (i.e., with reference to the handing over [or transferal] of the land severed off from the property of one party to the possession of the perpetrator of the act as an addition to his own estate, see, e.g., Borger, Esarh. 59–60 v 49–52 (with variant noted at 61 B v 8 - cf. CAD, B, 162; R, 242): ekalla seḫra šuātu ana siḫirtiša aqqurma qaqqaru ma'du kima atartimma ultu libbi eqleti abtuqma elišu ušraddi / uraddi "That small palace I dismantled in its entirety and a large piece of land as an addition I severed off from the (adjacent) fields and added it on (to the area of the palace)." Note finally this same technical administrative usage of Akk. *nakāsu* "cut off, sever"



for this reason that we do not find in this passage that “thus Sennacherib enlarged his territory” (= \*הרחיב את גבולו\*), but rather *uṣaḥḥir massu* “thus (Sennacherib) reduced his (Hezekiah’s) territory.”<sup>47</sup> In the second passage, however, Sennacherib, indeed, severs the conquered cities from the enemy’s land (*ultu qereb mātišu abtuqma*) and then annexes them to the border of Assyria (*eli miṣir Aššur uraddi*). What follows after a few lines is the exact Akkadian semantic equivalent of BH גבולי את \*הרחבתי\*, namely *urappiš māti* “I enlarged my land,”<sup>48</sup> the final decisive evidence in the form of a clear Akkadian precedent for the BH usage of the verb בקע in its geo-political sense followed by למען הרחיב את גבולם. Furthermore, the regular usage of Akk. *batāqu* in the sense “cut off, mutilate, rip apart body parts”<sup>49</sup> provides a clear precedent for this semantic development<sup>50</sup> not only with respect to BH בקע, but also with respect to BH קצה / קצץ “chop off, mutilate (body parts)” and BH קצה / קוץ “sever off territory.” It should finally be noted that BH כחק meaning “cut through, mutilate the body” also occurs as a *hapax legomenon* in Ezek 16:40: להעלו עליך קהל ורגמו אותך באבן: “Then they shall assemble a mob against you who will pelt you with stones and rip you apart with their swords.”<sup>51</sup> This precise usage is attested for Ug. *bq<sup>c</sup>* together with *hrb* “sword” in KTU<sup>2</sup> 1.6:II:31–33 (cf. also the first and third passages in section 2a above) and is also reconstructed by several scholars in KTU<sup>2</sup> 1.6:V:13.<sup>52</sup>

in Nuzi documents with the technical meaning “cut off part of a field, to diminish the size of real estate” (CAD, N/1, 178 [meaning 5 with many examples]). See also n. 50 below.

47. Here one is reminded of the parallel usage of לקצות in 2 Kgs 10:32, for which see the detailed discussion in n. 39 above.
48. For this usage of Akk. *ruppušu* “widen, enlarge” in the Assyrian annals, see most recently the many examples in CAD, R, 157.
49. This usage is detailed in n. 38 above (meaning a). See further CAD, B, 162 (meaning 1a), and especially 164–65 (meanings 8a, 8e, and 9).
50. Another clear precedent for this semantic development is provided by Akk. *nakāsu* “cut, cut off,” which is often used with respect to the cutting off and mutilation of body parts (CAD, N/1, 175–77 [meaning 2], 178–79 [meanings 6a, 6b, and 6c]), but also at Nuzi with the technical meaning “cut off part of a field, to diminish the size of real estate” (CAD, N/1, 178 [meaning 5 with many examples]). See also n. 46 above.
51. For this comparison, see the discussion in n. 43 above.
52. See, e.g., ANET<sup>3</sup>, 141; A. Caquot et al., *Textes Ougaritiques*, Volume I (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1974), 266, n. f; E.L. Greenstein, “The Snaring of Sea in the Baal Epic,” *MAARAV* 3/2 (1982): 203 with n. 51; D. Pardee, “The Ba’lu Myth,” in Hallo, ed., *The Context of Scripture*, Volume 1, 272 and n. 269; Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 141 and n. 107; cf. also M.S. Smith, “The Baal Cycle,” in Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, 174, n. 192. For the other relevant context of Ug. *bq<sup>c</sup>*, see n. 38 above (usage a).

In conclusion, there should no longer be any doubt as to the principal meaning of הרות הגלעד, על בקעם הרות הגלעד, namely “Because of their severing off the mountainous area of Gilead” למען הרחיב את-גבולם “in order to enlarge their territory.” This does not, however, explain why the author chose to use the unique plural construct form הרות “the mountains of” instead of the common form הררי.<sup>53</sup> Here I would suggest that this unique usage was intended to serve as an *intentional literary allusion* to the three verses in section (2a) above having to do with the ripping apart of pregnant women, and perhaps even in some way as the realization of Elisha’s prophecy to Haza’el in II Kgs 8:12.<sup>54</sup> That הרות must refer primarily to mountains in Amos 1:13 for contextual reasons was seen already in the Middle Ages, e.g., by Abraham Ibn Ezra<sup>55</sup> and Tanḥum Ha-Yerushalmi,<sup>56</sup> and served even earlier as one of the many bones of contention between Menaḥem ben Saruq and Dunash ben Labrat.<sup>57</sup>

Let me end with a final quote concerning Amos 1:13 from the comments of Rabbenu Tam regarding the respective opinions of Menaḥem ben Saruq (who understood הרות as “the mountains of”) vs. Dunash ben Labrat (who understood הרות as “the pregnant women of”). Rabbenu Tam suggested as follows:<sup>58</sup>

53. Note that the phrase הרות הגלעד (ה)גלעד occurs six times in BH only in the singular (Gen 31:21, 23, 25; Deut 3:12; Judg 7:3; Cant 4:1).
54. This latter possibility was suggested to me orally by my friend and colleague, Prof. M. Cogan.
55. See the recent edition of U. Simon, ed., *Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Two Commentaries on the Minor Prophets: An Annotated Critical Edition*, Volume 1 (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1989), 185–86 [in Hebrew]. In his detailed comment concerning this exegetical dispute among the Jewish medieval commentators and grammarians, Simon correctly notes that it was in fact Sa’adya Ga’on who first suggested that הרות in Amos 1:13 be understood as equivalent to the regular plural construct form הררי “the mountains of.” This suggestion was made both in Sa’adya’s commentary to Ps 68:26 and in his composition לפשת’ה אלסבעין לפשת’ה. For the former, see Y.D. Qapach, ed., *Psalms with the Translation and Commentary of Rav Sa’adya Ga’on* (Jerusalem, 1966), 163–64 (commentary to verse 26) [in Hebrew]. For the latter, see N. Allony, “Rav Sa’adya Ga’on’s Composition: לפשת’ה אלסבעין לפשת’ה,” in S. Löwinger et al., eds., *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume*, Volume 2 (Jerusalem, 1958), 29–30 [in Hebrew].
56. See H. Shy, ed., *Tanḥum Ha-Yerushalmi’s Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1991), 72–73 [in Hebrew].
57. See A. Saenz-Badillos, *Menaḥem Ben Saruq Mahberet* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1986), 142\*; idem, *Tešubot de Dunaš Ben Labrat* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1980), 54\*–55\*.
58. See Z. Pilipowski, ed., *חשובות דונש בן לברט עם הכרעות רבינו יעקב הם* (London and Wadinburg, 1854), 33 [in Hebrew]. Note finally the similar modern suggestion of

על בקעם הרוח הגלעד למען הרחיב את-גבולם.  
 One should not attempt to decisively determine whether the solution of the form הרוח (in Amos 1:13) is as similar to הרים "mountains" or having the (regular) meaning of "pregnant women" (since) ... both meanings are essentially intertwined in the vital connotation of this phrase (within its context).

All that has effectively been added in the present study to this brilliant literary comment is that "mountains" must be the principal meaning, while "pregnant women" is an extremely artful secondary literary allusion.



## THE FORMATION OF I CHR 2:3–4:23 AND THE ELECTION OF KING DAVID\*

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THE GENEALOGY of the tribe of Judah in I Chr 2:3–4:23 is a unique composition that is unparalleled in the literature of the ancient Near East; nor can the biblical tribal genealogies compare with its richness of ethnographic, geographic, and historical information. It is obvious that this text is a collection of materials gathered from different sources. Yet, the differentiation between original passages and the later additions is extremely difficult. The text is deficient, distorted, and fragmentary, and the order of its components is unclear, and at times even strange. It, therefore, is not surprising that this genealogy was the source of much confusion among medieval and modern commentators and led to the conjecture that it lacks any order.

I discussed at length in another place the various scholarly opinions concerning the formation of the genealogy of Judah.<sup>1</sup> This essay, therefore,

\* It is a great pleasure to honor my dear friend Professor Klein, whose contributions to Biblical studies, as well as to ancient Near Eastern studies, have been a cornerstone of scholarships.

1. G. Galil, "The Genealogies of the Tribe of Judah," (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983), 8ff. (Hebrew). For discussions of this subject in the past two decades, see: N. Na'aman, "Ephraim, Ephrath(a) and the Settlement in Mount Judah," *Zion* 49 (1984): 325–31 (Hebrew); R. Braun, *I Chronicles*, WBC 14 (Waco: Word Books, 1986), 27ff.; A. Demsky, "The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History," *Tel Aviv* 13 (1986): 46–59, esp. 47ff.; M. Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in 1 Chronik 1–9* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1989), 30ff.; M. Oeming, *Das Wahre Israel: Die "genealogische Vorhalle" 1 Chronik 1–9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), 100–30, esp. 106–7; S. Japheth, *I and II Chronicles - A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 74ff.; T. Willi, "Late Persian Judaism and Its Conception of an Integral Israel according to Chronicles: Some Observations on Form and Function of the Genealogy of Judah in I Chronicles 2.3–4.23," in T.C. Eskenazi and K.H. Richards (eds.), *Second Temple Studies*, 2, *Temple Community in the Persian Period* (Sheffield: JSOP Press, 1994), 146–62; G.N.

polysemy in Amos 1:13 by G. Rendsburg (without awareness, however, of either the previous suggestion of Rabbenu Tam or the principal technical meaning here of the verb בקע). See G. Rendsburg, "Janus Parallelism in Gen 49:26," *JBL* 99 (1980): 292–93, n. 5.

will focus on a presentation of my own proposal. I shall attempt to prove that the Chronicler succeeded in preserving an early source that was incorporated into his work almost without change, and in constructing a new structure that serves his goals and is well suited to the ethnographic introduction to his book.

It is our contention that I Chr 2:3–4:23 preserves an ancient source of consummate historical value. This source, which reached the Chronicler revised and augmented, probably has its beginnings in the covenant that David made with the families of Judah after his coronation in Hebron. The text defined the ties between the royal family and the families of Judah and also the status of each unit in the tribal monarchy founded by David.

The ancient source is divided into three main sections: (a) introduction (2:3–6a); (b) the clan of Hezron (2:9–20, 24–33, 42–50a; 4:3–7); and (c) the other families of Judah (4:8, 11–21a). The second section is composed of six passages: 1. An introduction and definition of the relationship between the Calebites and the families of Hur and Ashhur (2:9, 18–20, 24); 2. Ram (2:10–17); 3. the Jerahmeelites (2:25–33); 4. the families of Caleb (2:42–50a); 5. Hur (4:3–4); and 6. Ashhur (4:5–7). The third section enumerates the families that were not included in the clan of Hezron: 1. Koz (4:8); 2. Chelub (4:11–12); 3. Kenaz (4:13–14); 4. the sons of Caleb son of Jephunneh (4:15); 5. Jehallelel (4:16); 6. Ezraah (4:17–18); 7. the sons of the wife of Hodiah sister of Naham (4:19); 8. Shimon (4:20a); 9. Ishi (4:20b); and 10. the families of Shelah (4:21a).

This ancient source was revised in an early period and three passages were added to it: 1. the genealogy of Jair (2:21–22, 23b); 2. the list of the families of Hur (2:50b–54; 4:2); 3. “the craftsmen families” pedigree (2:55; 4:21–23). After its augmentation, the ancient source comprised about sixty of the one hundred verses presently contained in I Chr 2:3–4:23. The other passages are late additions that were probably composed by the Chronicler and integrated into his new composition (2:6b–8, 23a, 34–41; 3:1–24; 4:9–10).

### 1. *The Ancient Source*

Chapter 2 is composed of passages that, in general, are clearly linked. Verses 3–6a list the first sons of Judah (Er, Onan, and Shelah; Perez and Zerah) and his grandsons: (Hezron and Hamul sons of Perez, and Zimri son of Zerah). Verse 9 enumerates the sons of Hezron: Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai (Caleb), and other passages refer to the descendants of Hezron's sons: Ram (10–17), Jerahmeel (25–33), and Caleb (42–50a). In contrast, the

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Knoppers, “Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah,” *JBL* 12 (2001): 15–30.

connection between the consolidated bloc mentioned in chapter 2 and the other passages in I Chr 2:3–4:23 is not well-defined. Our examination of this issue is divided into three subdiscussions: 1. the question of I Chr 2:18–24; 2. the ties between the lists of Hur and Ashhur and the ancient source; and 3. the linkage between I Chr 4:8–23 and I Chr 2.

#### 1.1. *The Question of I Chr 2:18–24*

The bloc of 2:18–24 is composed of two parts: verses 18, 24 and verses 21–23. Verses 21–23, which provide a dual lineage of the sons of Jair, who dwell in Transjordan, from both Hezron and Machir, apparently were not included in the ancient text (before its revision) for two primary reasons: Segub, the father of Jair, who is mentioned in verse 21 as the son of Hezron, is not included in the list of the sons of Hezron in verse 9 and verses 21–23 artificially interrupt the continuity: 2:18–20, 24.

It may be assumed that verses 21–23, which describe Hezron's relations with the daughter of Machir, were inserted into the ancient text before verse 24 because the death of Hezron is mentioned in this verse. Verses 18–20, 24, in contrast, most probably were part of the ancient source. These verses define the connection between the families of Caleb and Hur, on the one hand, and Ashhur, on the other. Five main families are attributed to Hezron within a given period of time: Jerahmeel, Ram, Caleb, Hur, and Ashhur. The families of Jerahmeel, Ram, and Caleb are labeled as the sons of Hezron (2:9), while the remaining two families were defined as the sons of Caleb son of Hezron (2:18–20, 24). The relationship between Caleb, Hur, and Ashhur was defined in vv. 18–20, 24 in an exceptional manner:

Caleb son of Hezron had children by his wife Azubah, and by Jerioth; these were her sons: Jeshur, Shobab, and Ardon. (18) When Azubah died, Caleb married Ephrath, who bore him Hur. (19) Hur begot Uri, and Uri begot Bezalel. (20) ... After the death of Hezron, in Caleb-ephrathah, Abijah, wife of Hezron, bore Ashhur, the father of Tekoa. (24)

This complex formulation teaches that these verses allude not only to a given situation, but also to the changes that occurred in the status of these families. Verses 18–20, 24 are to be viewed as part of the introduction to the genealogy of the sons of Hezron, and we are to accept the hypothesis that the genealogy of David (2:10–17) was advanced to its place after verse 9 in order to indicate David's election and prominent position in this composition. The original place of this passage was after the genealogy of the sons of Jerahmeel (2:25–33), as is indicated by the order of the sons of Hezron in verse 9. Verses 18–20 present a (relatively) late relationship between the Calebites and the family of Hur as an ancient tie by means of the incorporation of archaic lists: one, about Jeshur, Shobab, and Ardon the sons of Caleb, and his wives Azubah and Jerioth; and the other, regarding Bezalel

son of Uri son of Hur the builder of the sanctuary (Exod 31:2 and more). Since Bezalel is clearly linked to the "period of the wilderness," it may be assumed that whoever added his lineage to the list sought to present the connection between the Calebites and the Hur families as an ancient one. Consequently, the tradition regarding Jeshur and his brothers was one of the ancient traditions preserved by the families of Caleb, and it too was directed to the period preceding the settlement in the land of Canaan. These sons, indeed, are not included in the list of the sons of Caleb dwelling in Ziph, Hebron, and their dependencies (I Chr 2:42–50aa). The claim that verse 20 is a late addition is based on the presumed late wording "bore [*holid et*]." This formulation, however, is not late, and appears in all biblical strata. The assumption that the connection between the Calebites and the sons of Hur, is (relatively) late is also indicated by other biblical passages (Exod 17:10, 12; 24:14) that did not relate Caleb to Hur and Bezalel son of Uri son of Hur.

The text of verse 24: "After the death of Hezron, in Caleb-ephraṭah, Abijah, wife of Hezron, bore Ashhur, the father of Tekoa" is especially difficult. The question arises, what is the meaning of the difficult expression: "in Caleb-ephraṭah"? What connection is there between the first and last parts of this verse? Who was the wife of Hezron, Ephraṭah or Abijah? And to whom does Ashhur trace his lineage? The author of the commentary attributed to Rashi is of the opinion that "Caleb-ephraṭah" is the name of a city, but we know of no place by this name. All the *Targumim*, in contrast, read: "bā' Kālēb" instead of "be-Kālēb," so too the Septuagint and the Vulgate, as is also maintained by modern scholars.<sup>2</sup> The reading "bā' Kālēb-ephraṭāh" raises difficulties.<sup>3</sup> In the formulation "A bā' B," B is consistently a place name, and not that of a person (Gen 19:23; I Sam 20:19; II Sam 17:24; Ruth 1:22 and more). On the other hand, in the expression "A bā' 'el B," B may refer either to the name of a woman or to a place name. It is also noteworthy that the verb "bā'," with the intent of sexual relations, appears in the Bible about twenty-four times, and is always accompanied by the preposition 'el.<sup>4</sup> The correct reading is therefore: "After the death of Hezron, Caleb went to [b[ā']... 'el] Ephraṭah(ah)," assuming that the preposition 'el was deleted from the text, possibly due to the form *Efratah*, which was perceived as including the locative case. The emendation of Ephraṭah to Eph-

2. See S. Yeivin, *The Israelite Conquest of Canaan* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1971), 189.

3. See H.G.M. Williamson, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 98 (1979): 354.

4. The exception that teaches of the rule is the formulation: "All who go to her (*kol ba'eha*)" (Prov 2:19), a construct that is possible only in the plural and as a generalization. Cf. Williamson, *ibid.*

rat is not necessary, since at times she is called "Ephrat" (I Chr 2:19), and at other times "Ephraṭah" (I Chr 2:50; 4:4).

"Abijah, wife of Hezron" was interpreted by the medieval commentators to mean that Hezron had a wife named Abijah, and also that this Abijah was the daughter of Machir mentioned in verse 21. In the commentary of David Kimhi: "When Caleb took Ephrat as a wife, Hezron died, and then Abijah daughter of Machir, the wife of Hezron, gave birth to Ashhur, before or after his death."<sup>5</sup> This proposal may be summarized as follows: "After the death of Hezron, Caleb went to (b[ā'] ... 'el) Ephraṭah, and Abijah (daughter of Machir), wife of Hezron, bore to him [to Hezron] Ashhur, the father of Tekoa [before or after his death]" ("proposal A"). Modern scholars read this verse differently: "After the death of Hezron, Caleb went to (b[ā'] ... 'el) Ephraṭah/ah,<sup>6</sup> the wife of Hezron his father ('ābīh[ū]),<sup>7</sup> and she [Ephraṭah] bore to him [to Caleb] Ashhur, the father of Tekoa"<sup>8</sup> ("proposal B"). It is clear that this verse is concerned with two matters. We first learn that Caleb had relations with Ephraṭah/ah after the death of Hezron, and the end of the verse tells of the birth of Ashhur, the father of Tekoa. The question arises, what is the lineage of Ashhur? Is he descended from Hezron and Abijah (according to proposal A), or from Caleb and Ephraṭah/ah (according to proposal B)?

The first proposal poses difficulties, because there is no connection among the death of Hezron, Caleb's relations with Ephraṭah/ah, and the birth of Ashhur to Abijah, the wife of Hezron. Nor is it clear why no mention is made of Ashhur, if he is considered to be a son of Hezron, in verse 9, which lists Hezron's sons. It would therefore seem that proposal B is to be preferred, with support for this alternative provided by the text of I Chr 2:21.

I CHR 2:21	I CHR 2:24
Afterward	After the death of Hezron
Hezron had relations [bā'...]	Caleb went [b[ā']]

5. This was similarly interpreted by Yeivin, 142.

6. It may likewise be assumed that in the wording: "...Ephraṭah *we'ešet* Hezron Abijah" the *waw* is explanatory, and there is no need to delete it, and it rather may be read: "Ephraṭah/ah [is] the wife of Hezron."

7. For this reading, see: J. Wellhausen, "De Gentibus et Familiis Judaeis quae 1 Chr 2, 4 enumerantur," (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1870), 14, n. 1.

8. Cf. Wellhausen, *ibid.*; J.W. Rothstein and J. Hänel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik*, KAT (Leipzig: Reichert, 1927), 23; M. Noth, "Eine Seidlungsgeographische Liste in 1 Chr 2 und 4," *ZDPV* 55 (1932): 101, 107; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1955), 16.

with ['el] the daughter of Machir ... to ['el] Ephrathah ...  
 and she bore him [wattēled lō 'et] Segub and she bore him [wattēled lō 'et] Ashhur ...<sup>9</sup>

Verse 24, on the other hand, expresses similar conceptions; both define the relationship among the families of Caleb, Hur, and Ashhur. Caleb is presented as the forefather of the family, and Ephrath as the matriarch. Hur (the early ancestor of the descendants of Bethlehem) is their firstborn son, and Ashhur the father of (the inhabitants of) Tekoa is their (younger) son. The senior status of the sons of Hur in relation to those of Ashhur is marked in the presentation of Hur as the firstborn son of Caleb and Ephrath; and the prominent status of the sons of Caleb in relation to the sons of Hur and the sons of Ashhur is stressed in the presentation of Caleb as the father of the family.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2. *The Ties between the Lists of Hur and Ashhur and the Ancient Source*

The presentation of verses 18–20, 24 as part of the introduction and as defining the connection among Caleb, Hur, and Ashhur, opens the way for incorporating the genealogies of the latter two into the ancient text, and especially into the section on the sons of Hezron. The list of the sons of Ashhur in I Chr 4:5–7 and its position at the end of the bloc enumerating the descendants of Hezron corresponds to the status of the sons of Ashhur as defined in the introduction (2:18–20, 24).

Extant in I Chr 2:3–4:23 are two main genealogies of the sons of Hur, one in I Chr 2:50b–54 (to which 4:2 is most probably to be added) and the other in I Chr 4:3–4. The two lists were inserted after the genealogy of Caleb (2:42–50a) and before that of the sons of Ashhur (4:5–7). This location is suitable to the attribution of their lineage from Caleb son of Hezron and their connection to the sons of Ashhur, because Hur is considered to be the firstborn son of Ephrath, and Ashhur, their junior son. The attempts to play down the differences between these two lists are not reasonable. It may be assumed that the list in I Chr 4:3–4 is the earlier of the two, while the list in I Chr 2 is merely a partial revision of the first list, as is attested by the differences between them. In chapter 4, Hur is “the father of Bethlehem,” while according to chapter 2, it is Salma the son of Hur, one of the forefathers of David, who is called “the father of Bethlehem.” Chapter 4

9. Cf. also Gen 35, 22: “While Israel stayed in that land, Reuben went and lay with (*wayyiskab 'et*) Bilhah, his father’s concubine.”

10. For a different view, see Y. Kaufmann, *Toledot ha-Emunah ha-Yisraelit* [The History of Israelite Belief] (Tel Aviv, 1956), 182, n. 35 (Hebrew). For a critique of this approach, see Galil, “Genealogies,” 274–75, n. 181.

relates that the descendants of Hur still dwell in Bethlehem and its dependencies, on the hill country anticline, in an area of limited scope; while the list in chapter 2 indicates that the inhabitants of Manahath and Kiriath-jeirim also are listed as descended from Hur, and mention is made of their migration westward to Zorah and Eshtaol (in contrast to the list in chapter 4, in which the sons of Shobal were not yet included among the sons of Hur and in which the migration westward is not mentioned). The revision of the original list of the sons of Hur was probably necessary for the following reasons: (a) the expansion of the extended family of Hur after the inclusion of the “sons of Shobal”; (b) the increased power of the family of Salma; (c) settlement processes that changed the bounds of their landholding. It may be assumed that the wording of the original list of the sons of Hur also was changed, which might be the reason for the deficient formulation that begins the original list of the sons of Hur: “These were [the sons of] the father of Etam: Jezreel....” The first families, or at least part of them, maintained their status and continued to be directly descended from Hur, and not from one of his three sons mentioned in chapter 2.

### 1.3. *The Linkage between I Chr 4:8–23 and I Chr 2*

Three alternative proposals were raised regarding this matter. The most difficult of the three is that of Wellhausen, who presented chapter 4 as merely a late addition to chapter 2. More plausible is the proposal of Benzinger, Kittel, and others. In their opinion, chapter 4 was an independent parallel to chapter 2. Apparently, however, we are to accept the assumption that chapter 4, or at least considerable portions of it, comprised part of the ancient source. Mention was made above of the link between the genealogies in I Chr 4:2–7 and chapter 2, which supports the hypothesis that additional passages from chapter 4 were included in the ancient source. Additionally, emphasis should be placed on the strong similarities in terminology between chapter 2 and sections of 4:8–21a. Especially prominent is the pattern “A the father of B,” which was stressed by Rothstein and Hänel, and by Noth. The geographic-historical data of chapter 4 correspond closely to those of chapter 2, all joining together to form a single picture suitable to the late settlement period and the early monarchy. The list of the sons of Shelah (4:21–23), which concludes the bloc of 4:8–20a, is well connected with the introduction (2:3–6a) in which Shelah is mentioned, but not his sons. It may, therefore, be presumed that in addition to the introduction (2:3–6a) and the genealogies of the sons of Hezron, the ancient source included genealogies of families that were considered to be Judahite, but that were not included in the clan of Hezron, with these lists appearing in I Chr 4:8–21a.

### 2. The Revisions

In addition to the revisions mentioned above (I Chr 2:21–22, 23b, 50a–54), the revised ancient source most probably also contains the lists of the families of the craftsmen that are enumerated at the end of chapter 2 (verse 55) and at the end of the genealogies of Judah in chapter 4 (verses 21b–23), as is attested by the definition: “they dwelt there in the king’s service.” In stylistic terms, these lists are characterized by their special terminology, such as “*mišpāhot*” (“the families of the scribes” 2:55; “the families of the linen factory” 4:21b), or professional, and nongenealogical appellations, such as: “these were the potters” (4:23) or the patterns: “A and the men of B” or “A and B and the dwellers of C.”

### 3. The Additions

The Chronicler incorporated the revised ancient source into his new composition almost without change and added to it a number of passages, some of which have biblical provenance or parallels. The additions were integrated into the introduction (2:3–9), at the end of chapter 2, and the beginning of chapter 4, and result from the insertion of chapter 3 (which is a pure compilation of the Chronicler), between the components of the original text that currently appear in chapters 2 and 4.

The passage in I Chr 2:3–8 is patently composed of two main sections: 2:3–6a and 2:6b–8. Verses 3–4 seem to be an abbreviated version of the genealogical narrative appearing in Genesis 38. The formulations: “But Er, Judah’s firstborn, was displeasing to the Lord, and He took his life” and “his daughter-in-law Tamar” are identical to Gen 38:7, 11; and the definitions: “The sons of Perez: Hezron and Hamul,” “The sons of Judah: Er, Onan, and Shelah,” to Gen 46:12. The conclusions: “three were born to him” (verse 3), “Judah’s sons were five in all” (verse 4), and “five in all” (verse 6), which are absent from the biblical parallels, were probably composed by the Chronicler (cf. also: 3:4, 5, 23, 24; see also below, for the formula “were born [*nolad*]”). The Chronicler included in verses 6b–8 two different reports by means of which he reconstructed the Zerahite genealogical list. Verse 6 was reconstructed in accordance with I Kings 5:11, and verse 7, following the story of Achan (Josh 7:1, 18; 22:2).

The formula “that were born to him” in 2:9 is late, and is characteristic of the Chronicler, as is indicated by a comparison of I Chr 2:1, 4 with the parallels in the book of Samuel. In Samuel the verb *yld* always appears in the *pu’al* conjugation, and in Chronicles in the *nif’al* or the late *nuf’al*,<sup>11</sup> cf. “sons were born [*wayyiwāl’ dū*] to David in Hebron” (II Sam 3:2) and “These

11. See S. Morag, “On the Historical Validity of the Vocalization of the Hebrew Bible,” *JAOS* 94 (1974): 309; Williamson, 357ff.

are the names of the children born [*hayyillōdīm*] to him in Jerusalem” (II Sam 5:14) with: “six were born [*nōlad*] to him in Hebron” (I Chr 3:4) and “These were born [*nāldū*] to him in Jerusalem” (I Chr 3:5). Cf. also: “he too was descended [*yullad*] from the Raphah” (II Sam 21:20) with “he too was descended [*nōlad*] from the Raphah” (I Chr 20:6). Also, it should be emphasized that verse 9 makes pointed use of the preposition *’et* before the noun in the nominative case, which is generally characteristic of late Biblical Hebrew, and especially of the language of the Chronicler.<sup>12</sup> It may, therefore, be assumed that the Chronicler reformulated verse 9, and that the original version was: “The sons of Hezron, that were born [*yuldū*] to him ...” or: “the sons of Hezron: Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai [or Caleb].”

Late elements were also added to I Chr 2:21–23, and the passage was most probably composed from the combining of two main components: (a) verses 21–22, to which the conclusion in verse 23b is to be added (“passage A”); and (b) verse 23a (“passage B”). Passage A indicates that Jair possessed cities in the land of Gilead, while in passage B, Havvoth-jair refers to Bashan, and not to Gilead. Passage A was formulated partly as a genealogical narrative, and partly as a genealogical list, whereas passage B is of a clearly chronical nature. The disparate character of the passages, and especially their different geographical-historical conception regarding the location of Havvoth-jair, supports the hypothesis that passage B was added to passage A.

The lineage of Elishama (2:34–41) is undoubtedly a late addition to the list of the sons of Jerahmeel, with two fundamental proofs of this: (a) this passage is not included in the genealogical list of Jerahmeel, which begins with the words: “the sons of Jerahmeel” (2:25) and which ends with the formula: “These were the descendants of Jerahmeel” (2:33); (b) the lineage of Elishama points out that “Sheshan had no sons, only daughters” (34). This information contradicts the list of the sons of Jerahmeel, which reported that Sheshan had a son named Ahlai (31).

Chapter 3 is the largest and most important addition that was inserted in the revised ancient source. The chapter is composed of four passages: (a) the list of the sons of David who were born to him in Hebron (1–4 = II Sam 3:2–5); (b) the list of the sons of David who were born to him in Jerusalem (5–8 = II Sam 5:14–16; added to these lists is the count of the years of David’s reign [verse 4 = II Sam 5:4–5], and a verse that summarizes the lists of the descendants of David [I Chr 3:9]); (c) the list of the kings of Judah, in which the list of the sons of Josiah were inserted (10–16); (d) the list of the descendants of Jehoiakim (17–24). These lists combine to form a linear list

12. A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, BZAW 116 (Giessen: A. Topelmann, 1909), 2–3; R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSM 12 (Missoula: Scholar Press, 1976), 32ff.

comprising twenty-eight generations (from David to the sons of Elioenai), which reflects a period of about six hundred years. This chapter is patently distinguished from the preceding passages both in form and in content, and it is clear that it is a creation of the Chronicler.

It is not coincidental that this chapter was inserted into the middle of the revised ancient source, within the list of the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, the members of David's family, after verse 2:54, which enumerates the families of Salma, the father of Bethlehem, the birthplace of David. The Chronicler thereby created a unique literary structure centered around David and his descendants (chapter 3). This chapter is flanked by the genealogies of the sons of Hur, the family of David (2:50b–54, on the one side, and 4:1–4, on the other), before the lists of the other Judahite families (2:9–50a, and 4:5–20). The heading and concluding passages enumerate the first sons of Judah (2:3–8 and 4:21–23; see the chart).<sup>13</sup>

After the insertion of chapter 3, the passage of 4:2–4 was severed from the list of the sons of Hur (2:50a ff.), which apparently is the reason for the composition of verse 1 in chapter 4 by the Chronicler. This verse functions in the extant text as a preface to the passage 4:2–4, and possibly to all of chapter 4, and separates the lists of the descendants of David from the genealogies of the sons of Judah. For the same reason, verse 55 was included by the Chronicler at the end of chapter 2 to differentiate the lists of the sons of David in chapter 3 from the lists of the sons of Judah specified in chapter 2.<sup>14</sup>

13. Clear headings and conclusions are discernible (as was emphasized by Wellhausen and others) in the following verses: 2:25–33 ("The sons of Jerahmeel ... These were the descendants of Jerahmeel"); 2:42–50a ("The sons of Caleb brother of Jerahmeel ... These were the descendants of Caleb"); 2:50b–4:4 ("The son[s] of Hur ... These were the sons of Hur"). These patterns, along with the headlines in 2:3, 9 and in 4:21, were part of the ancient source. The Chronicler made secondary use of them, at times after their rewriting (see, for example, 2:9). The Chronicler did not, however, delete the early formulas, not even when they no longer suited the new structure that had been formed after the inclusion of chapter 3. On the other hand, the headline at the beginning of chapter 4 was composed by the Chronicler (see also the following note).

14. Scholars experienced difficulty in the interpretation of I Chr 4:1. The extant written text seemingly teaches that this is a horizontal list, but it is known from chapter 2 that Shobal was considered to be the son of Hur; Hezron, the son of Perez; and Perez, the son of Judah. The mention of Carmi between Hezron and Hur is difficult, because Hur is not mentioned as the son of Carmi. Wellhausen (20) proposed emending Carmi to "Calebite," thereby completing the missing link between Hezron father of Caleb and Hur son of Caleb, and this proposal is to be accepted. The use of the pattern: "the sons of A: B, C, D" to denote a linear genealogical list also appears in I Chr 1:8ff. For a similar view, see Rothstein and Hänel, 48; Rudolph, 30. For a different opinion, see Williamson, 356.

The incorporation of chapter 3 into the heart of the new work composed by the Chronicler and its placement at the beginning of the genealogies of the Israelite tribes infuses the ancient source with a new spirit and imparts to it a different meaning, which corresponds with the orientation of the Chronicler, placing emphasis upon the special status of Judah, at the head of all the tribes of Israel, and the election of David from among the sons of Judah to rule over the people of Israel forever. The idea of the selection of Judah and of David is stressed explicitly in I Chr 5:2; II Chr 6:5–6; and, mainly, in I Chr 28:4: "The Lord God of Israel chose me of all my father's house to be king over Israel forever. For He chose Judah to be ruler, and of the family of Judah, my father's house; and of my father's sons, He preferred to make me king over all Israel."<sup>15</sup>

#### THE STRUCTURE OF I CHRONICLES 2:3–4:23

1	First sons of Judah (including Shelah)	2:3–8
2	Families of Judah (excluding the sons of Hur)	2:9–50a
3	Sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah	2:50b–54(55)
4	Descendants of King David	3:1–24
3	Sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah	4:(1)2–4
2	Remaining families of Judah (excluding the sons of Hur)	4:5–20
1	First sons of Judah (the sons of Shelah)	4:21–23

15. For the selection of Judah and the election of David in Chronicles, see S. Japheth, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997<sup>2</sup>), 449ff.; and G. Galil, "The Pre-Davidic Period in Chronicles," *Zion* 55 (1990): 21–22 (Hebrew). This orientation emphasizes the importance of the Davidic line and the election of David from among the descendants of Judah by means of literary structures in genealogical texts, similar to the emphasis placed on the special standing of Aaron among the descendants of Levi in I Chr 5:27–6:66, and in the genealogy in Exod 6:13–30. For these topics, see G. Galil, "The Sons of Judah and the Sons of Aaron in Biblical Historiography," *VT* 35 (1985): 488–95.



## AKKADIAN INFLUENCES ON THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL

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To our Prof. J. Klein  
In gratitude

### 1. Introduction

Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) influenced Semitic languages in general, some of them directly and others indirectly, and even Indo-European languages via intermediary language. Aramaic speakers borrowed Akkadian elements from their Akkadian-speaking neighbors; in a later period, Arabic speakers who came into contact with Aramaic speakers adopted Aramaic elements that included those same Akkadian borrowings.<sup>1</sup> Aramaic thus served as an intermediary by which Akkadian elements were absorbed into additional languages whose speakers were in contact with Aramaic speakers. At a later stage, when the Arabs ruled over the Iberian peninsula, some of these elements of Akkadian origin were absorbed into Indo-European languages such as Spanish and Portuguese (for example: Arabic *alkammūn* > *alcamonias* in Spanish.<sup>2</sup> Arabic thus became an intermediary, transferring Akkadian loan elements from Aramaic. However, most borrowed Akkadian elements are to be found in Semitic languages (for example Aramaic),<sup>3</sup> and especially in Biblical Hebrew.<sup>4</sup> Akkadian was influential because of its status as a *lingua franca* throughout the Ancient Near East in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.E. (the el-Amarna period).<sup>5</sup>

Biblical books, containing material originating before the Babylonian Exile, such as Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah already include borrowed Akkadian elements, due to the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests in the Ancient Near East, which date back to the period between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.E. and included Judah and Israel (2 Kgs 17:3–6; *ibid.* 18:9–11; 13). For example, the Akkadian *pāhutu/pīhātu* > Hebrew *pehā*,<sup>6</sup> which belongs to the lexical military/administrative domain, is found in three biblical books (2 Kgs 18:24; Isa 36:9; Jer 51:23). In a conquest situation, the occupier's language is regarded as the upper language and influences the native language.<sup>7</sup> However, we have no solid evidence of direct contact between Hebrew speakers and speakers of the various Akkadian dialects within the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, which would have been sufficient to create a diglossia situation (Gluska 1999, 2) with the exception of an exchange of letters (for example 2 Kgs 16:7).

The nature of direct contact is determined by sociolinguistic factors as is clear from the kind of borrowing and its linguistic domain. However, the Akkadian contact with most of the ancient Semitic languages was purely cultural and there was no direct linguistic relationship, especially during that period when Akkadian was the *lingua franca* in the fourteenth century B.C.E.<sup>8</sup> Thus, we find ordinary *cultural loans*,<sup>9</sup> which are defined by Mankowski (2000, 7) as follows:

A class of words marked by a high degree of mobility (thus recognizable at the same period in more than one language family and in disparate geographical regions) for which no ultimate linguistic provenance can be assigned.

His discussion emphasizes the technical terms that usually pass from language to language, a phenomenon that scholars call *Wanderwörter*,<sup>10</sup> as for example the word for "iron" (*parzillu* in Akkadian, *parz'la* in Aramaic, AHw, 837b).<sup>11</sup> Mankowski correctly claims that mobility is a major feature of cultural borrowings, but he ignores *literary borrowings*, which are not necessarily the result of direct contact between speakers, e.g., *kamūs* (Deut 32:34) // Akkadian *kamāsu* (CAD K, 114b)<sup>12</sup> and are not generally used in colloquial settings.

1. See Fraenkel 1886.

2. See Kutscher 1984, 51.

3. See Kaufman 1974, 5.

4. Speiser 1966, 73–76; Kutscher 1984, 48–72; Mankowski 2000.

5. See Kutscher 1984, 48; Rabin 1991, 22, par. 2.

6. Mankowski 2000, 128.

7. Bloomfield<sup>10</sup> 1969, 462; Hertzler 1965, 162–63.

8. Speiser 1966, 71; cf. Rabin 1991, 22, on Babylonian dialect.

9. Bloomfield<sup>10</sup> 1969, 461, par. 26.1; cf. Jespersen 1967, 210.

10. Kutscher 1984, 47; Kaufman 1974, 16.

11. Discussed by Artzi 1969, 350/7, 351/9.

12. Compare Cohen 1978, 9/39; Greenfield 2001, II, 841–42.



### 1.1 Previous Research

Several scholars have discussed some Akkadian loanwords in the Book of Ezekiel, but the research was not exhaustive and the sociolinguistic aspect of the Akkadian influence was not examined. Due to limitations of space, this article cannot attempt a full analysis; however, it will include the sociolinguistic aspect. Most research on Ezekiel emphasizes the artistic-literary or exegetical perspectives of the book, or the nature and time of the redaction and the subject matter of the prophecies. The linguistic aspect and especially the borrowings from Akkadian and other Semitic languages are mentioned only incidentally. Other studies, which discuss borrowings from Akkadian in the Bible, do not pay special attention to the Book of Ezekiel. We will briefly review the literature researching Akkadian linguistic phenomena in the Book of Ezekiel, which has appeared since the middle of the twentieth century.

Numerous Hebrew commentaries have treated linguistic problems in this biblical book.<sup>13</sup> Wider studies of borrowings from Akkadian in the Bible are H.R.C. Cohen (1978), F.E. Greenspahn (1984), and P.V. Mankowski (2000). The last study includes a wide-ranging discussion of eighty words throughout the Bible. This discussion is, however, restricted to lexical borrowings and the author did not consider Akkadian cultural linguistic elements and loan translations (see pars. 2. and 4.1.2 below), nor does he dwell on the sociolinguistic aspect.

A prerequisite for discussing the types of borrowing found in the Book of Ezekiel is to collect internal data on the prophet and his period. This will enable us to distinguish between the different types of influences, and borrowings such as those of direct contact (par. 1.2.1 below), technical-wandering, and literary terms, each of which has a different status.

### 1.2. The Prophet and His Period

The first prophecy at the beginning of the book mentions the date and place: "in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar" (Ezek 1:1), together with supplementary chronology: "the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity" (Ezek 1:2). This means that Ezekiel's first prophecy was delivered in the month of Tammuz (June or July) 593 B.C.E., whereas the latest prophecy mentioned took place in the twenty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek

13. G. Brin, ed., *Ezekiel* (ʿolam Ha-tanach series, 1984) and Y.H. Moskowicz, *Ezekiel* (Daʿat Miqrā series, 1990). Other relevant *Ezekiel* commentaries and more general philological research include: W. Zimmerli (1969); M. Greenberg (1983; 1997); J.W. Meyer (1987); L.C. Allen (1990; 1994); D.I. Block (1997; 1998); J.C. Greenfield (1958); G.R. Driver (1954); M. Held (1959); Wagner (1967); H.R.C. Cohen (1982).

29:17), i.e., in Nisan (March/April) 571 B.C.E. (29:17).<sup>14</sup> From the phrase "in the twenty-fifth year of our exile" (Ezek 40:1; cf., 33:21) we can deduce, that the prophet was apparently exiled together with Jehoiachin and prophesied for the first time "in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar" (Ezek 1, 3) and lived with the Babylonian Jewish exiles throughout his period of prophecy.

#### 1.2.1 The Linguistic Situation in the Prophet's Period

As already discussed (par. 1. above), Akkadian influenced other Semitic languages, including Biblical Hebrew, in different ways. This influence became more pronounced after the Jews were exiled from the land of Israel to Babylon and Hebrew speakers in both the land of Israel and in Babylon were influenced by their conquerors (see above). One may suppose that at least the Jewish exiles of the intellectual stratum used Akkadian as spoken language (see below). However, in the land of Israel in the fifth and sixth centuries, the influence of the Akkadian language on Biblical Hebrew was restricted. The linguistic elements adopted from Akkadian remain mostly hapax legomena<sup>15</sup> and may have been borrowed from their literature. Based on the above description of the linguistic situation we may make the following assumptions:

A. The Hebrew speaking Judean exiles in Babylon eventually learned Akkadian and Aramaic, the Mesopotamian languages spoken in this area. This assumption is based on the common human experience, which shows that immigrants, willingly or unwillingly, must learn the language of their new country as a precondition for adapting to their new social status. The Bible refers to Israelite's Egyptian experience in this sort of context: "the land of Egypt where I heard a language that I knew not" (Ps 81:6).<sup>16</sup> Contemporary sociolinguistic research confirms this approach. Weinreich (1968, 76), for example, claims that immigrants in the United States have a greater facility in English than in their native language, while remaining emotionally attached to their native language. He also refers to the immigrant's knowledge of the language of his adopted country "as a means to social advance" (ibid., 78). Therefore, one must assume that at least members of the middle and upper classes came into socio-cultural contact with Babylonian society and spoke Akkadian, and that they were able to switch freely between Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew.

14. Greenberg, 1983,15; cf. Kaufmann<sup>2</sup> 1953, vol. 6-7, 475-76.

15. Cohen 1978, 47-49; 116-19; 134-36.

16. See Ibn-Ezra's commentary, where he interprets the verb "to hear" as "to understand."

B. One must also assume that the circumstances described above brought about in the linguistic domain a situation of diglossia, in which there are different forms of influence, including cultural linguistic elements and loan translations. The last two can occur as a result of direct contact, the same kind of contact that must have been an integral part of the everyday situation of the Judean exiles *vis-à-vis* their Babylonian captors (see par. A above). In addition, the following linguistic and stylistic facts in the Book of Ezekiel support our claim that the middle and upper Judean classes were in contact with Akkadian speakers: (1) in cultural and religious domains there are linguistic phrases that reflect Babylonian non-Jewish customs; (2) in the literary sphere, parallels derived from Akkadian sources; and (3) different types of borrowing, some of which can occur only in a situation of diglossia, even if it is restricted to certain social classes (in our case middle and upper), especially loan translations, which generally do not evoke “language loyalty” (Weinreich 1968, 99–102). (4) A sociolinguistic process of adaptation of Akkadian borrowings to the Hebrew grammatical structure reflects direct contact between the two languages and is, indeed, active in every such contact (Gluska 1999, 346–49). It may involve sound or vowel changes, as J. Barr (1968, 102) claims:

The form which the [loan] word takes in the receiving language will depend on the way in which it is heard phonemicized at the time and place of its reception and assimilation.

We will demonstrate it with two examples: (a) *pannig(u) > pannag*, Ezek 27:17 (AHw, 818b: ein Gebäck): [i] > [a] as an assimilation. As a result, the Akkadian nominal pattern *qāttīl* > Hebrew *qāttāl*; (b) the adaptation process also occurs in forenames, for example *aw/mīl mar(u)duk* > Ewil M<sup>ro</sup>dach (2 Kgs 25:27), i.e., “The man of Marduk” = “man of the god.”<sup>17</sup>

Although Aramaic was in contact also with Akkadian (see par. 1. above), we should point out that *most of the Akkadian contributions to the language of the Book of Ezekiel were borrowed directly from Akkadian* and not via Aramaic. Ezekiel’s prophecy can be dated to the beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. (par. 1.2 above), close to the first Temple’s destruction (586 B.C.E.). Direct Aramaic influence (including indirect Akkadian elements) was a significant factor in the formation of biblical books only in the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. Thus, this influence becomes a major linguistic factor in post-exilic biblical literature (Hurvitz 1972, 15–26), and especially in the books of Daniel and Ezra (parts of both are written in Aramaic) and in Nehemiah and Chronicles.

The above facts create a framework for our assumptions, and the next section will be devoted to the aims of this research and the means used to validate these premises. Our discussion will include examples of the different types of borrowing to be found in the Book of Ezekiel.

### 1.3 Aims and Methods

The above assumptions require coordination with the methods and means. Since the present restricted framework does not allow a discussion of all the Akkadian elements in the Book of Ezekiel, we will therefore confine ourselves mainly to a number of examples that will be selected according to sociolinguistic criteria. Therefore, we will not discuss *in detail* linguistic elements borrowed from Akkadian of literary origin, such as various parallel structures; literary-linguistic phrases; literary devices and hapax legomena that do not belong to the sphere of daily life. The last cases will be discussed only briefly as further confirmation of our findings.

#### 1.3.1 Aims

In this article, we will present:

1. A brief study of those terms and phrases related to aspects of Babylonian culture: religious beliefs, ritual ceremonies and non-Jewish Akkadian-Babylonian customs.
2. A brief study of literary devices used in this book that are derived from Akkadian sources. Due to limits of space, we will present one example (3.1 below).
3. A brief study of a selected list of borrowed Akkadian linguistic elements in the language of the book from different life domains, direct loans or loan translations, with an explanation of the causes and the social needs set that stimulated the borrowing.

The first aim is considered as a background for the second, which is the main one in our research. The findings of the first discussion may be used as evidence for the Jewish exiles’ involvement in Babylonian daily life, society, and culture. The involvement in daily life was essential, but society and culture domains should have remained off-limits for “a people that dwelleth alone” (Num 23:9). Ezekiel himself refers to this point: “and that ... shall not be at all, in that which ye say, we will be as the nations, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone” (20:32), although some scholars think he exaggerates (Kaufmann<sup>2</sup> 1953, 500–1).

17. HALOT, 1, 21b; cf. BDB, 17a; on its phonological shifts, see Mankowski 2000, 158f.

### 1.3.2 Methods

#### 1.3.2.1 Recognition of Babylonian Customs

Babylonian customs can be recognized according to two criteria: (1) connection of the linguistic element with idolatry and superstitions; (2) opposition or mockery of idolatry customs, for example, contempt and sarcasm for what the *elders of Israel* do and say: "Je-ho-vah seeth us not Je-ho-vah hath forsaken the land" (8:12, cf. 9:9).

#### 1.3.2.2 Recognition of Akkadian Linguistic Elements

This will be done through a structural-grammatical analysis of the phenomenon. A "suspect" root with a structure not common in classical Biblical Hebrew, such as a quadrilateral form that cannot be derived from a trilateral root (e.g., <sup>3</sup>eškār), will be assigned to a temporary list of borrowings awaiting detailed discussion. Forms with pointing inconsistent with the normative vocalization rules will be treated similarly. Forms composed of uncommon consonant combinations have also been included. Akkadian words that are connected with particular Babylonian customs have been discussed, as well as unique phrases and hapax legomena, which are particularly characteristic of the Book of Ezekiel (they may occur more than once within the book).

#### 1.3.2.4 Criteria

The criteria used for determining the extent of influence in each of the various categories of loans will be etymological and contextual (semantic), since in many cases the consonants are equivalent in the two languages, whereas the contextual (semantic) element may be different. We prefer Held's approach.<sup>18</sup>

### 2. Linguistic Elements Reflecting Akkadian Culture

The prophet Ezekiel calls certain religious practices *gillulim* "abominations," a generic term for idol worship. Its frequency in the Bible is somewhat high (48×), appearing in the Pentateuch twice (Lev 26:2; Deut 29:16). The term is most frequent in Ezekiel (38×), and the other examples (8×) are to be found in Jeremiah and Kings. The etymology of the word \**gillul* is not clear.<sup>19</sup> But the following contexts show that it is used to refer to idols and impure cultic things or something like "dung"<sup>20</sup>: (a) this object defiles (see

18. M. Held, 1959, 169–76; cf. Morag, 1995, 134a.

19. Cf. HALOT 1, 192b (["images of] idols...vocalized as גִּלְגֻלִּים?"); NIDOTE 1, 864 ("pejorative term for images, idols").

20. TDOT 3, 1, 510–11; cf. Bodi 1993, 510.

for example Ezek 20:7); (b) it parallels *siqqutz* "abomination" (Deut 29:16), and *ʿatzabbim* "idols" (Jer 3:2); (c) they are offered human sacrifices (Ezek 23:37). Our discussion will consider two types of *gillulim*: mourning the Tammuz and predicting by examining a liver.

#### 2.1 Mourning the Tammuz

The prophet encountered this form of idol worship after he was carried in a vision to Jerusalem and to the Temple, where he sees Israelites practicing abominations in secret. At the entrance of the North gate, he finds women "mourning the Tammuz" (Ezek 8:14). This practice was common in Babylon and Assyria from approximately the middle of the second millennium to the end of the first millennium B.C.E. and eventually found its way into Hellenistic religious cults.<sup>21</sup>

*Tammuz* is an Aramaic-Hebrew form referring to the Sumerian-god Dumuzi, a god-shepherd whose name means "legitimate/faithful (zi) son (dumu)." <sup>22</sup> The Sumerian form Dumuzi became *Duʾūzu* > *Dūzu* in Akkadian (AHw, 179b), and both the Aramaic<sup>23</sup> and Hebrew forms are apparently borrowed from the Neo-Babylonian dialect of Akkadian.<sup>24</sup> Since the the god name in Ezekiel 8:14 occurs with a definite article as the direct object of the verb, the Biblical Hebrew form Tammuz must represent a term for an idol rather than being the personal name of a deity.

Klein (1984, 50) cites the opinion that worship of Tammuz reached the land of Israel as part of a wave of cultural syncretism that began with the Assyrian conquest of the Israelite northern kingdom. Later, after the Babylonian conquest of the kingdom of Judah, this ritual spread to the south. Others claim (for example Kaufmann 1953, 502) that Ezekiel's vision was not real and that the prophet was influenced by the sins of Menasseh, king of Judah, in the past. In our opinion, this approach is problematic since the ritual of the dying god and his resurrection was known in the Middle East and especially in the land of Israel, where there existed rituals in honor of the idol Adonis. This claim has also been confirmed by archaeological evidence from Palmyra, which identifies Adonis with *Tammuza* (Greenfield 1982a, 590–91). This Aramaic form occurs in Targum Jonathan's Aramaic translation of Ezekiel 8:14, where the name occurs with a definite article

21. Note the comment of Rav Hai Gaon in his Book of Alhāwi (Abramson 1977, 108) where he mentions that the Greeks called this god "Adonis nicknamed Tammuz." This comment of Rav Hai Gaon is found in Ibn Balʿam's commentary to Ezekiel (see Perez 2000, 41).

22. Klein 1993, 48–51; for discussion of names and titles, see Sefati 1998, 386–89.

23. Sokoloff 1990, 584a; the Aramaic Targum Jonathan to Ezekiel 8, 14: Tammuza, cf. Sperber 1962, 279.

24. The evidence is mostly from lexical lists, \**tammuzu-tmwz*, Kaufman 1974, 114–15.

suffix. Thus the vision of the women mourning Tammuz seems to have been a cultic reality, resulting from cultural syncretism, which is considered by the prophet as an abomination (cf. Ezek 8:10, 13).

### 2.2 Examination of the Liver

The Bible considers all forms of divination as foreign customs and treats them as abominations (Deut 18:9–14).<sup>25</sup> Balaam, the foreign prophet, also states that divination was not an Israelite practice (Num 23:23). In his commentary on Ezekiel, Zimmerli points out (1969, a, 490) that there is no previous record of the divinatory practice of hepatoscopy in the Bible. However, the custom was widespread in Assyria and Babylonia.<sup>26</sup> Common use of hepatoscopy in the Neo-Babylonian court may be reflected in Ezek 21:26, which mentions it as a prominent divinatory practice: “For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the ways ... to perform divination: he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver.”<sup>27</sup>

The verbal phrase **רָאָה בְּכֶבֶד** “examined the liver,” while having no precise semantic parallel in the Akkadian language, would seem to be semantically inspired by the technical usage of the Akkadian verb *barû*, literally meaning “to see, examine,” but technically meaning “to perform divination” (often through extispicy).<sup>28</sup> This biblical verbal phrase (**רָאָה בְּכֶבֶד**) occurs only in the above passage and clearly refers to the examination of the liver for divinatory purposes.<sup>29</sup> This verbal phrase, which refers to a Mesopotamian custom, is a linguistic neologism coined by Ezekiel to emphasize the divinatory methods of a gentile king.<sup>30</sup>

Concerning the Babylonian culture influences in Ezekiel, we may conclude that some of them penetrated into the language of the prophetic

25. The specific use of the liver and its structure for divination is not specifically mentioned in the Bible, except in the book of Ezekiel.

26. See Meyer 1987. In Mesopotamia, the faith in the *bārû* (the seer) was absolute and his participation in a battle guaranteed victory, as we can see from this quotation: DUMU LÚ.HAL *kakka ippušma nakra idâk* “the diviner will participate in the battle and defeat the enemy” (CAD B, 124a).

27. See especially Greenberg 1997, 267–71; see also Ibn Balaam’s commentary, Peretz 2000, 71.

28. See CAD, B, 117, 264–65. It is possible that the Akk. term *bārû* is, in fact, found in the phrase **בְּרִים אָתוּהוּ נֹפֵר** (Isa 44:25), “the one who annuls the omens of diviners,” where **בְּרִים** (= Akk. *bārû*) should be read for MT **בְּרִים**. However, this is not necessarily referring to liver omens since the *bārû* predicted the future in several different ways using omens of different kinds (see, e.g., CAD B, 122–23).

29. Note that the verbal root **רָאָה** is associated also with the ancient name for a biblical prophet (Klein 1984, 102c) in his mantic role: “for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer” // Hebrew: *hârô‘ē* (1 Sam 9:9).

30. See Block 1998, 686–87; Carley 1974, 142–43.

book. The prophet was very familiar with Babylonian culture, as we can see from his precise descriptions of Babylonian customs and the unique phrases, especially **רָאָה בְּכֶבֶד**. Moreover, “mourning The Tammuz” (2.1 above) demonstrates that Babylonian idolatry was widespread even among Israelite women and shows a measure of cultural syncretism. This direct contact resulted in literary borrowings from Akkadian in the Book of Ezekiel of technical and everyday loanwords, as well as literary devices.

### 3. Borrowed Literary Devices

Scholars agree that biblical writing contains traces of literary devices characteristic of the ancient Near East, such as different types of parallelism, similes, and repetitions. Even ancient Sumerian literature is already characterized by the use of such literary devices (Sefati 1998, 59–73).

#### 3.1 Parallelism

Scholars have classified the phenomenon of parallelism into three literary types: synonymous, synthetic, and antithetic, each of which can be found throughout the Bible in different proportions.<sup>31</sup> Due to limited space, we will present only one example of parallelism from Ezekiel.

##### 3.1.1 חידה // מִשָּׁל

There are four occurrences of the use of **מִשָּׁל** // **חידה** parallelism in the Bible: twice in the wisdom literature and twice in the prophetic books: (a) **אָשָׁה לְהַבִּין מִשָּׁל וּמַלְיָצָה** // **אֶפְתָּח בְּכַנּוּד חִידוֹתַי לְמִשָּׁל אָזְנִי** // “I will incline mine ear to a *parable* // I will open my *dark saying* upon the harp” (Ps 49:5); (b) **לְהַבִּין מִשָּׁל וּמַלְיָצָה** // **רְבֵרֵי חֻכִּים וְחִידוֹתָם** // “To understand a *proverb*, and a figure // the words of the wise and their *dark sayings*” (Prov 1:6); (c) **וּמַשָּׁל מִשָּׁל** // **חֹדֵר חִידָה** // “Put forth a *riddle* // and speak a *parable*” (Ezek 17:2); (d) **עַלְיוֹ מִשָּׁל יִשְׂאָהוּ** // **וּמַלְיָצָה חִידוֹת לּוֹ** // “Take up a *parable* against him // and a taunting *proverb* against him” (Hab 2:6).

Whereas examples (a), (b), and (d) include what might be termed traditional Biblical Hebrew parallelism of the similar terms **חידה** and **מִשָּׁל**, example (c) is the only case where the verbs that accompany the nouns under discussion are derived from the same root. The parts of the parallelism have successive parallel elements in an Akkadian lexicographic text (Cohen 1982, 319) with a similar construction: 1. חודר // *hî’ādū* + חידה // *hittu*: **וּמַשָּׁל** // *tēlu* + **מִשָּׁל** // *tēltu*. On this basis Cohen (1982, 320) con-

31. Licht 1976, 642, par. 5; Avishur 1989, 48ff. Recently some scholars have criticized the above classification and reasonably have claimed that the synthetic one is doubtful, but, on the other hand, they argue for a new one: “negative parallelism”; see Cohen 1987, especially 91; 106–7, notes 151–53 with references.

cludes that "the parallel use in two languages can only be understood as based on a common linguistic tradition and that this use, in my opinion, proves that the verb *māšāl*, meaning 'to express' or 'to tell' in both the *qal* and *pi<sup>cc</sup>z*l stems, is a denominative verb of the noun *māšāl*." We would accept the last part of his conclusion because of his evidence of the equal succession of the elements in the parallelism in both Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew. However, such a single example in Ezekiel in all biblical literature is not sufficient to justify the claim of a common linguistic tradition. But the use of this parallelism in Ezekiel could indicate another example of the prophet's cultural-literary borrowing from Akkadian.

From the above discussions of Akkadian cultural and literary elements, which are reflected in the language of the Book of Ezekiel, it would seem that the Jews exiled to Babylon were acquainted with the Akkadian language and Babylonian culture. Otherwise, the prophet's listeners would not have understood his references to the local culture and language. This fact and our contemporary knowledge on the exiles' position as immigrants (see par. 1.2.1 above) would suggest a diglossia (or even triglossia) situation at least among the Jewish middle and upper class in Babylon, who were capable of switching between Hebrew, Akkadian, and Aramaic. In this kind of linguistic environment, different types of borrowing occur.

#### 4. Borrowed Akkadian Linguistic Elements in the Book of Ezekiel

An examination of selected linguistic elements confirms our assumption (see par. 1.2.1 above) that there was a direct linguistic contact between speakers of Akkadian and Hebrew. The technical nature of the borrowed elements and their various types confirm that: (1) the majority of them are from the domain of daily life; (2) the lexical items are of different types: lexical elements together with loan-translations and Babylonian cultural elements, which usually require direct contact as we shall show in the following paragraphs.

##### 4.1 Lexical Borrowing

Most scholars state that linguistic borrowing may occur in any domain, including culture, literature, art, etc. The individual's needs are the only criterion as Hertzler (1965, 176) claims: "the words and phrases that are required are taken over for good reasons: convenience, indispensability, utility, prestige."<sup>32</sup> Levels of dominance also influence the phenomenon of

32. Cf. also Kaufman 1974, 16. A few scholars state that almost all borrowings from language to language are from a technical domain, as Jespersen (1967, 30) claims:

lexical borrowing.<sup>33</sup> In the period under discussion, Akkadian was the dominant language. At a later stage, Aramaic replaced Akkadian and became the *lingua franca* in the ancient Near East and surrounding areas. However, in the Book of Ezekiel, which was almost certainly written in Babylon, borrowings were made directly from Akkadian. Due to limits of space, we will discuss only selected examples.

##### 4.1.1.1 <sup>2</sup>eškār

According to previous research, <sup>2</sup>eškār has several meanings: (a) "gift," as a derivative of škr II (BDB 1907, 1016b), but this root is lacking in Biblical Hebrew;<sup>34</sup> (b) "tribute," as a loanword from Akk. *iškaru* < (Sum. *éš-gār*) (HALOT, 1, 95b). Mankowski (2000, 42) in his discussion of the term suggests: "tribute," "payment," or "gift," but he does not discuss each occurrence according to its context and parallel.

The term <sup>2</sup>eškār occurs twice in biblical literature, namely in Psalms and Ezekiel. Ps 72:10: "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall offer *minhā* // the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer <sup>2</sup>eškār."<sup>35</sup> The term <sup>2</sup>eškār in Psalms appears parallel to *minhā* ("an offering") as translated correctly by the Aramaic *tiqrubta* (Gluska 1999, 122) and the Greek *δῶρον*.<sup>36</sup> The theme of the psalm is the rule of the ideal king of Israel over ancient gentile nations. A few nations are mentioned as representatives of many nations: "the kings of *Tarshish* and of the *isles*"; "the kings of *Sheba* and *Seba*"; and "all kings shall fall down before him; all nations will serve him" (Ps 72:10–11). The psalm was written before the exile and could be assigned to a relatively early time (Kraus 1989, 2, p. 77). It may well be that the usage of <sup>2</sup>eškār in Ps 72:10 in parallelism with *minhā* in the first clause should be considered as the usage of a poetic B-word (<sup>2</sup>eškār) with a more common A-word (*minhā*), in accordance with M. Held's *Principle Three*: "Emphasis on poetic usage and parallelism."<sup>37</sup>

"Loan-words are nearly always technical words belonging to one special branch of knowledge or industry."

33. See Higa 1979, 270.

34. See EBY 1958, 1, 418b.

35. According to the genealogy of Noah (Gen 10:1–8), Tarshish is descended from *Japheth*; Sheba, Seba and Dedan are descended from *Hām*. The kingdoms mentioned in this psalm are, therefore, outside Mesopotamia, as Kraus (1989, 2, 79) writes of Tarshish: "The reference might be to the remote Spanish Tartessus." Sheba and Seba are located in the Arabian peninsula. Avishur (1993, 134), therefore suggested that <sup>2</sup>eškār is to be connected with the Arabic verb *šakara* ("to thank").

36. = Hebrew *דָּוָן*, a Greek loanword in Mishnaic Hebrew, Tosefta Kippurim 3:7, means "Geschenk," see Kraus<sup>2</sup> 1964, 3.

37. See Cohen 1989, 12–13.

In the case of the second verse, Ezekiel 27:15: "The men of Dedan were thy traffickers, many coastlands traded with you; ivory tusks and ebony wood they gave you as your ʿeškār," the context differs from that of Psalms. Here the subject of the prophecy is Tyre, described as "situated at the approaches of the sea that brought the trade of the peoples to many a coastland" (Ezek 27:3). There is a long and detailed list of peoples in this chapter, including mention of Ashur and Haran in Mesopotamia. The linguistic aspect is of most interest. The chapter contains many Akkadian linguistic elements,<sup>38</sup> some of which derive from Sumerian. Of special interest is the fact that the lexical elements belong to semantic fields such as sovereignty, diplomatic relations, and trade. We can reasonably suggest that the term ʿeškār in this chapter should be considered also as a borrowing from Akkadian usage, since its meaning in Psalms ("gift," "tribute") does not fit the context in Ezekiel.<sup>39</sup> The meaning in Ezekiel is closer to Akkadian *iškaru*, as can be seen from the following sentence: *ki ša anāku ina ramenija iškar amattaḥuni mā šū ana ramenišu lintuḥu* "just as I deliver the tax at my own expense, let him (now) deliver (it) at his expense" (CAD I/J, 248a). Here *iškaru* is understood to be a type of tax, which fits well with the usage of Ezekiel, i.e., a payment of tax in return for permission to transport trading goods. The term in Biblical Hebrew was changed phonetically slightly: [i] of the first syllable > [ε] (high vowel had changed to low vowel).

#### 4.1.1.2 \*gallāb

The hapax legomenon *gallāb* appears in the construct state phrase: *taʿār hagallābim* "the barber's razor" (Ezek 5:1), where it means, "barber."<sup>40</sup> The word *gallāb* appears in Phoenician and Nabatean with the same meaning (Kaufman 1974, 51), but in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic it means "razor."<sup>41</sup> According to Block (1997, 1, 191–92), the term *gallāb* is "common Semitic."<sup>42</sup> However, most scholars assume that in Phoenician and Nabatean,

38. For example, *bromīm, pannag* (27:24), Cohen 1978, 118.

39. Greenberg (1997, II, 555) also distinguishes between the two contexts and suggests a translation, "product to be delivered," identical with the meaning of the Akk. word *iškaru* (CAD I/J, 246ff.).

40. Note that the common biblical verb for shaving is *glh*, mostly used in the pi<sup>cc</sup>ēl (18 out of the 23 times), as a kind of reflexive construction, for example: "and he shaved his head" (Num 6:9).

41. Kaufman *ibid*; in JPA also "knife," Sokoloff 1990, 128; in JBA is absent, *id.* 2002; in Syriac - "a dagger or its sheath," without citations, see PS 1903, 70a, and cf. Brockelmann 1966, 117a; Cohen 1978, 134, 72: cognates.

42. Contra other scholars, see BDB, 162b; HALOT, 1, 190b; Donner 1987, Ges<sup>18</sup>, 1, 214b; DCH, 2, 347a.

as well as in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic, the term was borrowed from Akkadian.<sup>43</sup> One of the strongest indicators of the direction of the borrowing from Akkadian is the fact that the term *gallāb* is attested from the Old Akkadian through the Neo-Babylonian periods, whereas the scope of its distribution in the Aramaic dialects is limited (Gluska 1999, 70). Furthermore, in the light of the generally accepted opinion among Semitic linguists, that Akkadian was the dominant language in the Mesopotamian area (1.2.1 above), the term would have been borrowed from Akkadian. The absence of a term for "barber" in Biblical Hebrew further suggests that *gallāb* in Ezekiel has been borrowed through direct contact as a basic technical term in daily Babylonian life into Biblical Hebrew.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.1.1.3 \*II nadan

This unique term occurs in the plural inflected form *n<sup>o</sup>dānayikh* (Ezek 16, 33). In the same verse, we find one other related unique term: *nēde* (ending in /h/), possibly derived from the Judeo-Aramaic root /ndy/, which means "to bring" or "to give," as suggested by Greenfield.<sup>45</sup> Both terms are used for "immoral earnings,"<sup>46</sup> and appear to be semantic synonyms of *ʿetnān* (Ezek 16:41). The use of both terms in the same verse (16:33) emphasizes the emotional, sarcastic, and descriptive nature of the prophecy on Jerusalem, where Jerusalem is depicted as a whore. The prophecy includes repetition such as "woe, woe" (= Hebrew ʿoy, *ibid.*, 16:23; compare 16:6) together with other borrowings from Akkadian such as \*II *n<sup>o</sup>hōšet* (Gluska 1989, 359–60), and the use of the root *māšāl* for "like," *ibid.*, 16:44 // *mašālu* in Akkadian (Cohen 1982, 319). This accumulation of borrowings in the same source has been discussed by scholars and seen as a useful measure of the influence of one language on another (Hurwitz 1972, 26). The above borrowings from Akkadian suggest that the source of the term \**nadān* is the Akkadian *nidnu*, which means "a present," as Greenfield (1982b, 56–

43. See Greenberg 1983, p. 108, 5:1.

44. Note, however, that *gallāb* was not retained in Post-Biblical Hebrew. When Aramaic replaced Akkadian as the *lingua franca*, Aramaic influence over Late Biblical Hebrew became more profound. Indeed, by the end of the second century C.E., it replaced spoken Mishnaic Hebrew (Gluska 1999, 366). This explains the use of *sappār* (of the intermediate Aramaic dialects), which was borrowed from Aramaic into Mishnaic Hebrew and replaced Akkadian *gallāb*. See Gluska 1987, 843–944. It is also noteworthy that the root *glb* and its derivatives are not found in Judeo-Babylonian Aramaic, but *sappārā* (Sokoloff 2002, 828b).

45. Greenfield 1982b, 56–57, and note 10, 60, concerning the above root; cf. Greenberg, 1983, 285; Block 1997, 1–24, 497.

46. BDB, 623b: *Nadan* I: "bribe from harlot"; HALOT, 2, 674: "cost of a prostitute"; DCH, 5, 626b: "gift given prostitute to lover"; NIDOTE, 3, 36: "gift, wages of love."

57) claims (cf. CAD N/2, 208b; AHW, 786b),<sup>47</sup> which means in this sarcastic context under discussion “gift given by prostitute to lover” (see DCH, 5, 626b, cf. Ezek 16: 33–34). From the phonemic point of view, the term *nidnu* is a *pirs* pattern, which becomes a *qētēl* pattern in Hebrew.<sup>48</sup>

It is important to note that the prophet’s use of both ancient biblical *ʔetnān* and the Akkadian loanword *nadān* proves that Ezekiel was as an “ideal bilingual” who could switch “from one language to the other” (Weinreich 1968, 73). The accumulation of borrowed Akkadian terms within the chapter shows that the prophet was very familiar with Akkadian culture and language.

#### 4.1.2 Loan Translations

Loan translation usually takes place by native speakers in direct contact situations. Weinreich (1968, 50) defines this sort of loan as an action “in which the model is reproduced exactly, element by element,” but his specification to subcategories is not sufficient (Gluska 1999, 149). Rabin (1969, 273–74) defines it as an activity in which “a new word is coined or a new combination of words, which reflect the semantic structure of the foreign word by translating and combining its parts as an imitation of the original.”<sup>49</sup> In my opinion, Rabin’s definition is too general since it ignores cases where the translation is partial, as Weinreich (1968 50) states:

All the elements may be transferred, in analyzed form ... or some elements may be transferred, while others are reproduced.

The loan translations coined by the native speaker are a proof of the fact that he is bilingual, as we shall demonstrate.

##### 4.1.2.1 ʔabne-ʔēš

The genitive compound *ʔabne-ʔēš* occurs only twice in Biblical Hebrew. Both appear in Ezekiel 28 in his prophecy against the king of Tyre: (1) “Thou art the anointed cherub ... thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the *stones of fire*” (28:14); (2) “I have destroyed thee, o covering cherub, from the midst of the *stones of fire*” (28:16). It seems that the first verse describes the king of Tyre as an angel who walks between stones of fire. The second verse tells us that the creator of the world destroys with

47. Note that Kaufman links Akkadian *nudunnū*, which in Babylonian Aramaic became *nʔdunya*, with the term *\*nadān* and defines it as “a woman’s capital” (1974, 79). But in respect to linguistics and philology he is wrong in linking two linguistic forms of two historical periods and ignores the biblical context (Ezek 16: 33–34).

48. See Barth 1967, 33, 117, and cf. Mankowski 2000, 101.

49. E.g., *be<sup>h</sup>met* [Hebrew] < *b<sup>h</sup>kušta* [Aramaic] both has 2 parts, see Gluska, 1987, 165.

stones of fire the angel, which spreads his wings as a screen, because of its pride and its wish to replace the Creator.<sup>50</sup>

The phrase is peculiar and many scholars have tried to explain it in different ways: (1) *ʔabne bārād* (hailstones); (2) *ʔabne bārāq* (lightning stones); (3) *ʔabānīm bor<sup>h</sup>kot* (shining stones),<sup>51</sup> but none of the explanations fits the context. The first explanation can be eliminated since *fire* ≠ *hail*; the second can also be eliminated since lightning is usually associated with arrows (Zech 9:14), with a spear (Hab 3:11), with a sword (Deut 32:41), with a face (Dan 10:8), but never with stones; and the third definition is too broad. Other interpretations connect the term *ʔabne-ʔēš* with Akkadian cognates, either *aban išāti* “flints” (HALOT, 1, 8b) or *abnū u išāti*.<sup>52</sup> However, the context in Ezekiel 28 suggests that it refers to gems. Greenberg translates *בְּתוֹךְ אֲבִנֵי-אֵשׁ* “amidst fire-stones,” assuming “perhaps a reference to (or a transformation of) the hedge of sparkling gemstones (vs. 13).” He finds some support for his interpretation in the Akkadian *aban išāti* “fire-stone,” “glossed in lexical texts by *pe | indu* (AHw s.v. *pe | indu* 854), a stone that appears in magic and ornamental contexts” (Greenberg 1997, 584–85). It seems to us that Greenberg is right in his approach and suggestion because they are compatible with the context (see Ezek 28:13) and its prophetic spirit. The peculiar nature of the phrase would suggest that it originates from an external source, most probably a loan translation from the Akkadian phrase *aban išāti* (CAD I/J, 228). Two facts supports this assertion: (a) the phrase structure is the same: genitive compound, and (b) additional Akkadian borrowed terms are found in this chapter, e.g., *šāṭ* (28:24);<sup>53</sup> *tochnit* (28:12) < Akk. *taknītu*;<sup>54</sup> *k<sup>r</sup>rub* (28:14) < *kārebāti/kurebi*.<sup>55</sup>

##### 4.1.2.2 King of Kings

This phrase occurs but once and is used within the prophecy about Tyre’s jubilation after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar: “Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, *king of kings* from the North, with horses, and with chariots” (Ezek 26:7). This genitive compound *מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים* is syntacti-

50. Cf. Ezekiel 28:2: “because thy heart is lifted up and thou hast said I am a god.”

51. See Ben-hayyim 1965, 50.

52. See Allen 1990, II, 114, note 125; Block 1998, II, 114 with n. 125.

53. See Gluska 1989, 361.

54. AHW, 1344b; see HALOT IV, 1735a; BDB, 500; Rabin 1962, 1072; Greenberg 1997, 580; Allen 1990, 90, n. 126; Block 1998, 99, n. 46.

55. AHW, 449a; see Rabin 1962, 1071; Cassuto-Barnett 1962, 240; HALOT II, 497a; BDB 1907, 500b; Block 1998, 113, claims that *k<sup>r</sup>rub* of Ezekiel has no link with that of Eden and that of the Temple.



cally in apposition to "king of Babylon," and serves as an epithet of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>56</sup>

The origin of the Hebrew expression is in dispute: some state that the source is Aramaic, noting that the same epithet occurs in Biblical Aramaic where it also refers to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (Dan 2:37).<sup>57</sup> Greenberg (1997, 532), following Cook's opinion, understands the epithet to be "a late annotation."<sup>58</sup> According to Rosenthal (1974, 59), the source of the loan translation is Persian. Against such assumed origins, the following should be noted: (1) both Aramaic and Persian were in the Akkadian sphere of influence, which was the imperial language in the Near East during the period of Ezekiel; (2) the Aramaic distribution of the phrase is restricted, occurring in only three dialects, and is relatively rare in each case; and (3) while it is true that the Akkadian title *šar šarrāni* is not attested in the Neo-Babylonian period, it is well attested in royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian period (including those of Assurbanipal) and reappears in the Akkadian inscriptions of the Persian kings.<sup>59</sup> Thus, it would seem that this title remained in use in the Neo-Babylonian period (the period of Ezekiel in Babylon) and influenced the royal inscriptions in the very beginning of the Persian period. We would thus assume that the Hebrew phrase מלך מלכים represents a loan translation of the Akkadian *šar šarrāni*. It should also be noted that Ezekiel 26 includes additional Akkadian elements, such as \*qobel (v. 9) < Akk. *qablu* B meaning "battle."<sup>60</sup> Another interesting phenomenon is that Ezekiel always cites the royal Babylonian name as N<sup>e</sup>buchadnezzar (Ezek 26:7; 29:18, 19; 30:10)<sup>61</sup> rather than N<sup>e</sup>buchadnezzar, which seems to be derived from an Aramaic form. From a phonemic point of view, N<sup>e</sup>buchadnezzar is closer to the Akkadian-Babylonian source <sup>h</sup>*Nabû-kudurrî-ušur* = "O, god (Nabû)! Protect my first born."<sup>62</sup> Thus, here again is an accumulation of Akkadian data in close proximity, which leaves us no reason to doubt that the phrase מלך מלכים resulted from direct contact between Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian.

56. HALOT, 2, 591b; BDB, 573a, No. 5; DCH, 5, 313b. In Tannaitic and Amoraic literature, the phrase was expanded and is found as a title of God; *mālek malke hammr'ălākim* ("king of the kings of kings"), emphasizing his position above mortal kings. Cf. Hurvitz 1972, n. 48; cf. Gluska 1987, 680–81.

57. Bauer and Leander 1962, 112, contra Block 1998, 40; Allen 1990, 40.

58. Cf. Paul 1978, 312 n. 31.

59. See Seux 1967, 318–19.

60. See CAD Q, 12–13; AHw, 888a. For this comparison, see especially Greenberg 1997, 533, and the important additional data given by Hurovitz 2002, 137, n. 14.

61. Note that this form also occurs in Jeremiah 49:28.

62. See HALOT, 660; Eph'al 1968, 737.

## 5. Conclusions

From all of the above observations, our study seems to assume that:

1. Since the prophet lived in Babylon, it would be natural to assume that his prophecies would include more Akkadian linguistic and cultural elements than in other biblical books.
2. These Akkadian elements, or at least most of them, are not cultural borrowings (Kulturwörter), but are rather the product of direct bilingual Hebrew-Akkadian contact.
3. Borrowings from Akkadian did not seem to pass through an Aramaic medium. The source of the borrowings seems to be from Akkadian spoken mainly by the middle and upper classes of the Babylonian exiles.

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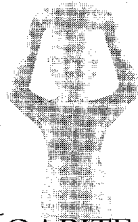


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## ABBREVIATIONS

AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (3 vols.), Wiesbaden, 1965, 1972, 1981
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford 1907
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago 1958–
DCH	D.J.A. Clines, <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Sheffield 1993ff. (5 Vols.)
EBY	Eliezer Ben Yehuda, <i>A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew</i> . New York * London 1959 (8 Vols.)
HALOT	W. Baumgartner and J.J. Stamm et al., <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Leiden, 1994–2000 (5 Vols.)
HSS	<i>Harvard Semitic Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JANES	<i>The Journal of the Ancient Near East Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (see Sokoloff 1990 above)
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (see Sokoloff 2002 above)
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	W.A. Van Gemeren, <i>New International Dictionary of the OT - Theology and Exegesis</i> , Grand Rapids, 1997 (5 Vols.)
PS	Payne R. Smith (see Smith 1903 above)
TDOT	G.I. Botterweck, Ringgren, and H.J. Fabry, <i>Theological Dictionary of the OT</i> , Grand Rapids, 1974ff. (12 Vols.)
WBC	World Biblical Commentary



## A MOABITE SEAL WITH A UNIQUE ICONOGRAPHY

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IT IS MY PRIVILEGE to publish here for the first time a red carnelian seal from the collection of Mr. Sh. Moussaieff.<sup>1</sup> It has a fragmentary silver frame and its complete measurements are 18.5 × 19.5 × 9.5 mm. Its image is mirror-shape and its iconography is unique to West-Semitic seals (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup> The iconography is depicted only on the upper broader register of the seal.

Iconographically, near the upper frame there is a star, which is characteristic of many extant Moabite seals. In the lower right part of the same register, a rhomb is depicted. Such a rhomb appears on the Aramaic (possibly Ammonite) seals WSS, nos. 592 and 853, as well as on the clearly Ammonite seals WSS nos. 884 and 928. The depiction on all these seals includes a bovide, sometimes with fantastic features.

The main figurative image of our seal is of a strange creature, a winged equide or bovide. The wings are feathered. Its head is like that of a horse, but with long horns and short ears. The neck resembles a horse's neck and the torso seems to be that of a horse. The legs are graceful and seem to be in the position of a fast trot (perhaps in the process of landing). The hooves seem to belong to an equide. At the same time, the tail belongs to a bovide.

The following are some partial parallels to this depiction:

### AMMONITE SEALS

- (1) Walking bull – BPPS no. 182, WSS nos. 881, 935, 943.
- (2) Running bull – BPPS no. 152; WSS nos. 952, 971, 979, 985, 991.
- (3) Bull looking back – WSS no. 942.
- (4) Winged bovide – WSS no. 884.

1. My thanks to Mr. Sh. Moussaieff for his kind permission to publish this seal.  
2. My thanks to Mr. R. Deutsch for the good and clear photograph.

### ARAMAIC SEALS

- (1) Walking bovide – WSS no. 853.
- (2) Walking bull – WSS no. 792.<sup>3</sup>

Despite similar features, the equide depicted on our seal is not identical to any of these bulls. In general, we have here a unique hybrid mystic creature, possibly having some common features with the Greek Pegasus of Classical times.

The inscription should be read:

*lnb<sup>2</sup>š* "Belonging to *nb<sup>2</sup>š*"

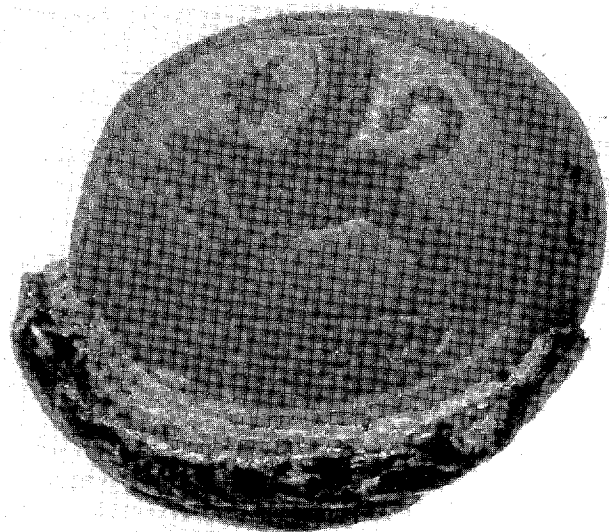
The letters are absolutely clear. Especially well attested is the form of the last letter, the broadly written š (*shin*) found on the seals WSS nos. 1029: *kmš*; 1036: *kmššdq*; 1031: *kmšw<sup>c</sup>*; 1032: *kmš yhy a*; and on a number of other seals as well. Such an <sup>2</sup> (*aleph*) appears also on Moabite seals. Such a *b* (*beth*) occurs on WSS no. 1006: *lmnšh bn hmlk* "Belonging to Menashe, the king's son." Moabite seal no. 1041: *l<sup>c</sup>bāhworn*, "Belonging to <sup>c</sup>*Abdhoron*/ or *hawron*" shows us the clear difference between the *b* (*beth*) and the *d* (*dalet*).

While the reading is clear, the etymology of this formerly unknown name is more difficult. If *nb<sup>2</sup>š* is understood as the *niph'al* of *b<sup>2</sup>š*, we do not obtain an acceptable derivation. The root *b<sup>2</sup>š*, both in Biblical Hebrew and in all other epigraphic sources in other Semitic languages, has the meaning "bad things, bad luck, bad smell." These same meanings are found also in later Aramaic.

Therefore, the only possible etymology would seem to be based on Akkadian. In Akkadian, there is the verb *napāšu* (AHw, 73b; CAD, N/1, 289, mng. 2), one of whose meanings is "expand, become abundant." In Late Babylonian we find *ebūru ina-pu-uš* "the crop will become abundant," etc.<sup>4</sup> So, possibly we have here a hypocoristic name, where the extant hypocoristic element has the meaning "make abundant," while the full name would have included a theophoric element designating the deity responsible for the "abundance."

The tentative nature of this suggestion is, of course, due to the existence of the <sup>2</sup> (*aleph*) in the PN *nb<sup>2</sup>š*. The aforementioned Akkadian etymology, while providing a satisfactory derivation from the semantic point of view, cannot easily account for the <sup>2</sup> (*aleph*) in this PN phonologically.

3. On both of these seals, the names are Ammonite, with the theophoric name of the god *mlkm* "Milkom"; at the same time, the word "son" is written *br* in Aramaic.  
4. See AHw, 736 *napāšu* 10), reichlich werden, sein; a) Ernte: JB *ebūru ina-pu-uš*...; see also CAD, N/1, 289 *napāšu* A, 2, "become abundant."

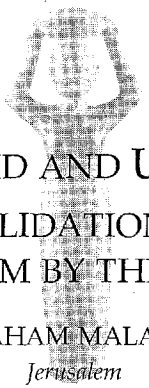


Seal from the Collection of Mr. Sh. Moussaieff

Our conclusion is that both the iconography and the inscription on this new seal—best dated to the second half of the eighth century B.C.E.—are, in fact, unique.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| AHw  | W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , I–III (Wiesbaden, 1955–1981).  |
| BPPS | R. Deutsch and A. Lemaire, <i>Biblical Period Personal Seals in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection</i> (Tel Aviv, 2000). |
| CAD  | Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.   |
| WSS  | N. Avigad and B. Sass, <i>Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals</i> (Jerusalem, 1997).                                    |



## DAVID AND URIAH

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER IN JERUSALEM BY THE ISRAELITES

ABRAHAM MALAMAT  
*Jerusalem*

AS IS WELL KNOWN, David conquered Jerusalem by the sword (2 Sam 5:7ff.; 1 Chr 11:6ff.).<sup>1</sup> But he sought to establish his sovereignty over Jerusalem by more drastic means, as will be explained below. The story of David, Uriah, and Bat-Sheba, despite its literary form and its treatment of guilt and punishment (2 Sam 11–12),<sup>2</sup> appears to reflect a realistic background to the transfer of rule over Jerusalem by David. Hence it would seem that David became, in effect, Uriah the “Hittite”’s successor in Jerusalem. In other words, the transfer of power shifted from the city of Jebus to Israel. According to the Bible there were Hittite enclaves in central and southern Palestine. Cf. the statement by Ezekiel concerning the Hittites at Jerusalem (Ez 16:3, 45), a segment of which were, apparently, the Jebusites. Jerusalem was actually called at that time the City of Jebus (cf. Judg 19:17; 2 Sam 5:6; and 1 Chr 11:4–5).<sup>3</sup> The Jebusites are unknown in the external sources of the Bible at this time, although a term Yabusu(m) is attested as a tribe or clan centuries earlier, in the Mari documents (e.g., MARI 8 [1997], 144), too early to be of relevancy for the Bible.

The episode of Bat-Sheba opens by describing that late one afternoon David was strolling on the roof of the royal palace (2 Sam 11:2).<sup>4</sup> Bat-Sheba

(another, but similar form of the name in 1 Chr 3:5 is Bat-Shua) was the daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3) or Ammiel (1 Chr 3:5) and wife of Uriah, the “Hittite” (see 11:3). (Bat-Sheba could be merely one of Uriah’s wives; Uriah is never called the “Jebusite.”) Already here, we notice the ethnic layers in Jerusalem: on the one hand, a “Hittite” layer, but possibly the intention is to the “Hurrian” or Anatolian element in general; while, on the other hand, David and his pedigree belong to the West Semites.

Bat-Sheba’s location is close enough for David to see the naked woman clearly from his palace.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it is obvious that the house (perhaps the palace) of Uriah and Bat-Sheba is situated on a lower level than David’s palace, which apparently stood at the top of the city. Thus we observe that Uriah regularly “goes down” to his home from David’s premises (2 Sam 11:8ff.). Bat-Sheba apparently lives in the Canaanite-Jebusite royal complex, perhaps in the earlier local palace, and it is the difference in the height of the buildings that facilitates David’s view of the bathing Bat-Sheba. It is even possible that Uriah, the “Hittite,” was the ruler or king in Jerusalem before David (i.e., the king of the city of Jebus), although the biblical story does not specifically indicate this.

It has been known for a long time that Uriah represents a Hittite or Hurrian name, but the form in the Bible has been Hebraized. The same has happened to the name of David’s scribe, as demonstrated by B. Mazar, which bears a Hittite/Hurrian characteristic: Shisha, Shawsha, Shewa, while the name of Seriah has again been Hebraized.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have assumed that the origin of the name “Uriah” is *ewir, ewar*, a word or rather an epithet meaning “overlord, ruler, king.” And this very meaning applies also to the potentate of Jerusalem, mentioned toward the end of the literary cycle of David in the episode describing how he acquired the threshing floor at the Temple Mount. According to 2 Sam 24:16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, the ruler or king carries the name “Arawnah” (Araunah) or conversely, “Awamah” (exactly parallel to *ewar*; *-na* is a suffix in Hurrian). In contrast to several scholars, we do not find a direct link between Uriah and Arawnah/Araunah. It appears that in Jerusalem there were at that time several rulers living in different quarters (as attested in some cities): Uriah, most likely, in Lower Jerusalem; Awamah/Araunah, denoted once “the king”

(above, n. 2), e.g., R.C. Bailey, *David in Love and War – The Pursuit of Power in 2 Sam 10–12*, JSOT SS 75 (Sheffield, 1990), 83–123; St. Seiler, *Die Geschichte von der Thronfolge Davids* (Berlin, 1998), 241–57 (regarding 2 Sam 11). We assume here, however, an historical process that differs from the biblical narrative.

5. According to E. Mazar, it is located in area V in the excavations of Jerusalem (K. Kenyon’s system); see her article, E. Mazar, “The Palace of David in Jerusalem,” *Innovations in the Research of Jerusalem – Colloquy 2* (Ramat-Gan, 1996), 9–20.
6. See B. Mazar (next footnote), 136 (middle and lower part of the page). The name now ends with the theophoric element *yah*.

1. See the recent bibliography: Ch. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, “David und Jerusalem . . .,” *Eretz-Israel* 24 (FSA. Malamat) [Jerusalem, 1993], 197–211, who, however, assumes that Jerusalem passed into Israelite hands by treaty with the local population. On an outright conquest, see M. Cogan, “David’s Jerusalem . . .,” *Tehilla le-Moshe* (FS M. Greenberg), ed. M. Cogan et alii (Winona Lake, Ind., 1997), 193–201; W. Dietrich, *Die frühe Königszeit in Israel* (Stuttgart etc., 1997), 148ff.
2. See P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel*, AnBi (Garden City, N.Y., 1981), 177–313; H.J. Stoebe *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, KAT (Gütersloh, 1994), 266–318.
3. J. Liver, “Jebus, Jebusi,” *Enc. Biblica* III (Jerusalem 1948), 447–48 and literature therein.
4. For the present biblical narrative in 2 Samuel, see in addition to the commentaries

(2 Sam 24:23), perhaps in so-called Upper Jerusalem and on the Temple Mount.<sup>7</sup> Thus it may be assumed that Bat-Sheba was also a foreigner in Israel.

The first proposal of Hittite/Hurrian etymology for the name Uriah was made by the Hittitologist A. Gustavs in 1913.<sup>8</sup> Since then, similar proposals have been made by other scholars time and again.<sup>9</sup> Uriah, as already assumed, was probably a member of the Jebusite aristocracy, a ruler or king in the city. The Bible story describes how David caused the death of Uriah (see 2 Sam 11:14–27 and note the version in 12: 9, which fits our scenario even more closely), but we suggest that Uriah was first deposed by David (who made him an army officer) and only later executed by him. As we know from extra-biblical sources, the putting to death, by whatever means, of the former ruler was the first step in the transfer of power over the city. The other step was the annexation of the harem by the new ruler.

Indeed, David intended to have marital relations with Uriah's wife, i.e., he plotted to wed her (2 Sam 11:27; 12:10) and to add her to his harem (six of his wives are already mentioned in Hebron [2 Sam 3: 2–5; see also 2 Sam 20:3]; notice the mention of some other wives and concubines from Jerusalem [2 Sam 5:13]). The infant born to the couple was sickly and so David prayed for his recovery for seven days until the child died. David's intense praying is understandable, since the infant was apparently intended to be the royal heir (2 Sam 12:14–23). Several scholars assume that the story of the infant did not exist in the original text.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the case, some time later Solomon, also the offspring of David and Bat-Sheba, became heir to the throne.


In other words, David took over the harem of the former king, represented here by its leader Bat-Sheba, which was a clear sign of the takeover of Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> In extra-biblical sources, the political meaning of the harem

7. B. Mazar, "King David's Scribe and the High Officialdom of the United Monarchy in Israel," in B. Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period* (Jerusalem, 1986), 133–35 (Shawsha etc.), 136–37 (Uriah); see in addition N. Wyatt, "Araunah the Jebusite and the Throne of David," *StTh* 39 (1985) 39–53. Already Wyatt presumed that Uriah was king of Jerusalem prior to David (see p. 47 top).
8. A. Gustavs, "Die hethitischen Parallelen zum Namen 'uriyyah,'" *ZAW* 33 (1913): 201–5.
9. For more scholarly surveys, see in Z. Kallai, "Punishment and Sin in Historiography," in *Teshuvah le-Shmuel* (FS S. Ahituv) (Jerusalem 2001), 381, note 9. Add R. Althann, "Uriah" *ABD*, Volume, VI (New York, 1992), 767–69.
10. T. Veijola, "Salomo—der Erstgeborene Bathsebas," in T. Veijola, *David Gesammelte Studien zu den Davidüberlieferungen des Alten Testament* (Helsinki, 1990), 84–105 (courtesy Ch. Schäfer-Lichtenberger); E.A. Knauf, "Le roi est mort, vive le roi! ...," in L.K. Handy, *The Age of Solomon* (Leiden, 1997), 88f.
11. On the adultery of Bat-Sheba, see McCarter, *II Samuel*, 277–91; Stoebe, *Das zweite*

is widespread.<sup>12</sup> To refer only to one example, the harem of Yasmah-Addu, king of Mari of the Assyrian line, was included in Zimri-Lim's harem (the last king of Mari) after he conquered and succeeded King Yasmah-Addu.<sup>13</sup> However, in the Bible and in the narrative cycle of David itself, we also possess an example with regard to Absalom,<sup>14</sup> who, plotted to depose his father David, take over the harem, and rule in his place (2 Sam 16:21–22 and cf. 12:8).<sup>15\*</sup>

*Buch Samuelis*, 278–94. See also B. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2001), 35–39, 402–5.

12. For a general bibliography, see: R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancient Testament*, I (Paris, 1961), 177–80; *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique*, ed. J.-M. Durand, RAI 33 (Paris, 1986) [Paris, 1987], e.g., articles by F. Abdullah; Z. Ben Barrak; B. Lafont; S. Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et Justice dans l'Antiquité orientale* (Fribourg, 1999), 237–53.
  13. N. Ziegler, "Le Harem du vaincu," *RA* 93 (1999): 7–26.
  14. Parallels to Absalom's acquiring David's women are to be found in the Mari documents in addition to the above example, where a conqueror took the wife of the conquered ruler: P. Mareello, "Esclaves et reines (FM II)," *Mémoires NABU* 3 (Paris, 1994), 117/8; idem, "Liktum, reine du Burundum," *MARI* 8 (1997), 455–59; cf. N. Ziegler, "Le harem de Zimri-Lim (FM IV)," *Mémoires NABU* 5 (Paris, 1999), 36 and notes 215, 216; and also idem (above n. 3).
  15. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 378, 384; Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, 380–81.
- \* I thank Prof. Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger for carefully reading this paper and making valuable annotations, although our views differ considerably.



FROM CONSCRIPTION OF FORCED LABOR  
TO A SYMBOL OF BONDAGE:  
MAS IN THE BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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THE MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE of the term *mas* in the history of Israel has been discussed by several scholars and the list of published literature is quite long.<sup>1</sup> The identity of the biblical *mas* with the term *mas(s)u* mentioned in the texts of Alalakh and Amarna was recognized long ago, hence the antiquity of the noun whose etymology is still unknown (for suggestions, see recently North 1997:427). In most discussions, *mas* was defined as "corvée, forced labor," and was analyzed as a statutory institution organized by the kingdom to perform manual work on its behalf.

Until now, the biblical references of *mas* were discussed chronologically, according to the order in which they appear in the Bible. Thus, the saying of Issachar in Gen 49:14–15 was analyzed in relation to the tribe's early settlement in Canaan (Alt 1924: 34–41). The references concerning the putting to *mas* of the "unconquered Canaanite cities" in the books of Joshua (16:10; 17:12–13) and Judges (1:28, 30, 33, 35) were seen as important evidence for the gradual process of subjugation of the Canaanites by the Israelites (Alt 1953:193–97; Aharoni 1967:212–15; Weippert 1971:16–20). The establishment of the office of *'al hammas* was assigned to the later years of David (2 Sam 20:24) [Mettinger 1971:132–33], whereas the full implementation of the system of forced labor was assigned to Solomon. Conscription for corvée is not explicitly mentioned in the Book of Kings after the division of the monarchy, and although scholars recognized that the practice of forced labor must have continued until the end of the monarchy, it was discussed mainly in relation to the pre-monarchial and early monarchial periods.

1. The main works written on the conscription and forced labor in Israel are: Biram 1952; Mendelsohn 1962; Rainey 1970; Mettinger 1971:128–39; Koehler and Baumgartner 1974; Riesener 1979:135–42; Soggin 1982; Lowery 1991:80–88; North 1997; Klingbeil 1997; Fox 2000:136–41.

Since the 1970s, however, the scholarly outlook on the history of Israel has undergone major changes. Scholars have raised doubts about the historicity of the biblical descriptions of the pre-monarchial and early monarchial periods, including the histories of David and Solomon. According to this line of thought, the biblical representation of the conquest of Canaan, the period of the Judges, and the United Monarchy can neither serve as a basis for delineating the history of Israel in the twelfth to tenth centuries B.C.E. nor be used as a point of departure for reconstructing the history of Israel in the ninth to eighth centuries B.C.E. The biblical account of the early history of Israel is mainly a literary-theological construction, directed by the ideological and religious objectives of the late scribes who wrote the history.

The historicity of the biblical narratives of the early history of Israel is not my concern here. What matters are the implications of the new evaluation of the source material for the study of the term *mas*. Missing in all the works written until now is a discussion of the term that analyzed it in the biblical corpus of references, while ignoring their order in biblical history. It is the purpose of this paper to analyze the references to *mas* according to their meaning and possible date of composition, rather than their place in the historical continuity. Such analysis may clarify the original meaning of the term, the extent of the changes that took place in the course of time, and the way it developed and received the connotation of "tax," which became the standard meaning of the noun from the Second Temple period on.

#### 1. Conscription of Forced Labor (*massu*) in the Alalakh and Amarna Tablets

The earliest references to the conscription of forced labor (*massu*) are found in administrative texts from Alalakh level VII, dated to the Old Babylonian period. The correct reading of the texts was first recognized by Moran (1961: 63, 77 n. 16), and now appears in the two dictionaries (AHw, 619a; CAD M/1, 327a). Following is a transcription of the eight texts that mention the distribution of rations to the people conscripted for forced labor (*awilê massî*) [Wiseman 1959; Rainey 1970:192–93; Klengel 1979:444 and n. 50]:

AT 246:6	14 <i>idî awilê massî šē</i> [p PN].
AT 246:13	5 <i>idî awilê massî ša ina Hib/mat</i> [illikū]. <sup>2</sup>
AT 259:15	4 <i>idî awilê massî ša ina Qaṭana</i> illikū.
AT 265:7	2½ <i>idî awilê massî šēp Yarimlim</i> .
AT 268:14	24 <i>igir awilê massî</i> .

2. For the city name, see Zeeb 1998:864.

- AT 269:18 18 *idī awilê massī ša ina Maraba illikū.*  
 AT 269:19 26 *idī awilê massī šep Ziahhu.*  
 AT 274:25 8 *idī awilê massī.*

Each reference opens with a certain amount of emmer (*kunāšū*), which is described as the wages (*idī*) or the hire (*igir*) of a group of workers conscripted for forced labor (*awilê massī*). Three groups are referred to as "under the responsibility (*šep*) of PN." The origin of three groups is described as "who served (*illikū*) in GN" (Rainey 1970:192 n. 10); two groups appear with no additional note.

Of the three towns mentioned in the texts, two are clearly outside the kingdom of Alalakh: Qaṭna is a central Syrian city (Zeeb 1998:847) and Maraba (Ma'raba) was located in the kingdom of Ugarit (Van Soldt 1994:377–79; Zeeb 1998:865). The location of Hib/mat is unknown (Zeeb 1998:864). It seems that *massu* might be defined as conscription of men for forced labor out of their home towns. It sometimes involved service in remote places, outside Alalakh's borders.

The assumed reference to *massu* in a text of Alalakh level IV was recently dismissed by Oliva (1999), who collated the tablet and demonstrated that what was formerly read LÚ *mas āli* must be read LÚ *masle*. The term *massu* thus appears only in texts of level VII.

The next reference to the conscription of workers appears in a letter of Biridiya, ruler of Megiddo, who reports to the pharaoh as follows (EA 365:8–29; Moran 1992:363):

May the king, my lord, take cognizance of his servant and his city. In fact, only I am cultivating in Shunem, and only I am furnishing conscripted laborers (*amīlūti massa*). But consider the mayors that are near me. They do not act as I do. They do not cultivate in Shunem, and they do not furnish conscripted laborers (*amīlūti massa*). I alone furnish conscripted laborers (*amīlūti massa*). From Yapu they come here, from [your] reso[urces] (*iš-tu ŠU-[ti-ka<sup>2</sup>]*), (and) from Nuribta. And may the king, my lord, take cognizance of his city.

I have already suggested identifying the city of Yapu with the coastal city of Jaffa, the Egyptian garrison center whose name appears in exactly the same form in at least two Amarna letters (EA 294:20; 296:33; see 138:6), as well as in an Ugaritic letter discovered at Tel Aphek (Na'aman 1988:181). Nuribta may tentatively be identified with Second Temple Nabata, located east of Caesarea, on the main road leading from Jaffa to Megiddo (Na'aman 1988:181). Provided that these identifications are acceptable, it is evident that Biridiya of Megiddo supervised the conscripted workers who came to Shunem from remote places and must have paid their wages. The cultivation was performed in the pharaonic lands on the plain of Jezreel,

and it is clear that the conscripted laborers (*amīlūti massa*) worked in fields located far from their home towns (Alt 1924: 34–39; Na'aman 1988:180–83).

## 2. Conscription of Forced Labor in the Bible

The biblical references to *mas* may be divided into four groups, each with a somewhat different meaning. Almost all references fall into the two main groups, while each of the other two has a single reference.

### 2.1. Conscription of Men for Forced Labor

The most detailed text about the conscription of forced labor in biblical literature is the account of the mobilization of thousands of workers for Solomon's building projects. Elsewhere I suggested that the source available to the author of the Book of Kings was "the book of the acts of Solomon" (1 Kgs 11:41), which must have been a school text that described Solomon's success in consolidating his kingdom and making it flourish (Na'aman 1997:68). The original text probably encompassed 1 Kgs 5:27–29 + 9:15, 17b–18, 23a + 5:30. It opened with notes about the conscription of 30,000 laborers for service in Lebanon, and the levy of an additional 150,000 men to hew stones and carry them to Jerusalem and other building sites (5:27–29). This was followed by a list of Solomon's major building projects in his capital and elsewhere that were built by the conscripted laborers (9:15, 17b–18). The original connection of 9:15 to 5:27–29 is indicated by the detailing formula וַיְהִי דְבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ "and this is the account of the levy," which opens v. 15 and refers back to the levy mentioned in 5:27–29.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the passage possibly describes the nomination of overseers to supervise the workers (9:23a + 5:30) [Na'aman 1997:70].

The author of the Book of Kings integrated part of the original pericope before the temple's foundation and the other part after the temple's dedication. Not only was the account of the "Acts" dismembered by the author of Kings, but later the original sequence of his work (1 Kgs 9:15, 17b–18, 23a) was interrupted twice: once, by a note about the history of Gezer (verse 16, with a resumptive repetition in verse 17a) and a second time by post-deuteronomistic notes (9:20–22) whose purpose was to clear Solomon of the offense of mobilizing his Israelite subjects for state labor (Veijola 1977:66 n. 98; Würthwein 1977:109, 112–13).<sup>4</sup>

According to the history of Solomon, the levy (*mas*) of 30,000 men was sent to work in Mt. Lebanon (vv. 27–28)—just as in Alalakh and Amarna some conscripted laborers worked far from their homeland. The formula

3. For the use of the formula וַיְהִי דְבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, see Talshir 1982.

4. Dietrich (1986:10–11) attributed the entire passage 9:15–22 to DtrN, but noted that the text is based on older documents.



of detailing in 9:15 וזה דבר המס "and this is the account of the levy" refers back to the entire conscription of tree hewers, carriers, and stonecutters, all of whom worked away from their home towns. The official responsible for the levy is called 'al hammas "in charge of the levy" (1 Kgs 4:6; see 2 Sam 20:24; 1 Kgs 12:8; 2 Chr 10:18).<sup>5</sup> His office is usually defined as "over the corvée." However, the term *mas* refers to the conscription, not to the type of work, and his main task was to organize the levy of workers, not to supervise their work. The supervision of the workers was performed by *šārē hanniššābīm* "officers of the district governors," the *rōdīm* "foremen" (1 Kgs 5:30; 9:23), and by officials who were in charge of the corvée (*sēbel*; 1 Kgs 11:28) [Kegler 1983:56–58].

The office of 'al hammas "in charge of the levy" is functionally similar to that of the herald (*nāgīru*) in Mesopotamia (for a comprehensive discussion of the latter, see Sassmannhausen 1995:85–194). The herald performed different functions in different historical periods in different kingdoms, but conscripting workers to forced labor was basic to his job (Sassmannhausen 1995:129–36). Hence, his activities are sometimes associated with the verb *šasū* "call, exclaim," or the noun *šisītu* "a cry, proclamation" (CAD Š/2, 147, 152).<sup>6</sup> The function of 'al hammas was probably more limited, involving the responsibility to supply enough conscripted laborers for work to meet the requirements of the kingdom. No wonder that this functionary was quite unpopular among the inhabitants of the kingdom.

## 2.2. From Conscription of Forced Labor to Bondage

The second group of eleven texts uses *mas* in different contexts and with a different connotation from the former. Isa 31:8 "And the Assyrian shall fall by the sword, not of man... and he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be put to *mas* (למס יהיו)." With the destruction of Assyria, its young men will lose their freedom and be put to *mas*. An identical misfortune befell Jerusalem after its conquest by the Babylonians, according to Lam 1:1: "How lonely sits the city that was full of people. How like a widow has she become, she that was great among the nations! She that was

5. Avigad (1980) published an unprovenienced seal incised on both sides, which he dated to the seventh century. One side reads למס יהיו אשר על המס "belonging to *p1' yhw* who is in charge the levy"; the other side reads לפלא יהיו מנהיהו "belonging to *p1' yhw* the son of *mttyhw*." Since the seal came from the antiquities market, its authenticity is suspect and must be treated with the utmost caution.

6. The office of the *nāgīru* was sometimes equated with that of the biblical *mazkir* (Fox 2000:110–21). However, as suggested by Avishur and Heltzer (2000: 42–46), the task of the *mazkir* might have been similar to that of the title holder *mnēmōn* in Classical Greek. He was probably a private secretary of the king and among his tasks was the memorizing of the political, juridical, and administrative affairs of the kingdom.

a princess among the cities was put to *mas* (היתה למס). Prov 12:24 presents two opposing behaviors that bring opposite results: the diligent shall rule while the slothful will be put to *mas* (תהיה למס). The interpretation of היה למס that comes to mind in these references is "placed in bondage," rather than conscription of forced labor.

The connotation of bondage for *mas* appears also in the law of the ban in Deuteronomy and in related literature in the books of Joshua and Judges. Deut 20:10–11 proclaims the law of a remote city attacked by the Israelites and states that if it surrenders willingly then "all the people who are found in it shall be put to *mas* for you and shall serve you" (יהיו לך למס ועבדוך). What is remarkable in this case is the sequence of the putting to *mas* and the follow-up of service. The application of this law is exemplified in the episode of Joshua and the Gibeonites (Joshua 9). According to this story, Joshua believed that the Gibeonites had come "from a very far country" (v. 9) and surrendered unconditionally to the Israelites. On the basis of this assumption he "made peace with them, and entered into a covenant with them, to let them live" (v. 15a). When the truth came to light, Joshua cursed the Gibeonites that "there shall not be cut off from you slaves" (v. 23), and made them "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord" (v. 27; compare Deut 29:10). The bondage of the Gibeonites and the service forced on them exemplifies the words יהיו לך למס ועבדוך of the law (Deut 20:11).

The references to the subjugation of the Canaanites and putting them to *mas* in Josh 16:10; 17:12–13 and Judg 1:28, 30, 33, 35 convey a negative message: the named Israelite tribes failed to obey the law of the ban and did not dispossess the former inhabitants of the land. The latter continued to live in their allotments, though in a subjugated state. That is why their promiscuous cults and improper ways constantly affected these tribes. In Judges 1, the author made a clear distinction between Judah and Simeon, who were able to drive out the Canaanites and inherit their land (vv. 1–20) and the other cis-Jordanian tribes, who failed to dispossess them (vv. 21, 27–35). In the book of Joshua, the author emphasized that the Josephites, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (and indirectly also Benjamin; see Josh 15:8, 18:16, 28)<sup>7</sup> had failed to dispossess the Canaanites, who continued to live in their allotments. The heterodoxy nature of the Northern Kingdom, as described in the book of Kings, is attributed by the authors of Joshua 16–

7. The attribution of Jebus (Jerusalem) in the tribal system to the inheritance of Benjamin rather than to Judah is ideological. The author of the system was aware of the fact that Jebus was conquered only in the time of David and did not want to attribute a non-Israelite city to Judah's allotment. Hence he assigned it to the inheritance of Benjamin.



17 and Judges 1 to the failure of the northern tribes to carry out the law of the ban and to dispossess the former inhabitants of the land.

Last in this group is the saying of Issachar (Gen 49:14–15). As recognized by many scholars, the text is a folk etymology of his name איש שכר “man of wages, hireling.” Issachar is portrayed in the image of an ass, and he willingly “bowed his shoulder to the burden (*sebel* [sic!]) and was put to *mas* ‘*ḏbēd*.” The addition of ‘*ḏbēd* “serve” at the end is due to metric considerations, as the saying has a built-in scansion of 3+3 (v. 14), 4+4 (v. 15a), 3+3 (v. 15b). Whether the text reflects any particular historical moment in the life of the tribe of Issachar (as suggested by Alt 1924: 34–41) remains unclear. It may be no more than a play on the name of the tribe, combined with the image of the ass—but who knows?

The term *mas* ‘*ḏbēd* appears in three out of eleven texts that refer to the putting of conquered people to *mas* (Gen 49:15; Josh 16:10; 1 Kgs 9:21). The key to the meaning of ‘*ḏbēd* is in Deut 20:11, where the putting to *mas* of a capitulated city is followed by service to the conqueror. Thus, ‘*ḏbēd* is an expanding gloss that adds the meaning of “serve” to the combination היה למס.

How should we translate the combination היה למס, which appears in nine texts referring to the subjugation of various entities (Gen 49:15; Deut 20:11; Josh 16:10; Judg 1:30, 33, 35; Isa 31:8; Prov 12:24; Lam 1:1) and in two closely related texts that use the combinations היה לנהן and שים למס (Josh 17:13; Judg 1:28)? It is well known that conscription of men for compulsory labor was universal in the ancient Near East. Manpower was necessary to maintain irrigation systems, dig (or clear) canals, resettle cities, build fortresses, city walls, and public buildings such as palaces, sanctuaries, and stores, till the soil of royal lands, etc. Since slavery was not common in the ancient Near East, the local population in each kingdom carried out these works for the state and was liable for conscription as part of its statutory obligations.<sup>8</sup> The conscription of men for forced labor on behalf of the subjugator, which ostensibly is no more than a shift from one master to another, does not fully express the deep change in the life of the conquered people as stated in these texts.

Although the texts that include the expression היה למס (and the closely related expressions היה לנהן and שים למס) appear to belong to different genres (historiography, tribal sayings, prophecy, proverb, dirge), they share the motif of subjugation to foreign power and the burden imposed by the conqueror. The traditional translation “was put to forced labor” is unlikely, since *mas* refers to the conscription, not to the kind of work. The

translation of היה למס “was put to conscription (for forced labor)”<sup>9</sup> and that of היה לנהן “was put to conscription (for) service” do not accurately express the emphasis in the texts on the utter change of status of the subjugated people/cities. The intended meaning in all these texts is “was placed in bondage,” expressed by the liability for conscription in the service of the conqueror. It is evident that the levy for statutory labor (*mas*) was considered the most oppressive measure enforced by the state upon its inhabitants, and in the course of time developed to express the connotation of bondage to the subjugator.

What was the reality that biblical authors thought of when using the expression היה למס and the related expressions היה לנהן and שים למס. Were they referring to the status of vassalage and the liability for conscription for labor in the service of the conqueror, or to mass deportation and corvée work in exile? To clarify the problem, I will present a few data on the burden incumbent on vassal kings and on deportees.

The participation of auxiliary troops in campaigns organized by imperial powers is widely attested in ancient Near Eastern documents, and was clearly incumbent on the inhabitants of vassal kingdoms. On the other hand, the service of vassal workers in building projects launched by the conqueror is not widely attested. I know of two/three episodes of conscription for forced work from the late history of Judah, each connected with a different empire:

1. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, states that he mobilized all the vassal kings of Syria-Palestine and Cyprus, including Manasseh, king of Judah, and made them transport long logs of trees and heavy stones for his building projects at Nineveh (Oppenheim 1969:291).
2. The work of a group of Judahite reapers at Ḥaṣar Asam, near the Egyptian fortress of Meṣad Ḥaṣavyahu, is mentioned in an ostrakon unearthed at the latter site (Renz 1995:315–29, with earlier literature). Greek mercenaries manned the fortress and reapers sent by the king of Judah, who was an Egyptian vassal, harvested the nearby fields (Na’aman 1991:46–47; Fantalkin 2001:144–45). The treasury of Jerusalem probably paid the reapers for their work. Interestingly, the hierarchy reflected in this letter is similar to that mentioned in the building operations of Solomon. Supervision of the Solomonic corvée work was in the hands of *šārē hannišṣābīm* and the *rōdīm* (1 Kgs 5:30; 9:23). The laborer, a reaper who pleads for the return of his garment, was punished by a certain *Hosha’yahu*, his direct supervisor, who must have held the office of *rōdeh*. The worker appealed to the *šār*,

8. For discussion, see CAD I/J 73–81; Postgate 1974: 41–93, 218–44.

9. This understanding of the term is closely related to that suggested by Mettinger 1971:131, 139 (“forced levy”).

who held the same office as Solomon's *šārē hanniššābîm*, and was probably a Judahite official responsible for the work of all the groups of harvesters of the Egyptian fields in this area.

3. It is possible that western kings participated in the building of Nebuchadnezzar's palace in Babylon in his seventh year (598), by supplying either raw materials or workmen, but the evidence for their participation is not conclusive (Vanderhooft 1999:90–97).

Although there is scanty textual evidence for work in the service of empires, there is archaeological evidence of building projects initiated by the Assyrians and carried out by workers supplied by their Palestinian vassals. Elsewhere, I discussed this issue in detail (Na'aman 2001) and there is no need to repeat it here. However, even when all the evidence for Judahite corvée work in the service of Assyria and other imperial powers is collected, it does not explain the development of the term *mas* to a symbol of bondage to the conqueror.

One of the major aims of mass deportations was to provide manpower for projects organized by the empire. The Assyrian royal inscriptions and administrative documents bring many examples of building projects carried out by deportees. In particular, they played an important role in building the Assyrian royal capitals (Calah, Dur-Sharrukin and Nineveh) [Oded 1979:54–59]. A remarkable example is the building of Dur-Sharrukin, Sargon's capital, founded in 717 and consecrated in 706 B.C.E. (Parpola 1995). Large numbers of Assyrian citizens and deportees were conscripted for the work, among them deportees from Samaria, which had been conquered by Sargon in 720 B.C.E. (Parpola 1995:54). It seems that after the consecration of the city, many workers were settled in it and became part of its original population.

Babylonian royal inscriptions do not supply data about the work of deportees in constructing the major Babylonian cities. But we may safely assume that as in Assyria, deportees transferred to Babylonia were liable for corvée work in the building projects launched by the Babylonian kings (Wiseman 1985:76–78).

We have seen that corvée work in the service of empires was infrequent and cannot be considered a drastic shift in the burden laid on the inhabitants of vassal kingdoms. Deportation and work in exile, under the supervision of imperial taskmasters, was extremely hard (we do not know how many deportees failed to survive the exile and hard labor), and in reality was a form of slavery. The identification of *mas* with bondage and the subjugation to foreign power as expressed in Isa 31:8 and Lam 1:1 was the result of the experience of exile and the shift from conscription for service in Judah to forced labor in the Babylonian exile. How many of the other texts were written with the experience of the exile in mind is more

difficult to establish.<sup>10</sup> Dating texts requires a multi-faceted discussion, which is beyond the scope of the present article.

### 2.3. (Overseers) of Forced Laborers

An exceptional combination, *šārē missîm*, appears in Exod 1:11. The text refers to a kind of taskmasters (BDB: "gang-overseers"), who were appointed "to oppress them in their compulsory labor." The plural form of the noun *mas* has no parallel in the Bible or in second-millennium ancient Near Eastern texts. Similarly, their task of supervising the work differs from other texts in the Exodus story, where the supervisors are called *nōgšîm* and *šōfêrîm* (Exod 2:7, 5:6, 10, 13–14), and from the history of Solomon, where supervision was in the hands of *šārē hanniššābîm* and the *rōdîm*. As suggested by scholars, v. 11 is probably a late text of the exilic or post-exilic period.<sup>11</sup> This is indicated by the term (*'ārē miskênôt*), which appears elsewhere only in the book of Chronicles, in the post-deuteronomistic insertion in 1 Kgs 9:17, and in fourth-century B.C.E. Aramaic ostraca from Idumea.<sup>12</sup> The author of v. 11 wrote a highly literary text, in which a variety of verbs and nouns relating to the execution of the corvée (*mas*, *'nh*, *sēbel*) were deliberately combined to depict the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt.

### 2.4. Tribute/Tax

The final episode in the Book of Esther (10:1) relates that "King Ahasuerus laid tribute (*mas*) on the land and on the coastlands of the sea." The exact nature of this tribute imposed by Xerxes is not given. The change of meaning from "conscription of forced labor" to "tribute/tax," which later became the standard meaning of *mas*, requires an explanation. The most likely solution is that payment in kind or money sometimes replaced the conscription for service, and that gradually the connotation shifted from conscription to payment. This semantic development occurred in the Neo-Assyrian noun *ilku*, which was a term for military or civilian service for the state, but sometimes referred to payments (in kind), with no reference to personal service (Postgate 1974:83–87, 221–22). A similar development might have occurred in Hebrew in the Persian period, although evidence for the shift is still missing.

10. For the late date of the list of unconquered cities in Judges 1, see Na'aman 1994: 260–61, 268, with earlier literature in notes 160, 164.

11. Redford 1963; Redford 1980.

12. The noun *msknt* appears several times in the Aramaic ostraca from Idumea. See Lozachmeur and Lemaire 1996:131.

## Conclusions

1. *massu/mas* was a second-millennium term meaning "conscription (of men) for forced labor," the work being performed away from the workers' home towns and sometimes in remote places. The same meaning of *mas* appears in the history of Solomon, which probably rests on an old written source. It probably reflects the commonly held sense of the noun in Judah in the First Temple period. A Judahite official responsible for the conscription of laborers was called 'al hammas ("in charge of the levy"), and this official must have drafted the workers for such operations as the building of Geba and Mizpah in the reign of Asa (1 Kgs 15:22).
2. The combination שִׁים לַמַּס and its variants נָתַן לַמַּס and הָיָה לַמַּס reflect a noteworthy semantic development in the meaning of *mas*. It connotes bondage to the subjugator, expressed by the oppressive institution of levy for forced labor. The negative connotation of the term *mas* appears even in texts that refer to the subjugation of the inhabitants of the land by Israelite tribes. This marked negative connotation probably developed as a result of the experience of exile and bondage in foreign lands.
3. A new meaning for *mas*, "tribute/tax," appears for the first time in the late Persian period, probably as a result of the growing practice of replacing the conscription for service with payment in kind or money, so that the payment was called by the name of the statutory institution that it replaced. The old meanings of the term gradually disappeared from the written language, so that only the recently developed meaning of "tax" remained in use from the Second Temple period on.

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## HEBREW (צִירִים) צִיר AND ITS INTERDIALECTAL EQUIVALENTS

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To my dear friend, יעקב,  
*apkallu ašaridu eršu mudû*

HEBREW צִיר is a polysemous lexeme comprised of four different substantives, not all the cognates and meanings of which have been sufficiently explicated.

### (1) "Pivot of a Door"

This *hapax legomenon*<sup>1</sup> appears in Prov 26:14, "The door turns on its hinge (צִירָה) and the sluggard on his bed," i.e., as the turning door revolves perpetually on its hinge, so does the lazy man turn over again and again on his bed without getting out of it. For a similar description, cf. Prov 6:9, "How long will you lie abed, lazybones, when will you wake<sup>2</sup> from your sleep" (cf. also Prov 24:33). The word oftentimes appears in Targumic Aramaic, (צִירָתָא/צִירָתָא), and in Rabbinic Hebrew (צִיר),<sup>3</sup> and is the etymological and semantic cognate of Syr. צִירָתָא, Arab. *šā'irat/sijjārat*, and Akk. *šerru*. For the last, note the statement by Sennacherib, king of Assyria: "I brought

1. It was overlooked by F.E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*, SBL DS 24 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984).
2. Heb. יָקַץ מִשְׁנָנוּ is usually emended to יָקַץ, based on LXX εγερθήσῃ, and comparing Prov 6:22, where וְהִקְיִצְנוּ is contrasted to בְּשֹׁכְבֶךָ. For the expression, רִי(י)קָץ מִשְׁנָנוּ, see Gen 28:16; Judg 16:14, 20. Cf. also Jer 31:26; 51:39, 57; Job 14:12. Note, moreover, that in the last verse we find the verbal parallelism וְלֹא יִעָרֵי וְלֹא יִקְיִצְוּ, indicating that any one of these three verbs would be appropriate in such a context.
3. See M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1971), 1280; and M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1990), 464. Cf. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 30:10–11, also cited by H.R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic*, SBLDS 37 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 140 n. 79.

back with me a costly stone from Gašur (quarried) in faraway mountains and set it up under the pivots (*šerrī*) of the door leaves of my palace gates."<sup>4</sup>

(2) צִירִים (only in the plural) "Birth Pangs"

Cf. 1 Sam 4:19, "She was seized by labor pains (צִירִהָ), and she crouched down and gave birth"; Isa 13:8, "And overcome by terror, they shall be seized by pangs (צִירִים) and throes and writhe like a woman in travail"; Isa 21:3, "Therefore my loins writhe with trembling. I am gripped by pangs (צִירִים) like a woman in travail (בְּצִירֵי יוֹלְדָה)." These last two verses exemplify the classic literary convention of the physiological reaction to alarming news, documented in biblical, Ugaritic, and Mesopotamian literature.<sup>5</sup> Compare also Dan 10:16, "My lord, because of the vision (בְּרָאָה) I have been seized with pangs (צִירֵי) and cannot summon strength."<sup>7</sup>

(3) "Envoy"

Hebrew צִיר with this meaning is a loan word from Akk. *šīru*, which is documented from the eighth century B.C.E. on in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian records, usually referring to foreign envoys bearing tribute, but also to those who fulfill ambassadorial functions.<sup>8</sup> Its first appearance is found on a banquet stele of Aššurnāširpal II:<sup>9</sup> 5000 *šīrāni šaprate*<sup>10</sup> *ša māt Suḫi*,

4. D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, OIP 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 127 I 13:3–6. For other references, see CAD S, 137; AHw, 1093; and A. Salonen, *Die Türen des alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), 66–67.
5. See D.R. Hillers, "A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 86–89, for biblical and Ugaritic references; and S.M. Paul, "The Mesopotamian Background of Daniel 1–6," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, I, eds. J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 59–62, for Mesopotamian sources.
6. Similarly, the convulsive reaction of the prophet in Isa 21:3 is due to a *הוֹרֵת קֶשֶׁה*, "a grim vision" (v. 2).
7. For its employment in Rabbinic Hebrew, see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1280.
8. See CAD S, 213; J.N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 123–25. See also P. Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 730 n. 65; H. Tadmor, "Was the Biblical *sārīs* a Eunuch?" in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Z. Zevit et al., eds. (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 323–24 n. 7. See D. Elgavish, *The Diplomatic Service in the Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Sources* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998), 36–38 (Hebrew); P.V. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 132–33.
9. D.J. Wiseman, "A New Stele of Aššur-Nāšir-Pal II," *Iraq* 14 (1953): 44:143. Cf. Elgavish, *Diplomatic Service*, 36; Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords*, 132.
10. For the Hebrew interdialectal equivalent, מְלֹאכִים, of Akk. *šaprate*, the plural of

"5000 messenger-envoys from the land of Suḫi." There are five references to this technical term in biblical sources: In Isa 18:2 (as well as Prov 13:17) it appears parallel to its equivalent Heb. term, מְלֹאכִים/מְלֹאךְ,<sup>11</sup> which, in turn, is derived from the Ugar. verb *l'k*, "send," hence *mlak* (see, e.g., KTU<sup>2</sup> 1.14, III:20, 33, *mlakm*, "two messengers"). In the Isaiah verse, the מְלֹאכִים are described as being קָלִיִּים, "swift." Compare its etymological and semantic interdialectal equivalent, *qallu*, "swift," as it, too, applies to messengers.<sup>12</sup> Similar expressions are Akk. *našpari*<sup>13</sup> *ḫanṭu*, "swift envoy (of the great gods)";<sup>14</sup> and *allāku ḫanṭu*, "swift messenger."<sup>15</sup> The other occurrences of Heb. צִיר are in Isa 57:9; Jer 49:14; Obad 1:1 (all three with the verb "send"); and Prov 25:13 (which, like Prov 13:17, mentions a "faithful/trustworthy messenger," Heb. צִיר נְאֻמָּן/אֱמוּנִים).

One other biblical reference, Isa 63:8<sub>b</sub>–9, can be reconstructed with the aid of the LXX, which offers a different verse division and suggests a different vocalization from that of the MT: "He was their deliverer in all their troubles. No [ketib: לֹא] angel [מְלֹאךְ] or messenger<sup>16</sup> [vocalize צִיר, rather than MT: צֶר], His own Presence delivered them."<sup>17</sup>

(4) "Idol"

This *hapax legomenon*<sup>18</sup> is mentioned in Isa 45:16 as part of his vitriolic and

*šapru*, "messenger," derived from the root *šapāru* "send," see the citations from Isa 18:2; 57:9; Prov 13:17 in this article.

11. For the same parallel pair in Isa 57:9, see below.
12. For references, see CAD Q, 62. For Rabbinic Hebrew references to צִיר, see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1281.
13. Akk. *našparu*, too, is derived from the verb, *šapāru* "send." For other references, see CAD N/2, 77.
14. S.H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, VAB4 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1911), 252 i 8.
15. M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Nineveh's*, VAB7 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1916), 8 i 62. For additional references to Akk. *allāku*, derived from *alāku* "go," see CAD A/2, 353.
16. Greek πρέσβυς. Once again, Heb. מְלֹאךְ is coupled with צִיר.
17. Cf. also BHS. This is none other than a polemic that the prophet is waging against the belief, reflected in certain biblical traditions, that it was an angel, and not God Himself, who was responsible for leading the Israelites in their trek through the desert on their way to the promised land. See Exod 14:19; 23:20, 23; 32:44; Num 20:16. On the other hand, for God's Presence (בְּנֵי) leading them, see Exod 33:14–15; Deut 4:37. This polemic is also found in Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael, Bo', 7 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, 23); cf. *y. Sanh.* 2.1.20a; *y. Hor.* 3.1.47a.
18. This word was overlooked by both Greenspahn (*Hapax Legomena*), and Mankowski, (*Akkadian Loanwords*). It is also not listed in Cohen (*Biblical Hapax Legomena*), since the root involved is present elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew (see in the text above).

satirical polemic against צִירִים הַרְשֵׁי, “those who fabricate idols.”<sup>19</sup> The substantive is derived from Akk. *uṣurtu* (*surtu*),<sup>20</sup> which refers to the form and shape of cult statues.<sup>21</sup> The prophet’s use of this word actually creates a deft and ironic double entendre with its homonym צִירִים, listed above also in the plural, for all that the fashioners of idols are actually accomplishing is merely the fabrication of pains and pangs.<sup>22</sup> The same Akkadian word is also the source for Rabbinic Heb. צִירָה and Aram. צִירָא, which likewise refer to the shapes of idols.<sup>23</sup>

Hebrew צִירָה is also found in Ezek 43:11 (four times), referring to the “plan of the Temple” and its “layout” (Heb. תְּכִינָה). The first and last occurrences in that verse are in the singular: צִירָה תְּכִינָה/צִירָתוֹ, whereas the middle two are written in the singular, צִירָתוֹ, but the *qere* is in the plural: צִירָתָיו. These, too, are reflexes of Akk. *uṣurtu*, plural *uṣurātu*, which also refers to the plan(s)/pattern(s) of temples.<sup>24</sup> Its interdialectal Hebrew semantic equivalent is תְּכִינָה,<sup>25</sup> which appears in Exod 25:9, 40 in connection with the מִשְׁכָּן; in 1 Chr 28:11 in reference to the אֹיִלִם; in Ps 144:12, הִיכָל; in Exod 25:9, מִשְׁכָּן; in Josh 22:28, מִזְבֵּחַ; etc. Compare also Isa 44:13, תְּכִינָה אִישׁ, referring

to the anthropomorphic shape of the idols. For the meaning “form,” referring to a bodily form, see the difficult verse in Ps. 49:15, where the *ketib* is צִירָה and the *qere* is צִירָה.

A similar derogatory double entendre based on homonyms is the *hapax* עֲצָבִי (עֲצָב\*) in Isa 48:5, referring to idols, along with נִסְכֵי and פְּסָלֵי (cf. the plural עֲצָבִים, a common term for divine effigies [see, e.g., Hos 4:17], derived from the root עֲצָב, “to shape” [see Job 10:8, parallel to “עֲשֵׂה”]), which alludes as well to עֲצָב (see Isa 14:3, Ps 139:24; 1 Chr 4:9), meaning “pain” (derived from the homonymic root, עֲצָב), and compare Gen 3:16 עֲצָבֶךָ and עֲצָבוֹן, and Ps 16:4 עֲצָבֶתָּה.<sup>26</sup>

19. For Heb. הַרְשֵׁי in connection with the making of idols, see Isa 40:19, 20; 41:7; 44:11, 12, 13.

20. AHw, 1440.

21. See S. Cohen and V.A. Hurowitz, “חקיית העמים הכל הוא” (Jer 10:3) in Light of Akkadian *Parṣu* and *Zaḡiqu* Referring to Cult Statues,” *JQR* 89 (1999): 280 n. 11. It is interesting to note that this is the way the word was interpreted already by Rashi, Joseph Karo, Eliezer of Beaugency, Isaiah of Trani, and Joseph Kaspi. See M. Cohen (ed.), *Miqra’ot Gedolot Haketer* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1996), 298–99; Samuel David Luzzatto, *Isaiah* (Padua: A. Bianchi, 1867), 499.

22. This is the way the word was interpreted by David Kimḥi (Cohen, *Miqra’ot Gedolot Haketer* [Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1996], 298); Judah ibn Bal’am (M. Goshen-Gottstein [ed.], *R. Judah ibn Bal’am’s Commentary to Isaiah* [Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1992], 190); Yonah ibn Ganah (*Sefer Ha-Shorashim* [Jerusalem: n.p., 1966], 429). Luzzatto (*Isaiah*) already surmised that there was a *double entendre* here.

23. See *m. Abod. Zar.* 3:3, “צורת חמה וצורת לבנה וצורת דרקון,” “the form of the sun, the form of the moon, and the form of the dragon,” and the ensuing Talmudic discussion in *b. Abod. Zar.* 42b. Cf., e.g., *Tg. Onq.* Exod. 26:1, 31; 36:8, צִירָה קְרוֹבִין (Heb. קְרוֹבִים); *Tg.-J.* Exod 26:31, צִירִין קְרוֹבִין (Heb. קְרוֹבִים); *Tg. Onq.* Deut 4:16, צִירָא (Heb. צִירָה); *Tg.-J.* Exod 20:4, צִירָה (Heb. צִירָה); *Tg.-J.* Exod 20:4, צִירָה (Heb. צִירָה); *Tg.-J.* Exod 20:4, צִירָה (Heb. צִירָה); *Tg.-J.* Exod 20:4, צִירָה (Heb. צִירָה). *Neofiti* as the Aramaic translation of Heb. פֶּסֶל in Deut 4:16, 23, 25 (A. Diez-Macho [ed.], *Neofiti 1, V: Deuteronomio* [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1978]). A bi-form of this same word, צִירָה, is found in *Tg.-J.* Exod 26:1.

24. Cf. CAD B, 138, *bāšimu uṣurāt ešrēti*, “He who designs the plans for sanctuaries”; and cf. the expression *uṣurtam ešēru*, “draw up ground plans”; CAD E, 347; and see also AHw, loc. cit.

25. Cf. also Ezek 28:12, where Heb. תְּכִינָה (הוֹרָם) is translated by LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. as though they read, תְּכִינָה (הוֹרָם), and by *Tg.-J.* as צִירָה, similar to his translation of 1 Chr 28:12, 18, 19. For further allusions to this phrase, see M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, AB 22A (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 581.

26. See Kimḥi, who draws this comparison in his comments to Isa 45:16 (see above, n. 22).



## JACOB WARDS OFF ENDANGERMENT\*

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THOSE MEMORABLE EPISODES in the Joseph story that move in procession to the concluding chapters of Genesis—most of them are masterfully lucid. Here and there in their ranks, however, occurs a disturbing phrase that is a puzzle in the sense of not being fully comprehended or analyzed. In this article, I should like to consider one of these “puzzles”: Jacob’s dialogue with and response to Pharaoh (Gen 47:7–9). Together with it, I should like to examine some interpretations offered by the commentators, and then offer an additional explanation for consideration.<sup>1</sup>

Preliminarily, I wish to draw attention to the problematic character of Genesis 47:7–9. As far as I know, the particular idioms and specific context of the account of Jacob’s meeting with Pharaoh occur here and here alone in biblical literature. In the first place, it strikes me as anomalous that someone in this context asks someone else how old he is. Pharaoh’s question is strange. In the second place, Pharaoh uses the phrase *כמה ימי שני חיך* yet Jacob’s answer refers to both *ימי שני מגורי* as well as *ימי שני חי*. Thirdly, there occurs the perplexing phrase *מעט ורעים*, for which see below.

\* Dedicated to Yakov Klein, friend, outstanding Sumerologist, and scholar of the Bible in its Ancient Near Eastern context. It is my pleasure to thank the editors, Pinhas Artzi and Yitschak Sefati, for their patience and helpfulness, and David Aaron—especially for his insightful comments and assistance in the later stages of the composition of this work—and Herbert Chanan Brichto, Sherry Walton Kingston and Avraham Schnall for their help in earlier stages of the writing. I am especially reminded of that familiar scholarly phrase, “... but any errors that remain are mine” because I owe so much to them.

1. For the purpose of this article, I wish to avoid “labeling” the text—see Herbert Chanan Brichto, *Toward a Grammar of Biblical Poetics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29, top, or discussing methodologies of textual interpretation, such as the historical-philological, literary, or literary-sociological, etc. With Brichto, I am assuming a “scriptural unity” (see Brichto, p. 62).

Here is the translation of the *New Revised Standard Version of The New Oxford Annotated Bible*<sup>2</sup> to the relevant verses:

<sup>7</sup> Then Joseph brought in his father Jacob, and presented him before Pharaoh, and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. <sup>8</sup> Pharaoh said to Jacob, “How many are the years of your life?” <sup>9</sup> (כמה ימי שני חיך) Jacob said to Pharaoh: “The years of my earthly sojourn (ימי שני מגורי) are one hundred thirty; few and hard (מעט ורעים) have been the years of my life (ימי שני חי). They do not compare with the years of the life of my ancestors during their long sojourn.” (Gen 49:7–9)

Jacob’s response to Pharaoh, redolent with “mordant pessimism”<sup>3</sup> is difficult to understand. Granted, no one would claim that Jacob’s life as portrayed in Genesis was easy.<sup>4</sup> He had suffered dreadfully from the antagonism of Esau (Gen 27:41), from his exile in the home of Laban (Gen 31:1–7), from the rape of his only daughter, Dina (Gen 34), from the early death of his beloved Rachel (Gen 35:18), and from the supposed death of his son, Joseph (Gen 37:33–35). Nahum Sarna has summarized these events most skillfully in noting that “The biographical details of Jacob’s life read like a catalogue of misfortunes.”<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, given what Jacob had achieved, and the spiritual stature ascribed to him by Jewish tradition,<sup>6</sup> one is startled to hear the negative and gloomy assessment of his own life, especially the words *מעט ורעים*, coming from him at the very moment of his reunion with Joseph, now a recognized leader in the foreign court, and at the long-awaited time of relief for his family. We shall try to resolve this problem below, but first we must address two other issues in this account.

2. Edited by Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). All translations are from the NRSV.
3. Cuthbert A. Simpson and Walter Russell Bowie, “The Book of Genesis,” *The Interpreter’s Bible* Vol. 1 (New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1952), 808.
4. Cp. Robert Davidson, *Genesis 12-50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 284: “They [Jacob’s years] had also been hard or bad years, a fact to which Jacob’s own shortcomings had contributed not a little.” Similarly, Michael Maher, “Genesis,” *Old Testament Message*, Vol. 2 (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazer, 1982), 256: “We who know the story of Jacob’s turbulent life can understand what he meant when he said that his days were evil.” Among the medieval Jewish commentaries, Rashi and Sforno (in *מקראות גדולות* to Gen 47:9) likewise emphasize the tragic hardships of Jacob’s life.
5. *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1966), 183.
6. In Jewish mystical tradition Jacob is accorded the highest stature, comparable to that of Moses; compare Zohar Vayehi 2:

ולא משה לנבואה דויהי אלא במצרים  
והיא נבואתה מעליהא, לא אתנבוא דכוותה  
ולא משה לחו שום איניש מן בני נביאה אלא הוא ומשה ...  
נבואתה דנתת מאספקלריאה דנהרא.



The expressions “my earthly sojourn” and “their long sojourn” have caught the attention of the commentators intent upon fathoming the tenor of Jacob’s remarks. Commentaries differ with regard to the connotation of the words מגוריהם and מגוריי.

Herbert Ryle prefers a literal, rather than a metaphoric<sup>7</sup> rendering of מגוריהם, which in his opinion denotes “the frequent change of Jacob’s abode.”<sup>8</sup> Comparable is Bruce Vawter, who alludes to “a homeless wandering,”<sup>9</sup> as does Gerhard von Rad, who sees “renunciation of settlement and ownership” as central to the meaning of “sojourning.”<sup>10</sup>

B. Jacob takes a different tack, viewing the expression metaphorically:

“This expresses not only the somber thought that man is a sojourner on earth (compare Psalm 119,54 and 39,13) but also clearly alludes to the words of his sons in verse 4, “We have come to sojourn in the land.” Jacob covertly indicates that he too regards himself only as a sojourner in Egypt.”<sup>11</sup>

In our view, the image here presented is of the shortness of life, the Hebrew מגוריהם connoting “a career of brief duration.” The term has nothing to do with ancestors not having their own land. This expression demonstrates an awareness of the brevity and fragility of life in general<sup>12</sup>—even of the best of lives—as the examples of Jacob’s own father and grandfather show.<sup>13</sup> Thus to achieve a better literary sense, one might omit the word “long” in the NRSV translation, “during their long sojourn.”

7. For the use of the term “metaphor” and “metaphoric” here and below, I refer the reader to David H. Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities. Metaphor, Semantics and Divine Imagery* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002). Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the question of literal vs. figurative language, how metaphor works, and other considerations.
8. “The Book of Genesis” *Cambridge Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 414f.
9. *On Genesis: A New Reading* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 447.
10. “Genesis: A Commentary” *Old Testament Library* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), 407.
11. *The First Book of the Bible: Genesis*, New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974, p. 315.
12. Our interpretation puts us at odds with Speiser, who remarks, “... ‘pilgrimage,’ which has often been proposed [for *m<sup>e</sup>gūrīm*], is unsatisfactory; such an allusion to wandering through life has rightly been suspect as unduly sophisticated.” “Genesis” *Anchor Bible* (New York, Doubleday and Co., 1964), 351. For the issue of “Primitivity and Naïveté Versus Modern Sophistication,” see Herbert Chanan Brichto, *Toward a Grammar of Biblical Poetics*, 27–28.
13. Herbert C. Brichto (in a personal communication) calls attention to a verse in Psalms that illustrates the connotation of the verb גור as something of short duration: *כי לא אל חפץ רשע אתה לא יגדך רע* “For you are not a God who delights in wickedness; evil will not sojourn with you” (Ps MT 5:5; NRSV 5:4). According to Brichto, the sense of this verse is not as given in the translation above—since who would presume that God delights in wickedness?! Rather, the meaning seems to be that God is not a God who *tolerates* evil, God *makes short shrift* of evil.

As for the question of the number of Jacob’s years,<sup>14</sup> though Jacob’s grandfather<sup>15</sup> reached the grand old age of 175 (Gen 25:8) and his father, 180 (Gen 35:28–29), 130-year-old Jacob had no way of knowing whether or not he would reach a similar life span, so that could not have been the source of his complaint. (Jacob was destined to live another 17 years after his arrival in Egypt [Gen 47:28]).<sup>16</sup>

Our perplexity at Jacob’s response to Pharaoh is shared by Ramban, the medieval Jewish commentator:

לא ידעתי שעם הזקן אבינו מה מוסר הוא שיתאונן אל המלך ומה שעם לאמר לא השיגו את ימי שני חיי אבותי כי אולי עוד ישיגם ויחיה יותר מהם

“I don’t understand why our venerable ancestor aired his grievances in such a way to the king. Moreover, why did he say ‘they [my years] do not compare with the years of the life of my ancestors’?—It was still possible for them [his years] to reach them [the years of his ancestors] so that he would live longer than they did.”<sup>17</sup>

Jacob’s response should be understood from a rather different perspective from that suggested by the commentators we have seen. His language is highly metaphoric and somewhat oblique and he does not come directly to the point. Being an elderly gentleman traveling to Egypt for the first time, Jacob felt vulnerable and apprehensive: Would Pharaoh, the all-powerful monarch, harm him? Therefore, his response was to play down and treat as of little importance his own situation. It is, in fact, an attempt on Jacob’s part to ward off endangerment—what in later times might be called the “evil eye.”

The exact expression “עין הרעה” (or עין הרע) in the familiar later sense of “evil eye” does not occur in Biblical Hebrew. Similar terminology can, however, be found in two representative passages from Deuteronomy (compare also Prov 23:6 28:2 and *passim*). Deut 15:9 deals with the remission of debts, cautioning one not to use the approaching seventh (release) year as a pretext for refusing to give a needy person a loan:

14. See A. Malamat, “Longevity: Biblical Concepts and Some Ancient Near Eastern Parallels,” *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 19 (1982), *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien 6.–10. Juli 1981*; pp. 215–24.
15. For the ages of the patriarchs, see Malamat, “Longevity,” 216.
16. William W. Hallo, in a personal communication, suggests that perhaps the expression “ancestors” in the verse “They do not compare with the years of the life of my ancestors during their long sojourn” refers not to Jacob’s immediate ancestors, but to antediluvians. See William W. Hallo, “The Book of the People,” in *Brown Judaic Studies* Number 225 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 121.
17. See *מקראות גדולות* to Gen 47:9. David Aaron notes, in a comment to the author, that “Ramban missed the lexical shift from *חיים* to *מגוריים*. Does this mean that he read through the words without paying any attention to such a shift?”



עין הרע עיניך באהדיך האביון (MT) = LXX καὶ πονηρεύσῃται π ὀψθαλμὸς σου (JPS: "...so that you are mean to your needy kinsman"; JPS [1917]: "...and thine eye be evil against thy needy brother"; RSV: "...you do not entertain a mean thought").

In Deut 28:54, among an array of curses, we find the language *הרע עיניו באהיו* (MT) = LXX βασκαίνει τῷ ὀψθαλμῷ (JPS: "...shall be too mean to his brother"; JPS [1917] "...his eye shall be evil against his brother"; RSV: "...will begrudge (food) to his own brother").

For a typical usage in the Babylonian Talmud, see footnote 27, citing BT *Bab. Mets.* 107b. The sense is "an envious glance that brings harm to the person looked at, bewitchment."<sup>18</sup>

The widespread phenomena akin to the evil eye and related occurrences in the Hebrew Bible have been studied recently by John H. Elliott in "The Evil Eye in the First Testament."<sup>19</sup> Elliott reviewed cross-cultural occurrences, salient features and usages that he believes occur in the Bible.

Many scholars would disagree with Elliott's identification of *עין הרע* in the passages cited (see above) or with the existence of this phrase in the Hebrew Bible. However, functionally, one can follow his arguments with profit.

Among the selected passages with the expression *עין הרע* (or variants thereupon) cited by him,<sup>20</sup> some deal with the concepts of greed and its opposite, generosity<sup>21</sup> or treatment of needy poor.<sup>22</sup> In Elliott's view, the basic notion involved with what he identifies as the evil eye focused upon wealth, and the refusal to share:

"Socially, this [Biblical] warning against an Evil Eye reflects the concern for mutual support and covenantal solidarity in a society plagued by economic disparity, conflict, suspicion of wealth and a perception of limited good."<sup>23</sup>

18. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary* (New York: Pardes, 1950), 1071b.

19. John H. Elliott, "The Evil Eye in the First Testament," in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis, Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by David Jobling, Peggy Day, and Gerald Sheppard (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1991), 147–59, notes, pp. 332–36. For bibliography of the phenomenon generally, see p. 332 note 3, for biblical studies, *passim*. I am grateful to Sherry Walton Kingston, a close student of Norman Gottwald's work, for this and other relevant references. See also Frederick Thomas Elworth, *The Evil Eye* (New York: Julian Press, 1958) and *The Evil Eye: A Folklore Casebook*, edited by Alan Dundes (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981), especially Aaron Brav, "The Evil Eye among the Hebrews," 44–54. J.N. Fox, "Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes," *KTU* 2 1.96 in Its N.E. Context," *UF* 30 (1998): 201–78.

20. Elliott, "The Evil Eye," 153–57.

21. *Ibid.*, 154 and 156.

22. *Ibid.*, 157.

23. *Ibid.*, 158.

Whether or not one accepts this interpretation, in Gen 47:9 we propose that the concept of *עין הרע* was operative (without however, the explicit term being used) with the purpose of avoiding potential injury or endangerment.

That in the rabbis' view, Jacob was concerned with the potential danger to his children as he advised his sons on what to do when they reached Egypt, is evident from the following comment to the verse

למה תתראו

"Why do you keep looking at one another?" (Gen 24:1)<sup>24</sup>

Jacob has learned that there is grain available in Egypt. He acts decisively by suggesting to his sons that they go down and buy some, but at the same time, he advises them to exercise caution:

ואל תכנסו כולכם בפתח אחד מפני העין

"Do not all of you enter by the same gate so as to be on guard against the [Evil] Eye."<sup>25</sup>

A further connection of the evil eye with Egypt in rabbinic literature is found in the Babylonian Talmud:

והסיר ה' ממך כל חולי אמר רב זו עין

"And the Lord shall take away from thee all sickness."<sup>26</sup> Said Rab: By this, the [evil] eye is meant."<sup>27</sup>

Rashi, commenting upon the words "every illness" in this passage, notes: "this refers to that from which all illnesses derive, namely, 'the eye,' i.e., the evil eye!"<sup>28</sup>

Although it is true that links can be demonstrated between ancient Near Eastern texts and rabbinics in a number of areas, it is also true that to see a direct connection here between the biblical/ancient Near Eastern and rabbinic materials would be "reaching" a bit. Nevertheless, the ancient Near Eastern material can be used to establish similarities.

24. Robert Alter sees this passage as "an exact reversal of the roles played by Jacob and his sons at the end of Genesis 34, the conclusion of the story of the rape of Dinah," *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 160f.

25. בראשית רבה פרשה צ"א (ב)–ניקן

26. *NRSV*: "The Lord will turn away from you every illness; all the dread diseases of Egypt that you experienced, he will not inflict on you..." (Deut 7:15).

27. *Baba Mezi'a*, folio 107b, H. Freedman, trans. (London: Soncino Press, 1935), 613f. For further examples from rabbinic literature, see Brav, "Evil Eye," *passim*, with p. 54.

28. David Aaron, in a private communication to the author, wonders whether remarks such as those cited by Rashi or Ramban signify "longevity [of a tradition], the re-emergence of an ancient connotation...?"

A recent treatment of similar cases establishes a connection between the evil eye and illness. In "The Incantation Against the Evil Eye"<sup>29</sup> Karel van der Toorn, citing Walter Farber's "Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur"<sup>30</sup> as well as Farber's *Schlaf Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale*,<sup>31</sup> (among other sources) discusses a series of calamities that can befall a household due to the departure of the god of the house and the consequent attack of the evil eye.

The term "evil eye" also occurs in bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian texts.<sup>32</sup> The evil eye can approach creatures of this world and inflict malevolent curses upon them. The evil eye "looks upon one in anger," and "causes pain" or "distress." However, there are incantations that can be recited and rituals that can be performed to obtain protection against this bane.<sup>33</sup>

As an example of an act intended to avoid a hex—a related but distinct form of warding off magic in the ancient Near East to the "evil eye"—can be drawn from the procedure of census-taking in Mari<sup>34</sup> and Israel, which is viewed as a kind of "purification" to counteract evil consequences that could arise as a result of it.

"Evidently...the *tēbibtum* could give rise to fears, which it was important to forestall. Such a need might well account for the cultic bearing of the pertinent terminology."<sup>35</sup>

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29. "Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel," *Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East*, edited by B. Halpern and M.H.E. Weippert, Vol. 7 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 121–25.
30. *ZA* 71 (1981): 51–72.
31. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
32. See *imulemuttu*, in CADI-J, A.L. Oppenheim, ed. (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1960), 155f.; and in W. von Soden, "böses Auge," *AHW*, 383b (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963).
33. Stephen Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris: Geuthner, 1913), 11f.; Erich Ebeling, "Blick, Böser," *RIA* 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938), 55; Ebeling, "Beschwörungen gegen den Feind und den bösen Blick aus dem Zweistromlande," *ArOr* 17 (1949): 172–211; Langdon's *Babylonian Liturgies* #3, is treated on pp. 208f.; and above, nn. 29–31.
34. William W. Hallo, "The Book of the People," in *Brown Judaic Studies* Number 225 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 152f. keys the Mari census with Num 1:26; see there for bibliography.
35. "Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *Oriental and Biblical Studies. Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser*, J.J. Finkelstein and Moshe Greenberg, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 177. The relevant technical terms in Akkadian and Hebrew are discussed in this article *passim*.

The reason for these fears was that "the writing down of names could on certain occasions be a very ominous process."<sup>36</sup> Parallels from post-biblical Jewish religious thought are cited by Speiser.<sup>37</sup>

Propitiation was a key element in averting the destructive power of invisible forces.

"There must thus have been a time when the ancient Near Easterner shrank from the thought of having his name recorded in lists that might be put to unpredictable uses."<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion: in our view, the puzzling response of Jacob to Pharaoh, particularly Jacob's words, *נֹעַט וְרַעִים*, should not be viewed as how "Jacob actually felt about his own life, and life in general"<sup>39</sup> but rather as a kind of "avoidance" of danger, a warding off of a magical spell that could be placed on a good situation, very much like what we see in evil eye incantations among ancient Near Eastern documents.

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36. "Census and Ritual Expiation," 183.

37. *Ibid.*, 183ff.

38. *Ibid.*, 184.

39. Cuthbert A. Simpson and Walter Russell Bowie, "The Book of Genesis," *The Interpreter's Bible* Vol. 1 (New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1952), 808.