

*Riches Hidden
in
Secret Places*

Ancient Near Eastern Studies
in Memory of

Thorkild Jacobsen

Edited by

TZVI ABUSCH

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Preface

At the 1993 meeting of the American Oriental Society, Thorkild Jacobsen completed his term as president of the Society and delivered a presidential address entitled “The Historian and the Sumerian Gods” (*JAOS* 114 [1994]: 145–53). After the meeting, he returned to his home in New Hampshire. I spoke to him on Friday night, a week and a half after he delivered the presidential address. He had taken his presidential duties seriously and had worked hard preparing the lecture; now he was relaxing and reading novels and was in good spirits. He was pleased with his lecture and with the reception he had received from the membership of the Society.

In some ways, Jacobsen was a shy and modest man. On the occasion of his presidential address, I had enjoyed the privilege of introducing him, and in our conversation that Friday night, he was curious to learn what I had said in my introduction that caused the audience to give him a standing ovation. It seems that he had heard only parts of my introduction because his hearing aid was not working. I promised to mail him a copy of my introduction on the following Monday, but I explained that the Society had not been applauding anything that I had said but, rather, who he was and what he had accomplished.

On Saturday, the day after our conversation, Jacobsen unexpectedly entered the hospital and underwent surgery. He never regained consciousness and died the next day, Sunday, May 2, 1993. His death that day was fortunate, for the cancer that was discovered during surgery might otherwise have meant months of pain and debilitation. He died, I suspect, as he would have wanted to—without indignity and in the fulness of his power. Up to the end, he was working intensively on a series of philological commentaries to the translations that had previously appeared in his *Harps That Once*. . . . Typically, he was learning and discovering new things and even, on occasion, changing his mind regarding his own translations. Thorkild aged with grace.

Just as one can envy Jacobsen his old age and death, so one must admire his life and work. Studying with him was one of the most exciting and moving experiences of my life. He stands among the great interpreters of Mesopotamian culture. I constantly rediscover—occasionally with surprise, but usually with delight—how fundamental Jacobsen’s insights into and syntheses of that culture are to my own understanding and appreciation of Mesopotamian civilization. For me, at least, his constructions serve as a framework and point of reference even when I end up modifying them or developing alternative interpretations. I am sure that my feelings of love, respect, and loss for a great scholar and teacher are shared by many others, and certainly by the membership of the American Oriental Society and the contributors to this volume. I need only recall the outpouring of admiration and

appreciation for Jacobsen in 1993 and the Society's subsequent commission of this memorial volume. As for the contributors, the alacrity with which they responded to my invitation and the wonderful quality of their contributions attest to their regard.

A few comments regarding this memorial volume are in order here. In 1994, the Society asked me to edit an issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* in memory of Thorkild Jacobsen. The single-issue format limited the thematic scope of the volume as well as the number of people who could be invited and the length of their contributions. In order that the volume have some thematic unity and be a fitting memorial to Jacobsen, it seemed best under the circumstances to invite mainly, but not exclusively, Sumerologists who were either members of the AOS or had had strong personal contact with Jacobsen and to ask them to write essays that focused on aspects of Mesopotamian literature, history, religion, or culture that had been of particular interest to Jacobsen. But subsequently, I found the single-issue format unwieldy and not in the best interest of the volume or its contributors and decided, with the agreement of the Society, to produce instead a free-standing volume. Even so, I could not significantly enlarge the make-up of the volume, but I could assign more space to the individual contributors. I do regret that many more scholars could not be invited.

I wish to acknowledge and express my gratitude to several individuals and institutions for assistance received in the course of producing this volume. My sincerest thanks go to Christopher Wyckoff, Alan Lenzi, and Jeffrey Stackert, graduate students in the Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, and Benjamin Studevent-Hickman and Gene McGarry, graduate students in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, who helped with editorial work, proofreading, and computer inputting and formatting. The two departments supported the work of their respective students; in this context, I particularly wish to thank John Huehnergard for funding, from his own departmental research funds, the work of the two Harvard students.

Editors of the Ancient Near Eastern section of the *Journal*—Maynard Maidman, Jack Sasson, and Gary Beckman—have stood behind this project. I am particularly grateful to Gary Beckman for the valuable editorial suggestions that he made just prior to my submission of the volume to the publisher. I thank the American Oriental Society for sponsoring the volume and Eisenbrauns for serving as publisher. Bibliographical abbreviations, in the main, follow the conventions of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and the *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*.

I should note that some of the articles were first submitted as long ago as 1996. I would end, then, by thanking the contributors for the spirit of cooperation and patience that they have displayed. I am sure that Thorkild Jacobsen would have found much to study and enjoy in these essays.

TZVI ABUSCH

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PREPARED BY TZVI ABUSCH AND JOHN HUEHNERGARD

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Thorkild Jacobsen: An Appreciation

TZVI ABUSCH

Thorkild Jacobsen stands among the great interpreters of Mesopotamian culture. Throughout his life, he was passionately and deeply committed to the study of ancient Mesopotamia: its land, cultures, and languages. Until his death at the age of eighty-eight, he continued to be a vibrant and creative scholar, his engagement and fascination in no way diminished. By virtue of his achievements, vision, and approach, he had surely become the outstanding humanist among contemporary Near Eastern philologists and archaeologists.

Jacobsen was born in Copenhagen, Denmark on June 7, 1904, and died in New Hampshire on May 2, 1993. At the time of his death he was Professor of Assyriology Emeritus, Harvard University. Already as a teenager, Jacobsen was drawn to ancient studies. He studied at the University of Copenhagen, from which institution he received an MA in Semitic philology in 1927. There in his native Copenhagen, he studied Assyriology with Ravn and Pallis and always retained a great respect for the pedagogical style and scholarly positions that they represented. In 1927, he traveled to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, where he hoped to continue his work in Assyriology and, in particular, to pursue the study of historical texts with Luckenbill. On arriving in Chicago, he learned of Luckenbill's sudden death. He studied Sumerian with Poebel, but did not wish to write his dissertation with him.

Author's note: All articles cited in this essay without accompanying bibliographical information were reprinted (and details of their original publication given) in *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, ed. W. L. Moran (HSS 21; Cambridge, Mass., 1970). A bibliography of Jacobsen's writings through 1969 appears there, pp. 471–74; for a complete bibliography of his writings, see pp. ix–xvii of the present volume. Jacobsen published an autobiographical statement “Searching for Sumer and Akkad” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. M. Sasson, et al. (New York, 1995), vol. 4: 2743–52. For Moran's assessment of Jacobsen's work, see *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, pp. v–vi. For another assessment, see S. N. Kramer, “Thorkild Jacobsen: Philologist, Archeologist, Historian,” in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen*, ed. S. J. Lieberman (AS 20; Chicago, 1976), 1–7. See my introduction to Jacobsen's Presidential Address to the American Oriental Society published posthumously in *JAOS* 14 (1994): 145–46, as well as my entry “Jacobsen, Thorkild” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. Meyers, et al. (Oxford, 1997), vol. 3: 205.

Hence he learned Syriac and, under the supervision of Sprengling, wrote a doctoral dissertation on a Syriac commentary (Bar Salibi) to the biblical book of Job. (In Copenhagen, he had studied Hebrew and Arabic in addition to Akkadian and Sumerian, but had not studied Syriac.) With Chiera's arrival in Chicago, Jacobsen began working on the Assyrian dictionary project; Chiera subsequently arranged for him to participate in the excavations of the Oriental Institute in Iraq.

Jacobsen was field Assyriologist with the Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute from 1929 to 1937 and served as both epigrapher and excavator. Jacobsen collaborated with Frankfort, who led the expedition, as well as with other archaeologists: Delougaz, Lloyd, and Loud. The 1930's were an exciting time for archaeologists working in Iraq. They were especially important and formative years for Jacobsen because of the actual physical contact with the land, the experience of working in the field and excavating, and the influence and friendship of Frankfort. During these years, he was epigrapher at Khorsabad and in the Diyala region, and he himself led the excavation at Ishchali. Together with Lloyd, Jacobsen excavated Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan. Moreover, he was instrumental in introducing systematic surface survey as a method for the reconstruction of ancient Mesopotamian settlement patterns and agricultural history.

Returning to Chicago in 1937, he began a twenty-five year affiliation with the University of Chicago. At the University, he progressed to the rank of full professor by 1946 and served over the next five years, first, as the Chairman of the then department of Semitic Languages and Literatures and the Director of the Oriental Institute and, then, as the Dean of the Division of Humanities. Especially through the office of Director, he gave new shape to the Assyriology faculty of the Oriental Institute, and to American Assyriology in general, by bringing to Chicago several major cuneiformists who had fled Europe because of the Nazi persecutions (Landsberger, Oppenheim, Güterbock). Moreover, he set the agenda for American archaeology in Iraq by reestablishing American excavations at Nippur jointly with the University of Pennsylvania, and by setting in motion the surface surveys that would lead, for example, to his own as well as to Adams' important discoveries regarding waterways, salinization, and settlement patterns. The last years at Chicago were marred by major disagreements over the policies, direction, and execution of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. As a consequence of these disagreements, Jacobsen decided to leave Chicago. He joined the faculty of Harvard University in 1962 and taught in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures until his retirement in 1974. During his long retirement, he often served as a visiting professor and taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Columbia University, UCLA, the University of Michigan, the University of London, and St. John's College, Oxford. The Hebrew University, where he taught on three different occasions during his retirement, conferred upon him an honorary doctorate in 1989. He died suddenly in May, 1993 while still in the fulness of his intellectual powers.

Jacobsen began publishing already in 1927. But it was the publication in Chicago of a number of works during the late 1930s and early 1940s that quickly and

definitively established him as one of the leading Assyriologists of his generation and one of its most original thinkers. These works are indicative of many of the directions that his future research would take: his exemplary edition and analysis of *The Sumerian King List* (AS 11; Chicago, 1939), which he submitted to the University of Copenhagen for the degree of Dr. Phil.; his demonstration in “The Assumed Conflict Between the Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History” that early Mesopotamia was a multilingual society devoid of racism—this at a time when racist categories were normal in the academy; his recovery in “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia” of early Mesopotamian forms of government; his groundbreaking and breathtaking interpretation of Mesopotamian religious thought in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (which he coauthored with H. and H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, and W. A. Irwin [Chicago, 1946]), wherein he noticed the existence in Mesopotamia of an animistic view of nature but then pointed to the Mesopotamian tendency to view the world as a state and thus to reformulate the more natural perception in terms or forms derived from political life; his “Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article” of Kramer’s *Sumerian Mythology* that demonstrated a rigorously philological approach to mythology that was yet rooted in a profound understanding of nature, literature, and religious sentiment and thought.

Jacobsen’s insights and syntheses influenced and sometimes even determined the direction of research in such diverse fields of Mesopotamian scholarship as linguistics and language, religion and literature, history and archaeology. He contributed significantly to such central areas as Mesopotamian archaeology, history, and institutions; religion, literature, and their modes of interpretation; Sumerian and Akkadian lexicography and grammar. Though interested in the whole of ancient Mesopotamia, in the main Jacobsen concentrated on (1) the history and institutions of Mesopotamia during the third and early second millennia, (2) the Sumerian language and its literature, and (3) the formative tendencies and basic forms of Mesopotamian religion. We should here take note of some of his work in these areas.

(1) He reconstructed the earliest forms of government, the stages of development of the state, and the process of nation-building in Mesopotamia (e.g., “The Assumed Conflict Between the Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History”; “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia”; “Early Political Developments in Mesopotamia”) and pioneered the study of Mesopotamian irrigation and settlement patterns (“The Waters of Ur”; “Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture,” *Science* 128 [1958]: 1251–58 [with R. M. Adams]; *Salinity and Irrigation Agriculture in Antiquity* [Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 14; Malibu, 1982]).

(2) The analysis of the Sumerian language is certainly one of the great challenges and achievements of 20th century humanistic scholarship, and Jacobsen devoted much of his scholarly attention to the understanding and interpretation of this language and its literature. While paying great respect to Poebel’s analyses and results, he was able in his studies of Sumerian grammar to register major progress in the most difficult area of Sumerian grammar—the verb. Thus, for example, he

was the first to utilize systematically and comprehensively the principle of fixed rank order for the study of the Sumerian verb and the explication of some of its more daunting intricacies (“About the Sumerian Verb”; “The Sumerian Verbal Core,” *ZA* 78 [1988]: 161–220). (He creatively applied this approach as well to the Akkadian verb [“*Ittallak niâti*”].) He thereby made original and profound contributions to an understanding of Sumerian grammar and stimulated major advances in the study of the verb and its syntax.

Over the years, Jacobsen produced important translations of many of the major works of Sumerian literature. Near the end of his life, he produced a major volume, *The Harps That Once . . . : Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven/London, 1987), in which religious poetry—myths, prayers, laments, etc.—is presented in translations that are no less magnificent and beautiful for their great interpretive and scholarly value. His translations of this difficult literature are a *tour de force* of exacting philology and artistry; they remain fundamental and seminal. Up to the end of his life, he was working intensively on a series of philological commentaries to the translations that had previously appeared in his *Harps That Once*. Jacobsen was a great philologist but he was surely a poet also. With precision, clarity, elegance, and above all imagination, Jacobsen created translations, renditions, and paraphrases that are simple and evocative and yet also illuminate the texts so that they finally seem intelligible. Typically, he breathed life into texts that seemed wooden and dead and rendered them emotionally alive. As for his interpretations, they invariably uncover the concrete background of the texts, articulate their intellectual forms, and enable us to enter their world and grasp their meaning.

(3) Certainly one of Jacobsen’s most enduring and powerful contributions is in the area of religion and mythology (see simply the essays on religion collected in *Toward the Image of Tammuz*). He sought to elucidate religious imagery by finding the underlying natural and social forms and defining the nature of the religious experience itself. In his later synthesis, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven/London, 1976), he developed the idea of divine intransitivity and transitivity, reconstructed the major stages of development of Mesopotamian religion over the course of 4000 years, examined the most important gods, and provided analyses of significant segments of Mesopotamian religious literature. His imagination, his artistic bent, and his empathic powers allowed him to penetrate and create a meaningful and coherent reconstruction of Mesopotamian religion. It is a picture that has texture, dimension, and spirit. In part, it is personal. He understood that an appreciation of an ancient religion requires both objective analysis and subjective involvement. He sought to combine the varying approaches and sensibilities rooted in both the impersonal and the personal.

Thorkild Jacobsen’s career as a cuneiformist and archaeologist spanned much of the twentieth century. His work was both fundamental and original, and its impact far-reaching. Always the historian and philologist, he strove to uncover the meaning of ancient texts and recover ancient institutions. To witness him slowly probing

a text by a meticulous and analytic reading tempered by sensitive inquiry is to have experienced the philological enterprise at its most profound and beautiful.

One distinguishing characteristic of Jacobsen's approach was his integration of the textual, material, and natural evidence—the different aspects, that is, of culture and even nature—in his attempt to fathom the meaning and forms of Mesopotamian civilization. His very unique blend of scholarship—a mastery of texts, a knowledge of art and archaeology, a quest for conceptual patterns, and an appreciation of the environment and way of life of ancient Mesopotamia—together with his own deep human sympathy, allowed him to recreate the image of a past civilization and shaped his understanding thereof. It will not have escaped the reader that, for example, “Assumed Conflict” and “Primitive Democracy” were composed at a time when the Nazi threat hung over Europe, that “The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu” speaks as much about our approach to reality in general as it does about the characters in a Sumerian text, or that his “Toward the Image of Tammuz” reveals not a little about his understanding of some of the emotions that shape relationships between men and women. Perhaps, then, he was able to recreate an image of a civilization that had disappeared because he approached the task in an existential spirit and saw an alien and distant human life as something that not only existed in its own terms but also mattered very deeply for our own cultural, spiritual, and personal lives, indeed, for the enduring human spirit.

Thorkild Jacobsen's Danish Academic Background

BENDT ALSTER

Thorkild Jacobsen always considered himself—with his own words—a scholar working “in the Danish tradition.” He talked of the University of Copenhagen at the time when he studied there, around 1920, as ranking among the finest universities in the world. Today there is no commonly recognized “Danish tradition,” so it might be worth while briefly to recapitulate the situation of those days, with a view to seeing how Jacobsen may have understood this.

Jacobsen received his primary Assyriological education from Prof. O. E. Ravn in Copenhagen, whom he remembered as a severe and highly formal teacher, who only became somewhat less formal after Jacobsen received his degree in 1924.

From then on Jacobsen spent most of his time in Chicago, where he was given some unique archaeological opportunities that he would never have had if he had stayed in Denmark, where unemployment was indeed becoming a severe problem. Yet, in 1939 Jacobsen defended his doctoral thesis, *The Sumerian King List*, in Copenhagen.

During most of these early years Jacobsen continued to keep a summer cottage in Tisvildeleje, on the coastline some 70 kms north of Copenhagen, where he used to spend some months every year. Jacobsen always preserved a warm remembrance of the place (as appears from a newspaper interview in which he talked of “walking on the sand of Tisvildeleje”). In 1969 he spent a summer at Asserbo, a neighbouring area. Although he had long ago given up hopes of ever returning to Denmark, it was this visit to Denmark that inspired him finally to settle in New Hampshire “on the real countryside,” where he found an environment with some of the same rural qualities, characterized by tall fir trees, yet on a much larger scale.

It is worth keeping in mind that one of Jacobsen's early scholarly commitments was the completion of Howardy's *Clavis Cuneiformum*, which he undertook at the request of Howardy's widow. Howardy was a Danish clergyman who held an office on the island of Funen (Fyn), far from libraries and books. He had constructed his minute signlist from handwritten copies of the Rawlinson volumes which he had

prepared in his limited spare time—summer after summer—during numerous visits to the Royal Library in Copenhagen—long before the age of xerox copies. Jacobsen always spoke very highly of Howardy's work, and continued to use it throughout his life, although he admitted that it was unfortunately outdated already by the time of its appearance, since Deimel's *Sumerisches Lexikon* was already available.

An influential scholar in the study of the history of religions, including Mesopotamian religion, was Svend Aage Pallis. In 1926, he published his *The Babylonian Akītu Festival*; subsequently, he became professor of the history of religions, and continued to take an interest in Assyriology, as well as in Manichaean studies, etc. Pallis's work on the Akītu festival, as well as his other Assyriological publications, are not generally held in high esteem, but Jacobsen acknowledged it as an attempt to study Mesopotamian rituals as part of a living drama taking place in real life.

Jacobsen surprisingly never mentioned Vilhelm Grønbech (1873–1948), who undoubtedly was the most prominent Danish scholar in the study of religions. Grønbech started as an extremely gifted linguist, specializing in Turkish sound shifts, but at the time when he was finishing his dissertation, he decided to shift to the study of religions, in particular “primitive” religions. Grønbech was a highly charismatic person who influenced a whole generation of scholars, but his major works were never translated and regrettably remain virtually unknown outside his home country.

Among Grønbech's followers was Johannes Pedersen, professor of Semitic studies, whose book *Israel* was first published in Denmark in 1920 (an English translation was delayed many years owing to unfortunate circumstances).

Characteristic of Grønbech and his followers was an outspoken ability to combine a strong insight in philological matters with a high degree of intuition regarding living institutions. To them the appearance of a seemingly trivial word in an unexpected context may reveal much more about the “true” meaning of the word than numerous “plain” attestations. So, in discussions with this school, one should not use as an argument that there are hundreds of references that suggest a simpler solution, but only a few that suggest a more unusual one, which they support. Their answer would be, “well, that's exactly the point.” This method, which obviously may have promising as well as dangerous consequences, may make some of Jacobsen's at times controversial conclusions appear less surprising. Jacobsen seems not to have read Grønbech's major works, yet, it is justified to say that at least indirectly he was inspired by Grønbech, even deeply so.

In the early days of the study of Sumerian literature, Jacobsen was ahead of everyone else as far as the reconstruction of narrative plots was concerned. His unsurpassed intuition became manifest with his review of Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology*, which appeared in 1946. In this sense, Jacobsen drew on the heritage from Axel Olrik, who was the leading Danish scholar of folktale tradition and legends. His best known work *Nogle Grundsætninger for sagnforskning* appeared in 1921. Earlier studies by Olrik were published in Germany as early as 1909, and Olrik's ideas had a heavy impact on Gunkel's Genesis commentary. Jacobsen hardly mentioned

Olrik's epic "laws" in his writings, but knew them and frequently referred to them in his teaching.

Jacobsen took great pride in being linguistically well informed. The leading figure in linguistics at the University of Copenhagen was Otto Jespersen (1860–1943, professor from 1893). His well known work *The Philosophy of Grammar* was first published in 1926, and has continually been reprinted. Though Jespersen's great strength was English grammar, he nevertheless thought in universal terms of a "science of grammar." Jacobsen considered this book a classic. The later Copenhagen school of glossematic linguistics founded by Louis Hjelmslev played no role in Jacobsen's writings.

Jacobsen frequently asserted, "I always wanted to return to Denmark," and this desire was deeply felt. But it was obvious that Jacobsen soon came to feel at home in the United States, and he probably never thought of an academic career in Denmark as a serious possibility. He never forgot the instability of his younger years, but he still felt he was indebted to the "Danish tradition."

The Socio-Religious Framework of the Babylonian Witchcraft Ceremony *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Introductory Section of the Text, Part I

TZVI ABUSCH

*for Thorkild Jacobsen
Master, Teacher, Friend
in Memoriam*

I. Introduction

The purpose of the present essay is to advance the understanding of the nature of *Maqlû* reached in my earlier studies and to set out several hypotheses that suggest—and allow us to develop—a deeper, more comprehensive, and satisfying understanding of the ceremony. I hope, thereby, to place the *Maqlû* series into its contemporary social and intellectual setting.

The *Maqlû* text represents a ceremony that was directed against witches and was performed at night near the end of the month Abu, at a time when spirits were

Author's note: My analysis of *Maqlû* I 37–72 was the subject of several invited lectures presented in 1990. A condensed version of Part I was read at the 201st meeting of the American Oriental Society, Berkeley, 1991, under the title “Observations on the Cosmology, Imagery, and Social Setting of *Maqlû*.” Part II appears in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Z. Zevit et al. (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1995), 467–94. I must apologize for some repetition between Parts I and II, but because Part II was published first, it was necessary to repeat there, especially in the sections “Introduction” and “Legal Setting” (pp. 468–69 and 471–75), some of the conclusions arrived at in the present study (Part I). My work on these studies in 1989–90 was supported by an NEH Fellowship. Building on these studies, I then developed a further set of insights in “Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience,” in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, ed. J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane (Albany, 1995), 15–39. I wish to express particular gratitude to Kathryn Kravitz for valuable assistance and suggestions during the preparation of this essay.

thought to move back and forth between the netherworld and this world.¹ I 1–72 constitute the introduction to the work.² This introduction is directed to the nighttime sky and its gods and to the netherworld and its gods, and thus the very beginning of the composition imparts an astral and chthonic character and orientation to the work in keeping with the ceremonial and nocturnal setting mentioned above. The work thereby assumes a cosmic setting.

This introductory section, however, was not part of the original text of *Maqlû*;³ rather, it was added to the work when *Maqlû* was transformed into a nighttime ceremony. But it is especially this new introduction that defines the setting and provides the context for the final version of the ceremony. The introduction comprises five incantations; these form three units: the first incantation (I 1–36), the middle three (I 37–60 = 37–41, 42–49, 50–60), and the fifth (I 61–72).⁴ The addressees in the introductory incantations change from unit to unit. The opening incantation, I 1–36, addresses the gods of the night sky. In the middle three incantations, both gods of the netherworld and gods of the night sky are invoked. This group

1. See T. Abusch, “Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies. Part I: The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions and Calendrical Setting,” *JNES* 33 (1974): 251–62, especially 259–61. See below, §IV.

2. The definition of I 1–72 as a discrete introductory unit is evident not only from position and content but also from the fact that the original work began only with line 73 (for the evidence and argumentation, see my “An Early Form of the Witchcraft Ritual *Maqlû* and the Origin of a Babylonian Magical Ceremony,” in *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. T. Abusch et al. [HSS 37; Atlanta, 1990], 1–57).

3. For the history of *Maqlû*, see especially T. Abusch, “*Maqlû*,” *RLA* 7, 350–51; “The Demonic Image of the Witch in Standard Babylonian Literature: The Reworking of Popular Conceptions by Learned Exorcists,” in *Religion, Science, and Magic in Concert and in Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner et al. (New York and Oxford, 1989), 27–58; “Early Form,” 1–57; “The Ritual Tablet and Rubrics of *Maqlû*: Towards the History of the Series,” in *Ah Assyria . . . Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, ed. M. Cogan and I. Eph’al (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33; Jerusalem, 1991), 233–53; and “Ritual and Incantation: Interpretation and Textual History of *Maqlû* VII:58–105 and IX:152–59,” in “*Sha‘arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov (Winona Lake, 1991), 367–80.

4. This division is indicated already by the distribution of the *ina qibîṭ* formula (see T. Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies* [Brown Judaic Studies 132; Atlanta: 1987], 85–86, with 86, n. 1.). The compositional and dramatic unity of the middle three incantations is indicated by internal textual cross-references and by the overlapping of related motifs. Note the netherworld and the netherworld judge Gilgamesh (second incantation); Bēlet-Šēri, the scribe of the netherworld (fourth incantation); the gods of the night sky (third incantation) and Anu and Antu (fourth incantation). Furthermore, *KAR* 94: 19–23, the commentary to I 42ff., links the city Zabban of the third incantation with the quay mentioned in the fourth incantation. Compositional unity is further suggested by the recurrence of the common stylistic feature of pairs and pairing in the three incantations (note the counterpoint of speaker and witches in lines 39–40; the repetition of the name Zabban in line 42; the focus on two gates in lines 43–45; the repetition of the statement regarding the position of the two gates in lines 44–45; the frequent use of synonymous parallelism in lines 50–60). Further support for unity is perhaps also provided by the absence in *Maqlû* I Ms BM 43826 + 43835 of a dividing line between the third and fourth incantations (obv. II 2’/3’). BM 43826 + 43835 has a dividing line between the fourth and fifth incantations, as is to be expected.

takes the netherworld as its focus, but actually addresses and draws together the heavens and the netherworld. Finally, the fifth incantation is a call to the powers of nature.

But the language of discourse is not wholly natural or even supernatural. Rather, the several magical addresses are set into a distinct social framework; they are clothed in a legal guise, and the ceremony constitutes some form of judgment and execution. Central to the introductory section is the indictment of the witches and their imprisonment, prior to and in anticipation of their subsequent judgment and execution in the following sections of the work. Thus, in the opening incantation, the speaker invokes the gods of the night sky and asks that the witch be indicted and bound over for trial for having attacked him unjustly. He receives a favorable preliminary hearing from these gods.⁵ In the next three incantations, the speaker invokes and secures an oath sanctioned by the netherworld: He invokes the gods of the netherworld to assist him in enforcing the *māmītu*, “oath,” and in maintaining control over the witches in what is both a magical and legal conflict.⁶ Finally, in the fifth incantation, he calls upon various natural forces to serve as witnesses and to support him in his battle with the witches.

But while it represents some progress to state that, in their present setting, the five introductory incantations in *Maqlû* serve to recall, invoke, and impose a divinely sanctioned oath and curse and to secure the imprisonment of the witches preliminary to their judgment by Nusku and execution by Girra in I 73ff., it remains true nonetheless that significant portions of the introduction (especially lines 37ff.) are not yet understood.

The text of the introduction, especially lines 37–60, is slippery and very difficult to pin down; it is laconic and elusive. Although most of the words are not particularly obscure, it is nonetheless difficult to reach a clear and satisfactory interpretation of the passage. But to understand the context of the work as a whole, we must understand this section.⁷ The passage, especially the middle three incantations, will thus serve as a jumping off point from which to explore some of the central issues of *Maqlû*. Accordingly, I shall focus on several of the major problems or difficulties of this section and suggest an overall construction that is intended to illumine not only the passage, but also the conceptual and ideological framework of the work as a whole.

5. For a translation and detailed discussion of I 1–36 (Incantation One), see Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature*, x–xii and 85–147.

6. From Zabban he calls again upon the gods of the sky for their support in this further venture. For a detailed presentation of this interpretation of I 37–72, see “Socio-Religious Framework, Part II,” 477–80; for a discussion of Zabban, see *ibid.*, 484–90.

7. This study has its genesis in the many attempts that I made to interpret this section of the text and create a framework in which to understand these incantations. I have constructed and rejected a number of different interpretations. Perhaps it is too much to hope that the present interpretation is “correct,” but I hope that at the very least it represents a significant step towards an understanding of *Maqlû*.

In this essay, I shall first set out some of the general difficulties of the passage (§II), and then address the following issues raised by these difficulties: the identification of the addressees and the definition of their treatment (§III) and the explication of the ceremonial, legal, and ideological contexts of that treatment (§§IV–V). Finally, I shall consider the antecedents of the work as still another determinant of its character (Excursus). “Socio-Religious Framework, Part II” will provide an explication, in narrative form, of the passage as well as a discussion of “Zabban” and of the cosmic framework in which *Maqlû* is set.

II. Some Difficulties

In translation, the text of I 37–72⁸ reads:

Incantation Two (I 37–41)

Netherworld, netherworld, yea netherworld,
 Gilgamesh is the enforcer of your oath.
 Whatever you have done, I know,
 Whatever I do, you do not know,
 Whatever my witches do, there will be no one to overlook, undo,
 release.

Incantation Three (42–49)

My city is Zabban; my city is Zabban.
 Of my city Zabban, two are its gates.
 One for the rising of the sun, the second for the setting of the sun.
 One for the rising of the sun, the second for the setting of the sun.
 Raising up a broken palm frond and *maštakal* plant,
 I offer water to the gods of the sky (and say):
 “As I purify you,
 May you purify me.”

Incantation Four (50–60)

I have enclosed the ford, I have enclosed the quay;
 I have enclosed the witchcraft of all the lands.
 Anu and Antu have sent me, (saying):
 “whom shall we (lit. I) send to Bēlet-Šēri?”
 Place the lock on the mouth of my warlock and witch,
 Place the sealing of the sage of the gods, Marduk,
 When they call to you, do not answer them,
 When they speak to you, do not listen to them,

8. For a transcription of Incantations Two-Five together with notes and variants, see “Socio-Religious Framework, Part II,” 490–91; for an explication of the text, see *ibid.*, 471–90.

When I call to you, answer me,
When I speak to you, listen to me.
By the command of Anu, Antu, and Bēlet-Šēri.

Incantation Five (61–72)

I have been sent and I will go; I have been commissioned and I will speak.
Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism, has sent me against my warlock and witch.
You of the heavens, pay heed! You of the netherworld, listen!
You of the river, pay heed! You of the dry land, listen to my¹ speech!
.....
When I present the testimony against my warlock and witch,
May the ox set at ease (the judge); may the sheep set at ease (the judge).⁹
May their testimony be dismissed but mine stand up (under scrutiny).
When I present (my) testimony, may their testimony not prevent mine from being effective.
By the command of Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism.

Lines 37ff. pose a number of difficulties. Focusing especially, but not exclusively, on Incantations Two–Four, I note some of the more obvious problems: Incantation Two: Why are *eršetu* and Gilgamesh invoked and to what does *māmītu* refer? What is the identity and nature of the addressees in lines 39–41, and what identity does the speaker himself assume? What acts have the witches performed? To what is the speaker referring when he says that there will not be a releaser? Incantation Three: What and where is Zabban, and what role does it play? Why does the speaker turn to the gods of the sky, and who, precisely, are they? Incantation Four: What and where are the quay and pass? What cosmic structure is here assumed? Why are both the heavens and the netherworld involved, and why is there such strong emphasis on the netherworld? Why is Bēlet-Šēri invoked, and what is the substance of the speaker's request to her? Why are the various forces of nature invoked in the fifth incantation, lines 61–72?¹⁰

These questions must be answered if we are to gain a fuller understanding of the setting, plot line, and meaning of these incantations. The difficulties encountered in these incantations are caused or exacerbated by a number of factors.

(1) This passage cannot be understood simply in the context of normative representatives of the witchcraft corpus nor interpreted in terms of the thematic vocabulary of that corpus. The themes found in this passage are relatively rare, and even where their formulation recalls themes found in other witchcraft texts, their meaning here is different from that of similarly worded themes in those texts. For

9. I understand the ox and sheep here as offerings to the (divine) judge.

10. These questions will be addressed in the course of "Socio-Religious Framework," Parts I and II.

example, I 41: *mimmû kaššāpātiya ippuša ēgā pāṭira pāšira lā išā* (var. *ul irašši*),¹¹ “Whatever my witches do, there will be no one to overlook, undo, release.” Normally, the victim of witchcraft seeks the release of what the witch has done and expresses the belief that her acts are, or can be, released by the gods. But here, in line 41, the speaker actually asserts that what the witch had done cannot be released, that there will be no one to release them. The incantations and themes are atypical of the corpus, and we must find another context against which to read this material, a context that employs a different understanding of the image and its meaning.

(2) Moreover, here in *Maqlû* the nature of the section I 1–72 only compounds the difficulty of reading already difficult material. The section is introductory and represents a dramatic progression. In contrast to central parts of the ceremony where a theme is often repeated in a number of variations, each of our incantations is a separate and unique speech, a part of a progressive series that is not repetitive. In contrast to myths that may also contain speeches, our text does not have an explicit narrative frame, the very rhetorical device that often allows us to find sense even in a series of unique speeches.

(3) Furthermore, the incantations have a cosmic setting, thus differing from most other witchcraft texts. Moreover, this cosmic setting itself contains elements that are unique: a cosmic heaven–netherworld frame that encircles a singular point, “Zabban” (I 42ff.).

III. Witches: Their Natures and Treatments

A. Introduction

There are difficulties in lines 37–41 (as well as in the following incantations) of both a general and specific nature. It is difficult to know, for example, the meaning of the oath mentioned in line 38 as well as the nature of the judgment. Moreover, why are the netherworld and netherworld deities mentioned in lines 37–38, 53, and 60, and what is the meaning of the netherworld connection? Furthermore, the identity of the second person addressees in lines 37–41 is unclear, as is the nature both of their activities and of the activities undertaken against them.

But the single most perplexing and almost intractable difficulty is that of defining the nature of the witch in this section of *Maqlû*. Are we to understand the adversary as a live human being or a dead infernal creature? Our problem is compounded by the fact that both human as well as supernatural forms of the witch are found in *Maqlû*.¹² Thus, we are left to wonder whether the witches in I 37ff. are human, spectral, or perhaps even demonic.

And there is also the related question of the treatment to which these enemies are to be subjected. Certainly, one of the purposes of *Maqlû* is to get rid of or expel the witch. But how is this done, and whither is she sent? If the witch is a live human

11. Contra previous readings.

12. Elsewhere we have observed that in *Maqlû* witches sometimes take the form of live human enemies, but at other times appear in demonic, even cosmic (i.e., meteorological and astral) form. (See my “Demonic Image,” 38–50, esp. 44–47, “Early Form,” 51–54, and “Ascent,” 26–29, esp. 29.)

being, is she to be killed and buried and thus consigned to the netherworld, or might she be killed and left unburied and thus forced to roam and perhaps even disappear from the world?¹³ If she is a ghost or demon, is she to be sent (back) to the Apsu or the netherworld, or perhaps relegated to the steppe?

Let us begin with a discussion, in general terms, of the latter topic—the treatment of the witch—since it is an easier issue to tackle and will help us gain an overall perspective on the material. Having done so, we will take up the nature of the witch in the introduction to *Maqlû*, and then the treatment of the witch in *Maqlû* itself.

In cases involving the ritual killing of the witch, we can document two major types of execution or treatment: in the one, she is killed, her body destroyed, and she is thus kept out of the netherworld; in the other, she is killed, buried, and consigned to the netherworld. The consignment of the witch to the netherworld is derivative; it came about, in large measure, when the functions of the exorcist were expanded to include anti-witchcraft responsibilities that were originally outside of his sphere, or (assuming that anti-witchcraft activities were originally part of his sphere) when the exorcist's anti-witchcraft rituals were assimilated to his other functions.¹⁴ More original, however, is the treatment reflected in a Sumerian incantation known already from the Old Babylonian period and attested in both unilingual and bilingual versions.¹⁵ There the speaker asks that Gilgamesh not integrate the witch into the netherworld, that Nergal, lord of the netherworld, not reckon her ghost to those of the ghosts of the dead, and that Ningišzida deny her water.¹⁶ Thus, in

13. It is well known that in Mesopotamia burial of the body is generally a requirement for future existence in the netherworld. For a recent discussion, see Abusch, "Etemmu," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, ed. K. van der Toorn et al. (Leiden, 1995), 588–94, and "Ghost and God: Some Observations on a Babylonian Understanding of Human Nature," in *Self, Soul and Body in Religious Experience*, ed. A. I. Baumgarten et al. (Numen Supplement Series 78; Leiden, 1998), 372–78.

14. With their incorporation and/or assimilation, the witchcraft materials are reshaped by and assimilated to the exorcist's standard treatments of and attitudes toward demons, ghosts, and other non-human supernatural powers. For a detailed treatment of this topic, see my "Considerations When Killing a Witch: Developments in Exorcistic Attitudes to Witchcraft," in *Dynamics of Ritual Change* (Heidelberg [in press]).

15. This incantation was first edited by A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische Beschwörungen aus Boğazköy," *ZA* 45 (1939): 8–41 (the incantation is edited there on pp. 12–15). It has been reedited, with the addition of new material, first by C. Wilcke, "Sumerische literarische Texte," *AfO* 24 (1973): 10–13, and more recently by M. J. Geller, "A New Piece of Witchcraft," in *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens et al. (Occasion Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 2; Philadelphia, 1989), 193–205.

16. Lines 27–49' of the incantation read:

... so that the magic which he [scil. the patient] has in (his) body may flow away like water,
so that (the magic) in his body (var. the spell in her possession) may evaporate like sweat,
(when) the winds have wafted it away.

As for her sorcery, magic, and the evil praxis:

when Gilgamesh will have broken that spell and bonds,

and once he has buried (it), she cannot approach (the victim's) body.

approaching the witches of our incantations, we should remember that, originally, Mesopotamian witches were usually not consigned to the netherworld for purposes of punishment, riddance, or expulsion; rather, they were excluded from it.

In light of the two forms of treatment that we have just noted, we may reformulate the two sets of questions regarding the nature and treatment of witches noted above and ask whether the witch in this section and recension of *Maqlû* is (1) a human witch who is killed and sent to the netherworld, (2) a human witch who is killed but kept out of the netherworld, (3) a ghost or dead witch who is sent back to the netherworld, or (4) a dead witch—perhaps a ghost of a witch—who has reappeared among the living and must not be allowed back into the netherworld.¹⁷

The very recognition and formulation of these questions constitute an advance in understanding. But my own extended attempts to choose one of these alternatives and to comprehend the text in terms of only one image have taught me that it is insufficient or at least unproductive to so limit the choice, that it is incorrect to formulate the problem in terms of a single image.

B. Nature of the Addressees

Let us now take up the question of the nature of the witches in more detail. The second incantation (lines 37–41) reads:

eršetu eršetu eršetumma
^dGilgamesh bēl māmītikunu

As for her expertise, magic, and evil praxis:
 may she gnaw at her own fingers like cheese,
 may she always pronounce her words like pitch,
 and may (her) womb drip beer like a fermenting vat.
 May Utu, judge of heaven and earth, decide a bitter [fate] for her.
 May Nergal, lord of the Netherworld, not reckon her dead spirit as a proper ghost.
 May Ningišzida, throne-bearer of the Netherworld,
 cut off the cold water (offering) to her dead spirit.
 *gap*
 May Gilgamesh(?) break her spell.
 May a cage cover her spell and hex like young animals, and even the corpse of this witch.
 Like heavenly lights may (the victim's) heart not weaken,
 and may her own sorceries plague the witch like a baby scorpion.
 May they dig into her white flesh as (with) a stake,
 and may (the witch's) own sorcery prey upon her.
 May she bite her breasts in her (folded) forearms,
 and may she gnaw at her own fingers like cheese . . .

The translation of lines 27–49' is that of Geller, "A New Piece of Witchcraft," 199–200; for the text, see Wilcke's edition, lines 26–39 // Geller's edition, lines 27–40, and Geller's edition, lines 41'ff.

17. Another possibility, which I leave out of the discussion, is that the addressee is simply a demon or ghost sent by the witch. I have looked into this possibility, but it has not proved fruitful.

mimmû attunu tēpušā anāku īde
mimmû anāku eppušu attunu ul tīdā
mimmû kaššāpātīya ippušā ēgā pāṭira pāšira lā išā

Netherworld, netherworld, yea netherworld,
 Gilgamesh is the enforcer of your (pl.) oath.
 Whatever you (pl.) have done, I know,
 Whatever I do, you (pl.) do not know,
 Whatever my witches do, there will be no one to overlook, undo,
 release.

To the best of my understanding, the addressees, referred to in the second-person plural, are either a group of witches or, perhaps, a larger group of which the witches form a part.

The witches occur here in conjunction with netherworld features and figures. Since in the opening incantation of *Maqlû*, the focus seems to have been on the conflict between the speaker and live human witches, we might suppose that the witches in the immediately following second unit I 37–60 (= 37–41, 42–49, 50–60) would also be human beings who are to be killed and sent to the netherworld. Indeed, since *Maqlû* was performed at the end of Abu, when the spirits of the dead and accompanying netherworld gods appeared on earth, a suitable opportunity for judging the witch and dispatching her to the netherworld was at hand, for the netherworld gods would then have been available to judge the live witch and to take or send her to the netherworld together with the returning spirits.¹⁸

However, I am now skeptical of this explanation because of the information that we have regarding both the identity of the witch and the treatment accorded her. The existence and primacy of the method of execution whereby the witch is kept out of the netherworld raise doubts, and these doubts are strongly supported by the evidence presented below regarding the identity of the witch.

In the first incantation (I 1–36), the witches seem to be human, but I propose that in the second (I 37–41), they are spectral. While *Maqlû* certainly enjoined the killing of live witches, the ceremonial and cosmic setting suggest that the conflict also functioned on another level and is also directed against supernatural enemies. We note that there are textual features in the second incantation that suggest that

18. In “Nature of *Maqlû*,” 260, I noted that the “ultimate purpose” of the first division of *Maqlû* (Tablets I–V) “is the transformation of the witch into a ghost and the expulsion of that ghost from the world of the living and its banishment to the world of the dead.” (I do not now remember if by “world of the dead” I meant netherworld, steppe [see IX 95, see below, n. 22], or some conflation of the two.) I would now modify this opinion, at least as regards *Maqlû*, for I have come to believe that the purpose of *Maqlû* is to destroy the witch utterly and make sure that the witch does not find a place in the netherworld. But, of course, as I noted in “Considerations,” some texts do have as their purpose the banishment of the witch (or, rather, her ghost) to the netherworld. In addition to the texts cited there, see e.g., *LKA* 144 (and duplicates), edited by W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 218–59, and *BBR*, no. 52.

the addressees are not live witches, but rather ghosts. In lines 38–40 of our incantation the “witch” is addressed not in the usual feminine singular, but rather in the masculine plural:

<i>māmītikunu</i>	“your (m. pl.) oath” (38)
<i>attunu</i>	“you” (m. pl.) (39)
<i>attunu</i>	“you” (m. pl.) (40)

When placed alongside the invocation in lines 37–38 of the netherworld (*erṣetu*), the “oath” itself (*māmītu*), and Gilgamesh its enforcer, this masculine plural suggests that the speaker here addresses the witches not as human females but rather as, or as part of, a group of “male” ghosts, and that this address is part of an exorcistic adjuration. The witches have merged into a group of undifferentiated dead, a collective in which they lack individuality.¹⁹

In support of this conclusion, I note that the witches are similarly addressed in the second masculine plural form in the last incantation in Tablet V.²⁰ That incantation marks the end of the first division of *Maqlû* and of the original *Maqlû* ceremony. At that point, the witches had certainly already been killed and are treated as ghosts or spirits²¹ that are to be exorcised and adjured to remain apart (in accordance with their expulsion into the steppe,²² outside the community).

19. Cf. J. N. Bremmer, “The Soul, Death and the Afterlife in Early and Classical Greece,” in *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, ed. J. M. Bremer et al. (Amsterdam, 1994), 101:

Yet, these speaking persons are exceptions to the rule, and when the early Greeks spoke of souls of the dead they referred to them as “the wasted ones”, “the outworn ones”, or “the feeble heads of the dead”. Important here, it seems to me, is the plural. The dead are clearly considered to be an enormous, undifferentiated group. . . . This idea of the dead, then, as an anonymous, countless group perfectly fits the early Greek concept of death as an unavoidable, natural process.

20. *Maqlû* V 166–184 read:

Be off, be off, begone, begone,
Depart, depart, flee, flee!
Go off, go away, be off, and begone!
.....
By the oath of Shamash, the honorable, be adjured (*tamâtunu*),
By the oath of Ea, lord of the deep, be adjured (*tamâtunu*),
By the oath of Asalluḫi, magus of the gods, be adjured (*tamâtunu*),
By the oath of Girra, your executioner, be adjured (*tamâtunu*),
From my body you shall indeed be separated!

21. See my “Early Form,” 22–24. Perhaps these spirits were never human; originally, this incantation seems to have been directed against demons or ghosts (see “Demonic Image,” 45, and “Early Form,” 52, 53, n. 98, and 54).

22. The incantation recited by the exorcist immediately following V 166–84 adjures the spirits to go off to the steppe: “Thereafter, you (the priest) recite the incantation ‘Evil demon, to your steppe’ all the way to the outer entrance” (IX 95).

Especially in view of the mention of *māmîtu* in I 38, we notice the several occurrences of *tamâtunu*, a form of *tamû*, in lines 180–83 of the last incantation of Tablet V. And in further support of seeing the addressee in I 37ff. as a ghost who is expelled, I note that in many texts spirits of the dead are similarly addressed when they are adjured to separate and not return. So, for example, “By the oath of the netherworld may you be adjured; by the oath of heaven may you be adjured” ([*nîš eršeti lū tamâta*] *nîš šam[ê] lū tamâta* (BAM 323 [= KAR 184]: 37). Similarly, in BAM 323 (= KAR 184): 79–88 // K 4508 + 6648,²³ we read:

If the ghost of a man’s father or mother keeps seizing him on the twenty-seventh of Abu, . . . On the third day, the twenty-ninth, when the ghosts are provided with food offerings, you . . . say: “From the body of NN, son of NN, be 3600 double-hours distant; be far away, be distant, be distant. By the oath of the great gods, you are adjured” (*tummâtunu*).²⁴

At the beginning of *Maqlû* (I 37ff.), then, the witches are treated like the dead and are addressed in terms drawn from rituals of expulsion of ghosts and demons. This non-corporeal form agrees with and is perhaps supported by the occurrence elsewhere in *Maqlû* of a demonic image of the witch.

The non-human quality of the addressee (= the witch) and the speaker’s claim to extraordinary cognitive powers in I 37–41 recall such other incantations as VI 120–27, 128–35, 136–44, 145–51. In these incantations, the witch is said to partake of the qualities of wind or fire that send witchcraft in the form of clouds, smoke, dreams.²⁵ The connection between I 37–41 and the aforementioned incantations from Tablet VI is made even more explicit by the emphasis upon the speaker’s cognitive powers in I 39–40 of our incantation (*mimmû attunu tēpušā anāku ide / mimmû anāku eppušu attunu ul tīdā*), for also in these other incantations we find a similar claim to superior knowledge: as in the assertion *anāku ide* of I 39, so in each of these other incantations, the speaker asserts *anāku idima attakal takālu* (VI 123 // 131 // 139 // 148), thus claiming knowledge and setting up a protection. He thereby claims to recognize such phenomena as wind, smoke, and dreams as forms of the witch and witchcraft and asserts that the witches cannot disguise themselves

23. For this ritual, cf. Abusch, “Nature of *Maqlû*,” 257, n. 15; and Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale*, 207–17 and pl. 18.

24. In texts addressed to ghosts, there are many additional occurrences of the masculine plural form of address together with forms of *tamû*. For example: KAR 227, iii 27ff., esp. 42ff. // LKA 89 + 90, iii 51ff., esp. 66ff.: *tummâta*, lines 44 // 68 and 45 // 69; LKA 89, rev., left col., 1–3 (cf. Abusch, “Nature of *Maqlû*,” 257, n. 15.): *tummâtunu*, line 3; LKA 84, rev. 3–6: *lū tame*, lines 4–5; KAR 267, rev. 14ff. // BMS 53: 23ff. (for which, see now J. A. Scurlock, “KAR 267 // BMS 53: A Ghostly Light on *bit rimki?*,” JAOS 108 [1988]: 206–9): *lū tame*, lines 16, 17, 18; CT 23, 15–22 +, ii 31’–41’ (and dupls.), especially 32’–34’ (see Scurlock, “KAR 267 // BMS 53,” 203–204): *tummâtunu*, line 34. For a collection of texts that deal with ghosts, see J. A. Scurlock, *Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Chicago, 1988, vol. 2.

25. See, for example, VI 136–38 // 145–47: “Ha! my witch, my informer, / Who blows back and forth over all lands, / Crosses to and fro over all mountains.” Cf. my “Demonic Image,” 46–47.

or their witchcraft. Their identity and demonic character are recognizable even when they are disguised.²⁶

Accordingly, the incantation *Maqlû* I 37–41 should be read in connection with other addresses to “normal” ghosts who had been given over to the netherworld and were under the control of the netherworld and of Gilgamesh. The addressees in our second incantation seem to include ghosts of witches who had already died prior to the onset of the ritual and who are for that reason addressed as specters. But, although the second, third, and fourth incantations in *Maqlû* exhibit netherworld affinities, we ought not assume that the witches there are being consigned to that realm. For, as noted above, the normal course is not to relegate the destroyed witch to the netherworld; indeed, more typically she is kept from entering it. Thus, in principle, even if the witch in our incantations appears in the form of a shade, such a being, also, might suffer exclusion from the netherworld, an exclusion that conveys the sense of complete destruction. This is also what the evidence of the text suggests.

But before turning to that evidence, let us conclude our discussion of the nature of the witch with the observation that the witches in *Maqlû* should be regarded as both alive and dead. Sometimes the witch is alive, as in the first incantation in Tablet I; at other times, she is the ghost of a dead witch, as in the next three incantations. The text’s approach to the witches as comprising two groups—those who are dead and those who are alive—should not surprise us, since such a dichotomy agrees with and perhaps even continues basic ideas and lines of division in the very material from which *Maqlû* was formed. For, as noted elsewhere,²⁷ the original *Maqlû* ceremony was created by the joining together of two sets of materials, each with its own image of evil—the one a human witch, the other a ghostly and/or demonic force that was (or could be identified with) a dead witch or, rather, the ghost of a dead witch. Thus, given the nature of the materials that went into the formation of *Maqlû*, the existence of both live and dead witches in the final version of the text may represent the very sort of development that we would have expected; that original material may even lend support to our finding that *Maqlû* combats both live and dead witches. We return to this theme in an Excursus (pp. 33–34).

C. Treatment

In *Maqlû* are to be found several different ways of killing and disposing of the witch. All of the methods are intended to ensure that the witch does not find a place in the netherworld. As we shall see, the existence of these different forms of treatment agrees with and supports our claim that *Maqlû* is directed against both live and dead witches.

26. Similarly, our speaker in I 37–41 may be addressing infernal witches and asserting his ability to recognize them even when they assume the form of dreams, clouds, or smoke, or even of wind or fire itself. For further details, see my “Ascent to the Stars,” 36–37, n. 32.

27. See my “Demonic Image,” 44–45, and “Early Form,” 51–54.

Let us sample the evidence. Among other treatments, the text of *Maqlû* prescribes that the witch is to be burned or fed to animals.

Burning. Particularly in the first part of *Maqlû* (see especially I 73–IV 95) emphasis is placed upon and importance accorded to burning the witch and destroying her body.²⁸ According to one Mesopotamian belief, burning the body makes it impossible to give the dead person proper burial rites, with the consequence that its ghost cannot go to the netherworld. Thus, for example, in *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*, Enkidu responds to Gilgamesh's question, "Did you see him who was set on fire?" with the answer, "I did not see him. His smoke went up to the sky and his ghost does not live in the netherworld."²⁹ Similarly, in *Maqlû*, the burning witches are enjoined:

hūlā zūbā u itattukā
quturkunu litelli šamē
la'mikunu liballi dšamši
liprus hayyattakunu mār dEa mašmāšu

Dissolve, melt, drip ever away!
May your smoke rise ever heavenward,
May the sun extinguish your embers,
May the son of Ea (Asalluhi), the exorcist, cut off your emanations.
I 140–143 // V 152–155³⁰

Thus, the witches' ghosts do not enter the netherworld; rather, their beings rise up as smoke into the sky and are there scattered. Note, by contrast, that in rituals intended to return troublesome ghosts to the netherworld, their representations are virtually never burned.³¹ Hence, burning is intended to destroy the body and to prevent the witch from finding a place in the netherworld.

28. For a discussion of burning, see also my "Ghost and God," 375–77, and "Considerations When Killing a Witch," §I "Transformation of the Old."

29. A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1963, 121: 3–4 (variant from Ur). For a citation of the main text as well as the Ur variant of this passage, see my "Early Form," 19, n. 39.

There are many examples in the Near East and elsewhere of this attitude regarding the body. To the Christian examples mentioned in my "Considerations," n. 10, I would simply add C. McDannell and B. Lang, *Heaven: A History* (New York, 1990 [PB Vintage Books]; originally published New Haven, 1988), 49:

The same ardent belief in bodily resurrection formed the center of the Christian Creed as professed by the Martyrs of Lyons. This was well understood by their persecutors, who burnt their victim's mutilated bodies "in order that they may not even hope of a resurrection." After having thrown the ashes into the Rhone river, the persecutors remarked, "Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their god can help them."

30. For the meaning of these lines, see already my discussion of I 135–43 in "Early Form," 19–20, 40, and 53; for V 152–155, see *ibid.*, 44–47.

31. For the absence of burning in these rituals, see Scurlock, *Magical Means*, vol. 1, 56–57.

Burning the witch is central to *Maqlû*, and the emphasis on this mode of destruction is surely significant. Moreover, burning in *Maqlû* seems to be the mode of execution meted out to a live witch. We are reminded of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, especially of Assurnasirpal II, which describe the burning of live enemies after a victory:

. . . I besieged and conquered the city. I felled with the sword 800 of their combat troops, I burnt 3000 captives from them. I did not leave one of them alive as a hostage. . . . I burnt their adolescent boys (and) girls.³²

Feeding. Just as the first part of *Maqlû* prescribes that the witch's body is not to be buried but is to be destroyed by burning, so too the concluding section of *Maqlû* indicates that the witch's body is not to be buried but rather is to be devoured by animals. The penultimate incantation and ritual in *Maqlû* (VIII 81–89 // IX 183–87) describe how the witch is fed to eagles, vultures (*zību*),³³ and dogs.³⁴ In ritual actuality, images made of dough embedded in bread are fed to dogs. The incantation reads:

[eli] pagriki erû u zību linnadrû
qūlu ħurbāšu limqut eliki
kalbu u kalbatu libašširûki
kalbu u kalbatu libašširû šērēk[i]

May eagle and vulture prey on your corpse,
May silence and shivering fall upon you,
May dog and bitch tear you apart,
May dog and bitch tear apart your flesh.

VIII 85–88

Here the Ritual Tablet prescribes:

You (the priest) make two loaves of bread and one dough figurine each of the warlock and witch; you then arrange (them) in the loaves; he (the patient) then raises up (the loaves) in his right and left hands and recites the incantation; you then give (them) to a dog and a bitch. (IX 184–87)³⁵

32. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (RIMA 2; Toronto, 1991), 201: i 107–9. For additional examples in this inscription of the burning of adolescent boys and girls, see *ibid.* 202: ii 1; 203: ii 19; 204: ii 43; 206: ii 57–58; 210: ii 109–10. The Akkadian phrase that refers to the burning of the adolescents is *ana maqlûtile* GÍBIL.

33. For the translation in this passage of *zību* as “vulture” and not “jackal,” see B. Landsberger, *MSL* 8/2, 129–30; so, too, *AHW*, 1525 s.v. *zību* II 2.

34. For dogs as devourers of corpses, cf. also W. Heimpel, “Hund,” *RLA* 4/6–7 (1975): 495.

35. For this version of IX 184–87, see the Nineveh text K 2385 + K 3331 + K 3584 + K 3645 + K 7274 + K 7586 + K 8033 + K 11603; for a slightly shorter version of these instructions, see K 8879 + Sm 229 + Sm 499 + Sm 929 + Sm 1194 (+) Sm 139 (+) Sm 1901.

The content of the injunction indicates that the witch's body is to be fully destroyed. For our purposes, moreover, it is particularly significant that this punishment is prescribed at the very end of *Maqlû*, immediately prior to the concluding apotropaic incantation (*attā šilli attā bāšti*, "You are my protection, you are my vitality" [VIII 90ff. // IX 180ff.]). Since there is no ceremonial time left at this point for burial, this final position in *Maqlû* proves that the injunction to feed the witch's body to animals is to be taken literally as the final destructive act of the ceremony. Here, too, then, the witch is not buried and is not given a place in the netherworld.

As with the burning ritual, the feeding ritual parallels and perhaps reflects practices known from Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.³⁶ Similar treatment is meted out by the Neo-Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal to especially detested enemies. For example:

The corpses of his warriors I did not bury but fed to vultures. (Esarhaddon)³⁷

As for the remaining men, while they were still alive . . . as his funerary offering (scil. Sennacherib's) I crushed those men by means (of the winged bull colossus³⁸). I fed their torn flesh to dogs, swine, vultures, eagles, birds of the sky, and fish of the sea. (Assurbanipal)³⁹

Such is the fate of enemies who have committed crimes against the empire. Note especially the threats in Esarhaddon's treaty curses against those who do not keep the terms of the treaty:

May Ninurta,⁴⁰ the foremost among the gods, fell you with his arrow; may he fill the plain with your blood and feed your flesh to the eagle and the vulture.⁴¹

May dogs and swine eat your flesh; may your ghost have nobody to take care of pouring libations to him.⁴²

36. Cf. A. Westenholz, "berūtum, damtum, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL: Burial of Dead Enemies in Ancient Mesopotamia," *AfO* 23 (1970): 29–30; and E. Cassin, "La mort: valeur et représentation en Mésopotamie ancienne," in *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (Cambridge, 1982), 357. Cassin's essay is reprinted in her collection *Le semblable et le différent: Symbolismes du pouvoir dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1987), 236–57.

37. *pagar qurādišun ina lā qebēri ušākil zibu*, R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (AfO Beiheft 9; Graz, 1956), 57–58, Episode 18: v 6.

38. Cf. S. Parpola, "The Murder of Sennacherib," in *Death in Mesopotamia*, ed. B. Alster (Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen, 1980), 175.

39. Assurbanipal, Prism A iv 70–76; see M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninivehs* (VAB 7; Leipzig, 1916), vol. 2, 38: 70–76; and now R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 44 (text) and 235: A §40 (translation). For other examples, cf. W. von Weiher, *SpBTU* 3, no. 59 (Gilg. V), p. 19: i 10 and p. 20: iii 4.

40. Here the god of war, rather than a human agent, executes the treatment.

41. VTE 425–27, S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki, 1988), 46: 425–27. For an analysis, partitur, transcription, and translation of VTE, see K. Watanabe, *Die adē-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons* (Baghdader Mitteilungen Beih. 3; Berlin, 1987).

42. VTE 451–52, Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 46–48: 451–52.

An even more vivid and concrete description is provided later in the same text:

Before your very eyes may dogs and swine drag the *teats* of your young women and the *penises* of your young men to and fro in the squares of Assur; may the earth not receive your corpses but may your burial place be in the belly of a dog or a pig.⁴³

Along with the witch who had been burned, the witch who had been fed to animals was a live witch who had just been (or was thereby) executed. In both cases, the corpse is destroyed and the witch is deprived of the possibility of ever being buried.

Disinterment. But there is yet another form of punishment that seems to have escaped notice. A witch may also be disinterred and in this way deprived of a grave and a resting place in the netherworld. *Maqlû* II 118–22 provides evidence of this form of treatment. This is surely a reasonable interpretation of what is otherwise an enigmatic passage. In Meier's edition, the aforementioned lines are read and translated as follows:

dannu makkūršunu šulqi
[šu-b]il⁴⁴ bušāšunu ekkēma
eli mānaḥātīšunu ḥabbāta šurbiš
girra ezzu gitmālu rašubbu
ina ekur ašar tallaktika tušapšahšumūti adi surriš

Einen Gewalttäter lass ihren Besitz wegnehmen!
 [Lass rau]ben ihr Eigentum einen Räuber!
 Gegen ihre Wohnungen lass einen Plünderer sich lagern!
 Wütender Gira, Vollkommener, Gewaltiger:
 In Ekur, wo du einhergehst, beruhige sie eilends!⁴⁵

Lines 118–22 are part of an incantation addressed to Girra (II 104–24). In this incantation, Girra is called upon to judge in the stead of Sin and Shamash (106–7) and to destroy the witches by fire (108ff.). In lines 118–20, Girra is then asked to cause thieves to take away the witches' furnishings and resting place. Meier's interpretation of line 122 is questionable. It surely makes no sense to ask Girra to set the witches at rest immediately after having asked him to take away their resting place. In fact, line 122 has been misread; K 2713 + K 5658 + K 14208 + 83–1–18, 435 + 83–1–18, 496 (Sm 695 belongs to the same tablet) has: *e tu-šap-šiḫ-šu-nu-t[i]*.⁴⁶ Meier thus omitted one sign, the negation. The line should read:

43. VTE 481–84, Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 49: 481–84.

44. The correct reading is *šu-ut-bil*¹ (var. *b[i]*).

45. Meier, *Maqlû*, 17.

46. After noting the ⟨e⟩ on the photograph of K 2713 + and realizing its significance, I looked back at Tallqvist's copy of K 2713 (Tallqvist, *Maqlû*, vol. 2, 61) and noted that he had copied . . . *e t[u-]*. Meier apparently overlooked this.

ina ekur ašar tallaktika ē tušapšihšunūti adi surriš

O Girra, in the (netherworld) Ekur,⁴⁷ the place of your (astral) travel,
speedily cause them not to have rest.

At the very least, this incantation indicates that the witch is not to be accorded a burial. The use of the verb *pašālu* in this context certainly supports our interpretation, for *pašālu* is used to describe the rest of the dead in their burial place.⁴⁸ But I think that we need to venture a bit further. While translations usually treat the possessions and thieves mentioned in lines 118–20 as this-worldly,⁴⁹ I think that these lines should be construed as referring to grave furnishings (*makkūru*, *bušū*) and even to the resting place, the tomb (*ma-na-ḥa-te/[t]i²-šū/[š]u-nu⁵⁰*), and to the grave-robbers who plunder the grave and undo the burial. Thus the witch's grave is to be plundered and her remains unearthed and burned. This witch is thereby deprived of a resting place in the netherworld.

In the context of *Maqlû*, then, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the witch whose grave is plundered and who is deprived of a resting place in the netherworld must have already been dead and buried; the remains, the bones, of this dead witch were unearthed and destroyed by fire.

Leaving corpses of the dead unburied and even destroying them is known from Assyrian sources.⁵¹ Assurbanipal treats the grandson of Marduk-Baladan in this way; he does not allow his burial and even desecrates his body:

Seine Leiche gab ich nicht zur Beerdigung frei, ich machte ihn noch toter als zuvor. Seinen Kopf schlug ich ab und hängte ihn an den Nacken des Nabûqātīšabat,

47. Ekur is both a prison and a designation for the netherworld; see. S. M. Maul, 'Herzberuhigungsklagen': *Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršarunga-Gebet* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 266; and M. Civil, "On Mesopotamian Jails and Their Lady Warden," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. E. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, Maryland, 1993), 75.

48. For the occurrences and meaning of *tapšūltu*, "rest, peace," in the description of Sennacherib's burial (*kimalu tapšūlti*, *ekal tapšūlti*), see J. Bottéro, "Les inscriptions cunéiformes funéraires," in *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant (Cambridge, 1982), 382–83. Cf. W. W. Hallo, "Disturbing the Dead," in *Minḥah le-Naḥum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honor of his 70th Birthday*, ed. M. Z. Brettler and M. Fishbane (Sheffield, 1993), 185–89, for the violation of graves as a form of punishment, and especially 186–89, for the violation of the sleep or rest of the dead.

49. In addition to Meier, cf., e.g., *CAD* E, 69, "(O Girru) make a thief carry away their possessions, let a robber lie in ambush for their earnings"; *CAD* M/1, 206b: "Let a robber lie in wait in their fields."

50. Our passage is listed in both dictionaries sub *mānahtu*. The dictionaries do not contain an entry *manāhtu*, though my translation posits its existence, here normalized *manāhātīšunu*.

51. Cf. A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1963 [1946]), 155–56; Westenholz, "berūtum," 30–31; and especially Cassin "La mort," 355–72. Cf. M. Stol's summary, *BiOr* 45 (1988): 83, of Cassin's "La mort" in his review of her *Le semblable et le différent*: "What happens to the bodies of the dead is the topic of the next essay. . . . The skeleton remains and the ultimate desecration is to destroy even the bones. Assurbanipal did this after his conquest of Susa. Total disintegration of the body is a well-known curse."

des *simmagir* Šamaššumukins, des feindlichen Bruders, welcher mit ihm ausgezogen war, um Elam (mit mir) zu verfeinden.⁵²

Even more to the point is the fact that the activities described in our *Maqlû* passage are not unlike what grave despoilers and robbers actually do. In fact, they are not unlike what Assurbanipal himself sometimes did, especially in his Elamite campaigns: as in our *Maqlû* passage, enemy corpses were sometimes disinterred, that is, skeletons were removed from tombs and destroyed. For example, the dead Elamite kings who had once rebelled against Assyria are treated in this fashion:

Die Grabstätten ihrer früheren (und) späteren Könige, welche Ištar, meine Herrin (var.: Assur und Ištar, meine Herren), nicht fürchteten und die Könige, meine Väter, beunruhigten, verwüstete und zerstörte ich, zeigte sie dem (Sonnengott) Šamaš. Ihre Gebeine nahm ich mit nach Assyrien. Ihren Geistern legte ich Ruhelosigkeit auf. Totenopfer und Wasserspenden versagte ich ihnen.⁵³

The dead governor of Nippur who had abetted a rebellion against Assyria during his lifetime is similarly treated. At Assurbanipal's command, his bones were taken from his grave and brought to Nineveh, where his sons, who were responsible for his well-being in the hereafter, were forced to grind them up and destroy them:⁵⁴

Nabûna'id und Bēlēṭir, Söhne des Nabûšumēreš, des Gouverneurs (scil. von Nippur), deren leiblicher Vater den Urtaku aufgehetzt hatte zum Kampf gegen Akkad—die Gebeine des Nabûšumēreš, die man aus Gambulu nach Assyrien mitgenommen hatte, selbige Gebeine liess ich von seinen Söhnen gegenüber dem Tor des Stadtzentrums von Ninive zermalmen.⁵⁵

52. Assurbanipal, Prism A vii 45–50. For the text of these lines and of the immediately preceding events, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 2, 60–63: 16–50; and now Borger, *Inscribenwerk Assurbanipals*, 59–60: A §62, vii 16–50 (text) and 242–43: A §62, vii 16–50 (translation); the translation given here follows Borger. The preceding lines, vii 28–44, read as follows:

Nabûbēšumāti, der Enkel Merodachbaladans, erfuhr das Kommen meines Boten, der Elam erreicht hatte. Sein Herz wurde ängstig, er bekam Angst, seine Seele wurde wertlos in seinen Augen, er sehnte sich nach dem Tode. Zu seinem eigenen Knappen sprach er folgendermassen: Erschlage mich mit der Waffe (var.: den Waffen). Er (und) sein Knappe durchbohrten einander. Ummanaldaš wurde ängstlich, die Leiche des besagten Nabûšumukin legte er in Salz, gab sie, nebst dem Kopf seines Knappen, der ihn mit der Waffe (var.: den Waffen) erschlagen hatte, meinem Boten und liess sie vor mich bringen.

Cf. 1 Samuel 31:8–13.

53. Assurbanipal, Prism A vi 70–76; see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 2, 54–57: 70–76; and now Borger, *Inscribenwerk Assurbanipals*, 55: A vi 70–76 // F v 49–54 (text) and 241: F v 49–54 // A vi 70–76 (translation); the translation given here follows Borger.

54. Below we shall note why the bodies were so treated.

55. Prisms B vi 93—VII 2 // C vii 111–19; see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, vol. 2, 126: 84–92 = A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal I* (AS 5; Chicago, 1933), 74–77: B vi 93–vii 2; and now Borger, *Inscribenwerk Assurbanipals*, 108 (text) and 228: B §41 (translation); the translation given here follows Borger. See Cassin's discussion of this passage in Cassin's "La mort," 358f.

Conclusion. Thus far, we have seen several different ways of destroying the witch. None of the forms of execution central to *Maqlû* involves sending the witch to the netherworld;⁵⁶ rather, in *Maqlû*, burial is withheld from the witch. The treatment of the witch is patterned on the treatment of those humans who were deprived of burial: they were either left unburied or, if already buried, they were disinterred.

The different treatments or punishments that we have noted in *Maqlû* are congruent with the existence of different classes of witches. It is reasonable to suppose that the witch who was to be executed and burned and/or fed to animals was alive or had just been killed, while the witch who was to be disinterred had already been dead for some time.⁵⁷

IV. Calendrical Setting

The destruction of the witch, sometimes as a being who is to be killed and destroyed immediately at death and sometimes as one who must be attacked after death, certainly supports the observation that the image of the witch in *Maqlû* seems to be sometimes that of a living person and sometimes that of a ghost or even a demon. But how are we to explain this concern with both live and dead witches?

It seems to me that *Maqlû*'s approach to and treatment of the witch fits well with, and is explained by, the calendrical setting of the *Maqlû* ritual: *Maqlû* was performed at a festival at the end of the month of Abu, a time of year when ghosts return from the netherworld.⁵⁸ At that time, the living and the dead interact, and

56. One further manner of destruction that has not been taken up here is that of drowning (cf., e.g., III 118–39); occasionally, the witch seems to be sent thereby to the Apsû (e.g., VIII 33ff. // IX 174, which prescribes washing over a representation of the witch. Generally, washing is a symbol of cleansing and transference, but here it also represents the dousing and drowning of the witch).

57. Thus, the corpse of the witch who is executed for performing witchcraft is destroyed and nothing is left for burial. The remains of a witch who had died naturally and had been buried are disinterred and destroyed, and the witch deprived of a permanent place and existence.

It is true that not providing burial might subject the living to the attacks of unfettered ghosts, and one might object, therefore, that the contention that the witches were denied burial cannot be correct. But the danger to which society would thereby be exposed is no greater than that occasioned by expelling criminals rather than imprisoning them. And in any case, there are periods and/or situations where the deprivation of burial serves a political, social, and/or psychological need that is so important as to outweigh other considerations. The fact is that the Assyrians often did not bury their enemies. On the relationship of the deprivation of burial to the fear of the unburied dead, cf. Westenholz, “*berûtum*,” 30–31; note Westenholz’s concluding remark on p. 31: “. . . or alternatively, that there was a shift in emphasis in the Old Babylonian period, in which the dread on the part of the would-be criminal of remaining unburied became stronger than the fear of the spirits of the unburied dead on part of the society.”

58. See my “Nature of *Maqlû*,” 259–61. There (p. 261) I noted the netherworld character of Abu, observed that the performance of *Maqlû* in Abu would be partially explained by “the cultic-calendrical association of Abu with Gilgameš in his netherworld capacity and with the appearance of ghosts and their return to the netherworld,” and in n. 34 I collected passages referring to these phenomena. Note that contrary to the impression that might be received from Scurlock, *Magical Means*,

there can be judgments in this world by netherworld deities who have power over the dead. The contact of the living and the dead renders this both a dangerous and an opportune time. It is dangerous because of the blurring of boundaries and the greater ease for the infernal to seize the living and for the living to go down to the netherworld in an untimely manner. It is an opportune time because it provides an occasion to enlist the aid of gods of the dead as well as of deceased members of one's family for the purpose of disposing of human, demonic, or ghostly threats. It is a time like Halloween, "when barriers between the human and supernatural worlds were broken. Otherworld entities, such as the souls of the dead, were able to visit earthly inhabitants, and humans could take the opportunity to penetrate the domains of the gods and supernatural creatures."⁵⁹

More than any other hypothesis, this netherworld character explains the infernal qualities of the witch not only by the end of the *Maqlû* ceremony, but already in I 37–41, the second incantation of the work, and, therefore, in effect, at the beginning of the work. This netherworld association explains, moreover, both the threefold invocation in I 37 of *eršetu*, "netherworld,"⁶⁰ as well as the call on gods of the netherworld in the second and fourth incantations, so very close to the beginning of the ceremony. In line 38, Gilgamesh is the administrator of the oath because he is a netherworld god, an official who returns with the dead and functions as a judge during the festival of the dead in Abu.⁶¹ Similarly, it is because of

vol. 1, 31, n. 132, I already noted in "Nature of *Maqlû*," 260–61, the connection between the purpose of *Maqlû* and its performance at the end of Abu. Since then, several other scholars, sometimes working from my observations on Abu, have noted the netherworld character of Abu. See, e.g., Farber, *Beschwörungrituale*, 124 and 207; M. Civil, "The 10th Tablet of *ûru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi*," *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983): 50; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part II: Commentary and Appendices* (AOAT 5/2; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), 203–4 ad no. 208 (cf. pp. 163–67 ad no. 173); A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien* (AOAT 216; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 48–51; Scurlock, *Magical Means*, vol. 1, 31; J. Tropper, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (AOAT 223; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989), 87 (cf. 96–97: 23ff. with 97, n. 244); D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar: A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion* (HSS 42; Atlanta, 1992), 295–301; M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (CM 2; Groningen, 1993), 115; M. E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, Md., 1993), 259–61, 319–21, and 454–65; J. A. Scurlock, "Magical Uses of Ancient Mesopotamian Festivals of the Dead," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (Leiden, 1995), 93–96 and 103–7. A few additional passages that I would now add to those previously collected in "Nature of *Maqlû*," 261, n. 34 are: Si. 903: 4'–5' (see Farber, *Beschwörungrituale*, 207); M. E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md., 1988), vol. 2, 565–66: b+191–b+209 (translation, p. 591) = Civil, "10th Tablet," 48–49: 2'ff., describing the festival of Abu (note the mention there of "Gilgamesh, lord of the netherworld" in Cohen's line b+202 = Civil, 48: 11'); and, finally, perhaps, the colophon, F. A. M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The Ritual Texts* (CM 1; Groningen, 1992), 22: 10'.

59. L. N. Primiano, "Halloween," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade (New York, 1987), vol. 6, 176–77.

60. Cf. Jeremiah 22:29.

61. Cf. my "Nature of *Maqlû*," 259–61. Note that Gilgamesh seems to function in this role in KAR 227 (and duplicates) in what I take to be a similar ceremonial context; there, alongside Shamash,

the netherworld association that Bēlet-šēri in I 50–60 is invoked. The speaker there turns to Bēlet-šēri, the scribe and keeper of the records of the netherworld, because her approval is necessary for entrance into the infernal realm. She guards, at least figuratively, the entrance to the netherworld. She is the guardian, moreover, of those who are in limbo and await determination of whether they are to enter/reenter the netherworld.⁶²

It is appropriate that the witch be confronted and judged at this time, for one of the purposes of *Maqlû* is to prevent witches from having proper burials. Some witches are imagined as being alive. The festival is a good and effective time to judge and execute live witches. And it is an especially fitting and appropriate time to judge dead witches. For the witches who had died natural deaths are imagined to have taken the form of ghosts, like all the other dead. At the annual reappearance of ghosts, the manes of these dead witches come back together with the other dead. Now the dead witch who had escaped judgment in her lifetime may finally be judged.⁶³ And while the other dead will return to the netherworld at the end of the festival, the dead witches must not be permitted to return; they must be kept permanently out of the netherworld. Thus, the dead witches and whatever agents they may send—ghost, demons, dreams—are to be distanced and destroyed.⁶⁴

The purpose of the ceremony, then, is to judge and destroy live witches and to capture and destroy the ghosts of dead witches. In this construction, all witches are deprived of burial, for they must be kept from being integrated or reintegrated into the netherworld; they are thereby denied a place in the cosmic state. For the netherworld and the heavens form a connected structure—perhaps even a continuum—and to be part of the netherworld is to be able to ascend to the earth and affect the upper world.⁶⁵

Witches must be expelled and kept outside the organized social and cosmic community. Hence, the destruction of the witch's corpse by burning or feeding to animals, on the one hand, and the removal of her bones from the grave, on the other. In these ways, the witches' remains are totally transformed and disintegrated. Such utter destruction insures that the witch will never be able either to enter or to return to the netherworld and thereby to join the broader social community of the organized universe.

the Anunnaki, and the ghosts of the patient's family, he is called upon to take action against witches. Cf. *ibid.*, 261, n. 36.

62. For Bēlet-šēri, see "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," 475–76, n. 20.

63. Moreover, at this time of year, the dead witch must be neutralized because she straddles the line between the living and the dead and threatens the social and cosmic order.

64. For a further discussion of the spectral witch, see "Ascent to the Stars," 26–29, and notes there, pp. 35–37.

65. Ghosts and demons travel back and forth between the netherworld and the upper world (see my comment in "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," 475, n. 19). Also, the ghosts of dead witches may return to this world, especially, but not only, at the time of the festival at the end of Abu. The dead witches must now be kept from returning to the netherworld, for otherwise they will again be able to threaten harm.

V. Legal Context⁶⁶

Oath and Compact. What is the justification for the destruction of witches and their permanent exclusion from the human and cosmic community? To be sure, both live and dead witches need to be eliminated so as to prevent them from harming living members of the community; thus, also the shades of dead witches must be prevented from threatening the living when they rise up together with the other dead. Moreover, living and dead witches must not be allowed, respectively, to enter or reenter the netherworld, for they would then be able to threaten and harm human beings when in subsequent years they reappear on earth.

But these, I think, are not the primary, and certainly not the only, reasons for their treatment. Simple separation from and protection for the living are not sufficient explanations for the imagery used in the work and for the extreme treatment meted out to the witch.⁶⁷ Rather, we must examine the controlling legal metaphor of the work for a fuller explanation and justification of the basis for the indictment and for the kinds of punishments that we have identified.

Already in the opening incantations of *Maqlû* there are indications that the ceremony operates in a special juridical context. The introductory section centers

66. A much-abbreviated discussion of the legal context has been incorporated into the introductory section of "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," so as to provide the necessary background for the textual explication there presented.

67. One may wonder whether this kind of treatment of the witch might not be an extension, or a particular application, of the concept noticed by B. Alster, "Incantation to Utu," *ASJ* 13 (1991): 27–96, esp. 27–32, and "Corrections and Additions to Incantation to Utu," *ASJ* 14 (1992): 425, ad lines 146–47. On the basis of that text, Alster proposes that all dead were judged prior to their integration into the netherworld; that this judgment may have taken place only on an annual basis and that those who had died between festivals and were therefore not judged at the time of their death were judged at the annual festival that occurred subsequent to their death; and that dead men who were felt to have grievously sinned against their sons (or who, at least, were perceived as having done so by their living heirs), as well as those others to whom great evil was imputed, were kept out of the netherworld and thus excluded from the cult of the dead (in this context, Alster, "Incantations to UTU," 36, n. 4, cites the Sumerian incantation quoted above in §III.A). M. J. Geller, "Very Different Utu Incantations," *ASJ* 17 (1995): 102–9, has objected to Alster's construction. Although Geller's argument is provocative, I do not accept his premise that incantations are only intended to help living victims. While I am not certain about some of the details of the text, I find that in the main I still prefer Alster's interpretation.

Alster and I seem to have come to some of the same conclusions independently. Alster's interpretation of the Utu text agrees with the inferences drawn above in §III.A from the Sumerian incantation quoted there as well as from other texts, and with the ideas developed in this paper about the destruction of the corpse so that the "evil" dead not enter the netherworld, and about the disinterment of those who had managed to be buried although they did not "deserve" to enter the netherworld. The aforementioned Utu text provides further support for the idea that exclusion from the netherworld may be the standard punishment in Mesopotamia not only of witches but, as expected, of other criminals as well. Alster's conclusions also agree with my idea that the witches were judged during an annual festival of the dead in Abu.

on the indictment of the witch in anticipation of her subsequent judgment and punishment. While judgment and punishment are not uncommon in witchcraft ceremonies and even appear in the opening incantation (I 73ff.) of an earlier form of *Maqlû*, here in the new introductory section (I 1–72), the composer adds an indictment of the witch, an invocation of natural forces, and an allusion to a contractual relationship, all themes that recall treaties and witnesses.

The direction for a more specific answer within *Maqlû* is provided by the occurrence in the second incantation (lines 37–41) of the term *māmītu* (line 38). This incantation invokes the “oath” *māmītu* and builds on and proceeds from this adjuration. From its position and emphasis, it is clear that *māmītu* here bears particular significance. The speaker invokes the netherworld and then declares that the witches are under an oath enforced by Gilgamesh; hence, it is an oath sanctioned by the netherworld (i.e., *māmīt eršeti*). In the preceding incantation (I 1–36), the speaker had implicitly invoked an oath sanctioned by the gods of the heavens when he called upon the gods of the night sky, accused the witches of having performed evil witchcraft against him, and received a favorable hearing from these gods. The oath by the netherworld is thus perhaps part of the standard pattern of adjuration by the pair heaven and netherworld: *zi.an.na ḫé.pàd zi.ki.a ḫé.pàd: nīš šamê lū tamāta nīš eršeti lū tamāta* “Be you adjured by heaven, be you adjured by earth.” In any case, in the second and fourth incantations, the *māmītu* is placed explicitly under the sanction and execution of netherworld authorities, Gilgamesh and Bēlet-šēri.

The use of the term *māmītu* in line 38 of our second incantation, as well as the variety and totality of punishments later in the series, suggest the operation here of a social/ideological framework different from that of the normal anti-witchcraft ceremony.⁶⁸ What exactly does *māmītu* here signify? It is not sufficient to see the *māmītu* simply as an oath supporting or demanding exorcism and separation, as is admittedly often the case in magical rituals where the invoked demons or ghosts are required to take leave from the human victim and not return.⁶⁹ Nor is it sufficient to see it simply as an oath that enforces a line beyond which the witches and their emissaries cannot go, a barrier set up so that evil forces not be able to make contact

68. The primary (though not exclusive) purpose of the latter was to rid the victim of witchcraft and to kill the witch.

69. See, e.g., *LKA* 84, rev. 3–6:

You shall not come near my [bo]dy again. You are expelled (and) dr[iven out].
(Šamaš), let him (the ghost) be adjured by your [o]ath, let him be adjured by the oath of Ea
and Asalluḫi,
Let him be adjured by the oath of the great gods of heaven and the netherworld
Not to approach my body again.

Translation: Scurlock, *Magical Means*, vol. 2, 273, with minor modifications (of punctuation and the replacement of “be put under” with “be adjured by” and “earth” with “netherworld”). Cf. also *KAR* 267, rev. 14ff. // *BMS* 53: 23ff., for which see Scurlock, “*KAR* 267 // *BMS* 53,” 206–9.

with the human victim.⁷⁰ It is also not sufficient to see the *māmītu* as only a device to maintain the divide between the living and the dead during the festival when they are in contact with, or at least close to, each other so that there not be any dangerous infringements by one community on the other.⁷¹

The *māmītu* here in *Maqlû* is more than any or all of these things. I propose that it also designates a code of behavior and that it refers to the oath taken and the curse or punishment threatened in support of a set of rules. This *māmītu* designates an agreement or compact that governs relationships, a series of stipulations to which all members of society, including the witches, have been bound by oath under the threat of punishment. This agreement is authorized and guaranteed by the powers of the heavens and the netherworld. And by bringing down curses on those who break the oath, the *māmītu* is meant to deter its subjects from breaking the terms of the agreement—the rules of society—that allow the living to form a community and the living and dead to be part of one cosmos.

The *māmītu* in *Maqlû* is not unlike the *māmītu*, the oath and compact, between the snake and the eagle in the myth of Etana. Note especially the similar *māmīt eršetim* found there. The late version, in Kinnier Wilson's translation, reads:

(Then, one day) the eagle spoke [unto the serpent, (saying)]:
 "Come, let us [make] friends.
 "Let us become (hunting) partners, you and I!"
 [The serpe]nt opened his mouth and [spoke unto the eagle, (saying)]:
 "[Evil] is he who [breaks] a friendship in the [sight of Shamash].
 "By your evil you would [grieve his] spi[rit].
 "An abomination of the gods, [a forbidden thing would you have done].
 "Come, let us indemnify ourselves [. . .]
 "Let us swear an [oath] by the nether[world]."
 (So) before Shamash-*qurādu* they swore an oath, (saying):
 "He who [transgresses] the boundary of Shamash,
 "May Shamash [deliver] him as evil into the hand of the Slaughterer.
 "He who [transgresses] the boundary of Shamash,
 "May [the mountainland] remove afār [its] entr[ance] from him.
 "May the 'wandering Weapon' make straight towards him,

70. See, e.g., the incantation *Sag.ba sag.ba*, recently reedited by W. H. P. Römer, "Eine Beschwörung gegen den 'Bann'," in *Studies Sjöberg*, 465–79.

71. It does seem likely that the *māmītu* here reinforces an enclosure, for according to lines 50–51, the witches are enclosed and imprisoned in a transit area—the quay and ford. By being confined in a holding area, the witches are kept from escaping and are made available for the upcoming trial. The transit area is here closed off so as to keep those who would enter the inhabited world confined and unable to move forward into this world or back into the netherworld. The witches are thus kept both from attacking humans and from escaping back into the netherworld. For a fuller discussion of this transit area and of the confinement of the witches there, see "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," 475–84.

“May the net-beams of the *māmīt Šamši* cross over him and en[snare him].”

After they had sworn the oath by the nether[world] . . .^{72, 73}

More specifically, I would suggest that here in *Maqlû* we are dealing with a social compact or contract directed against hostile and destructive behavior. It probably required obedience and loyalty to the divine, governmental, and social authorities and structures.⁷⁴ But most of all, it prohibited behavior of an anti-social, seditious nature, behavior that may be construed as, or at least includes, the performance of witchcraft. All members of society are bound to abide by the rules of social order; this obligation seems to underlie or be implicit in the frequent accusation in prayers and incantations that some individuals have committed evil or various forms of witchcraft,⁷⁵ a complaint that has on occasion been expanded to include the charge that the witch has performed witchcraft (= evil) against the victim although he had not performed witchcraft against her.⁷⁶ By disregarding the terms of the social compact through their hostile behavior, the witches have broken a *māmītu* guaranteed by the heavens and the netherworld and are to be punished and excluded from the organized community of humanity, a community that encompasses the living and the dead.⁷⁷

72. See J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Legend of Etana: A New Edition* (Warminster, 1985). I have reproduced Kinnier Wilson's translation (pp. 88–91), with the exception of his “(Nergal)” in line 18. For a similar translation, with minor differences, see B. F. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2d ed.; Bethesda, Md., 1996), vol. 1, 449–50. A somewhat different translation of these lines, with the replacement of “oath by the netherworld” by “oath on [the net of Shamash(?)]” in lines 15 and 23, is given by S. Dalley, *Myths From Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1989), 191–92. I note that S. Langdon, *The Legend of Etana and the Eagle* (Paris, 1932), pl. I, and Kinnier Wilson, pls. 13–14, show a clear *ki-t[i]*. Kinnier Wilson reads these lines as: *ni-it-ma-a eršeti[m rabītim? ma-mītu]* (15), *iš-tu ma-mītu it-mu-ú eršeti[m rabītim?]* (23). Cf. the Middle Assyrian Version, I/B, lines 6 and 9 as restored and translated by Foster, 443: “The netherworld will h[old you fast]! . . . The netherworld [will hold you fast]!”

73. In addition, I need hardly mention the many *māmītus*/acts listed, for example, in *Šurpu* (and related texts) that relate to social behavior (e.g., *Šurpu* II 20–68, III 24, 34).

74. Of course, human society is implicitly based on a social compact. What we are saying is that a structure that is often implicit in Mesopotamian culture has here been made explicit, and that sometimes formal ceremonies were performed in support of this understanding of society and of the obligations that it entailed.

75. For example: *aššu ipuša lemnēti ište'a lā banāti* “Because evil did she perform against me and harm has she sought against me . . .” (*Maqlû* I 18). There are many additional examples; see, simply, the examples cited in W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen “Gebetsbeschwörungen”* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 5; Rome, 1976), 91–92 (d).

76. *Šamaš aššu lā epušaššimma šī ipušanī / Šamaš aššu lā ašhuraššimma šī ishuranni* (J. Laessøe, *Bīt rimki*, 36–44 [and further duplicates]: 49–50). See also *Maqlû* II 199–200 and *LKA* 155, rev. 25 // K 3394 + 9866, rev. 10.

77. Perhaps, like the Erinyes, Gilgamesh, judge of the netherworld, punishes those who have sworn an oath but not abided by its terms.

Many features support the claim that the ideological framework here in *Maqlû* is that of a social compact or contract that encompasses the human community but also extends to and involves a range of natural and cosmic forces well beyond that of a normal anti-witchcraft ceremony.⁷⁸ That a compact and its breach underlie our text agrees with the invocation of the heavens and the netherworld in the speaker's opening indictment (I 1–36) and subsequent adjuration of the witches (I 37–60). It also explains and is confirmed by the call upon the forces of nature (including those that inhabit the heavens and the netherworld) in the fifth incantation (I 61–72). The heavens and the netherworld are invoked because they sanctioned the compact; the forces of nature are then called upon because they witnessed the compact. Here (I 61–72), in a form not very different from the biblical *nîb* pattern, the speaker calls upon the forces of nature to function as witnesses and support him in his legal confrontation.

šaprāku allak u⁷⁹urāku adabbub
 ana līt kaššāpiya u kaššaptiya ^dAsalluḫi bēl āšipūti išpuran[ni]
 ša šamē qūlāni (var.: qūlā) ša erṣeti šimā
 ša nāri qūlāni (var.: qūlāma) ša nābali šimā ¹INIM-ya⁷⁹

 adi amāt kaššāpiya u kaššaptiya aqabbū
 alpu ipaššar immeru ipaššar
 amāssunu lippaširma amātī lā ippaššar
 adi amāt aqabbū amāssunu ana pān amātiya lā (var.: ul) ipparrik
 ina qibīt iqbū (var.: iqbū omitted) ^dAsalluḫi bēl āšipūti

I have been sent and I will go, I have been commissioned and I will
 speak,
 Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism, has sent [me] against my warlock and
 witch.
 You of the heavens, pay heed! You of the netherworld, listen!
 You of the river, pay heed! You of the dry land, listen to my speech!

 When I present the testimony against my warlock and witch,
 May the ox set at ease (the judge); may the sheep set at ease (the
 judge).
 May their testimony be dismissed but mine stand up (under scrutiny).
 When I present (my) testimony, may their testimony not prevent
 mine from being effective.
 By the command of Asalluḫi, lord of exorcism.

78. Usually, an anti-witchcraft ceremony is addressed to one or more of the following: Shamash, Girra, Ea, Asalluḫi.

79. In "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," 491, I read *pū* for INIM here. *pīya* remains possible, but *amātiya* seems to be the most likely reading.

The forces of nature are thus asked to help the plaintiff during the presentation of his case against the witches. Perhaps they present testimony and thereby support the plaintiff's case and confirm his claim that the witches have broken the agreement to which they were bound. Perhaps they are judges and render a verdict. But, in any case, they serve as an audience and prevent the witches from interfering with the plaintiff's presentation.⁸⁰

The Immutability of the Oath. Having been accused of breaking the social compact, the witches, for their part, would wish to cancel the *māmītu*: its oath, obligations, and curses. It is to this that the speaker refers in line 41: *mimmû kaššāpātīya ippuša ēgâ pātira pāšira lā išā* (var. *ul irašši*), "Whatever my witches do, there will be no one to overlook, undo, release." One of the best supports for our construction of the text comes from this line. This line has previously been misunderstood,⁸¹ in part because it was misconstrued grammatically, but mainly because it was never read against the right backdrop or set into the appropriate context. The statement in line 41 does not mean that the speaker will be unable to find someone to release the witchcraft. Such a reading is contrary to what is normally said to a witch and would be nonsense in an anti-witchcraft incantation, for there the victim of witchcraft normally seeks the release of what the witch has done and expresses the belief that the effects of her magical acts can indeed be released. Rather, its context is that of the earlier invocations of the oath in the first incantation in *Maqlû* and in line 38 of the second incantation: knowing what the witches are doing (lines 39–40) and that they will try to render the oath inoperative (line 41), the speaker now assures the witches that no matter what they do, they will not find anyone who will disregard or revoke the *māmītu* and absolve and free them from its oath, obligations, and curse.

Accordingly, our construction of a compact explains and is confirmed by what is otherwise an enigmatic line. Line 41 refers to the fact that the *māmītu* cannot be nullified or canceled. It introduces (and also explains) the various speeches and acts of the speaker in the following incantations, where he becomes a messenger of the heavenly gods and travels to the entrance of the netherworld in order to persuade Bēlet-šēri to side with him, not with the witches, and to convince her to uphold the ban and not let the witches into the netherworld.⁸²

Statements comparable to line 41, to the effect that a *māmītu* will be maintained and not undone, are found in addresses to ghosts.⁸³ But, even more significant is

80. Cf. the discussion of the role and significance of the powers of nature in the biblical covenantal lawsuits (*rīb*) in, e.g., H. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL* 78 (1959): 292–93, and G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, ed. B. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York, 1962), 44–49.

81. So, for example, Meier, *Maqlû*, 8: 41.

82. For the explication of these incantations, see "Socio-Religious Framework, Part II," 475–84.

83. Cf., for example:

Do not approach, do not come close to my bed.
May the wall hold you back (*liklaka* [cf. *Maqlû* I 50–51]),
May the door of my gate turn back your breast.
At the command of Ea, Shamash, (and) the exorcist among the gods, Asalluḫi,

the fact that it is not only ghosts that cannot escape the oath. A similar idea recurs in Esarhaddon's vassal treaties, where the partners to a treaty are told in words reminiscent of our line that they may not seek release from the oath, obligations, and imprecations. Thus, for example, in Esarhaddon's succession treaty (VTE), we read:

(§32) You shall not smear your face, your hands, and your throat with . . . *against* the gods of the assembly, nor tie it in your *lap*, nor do anything to undo the oath.

(§33) You shall not revoke or undo (this) oath . . . [. . .]; you shall neither think of nor perform a ritual to revoke or undo the oath. You and your sons to be born in the future will be bound by this oath concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon, your lord, from this day on until what(ever) comes after this treaty.

.....

(§35) Who ever changes, disregards, transgresses or erases the oaths of this tablet or [dis]regards . . . *this* treaty and transgresses its oath, . . . (*ša māmīt ṭuppi annī enmū eggū ihattū ipassasu x šū adē [xx e]ggūma iparrašu māmīssun . . .*)⁸⁴

Or, again, in Esarhaddon's accession treaty:

I will [keep] the oath [*of this treaty tablet*] and not perform the (rite of) undoing (*pašāru*) the [oath . . .] or make [. . .].⁸⁵

By the oath of heaven may you be adjured, by the oath of the netherworld may you be adjured.

May it (the oath) never release (you).

May Zaqiqu who looses what is bound remove and turn away your breast. He has bound (it).
CT 23, 15–22 +, and dupls., i 22'–25'

Translation: Scurlock, *Magical Means*, vol. 2, 163f., with minor modifications (notably, the replacement of “by heaven may you swear, by earth may you swear” with the present translation).

Shamash, together with Zaqiqu and Mamu, you are the one who binds . . .

. . . The oath sworn by the gods together with Zaqiqu and effusive Mamu, Ereshkigal, (and) Ninazu—

Let it not release it. May Nergal bind it with a band.

CT 23, 15–22 +, i 58', 60'–62'

Translation: Scurlock, *Magical Means*, vol. 2, 176f. In the context of the present study, note particularly lines 67–68, which place the recital of this incantation on the 29th of the month: “You have him say ‘. . . may the ghost who meets with me not return and at the watch of the 29th no[t meet] with me.’”

Asallu[bi], never release what must be seized.

By the oath of heaven ma[y you be adjured; b]y the oath of the netherworld may you be adjured.

BAM 473, iii 19' and dupl.

Note that these three texts are all written in Sumerian. Is this significant and is it possible that there is an influence of Sumerian tradition here?

84. Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 43–44: 373–84 and 397–99.

85. Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, 22: 10'–11' (= S. Parpola, “Neo-Assyrian Treaties from the Royal Archives of Nineveh,” *JCS* 39 [1987]: 170–71: 10'–11'). Compare 11'b: [*māmīt p*]ašā-nu eppešuni with *Maqlû* I 41: *mimmū kaššāpātīya ippuša . . . pašira . . .*

Here, I should mention that, in my opinion, MAL, Tablet A, §47 provides proof that this kind of social obligation and absence of release applies not only to groups as a whole but even to individual citizens of Assyria. Note, moreover, the witchcraft connection of that law. After stipulating that a man or woman who had been proven guilty of performing witchcraft be killed, the law takes up the case of an eyewitness who first reports that he had seen the commission of the act but then denies it:

A man who heard from an eyewitness to the witchcraft that he witnessed the practice of the witchcraft, who said to him, “I myself saw it,” that hearsay-witness shall go and inform the king. If the eyewitness should deny what he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) reports to the king, he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) shall declare before the divine Bull-the-Son-of-the-Sun-God, “He surely told me”—and thus he is clear. As for the eyewitness who spoke (of witnessing the deed to his comrade) and then denied (it to the king), the king shall interrogate him as he sees fit, in order to determine his intentions; an exorcist shall have the man make a declaration when they make a purification, and then he himself (i.e., the exorcist) shall say as follows, “No one shall release any of you from the oath you swore by the king and by his son; you are bound by oath to the stipulations of the agreement to which you swore by the king and by his son.”⁸⁶

The eyewitness is required by a civil obligation sanctioned by some form of oath to give evidence of a crime that he witnessed. Here, too, the power constraining the citizen derives from a *māmītu*; here, too, this oath and obligation cannot be rescinded (*māmīta ša ana šarre u mārišu tam’ātani lā ipaššarakkunu . . .*). A similar stipulation is found in Leviticus 5:1.⁸⁷

The witches, as all members of society, are under the jurisdiction of the *māmītu*.

Witchcraft and Neo-Assyrian Ideology. Throughout this essay, I have been citing parallels from Neo-Assyrian governmental texts that record the ideology and behavior of that empire. This is neither an accident nor a coincidence, for what we are dealing with in *Maqlû* is not unlike the treaty forms, ideology, and procedures

86. Translation: M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World Series 6; Atlanta, 1995), 172–73.

87. Lev 5:1 reads:

If a person does wrong: When he has heard a public imprecation (against withholding testimony)—and although he was a witness, either having seen or known (the facts)—yet does not testify, then he must bear his punishment.

Translation: J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (Anchor Bible 3A; New York, 1991), 292.

The adjuration or imprecation in Lev 5:1 is rooted in and draws its force from the obligation of members of a community to abide by societal laws and norms. The obligation is sanctioned by the community and its institutions. The obligation to fulfill one’s social responsibility may have been assumed by means of a formal ceremony; in biblical religion, the obligation is a consequence of Israel’s having entered into a formal covenant. Cf. M. J. Geller, “The Šurpu Incantations and Lev. V. 1–5,” *JSS* 25 (1980): 185–87, for a similar approach to communal obligations but a different approach to the sin involved in Lev 5:1 (Geller takes *wēšāmē’ā qôl ’ālā wēhū’ ’ēd ’ô rā’ā ’ô yādā’* as referring to the covenant ceremony itself rather than to the crime being published by the announcement.)

of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.⁸⁸ There, too, the members of society entered a covenant and assumed obligations.⁸⁹ There, too, the individual who had broken the political or social agreement had to be punished regardless of whether he was still alive or had already died. The crime is absolute and the punishment, too, is absolute; punishment must always be meted out, for all treaty crimes must be punished (at least in theory). Hence, the execution and corporeal destruction of treaty transgressors and the disinterment and destruction of those transgressors who had seemingly escaped by dying prior to capture; thus, the bodies of the living and dead were destroyed.⁹⁰

As an example of the treatment of dead vassals, let us recall the passage from Assurbanipal's Prisms (B vi 93ff. // C vii 111ff.), quoted earlier, that dealt with the grinding up of the bones of Nabûšumēreš, the governor of Nippur. He was one of those who had rebelled against Assurbanipal and had supported Urtaka's original rebellion. Earlier in the prisms, we are told that he died subsequent to that rebellion and was therefore not immediately punished ("Nabûšumēreš, der Gouverneur [scil. von Nippur], der den Vertrag nicht wahrte, zog sich Hydropsie, (d.h) Wassersucht zu"⁹¹). But he still required punishment because he had broken his oath, as the text

88. There is a large literature on the treaties. In addition to the items mentioned in earlier notes (Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*; Watanabe, *Die adē-Vereidigung*; and Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian Treaties," 161–189, esp. 161, n. 3), see, e.g., M. Weinfeld, "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *UF* 8 (1976), 379–414; H. Tadmor, "Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East: A Historian's Approach," in *Humanizing America's Iconic Book: Society of Biblical Literature Centennial Addresses 1980*, ed. G. M. Tucker and D. A. Knight (Chico, Calif., 1982), 127–52; A. K. Grayson, "Akkadian Treaties of the Seventh Century B.C.," *JCS* 39 (1987): 127–60 (see esp. 128, n. 7 and 129, n. 11 for further bibliography); and the various studies in *I trattati nel mondo antico: Forma, ideologia, funzione*, ed. L. Canfora et al. (Rome, 1990).

89. I have in mind, for example, domestic loyalty pacts. See, e.g., Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, xxiv: "The Assyrian solution to the problem was to set up a mechanism geared to detect and nip all treacherous activities in the bud: pacts of loyalty obliging every Assyrian subject to accept and protect the sovereignty of the ruling king (or his heir apparent) and to immediately report any activities undermining this sovereignty to the king." Cf. also H. Tadmor's summary ("Propaganda, Literature, Historiography: Cracking the Code of the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Assyria, 1995*, ed. S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting [Helsinki, 1997], 332) of A. L. Oppenheim's understanding of the purpose of Esarhaddon's letter to the god about his campaign to Shubria: "Oppenheim suggested that . . . Esarhaddon's letter to the god . . . was . . . read aloud before the citizens of Ashur, . . . to warn them against any possible disloyalty or breach of their oath of allegiance to the king." For Oppenheim's detailed discussion, see "Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires," in *Propaganda and Communication in World History, Vol I: The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times*, ed. H. D. Lasswell et al. (Honolulu, 1979), 123–34, esp. 131–32.

Loyalty oaths of a more general sort are implied, I believe, by MAL, A §47 and Lev. 5:1.

90. For the punitive response to treaty violations generally, cf. Parpola, "Neo-Assyrian Treaties," 161, n. 3; and Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, xxiii. For the destruction of the bodies of treaty violators, see Westenholz, "*berūtum*," 29–30; and especially Cassin, "La mort," 358–59.

91. Prisms B iv 62–63 // C v 70–71. See Piepkorn, *Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, 60–61 (Prism B), and now Borger, *Inscribenwerk Assurbanipals*, 96 (text) and 223: B §29 (translation); the translation given here follows Borger.

explicitly states: *lā nāšir adê*. Had he been captured alive, he would have been killed and his body mistreated and left unburied. Having been buried, his remains had to be disinterred so that he could be punished and destroyed. Hence, after a later campaign his bones were exhumed and taken to Nineveh where his sons were forced to grind them up.

Like the Assyrian vassals, the witches in *Maqlû* are under an obligation. The witches addressed in *Maqlû* have broken the rules and have not abided by the social contract, a contract that applies to the whole community of the living and the dead. They threaten and transgress a social order that is maintained by cosmic forces of nature; consequently, the invocation of the heavens, the netherworld, and the forces of nature. They are treated no differently than vassals who have committed sacrilege and are for that reason punished and totally destroyed.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that similar forms of punishment are meted out to those who have broken the terms of their agreement in both *Maqlû* and the treaties. Like live vassals, live witches are killed and their bodies are destroyed by being burned or by being fed to animals. Like dead vassals, the bones of witches who had died before being punished are removed from their graves and destroyed.⁹² Even a natural death does not protect the witch from punishment, for witches who had died before being punished were like criminals who had sinned but had escaped retribution while alive.⁹³ Like the vassals, the witches are not to find peace below, for their punishment would not be complete were they not also expelled from the organized cosmic community. Hence, they are permanently eliminated from the cosmos, a punishment tantamount to exclusion from the empire. It may even be that the witches of *Maqlû* are meant to symbolize the internal and external enemies of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.⁹⁴

Both human society and the universal community of the living and the dead are organized and structured by means of a social contract, a contract whose forms are reflected in treaties of the first millennium. Hence, whether living or dead, witches who are accused of acting as criminals are treated as traitors and are punished

92. After working out this explanation for the destruction of the witches, I noted that others had already noticed the connection between the reports of the destruction of dead bodies in Assyrian royal inscriptions and the transgression of and punishment threatened by the vassal treaties. In particular, see Cassin's illuminating discussion, "La mort," 355–72, esp. 358–59.

93. This is the explanation and justification for the treatment of witches in I 37ff. The manes of criminal witches are treated not as roaming ghosts, but rather as nefarious evil-doers who had broken the code. Rather than being allowed back into the netherworld, they are to be deprived of the burial that they had already received and cast out into the wild.

94. It should be noted here that I postulate a relationship or similarity between the description of witches in *Maqlû* and that of enemies in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Elsewhere I shall investigate the possible relationship that obtains between the epithets and descriptions of witches in *Maqlû* and those of enemies in the royal inscriptions. It should be clear that I believe that *Maqlû* was a construct of the Neo-Assyrian period; one may wish to refine this thesis by examining whether the text lines up as well with the treaties of the second millennium.

accordingly. They have broken the rules and are, therefore, to be permanently excluded from the cosmos.⁹⁵

Thus, without denying that Assyrian treaties draw on magical conceptions and private rituals⁹⁶ or that *Maqlû* shares some thoughts with other magical texts, the similarities between *Maqlû* and the Neo-Assyrian treaties and royal inscriptions suggest rather the more significant conclusion that the *Maqlû* passage and the Assyrian texts are the result of common literary activity and share a world of social thought.

VI. Conclusion

The purpose of the introduction to *Maqlû*, Tablet I, lines 1–72, is to enlist the heavens, the netherworld, and the forces of nature as allies of the human protagonist so that they may give testimony to and support the assertion that both live and dead witches are under an obligation sanctioned by oath and that they must be brought to trial for allegedly breaking the terms of an agreement. In lines 73ff. the judgment itself begins, with the intention of destroying the witches and not allowing them to find a place in the netherworld.

What seems to distinguish the final version of *Maqlû* from most other anti-witchcraft rituals is the fact that its purpose is not only to kill, transform, and expel a human witch but also to prevent dead witches, the supernatural witch, from functioning as part of the integrated world that encompassed the night sky and the netherworld, and to send them off to such places as the chaotic steppe, a region which is part neither of the world of the living or the dead, nor of the gods of heaven or the netherworld.

In trying to tease out the image of the witch, we have considered both the human witch along with her community and the supernatural witch along with the broader cosmic community of heaven, earth, and netherworld, and have learned to

95. But such total destruction of witches during an annual festival that brings together the living and dead serves more than one purpose. As noted, it punishes those who have broken the social compact and threatened society. Furthermore, it serves to educate and inculcate social values of obedience, conformity, and loyalty. It illustrates and thus teaches what happens to those who break the social contract: total exclusion.

Additionally, it serves to scapegoat a group and to restabilize the community by defining a group as anti-social and worthy of punishment. It thus provides a focus for hostility. Ridding the community of witches once a year thus would have served the communal need of concretizing and eliminating potentially destructive social enmity; the hostility was given the form of witches—their destruction and expulsion served to cleanse the community.

But the belief that an infernal witch reappeared at the time of the return of the dead may well have also served yet one more social need. One way of dealing with the ambivalent feelings engendered by the return of the dead and the danger thereby suggested was to project onto a segment of those who returned the image not of family but of witches, beings who are on the margin and are perhaps even outsiders—outsiders to the family and perhaps to the community and to humanity in general. In demonic guise these beings are surely enemies who deserve punishment.

96. Cf. Parpola/Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, xxxvii–xxxviii.

think in terms of both. For, if nothing else, here in *Maqlû* we have a text which operates in punctual, linear time and focuses on the individual, but at the same time has as its arena durative, cyclical time and focuses on an integrated cosmos. It represents the integration of an anti-human-witch ritual into a calendrical ceremony in which the living and the dead meet and resolve their tensions. *Maqlû* is a witchcraft ceremony that has been overlaid by demonic and infernal imagery and set into a cosmic context, a context informed by many of the thoughts and forms of the political and social ideology of its day.

Excursus: Antecedents

Treaty or covenant ideology of the Neo-Assyrian period and the calendrical funerary setting of the *Maqlû* ceremony in Abu explain, in part, the strange nature of the work—namely, the unexpected and initially perplexing appearance of dead witches as an object of the ritual, and the bringing together of both living and dead witches in one ritual and the performance of the ceremony to destroy both. But perhaps we should also approach this problem from a diachronic point of view, for it is possible that additional factors that provide some missing links may be found if we look back to the very creation of the work itself.⁹⁷

Let us recall that the present lengthy ceremony grew out of an earlier short ritual.⁹⁸ In the course of its development, the ceremony was transformed and restructured, and assumed the new forms, images, and goals that typify it and set it off from most other magical texts. Moreover, the very section—lines 1–72 of the first tablet—that occasioned the difficulties that this essay addresses was itself not part of the original text of *Maqlû* and was only added to the work when *Maqlû* was transformed into a nighttime ceremony. It should not surprise us, then, that we can perhaps solve the problems posed by the text—namely, the treatment and nature of the witch—by recalling aspects of the history of *Maqlû* and then approaching the final version not only on its own terms but also with the sensitivity gained from an understanding of its history. Thus, we may perhaps understand the nature of the witch by noting the forms of evil in the oldest segments of the text, forms which coalesce in the image of the witch in our final version.

The early short version of *Maqlû* was originally constructed out of two independent rituals. Already in that early version, there were two separate images of

97. Another contributing factor may be the evolution of a “state” approach to the dead, that is, an evolution from an early family situation, wherein parents who mistreat children were excluded from membership in the community of ghosts of dead family members, to a situation where members of society who are evil are excluded from membership in the organized world of the dead. This seems to be an expansion of social nexus and obligation comparable to the development of the biblical “covenant/berith” from a compact holding together a clan or patriarchal family to one which held together the Israelite polity in the form of the Deuteronomic covenant.

98. The earlier version is isolated and reconstructed in my “Demonic Image,” 41–45, and “Early Form,” 1–57.

evil, each corresponding to one of the ritual sets. In the first set, the image of the enemy was that of the normal human witch; in the second set, the enemy assumed a demonic or ghostly form.⁹⁹ In the combining of the two ceremonies, we have a merger of anti-witch incantations involving judgment and burning with general anti-demon incantations involving rites of burning, dousing, and expulsion. Two forms of evil—the human witch and the demon—were brought together.

As noted already in the conclusion to §III, the later version of *Maqlû* thus evolved from an early version where the human and the spectral/demonic had already been brought together. It seems more than a coincidence that important, albeit complex, features of the final version of *Maqlû* fit nicely with features of the original version, and that the human witch and the ghostly and/or demonic force of the early version may be associated with the live and dead witches, respectively, of the later version.

Nevertheless, it remains uncertain whether the later configuration and use against the company of live and dead witches applied already in the early version. Thus, it seems judicious to end our present discussion with a question: are the older anti-witch and anti-demon/ghost tendencies of the original short version the direct precursors of the purpose of the final recension as a ritual directed against both living and dead witches, or are these features of the old version simply a fertile ground which allowed the development of the later bifurcation? Or is it simply a coincidence that both versions have similar features?

99. See my “Demonic Image,” 44–45, and “Early Form,” 51–54.

ilū awīlum : we-e i-la,
“Gods : Men” versus “Man : God”

Punning and the Reversal of Patterns
in the Atrahasis Epic

BENDT ALSTER

The opening lines of the Atrahasis epic have become one of the most frequently discussed sections of Akkadian literature since the appearance of the edition of Lambert and Millard in 1969. Every detail, including several collations, has been scrutinized, so it would be futile to repeat the whole discussion in the hope that something substantial could be added to it. Yet, a number of contributions by various authors illustrate how the gradual clarification of dubious points may, step by step, be possible in a process that never seems to end, so it may still be worthwhile to reconsider some crucial points. In this spirit, this study is dedicated to the memory of Thorkild Jacobsen, a master of interpreting cuneiform literature. It is an attempt to provide new insight into the Atrahasis Epic and is inspired by one of Jacobsen’s main strengths: never to see things in isolation, and never to lose sight of a wider coherent and meaningful context. In the present case, the solutions to be suggested here have been anticipated by others, in particular, by Karl Oberhuber,¹

1. K. Oberhuber (1982). Cf. also A. D. Kilmer, *Or* 41 (1972): 164, who explained ^d*Wê-ila* as *wêlu*, from *awīlu*. My major point of disagreement with Oberhuber is that I do not find it necessary to look for a “philologische Beweisführung” (p. 279 n. 4) and to revert to unlikely sign values, such as /aw/ for *wa*, in **aw-e-i-la* (I 223, cf. p. 280) in order to make things look like etymologies that are acceptable to modern standards, when puns, and not modern philology, are intended by the ancient texts. One must keep in mind that such a fundamental phenomenon as the Semitic root was not known before the Arabic grammarians, who were inspired by the Greeks centuries later. The modern linguistic concept of etymology was completely unknown in ancient Mesopotamia; all attempts to find an awareness of such a concept are mistaken. Puns were simply the “etymologies” of those days.

The use of homonyms, synonyms, and anagrams as a compositional principle in *Enuma Eliš* was discussed by P. Michalowski, “Presence at the Creation,” in *Lingering over Words . . . Studies Moran*, ed. T. Abusch et al. (Atlanta, 1990), 381–96, esp. pp. 386 ff. However, I disagree with Michalowski if that use is to be taken as an indication that the Mesopotamians were as capable of “reflexive analysis” as the Greeks but only expressed this through a different “narrative technique.” Play with linguistic expressions became a common phenomenon in the late lexical series *Nabnītu*, *Erimhuš*, and *Antagal*, but

Stephen A. Geller,² and Tzvi Abusch.³ Thorkild Jacobsen would have forgiven me for not accepting his own interpretation of the same lines, since indeed he always favored an open discussion.⁴ Jacobsen's vivid interest in the Atrahasis epic in the years following its publication is reflected in the many discussions he held with W. L. Moran, who has published some outstanding studies on the Atrahasis Epic.⁵

By relating the name of the god (I 223) from whose slaughtered body the first human being was created to the opening lines of the poem (I 1), I hope to set the problems into a wider perspective, relating them to ancient epics in general and to the prose epics of the Pentateuch in particular, which in so many ways are thematically related to the Atrahasis Epic.

The name was read and translated as follows by Lambert/Millard, I 223:⁶ *ḫwe-e-i-la ša i-šu-¹ū¹ ṭe₄-e-ma*, “Wê-ila, who had personality.” This name was long considered a crux. Of course, one might expect such a name to be significant, but here agreement stops, both with regard to the reading of the name and the interpretation of the complete phrase. Yet, with all reasonable degree of certainty, we can now say that “personality” is a mistranslation for “plan,” “inspiration,” or the like, i.e., an instigation to lead the rebellion against Enlil, and that the “one” god who is slaughtered to create mankind is in fact the leader of the rebellion and precisely the one named *ḫwe-e(-i-la)* in I 223.⁷ The newly created human being preserved a

this still has nothing to do with etymologies. The scribes of these series would hardly have been able to distinguish truly etymologically related words from homonyms or anagrams.

2. This study was written before those of S. A. Geller (1993) and T. Abusch (1998) became known to me. Geller sees line I 1 of the Atrahasis Epic, *ilu-awīlum*, as a compound term, “god-man,” comparable to *lullā-awīlum*, “human-man,” an original unity of god and man. In I 223 “the god *Wê(ila)* was chosen to be slaughtered because his name contained the phoneme /w/ through which the new creature, man (*awīlum*), was to be distinguished from divinity (*ilum*)” (p. 41). So this original unity was split into two parts with the result that man and god became distinct. To support this interpretation, a Late Assyrian creation myth is quoted (p. 67: W. R. Mayer, *Orientalia* 56 [1987]: 55–68), in which *lullā-awīlum* is seen as “common-man,” as opposed to *maliku-amēlu*, “ruler man.” While I appreciate the general approach and in particular the recognition of puns as a compositional principle in the epic, I allow myself to comment that to me the gist comes too close to Plato’s dual nature of mankind to be convincing for an Old Babylonian epic.

3. Abusch (1998) has a detailed discussion of Atrahasis I 192–226 (pp. 364–72). He also emphasizes the great significance of puns, thus between *awīlu*, “man,” and the god’s name *wê(-)ila*, from whom “mankind receives both its life and its name” (p. 368).

4. Jacobsen translated line 1 as “when Ilu (i.e., Enlil) was the boss” in *The Treasures of Darkness*, 117, as well as in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, ed. M. de Jong Ellis (Hamden, 1977), 117, which translation I find most unlikely.

5. Cf., e.g., Moran 1970: 52 n. 14. I had the privilege of reading the entire Atrahasis Epic with Moran at Harvard University in 1970–71 and have retained a vivid memory of the discussions and a lasting interest in the epic which have resulted in the present study.

6. Lambert/Millard 1969: 58.

7. This was first clarified in Moran’s short but penetrating study, 1970: 51–52. The word *ṭe₄-e-ma* anticipates a pun on *ēṭimmu* (I 228), the “spirit” of the slaughtered god remaining in mankind, as seen by J. Bottéro (1982: 28). This does not mean that an etymology is intended! (Cf. now Abusch 1998: 368–69, who also recognizes a pun between *ṭēmu*, “intelligence,” and *damu*, “blood.”)

“spirit” and the heartbeat from the old god to commemorate the origin of mankind from this god.

The most remarkable alternative reading of the name was proposed by von Soden, who read *geštu-e* “den Gott, dem Planungsfähigkeit eignet.”⁸ With full respect to von Soden’s innumerable contributions to Akkadian philology, it is fair to say that the most remarkable thing about his obviously senseless reading is the conviction with which it was promulgated and that it has actually been accepted by quite a number of scholars. First, why would a meaningless apparent Sumerogram, which does not even make sense in Sumerian, appear in this context, where every syllable is beautifully suited to a rhythmical pattern?⁹ Yet von Soden’s reading raises a more serious problem, namely, is *i-la* part of the name, ^d*we-e-i-la*, or is it a separate noun, which would then be the accusative of *i-lu(m)*?

The former solution was chosen by J. Bottéro, who translated “Et le dieu Wê, qui avait de l’*esprit*”;¹⁰ in other words, *i-la* was separated from *Wê* and taken in apposition to it.

A different solution was chosen by B. Foster, who translated “They slaughtered We-ilu, who had the inspiration, in their assembly.”¹¹ Here *i-la* is taken as part of the name, which is not understood as a fixed form, but as a noun whose nominative form is *We-ilu*. He supports this by saying that “*We-ilu* may be a pun on the Akkadian word for ‘man’ (*awêlu*),”¹² as already suggested by K. Oberhuber.¹³

This study proposes a modification of the interpretations already offered by Oberhuber and Foster. Whether *We-e(-)i-la* is an undeclined noun or a noun with an accusative apposition would make little difference once we recognize the allusions involved. If we accept the assumed nominative form of the first part of I 223, **we-e(-)i-lu(m)*, the connection with the very opening line of the epic is obvious (I 1–2):

inūma ilū awīlum
ublū dulla izbilū šupšikku

When gods were men,¹⁴
they bore the burden and suffered the toil.

In other words, in I 223 *wē ilu(m)* is a play on *awīlum ilū*, the reverse order of I 1: *ilū awīlum*. Thus, *wē ilu(m)* is not meant as an etymology, but is just what it appears to be, a pun. So, is *we-e(-)i-la* the accusative form of a declined noun, an undeclined noun, or a noun with apposition? All possibilities are open and would make equally good sense, but the third choice is certainly most likely for the reasons

8. Von Soden, *passim*, in his publications on Atrahasis.

9. To be meaningful, it should at least be *geštu₂-ge*, written *GIŠ.TÚG-ge*.

10. Bottéro 1989: 537.

11. Foster 1993: 166.

12. Foster 1993: 166 n. 2.

13. Oberhuber (1982).

14. I take *awīlum* as a collective plural (cf. Moran 1987: 247 n. 7).

stated below. An ancient epic of this type may be suggestive of a number of possibilities, rather than just one. After all, that is why they keep puzzling us, and that is why they use puns to create an atmosphere of unspoken allusions. What makes the interpretation suggested here different from those made earlier is not that it proposes a new reading or the like, but that it sees the name of the god as a conscious reversal of the pattern with which the poem starts.

This makes good sense in the context. The poem starts with the gods having to do hard physical work—one may understand this as “as if they were men,” or “like men,” as a later version has it, but this makes little difference as long as one keeps in mind that mankind was not yet created. Now the gods were relieved from hard work by the human being created in I 223. So, the initial situation “gods-men” is reversed to “man-god,” expressed by the reversal of the order of the two corresponding parts of the pun.¹⁵

With this in mind, it is worthwhile to reopen the discussion of the two partly broken passages in which the name ^dwe is likely to occur for the first time. First, in I 47, the traces suit the sign -e of ^dwe-e very well (CT 46, pl. II 47), so the proposed restoration may be considered a good choice, unless one wants to drive skepticism beyond all reasonable limits.¹⁶ Second, in I 144, there is certainly not enough room to restore ^dwe-e-i-la, but, with Pettinato and Moran,¹⁷ there are good reasons to restore ^dwe-e. If so, the form ^dwe-e is indeed the name of the god, and *ilu* is a separate noun used in I 223 in apposition to ^dwe-e, as already suggested by Bottéro.

We still are at a loss to provide an etymology for ^dwe-e or to explain what it means. Perhaps the solution is surprisingly simple: The name would be a mystery to any reader, ancient as well as modern, when it occurs, presumably for the first time, in I 47 and I 144, and probably it has no specific etymology. It is only with its appearance in I 223 in the phrase ^dwe-e *ila* that its full implication as a pun on **awilum ilu* would become evident to ancient readers. That names play a great role in the Atrahasis Epic appears readily from the renaming of the mother goddess, Mami as *Bēlet-kāla-ilī*, “Mistress-of-All-the-Gods,” in I 247.¹⁸

From a larger perspective, punning on names is a well-known phenomenon, perhaps best known in Akkadian literature from the seventh tablet of Enuma Eliš, with its puns on the name of Marduk.¹⁹ Yet, one may go back in time and note,

15. This does not in any way imply that I accept J. van Dijk’s concept of “der Gott-Mensch” (RLA 3: 538 a).

16. Collation by Lambert, *Atrahasis*, pl. 11. The traces do not fit [^dwe-e-i-l]a, but once we recognize that the name is ^dwe-e alone, further discussions of the restoration seem unnecessary.

17. Moran 1987: 249, 15, suggesting *i-na [pu-uh-ri ^dwe-e iz-zi-iz it-be-m]a* (CT 46 pl. V iii 30), “We stood / arose in the assembly, Rebelled against Enlil’s charge.”

18. It is therefore most unlikely that the name of the mother-goddess should be restored as ^{db}[e-le-et i-lī . . .] in the Old Babylonian text, I 189. Nothing prevents the restoration ^{dm}[a-mi, or ^{dn}[in-tu (E = CT 46, pl. XXII obv. III 2), since virtually nothing remains of the sign following the divine determinative.

19. Cf. J. Bottéro’s study, “Les Noms de Marduk, l’écriture et ‘l’logique’ en Mésopotamie ancienne” in *Essays . . . in Memory of Finkelstein*, ed. M. de Jong Ellis (Hamden, 1977), 5–28.

inter alia, the numerous puns on the name of Gudea, based on the verb phrase gù dé, “he spoke,” in Gudea’s cylinder inscriptions, which really have all the qualities of being an early prose epic.²⁰ On the other hand, everyone knows the numerous puns on the names of the fathers of Israel so abundantly scattered throughout Genesis. And the two have more in common: not only the flood story, but on a larger scale, the early history of mankind—and of one particular man, Atrahasis, the pious supersage, in relation to his god.²¹ The Atrahasis Epic is a great creation of humor and wit. As is the case with Genesis, it should be read as a drama in which every trick counts and is accepted with pleasure, so long as it serves a good purpose, even if by modern western standards the moral values may sometimes seem somewhat dubious, and deities as well as fellows may be deceived and become the object of derision. Like Genesis, the Atrahasis Epic encompasses the whole mythological history of mankind, including the creation of man, the first couple capable of propagating themselves, drought, famine, the story of the Flood, and overpopulation.²²

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20. Prose epics dealing with the deeds of historical persons were favored as late as the time of Cicero, although only fragments of the Latin works have survived. In Mesopotamia, the historical building inscriptions certainly developed an aspect of epos.

21. Cf. Afanasieva 1996, in which the two heroes, Gilgameš and Atrahasis, are seen as two complementary figures. Atrahasis is the eternally pious one, whereas Gilgameš is his heroic and non-passionate counterpart.

22. The only Sumerian text which comes close to including so many themes—but not the flood story—is the mythological hymn of Inanna and Šukalletuda, now edited by K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukalletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturverkes*, SANTAG 3 (Wiesbaden, 1995), so the designation “hymnic epic” would almost be justified.

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The Sumerians in Their Landscape

JEREMY BLACK

In this essay, Sumerian words are juxtaposed with twentieth-century images: some of the collection of 25,000 photographs recently deposited at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford by the explorer Sir Wilfred Thesiger, which include striking images of southern Iraq and the Zagros Mountains. None of these has been published before. I hope this might have appealed to Thorkild Jacobsen, scholar and poet, whose vivid imagination of Mesopotamia was stimulated by seeing and living among these landscapes. He was pre-eminent among those who have had that privilege.

Landscape is all around us, but it is not the same as the environment. The environment is full of space, and spaces; but (as has been said) it is only when mere space becomes place that the environment becomes a landscape. Landscape is “the world as it is known to those who dwell therein.”¹ It can be natural or man-made; or it can be made by the gods.

It includes sights but, while by imagination most typically we understand visual imagination, landscape also includes sounds and smells—if not, perhaps, taste or touch.² It includes weather—especially extreme weather, such as floods and storms,

Author's note: This paper is adapted from the text of a lecture given as “The Sumerians in their landscape” on 4th December 1996 at the Annual General Meeting of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, at the British Academy, London, and as “Mythologie und die Landschaft” during the seminar “Mythos, Religion und Kunst in Mesopotamien,” 8th–10th April 1997, at the Altorientalisches Seminar der Freien Universität, Berlin. Its origin as an illustrated lecture is reflected in the style and absence of extensive references. I am grateful to Prof. Hartmut Kühne for inviting me to speak at the latter event and to various colleagues for helpful criticisms on both occasions; to Sir Wilfred Thesiger and Curtis Brown Group Ltd. for permission to reproduce here eight photographs currently deposited in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and to Elizabeth Edwards and her staff there for so helpfully enabling me to consult the photographic albums. The photographs were taken by Thesiger on his travels in Iraq and Iran between 1949 and 1964; other photos of the Marshes are published in W. Thesiger, *The Marsh Arabs* (London, 1964). The captions of the illustrations here are Thesiger's own, as recorded in the albums. Each album is identified by volume number, title, and date(s); individual photographs are further identified by page number and catalogue number.

1. P. 156 in T. Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” *World Archaeology* 25/2 (1993): 152–74.

2. See Alfred Gell, “The Language of the Forest: Landscape and Phonological Iconism,” in *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, ed. Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (Oxford, 1995), 232–54, esp. 236ff.



FIGURE 1. “The floods of 1954—Suq al Fuhud, May 3rd.” (Vol. 22: Iraq 1953, 1954, 1955; p. 17, 1954.5.15.)

and this gives it a chronological as well as a purely local extension. Landscape is essentially a setting in which things happen. The description of the storm in the praise-poem *Šulgi A*, while in many ways literary in its structure and resonances, has its origin in a response to the southern Mesopotamian landscape:

On that day a storm shrieked, the west wind whirled,
 the north wind and the south wind howled at each other.
 Lightning, together with the Seven Winds, devoured everything in heaven,
 the thundering storm made the earth quake;
 the god Iškur roared in the wide heavens,
 the clouds of heaven mingled with the waters of the earth.
 Their hailstones large and small
 thudded on my back.
 I, the king, was not frightened or terrified . . . ³

3. *Šulgi A*, lines 62–73, see J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Ramat-Gan, 1981), and “*Šulgi and Išme-Dagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian Royal Hymnology*,” in *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi*, ed J. Klein and A. Skaist (Bar-Ilan, 1990), 65–136. Translations of this and other compositions discussed here are now available in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, <http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk/>.

Landscape also includes visual perception of wild and domestic animals as they move in response to humans, and wild and cultivated vegetation as it relates to human lives. It shapes our thoughts and ways of seeing things.

No inhabitant of the modern world needs to be reminded that landscape can change. As one recent commentator has put it, "One cannot extrapolate from the present despoiled environment of southern Iraq to the Mesopotamian past and one cannot compare Sumerians with Marsh Arabs."⁴ It is a matter of record that the reedbeds, channels, and lagoons of the Marshes have been changed even more dramatically in the very recent past. In ancient times, for a different habitat of the region, it has been deduced that on the hilly flanks and higher ranges of the Zagros, oak and pistachio forest-steppe gave way very gradually to dense oak forest as temperatures rose and dryness declined up to ca. 3400 B.C., while elsewhere vegetation cover was stripped away by the grazing of animals and the activities of man over several millennia, yielding imperceptibly a wholly altered set of vistas.⁵ Nevertheless, there are important ways in which other elements of the landscape have survived the centuries and often can even be localised. The weather and the wide horizon of the sky endure, too. By contemplating such features in the Iraq of today it is possible, with appropriate cautions, to use landscape as one way of recreating the Sumerian cognitive framework.

The anthropologist Eric Hirsch refers to "the meaning imputed by local people to their cultural and physical surroundings."⁶ That is to say that the meaning of landscape is culture-dependent. Malinowski, and his students in the "British school" of anthropology, made a point of subtly heightening the contrasts between the local interpretation of surroundings and what the same environment might or might not signify to twentieth-century Western outsiders. The southern Mesopotamian environment may appear to us (academics of the Western tradition) bare and featureless. It has no meaning until meaning is conferred on it by people, who translate it into a significant landscape; it was certainly not bare and featureless for ancient Mesopotamians. For, like the Australian desert described by Howard Morphy,⁷ the Mesopotamian plain was vivid with the mythology of its inhabitants.

Of course, Assyriologists cannot ask living informants, as an anthropologist might. The source of my information will be the literature in Sumerian, from which we can learn how some "Sumerians," at least, construed their surroundings

4. Norman Yoffee, "Present at the Re-creation" (review of J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History*), *Antiquity* 67 (1993): 658.

5. See A. T. Clason and J. Clutton-Brock, "The Impact of Domestic Animals on the Vegetation during the First Phases of Animal Husbandry in the Mediterranean and Near East," in *Palaeoclimates, Palaeoenvironments and Human Communities in the Eastern Mediterranean Region in Later Prehistory*, ed. J. L. Bintliff and W. van Zeist (BAR International Series 133; Oxford, 1982), 145–48; and, for the palynological evidence, W. van Zeist and S. Bottema, "Vegetational History of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East during the Last 20,000 Years," *op. cit.*, 277–323.

6. In "Introduction. Landscape: Between Place and Space," in *The Anthropology of Landscape*, 1.

7. "Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past," in *The Anthropology of Landscape*, 184–209.

and what the landscape meant to them—those native speakers of Sumerian or Akkadian who had access to the high written culture preserved in the Sumerian language. The usual cautions must be urged—individuals, groups, local traditions, each must be treated as independent voices; “the literature” does not present a unified “Sumerian” view extending over several centuries.

For landscape is also a feature of literature, a cluster of images with both a local and a chronological extension. In this connection, the Russian critic M. M. Bakhtin developed the concept “chronotope” to refer to a feature of literary art whereby place and time fuse to become a single metaphor.⁸ To a large degree, the creation of mythic narratives in the world of the mythic imagination uses as its building blocks “everyday” landscape (even when the compound of mythic elements which results is purely fantastic). And just as the literary imagination feeds on objective reality, so the physical landscape which was perceived by early Mesopotamians as surrounding them in their everyday lives could come alive as the scene of mythical narratives unfolding through time and be understood in terms of those myths, and given a meaning by them. Yet the reconstruction of that significant ancient environment cannot be separated from our own perceptions of the landscape that we believe the Sumerians experienced—a point to which I return below.

Unlike the scholars of our own century, the Sumerians had no interest in the question of where “the Sumerians” in particular, as opposed to any other people, had come from. They very rarely write about “the Sumerians.”⁹ On the other hand, they knew that mankind, in general, had not inhabited the earth since the very beginning of time—there had been a time when there were no humans—and they knew that the very first men had lived in an uncivilised state like animals. They realised that civilisation had been a later development. It fascinated them to speculate about how the world had come into being and how things had been at the beginning of time.

The very oldest of all Sumerian literature is that of the Early Dynastic Period.¹⁰ It is not very extensive, and it is extremely difficult to read. But recently, scholars have been struggling to make sense of it, as in a highly interesting study by Bendt Alster and Aage Westenholz discreetly tucked away in a recent issue of the journal *Acta Sumerologica* under the title “The Barton Cylinder.”¹¹ The object itself (the Barton Cylinder, so-called because it was first published by George Barton in 1918) is a beautiful example of late Early Dynastic calligraphy. It begins:

8. Drawn on by P. Michalowski in “Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu,” in *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria*, ed. H. Weiss (Guilford, Conn., 1986), 129–56.

9. Except when they use “Sumerian” in the sense it is used in the dialogues: “are you a ‘Sumerian?’” (meaning “a scholar of Sumerian”).

10. See J. J. A. van Dijk, “Le motif cosmique dans la pensée sumérienne,” *ActaOr* 28 (1964–65): 1–59.

11. B. Alster and A. Westenholz, “The Barton Cylinder,” *ASJ* 16 (1994): 15–46. Photos in G. A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* (New Haven, 1918), pls. 24–29.

u₄ re-a u₄ re-šè na-nam . . .
 Those days were indeed faraway days.
 Those nights were indeed faraway nights.
 Those years were indeed faraway years.
 The storm roared,
 the lights flashed.
 In the sacred area of Nibru,
 the storm roared,
 the lights flashed.
 Heaven talked with Earth,
 Earth talked with Heaven.

Here, primeval cosmic events are imagined. But they are linked to a known location—in this case, the city of Nibru (Nippur). Nibru here is both the scene of a mythic drama and, at the same time, the familiar city in northern Sumer. It is transfigured by this drama to a symbolic status—like Jerusalem, Byzantium, or Rome—which makes it far more than a mere city. The location becomes a metaphor.

The gods, too, had come into being at a certain point, at that primeval time before heaven and earth had been separated. In *The Debate between Sheep and Grain* the landscape location where that creation occurred is described as “the *hursaḡ* (hill) of Heaven-and-Earth”—neither a flat plain nor a mountain, but a hilly landscape:¹²

hur-saḡ an ki-bi-da-ke₄ . . .
 On the hill of Heaven-and-Earth,
 when An had created the Anuna gods

. . . there was no grain, no weaving, no sheep, no goat, no cloth; even the names of these things were unknown to the Anuna and the great gods . . .

The people of those distant days . . .
 —these were uncivilised primitives—
 . . . went about naked and drank from ditches . . .
 At that time—it was in the gods’ own birthplace,
 their home, on the Holy Mound—Sheep and Grain were caused to live there.

This Holy Mound (*dul*) is a specific location situated, like everything else at that time, somewhere “on the hill of Heaven-and-Earth.”

They fetched them into the dining hall of the gods,
 and in the plenty of Sheep and Grain,
 the Anuna gods of the Holy Mound
 ate, indeed they could not be sated.

12. Text: B. Alster and H. L. J. Vanstiphout, “Lahar and Ashnan—Presentation and Analysis of a Sumerian Disputation,” *ASJ* 9 (1987): 1–43, esp. lines 26–42.

The Anuna gods of the Holy Mound
 drank the milk from their holy sheepfold which is good,
 indeed they could not be sated.
 As for their holy sheepfold which is good,
 for mankind it was to be made available as sustenance.
 So Enki spoke to Enlil,
 “Father Enlil, since Sheep and Grain
 are now living on the Holy Mound together,
 let us send them down together from the *kur*.”¹³
 When Enki and Enlil spoke in their holy words,
 Sheep and Grain did go down together from the *kur*.

This is how animal husbandry and agriculture became accessible to mankind, after first being tested out by the gods. A similar account is found in *How Grain Came to Sumer*:¹⁴

Men used to eat grass with their mouths like sheep.
 In those times the grain goddess did not make barley or flax grow:
 it was An who brought them down from the interior of heaven.
 Enlil looked up, . . . on the hill . . . ,
 He looked downwards—there was the wide sea,
 He looked upwards—there were the mountains of aromatic cedar.
 Enlil piled up the barley, stored it on the *kur*,
 He piled up the bounty of the Land, stored the *innuḫa* grain . . .
 He closed off access to the wide-open hill.

Evidently access to this Mound was restricted to gods. Subsequently two minor gods decide to bring barley down to earth and to introduce it into Sumer.

Now the terms *ḫursaĝ* “hill” and *dul* “mound” are known from administrative field plans dating from the Third Dynasty of Ur, which conveniently demonstrate the use of these terms as part of the everyday vocabulary of vernacular speech, not restricted to a purely literary lexicon. The plans use *ḫursaĝ* for the “hilly” parts of fields, which are difficult to cultivate (so that *ḫursaĝ* can be translated as “hill(s)”), and *dul* for areas of fields which are unproductive because they are tell-ground (that is, ground untillable because it is the site of ruined habitations).¹⁵ The word

13. Here and in the following passage, *kur* seems to be used as a general synonym for *dul* and *ḫursaĝ* rather than in the sense of “mountain.”

14. Text: HS 1518 = TMH NF 3, no. 5, re-copied by Wilcke, *Kollationen*, 14–15. Translation also in W. P. Römer and D. O. Edzard, *Mythen und Epen I* (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, III/3; Gütersloh, 1993), 360–63.

15. M. Liverani, “The Shape of Neo-Sumerian Fields,” *BSA* 5 (1990), 147–86, and now D. R. Brown, “The Ur III Field-plan Texts” (forthcoming). I am grateful to David Brown for showing me his work on this topic. The texts are: with *ḫursaĝ*: Brown 1 = MIO 1107, from uru ^dSul-gi-sipakalam-ma (location?), ca. 5% of field, see F. Thureau-Dangin, “Un cadastre chaldéen,” *RA* 4/1 (1897): 13–27. With *duĝ*: Brown 2 = Wengler 36, from Umma, see A. Deimel, “Miszellen,” *Or* 5 (1922): 56–63; Brown 5 = ITT III 6604, from Girsu, see H. de Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de*

translated here as “mound” is Sumerian *dul*, Akkadian *tillu* (which is, of course, Arabic *tell*).

A hill known as the Holy Mound, then, was the birthplace of the Anuna, and the other gods, at the time before sky and earth were separated. They lived up on it, and mankind lived down below. The imaginative stimulus for the idea of a single Holy Mound—a *dul* or *tell*—must have been the numerous ruin mounds that dot the surface of the Mesopotamian plain, with evidence of ancient habitation. Nobody lived on them, but you only have to investigate them cursorily—if your village is next to one and you stroll up there of an evening—to realise, from the ceramic remains and the occasional skull or bone, that they had been inhabited in the past. But by whom? The mythic imagination tells us that this is where the gods lived in the most distant past, with their feet on the ground but close to the sky.¹⁶

A mythic image or metaphor such as the Holy Mound, then, is a single cosmic location derivable from generalised elements of the landscape, such as uninhabited ruin mounds, that are multiple and ubiquitous.

Other myths are located instead at specific unique locations in the “real” landscape.¹⁷ It is instructive to study the geography of the relative locations of mythological and cultic sites in the light of divine family relationships. For instance, Enlil, the god of Nippur, travels to nearby Ereš (perhaps modern Abu Salabikh?) to seek the permission of its goddess, Nisaba, to marry her daughter Sud, the goddess of Šuruppak, which is also located close by.¹⁸ Geographical locations and the family connections of the gods cannot be separated. Anthropologists have recorded how the myths of Australian Aboriginal people typically take the form of journeys of ancestral beings across known land. Similarly, the Sumerian journey myths such as *Enki's Journey to Nippur*¹⁹ and *Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur*²⁰ unfold in a world populated exclusively by deities, but where these deities travel from one well-known human city to another by the human means of sailing downstream, or being rowed or towed upstream in a boat.

Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman, III. *Textes de l'époque d'Ur. Deuxième partie* (Paris, 1912); Brown 7 = O.177, no provenance, see L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie intérieure* (Brussels, 1925), 20 and 79 n. 195, and H. Limet, *Textes sumériennes de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur* (Brussels, 1976), pl. 23 and 53–54 n. 61.

16. This interpretation seems plausible to me, though I am aware that Thorkild Jacobsen, arguing against S. N. Kramer's proposal that the Holy Mound was a sort of *Weltberg*, proposed half a century ago that the Holy Mound was located in the foothills of the Zagros mountains, whose fertile climate may in a very real sense have contributed to the development of human civilisation, see “Sumerian Mythology: a Review Article,” *JNES* 5 (1946): 141.

17. See Morphy, “Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past,” in *The Anthropology of Landscape*, 192ff.

18. See M. Civil, “Enlil and Ninlil: the Marriage of Sud,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 43–66.

19. A. H. Al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey to Nippur: The Journeys of the Gods*, Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1969.

20. A.J. Ferrara, *Nanna's Journey to Nippur* (Studia Pohl, series maior 2; Rome, 1973).



FIGURE 2. “The eastern marshes. Transporting reed mats from Baidhat al Nuafil. An ‘Aniya.’” (Vol. 22: Iraq 1953, 1954, 1955; p. 14, 1954.1.7.)

In *Enki’s Journey to Nippur*, the god first builds his own temple in the city of Eridu and then boards his boat, which of its own accord conveys him to Nippur,²¹ where he receives a blessing from Enlil. The narrative is purely mythic. But the real river and canal route must have been well known to any southern Mesopotmian, even though it is conventional to describe the narrative as happening in a mythical world.

In *Nanna-Suen’s Journey to Nippur*, which has a similar outline, the god Nanna-Suen first has a boat built from materials—timber, reeds, and pitch—fetched from various apparently real locations (including wooden planks from the forests of Ebla).²² After the boat sets off from Ur, its itinerary is carefully described as it sails through the towns of Ennegi, Larsa, Uruk, Šuruppak, and Tummal, eventually arriving at the wharf of Nippur, where the god receives a blessing from Enlil. Possi-

21. Lines 88–97.

22. Lines 49, 68.

bly it is correct to imagine real historical events—leisurely ceremonial progresses—behind the composition and performance of these journey poems; the fact is that the itinerary is well known, so that anyone can say, “That route upstream by canal and river—that is the same route that the god Nanna-Suen’s barge took in the myth in which he went to visit Enlil in Nippur.” In this way, everyday surroundings become resonant with cultural overtones, and the waterways and settlements in and around which daily life is lived are rendered anything but banal.

In *Enki and the World Order* (lines 250–58) a memorable image links the creative deity, who is in the process of organising the world, to the two rivers most familiar from everyday Mesopotamian life:

After he had moved his gaze from there,
 After Father Enki approached(?) the Euphrates,
 He stood like an impetuous rampant bull,
 Lifted his penis, ejaculated,
 Filled the Euphrates with constantly flowing water.
 He was like a cow lowing in the halfa grass, the scorpion-infested stall.
 He [leant] over the Tigris, like a rampant bull,
 He lifted his penis, he brought a wedding-gift;
 The Tigris rejoiced in its heart like a great wild bull, when it was
 fashioned . . . ²³

The familiar rivers, on which so many watercraft traveled and from which fishermen took their catch, are filled by Enki, portrayed as a rampant bull ejaculating; this expresses their intense fecundity, frequently celebrated and apparently authentic, at least until the recent past. Thesiger described a particular lagoon in the Marshes, appropriately named Umm al Binni:²⁴

A fishing camp of the Berbera. When I was there in Oct. [1951] the Berbera with their nets and the tribesmen with their fish spears were taking 40,000 fish, of up to 5 lbs weight each, a day out of Umm al Binni, a lagoon in the marshes 3 miles by 2 miles in area. They had been averaging this number for 10 days before I arrived there. The water was unusually low.²⁵

Half a million large fish in a week and a half must indeed seem like evidence of divine fertility.

From the Mesopotamian plain, the roads lead up eastward through the passes of the Zagros foothills. Historically, anyone who controlled such passes would con-

23. C. A. Benito, “*Enki and Ninmah*” and “*Enki and the World Order*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1969; translation of this passage also in W. P. Römer and D. O. Edzard, *Mythen und Epen I*. (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, III/3; Gütersloh, 1993), 403–4.

24. The name means “mother of *binni* (carp)” in Arabic.

25. Noted in the Thesiger photographic collection (at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford), vol. 20 (S. Iraq 1951, 1952, 1953), page 5.



FIGURE 3. “Water ranunculus in March (Zahr al Bat). Eastern Marshes.” (Vol. 27: S. Iraq 1956; p. 6 lefthand, lower.)

trol access to the mountains. In *Lugalbanda*, the mythical eagle Anzu boasts that the god An

kur-ra ḡiḡ gal-gim igi-ba bí-in-tab-en
has let me bar the entrance (lit. the “face” or “front”) of the mountains as
if with a great door.²⁶

An identical line occurs in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, where the ruler of Aratta claims that the goddess Innin has given him similar control over the mountain approaches.²⁷ Today, as one drives up the motorway from Baghdad to Mosul, one becomes aware of the Jebel Himrīn, an outlier of the Zagros that rises up like a rigid wall on the right. For me, that personal memory fixes exactly the description in the poem *Lugale* when the god Ninurta builds the Zagros mountains:

26. See C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden, 1969), line 102; and J. A. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (London, 1998).

27. See S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1973), line 224.



FIGURE 4. “Little Zab at Persian frontier.” (Vol. 19: S. Iraq. Kurdistan. S. Iraq. 1950, 1951; p. 16, 1951.16.20A.)

bàd maḥ-gim kalam-ma igi(-ba) bí-in-tab(var. dab₅)²⁸

He barred the entrance to the Land (of Sumer) as if with a great wall.

More specifically, in the same poem, *Lugale*, there is an account of how the Zagros mountains were “built,” which gave a vivid mythological significance to this landscape for those who had access to the high culture of Sumer. Ninurta constructed the mountains, piling up the defeated army of stones so that the watercourses would flow downwards into the Tigris rather than drain uselessly into the ground. The god is a cultivator, making irrigation channels in his fields. This wall of stone became the Jebel Himrīn, shutting in the “front of the Land . . . like a great wall.”²⁹

28. Line 351. The later version has: ba-ni-in-[. . .] / kīma dūr rabū pān māti i[dīl].

29. See my “Some Structural Features of Sumerian poetry,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. M. E. Vogelzang and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, 1992), 78f.



FIGURE 5. “The Qandil Range (up to 11,000 ft.) from Aina village, in May.” (Vol. 19: S. Iraq. Kurdistan. S. Iraq. 1950, 1951; p. 14, 1951.14.33.)

These striking images give meaning or significance to the Zagros landscape, instead of making scientific sense of it as we might today by means of our geological knowledge. In the technical language of scientific geology, the Zagros chain is an ancient part of Africa that was pushed up over a suture formed by the closing up of an ancient ocean that lay between what were then Africa and Asia, approximately 15 to 20 million years ago. This explanation of the geological landscape might be satisfying in twentieth-century terms. The Sumerians, starting equally from the premise that the Zagros had not always been in existence, could use mythological language and make that landscape meaningful by describing it as a heap of stones—a heap of dead stone warriors—piled up by a god whose aim, ultimately, was to initiate agriculture for mankind: an interpretation of landscape which views it as having been shaped in the way that it is for human purposes.

Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave is a poem which represents mountain landscapes from the human point of view.³⁰ It is remarkable also for its description of landscapes inhabited by animals, such as wild cattle and goats grazing noisily on the hillsides (292–313; translation extremely provisional). This wholly imaginative scene, despite its formulaic quality, derives ultimately from real landscape:

A shaggy wild bull, a fine-looking wild bull, a wild bull tossing its horns,
a wild bull in hunger(?), resting,
seeking with its voice the horned wild bulls of the hills, the pure place
—in this way(?) it was chewing aromatic *šimgig* as if it were barley,
it was grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass,
it was sniffing with open mouth at the foliage of the *šenu* tree as if it were
grass.

It was drinking the water of the rolling rivers,
it was belching from *ilinum*, the pure plant of the mountains.
While the brown wild bulls, the wild bulls of the mountains, were
browsing about among the plants,

Lugalbanda had captured it all on his own in his snare(?).

He uprooted a juniper tree of the mountains and stripped its branches.

With a knife, holy Lugalbanda trimmed its roots,
which were like the long rushes of the field.

He tethered the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, to it with
a halter.

A brown goat and a nanny-goat—flea-bitten goats, lousy goats, goats
covered in sores

—in this way(?) they were chewing aromatic *šimgig* as if it were barley,
they were grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass,
they were sniffing with open mouth at the foliage of the *šenu* tree as if it
were grass.

They were drinking the water of the rolling rivers,
they were belching from *ilinum*, the pure plant of the mountains.

While the brown goats, the goats of the mountains, were browsing about
among the plants,

Lugalbanda captured one all on his own in his snare(?).

But here I want to draw attention to the poem's characterisation of attitudes towards landscape, and in particular to wild mountain landscape. Of course, wild mountain landscape has an interesting history of cultivation in modern European literature, especially during the Romantic era. In this Sumerian composition, the young hero Lugalbanda has been left behind in the high Zagros by his comrades because he has fallen sick, and they cannot afford to waste time by waiting for him to recover. His attitude to his surroundings is dominated by unremitting horror at

30. Not yet available in a published edition; translation in Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry*.



FIGURE 6. “Hendren Mountain, above Ruwunduz.” (Vol. 16: Kuwait. Persia. Kurdistan. Oman. 1949, 1950; p. 28, 1949.39.39.21.)

his isolation, and in particular by fear at the prospect of solitary death in the cave where he has found refuge. He prays to the sun god (lines 150–69):

“Utu, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer!
 Hero, Ningal’s son, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer!
 Utu, you have let me come up into the mountains in the company of my
 brothers.
 In this mountain cave, the most dreadful spot on earth, let me be ill no
 longer!
 Here where there is no mother, there is no father,
 there is no acquaintance, no one whom I value
 —my mother is not here to say ‘My poor child!’
 My brother is not here to say ‘My poor brother!’
 My mother’s neighbour who enters our house is not here to weep over
 me . . .
 A lost dog is bad enough; a lost man is terrible.
 On the unknown path at the edge of the mountains,
 Utu, is a lost man, a man in an even more terrible situation.
 Don’t let me flow away like water, in a violent death! . . .



FIGURE 7. “Between Darband-i-sar and Qasht Sar.” (Vol. 43: Persia 1964 (i); p. 28, 1964.13.5.)

Don’t let me be thrown away into the desert unknown to me like a
throwstick! . . .

Don’t let me come to an end in the mountains like a weakling!”

And when, later, after rejoining his brothers, he is about to set off alone across the mountains on a special mission, his brothers express similar sentiments of apprehension:³¹

“Why will you go alone and keep company with no one on the journey?
If our beneficent spirit does not stand by you there,
if our good protective deity does not go with you there,
you will never again stand with us where we stand,

31. This occurs in the companion poem *Lugalbanda*, lines 329–36.

you will never again dwell with us where we dwell,
 you will never again set your feet on the ground where our feet are.
 You will not come back from the great mountains,
 where no one goes alone, whence no one returns to mankind!”

It is a wholly hostile environment, completely deprived of human society. Of course, as an imaginative locale the landscape of the inner Zagros may have been known only, or mainly, by repute to the Sumerian poets. It is not necessary to assume that many had traveled there to experience it first-hand. Anyway, these more distant locations, in particular, are mental constructs: they have no necessary connection with the topography of particular places. Part of the structural function of such scenes in these poems is to be what Piotr Michalowski has called “paradigmatic representations of the superiority of the culture of Sumer”: we are intended to contrast the mountains with the desirable world at home.³² Symbolically, this landscape is seen in exclusively negated terms. The Sumerians chose to regard travel in the mountains as downright dangerous and probably fatal.

For my final landscapes, I move to the suburban countryside. First, the uncultivated, rural landscape. Covering large areas in some parts of the country, reed-beds in particular were immensely meaningful to the Sumerians (as demonstrated in detail most recently by Gwendolyn Leick)³³—they were places of refuge, where secret sexual encounters took place, such as those between the gods Enki and Nin-ḫursaĝa and a whole series of young female deities.³⁴ Various gods (in different accounts An, Nintu and Enlil) are said to be responsible for the birth of different types of vegetation. The short poem about the *šumunda* grass was published by S. N. Kramer in 1980, but has not attracted much attention since.³⁵ It is an incompletely preserved narrative involving the lover deities Inana and Dumuzi. At the time of the Flood,

Heaven impregnated, Earth gave birth,
 she gave birth also to the *šumunda* grass.

Those who were fortunate enough to survive the Flood subsequently faced another tribulation in the *šumunda* grass. This plant, most probably a wild grass such as esparto (*Stipa tenacissima*),³⁶ could be used for weaving baskets, in boat building and for making flimsy shelters. It was connected with Inana because it was used for her

32. “Mental Maps and Ideology,” in *Origins of Cities*, 133.

33. *Sex and Eroticism in Sumerian Literature* (London/New York, 1994), esp. 32.

34. See P. Attinger, “Enki et Ninḫursaĝa,” *ZA* 74 (1984): 1–52.

35. S. N. Kramer, “Inanna and the numun-Plant: a New Sumerian Myth,” in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, ed. Gary Rendsburg et al. (New York, 1980), 87–97.

36. See J. N. Postgate, “Palm-trees, Reeds and Rushes in Iraq Ancient and Modern,” in *L’archéologie de l’Iraq: Perspectives et limites de l’interprétation anthropologique des documents*, ed. M.-T. Barrelet (Colloques internationaux du CNRS, no. 580; Paris, 1980), 99–110, esp. 101–7 (also suggesting *Imperata cylindrica* and *Desmostachya bipinnata*). The reference to kindling fire might suggest instead that the *šumunda* is (or includes) the bulrush *Typha angustifolia* (Iraqi Arabic *berdi*).



FIGURE 8. “The central marshes in spring.” (Vol. 27: S. Iraq 1956; p. 7, 1956.2[.22? between 21 and 23].)

bed in the Sacred Marriage, hence its appearance in this poem. But it was a weed which had to be removed from fields and canal banks, a pestilential weed which required back-breaking labour to remove. Where it grew in the countryside, it was liable to catch fire in the dry heat of the summer.

Whoever had survived the Flood,
 the *šumunda* grass crushed them by labour,
 crushed them by labour, made them crouch in the dust.
 The *šumunda* grass is a bringer of fire, he cannot be tied in bundles,
 the grass cannot be shifted, the grass cannot be loosened,
 the grass cannot be loosened. When made into a shelter,
 one moment he stands up, one moment he lies down.
 Having kindled a fire, he spreads it wide.

The passage is more than a series of statements about the uses and nuisances of a particular species of grass: it incorporates a set of human responses to the rural landscape—uncultivated, full of wild vegetation, maybe dangerous in hot dry weather, but nevertheless lived near and worked beside.

Next, the cultivated landscape. An excellent new edition of the narrative poem *Inana and Šu-kale-tuda* was produced by Konrad Volk in 1995. The composition relates a series of encounters between the great goddess and a humble gardener's boy whose name appears to mean "Spotty."³⁷ Of course, he is the precursor of one of the goddess' lovers whose inhumane treatment by her is the subject of Gilgamesh's taunting in Tablet VI of the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Although it may be possible to interpret the narrative on one level as a political allegory, the simplest and most direct reading of it describes a rural agricultural landscape and life in Sumer—anybody's vegetable garden, a place in which tasks are performed, weather conditions experienced and times of day pass.

Šu-kale-tuda is working in the garden. Apparently, he is not even a very good gardener's boy, since none of his vegetable plots thrive, and he appears to have the habit of pulling up the plants which he has sown earlier. This rural scene is not presented as a wholly idyllic environment: a typical scene involves a sudden dust-storm (which is when he catches sight of the goddess Inana):

. . . Šu-kale-tuda ("Spotty") was his name indeed.
 This man, the son of Igi-sigsig . . . wanted to water garden plots
 and build an irrigation installation for vegetables.
 Something which no longer existed in a single plot—what was it that no
 longer existed?
 —he had pulled out, roots and all, and chewed it up.
 What had the stormwind then brought?
 It blew the dust of the mountains into his eyes.
 When he tried to wipe the corner of his eyes with his hand,
 he got some of it out. There seemed to be no end (to the dust-storm).
 He raised his eyes to the lower land. He sees the high gods of the land
 where the sun rises.
 He raised his eyes to the upper land. He sees the high gods of the land
 where the sun sets.
 He directs his glance to a single ghost.
 He recognised a single deity by her phenomenon.
 He saw her who was there to perfect the *me*.
 He paid attention to her for whom the destiny of the gods is decided. (91–106)

In the hot Mesopotamian sun, the exhausted goddess looks for somewhere to have a sleep, and lights on a corner of Spotty's vegetable garden. The scene resonates with the long shadows of the late afternoon:

By a plot which he had approached many, many times,
 there stood at that place a single shady tree.

37. K. Volk, *Inanna und Šukaletuda: Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes* (SANTAG 3; Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 1995).

That tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade.
 Its shade was low in the morning, and by midday and in the evening it did
 not change.
 Then, when my lady had gone around the heaven, when she had gone
 around the earth,
 Then, when Inana had gone around the heaven, when she had gone
 around the earth,
 when she had gone around in Elam and Subir,
 when she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven,
 when she was tired, she arrived there and lay down by its roots.
 Šu-kale-tuda was looking at his vegetable plot . . .
 When he had taken advantage of her,
 he went back to his vegetable plot. (107–25)

The precise details of what happened between them as the sun went down are irrelevant here, but it will be apparent that Spotty the gardener's boy has got himself into some very serious trouble—on a cosmic scale, in fact. A worried adolescent, he goes off to tell his father. The rural location which forms the landscape background of the narrative is emphasised by his father's advice. In the country he will be easily tracked down and identified; the best thing will be to go to the nearby town, where he can quickly become invisible among the crowds (lines 139–84):

The boy went to his father in the house and spoke to him.
 Šu-kale-tuda went to his father in the house and spoke to him.
 "My father, (*he tells him the whole story*).
 Then what destruction does the woman cause? . . .
 she fills the wells of the Land of Sumer with blood.
 In the vegetable gardens of the Land of Sumer there is blood, brought by
 her.
 A slave whom someone sent out to collect fuel: it is blood that he drinks.
 A slavegirl whom someone sent out to fetch water: it is blood that she
 draws.
 It is blood that the black-headed drink. There seems to be no end to
 it . . . "

The enraged Inana brings plagues on the land of Sumer and is determined to seek out and revenge herself on the gardener's boy.

His father replied to the boy,
 his father replied to Šu-kale-tuda.
 "My son, you are to go to the city-dwellers, your relatives, you are to go
 to them.
 Go hot-foot to the black-headed, your brothers.
 Then this woman will not find you in all the lands."
 He went to the city-dwellers, his brothers all together.

He went hot-foot to the black-headed, his brothers.
The woman did not find him in all the lands.

These are my Sumerian landscapes. From an analytical point of view, some myths can be characterised as narratives which happen to have as their setting a particular landscape. This may be the mountains (as in *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*), or it may be the cultivated suburban landscape (as in *Inana and Šu-kale-tuda*). By contrast, some narratives have a crucial explanatory function which lends a central role of significance to their landscape settings (such as *Lugale*, one of the over-arching themes of which is the generation of the mountains; or the opening of *Sheep and Grain*, with the mythologeme of the gods living on the Holy Mound in the earliest times).

Looking at it from another perspective, landscapes can be separated into the specific and the general. It is possible to say that some narratives are concerned with actual, unique (and often named) landscapes, e.g., the various *Journey* myths (which begin and end with, and pass through, specific identifiable cities and canals in Sumer); the fecundity of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (in the passage from *Enki and the World Order*), and the rocky hillsides of the Jebel Himrīn (in *Lugale*). However, other myths are concerned with more generalised landscapes, e.g., *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave* (unpopulated mountain landscape), *The Šumunda Grass* or *Inana and Šu-kale-tuda* (respectively, the uncultivated and the cultivated rural landscape of the suburban countryside); or they are inspired by, or imagined in terms of, a more generalised landscape, such as the Holy Mound, which has a unique location only in the world of mythology but is imaginatively derived from widespread features of the everyday landscape.

Landscape is a crucial element in giving meaning to words, because all narrative and all rhetoric uttered by humans must be imagined with a background in a localised and visualised setting, however unconsciously formulated by the author or speaker as well as by the reader or hearer. The experience of landscape, or the imagination of it, is an unavoidable factor in the reading of literature; it is not possible to read ancient poetry without some visual imagination of its landscape setting, nor should we affect to do so.

At the same time, I have argued that, historically, for those Mesopotamians who were familiar with the mythical narratives preserved in the literature of Sumerian high culture, their experience of the real physical landscapes of their daily lives would have been transfigured by their own familiarity with that literature. They inhabited and moved through a world which was also the world of their beliefs. This aspect of ancient cognition cannot now be communicated to us, but it is implicit in written sources and can be inferred from living cultures. In this respect, a modern anthropological investigator has the advantage of live informants who can be questioned.

There is a third consideration. A postmodern perspective reminds us that while the conventions of scholarly endeavour encourage the reconstruction of a view of

Sumer as if through Sumerian eyes, we also cannot escape seeing it through our own eyes. Landscapes which exist today or existed recently in the modern Near East are (to a large degree, and with certain important reservations) the same landscapes that ancient peoples saw and which stimulated their imagination. Just as they lived among their familiar surroundings, so modern study of the ancient Near East is equally an attempt to dwell in that world. To perceive a landscape involves remembrance and recognition; to have experienced those landscapes in actuality, and to export them from the Near East for re-creation at a distance, can only enrich our reading of what Mesopotamians wrote. While such experience may be derived from personal presence on the ground, more likely it will be mediated by the experience of others through photographs or maps in books. In fact, the great majority of present-day readers experience Mesopotamia only textually, at second-hand. We “read” the strange words, new to us, by recourse to available and familiar published images. The materials for these imaginative colonizations of the geographically and archaeologically distant past can be drawn from a wide range of sources; among them are Wilfred Thesiger’s photographs.

The Forerunners of *Marû* and *Ḥamṭu* in Old Babylonian

MIGUEL CIVIL

The tablet presented here offers, besides other interesting lexical information, what seems to be the oldest attestation of the scribes' awareness of the existence in Sumerian of binary verbal stems, better known as the grammatical categories *marû* and *ḥamṭu*. The publication of this text seems a fitting homage to the memory of the author of the "Introduction to the Chicago Grammatical Texts" (MSL 4 1*-50*) and of other substantial studies on the Sumerian verbal system.¹

1. The Text

BM 23330 (= 97-5-15, 8) is a lenticular tablet (Ø = 80 mm) with the flat side divided into five columns by vertical lines; the two leftmost columns have Sumerian entries and their Akkadian translation; column three (not copied here) has four Sumerian entries, and the rest of the column is blank; the two rightmost columns are uninscribed. The convex side is also uninscribed.² The writing is Old Babylonian and the tablet probably comes from Babylon or Sippar.

cols. i–ii

1	kas ₄	<i>la-sà-mu</i>	"to run"
	kas ₄ -dug ₄ -ga	2	<i>ditto</i>
	[k]as ₄ -kar	3	<i>ditto</i>
	[k]as ₄ -kar	<i>ne-ru-bu</i>	"to run away"

1. Notably, "About the Sumerian Verb," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 25, 1965* (AS 16; Chicago, 1965), 71–102; "Very Ancient Texts: Babylonian Grammatical Text," in *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*, ed. Dell Hymes (Bloomington, Ind., 1974), 41–62; "The Sumerian Verbal Core," *ZA* 78 (1988): 161–220.

2. See Fig. 1. The tablet is published here by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. A very similar, slightly larger (Ø = 85 mm), lenticular tablet is BM 23331, published in Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* (AuOr Suppl. 5; Barcelona, 1994), 205–6.

5	ti-rí-ga lú-gan-dùg a- ^{im} DU-ma mu-u ZA-bu ǵál-lu	2 gít-ma-lu mu-u {MIN} še-qú-tum bé-e-šum	ditto “perfect” “running(?) water” “to draw(?) water” “to open”
10	ušum _{DIŠ} a-sa ₁₀ -sa ₁₀ a-si-a a-SAR-a a bí-in-dug ₄	iš-te-en mu-u ZA-bu 2 3 LAGAB ZA-bu	“one” “to draw water” ditto ditto “to water” (short form)
15	a bí-in-e a- ^r KA [?] ₁ -ma a- ^r X-X ¹ a- ^r X-X ¹ a- ^r na-de ₅ ¹	GÍD ZA-bu me-e ši-ip-tim 2 3 4	“to water” (long form) “magic water” ditto ditto ditto
col. iii	a-gúb-ba a-kù-ga a-šen-na a-UD-UD-ga		“blessed water” “pure water” ditto ditto

2. General Remarks

The tablet has several erasures: between KAS₄ and KAR in lines 3 and 4, in the empty spaces on the right of lines 2 and 3 in col. ii. In line 6, HI and BU are written over an erased sign, and LAGAB in line 14 is written over an erased BU.

The text can be considered acrographic, except for lines 5–10. It is probably an *ad hoc* compilation and like some other exceptional lexical texts³ has entries in which there is no morphological congruence between the Sumerian and the Akkadian forms, thus giving *lexical* equations, not *morphological* ones. Lines 14f., for instance, have to be understood: “given the Sumerian form a bí-in-dug₄/e, the corresponding Akkadian *lexeme* is ZA-bu.”⁴ The scribe makes no attempt to adjust the morphology of the Akkadian to that of the Sumerian entry. Similarly, in line 9, the Sumerian has an imperative, but the Akkadian counterpart is an infinitive.

1–5. All the entries translated *lasāmu* were previously known (see simply CAD L, 104f. s.v.). The translation *nērubu* in 4f. is introduced because of the logogram

3. See my remark in *JNES* 43 (1984) 284 n. 6, end. P. Attinger’s observation, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne* (Fribourg, 1993), 566¹⁵⁷⁵, needs nuancing.

4. Civil, *JNES* 43 (1984): 284.

KAR shared by both words.⁵ However, the equation with ti-rí-ga, attracted by line 4, is new and requires comment; see section 3.

6. The logogram GAN for *gitmālu* was already known. The Sumerian can be understood as GAN^{be} (in which case, the reading gan suggested in CAD G, 110b would have to be changed to ħ é) or as gan-dùg, a verbal noun of the type gan-V.⁶

7ff. These lines are all entries with initial A, with the exception of lines 9 and 10. Six of the A-entries are translated by an ambiguous ZA-bu and are discussed in section 4. The Akkadian of line 7 is unclear: an incorrect(?) form derived from šaqû B, or perhaps from šāqu A.⁷

9. The Sumerian entry is known as the imperative of “to open (a door).” The semantic similarity of bēšu and petû is closer than the translations in the dictionaries (CAD B, 214a; AHw 123b, s.v.) would lead one to suspect.⁸ An imperative is here translated by an infinitive (*lexemic* translation; see above).

10. Identical to Aa VIII/2:203.

3. ti-rí-ga / ti-rí-da

The lexical equation in line 5 is new. The Sumerian ti-rí-ga seems to be found so far only in Proverb 3.5⁹ and in a bird’s name. Both instances, however, hint at a possible connection between ti-rí-ga and ti-rí-da, a better documented word, if problematic in meaning.

The textual matrix of the proverb, which is needed to clarify a critical variation, is as follows (the sigla are those of Falkowitz):

[1]	e-ri-ib-gu ₇ -e	ti-rí	UM-me-en
A	e + + + e	+ + ig al	+ + -
B	e + + + e	+ + gal	+ + -
C	a + + ! en	+ + gal	+ - +
D	e + + + en	+ + ig al	+ + o
E	o o o o en	+ + ga al	. + +
F	+ + + + en	+ + ga al	+ + +
H	o o o o o	o o o	+ + +

5. See Sjöberg ZA 65 (1975–76): 188.

6. The skepticism of P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart, 1976), 82²⁴¹, is correct only insofar as it applies to finite, conjugated forms with the modal prefix ga-. The nominalized forms follow other rules; see, for instance, gan-dab₅ = šabtu “captive” (intransitive/passive), ga-an-tuš = waššābu “resident” (UET 7, 93:37f.).

7. Cf. Civil, “Lexicography,” *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday, June 7, 1974* [AS 20; Chicago, 1975], 135f.

8. See also Civil, *Farmer’s Instructions*, 94.

9. R. Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 147f.

A	e-ri-ib-nağ-e				ti-rí		UM-me-en					
B	e	+	+	+	a-e	+	+	ig	al	+	+	-
C	a	+	+	+	e	+	+	x		+	-	+
D	e	+	+	+	en	+	+	ig	al	+	+	+
E	o	o	o	o	en	+	+	ga	al	+	+	+
F	e	+	+	!	e-en	+	+	ga	al	+	+	+
H	e	o	o	o	e-en	+	+	ga	al	+	+	+

	dumu-	ğ <u>u</u> ₁₀ -me-en				diğir-zu		kúr-ra-àm		
A	dumu	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-
B	dumu	+	.	o		+	+	+	+	-
C	diğir	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	-
D	[du]mu	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	àm
E	o		o	o	o	o	+	+	+	àm
F	dumu	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	AN
H	dumu	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	àm

The textual variation -ig al- : -ga al- : gal (<-(i)g + al-) is understandable only if one reads ig, instead of reading ġál with Falkowitz; a variant gal : ġál does not seem likely in Nippur texts of OB times. The apparent verbal root UM is a clue to the lexical identity with ti-rí-da; see below.

The bird's name, mostly written en-ti-rí-ga/gu₇ with many variants, including al-ti-rí-gu₇ (MSL 8/2, 144 ad 302),¹⁰ appears as ti-rí-da in *Nanše and the Birds* (HAV 22 iv 11): ti-rí-da^{mušen} ġiš-gi-a ti-rí-da ba-e-sa₄, “the *t.*-bird calls *tirida* in the reed thickets.”

The word ti-rí-da, with a by-form ti-rí, is an old one and appears in an Early Dynastic mythical tale:

[2] Á LUGAL ti-rí-da šu-UM/ŠU.ÁG, ARET 5 6 i 6, and OIP 99 326+ i 6f. (written da-ti-rí with var. ŠU.ÁG);

[3] GABA-*tenú* EN ti-rí-da-a ^DEN.KI a-bí UG.TUR, ARET 5 6 xiii 1f.

The OB lexical texts give:

[4] lú ti-rí-da-nu-UM = *ša mu-ús-ku la tèt-ḫu-šu*, OB Lu A 130 (B iv 23)

[5] lú ti-rí-da-[x] = [. . .], lú ti-rí-da nu-tuku = *ša ^rmu¹-su-ku la i-ba-aš-šu*, OB Lu D 71f.

These entries are all associated with kešer(GİR.BAR) nu-tuku = *ša kišdam la išú*, as in [7].

In context:

10. Hg C to Hh XVIII 14 is now complete and reads al-ti-.

- [6] *egir ní-zuĥ*-(ka) *ti-rí-da nu-U*[M], CBS 7801:5 (Proverbs Collection 16), with dupl. Ni 9752 rev. vii 8'.¹¹
- [7] [dum]u² *nibru*^{ki} *ti-rí kešer*(GĪR.BAR) *nu-tuku*, [x] 'x¹-ga *uru*^{ki}-na *ad-da ma-da unug*^{ki}-ga, AN-àm text, *Bagh. Mitt.* 2 (1963) 80:3.¹²
- [8] *mùš-me ti-rí-tuku-a*, Edubba, D 81.
- [9] [. . .] 'traces'¹ *ti-rí-da nu-[(x?)]*, UET 6/3 *257:13'.
- [10] [(x) x x t]i-rí-da *nu-UM m[u-. . .]*, N 3572 iii 18' (Išme-Dagan text).¹³
- [11] *ti-ri-da diğir-ra nu-me-a*, CT 44 34:7'; in an incantation, with duplicates: *di-rí-da diğir-ra nu-me-a*, CT 58 79:11; *te-ri-ta diğir nu-me-a*, Tell-Haddad (ZA 85 [1995]: 22 MA:12)
- [12] *en-da ti-rí ba[rá . . .]*, 6N-T546:10' (end of an incantation, Ur III).

The first question for clarification concerns the unusual verb UM: with the prefixes *al-* in [1] and *mu-* in a variant of [6], UM is clearly a verbal root. Since in [4] it is translated *teĥû*, the reading must be *déĥi/e*, according to Proto-Aa 185:1: *dè-ĥi UM = tè-ĥu-tum*; confirmed by Aa III/5:16 (with the sign DUB), cf. still CT 41 26:18 with *te-ĥu-ú*. [see Addendum]

Accepting that at least in some cases *ti-rí-da* = *ti-rí-ga*, and that it is a loanword from Semitic, the most likely source is *teriktu* B, "a reed fence."¹⁴ The alternation *d/g* is not unheard of in Sumerian, but definitely very rare. Rather than attempt to combine the features of /*d*/ and /*g*/ into a hypothetical phoneme, one can assume that the alternation represents a consonant cluster. The closest parallel is the name of the measure **litku*, also a Semitic loanword¹⁵ and written *li(d)da* or *lí-ga*.¹⁶ Thus, Semitic **tirik/qtu* could have given rise to both *ti-rí-da* and *ti-rí-ga* in Sumerian. That the Akkadian translation of *ti-rí-d/ga* is something other than *tirik/qtu* constitutes no objection. Something similar happens with *kešer-tuku*, which apparently is semantically close to *ti-rí-d/ga* (from [4], [5], and [7]). I would propose (a) that *mus(u)ku* is, in fact, a variant of (*m*)*usukku*, and (b) that the latter is not a borrowing from Sumerian but rather a Semitic loanword from the same root as Akk. *esēĥu*, *esēĥqu*.¹⁷ This is not the place for a full phonological and semantic discussion of /*ú-zuĥ*/ : /*ú-zug*/.¹⁸

11. CBS 7805 has *mu-U*[M]; Ni 9752 has *nu-UM*, adds -ka, and -da¹ is written, or copied, *zu*.

12. See Civil, *JCS* 20 (1966): 119; the quotation was misplaced by the printer (it should have been on p. 123) and misinterpreted by the author.

13. For the latest discussion, see S. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995): 20ff.

14. *gi.A.LAGAB = limĥtu, teriktu*, Hh VIII 119f. (revised).

15. The word appears later in Akkadian as *litiktu*.

16. The latter writing was reinterpreted with the assignation of an *ad hoc* value /*lit*/ to the sign *NI*.

17. The preferable reading is with *s*, not *z*: Ea III 78; Diri IV 49 (one source -*zu-*, one -*su-*); Proto-Kagal (MSL 13, 66:4). The initial *m-* of *musukku* is probably due to a contamination with the root *msk* "to be bad"; as an added bonus, this etymology explains the variants /*uzuk*/ : /*uzuĥ*/ in Sumerian.

18. A quite complete list of references, some in need of updating, is provided by H. Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 8; Rome, 1978), 149–59.

Pending the discovery of more informative contexts, it seems reasonable for now to take *ti-rí-g/da* as “barrier” or “fence” (note that depending on one’s perspective, one can look at a fence from both sides with quite different results) and to translate the affirmative phrases as “to confine,” physically or socially (hence the connection with *musukku*), “to make/be an outcast,” and the negative ones as “to be out of bounds/control.” The meaning *nērubu*, “to escape,” “to run away” of BM 23330 is thus compatible with the other instances of *ti-rí-id/ga*, assuming that the entry is incomplete in the sense that this meaning is based on the use of *ti-rí-id/ga* as a predicate of a verb not explicitly given by the lexical entry.

One can now translate:

- [1] “You are an outcast, (but) I will feed you; you are an outcast, (but) I will give you drink; you are my son, (even if) your god is against you.”
 [6] “Behind a thief, (there is always) an outcast/outlaw.”
 [8] “One who has the looks of an outlaw.”

The broken contexts [9] and [10] are probably similar to [7]: “the sons(?) of Nippur, uncontrolled fugitives.” From the final lines (38–40) of this text, it appears that Nippurites had been deported to Uruk and its dependencies, and then set free to go back to Nippur.¹⁹

[11] seems to be related to proverb [1], and can be translated (text of C and D): “He had water poured in the open libation pipe, at the grave, he not being an outcast of (his) god.”²⁰

I will not venture a translation of [2] and [3]; suffice it to say that “king/lord of the ethical barriers/taboo” is not inconceivable, and that *šU-UM* could include the verb *déḫi* discussed above.²¹

4. The verb *ZA-bu*

The Akkadian *ZA-bu* in lines 8 and 11–15 can stand for several verbs (with their translations in CAD, s.vv.): (1) *sabû*, “to draw beer,” (2) *sâb/pu*, “to draw water,” (3) *šab/pû*, “to soak,” and (4) *zâbu* “to ooze, dissolve.”²² It is possible that not all entries in the present tablet belong to the same verb and that the ambiguity cre-

19. The formula of Irdanene’s third year depicts a similar situation; given the uncertainties of the text, it is not impossible that, despite the mention of *AN-àm* in the opening line, the final lines should refer to Irdanene’s reign.

20. A. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995): 29, proposes “sans que le *terita* fût un dieu,” disregarding the genitive. The following, parallel line (cf. *ZA* 85 [1995]: 22) is not understandable; if the variant *TAK₄* of Tell Haddad (MA 12) is genuine and means something like “rejected,” it would be a meaningful parallel to the line with *ti-rí-da*.

21. For a wider context, see simply M. Krebernik, *QdS* 18 (1992): 72ff., with comments, *ibid.* 142. It is not completely excluded that one has to read in these passages *ti da-rí*, “everlasting life,” or even *-da ti-rí*, as in [11].

22. The translations in *AHw* 1082b are similar, but the heading is *šapû*.

ated by not inserting *-a-* or *-û* is intentional on the part of the scribe who had several possibilities in mind. Sum. *sa*₁₀ and *si* of lines 11 and 12 are both attested for (1) and (2) (for references, see simply the lexical sections of the pertinent entries in CAD). The mention of water suggests the choice of (2) for 11–13, but in 14 and 15 the meaning can hardly be anything but (3).

5. The Two Verbal Stems

It is well known that grammatical texts and lexical lists know two terms, *ĥamţu* and *marû*, to designate related verbal stems. Their analysis has given rise to a considerable literature.²³ So far, all attestations have been post-Old Babylonian. There can hardly be any doubt that the logograms LAGAB²⁴ and BU, which in the present OB tablet accompany *du*g₄ and *e*, respectively, are designations of the two suppletive stems. Their obvious translations are “short” and “long,” with the readings *lu-gud* and *gíd*, respectively. Compare the scribal use of these terms in the sign names *sagittu* (< *sa-gíd*) and *salguttu* (< *sa-l(u)gu d*),²⁵ of SA “the long SA” and DI “the short SA,” respectively. It is likely that the terms refer to the morphological shape of the stems but not necessarily to alternations in vowel quantity; rather, “long” seems to refer to the addition of the affix *-e*, reduplication, and other possible changes.²⁶ Affixation and reduplication result in “longer” forms, phonologically and morphologically, by the addition or repetition of a morpheme. It may not be quite clear at first glance how *du* and *ġen*, and *du*g₄ and *e* could differ in “length,” but there is a plausible explanation for such cases. Assuming that the short/long stem alternation applied across the board, according to some basic, simple rules (see above), these rules would be well known to native speakers, and thus there would have been no need in the “regular” cases to make explicit this morphological process in lexical and grammatical lists. Only in stem suppletion or alternation and in other

23. The literature up to 1984 can be found in M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen, 1984), 123. In the same year, J. Black’s monograph, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory*, (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 12; Rome, 1984) presented extensive summaries and criticism of previous studies and opinions on the subject. While some of Black’s conclusions may be questionable, his historical presentation of the question is the most complete available. For more recent bibliography, see Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique*, 185 §119. Add the important article of J. Krecher, “Die *marû*-Kategorie des sumerischen Verbums,” in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (AOAT 240; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 141–200.

24. Written over an erased BU; the scribe probably anticipated the BU of the following line.

25. See my remarks in *OrAn* 21 (1982): 10 on the possible phonological shape(s) of this word.

26. Krecher, AOAT 240, 147, proposes a phonological interpretation similar to the one given here. In the “regular” verbs, the contrast between “short” and “long” was possibly more complex than a simple /CVC/ versus /CV-Ce/. The addition of the affix *-e* modifies the syllabic structure of the stem, leaving the nuclear vowel of the first syllable open to changes. Cross-linguistic parallels show that oppositions of this sort in verbal stems are very frequently marked by subtle changes in tone, vowel or consonant quality, etc.

exceptional cases, where it is likely that the “length” contrast did not literally apply, did the scribes add a notation identifying the stem. In other words, in suppletive stems, the contrast is merely *functional*, while in the rest of the stems it had a phonological and morphemic basis. Thus, *dug*₄ is “short” not because of any phonological feature, but because it behaves morphosyntactically like a regular “short” stem.

As a corollary, the alternation short/long does not apply, as sometimes claimed, to the Akkadian verb, which has a more complex system of oppositions.²⁷ And, finally, the long form, corresponding to the incomplete/present, seems to have been the *marked* one.²⁸

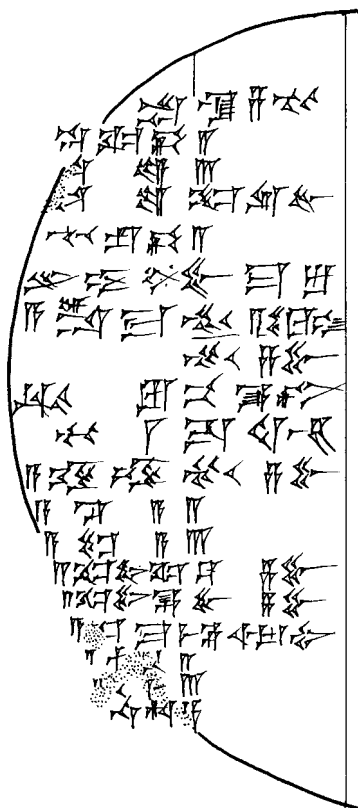
This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the *ḥamṭu/marû* problem, but I would like to conclude by noting that the long/short contrast is not contradicted by the notorious letter UET 5 78:8–11 (see MSL 4, 21*, and Black, *Sumerian Grammar* [Rome, 1984], 103f.). Landsberger’s translation “I intend to go to Ešnunna; (but) I do not know whether I shall move slowly (and arrive late) or move quickly (and arrive soon),” can be faithfully paraphrased “I do not know (yet) whether I will take the long road or the short road.”

Addendum

The reading of UM as *teḥe*, proposed above, is confirmed by a textual variant in an OB letter, purported to be a copy of an Ur III letter of Amar-Suen to the king, presumably Šulgi (sources: A = Ni 3083 ii! 2’–9’2 [ISET 2 115]; B = N 2901; C = Ralph 16 [copy Pinches]). Line 8 reads in A: *a-ša-bi gú id-da-še 5 danna nu-UM*, while C has: *a-ša-bi gú id-da-še 4 danna-bi nu-te-ḥe* (–*te-eḥ* is not completely excluded). It is possible that, given the difficulty at times of keeping apart DUB and UM, a closer examination of some Sumerian literary passages would detect further instances of the verb *teḥe*. Perhaps Gudea Cyl. B iv 24 is one of these cases. The town is waiting, in the middle of the night and with the utmost silence, for the arrival of Ninurta. His arrival is described in a single, difficult line: *lugal-bi mu-UM gá-e*, which could be translated “the master (of the new temple) approaches (shouting) ‘it’s me!’ ” The logogram UM in some dream tablets (A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 290ff.; *Iraq* 31 [1969] 157) can now be taken as representing *teḥu* in its sexual sense.

27. Cf. W. G. Lambert’s remarks in *ZA* 81 (1991): 7–9.

28. This implies taking the shorter stem as the basic one, from which the longer is formed by affixation. Note, however, that an alternative analysis which considers the shorter form to be secondary, and to have been formed by truncation of a longer, basic one, is traditional in the analysis of some languages; see, e. g., R. W. Langacker, *An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar* (Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar 1; Arlington, Tex., 1977), 130.



BM 23330

Buddies in Babylonia

Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and Mesopotamian Homosexuality

JERROLD S. COOPER

In 1930, the 26-year-old Thorkild Jacobsen published “How Did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?”¹ We learn from the autobiographical essay “Searching for Sumer and Akkad,”² written shortly before his death, that he spent the time between receiving his Ph.D. in Chicago (probably June, 1929) and joining the Diyala expedition (January, 1930) in Copenhagen, so it was probably there that he wrote about Gilgamesh. Looking at a photo taken in Iraq just a few years later of a tall, handsome Jacobsen,³ it reminds me of Jacobsen’s description of Gilgamesh’s great strength and “enormous . . . vigor,” whose “body is all of it loaded with *kuzbu*,” difficult to keep in check.⁴

Jacobsen argued that the elliptical passage in SB Gilgamesh I ii describing Gilgamesh’s oppression of Uruk can be fully understood through the help of the figure of Enkidu. The latter was created as a foil for Gilgamesh, to distract him from his oppressive behavior. If, as “it has generally been assumed . . . he oppressed them by forcing the men to labor at the walls of Uruk and by abducting the young women to his harem,”⁵ there is nothing about Enkidu to suggest he would interrupt Gilgamesh’s building activities, and Enkidu’s history with the harlot indicates that he might well become one more sexual predator loosed on the young women of Uruk.

The key to the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, Jacobsen continues, is in the dreams that foretell Enkidu’s coming: “Gilgameš sees an axe, with which he

Author’s note: After this contribution was submitted in 1997, the monograph by M. Nissinen, *Homosexuality in the Biblical World* (Minneapolis, 1998), appeared, discussing many of the issues raised here.

1. *Acta Or.* 8 (1930): 62–74.

2. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson (New York, 1995), 2743–52.

3. *Ibid.*, 2745, but larger and better reproduced in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. I. Finkel and M. Geller (Groningen, 1997), facing p. 1. The photo is of Jacobsen at age 30. I remember well fretting to Jacobsen about turning thirty myself, and his reassuring me with a warm and slightly wistful smile that one’s thirties are wonderful, the forties even better, and only in the fifties do little things start to go wrong. He was absolutely right!

4. *Acta Or.* 8 (1930): 72.

5. *Ibid.*, 62.

cohabits as with a woman;⁶ as the axe is equivalent to Enkidu, the dream cannot mean anything but that homosexual intercourse is going to take place between Gilgamesh and the newcomer.”⁷ If Enkidu is going to be Gilgamesh’s sexual partner, then the nature of the oppression must be sexual as well:

The youthful ruler of Uruk, the two-third god Gilgamesh, possesses superhuman strength and sexual vigor. To satiate this he violates his unhappy subjects male and female at random. . . . Aruru hears their prayers and creates Enkidu, a being whose sexual vigor is as strong as Gilgamesh’s, so that they, when falling in love with each other, may neutralize each other and the inhabitants of Uruk may return to tranquility.⁸

At the end of the article, Jacobsen suggests that there may have been an early “popular view, which considered bisexuality a token of superior strength.”⁹

The 1930 article was not reprinted in the 1970 collection of Jacobsen’s work, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*,¹⁰ and his interpretation of the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu in *The Treasures of Darkness* of 1976 was very different:

From our first meeting with the young Gilgamesh he is characterized by tremendous vigor and energy. As ruler of Uruk he throws himself into his task with zeal. He maintains a constant military alert, calls his companions away from their games, and harrasses the young men of the town to the point where it gets black before their eyes and they faint from weariness, and he leaves them no time for their families and sweethearts. . . . Gilgamesh’s superior energy and strength set him apart and make him lonely. He needs a friend, someone who measures up to him and can give him companionship on his own extraordinary level of potential and aspiration.¹¹

The “vigor” of 1930 is still there, but it is no longer “sexual.” And the dreams that are the key to the 1930 interpretation are not even mentioned in the twelve-page synopsis of Gilgamesh in *Treasures*, though they do appear later on in his discussion of the epic’s meaning. For Jacobsen in 1976, Gilgamesh is no longer a sexual predator but rather Peter Pan:

Throughout the epic Gilgamesh appears as young, a mere boy, and he holds on to that status, refusing to exchange it for adulthood as represented by marriage and parenthood. Like Barrie’s Peter Pan he will not grow up. His first meeting with Enkidu is a rejection of marriage for a boyhood friendship.¹²

6. The word is actually *aššatu* “wife,” which Jacobsen correctly translates in his later treatments of the dreams (see below).

7. *Acta Or.* 8 (1930): 70.

8. *Ibid.*, 72.

9. *Ibid.*, 74.

10. Ed. W. Moran (Cambridge, 1970).

11. T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven, 1976), 196.

12. *Ibid.*, 218.

Jacobsen appeals in a note to the American psychoanalyst Harry Stack Sullivan, who saw pre-adolescent same-sex crushes as a preparation for the heterosexual relationships that in normal adolescent development replace them. "The appearance of Enkidu provides Gilgamesh with a 'chum' and allows him to remain in pre-adolescence rather than moving on to a heterosexual relationship." Here Jacobsen introduces the dreams, and interprets "you will love him as a wife" to mean that the non-sexual relationship with his buddy Enkidu will enable him to postpone heterosexual attachments and family life. Concludes Jacobsen: "The Gilgamesh Epic is a story about growing up."¹³

Jacobsen returned to the Gilgamesh Epic in 1990.¹⁴ He revisits the nature of Gilgamesh's oppression of Uruk, connecting the *pukku* of Gilg. I ii with the *pukku* and *mekkû* (Sum. ^{gi}₃ellag and ^{gi}₃E.KID₍₃₎) of the Sumerian "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld," the last half of which is translated into Akkadian as Gilg. XII.¹⁵ "The precise nature of their [the people of Uruk's] complaint is not clear . . . but one may guess that as in the first half of the Sumerian Tale of 'Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World' he played much too rough in the games of hockey, popular with the youth of Uruk, bruising them sorely."¹⁶ But in a note, he seems to contradict himself, asserting that both the men and women of Uruk were being called up to work on the walls, the men being called *away* from the hockey game.¹⁷ And so, we have a complete reversion to the very position he argued against in 1930 (forced labor), although he retains his 1930 belief that Gilgamesh was an equal opportunity oppressor (1930: both young men and women sexually abused; 1990: both young men and women forced to work on walls).

Jacobsen seems to have completely abandoned his 1930 idea of a homosexual relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, and the possibility of such a relationship has been forcefully denied by B. Foster (Enkidu's "friendship with Gilgamesh . . . has no sexual basis at all.")¹⁸ and rejected by W. G. Lambert (see immediately below). Other Assyriologists have allowed the possibility, but are cautious.¹⁹ Even Ann Kilmer, led by her discovery of additional wordplay with sexual implications in the story of the two heroes to "a line of thinking that reverses the trend to reject

13. Ibid., 219.

14. "The Gilgamesh Epic: Romantic and Tragic Vision," in *Lingering Over Words*, ed. T. Abusch et al. (HSS 37; Atlanta, 1990), 231–49.

15. A. Shaffer, *The Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (Ph.D. diss.; Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1963).

16. "Romantic and Tragic Vision," 234.

17. Ibid., 234f. n. 7.

18. B. Foster, "Gilgamesh: Sex, Love and the Ascent of Knowledge," in *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays . . . Pope*, ed. J. Marks and R. Good (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 22.

19. Cf. J. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), 184 n. 22; and G. Leick, *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature* (London, 1994), 266 (despite the many sexual allusions in the narration of their relationship, "a 'straight' reading is possible!") and 269 (after the two kill the Bull of Heaven, they have "one last night of triumph, and possibly sexual passion, and then fate intervenes").

the notion that there was a sexual relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu,"²⁰ concludes by listing "other hints in the text . . . that *may or may not* indicate that Gilgamesh and Enkidu enjoyed a loving sexual relationship."²¹ Caution here is not undue; for all of the wordplay and hints, there is no overt homosexual behavior in the Gilgamesh Epic, and, as Lambert emphasizes, "Babylonian texts do not avoid explicit language, so until further and less ambiguous evidence is forthcoming the present writer does not assent to the proposal."²²

Outside Assyriology, recent interest in gender studies has focused attention on the relationship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as the earliest exemplar of male friendship, or rather, in the feminist reading of Hammond and Jablow,²³ the earliest example of a literary stereotype of male friendship that "dramatizes the devotion between male friends, usually a dyad, forged in an agonistic setting." Friendship "provided a volitional alternative source of support without the restrictions of kinship and may well have given more emotional gratification than the obligatory amity of kin," so that "narratives of friendship seem to be political propaganda for abrogating familial ties in favor of male solidarity."²⁴ Ironically, although the literary stereotype "idealizes men's capacity for loyalty, devotion and self-sacrifice," anthropological studies suggest that actual male friendships bear little resemblance to the ideal. And this "myth of male friendship" is accompanied by a more pernicious stereotype of women as "unable to form friendships," either single and vying with each other for men's attentions, or married and absorbed by family and domestic life,²⁵ a stereotype quite familiar to students of Sumerian and Akkadian literature.

D. Halperin, in "Heroes and their Pals,"²⁶ focuses on the three classic ancient friendships cited by Hammond and Jablow: Gilgamesh and Enkidu, David and Jonathan, Achilles and Patroclus. These are not, he emphasizes, sexual relationships; rather, "conjugal . . . and kinship relations" are used to define friendship between males.²⁷ The sexuality of the language foretelling the meeting of Gilgamesh and Enkidu underlines that "Enkidu's friendship affords Gilgamesh a proleptic taste of

20. "A Note on an Overlooked Word-Play in the Akkadian Gilgamesh," in *Zikir šumim . . . Studies . . .* Kraus, ed. G. Van Driel, et al. (Leiden, 1982), 128.

21. *Ibid.*, 130, emphasis mine.

22. W. Lambert, "Prostitution," in *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen*, ed. V. Haas (Konstanz, 1992), 156f. n. 31.

23. D. Hammond and A. Jablow, "Gilgamesh and the Sundance Kid: The Myth of Male Friendship," in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies*, ed. H. Brod (Boston, 1987), 241–58.

24. *Ibid.*, 245f.

25. *Ibid.*, 241f.

26. D. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York, 1990), 75–87.

27. *Ibid.*, 84. See also T. Van Nortwick, *Somewhere I Have Never Travelled: The Second Self and the Hero's Journey in Ancient Epic* (New York, 1992), 18: It would be "reductive" to see the dreams of Gilgamesh or his wrestling with Enkidu as an indication of a homosexual relationship. "Friendship in general is a difficult relationship to fix, seen in our modern cultures as existing on the boundaries of other bonds, familial or sexual, which provide the categories through which friendship itself is defined."

the pleasures of human sociality, including marriage and paternity.”²⁸ When David laments that his love for Jonathan surpassed the love of women, it means “not that David had sexual motives,” but that “even without a sexual component, it was stronger and more militant than sexual love.”²⁹ And the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus was said to be marvellous because Achilles’ feelings exceeded what would be had for brothers or sons.³⁰ These representations of “the erotics of male comradeship” all “invoke kinship and conjugality . . . only to displace them.”

Perhaps the impulse to explore and to fix more precisely the social meaning of friendship reflects a common desire, on the part of the interconnected cultures of the eastern Mediterranean around the turn of the first millennium, to claim and to colonize a larger share of . . . cultural space, for the play of male subjectivity.³¹

Achilles and Patroclus represent “the final playing out . . . of an earlier narrative tradition.”³² C. R. Beye, “Gilgamesh, Lolita and Huckleberry Finn,” similarly situates the friendship of Gilgamesh and Enkidu at the beginning of a millennia-long tradition of buddies.³³

As attractive as it might seem to assent to this vision of Gilgamesh and Enkidu as the first in a long series of pals, I would like to return to Jacobsen’s original question—How did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?—and attempt, as Ann Kilmer, to reverse the trend to de-eroticize their relationship. Jacobsen justifiably lamented the “broken state of the text” of Gilg. I ii, where the charges against Gilgamesh are set forth, but because they are repeated, we can patch together a text that gives us enough material to work with:³⁴

54 *ul iši šāninamma tebû kakkû[šû]*
 55 *ina pukkišu tebû rû’û[šû]*
 56 *ûtaddari eḫlûtu ša Uruk ina kum[mi]*
 57 *ul uma[ššar] Gilgameš mārā ana ab[išu]*
 58 *[urr]a u [mūš]i ikaddir . . . []*
 . . .
 61 *ul umašša[r] Gilgameš batulta ana . . .]*
 62 *mārat qur[ādi hīrat eḫli]*
 63 *tazzimtašina i[štenemmû ilū]*

28. Halperin, “Heroes,” 81.

29. Ibid., 83.

30. Ibid., 84.

31. Ibid., 84f.

32. Ibid., 87.

33. *Classical and Modern Literature* 9 (1988): 39–50.

34. See the edition on pp. 200–211 of C. Wilcke, “Die Anfänge des akkadischen Epen,” *ZA* 67 (1977). I will use his line numbers in the following discussion, citing the initial and more complete version of the accusation, as restored from the repetition. [Here and elsewhere, recent new Gilgamesh texts and studies could not be incorporated.]

- 54 He has no rival, [his] weapons are (ever) raised,
 55 [His] comrades are roused up with his ball(game),³⁵
 56 The young men of Uruk are continually disturbed in their bedrooms
 (with a summons to play),
 57 Gilgamesh does not let the son go (home) to [his] father,
 58 Day and night he postures aggressively . . . ,
 . . .
 61 [Gilgamesh] does not let [the young maiden] go (home) [to . . .],
 62 The warrior's daughter, [the young man's spouse].
 63 [The gods were constantly hearing] their complaints.

We have seen that Jacobsen is among those scholars who interpret the *pukku* of line 55 as the ^{giš}ellag = *pukku* that occurs in the Sumerian “Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld” and SB Gilg. XII, which Jacobsen suggested should be a puck. This suggestion must be correct in light of uru₂ àm-ma-ir-ra-bi 21:74,³⁶ already cited by Landsberger:³⁷

sag-du ^{giš}ellag gur₄-ra-àm mi-ni-íb-gur₄-gur₄-re-en
 qaqqadāti kīma pukki kubbuti uštanagrar
 I (Inana/Ishtar) make heads roll about like a fat ball.

That is, the *pukku* must be spherical, able to roll, and thus cannot be a “puck,” despite the attractive Gleichklang, since a puck is a flat disk that glides. Landsberger himself, and others in his wake, disassociated *pukku* “ball” from our passage in Gilg. I ii, interpreting the word there instead as *puqu* “to pay attention,”³⁸ but the parallels between “Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld” and Gilg. I ii compel us to retain *pukku* “ball” in the latter:³⁹

- 151 ^{giš}ellag al-du₁₁-du₁₁-ge sila-ùr-ra ^{giš}ellag na-mu-un-e
 152 ní silim du₁₁-du₁₁-ge sila-ùr-ra ní silim na-mu-un-e

35. The repetition in line 67 reads *ina pu-uk-ki šu UD bu-ú* [], which can only be normalized *ina pukki šutbú* [rū'ūšū] “[His comrades] are gotten roused up with the ball(game),” but most probably the UD here is an error for the similar TE of line 55 (or vice-versa).

36. See now K. Volk, *Die Balag-Komposition úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi* (FAOS 18; Freiburg, 1989), 200, and M. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Bethesda, Md., 1988), 585.

37. “Nachträge zu WZKM 56 109ff.,” WZKM 57 (1961): 23: “vielleicht spielten die Sumerer anstelle des neue Reifenspiels eine Art Polo oder Croquet mit Holzkugeln.” Landsberger’s correction here of his interpretation of *pukku* and *mekkú* as ring and stick (“Reifen und Treibstecken”) in “Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen,” WZKM 56 (1960): 124–26, has frequently been overlooked (e.g., CAD s.v. *mekkú*; RLA s.v. *mekkú*, *pukku* und). Cf. Shaffer in R. Tour-nay and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (Paris, 1994), 255.

38. “Verkannte Nomina,” WZKM 56 (1960): 125 n. 49.

39. Shaffer, “Sumerian Sources,” 66ff., and see his new translation with notes in *L'épopée de Gilgamesh*, 248–74. For lines 151f., I follow P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne* (Fribourg, 1993), 676. Variants are not indicated.

- 154⁴⁰ e-ne erin₂ dumu nu-mu-un-su-a-ke₄-ne íb-ba u₅-a
 155 a gú-mu a íb-mu a-nir im-gá-gá-ne
 156 ama tuku dumu-ni-ir ninda mu-na-ab-túm
 157 nin₉ tuku šeš-a-ni-ir ninda mu-na-ab-túm
 . . .
 162 šu-dù-dù-a nu-mu-un-su-a-ta
 163 i-^dutu ki-sikil tur-ra-ta
 164 ^{giš}ellag-a-ni ù ^{giš}E.KID-ma-ni dúr kur-ra-šè ba-da-an-šub
- 151 He (Gilgamesh) who had very much wanted a ball was playing with
 the ball in the public square,
 152 He who had done much boasting was boasting in the public square,
 154 He was mounted on the hips of a group of widow's sons.
 155 "Alas my neck! Alas my hips!" they lament,
 156 Whoever has a mother, she brings food for her son,
 157 Whoever has a sister, she pours water for her brother.
 . . .
 162 Because of the widows' accusations,
 163 Because of the young maidens' cries of injustice,
 164 His ball together with his stick fell down to the bottom of the
 Netherworld.

Jacobsen was right to see here and in the Akkadian epic a "too rough" ball game "with the youth of Uruk, bruising them sorely."⁴¹ The difficult line 154 seems to say, with Shaffer, that Gilgamesh was forcing the widows' sons—precisely the social group he, as king, was obligated to protect—to serve as his polo ponies, riding them piggy-back until they cried out in pain (155). He forces them to play continuously, so that their mothers and sisters have to bring them food and drink (156f.). Similarly, in the Akkadian epic, Gilgamesh would get the young men out of bed to play ball and not let them go home. The potential violence of the Mesopotamian ballgame is revealed in the late Elevation of Ishtar:⁴²

^{e-lag}ellag giš-dù-a-gim nin mè-a ur-a-ra sì-sì-ga-ba-ni-íb
kīma pukku u mekkē bēlet tāḫazi šutamḫiṣu tamḫāru
 O queen of combat, let battle clash like ball and stick.

Historical and ethnographic literature bear witness to bloody and even fatal ballgames. Native American lacrosse players "were constantly susceptible to bruises and dislocated joints. No helmets guarded against cracked skulls; no face masks prevented a freewheeling stick from bloodying a nose," and more serious injuries

40. 153, present in the Ur mss., is absent in the Nippur version, hence omitted here.

41. "Romantic and Tragic Vision," 234.

42. See the recent citation by A. Kilmer, "An Oration on Babylon," *AoF* 18 (1991): 15, and Shaffer, loc. cit.

could result in death.⁴³ The Mesoamerican ballgame was likewise violent,⁴⁴ and, like Ishtar, the Mayan gods played ball with human heads.⁴⁵ That ballgame also had great cosmological and sociopolitical symbolism,⁴⁶ which seems as well to be at least part of the function of the *pukku-mekku* game in Gilgamesh.⁴⁷

Thus Gilgamesh's oppression of Uruk's males is not overtly homosexual, but belongs to the homosocial arenas of the ball- and battlefields. However, erotic associations are present, not only in the unsubtle symbols of ball, stick and weapons at the ready, but also in the very verb, *tebû*, used to describe Gilgamesh's raised weapons and roused companions in lines 54f. cited above, and then used soon after in Gilg. I iv 21 (~ P ii 6–8) to describe Enkidu's superhuman sexuality: 6 *urrî u 7 mûši Enkidu tebîma Šamḫat irḫi*, "For six days and seven nights Enkidu remained aroused and had intercourse with Šamḫat." In the Sumerian "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld" Gilgamesh is u₅-a "mounted" on the widows' sons (154, above; also 161), a verb also used for animal copulation. And there is the matter of Gilgamesh's dreams, so crucial to Jacobsen's argument in 1930. Gilgamesh sees an ax, loves it (*râmu*) and "embraces" (*ḥabābu*) it "like a wife."⁴⁸ The verb *râmu*, of course, need not denote sexual love, and, perhaps, as Lambert suggests, "wives were not necessarily the best sexual partners," and the choice of "wife" and "woman" may have been to "emphasize the steadfastness of the love,"⁴⁹ but the verb *ḥabābu* when used for human activity always denotes sexual intercourse.⁵⁰ The overt sexuality of this passage is reinforced by the covert eroticism present in the punning discovered by Kilmer.⁵¹ And yet, as Lambert insists,⁵² the text of the epic as preserved nowhere portrays sexual contact actually taking place between the two heroes; the homoerotic language, both explicit and implicit, may indeed be a device to, on the one hand, connote the insistent, compulsive and violent nature of

43. T. Vennum, *American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War* (Washington, 1994), 225.

44. See the essays in *The Mesoamerican Ballgame*, ed. V. Scarborough and D. Wilcox (Tucson, 1991).

45. *Ibid.*, 325ff.

46. See the essays in *Mesoamerican Ballgame*, ed. Scarborough and Wilcox; and D. Freidel et al., *Maya Cosmos* (New York, 1993), chap. 8.

47. For a discussion of "Gilgamesh as an inveterate competitor," and the ceremonial role of athletic contests in Mesopotamia, see Tigay, *Evolution*, 184–89.

48. See J. Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu," in *Finkelstein Mem. Vol.*, 39–44.

49. Lambert, "Prostitution," 156f. n. 31.

50. B. Groneberg, "*ḥabābu*—*šabāru*," *RA* 80 (1986): 189. The only possible exception has, upon collation, been rejected (see ARM 26 [= *AEM* 1] p. 443). It won't do to simply dismiss the evidence of the verb as "in dispute" (Lambert, loc. cit.). And a careful reading of the dreams and their interpretation by Gilgamesh's mother shows that all other elements of her interpretation are realized literally, so the inclusion of the lovemaking in the interpretation (*ḥaššinu ša tāmuru amēlu / tarāmsūma kīma aššate taḥabbub elišu*, "The axe which you saw is a man, / You will love him and 'embrace' him like a wife"; cf. Groneberg, loc. cit.), again, cannot just be dismissed as "symbolism" (Lambert, loc. cit.).

51. Kilmer, "Word-Play."

52. Lambert, "Prostitution," 157 n. 31.

Gilgamesh's behavior on the ballfield, and, on the other, as a metaphor for intense same-sex friendship.

And what about the young women of Uruk? Did Gilgamesh oppress them, too? In the Sumerian "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld," women are only oppressed because their sons or brothers are suffering. The widows and young maidens who cry out in lines 162f. are the mothers and sisters (156f.) who have brought bread and water to Gilgamesh's victims in lines 154f. Could the young maidens, daughters, and spouses in lines 61–63 of the SB Gilgamesh cited above also simply be the relatives of the unwilling ballplayers, compelled to be spectators at the royal sport? If this were all we had, the answer would be affirmative, but we know from Gilg. II ii and P iv–v that Gilgamesh claimed the brides of Uruk for himself on their wedding night.⁵³ In the Akkadian epic, the women of Uruk are oppressed in their own right.

In fact, the history of Gilgamesh's troubled sexuality, which plays such a pivotal role in the Akkadian epic, is completely absent from the Sumerian tradition. "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld," as we have seen, presents women only as indirect victims of Gilgamesh. Entirely absent in the Sumerian tradition is the portion of Akkadian epic that tells the early history of Enkidu, his initiation by the prostitute, and his meeting with Gilgamesh, where Enkidu blocks Gilgamesh from exercising his *droit de seigneur* by engaging him in an athletic contest (wrestling), thus forging a close friendship with him.⁵⁴ The turning point of the Akkadian epic occurs in Tablet VI, when Gilgamesh viciously rejects Ishtar's sexual advances, cataloguing her former lovers and the terrible fates she prepared for them. When Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill the Bull of Heaven, loosed on Uruk by an angry Ishtar, and then throw its severed leg at her, Enkidu is doomed to die, and his death becomes the motor of the entire second half of the epic. In the Sumerian "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven," Gilgamesh's quarrel with Inana is quite different; sex, at least in the parts that are preserved, is never an issue.⁵⁵ The Akkadian Gilgamesh epic *is* about growing up, as Jacobsen came to believe, but Gilgamesh's friendship with Enkidu and his rejection of Ishtar were *not* part of a refusal to grow up, as Jacobsen

53. Cf. Tigay, *Evolution*, 182–84. In Jacobsen's later discussions of Gilgamesh, he followed an unfortunate suggestion of Landsberger that these passages refer to Gilgamesh's own wedding (*Treesures*, 199 and 218; "Tragic Vision," 237). Landsberger's suggestion comes in a long article on virginity and sexual intercourse ("Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Beilager und Eheschliessung,'" in *David AV*, 41–105) in which he rails against the idea of the *jus primae noctis* as an example of "'pornographische Tendenzen' unter den Assyriologen" (81 n. 2 part c): "Dieses 'Gemeingut der Assyriologie' wird insbesondere von W. G. Lambert, der unermüdlich für die Sittenverderbnis der Sumerer und Akkader kämpft, verfochten. Es wird durch von Soden . . . einem weiten Leserkreis unterbreitet." (83). Later, von Soden more or less recanted ("Gab es in Babylonien die Inanspruchnahme des ius primae noctis?," *ZA* 71 [1981], 103–6).

54. Tigay, *Evolution*, 28f.

55. See A. Cavigneaux and F. Al-Rawi, "Gilgameš et Taureau de Ciel (šul-mè-kam) (Textes de Tell Haddad IV)," *RA* 87 (1993): 97–129.

thought, but were important stages in the maturation process, as convincingly argued most recently by Vanstiphout.⁵⁶

Jacobsen concluded his 1930 article with some general observations on Mesopotamian homosexuality, and was led to the conclusion regarding bisexuality that I quoted above. The entire paragraph reads:

In Mesopotamia true enough paederasty was forbidden in the Assyrian laws, but this does not mean that the same was the fact in Babylonia and in older times. The *kulu'u*, the *cinaedus*, is often mentioned as associated with the *Ištar*-cult, and in the omen literature we have in any case one omen referring to paederasty which is a lucky one: 'If a man draws near to the anus of his comrade, that man will take the leadership of his brethren and his family.' This may reflect an older, popular view, which considered bisexuality a token of superior strength.⁵⁷

The evidence for Mesopotamian homoerotic practice is not as scanty as this paragraph might make it seem; the dossier compiled by J. Bottéro runs to nearly ten pages.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, with the exception of Jacobsen's *kulu'u* and similar cultic figures characterized by a variety of inversions, like the *assinnu* and *kugarrû*, homosexuality seems to have been a pretty marginal affair in ancient Mesopotamia.⁵⁹ Since the cultic figures just mentioned have been treated at length recently,⁶⁰ I would like to touch on the two other major sources of information on Mesopotamian male homosexuality mentioned by Jacobsen: laws and omens.

Of course, no one writing today would blithely use the word "paederasty" as a synonym for homosexuality. K. Dover has discussed in great detail the special Greek institution whereby a mature man would woo and become lover-mentor of an adolescent boy; the latter would somewhat reluctantly allow his older lover sex-

56. "The Craftsmanship of *Sin-leqi-unninnî*," *OLP* 21 (1990): 64f. See the very interesting suggestion of Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, 268, whereby Gilgamesh rejects *Ištar/Inana* because "Gilgamesh's libido is as boundless as that of a woman; he identifies with *Inanna's* insatiable appetite. . . . It would therefore be illogical for him to seek a feminine counterpart; his real Other is *Enkidu*." However, I prefer the interpretation (if not always the mode of expression) of E. Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness* (Princeton, 1954): "The stronger the masculine ego consciousness becomes, the more it is aware of the emasculating, bewitching, deadly and stupefying nature of the Great Goddess" (p. 63). The mythological expression of the emergence of the male ego from the domination of the Great Goddess, that is, from an adolescent-like sexual vulnerability, is found in male-friendship motifs like that of Gilgamesh and *Enkidu*, in which the close "relationship strengthens consciousness and invigorates the ego principle" (p. 181).

57. "How Did Gilgamesh Oppress Uruk?," 74.

58. *RLA* 4, s.v. "Homosexualität."

59. Cf. J. Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning and the Gods* (Chicago, 1992), 192.

60. Bottéro, loc. cit.; Lambert, "Prostitution"; and S. Maul, "*kugarrû* und *assinnu* und ihr Stand in der babylonischen Gesellschaft," in *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen*, ed. Haas, 159-71. With regard to this last, while it is laudable to use anthropological materials to help us understand Mesopotamian data, and far too infrequently done, I remain leery of applying a term as culturally specific in its connotations as "shamanism" to Babylonian phenomena.

ual satisfaction through intercrural intercourse, never through anal penetration.⁶¹ There is no indication that anything of this sort was known in Mesopotamia. Two Middle Assyrian laws discuss intercourse, certainly anal, between males.⁶² The first, MAL A 19,⁶³ concerns a man who falsely says of his “comrade” (Akk. *tappā’u*), that is, a fellow citizen, “they all fornicate with him.” The punishment includes beating, forced labor, and a fine. MAL A 20,⁶⁴ the law referred to by Jacobsen, states that if a man fornicates (as the active partner) with his “comrade,” again, a fellow citizen, that man shall be gang raped and castrated.

Bottéro interpreted 19 as meaning that a man is accusing another citizen of being a habitual passive homosexual, virtually a male prostitute; in 20, he sees the homosexual rape of one citizen by another.⁶⁵ Homosexuality itself is not being condemned. Lambert sees matters differently: In 20, it is consensual homosexual intercourse that is being condemned, since if rape was meant, the adverb *emūqamma* “by force” would have been added, as it was for heterosexual rape in 16. Thus, it is homosexual activity itself that is being proscribed, and 19 refers simply to an accusation that another “is a persistent homosexual,”⁶⁶ that is, that he engages in immoral activity.

The real meaning of these Middle Assyrian laws emerges from a study of the Greek attitude toward homosexual intercourse, as set forth by Dover.⁶⁷ Crucial here is the “specific offense called ‘hubris’ in Attic law . . . an offence against the community as a whole,” whose penalty could be death. For an act of violence to qualify as “hubris” rather than simple assault, “it was necessary to persuade the jury that it proceeded from a certain attitude and disposition on the part of the accused . . . to establish a dominant position over his victim.”⁶⁸

Unwilling homosexual submission was held to be the product of dishonest enticement, threats, blackmail, the collaboration of accomplices, or some other means which indicated premeditation . . . and automatically put the aggressor in danger of indictment for hubris.⁶⁹

In addition, any citizen who prostituted himself, that is, willingly allowed another citizen to penetrate him in return for money or other favors, “was debarred from

61. K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, 1978). For the interpretation of the Assyrian laws in light of the Greek evidence, see already C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel* (OBO 70; Göttingen, 1986), 370.

62. The word for intercourse is *nāku*, “to fornicate,” used only for sexual relations outside of marriage.

63. M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta, 1995), 159.

64. *Ibid.*, 160.

65. *RLA* 4, 462.

66. Lambert, “Prostitution,” 146f.

67. *Greek Homosexuality*.

68. *Ibid.*, 35.

69. *Ibid.*, 36.

addressing the assembly, and from many other civic rights,” as was “any citizen who had maltreated his parents, evaded military service, fled in battle.”⁷⁰

But the Greeks went one step further. Any citizen who willingly submitted to anal penetration was regarded as a prostitute, whether or not he received anything in return:

(I)n what circumstances does a male in fact submit to anal penetration by another male, and how does society regard his submission? . . . in Greek eyes the male who breaks the ‘rules’ of legitimate eros detaches himself from the ranks of male citizenry and classifies himself with women and foreigners; the [male] prostitute is assumed to have broken the rules simply because his economic dependence on clients forces him to do what they want him to do; and conversely, any male believed to have done whatever his senior homosexual partner(s) wanted him to do is assumed to have prostituted himself.⁷¹

Thus, whereas there was absolutely no stigma attached to active homosexual behavior with male prostitutes or slaves, the anal penetration of a fellow citizen, if in any way unwanted, was a crime against the community and potentially a capital offense, while allowing oneself to be penetrated without duress was “to resign one’s own standing as a citizen.”⁷²

Although Greek civic institutions were very different from Assyrian ones, the general attitude toward homosexual acts was similar, namely, that it is shameful to be penetrated by another male, and it is a grave offense to penetrate a fellow citizen, thus shaming him. Whereas Lambert is correct that MAL A 19 does not refer to prostitution specifically, Bottéro is probably right to assume that any Assyrian citizen who allowed himself to be penetrated with regularity was, like the Greek citizen who behaved that way, considered to be a prostitute by his fellows. And MAL A 20 means either that the victim was forced or constrained in some way to submit to anal penetration,⁷³ or that using another citizen as a passive partner, whatever the circumstances, was regarded as gravely offensive. Thus the Assyrian laws are not a “condemnation of homosexuality,”⁷⁴ but neither can we say that a homosexual relationship with another citizen “n’a rien de plus blâmable ou déshonorant que l’amour hétérosexuel.”⁷⁵ Male citizens, as well as their wives and daughters, were not to be the object of sexual penetration. There was no free love in ancient Mesopotamia; a free male’s sexual opportunities were limited to his wife, his slaves, and

70. Ibid., 19, and see Halperin, “The Democratic Body: Prostitution and Citizenship in Classical Athens,” in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*, 88–112.

71. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 103.

72. Ibid., 104.

73. In this case, it would not have been necessary to specify that force was used. Cf. 23, where a man fornicates with a woman who has been tricked into being alone with him, and she reports the act at the first opportunity. Certainly this is rape, but *emūqamma* is not used.

74. Lambert, “Prostitution,” 147.

75. Bottéro, *RLA* 4, 462.

prostitutes. As in ancient Greece, the slaves and prostitutes could be male *or* female,⁷⁶ and a “normal” Assyrian may well have frequented both.⁷⁷

The omen cited by Jacobsen should be interpreted in this spirit. The reason that a man who anally penetrates “his equal,” that is, sexually shames a fellow citizen, “will take the lead” among his brothers and kin is not because his deed has won their approval; to the contrary, no one wants to stand in front of him and risk being his next victim!

It is a measure of the enormous change in attitudes toward human sexuality that the notion of an erotic relationship between Enkidu and Gilgamesh could have seemed “strange and grotesque” in 1930⁷⁸ but now seems perfectly acceptable if the philology supports it. It is a tribute to Thorkild Jacobsen that his early intuition about the two heroes is, nearly seventy years later, still debated by Assyriologists.

rāš nēmeqi ša kalāmi idū
niširta imuruma katimtu iptū
*ūbla tēma ša lām abūbu*⁷⁹

We will miss him.

76. Because there was no opprobrium attached to homosexual penetration per se, the punishment imposed by MAL A 20, that the penetrator of another citizen himself be gang raped, poses no problem, and ranges itself alongside the other talionic punishments of the MAL.

77. See Halperin’s very important title essay in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* on the relatively recent construction of the homosexual and the heterosexual as types. Jacobsen was on to something in 1930 when he used the term “bisexualism.”

78. *Acta Or.* 8 (1930): 72.

79. Jacobsen, “Romantic and Tragic Vision,” 246.

The Free Library Inanna Prism Reconsidered

M. J. GELLER

This hymn to Inanna, inscribed on an unusual clay cylinder belonging to the Free Library, Philadelphia, was published by Å. Sjöberg as “A Hymn to Inanna and her Self-praise” in *JCS* 40 (1988): 165–86. Although about half the cylinder had suffered damage and no duplicates were known, Sjöberg managed to read much of the text and made many important observations, dating the prism to the Ur III or early Isin periods. My own hand copy of the inscription was published in the same article, but the small format of the journal meant that the copy was reduced in size, and this rendered the signs difficult to read; moreover, several signs failed to be printed in col. vii.

As Sjöberg had worked from the cylinder itself, the hand copy represented an entirely independent reading of the cylinder. Having subsequently read through the text together with Thorkild Jacobsen, I later re-collated the cylinder after Sjöberg’s publication of the prism and corrected my hand copy. Jacobsen later sent me his own transliteration, translation, and commentary on the text. Like any *Nachlass*, however, Jacobsen’s notes must be treated with caution, since they were sent as a private letter without the intention of being published. Many of the speculative suggestions were put forward to stimulate other ways of thinking about the text; Jacobsen would have certainly wished to reconsider all aspects of his translations and notes had he intended to publish them. It is with this caveat in mind that I present only some of Jacobsen’s suggested readings, translations, and observations in the notes below.¹

The prism itself was no doubt a handsome object in its undamaged state, and its unusual cylindrical shape reflects its possible function as a votive object offered

1. I would like to thank Marie-Christine Ludwig for useful suggestions and critique. It must be stressed that the present edition is primarily based upon Sjöberg’s initial readings, which contributed greatly towards an understanding of the prism. I have not, however, been able to follow Sjöberg’s line numbering in *JCS* 40, since this would contradict the rulings between the lines as shown in the copy. The more tentative interpretations offered here can only be substantiated if either a duplicate or similar text is found.

to Inanna in one of her shrines or temples.² Viewing the prism as such a votive object, the edition below interprets the text as a hymn to Inanna,³ addressed to her in the second person,⁴ with some passages in the first person intended as Inanna's own words recalling her relationship with Dumuzi. The prism opens (lines 1–2) with a description of Inanna as a warlike hero, which is a common motif reflected in OB Akkadian hymns to Ištar.⁵ The text then appears to describe a cult image of Inanna being adorned with a crown, jewelry (or implements), and a sceptre, which is carried into the assembly to render decisions (lines 3–10). Lines 12–13 refer to a conversation or dialogue between Inanna and her father Suen, in which Inanna is addressed and praised (lines 14–ii 7).⁶ Inanna alludes to her own relationship to Dumuzi (lines ii 9–11), and after a further description of her activities, Inanna again declares her love for Dumuzi (iii 3–5). Much of the sense of the remainder of the prism is too broken to be reconstructed.

- 1 in-nin₉ [. . .] 'x¹ [. . .] 'x¹
- 2 'šul mes gi₄¹-g[i₄]-e ^dinanna 'nin^{1?} [u₄-ul-l]i-a-ta 'x¹ [. . .]
O returning manly hero, Inanna *the lady*, . . . from [days of yore]
- 3 [è]š-e Ni[bru^{ki}-a]-'x é¹-d[u₆-kù-g]a [mí[?]]-du₁₁-ga an-[na]
At the shrine, [in[?]] Nippur . . . *in the Edukuga*, she was cared for by An.
- 4 'me-en kù an¹-na 'sag-gá¹ gál-la-e
While the holy crown of An is placed on the head,
- 5 'gš^{ba} kù kù-an¹-na šà-ga lá-a-e
while the pure *awl*, holy of An, is hung from the middle,
- 6 gidru kù an-'na¹ šu-na gál-(la)-bi
the holy sceptre of An being placed in her hand;
- 7 ukkin[?]-a dūr-[gar-a] gar-ra-e
while in the *assembly* (she is) placed [on] the throne,
- 8 di-gal kur-[r]a ku₅-da-e
while a great verdict is decided in the Kur,

2. Prisms were also used in schools for writing exercises; see N. Velduis, *Elementary Education at Nippur* (Proefschrift, Groningen, 1997), 32; the present prism is unlikely to have originated in a school, since the shape of the object and the script are both extremely fine.

3. Comparisons with other hymns to Inanna provide disappointingly few parallels in language and content.

4. See below, note to line 17.

5. See Agušaya A, now edited in B. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar: Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin* (Groningen, 1997), 57ff.

6. See *ibid.*, 34–35, for an example of praises to Inanna with second person Akkadian verbal forms, and Inninšagurra lines 177ff. (all references to Inninšagurra are to Sjöberg's edition, "in-nin-šà-gur₄-ra: A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enheduanna," *ZA* 65 [1975]: 161–253).

- 9 ga-raš ʿmaḥ¹ kur-kur-ra bad-da-e
and while an important decision is reached in the mountains,
- 10 nu₁₁-gim [a]n-ta kár-ra-na ʿkù-dinanna¹ igi gál-la-bi
Holy Inanna being visible like a light in her being carried away from
heaven;
- 11 Urí^{k[il]}-ʿa¹ é-kiš-nu-[gá]l-la-bi-šè
towards the Ekišnugal of Ur,
- 12–13 nu-gig-g[e] a-a-ni ^dsuen-da inim du₁₁-du₁₁-ga-e
while words were spoken by the hierodule with Sin, her father.
- 14 ḥé-gál k[ur]-ra-šè šu-lá-[lá]-a-e
While abundance is entrusted to the mountain,
- 15 nin₉-e [. . . -t]i² g[i²]-rí-in sik[i]l . . .]
the lady, [. . .] the pure carnelian² [. . .].
- 16 kù-din[anna . . .] ʿki-a² kúr-kú[r²]-r[a² . . .] ʿx¹ [. . .]
Holy Inanna . . .
- 17 ʿé²-e ʿga-ša¹-a[n-bi] s[i²]-ma ḥi-li du₈-du₈-ʿa¹-me
appointed mistress [by the] *temple*, you are extending luxuriance.
- 18 ʿd¹[. . . -r]a² a ʿx x¹ me ʿx x¹ [ala]n²-ni ʿki-bi²-šè² gub-ba²-na²¹
. . . *her statue is erected . . . to its place.*
- 19 a-gi₆ [. . . i]m ʿx x¹-me
You are a flood, a . . . wind,
- 20 DU.DU [. . .] ʿx¹-ga[. . .]
. . .
- 21 a-gi₆ i[m . . . -g]a-gim [. . .]-ʿùr²¹ -e
a flood *sweeping* like a [. . .] wind.
- 22 ʿšú²-du₈²¹ ḥ[i²-l]i² gal-gal
Full hands (and) very great *luxuriance*

col ii

- 1 ʿge¹-en-ʿx x x x¹ šu₁₂-šu₁₂-ba zi-ga-me
you raise . . . *in their supplications.*
- 2 gi-rí-in-duru₅ ḥur-sag-ta u₅-di gub-ba-me
You raise the shiny carnelian from the mountain, to wonder at;
- 3 [za]-gìn-duru₅ kur-muš-ta [g]i-ušub igi-sag-gá lá
the bright lapis from the mountain crest, as well as a succulent reed,
was selected.
- 4 kù-sig_x (Z1×Z1) ḥa-ra-li izi-gim táb-táb-e-me
You are the one refining the Harali gold like fire,

- 5 ^{giš}ḥašḥur gu-gu-ul-ba gál-la-me
you are the one bringing the apple to its maturity.
- 6 ¹káb²-ba al e-a-a-me
You are the one requesting the . . . ,
- 7 zú-¹lum¹ á-an-sur-ba ḥi-li gùru-me
you are the one cross-pollinating the spadix of dates.
- 8 dag-da[g]-ga ti-la-mu-dè
“While I live(d) in the dwellings,
- 9 dag a[n-na-k]e₄ ti-la-mu-dè
even while I live(d) in the abode of An,
- 10 mu-¹ú¹-[d]a-na-mu [uš]umgal-an-na-ke₄
Ušumgalanna in my dream
- 11 me n[a]m-dam-šè in-gá-an-pà-da-dè
would also reveal the rite for wifehood.”
- 12 bàd-ti-bí-ra é-muš-kalam-ma-ta
From the Emuškalam of Badtibira,
- 13 a-ga-n[i]-¹šè x x ¹ m[u- . . .] x
behind him/her . . .
- 14–16 broken
- 17 [. . .] ¹x x x x -en pa₅ gál²-tag₄¹-dè
. . . to open the canal.
- 18 á-¹zi¹-ga¹ nin₉ [us₁₁?] bí-in-biz-biz
Violently the lady *dripped* [*poison*]
- 19 a-a g[ú . . . g]al-e ¹x -da^{1?} b[a-na-a]n-¹ur₄-ur₄¹
. . .
- 20 ¹ukkin^{1?}-a-né ¹x (x) nun²-na x (x)¹
in her assembly, . . .
- 21 ¹šeš¹-a-¹ni ušumgal-la¹-an-na-ra^{1?}¹
for(?) her brother, Ušumgalanna,
- 22 ¹èš¹ kù-ga-ni LAGABx² mu-na-ga-ga
she has *carried off* . . . (for him) in her pure shrine.

col. iii

- 1 [. . .] x [. . . g]ub-ba-àm
. . . is what is planted,
- 2 ḥ[i-l]i ^ddumu-zi ^{giš}ildag gub-gub-dam
the joy of Dumuzi is to plant the ildag-tree.

- 3 šà-mu hi-li gi₄-im-si
“Let me fill my heart with joy.
- 4 ú-lu-lu du₆-šuba-a mu₄-da ga-da-[. . .]
Let me [. . .] *to clothe* Ululu (i.e., Dumuzi) on the shining mound;
- 5 šà-mu hi-l[i] im-si an-k[i²-a x x]
my heart is filled with desire, in heaven and earth . . .”
- 6 é a-ra-l[i-ka . . .] ¹i¹-[. . .]
In the palace of Arali [. . .]
- 7 š[à . . . ud] ¹bí-zal-la-ta^{1?}
After the . . . [in the²] heart *will last the day*,
- 8 ùr bàd ¹še¹-g[a] m[u]-ši-gu-ú-gu-ú
. . . the parapet . . .
- 9 sila gi₆-dè búr-da ì-sú-¹dub^{1?}-e
She will *increase the grass* in the dark street,
- 10 é sila-dagal-a ì-tur-t[ur]-e
she will make the houses in the broad street smaller.
- 11 (blank)
- 12 en sag-gá-[n]i²-¹ta^{1?} d[u₁₁-g]a
. . .

(remainder of the column too damaged for reconstruction)

col iv

- 1 [k]ur ¹šuba² x¹[. . .]
- 2 su₆[?]-bi n[a- x x] mušen-bi [x]
- 3 tir mes kal[am-ma . . .] mes kur-r[a]
- 4–6 (broken)
- 7 ¹x¹ nu-su₈-g[e] é nu-mu-[ku₄]
- 8 (broken)
- 9 a-nun-n[a]-e-n[e] u-{mu}-um-ma-[x]
- 10 sag-ur-sa[g] galam mu-ra/um-[. . .]
- 11 gu-ne è[n-tar-r]e² x u-mu-[x x]
- 12 (broken)
- 13 iri₁₂-gal ¹hú^{1?}-hú^{1?} [. . .]
- 14 a-rá-¹zu^{1?} giš¹x¹ [. . .] giš¹gišimmar ¹x¹ [. . .]
- 15 úr šim-bi x mu-ni-in-DU
- 16 me abzu ¹x x x x¹

17–19 (broken)

col. v (completely broken)

col. vi

1–2 (broken)

3 [. . .] ¹x x x¹ [. . .] ¹x¹ du₁₁-dè

4–6 (broken)

7 ¹x h́é-gá-gá x x x¹-ke₄ gir-na [. . .]-tag

8 x x gim h́é-lam² ¹x¹ ba-DU

9 [. . .] ¹x¹ ul-nun [. . .] ¹x¹ -àm

10 [. . .] x á² [. . .]-dè

11 [. . . g]i DU.DU

12 (traces)

13 a ¹sag² ì¹-ku₄ re² x mi-[n]e-DU

14 [. . .] ¹ur² ga x¹ igi [bar]-re ì-im-e

15 [. . .] ¹izi^{1?} bar-bi ¹x ne¹-e

16 [. . .] x x -a-ne ¹mu-da²-e¹

17 (broken)

col vii

1 ¹kù ^dinanna¹ [nam-ma]h-¹zu x x¹

2 [. . .] ^dinanna zà¹-mí

Notes

col i

- 1 Jacobsen suggests restoring the first two lines as: “in-nin₉ [nin u₄-u]-[li-a-t]a šul mes gâr-[du]-e ^dinanna ¹nin¹ [u₄-ul-l]i-a-ta š[ul-meš gâr-du-e], ‘O you Amazon, queen—from days of yore, paladin, hero, soldier! O you Inanna, queen—from days of yore, paladin, hero, soldier!’” Jacobsen’s restoration assumes a repetition in the opening lines, a pattern which he elsewhere referred to as a “particularizing stanza” (see T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, ed. W. L. Moran [Cambridge, Mass., 1970], 335), in which a person or thing is referred to first in general terms, and then by name. In order to restore the lines Jacobsen noted that the signs in line 2 following -]li-a-ta were reduced in size, in order to fit the space. Jacobsen’s restoration of ul-li-a-ta is convincing, but gâr-du (interpreted as an Akk. loanword) is less so, although not to be excluded.

- 2 The epithet *šul mes gi₄-gi₄* most likely refers to Inanna. Although technically masculine, it may in fact reflect Inanna's bellicose nature and her associations with war and the battlefield. In *Nin-me-šár-ra* 17, for instance, Inanna is referred to as *kur-gul-gul*, "destroyer of lands"; see also *ibid.*, 26: *igi-mè-ta níg ma-ra-ta-si-ig*, "everything is struck down by you in the face of battle." Similarly, the Akkadian hymns to Ištar collected by B. Groneberg repeat similar themes, referring to the goddess in her "manliness" (*zīkrūtu*), (Agušaya Hymn—see Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, 75 ii 2), as well as "heroism" (*eṭlūtu*), and she is called a "hero" (*qurādu*, *ibid.*, 76 iii 4, and see the discussion pp. 66f.), which is characteristic of Agushaya. Masculine epithets, however, would not necessarily imply hermaphrodite characteristics, although for another view, cf. B. Groneberg, "Die sumerisch/akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos?," *WdO* 17 (1987): 25–46, and *idem*, *Lob der Ištar*, xvi–xix.
- 3 The reading of this line is a variation of Jacobsen's suggested restoration of the end of the line as "[š_u-da_{gal}] du₁₁-ga an-[na-ke₄], 'amply provided for by An.'" For the form and attestations of *mí-du₁₁-ga*, see P. Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne: La construction de du₁₁/e/di "dire"* (Göttingen, 1993), 603–18, although Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 169, translates the line as "through(?) the command of An."

The restoration *é-d[u₆-kù-g]a* is hypothetical, based upon a shrine of Enlil by this name in Nippur, although a *du₆-kù* was also known from Eridu and elsewhere; see A. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 5; Winona Lake, Ind., 1993), 77.

- 4 The grammar of the verbal form *gál-la-e* is a crux. Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 165 n. 2, analysed this form and similar forms in this cylinder as third-person suffixes, synonymous with *-ni/* or *né/na*, e.g., *lá-a-e* (lines 7 and 16), *gar-ra-e* (line 9), *ku₅-da-e* (line 10), *bad-da-e* (11), *du₁₁-du₁₁-ga-e* (15), based upon parallels in Gudea Cyl. A. Jacobsen, however, interprets the verbal form as a vocative addressing the goddess: "O you, having An's holy turban placed on the head." He writes:

For the construction, see Poebel SG ¶ 714. The */e/* of *an-[na-ke₄]* is the vocative *-e*, for which see Exaltation of Ištar l. 3, *a-a dīm-me-er-e-ne-ke₄* [RA XI (1914) 144–45], cf. also the late version of the myth Lugal-e [IV R² 9 obv. 5], *an-gal-e* // *^da-num rabū^u*, and Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, 50. Note that the vocative *-e* follows a passive participle in *-a* here and throughout the section from line 2 to line 15.

We prefer to see these forms as representing the subordinating pronominal conjugation consisting of the verbal base + *a* (+*ak*) + postposition, cf. Attinger, *Éléments*, 303f., and note that a similar form is cited by M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen, 1984), 93, first mentioned in J. Krecher, "Zur sumerischen Grammatik. 1. Isolierende Postpositionen. 2. *-(e)n* nach Verbalwurzeln," *ZA* 57 (1965): 28–29. The grammar follows a distinct pattern

in lines 4–6 and lines 7–10: Clauses with passive participles ending in final -e are followed by a clause having a passive participle ending in -bi. All of these clauses are subordinate.

Although Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 170 n. 6, rejects the reading me-en in favour of à ga, nevertheless the reading of the signs as me-en looks more convincing.

One could translate this line and the following with Sjöberg, “the holy crown of An has been placed upon (her) head, the holy ba-garment has been donned upon (her) body” (*JCS* 40, 169). There appears to be, however, an intentional distinction between these two lines and l. 6, in which the sceptre of An is specifically placed “in her hand” (šu-na). The subtle distinction suggests that it is not Inanna who is being dressed, but a cult statue; hence in lines 4–5 the description is of the head and torso of the statue being adorned with decorative items, after which the statue in lines 6ff. is recognisably an image of Inanna.

- 5 Jacobsen suggests that the doubling of kù probably indicates a plural form of the noun, as in Reisner, *SBH*, 78, 33–34: túg gal-gal-la (cited CAD L, 17). Sjöberg reads túg-ba, which he translates as a “ba-garment,” although such a garment is not attested, and the sign appears to be too small for túg. Our reading is based upon B. Alster, “Sumerian Love Songs,” *RA* 79 (1985): 136:28–29: túg ^{gi}ba-an-gim šu DU-ma-ni túg ^{gi}ba-sì-ki-na-gim šu DAR-DAR-ma-ni, “put (your) hand onto a garment as with an awl(?), spread(?) the garment with (your) hand as with a spatula(?)” (translation Alster). The translations “awl” and “spatula” assume that the words are tools, an assumption based upon poorly attested Akkadian equivalents (see Alster’s note: *ibid.*, 138, and PSD B, 1, and differently 82); in the love song context both the ^{gi}ba(-an) and ^{gi}ba-sì-ki-na might represent decorative items. See now Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Ramat Gan, 1998), 358. These implements may be comparable to the ritual objects carried by the male and female priests in the Ištar-Louvre hymn, in which the man carries female implements (such as a hair clasp) while the woman carries male objects (e.g., a throwstick, a sling, and slingstone); see Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, 17 and 27.
- 6 Jacobsen comments: “the -bi at the end of line 6 is adverbial and indicates circumstance: with such and such going on / being the case. See Poebel ¶703.”
- 7 See Inninšagurra 59: maḥ-di [un]ken-[n]a zà-gal ba-e-dúr-ru, “the exalted in the assembly, sitting on the seat of honour” (translation Sjöberg). Sjöberg here reads maḥ-a tuš-[a dúr]-gar-ra-e, although there does not appear to be enough space in the gap for two signs, [a] and [dúr]. Jacobsen’s reading differs considerably:

maḥ-a lu-[úb]-gar-ra-e, “(you) are equipped with knapsack.” The ^{kuš}lu-úb is a part of standard military equipment as may be seen from ki ^{kuš}lu-úb-gar, “place where the knapsack is put on,” which develops the meaning “army,” since that is where the troops gather before a campaign. The whole section to and including line 9 deals with Inanna as a warrior.

- 8 It seems likely here that “kur” is a metaphor for the temple, in the same way that Akk. *šadû* is used metaphorically, see CAD Š/1, 57b. Jacobsen comments that “the comparison is with passages like those cited by Gelb in MAD 3 105, *ì-nu* DN DL.KUD-*su i-ti-nu-ma*. Battles were seen as lawsuits judged by Enlil or other gods, in favour of the victor.”
- 9 Jacobsen reads: “ga-eš₈ maḥ kur-kur-ra bé-da-e, ‘O you, merchant prince gone far away into all lands!’”
- 10 Jacobsen translates and comments: “‘O you that in your lighting up in the sky like a lamp, as (you) Inanna are seen in splendour.’ For this epithet, note its use with Enlil (CT 15, pl. 10), . . . since the text is a lament, not a hymn to Enlil’s powers; he is the banker calling to account.” See also the comments on the latter text by M. Civil, JCS 28 (1976): 72f.
- 11–14 Jacobsen admits here that “syntactically this section is difficult, since there is no clear noun for the vocative to refer to.”
- 14 The line may well be a literary allusion to the temple epithet kur ḥé-gal-la found in temple hymns, see Sjöberg, TCS 3, 19: 42, and p. 59, and commonly employed as an epithet for several temples, cf. Falkenstein, SGL, I 50.
- 15 Syntactically one expects this broken line to present (finally) the main clause of the context, following upon the previous series of subordinate clauses ending in -e or -bi.
- 16 One might compare here Inninšagurra 206: eš-bar ab-bé bí-in-du₁₁-ga-z[u] an-ki-ta nu-kúr-ru, “when you have spoken your judgement *in the window*, it is unchangeable on heaven and earth.” An alternative reading might be bûlug/dim₄ for the signs read here as kúr-kúr, although the context is too damaged to decide the reading.
- 17 Jacobsen notes that “after these lines begin Inanna’s self-praise,” and thus interprets the verbal suffix -me as first person singular. Sjöberg also translates subsequent lines in columns ii and iii as first person, assuming these lines to be spoken by Inanna herself, and Sjöberg (JCS 40, 165) regards this use of me for /me-en/ as evidence that the prism was written in the Ur III or early Isin period. The first person orientation is supported by the unambiguous -mu suffix in lines ii. 8–9: ti-la-mu-dè, “while I lived . . .,” and iii 3: šà-mu ḥi-li gi₄-im-si, “let me fill my heart with joy” (see also iii 5); these passages appear to be Inanna’s own words. Another argument in favour of interpreting these lines in the first person is the Emesal term gašan in line 17 (if read correctly), since one might expect Emesal dialect to be spoken by Inanna herself.

The arguments against a first person monologue in lines ending with -me are both grammatical and contextual. This verbal form with a second person suffix pronoun is paralleled by Gudea Cyl. A iii 3: nin ama lagaš^{ki} gar-ra-me(-en) (see Thomsen, *Grammar*, 267 ex. 782), “you are the lady, the mother by whom Lagash was founded,” to be distinguished from the alternative formulation, gar-ra-zu-dè (the so-called pronominal conjugation), which would have had a slightly different nuance, i.e., “you having founded.”

Inanna is also referred to throughout the prism in the third person, which would not fit well with statements of self-praise; it is unlikely that Inanna would praise herself and then refer to herself in the third person (see lines 2–15, 18; ii 18–22; iii 8–10). Interpreting the statements ending with *-me* as a second person address to Inanna, enumerating her virtues, would be consistent with the view that this prism is a votive object meant to praise Inanna. The usual form of hymns of praise describes Inanna's attributes and ends with a refrain: *dīnanna za-a-kam // ku-um-ma dīš-dar*, which is typical of Akk. hymns to Ištar as well; see Š. Sjöberg, "Inninšagurra," *ZA* 65, 161–253, *passim*, and B. Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, 22–26. It is possible that the relevant lines in our prism which would have had this refrain are missing in the large breaks.

There appears to be an erasure before the second /*du*₈/ sign.

- 20 Jacobsen suggests provisionally restoring the line as "a-gi₆-[gi₄-i]m [d]u₇-¹du₇-me, 'I am one levelling like a floodwave,'" based upon the parallel expression *du₇-du₇ // sapānu*, said of floodwaves, cf. CAD A/1 s.v. *agū*.

col. ii

- 1 The assumption here is that this line is a continuation of the final line of col. i (line 22), with the key phrase being *š u . . . zi-ga*, "raising the hand" (in prayer).
- 2 Jacobsen translates: "I am the glassy girin stone from the mountains, set up to be admired," although he notes that "shiny" may be preferable to "glassy."
- 3 Jacobsen's translation, "Hung with glassy lapis lazuli from the mountain crest and 'nests' of *igi-sanga*," is based upon *kur-muš* as polysemy for *kur-mùš*, which is doubted by Sjöberg in his notes on this text (*JCS* 40, 172). Jacobsen's observation, however, is worth considering: "*mùš*, 'crest', fits all recurrences as an emblem of the en, as the temple's place on platforms, as the top of mountains. The combination *kur-mùš* is Poebel's 'partitive apposition.'"

For Jacobsen's translation "*igi-sanga*," see Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 173 n. 7. Jacobsen further comments on the reading *gi^ušub*, which comes from Proto-Diri 405 (cf. CAD A/1, 110, s.v. *adattu*). According to Jacobsen, Proto-Diri

completely misunderstands the meaning of the word: *gi^udiri*(st.A) "reed float," "raft," "bird's nest in the marshes"; the latter meaning was then used for "nests" of minerals. Note also *gi^ušub* as a "nest" for a brick.

- 5 Sjöberg (*JCS* 40, 168) read a broken sign before *gál* which I did not see on the original.
- 6 Jacobsen suggested reading: "†geštin¹-pa-ba al-e-a-a-me, 'I am the grapes desirable on their vine,'" agreeing with Sjöberg's suggested reading *pa-ba* "on their branches" (*JCS* 40, 174). Neither reading is convincing. One expects in the context some type of agricultural activity, which is why the phrase here might possibly be related to the term *káb-du₁₁-ga*, discussed in great detail by M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions* (Barcelona, 1994), 153–63; according to Civil, the verb indicates the taking of some type of measurement.
- 7 Jacobsen translates: "I am the dates in their panicles laden with allure."

- 8 Jacobsen reads dag-bà-ra-ga, since “a plural dag-dag does not make sense to me especially since the next line has dag only.” There is a shift in lines 8–11 to first person verbal forms. These forms are interpreted as a mark of a direct speech of Inanna, describing her wedding with Dumuzi. The syntax shifts to first person verbal forms again in col. iii 3–5, which may also intend to give Inanna’s own description of being wed to Dumuzi. These lines could be a literary allusion to an Inanna-Dumuzi hymn as a counterbalance to the praises addressed to Inanna elsewhere in this text (see above, note to line 17).

- 11 Jacobsen comments:

The form in-gá²-an-pà-da-dè is a bit of a poser. The infix n-ga- is everywhere else written with g rather than ġ. Its meaning “also” likewise may indicate that Inanna too was selecting Dumuzi as her preferred suitor. As for the stem I suppose that vowel assimilation (cf. Poebel SG ¶ 728) caused a change from /pa-d-ed-e/. This should make the form indicate imperfective/duration before an event, “he was in the process of selecting.” Cf. Jacobsen, AS 16 98f.

See also Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 175 n. 11.

- 13 The narration again shifts to third person verbal forms, reporting on Inanna’s activities for much of the remainder of the legible text.
- 18 Sjöberg (*JCS* 40, 175 n. 17) suggests reading the verbal form here as bí-in-ga-ga, meaning “to carry away (as booty),” cf. Akk. *šalālu* (CAD Š/1, 196f.). For á-zi-ga, cf. *SGL* I 36f., 134.
- 20 The sign for ukkin resembles the same sign used above in i 7, and although maḥ is also possible, it is not easy to see how the phrase maḥ-a-ni would fit the context. It is tempting to read ušumgal here, as in the following line, while Jacobsen read guru₇ nun-na, “Granary of the Prince,” although neither solution appears convincing.
- 21 Jacobsen reads: šeš-a-ni Ušumgal-e ‘na-e₁₁¹(?). The signs comprising the name ušumgal are reasonably clear, but one does not expect a sign between ušumgal and the second part of the name, an-na. One might read suffix -dam here, instead of the -ra postposition, representing a comitative -da plus the enclitic copula, although this would not harmonise well with the infix -na of the verbal form in line 22. The simile here, if the damaged signs are correctly read, suggests that Inanna carried off something to her shrine just like she had Dumuzi carried away.
- 22 The verb is read by Sjöberg (*JCS* 40, 175) as mu-na-biz-biz, although the traces look more like GA than BI. Cf. above, line 18.

col. iii

- 3 Sjöberg (*JCS* 40, 176) explained gi₄ as a cohortative preformative, which has been adopted here, although Jacobsen preferred to read gi₄-im as phonetic for /gim/, translating, “my heart filling with the likes of desire.”
- 4 Jacobsen prefers reading túg -[mu₄], and consequently translates “would [clothe(?)] Ululu in Dušuba.” For Ululu as an epithet of Dumuzi, cf. Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 176.

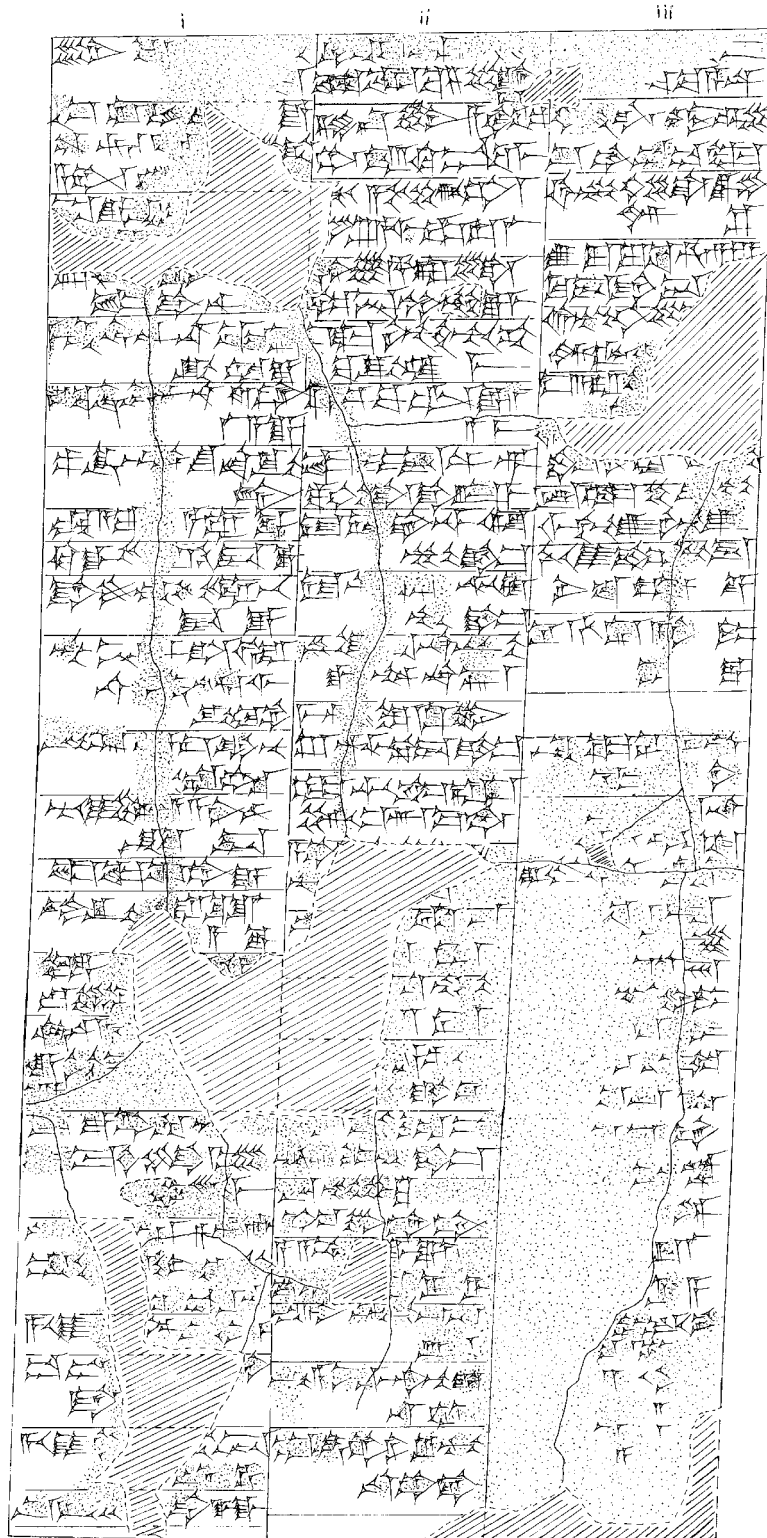
- 7 Since the ta-sign appears to be long, one might see an intervening suffix pronoun before the -ta. Jacobsen translates: “My . . . heart after he let the day slip by.”
- 8 Instead of še-ga, one might also read ¹ur₅^{1?}-g[i^{m?}], “in this way,” although the verbal form remains untranslatable. Jacobsen understands the line differently, as ur₅-d[a] mu-ši-gu-ú-gu-ú, “(Inanna) will on the high roof become enraged at him,” interpreting ur₅ as equivalent to Akk. *lib-bātu*, “anger”; see Erimḫuš V 176 [= *MSL* 17 74], ^{ur₅}-g^uKA×NE = *lib-ba-a-tum* (cited CAD L, 163). Jacobsen’s translation fits the context nicely, although one must assume a phonetic writing related to the noun /murgu/ “anger.”
- 9 The correspondence between /su-dub/ and *tepu* is only attested lexically (see *AHw* 1388), but the meaning fits the context and contrasts nicely with /turtur/ of the following sentence. Furthermore, the line might offer a revised translation of Inninšagurra 17, which reads: murgu-ni ù-dúb su-táb-e (var. su-dúb-bu) su-mu-ug-ga-[ni] u₁₈-lu lú-ra éš-lá, rendered literally by Sjöberg as “When her wrath makes (people) tremble, the burning of the body and the misfortune (she causes) are (like that of) an ulu-demon who ensnares a man.” Reflecting the usage of su-dub above, an alternative translation might be “her anger surpasses coal, her dark mood is the ‘man-strangler’ Ulu-demon.”

For búr as grass (usually—but not always—written as ^búr), cf. *PSD* B 190.

- 11 The blank line appears to indicate a division in the text.
- 12 For the compound verbal form, see Attinger, *Eléments*, 655.

col. iv

- 2 Cf. Inninšagurra 31–32, in which Inanna is referred to as [u₁₁-r]í-in^{mušen} and as súr-dù^{mušen} respectively, the latter of which might fit the traces in our line.
- 3 The reading follows Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 177.
- 7 Perhaps “She does not go . . . nor [enter[?]] the temple.”
- 10 For sag-ur-sag as an *assinnu*-priest, see Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 177–78, also appearing in an Ištar hymn (Groneberg, *Lob der Ištar*, 26: ii 16, and 47 n. 118, and 139f.).
- 13 Römer, *SKIZ*, 107, cites evidence for iri₁₁-gal as a name of the Netherworld, corresponding to later Akk. *irkallu*—cf. CAD I/J, 177—although alternatively rendered in Akkadian as *ešgallu*, CAD E, 364. The reading èš-gal is preferred by George as the shrine name, rather than the alternative reading iri₁₂-gal found in a late syllabic copy of a litany (i-ri-ga-al, cf. M. E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* [Potomac, Md., 1988], I, 286: 224, et passim); for the é-èš-gal temple of Ishtar, see George, *House Most High*, 270ff., and Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat Gan, 1981), 152. In any case, the present line has been interpreted as a label for the Netherworld rather than as a name for a supposed shrine to Inanna.
- 14 The writing a-rá-zu is attested in the OB period (see *PSD* A/1, 140).
- 16 See Sjöberg, *JCS* 40, 178.



Wisdom, Nature and Piety in Some Biblical Psalms

STEPHEN A. GELLER

I

This essay will explore the view of the relationship between nature and piety in a group of psalms reflecting the biblical wisdom tradition at a time of particular crisis. Understanding that crisis means comprehending the special role of nature in the wisdom tradition. To be sure, the dominant authority mentioned in wisdom texts is tradition, passed on by elders to the young. But tradition itself was based ultimately on experience, not just of human relations in society, but also of the natural world. Already Solomon, the archetypal biblical wise man, spoke parables about “trees, from the cedars that are in Lebanon to the hyssop that emerges from walls . . . about beasts, fowl, creeping things and fishes” (1 Kgs. 5:13). Of course, what is meant here by “nature” is not the modern, or even Greek, understanding of that term as a systematic and comprehensive order of all things that can be apprehended and penetrated by the human intellect. Rather, in the Bible “nature” is conceived of theistically, as creation by God. There is a Hebrew verb for “create” (*bārā*) but no term for “nature,” or even “world, universe,” unless it be the hendiadys “heaven and earth.” However, if one limits the range of the term “nature” to something like “the way things work, the ordering of things by God in a manner that humans can understand by observation,” then the semantic range of “nature” is covered, in a very general way, by the Hebrew term *derek*, “way, manner of acting.” In this sense nature is a key factor in wisdom books like Proverbs, which deals with proper human behavior, as well as in books like Job, in which physical nature, from the heavenly bodies to the realm of the great beasts, plays a crucial role. Although images drawn from nature occur also in other biblical traditions,¹ it is primarily in the wisdom tradition that the link between natural and moral orders, between the physical

1. In the covenant tradition, nature, especially as an appeal to “heaven and earth,” appears as a witness to the covenant and agent of divine punishment for breach of covenant; cf. Lev 26; Deuteronomy 28, 32; Isa 1:2; Mic 6:1–2, etc. In addition, the prophets sometimes make use of natural evidence or imagery; cf. Amos 4:13; 5:8; Isa 1:3–4; Jer 8:7, etc. Only in Deutero-Isaiah do creation themes play a central role: Isa 40:12–14; 21–26; 42:5; 44:24; 45:18, etc.

world and the human realms of society and of personal piety, is of central concern. Simply put, wisdom is really interested in the world, almost, it seems at times, for its own sake, not just as evidence of the greatness of the creator. However, closer examination of context usually shows that this interest in nature is actually part of a particular pattern of argumentation about the character and function of piety.

Behind the role assigned the natural world there seems to lie a nascent wisdom theology² that was common to the international wisdom tradition in the ancient Near East. The order of creation, referred to in Egypt as “truth” (*maʿat*), in Mesopotamia as “right” (*mēšarum*) and in Israel by such terms as “justice” (*ṣedeq*) and “truth, stability” (*ʾēmet*), manifested itself in the essential unity of natural and moral realms, including the working of the state and the legal system. Creation formed a seamless whole, constantly menaced by the chastised but still lurking forces of chaos that manifested themselves as disorder, societal upheaval, natural disasters like plagues, droughts and famines, and, not least, the disruptive power of sin. The purpose of state and cult was to maintain the stability of created “justice,” not just by laws and good administration but also by providing for the needs of the gods in the sacrificial cult, undoing the negative effects of sin, and passing down the correct doctrines to the young. The latter was the function of the wisdom tradition.

Israel shared this set of beliefs and assumptions, especially in its form of the wisdom tradition, which we may term Old Wisdom. It was always the least particularly Israelite and most international sphere of Israelite culture. But in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E. a new form of Israel’s ancient covenant traditions developed, probably under prophetic influence.³ This new form, the Deuteronomic Movement, culminated in the great reform of Josiah in 621 B.C.E. It was a radical and uncompromising expression of absolute monotheism and cultic centralization: one God, one shrine. It demanded total devotion—in love—to God and rejection of all foreign gods and ideas. It attacked Old Wisdom and replaced it by a New Wisdom, which focused on Torah. Teaching, the role of master and pupil, was stressed by Deuteronomic religion. This was the beginning of that emphasis on study that characterized later rabbinic Judaism. But the only right thoughts were those that centered on God’s revelation. Nature had no role, except as witness to God’s power of creation and, negatively, as an inciter to idolatry. Raising one’s eyes to the sun, moon and stars was itself dangerous, lest one’s thoughts be led astray by them. For correct thought was essential to what one might call the New Piety of the Deuteronomic movement. Its ultimate appeal was to the mind of each individual man and woman. Both individualism and a (relative) upgrading of the status of women were important aspects of deuteronomic theology and law.

2. See Roland Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1990), chap. 8. The role of nature in wisdom thinking is debated. See especially James L. Crenshaw, *Urgent Advice and Probing Questions: Collected Writings on Old Testament Wisdom* (Macon, Georgia, 1995), especially chap. 20.

3. See my *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible* (London and New York, 1996), chap. 9.

Old Wisdom was challenged by this new, militant theology. The response was varied. Some wisdom teachers accommodated themselves and, abandoning nature and excluding everything foreign, bent themselves to the study of revelation and Torah. Psalm 119 is a document of this kind of reaction. Some remained stubbornly aloof, continuing to be faithful to the nature- and experience-rooted traditions of Old Wisdom with little or no reference to Israel's covenant faith. Ecclesiastes is the latest, and purest, expression of this stubbornly unreconstructed reaction. But most wisdom teaching seems to reflect varying types of intermediate reactions, blending the new ideas of covenant religion with the tenets of Old Wisdom. Much of the first chapters of Proverbs ("the fear of the Lord is the beginning"—but not the end—"of wisdom") and many so-called "wisdom psalms" like Psalm 37 reflect such intermediate positions. What might be termed a hybrid wisdom-covenantal piety developed that usually avoided overt reference to covenant and spoke, as Old Wisdom did, in seemingly universal terms of nature, man, and God, and expressed a rather rigidly mechanistic cause-effect theology. This is the kind of faith that seems to be espoused in the Book of Job by the friends who came to comfort Job. The author of that work seems to attempt to remain closer to the nature-centredness of Old Wisdom and to present the emotion of awe at the sublimity of creation as an "answer" to the problem of suffering.⁴

The magnificent divine speeches describing the works of creation in chapters 38–39 of Job are the most grandiose and ambitious treatment of the role of nature in the literature of the Hebrew Bible influenced by the wisdom tradition, but it is not the only one. There is a small group of psalms in which, as in the Book of Job, nature, i.e., creation, plays a major role.⁵ They reveal an underlying dynamic and tension that might elude the interpreter unaware of the religious and intellectual crisis of their time. Reference here is to Psalms 104, 8, 19, and 139. Unlike Job, none of them deals explicitly with the issue of suffering or theodicy; but each does have a reference to sin and sinners that points to the collocation of nature and piety characteristic of the wisdom tradition.⁶ Each psalm reflects, in varying degrees, the crisis of the Seventh–Fifth Centuries B.C.E. and differing reactions of wise men to their new situation. It is as documents of their time that we shall now examine them.

4. See my *Sacred Enigmas*, chap. 5, and my forthcoming essay, "Nature's Answer: the Meaning of the Book of Job in Its Intellectual Context."

5. This essay does not intend to present a comprehensive treatment of the role of nature in the Hebrew Bible, or even in the wisdom tradition. There will be no discussion of Qoheleth, a work that reflects substantially later viewpoints, or even of an important passage like Proverbs 8, which presents a semi-mythological view of wisdom as preexistent at creation.

6. However, these psalms will not be labeled "wisdom psalms," a term about which there is considerable debate; see A. Hurvitz, *Wisdom Language in Biblical Psalmody* (Jerusalem, 1991; Hebrew). Of the four psalms studied in this essay (8, 19, 104, and 139), only Psalm 19 is viewed as a "wisdom psalm" by the majority of scholars in the synthetic chart Hurvitz gives on p. 128. The wide disagreement among scholars testifies to the lack of objective criteria for determining what a "wisdom psalm" really is. Here, the psalms in question will be viewed as literary creations that contain evidence, in language but also in themes and ideas, of having been composed by poets influenced by the wisdom tradition.

First, something must be said of the approach taken here to these psalms, which may loosely be termed “literary.” The notion of “literature” has been made to bear an enormous burden of theoretical discussion in modern times. Here “literary” signals only an approach that is sensitive to language, nuance, allusion, and, especially, context. Much study of the biblical psalms contents itself with identifying the putative literary genre and *Sitz im Leben*. Psalms may be categorized as hymns, petitions of the individual, songs of thanksgiving, royal psalms, wisdom psalms, etc. All except the last mentioned are associated with cultic occasions in the life of ancient Israel, often with the most sparse evidence. Little attention is often paid to literary and broader cultural context. But, in fact, relatively few psalms are “pure” in terms of genre. Most contain evidence of two or even more literary forms, each with its own train of associations. Why does a supposedly cultic psalm call on wisdom imagery? Why does a wisdom psalm use cultic terminology? What does reference to kingship mean in decidedly non-royal contexts? These are the sorts of questions a nuanced interpretation, a truly literary approach, must attempt to answer. It is also necessary to understand, as the Rabbis did, that the Bible, like all ancient texts, often creates meaning by the simple juxtaposition of topics. Thus, a text that seems to a source critic to be a jumble of fragments, and to a form critic an incoherent mixture of genres, may actually bear a meaning that depends precisely on the kind of texture of subtle allusions and associations that scholars tend to hate but poets, alas, love. In the final analysis, a literary approach means nothing more than giving a psalm its due as poetry.

II

Of the four texts to be considered, the one closest to traditional Old Wisdom is Psalm 104, the great creation hymn of the Psalter. Its general similarity to the famous Aten Hymn of the Akhenaten heresy in Egypt (and other henotheistic hymns of the ancient world) points both to the continuity of such traditions in the ancient Near East, and to the remarkable internationalism of Old Wisdom. The entire poem is a majestic hymn in praise of God as creator, the longest sequence of nature poetry in the Bible outside of Job 38–41 and, in a different vein, the Song of Songs. But at the very end a seemingly discordant note enters: “May sinners cease from the earth // and the wicked be no more” (v. 35). There is no reason to regard this verse as intrusive. Given the association of nature and piety in the wisdom tradition as essential aspects of created order, it is appropriate and necessary that allusion be made here to sin and sinners, the one feature of the world that disturbs the perfection of God’s work.⁷ It is, in fact, an aspect of the chaos that preceded the ordering of creation and which, as cosmic ocean, but also as evil and sin,

7. Among other collocations of creation and piety are Psalm 19, to be discussed below, Prov. 3:3–18 and 19–20, etc.

continues to threaten the order of the cosmos, as Jon Levenson has so forcefully argued.⁸

Or is this the case? An interesting question is the grammatical mood of v. 35: is it jussive or indicative? Is the psalmist praying “may sinners cease from the earth!” (as translated above);⁹ or is he stating his assurance that such will be the case: “Sinners will cease from the earth . . .”? In the latter case the mention of evildoers does not really detract from the hymnic tone of the psalm. The poet is simply registering the presence of evil in God’s creation at the same time that he expresses his certainty that someday it will be removed, thus perfecting the world. The former interpretation is more dynamic in that it implies a more emotional response, indeed, a questioning of the order of God’s work of creation due to the continued presence of sin.¹⁰

Since the Hebrew allows both interpretations, this uncertainty must be viewed as a literarily meaningful ambiguity, i.e., not either/or but both/and. The Psalmist is perplexed and confident simultaneously. He is awed and enraptured by the contemplation of creation but cannot forbear to mention that he is also aware of—and perhaps disturbed by—the blemish of sin and the threat it poses to divine order and rule. Despite this underlying uncertainty, the tone of Psalm 104 is exultant. It is one of the grandest works of the international Old Wisdom with its dominant focus on nature-creation.

III

Psalm 8 also expresses awe at creation, and also refers to sinners, but introduces a new focus: humanity. The poem is, for all its brevity, or because of it, very complex in its imagery and web of allusions. For this reason a brief exegesis of the whole psalm will be presented before we examine the specific relationship between nature and sinfulness in it.¹¹

Psalm 8 makes use of traditional themes but with striking new emphases, which are often signaled by clever use of ambiguity and juxtaposition. The first line, v. 2, expresses wonder at the “awesomeness” of God’s name in all the earth, whose “majesty” is placed on the heavens.¹² The language, rich in biblical associations,

8. J. D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (New York, 1987).

9. And continuing the mood of the preceding verbs.

10. Contrast Psalm 148, in which there is no such discordant note to mar the hymnic tone.

11. Only a minimum of philological and general textual discussion will be included here. Full argumentation will be presented in the Psalms commentary I am preparing for the *Hermeneia* series, to be published by Fortress Press.

12. The syntax of v. 2b is unusual but not tortured. An emendation of *’āšer tēnā* to *’āširā-nā* is not necessary. Hymnic style favors strings of participles describing God’s attributes. Expected here would be *hannōtēn hōdō*. However, the poet wanted to stress the agency of God’s praise, as coming from a most unusual, indeed, astonishing source: babbling infants. The result is a somewhat twisted syntax, but one that reinforces the uniqueness of the idea to be expressed. The relative marker *’āšer*

indicates the common theme of divine exaltation, in which God's "name" or "fame" is lauded by the assembled choirs of angels (Ps 29:1–2, 89:6–7; Isaiah 6, etc.). This praise is often in a creation context or, at least, in association with creation motifs, especially the divine battle against the cosmic waters.

How surprising, in such a context of praise, are the first three words of v. 3: God's majesty is proclaimed "by the mouth of infants and sucklings!" So peculiar is this idea that tradition preferred to join these words to the following ones (hence the verse division), but the context clearly points to a link with the preceding line, as many commentators have noted. The reference to infants is therefore a Janus element, but an ironic, even paradoxical, one. What could be more peculiar than the notion that the praise of God should come not from angelic choirs but nurseries of babies, from those who cannot produce coherent speech?!¹³

The other direction of the Janus expression "by the mouth of infants and sucklings," its connection to what follows in v. 3, is equally strange. The statement that God has "chastised¹⁴ with might¹⁵ on account¹⁶ of (His) foes, to make the enemy and revengeful cease" would normally, in the context of heavenly praise, be taken as a reference to the cosmic battle motif that frequently accompanies creation imagery in the Hebrew Bible. As such, one therefore expects the "foes" to be the usual watery opponent of God in the well-known creation myth, namely, Sea, River, Leviathan, etc.¹⁷ But after the preceding reference to the "mouth of infants and sucklings," which is grammatically, at least, a Janus element, the image becomes most peculiar, indeed. The stock motif in passages dealing with the theme of God the warrior is that He shatters His foes with His gigantic, thundering voice. That

plus verb takes the place of the definite article plus participle. To be sure, *nittān* is expected instead of *tēnā*, which, as it stands, can only be a variant of the usual infinitive construct of *nātan*, *tēt* (like *redā* for *redet*, Gen. 46:3). The literal translation is "(You) the placing of whose majesty is from the mouth of infants and sucklings." "Placing" or "giving" majesty or other attributes is a synonym of "praise," as in Ps. 29:1–2. Note also *ʿal haššamayim kēbōdō* (Ps. 113:4). It also possible that *tēnā* is intended to pun with *tānā* (in the Piel), "recite (praise)"; cf. Judg. 5:11 and 11:40.

13. Are we dealing here with an early form of the idea that God's praise is sung by infant *putti*? Cf. the rabbinic identification of cherubim with infants (*ke-rabya*). Also worth playing with is the possibility that the imagery of Psalm 8 might be influenced by the common "cippi of Horus," stele-like amulets that portray the child Horus treading on crocodiles or other reptiles, and holding wild beasts.

14. Reading, with many, *yissartā*, "you rebuke, instruct," rather than MT's *yissadtā*, "you lay the foundations." The latter makes sense in the context of creation, since the "foundations of the earth" is a stock theme, and the thought that these foundations should be "mighty" (*ōz*) is an equally standard image. But after the reference to the "mouth of infants and sucklings" a verb of speech seems appropriate. Does the poet perhaps intend a pun on *yissar/dtā*?

15. Or "instructed with praise"—also a sense of *ōz* (cf. Ps. 29:1: *hābū lyhwh kābōd wā'ōz*, "Give the Lord glory and might").

16. Cf. Ps. 5:9, *lēmaʿan šōrērāy*. Or, does *lēmaʿan* perhaps have here some of its literal sense of "answer, respond to," continuing the verbal imagery, and an image of power that goes nicely with *ōz*?

17. Ps. 89:10–11; Ps. 74:13–14; Isa. 27:1, etc.

the same effect should be produced by the babble of inarticulate children is quite as baffling an idea as that children should replace angels as the source of divine praise. The poet is clearly aiming at something unusual, which, however, remains at the end of v. 3 quite perplexing.

Verse 4 brings a shift to the first person singular (a shift that contrasts with the plural “our Lord” in v. 2): “When I see the heavens, the work of your fingers . . .” The theme is now openly that of creation, and the underlying tradition is more clearly that of wisdom. In covenant religion, observation of the heavens leads only to idolatry, worship of the sun, moon, and stars (Deut. 4). But v. 4 consists only of the protasis of a temporal clause; there is no “then” to complete the “when.” It is, in fact, an anacoluthon, breaking off in favor of a cry of wonder that returns to the pattern of v. 2 and is clearly intended to contrast with it: the awesomeness of God’s “name,” on the one hand, and, on the other, the insignificance of weak mankind (*ʿēnôš*). Yet this weak creature has been made “little less than divine, crowned with glory and majesty!” The words evoke royal language openly. Once again, a standard theme is reinterpreted by the poet. Traditionally, creation and divine combat are part of a complex that celebrates God as king, and which in the Bible is found most openly in “enthronement psalms” like 93. Here, the royal majesty of the divine king, won at creation in battle with the cosmic foe, is transferred to humanity. Its feet are “set over everything, all sheep and oxen, also the beasts of the wild, birds of the heavens and fish of the seas, who traverse the sea paths.” The final emphasis on the watery realm perhaps evokes the defeated cosmic enemy of tradition, Sea.

It is likely that an Israelite would have recognized here a twist on the language traditionally used to hymn the relationship between God and the Davidic king. In Psalm 89 it is even said that God places the king’s hand over the sea, an idea not dissimilar to that of Psalm 8.¹⁸ In the latter, the royal reference is not to the Davidic messiah, but to humanity as a whole. Thus, the wisdom tradition has appropriated and reinterpreted a traditional idea. That God’s majesty is shared by kings is hackneyed; but that humanity is royal, though paradoxically also weak, is a strikingly new notion, one shared, to my knowledge, only by the Priestly account of humanity’s creation in Genesis 1, a passage clearly similar in key respects to Psalm 8.¹⁹

The final line of the poem, v. 10, repeats the opening line, v. 2a. But a new sense emerges. What, in fact, is God’s “name” over all the earth that is referred to here? If the heavens are the truly divine realm, is not the earth itself placed under human sway by God Himself? Is not God’s “name” placed on mankind itself, by reason of human semi-divinity? Is not mankind itself an aspect of God’s “name” on the earth? This nuance stems from the royal language of the psalm. The king was

18. Even the motif of royal sway over animals is perhaps not irrelevant; cf. Jer 27:6; 28:14. Is the messianic imagery of Isaiah 11 related to this complex of themes?

19. But it also may lie behind the prospecting and mining imagery of Job 28, in which these human activities, symbolic of the search for hidden wisdom, are described in terms usually reserved for God. See my *Sacred Enigmas*, chap. 5.

viewed as God's adopted son, and could, in this sense, be termed God's name in the sense of "posterity"; although, admittedly, there is no biblical reference to the king as the "name of God" explicitly. But God promised David He would give him a "name like the name of the great ones of the earth" (2 Sam 7:9). Here "name" means, as often in the Bible, "fame, reputation." Through God's "name" the king's "horn will be raised" (Ps 89:25). But there are hints that the mortal king might have been described as *'ēlōhīm*, or, at least, as sitting on "God's throne" (Ps 45:7; cf. 1 Chr 25:23). Referring to the king as sharing God's "name" is therefore at least possible. Psalm 8 then extends the notion of quasi-divinity to all humanity.

Psalm 8's use of traditional creation and royal themes to express the idea of human greatness does not make it a Sophoclean or Shakespearean "paean to man," because throughout the poem humanity's supremacy is constantly contrasted with its weakness. This, of course, is the primary sense of the puzzling image of "infants and sucklings." It is possible that an image of a royal child is hovering in the back of the poet's mind (cf. Isaiah 9 and 11). But it is more likely that the reference to infants is primarily intended to be a radical heightening, almost a *reductio ad absurdum*, of several traditional themes. One of these may indeed be royal. Ps 89:20 states that God "placed a stripling²⁰ over a warrior, raised up a youth from the people." That God can win victory by the use of seemingly weak agents is also a stock theme of the biblical holy war tradition in its covenantal form. For example, Gideon states that he comes from the poorest clan of Manasseh and that he is the youngest in his family, as David was also (Judg. 6:15). Psalm 8 sharpens these traditional notions by choosing the most obvious image of innocence and helplessness (cf. Isa 11:6, 8).

Moreover, the image of infancy was attractive to the poet from a wisdom standpoint also. Indeed, one cannot really understand the irony of the image properly unless one comprehends the wisdom context of Psalm 8. The obvious contrast to the wise man and woman is, of course, the fool, not the child. But in Psalm 8 the poet has adopted the literary genre of the hymn.²¹ The wise also produced verse as part of their "instruction" and their skill (Ps 78:1–2; cf. Ps 45:1–2). The "mouth" of the trained poet, perhaps a member of the Levitical psalm-writing guilds, composing intricate verse, is best contrasted not with the foolishness of the ingenuous but with the inarticulateness of the infant babblers.²²

The image of infant praise and power is a barb that is intended to catch the reader's attention. But to what end? It obviously is meant to prepare the ground for the pattern of essential contrasts and dualities in the poem. These contrasts and du-

20. Provided one takes *'ezer* as cognate with Ugaritic *ǧzr*, "youth, hero." But the several *'zr* roots in Hebrew are notoriously complex.

21. It is hardly likely that the genre is here more than a literary device. The standard form-critical view that Psalm 8 had a cultic *Sitz im Leben*, and was perhaps recited at night ("when I see the heavens . . . the moon and stars," v. 4) strikes me as highly unlikely in the case of a hymn of such striking unorthodoxy as Psalm 8!

22. Isaiah uses a similar image for a different reason in Isa 28:10ff.

alities are incorporated in a triple parallelism between (1) the majesty of God and the insignificance of infants, (2) the wonder of God's creation of the heavens (and, by extension, of all nature) and human weakness (the literal sense of *'ēnōš*, "weak mankind"), and (3) within humanity, the depth of that very weakness and the royal sway humanity holds over other created beings. The perplexing Janus reference to infants in v. 3 can now be seen to have the function of establishing and reinforcing the later parallel contrasts of the poem more firmly in the reader's mind. Is God really praised by babbling infants, through whom He can also gain victory over mighty foes? Yes, we humans, we weak mortals are those children, nothing as regards God, but ourselves gods over the rest of animate nature. In sum, Psalm 8 represents a wisdom appropriation of royal themes to humanity to highlight the duality of the human condition as part divine and part weak flesh.²³

In light of this interpretation of the infancy image in the first part of Ps 8:3, we may ask what is the significance of the reference to the enemy in the second part of the verse. We saw that in the context of heavenly praise it might allude to the cosmic foe of creation. In the context of human royalty, it may refer to the king's enemies. But, once the creation context of Psalm 8 is solidified, from v. 4 on, the "foes" would most likely be what we said the "sinners" were in Psalm 104: an element of chaos which continues to threaten God's ordering of the cosmos. To this extent Psalm 8 may be said to allude, like Psalm 104, to an inherent imperfection in God's work. But here the doubt is totally submerged by awe. Even toddlers could still such foes!

If this interpretation is correct, then Psalm 8 must be viewed, like the Book of Job, as an attempt by a wisdom teacher and poet to break the bonds both of Old Wisdom and the newer hybrid wisdom-covenantal pieties by appealing over their heads, as it were, directly to emotion, to the power of poetry itself. From this point of view perhaps the most important literary device in the psalm is the anacoluthon of vv. 4–5. The very lack of logical consequence between the sight of the starry heavens and the emotion that bursts forth from the poet, "What is man . . ." is the core of his message. Not reason, or even faith, but feeling is the answer to suffering. It is an emotion that is universal to mankind when gazing at a starry heaven, a feeling of awe combined with a sense of man's insignificance—and yet pride in the very privilege of being allowed to wonder. The image of infants is doubly apt: It catches both human frailty and the feature that children most notably possess: the ability to wonder, and also to be an object of wonder, even in their helplessness.

But there may be a more specific polemical intention in the reference to the destruction of "vengeful foes" in Psalm 8 if one views it in the context of the crisis

23. See especially Levenson, *Creation*, chap. 8. This duality survived from its ancient Near Eastern roots into modern times as part of the doctrine of the king's "two natures." Note the close parallel to Psalm 8 in Psalm 144, in which the royal context is explicit. The duality is appropriated for Israel as a whole in Genesis 32, through Jacob's prevailing over *'ēlōhīm* and being awarded the name Israel, "he wrestles with divinity."

in the wisdom tradition described above. The other biblical occurrence of the phrase *ʾōyēb ʾūmitnaqqēm* is in Ps. 44:17, where it parallels “the voice of the scoffers and revilers”—in context, the nations that mock suffering Israel. Many commentators, both traditional and modern, have suggested that in Psalm 8, because the context is one of speech, the reference is also specifically to those who mock God.

It seems to me that in the intellectual and religious background of the wisdom tradition, the foes that Psalm 8 may really have in mind are “atheists” in the biblical sense, i.e., those who deny Providence, the belief that God knows or cares about human behavior, and who therefore give themselves over to unrestrained sin (cf. Ps 14:1: “The fool says to himself, ‘There is no God.’ They act corruptly, abominably”). Job’s friends eventually accuse him of being just such a mocking, atheistic sinner. But Psalm 8 represents a viewpoint that seems to be close to the final emotion of Job and presumably represents the standpoint of the author of that book. Can it not be possible that the poet of Psalm 8 is once again radically reinterpreting and heightening a traditional idea; specifically, that the “foes” of Psalm 8 to be stilled by the mouths of babes are the wise men who represent the position of Job’s friends?

If the reference is to opposing wise men, then the reference to “infants and sucklings” is just the sort of sharpening of a stock image we noted above. Wisdom was associated with age: “Wisdom is with the hoary, understanding in length of days” (Job 12:12). Elihu, the young upstart, holds his silence for as long as he can out of awareness of his callow youthfulness, compared to the aged wisdom of Job’s friends (Job 32:6–9). Psalm 8 extends youthful ignorance back to infancy, a supreme irony in the worldview of the sages. The refutation of such “foes” (= the wise) requires no extended argument by intellectuals trained in the traditions of the academies. Even an infant’s incoherent argument could confound them, because the essential argument is not verbal at all. One need only gaze at the heavens to refute these “wicked” sophists. The twist in Psalm 8—a poem of many twists—may be that the great enemy is not chaos itself, not even chaos in the form of evil and sin, but failure to stand in simple awe at God’s manifest work. Moreover, it is precisely this sense of child-like, unquestioning wonder at the sublimity of creation, most manifest in the sight of the starry skies, that saves humanity from the danger of hubris inherent in the duality of its position in the cosmos. Awe implies feelings of insignificance as well as rapture. If man is aware of his divinity, he must also constantly be cognizant of his all-too-human weakness.

In other words, the message of Psalm 8, like that of the Book of Job, is anti-intellectual. Of course, the strongest deriders of intellect are usually former intellectuals themselves. But the psalm is not opposed to the use of intellect for the same reason that the new Torah pietists were: because of a belief that study of Torah is the only true wisdom. After all, the Torah scholars valued intellect itself, provided it confined itself to covenantal law and was restrained by faith. Rather Psalm 8 and Job argue that emotion is the highest wisdom. Psalm 8 makes explicit what is only implicit in the divine speeches of Job as I interpret them: a sense of awe at nature,

which does not intellectually answer the problem of evil and suffering, but makes them irrelevant in terms of a swelling emotion. Sin and pain are inherent in humanity, but insignificant for so long as one is lost in wonder at the beauty and order of the cosmos and enraptured by a sense of man's privileged position in creation, as simultaneously both in it and royally over it. Indeed, perhaps it is this ability to wonder that forms the chief part of human supremacy over nature.

Psalms 8 and 104 treat the problem of sin even more dismissively than Psalm 104 did. It views it as something to be defeated even by babies, if one can achieve a babe-like sense of wonder. It also changes the focus of creation from its manifoldness, as in Psalm 104, to the dual, heavenly-terrestrial, divine-human status of humanity. The focus will be sharpened and narrowed even further by the next poem to be considered, Psalm 19. There, the theme of the glory and praise recited by the heavens is expressed even more paradoxically than the idea of the praise offered by inarticulate infants in Psalm 8—it is, in fact, silent, wordless praise! Moreover, the real interest will be not in humanity as a whole, as in Psalm 8, but specifically in the inner world of the individual.

IV

Psalms 19 consists of three sections so intertwined in terms of language and imagery that any source- or form-critical talk of its being a mere patchwork of fragments of three originally unrelated poems must be viewed with suspicion. The first part deals with nature, the second with covenantal, Torah-based piety; the third is a personal plea for inner purity from sin. Running through the poem are images of physical light and intellectual enlightenment. Again, we shall present a brief sequential exegesis of the psalm and then return to discuss the issue of the relationship between nature and piety.

The poem opens with a statement, v. 2a, that “the heavens recount the glory of God,” which any Israelite would undoubtedly take as referring to the common theme of angelic praise of God as king and creator. Ps 89:6 is especially close: “For the heavens praise your wonders, O Lord: // Yes, your faithfulness, in the assembly of the holy beings.” But the parallel line, v. 2b, immediately presents a surprise: “and the work of his hands the firmament relates.” The surprise is that the firmament, the plate that was believed to form the curve of the sky, is elsewhere presented itself as God's handwork (Genesis 1)! In other places where the theme of divine praise in heaven occurs, the parallel or context makes it clear that the angels are meant (as in Ps 89:6b, just quoted). Here the parallel is strikingly self-referential and can be taken to mean that the firmament declares, by its very existence, that it, itself, is the work of God's hands. Nature has been, if not demythologized, at least de-angelized, so to speak.

Verse 3 is similarly self-referential: “day pronounces speech to day, and night expresses knowledge to night.” Reference is probably to the two main lights that were believed to be affixed to the firmament (cf. Genesis 1), the “greater light” of

the day, the sun, and the “lesser light” of the night, the moon. The point is the same: the sun and moon praise God by their simple being.²⁴ The demythologization continues in v. 4, for even the image of audible praise itself is denied: “There is no speech, there are no words, Inaudible is their voice.” Nothing could make the point more clearly: It is the mere existence of the heavens, the physical heavens of firmament with its heavenly bodies that attests to God’s glory.²⁵

Verse 5 presents a paradox: soundless as this heavenly praise is, it extends over all the earth from the heavens: “(Yet) to the whole earth their sound goes forth, to the ends of the world their utterances.”²⁶ The paradox of silent praise is reminiscent of the “thin, whispering voice” of 1 Kings 19. The demythologization of the stock theme of thunderous angelic praise of God has proceeded as far as it can go: it is as purely natural elements that the heavenly bodies attest to God’s greatness. The effect is almost Pre-Socratic in its attempt to clarify something purely physical, but how different from the Greeks! Here nature is stripped of divinity to praise God with a new, silent language.

Mythology floods back abruptly and surprisingly in v. 5b: “For the sun He set a tent in them (the heavens) // Now, he is like a bridegroom emerging from his canopy, // He rejoices²⁷ like a warrior to run on a path. // From one end of the heaven is his emergence, // his course is to their (other) end, // and nothing is hidden from His sun.”²⁸ A wealth of mythic images involving the ancient theme of the solar hero is evoked, a theme with sexual overtones.²⁹ This sudden turn to myth is certainly striking after the highly demythologized language of the preceding verses.

Why the emphasis on the sun? The image of speech extending to the ends of the earth evoked the image of the chief heavenly body that also extends from one end of the sky to another, whose rays also, necessarily, reach to the ends of the whole earth. The image is almost Ra-, even Aten-like.³⁰ Most likely, the focus is

24. Although it is possible that *yôm lěyôm . . . wēlaylā lēlaylā* are elliptical for *miyyôm lěyôm . . . umillaylā lēlaylā*, “daily . . . nightly” (cf. Num 30:15 and especially Ps 96:2). In this case the subject of the verbs is *hārāqā*. However, this interpretation is less likely than the self-referential one.

25. There is no reason to take these words as a later gloss. The popular alternative reading that takes v. 4 as the predicate of 3b: “There is no speech, no words whose voice is inaudible,” which implies the stock theme of crashing sound, seems to me less likely on syntactic as well as thematic grounds, but would affect the general interpretation offered here only slightly, chiefly in regard to the amount of departure from mythologically rooted images one posits in the first part of Psalm 19.

26. *Qawwām* should not be emended to simple *qōlām*, “their voice.” The translation is on the basis of the parallelism, and will suffice for the discussion here.

27. Or “rushes”; cf. Job 39:21.

28. Probably a play on the literal sense of *hammā*, “hot one,” i.e., “his heat”; cf. Sir 43:2. Worthy of consideration is that the term is also a play on Aramaic *hāmā*, “see”: “nothing is hidden from his sight.”

29. A blend that occurs most famously in the Samson (“Sunny”) cycle.

30. One cannot deny that solar imagery, primarily in the form of the winged solar disc, played an important role in Israelite iconography; see O. Keel and C. Uehlingen, *Göttinnen, Götter und Göttersymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener*

on the sun because it is the main source of light,³¹ both physical and, as enlightenment, metaphorical. This forms the link to part two of the psalm, in which the theme is Torah, often itself associated with light.³² The statement that “nothing is hidden from His sun” prepares the poetic ground for part three, where a pun on light imagery is employed: “Also your servant is admonished (*nizhār*; pun: “illuminated”) by them (the laws).” There, also, the theme of “hidden sins” (v. 13) will contrast with the penetrating rays of the sun, from which “nothing is hidden” (v. 7).

Suddenly, in one of the most striking non-sequiturs in biblical literature, the description of nature breaks off and is replaced by a Torah doxology. The dynamism of the previous verses is replaced by a fixed pattern of six repeated, short verbless clauses of identical pattern. In each the Tetragrammaton appears in the same position as the second member of a construct chain: the A of *yhw̄h* is B, C-ing D, in which A is a term referring to some aspect of piety, B is an adjective, C is a participle. Only D is varied in grammatical function.³³ The effect of great regularity is surely intended to mimic that of the heavenly bodies. The message is that the Torah has the stability and immutable order that traditional wisdom had discerned in nature. The silent praise of the heavens is succeeded by the audible instruction of God. Old Wisdom gives way to the new Torah piety.

Does Old Wisdom give way for Torah piety, or does it make space for it? In Psalm 19 does Torah piety succeed Old Wisdom or attempt to complement it? There is no hint of an overt anti-nature polemic in Psalm 19. Both nature and law attest to the same divine origin; hence the penetration of light imagery into the Torah doxology (especially in v. 9b). Where should Psalm 19 be placed along the continuum of the viewpoints we have been examining? On the basis of the first two sections of the poem, it might be viewed as the expression of a wisdom piety that attempts to retain the link to nature, while also accepting the new covenantal orientation totally. Logical ordering is replaced by mere juxtaposition of the two languages, those of nature and of Torah. But before making a judgment on this matter, the evidence of the third part of the psalm will have to be considered.

The third section of Psalm 19 turns inward. In v. 12 the psalmist makes his first-person appearance: “indeed, your servant is illumined/warned by them (the laws), // in keeping them is great reward/consequence (*ʿēqeb*).” The two puns in this verse, noted by the slashes, are striking. The first is, as noted above, a final echo of the light imagery of the psalm. But its other sense, “warned,” is ominous, for warning is more than merely instructing. It hints at possibly negative consequences. The

ikonographischen Quellen (Freiburg, 1992). But the recent spate of speculation on the solar nature of Yahweh Himself seems forced, since there is only one explicit reference to Him as “sun” (Ps 84:12).

31. Is *ʾōhel* a play on *hill* I, “flash light, be radiant?”

32. This inner-biblical association seems to be more likely than that the image of the Mesopotamian sun deity Shamash, also the god of justice, plays a role in the imagery of Psalm 19. The sun is also a symbol of natural regularity in Qoheleth, but how different his weary use of the image is from the joy of Psalm 19!

33. Only the last in the chain, v. 10b, is varied in syntax, to mark closure.

second pun is equally two-edged. As “reward,” *‘eqeb* continues the theme of the value and desirability of the commandments (v. 11). But as “consequence” it contains an element of foreboding. That foreboding does not wait long to be explained: v. 12: “Inadvertent (sins) who could comprehend, // acquit me of hidden (sins).” This is the worm in the apple of the new Torah piety: the possibility of unwilling, unwitting sin, unknown to the pious, which yet might bring down on them divine wrath as a consequence.

It must now be apparent that Psalm 19 is an expression of the type of hybrid wisdom-Torah espoused by Job’s friends, part 1 (vv. 1–7) being the wisdom component reflecting the nature orientation of Old Wisdom, and the second part (vv. 8–11) being a doxology of covenantal Torah piety. The third section (vv. 12–15) reflects the strict cause-effect doctrine of the hybrid piety of Job’s friends (hinted at by the use of the unusual term *‘eqeb*, “consequence,” in v. 12b). The latter was, as stated above, a result of the blending of the ancient concept of ordered creation with a new, fervid belief in ineluctable reward and punishment, and it made the possibility of hidden, unconscious sin the main inner fear of the pious. One must search oneself to discover what the cause of one’s suffering, even if seemingly unmerited, might be. This is precisely the course urged on Job by his friends. The psalmist can but pray that, should his greatest efforts at introspection fail to find such crime, God will still forgive him. The new Torah piety placed great emphasis on confession. The psalmist here confesses in advance of punishment, so to speak. The inner uncertainties of the new piety of the Seventh-Fifth Centuries are here manifest. The necessity of inwardness and constant demand for self-searching, what might be termed, accurately if anachronistically, the puritan heart of Torah piety, were magnified by the wisdom traditions of the hybrid wisdom piety.

But deeper fears are to come, the core of true puritanism itself: v. 14a: “Also from presumptuous sins³⁴ keep your servant back, let them not have sway over me.” This is the source of proto-Calvinist gloom, the piercing awareness of human sinfulness, that sin is the demon “crouching at the door” of the soul, lusting after one (Genesis 4). The evil *yēšer* (Gen 8:21) is a constant threat and it comes from within. The dark core of Torah piety in its wisdom-influenced form contrasts with the joy of the solar imagery earlier in the poem. What a difference in mood between the exalted, if silent, praise of the heavens and the spectacle of the joyously racing sun, and the disturbed heart of the penitent, contrite already for crimes yet uncommitted!

One can see why the fully developed Torah piety, say, of Psalm 119, abandoned wisdom’s old interest in nature. As piety turned inward, by its necessary dy-

34. Literally, “presumptuous, arrogant ones.” In context, this is much more likely to be a reference to sins than to sinners, although the latter sense is the only attested one elsewhere in the Bible. The poet here makes use of the theme, traditional in psalms of petition, of persecution by the wicked. But it is important in such cases to recognize the significance of subtle new shifts in standard meanings, the essence of the literary approach. Such a shift is apparent in the nuance of *zēdīm* here as referring to the inner foe of sin itself rather than external sinners. There is no need of an emendation to *zādōn*.

namic (for that is where the core of the ultimate chaotic element lies, namely, the hidden urge to sin), a focus on everything outside had to blur and fade. One cannot both look at the heavens and constantly search the ground for stumbling stones.

The psalmist can only pray for divine help, because only God can keep one back from one's innermost urges. The goal is complete purity, outer and inner: v. 14b: "then I shall be perfect (lit.: "whole" [*'étam*]) and be cleared of grave crime." The first epithet of Torah in the doxology was its perfection (v. 8: *tôrat yhw'w tēmūmā*). The believing self must be correspondingly perfect. But, of course, one can never be completely perfect or whole, because one may have inadvertant sins hidden even from oneself which one cannot therefore confess and for which one cannot atone. They are "hidden" from oneself; but they are known to God, from whom, as from His sun, nothing is hidden. They may be minor sins; but to the puritan mentality all sin is *peša' rab*, "grave crime."

Old Wisdom had preached continuity between nature and morality in the seamless web of creation, although, to be sure, the ever-present danger of chaos/sin marred the perfection of created order. Yet chaos and sin could be contained, even defeated. But the new puritan conscience had no such confidence. From this point of view, the striking lack of consequence between the nature and Torah sections of Psalm 19 reflects not only the psalmist's leap of faith, but, simultaneously, his awareness of the lack of such continuity. After all, one needs to have faith only about things concerning which there is doubt. The more doubt, the more faith is required. Added to the uncertainty is the dichotomy between the urge to wholeness, which was the goal of the Old Wisdom dispensation, and the awareness of the impossibility of that ideal, magnified by constant fear of chaos in the form of the inner urge to sin. The psalmist stands over an abyss and knows it.³⁵

Wholeness was also an aim of the cult, in which sacrificial animals had to be perfect in all details. Psalm 19 ends with cultic language: "May the words of my mouth // and the thoughts of my mind find favor before You, // O Yahweh, my rock and my redeemer." "Favor," *rāṣôn*, is the technical term for the desired result of cultic actions, all of which must be performed with complete exactness and completeness before God. It is the cult that was traditionally believed to demand perfection in all things, an *imitatio dei* that demanded that the faithful be as totally holy as God. The cultic turn at the end of the psalm is partially a literary relic of the cultic *Sitz im Leben* of the psalms of petition, which the pleas of part three echo. But there is a deeper reason.

Above, we asked if the juxtaposition of parts one and two of Psalm 19, of nature observation and revealed Torah, respectively, should be viewed as implying a complementary or conflicting relationship between the two. As is usual in the literary approach, the answer is both simultaneously! The psalmist, aware of the inner

35. Does he secretly blame covenantal Torah piety and its constant demands for this inner fear? Certainly, the contrast between the refulgent joy of the nature section of the poem, reflecting Old Wisdom, and the rigid Torah doxology, plus the gloom of the final section, is striking.

tensions of his intellectual and religious situation, conscious of the lack of congruence between Old Wisdom's rootedness in nature and the demands of the new inward-looking Torah piety, can only beg God to view his very statement of the problem, it all its lack of wholeness, as an act of sacrifice, even praise.

Nature is silent, its speech stilled by the new centrality of the word of Torah as text. The wholeness of nature and piety postulated by the Old Wisdom tradition is perhaps shattered. But the psalmist will not let go of wisdom or nature. He states the problem, and reveals the inner torment caused by his awareness of the impossibility of ever finding spiritual wholeness in the new puritan dispensation for those to whom nature still has a message, however silently expressed. He prays that God will accept the very statement of his anguish as an offering that, by finding "favor," will transcend wisdom to produce, somehow, a sense of perfection. The wisdom piety of Job's friends is revealed in Psalm 19 in its deeper aspect. To be sure, the tendency towards self-righteousness and inquisitorial zeal is present; but the former is an aberration common to all faiths and the latter is at least, in Psalm 19, turned on oneself. This kind of religion may indeed have had mechanistic tendencies because it so feared chaos, and even, as the author of Job paints it, encouraged a kind of sophistry. But like later Stoicism, the main impulses of which it forshadows, wisdom piety could be, in its highest forms, a faith of real nobility, because that faith was achieved through inner struggle.³⁶

V

Psalm 139, as mixed in regard to literary genre as Psalm 19,³⁷ is the ultimate biblical expression of the intense inwardness that marks the type of proto-puritanism described above. Yet the psalm still clings to nature, still has not renounced it in favor of sacred text; but nature has shrunk here from the cosmos as a whole to the person of the psalmist. The individual focus we saw introduced in Psalm 8 (v. 4), and developed mightily in the final section of Psalm 19 (vv. 12ff.), expands to fill Psalm 139 completely.

The essential link to the wisdom tradition is introduced in the very first words: "Yahweh, you have searched me out (*hāqartani*) and know (me)." "Searching out," "examining" is a term favored by wisdom to describe its efforts at knowledge, even most radically, of the secrets of creation.³⁸ Here it is an individual who is the object of God's study. The language that the covenantal Torah piety applied to the study

36. Psalm 51 shows a configuration of cultic, wisdom, and pietistic themes not unlike Psalm 19, but what is missing is the important role of nature.

37. Some form critics, while not denying the obvious wisdom elements, classify Psalm 139 as a psalm of petition and assign it to a cultic *Sitz im Leben* involving a ritual test in the sanctuary. I would view it as an individual meditation making use of wisdom and cultic themes. No more than was the case with Psalm 8 (or Psalm 19) can one imagine such a poem being actually used in the cult.

38. Cf. Job 9:10; 11:7; and especially Job 28, on which see my discussion in *Sacred Enigmas*, chap. 5.

of God's covenant, most famously in the *Shema*, is here applied to God's examination of the psalmist: "You know my sitting and rising, // observe(?) all my ways." The platitude of searching out the "ways of wisdom" or walking on the paths of righteousness is upended: it is God who examines human "ways," by which is meant not just "conduct, behavior," but also "human nature." Some of the imagery is almost claustrophobic: "You hem me in behind and before, // place your hand over me." While these images can signal divine protection, they are also close to motifs used elsewhere in the Psalms to describe persecution by one's enemies. Similar is the language the psalmist uses to express the impossibility of escaping from God: "Whither could I go away from your spirit, // and whither flee from your presence?" God could find him even if he goes, like Jonah, beyond the remotest sea, even if he goes down to nethermost Sheol.

These expressions would be those of relentless persecution (and are similar to some of Job's complaints about God),³⁹ were it not for the statement that "such knowledge is too wonderful (*pěll'ā*) for me, // too exalted, I cannot (comprehend) it." Now, "wonderful" is a term used in most of the Hebrew Bible for the supernatural and miraculous. In covenant religion, it refers to the wonders God performed to rescue His people. But in wisdom texts "wonderful" refers to the mysteries of creation, which the human mind cannot comprehend.⁴⁰ Here, it also refers to a very specific and personal aspect of creation, namely, God's total understanding of the individual. Verses 13ff. speak directly of the central issue, the creation not just of mankind, but specifically of the psalmist: "For you created my innards, // covered me in my mother's womb. // I praise you because I am wonderfully conceived. // How great are your works!" The latter reference to "your works" reminds one of Ps 104:24, but there the qualification was "how many are your works!" Here, it is "how wonderful!" In the former passage the object is the whole of creation. Here, the reference is to the speaking self: "as I (*napšī*) know very well." The psalmist describes how his body was "stitched together in the nethermost parts of the underworld."⁴¹ Verse 16, the text of which is disturbed, seems to be a statement of God's foreknowledge, and perhaps even predestination, of the psalmist's whole life.

Verse 17 marks a shift of focus. Up to this point, the psalm dealt with God's complete knowledge of the self, from its creation to the end of life, in all places, at all times. Now the poet reverses direction and speaks of his thoughts about God, which are almost as infinite as God's thoughts of him: "For to me how precious are thoughts of you, // how mighty is their sum! // If I try to count them, they are more than the sands, // if I could come to the end of them⁴² I would still be with you!"

39. On Job's persecution by God, cf. Job 16.

40. See the discussion of the term *nīplā'ôt* in my *Sacred Enigmas*, pp. 102–3.

41. Probably a mythical reference.

42. *Hēqāš'ôtī* is most probably from a hypothetical root *qāš* or *qāš*, a by-form of *qāšā*, "come to an end." Alternatively, it could be repointed *hāqāš'ôtī* from *qāšas* (*qēš*).

What the poet has accomplished is a subtle introduction and an even more subtle transmutation of the demand of Torah piety that one's thoughts be entirely focussed on God's covenant law. But in Psalm 139 a shred of the creation context of Old Wisdom is retained, although narrowed to the personal relationship of God and the believer. Both aspects of knowledge, God's knowledge of man and man's of God, are juxtaposed and equated. Humanity can approach infinity, but only if its thoughts are confined to God.

Verses 18–21 are famously disturbing. One almost wishes the text were corrupt enough to be incomprehensible. Apparently as evidence of his complete identification with the mind of God, the psalmist exclaims: "If only you would kill the wicked, O God! . . . Do I not hate those who hate you, Yahweh? . . . I hate them with an extreme hatred, // they are my enemies." After such sublime inwardness, this outburst is doubly repulsive. The new inner puritanism manifests its most negative side. From a form-critical aspect this section reflects the theme of persecution by the wicked that is characteristic of the psalms of complaint and petition. God is normally asked by the psalmist to destroy his persecutors, who are, of course, also God's enemies. But here, what hubris! It is God's enemies that are the focus, and the psalmist offers to give God his moral support, so to speak!

The last two verses return to the beginning of the psalm: "Search me out, God, and know my heart, // test me and know my thoughts." Confronted by a God who knows one's every word and thought, total vigilance is required, constant introspection and testing. The zealous God of covenant Torah piety demands the same exclusive zeal from His worshipers. He requires not just right deeds but right thoughts; hence the focus of covenantal Torah piety on the study of sacred text literally authorized by the Deity, which one is to ponder day and night.

In Psalm 139 the type of hybrid wisdom piety represented by Job's friends and also by Psalm 19, as interpreted above, proceeds even further on the path toward inwardness and the exaltation of individual conscience. To be sure, as we have seen, concern for nature as creation has not yet totally disappeared, but it has shrunk to the formation of the individual human to be a receptacle for God's thoughts and thoughts of God. The proto-puritanical aspects are much more pronounced than in Psalm 19, although, to be fair, one must remember that the burning hatred of the wicked that flares up from vv. 18–21 is really the negative aspect of the positive covenantal demand of the *Shema* to "love God with all your mind and life, to the fullest extent."

The final verse is especially poignant: "And see if the path of grief is in me; and lead me on the eternal path." What is meant by the striking expression "path of grief" (*derek ʿōṣeb*), here paralleled by "eternal path" (*derek ʿōlām*)? Certainly, the literal sense is "path that leads to trouble," i.e., sin and suffering. From this point of view "path" here means, as is usual in wisdom literature, "conduct." The psalmist assures God that he is free of sinful actions that might cause God, and himself, grief, pain and suffering. But, as noted above, *derek*, as "conduct," can also approach the sense of "nature, the way things work." It seems likely that the poet is trying to

assure God that through mental and spiritual identification with Him the inner human tendency to sin, the bugbear of the incipient covenantal puritanism, has been essentially overcome. He welcomes the divine inspection that is the main theme of Psalm 139.⁴³

What the psalmist seems to be saying is this: "See if I share in the sinful nature of humanity, I whose thoughts are no longer really human because they consist totally of You."⁴⁴ What the poet of Psalm 19 feared, his own unconscious sin and, worse, his inner urge to sin, the poet of Psalm 139 states he has overcome through identification with God's mind.⁴⁵

Free from *derek 'ōṣeb* the psalmist can proceed along *derek 'ōlām*. In creation contexts *'ōlām* has a cosmic nuance, the primeval order established in the beginning, the path fixed from of old. In wisdom terms, the "eternal path" means the relationship within the created order between the natural and moral realms.⁴⁶ As such, *'ōlām* refers also to the indeterminate future. The "eternal path" stretches unchanging in regard to its demands and rewards, from the time of creation to the most distant future, so long as the world exists. Both of these traditional ideas are surely implied by the final line of Psalm 139. But, in view of the humble hubris implied by the psalmist's self-identification with the mind of God, is it not possible that the "eternal way" implies also the path to divine immortality, to that eternal life that later religion would make a dogma for all believers, but that in Psalm 139 is offered as yet only to the faithful few, perhaps to the psalmist alone? He is the wisest of God's servants, because all his thoughts are of his creator and are almost as infinite as his creator's.⁴⁷

VI

In this essay we have examined two main types of reaction by wise men to the Torah piety. One group of sages responded by incorporating from Torah piety its zeal and emphasis on faith, but attempted to retain something of the old role of nature, both cosmological and human. Some, like Job's friends, did not refer openly to covenantal law at all. Everything was still put in general human terms,

43. Perhaps *'ōṣeb* recalls the *'iṣṣābôn* and *'eṣeb* placed on Adam and Eve as a result of their sin.

44. Alternatively, the first part of the verse may be taken as the protasis of a conditional sentence and the second as its apodosis: "if the path of grief is in me, then lead me on the eternal path." In this case, the psalmist is not claiming that he has overcome the sinful condition of humanity but only praying that he may do so, with God's help.

45. The idea of human sinfulness is more directly expressed in Ps 51:7: "I was born in transgression, // and it was in sin that my mother conceived me."

46. Such seems to be the sense in Jer 6:16 of *nēṭibôt 'ōlām* and of *šēbīlē 'ōlām* in Jer 18:15; cf. also Job 22:15, *'ōrah 'ōlām*, which refers to the ancient and eternal conduct (and resulting punishment) of the wicked.

47. It is also possible that *'ōlām* here is meant to echo the use of that term adverbially, which can occur without a preposition (cf. Ps 61:8; 66:7, etc.) as a kind of closure to the poem: "lead me on the path (of) forever!"

with appeal to the natural order of things. That God Himself might have become for these savants part of that natural order they probably did not suspect. But that He was a sage like themselves they never doubted. They *knew* that cause and effect ruled all things, and that certainty combined with the zeal of Torah piety to form a doctrine of inflexible retribution. It was simultaneously mechanistic and pietistic.

Yet, as we have seen, this hybrid wisdom piety was not without a certain stoic nobility, for it forced the individual to accommodate himself to the rigid order of the natural and moral cosmos. Upon him the burden fell, and he could respond only by turning ever inward in the manner of Psalm 139. The wise constantly searched for secret sin that would disturb the order of things, as they conceived it. His wisdom orientation prevented this type of wise man from simply throwing himself on God's mercy and asking forgiveness, as unmerited as it might be, from a loving Deity (although the ending of Psalm 19 perhaps hints at a desire to do so, at least on the part of its author). How could he? To him God was, in essence, a Principle, however much he spoke of Him as if He were a Person. Principles cannot love, or hate.

Opposed to this intellectual endeavor stood the emotional reaction of the authors of Job and of Psalm 8. They neither affirm nor deny Torah piety. They stand outside the realm of ordinary piety entirely, because their reaction to the cosmos excludes everything but a swelling sense of wonder and of poetry. For them nature, as creation, offered an immediate association with God that sober covenant could never offer. Suffering became something irrelevant, as it is to anyone in the grip of an overpowering emotion. It may not be entirely absurd to present them as the distant spiritual ancestors of Wordsworthian romantics or Concord transcendentalists. Their religion was also individual, like that of Job's friends and of the author of Psalm 19; but rather than leading to a lifetime of introspection and self-examination, it excited in momentary bursts of enthusiasm and what seems to be close to prophetic inspiration. God spoke to them, as to his prophets, from a storm cloud (Job 38:1). Needless to say, such a religion of lyrical thrill has little to do with the routines of daily life.

The attempt to save a meaningful role for nature in biblical religion failed. The victory of Torah piety was complete; although it, too, could not solve the ancient wisdom problem of theodicy until it accepted, in the Hellenistic era, the new doctrine of resurrection and judgment of the dead. In the world to come all the moral inequities of this world would be made good. The risen corpses would acknowledge and acclaim God's justice. Torah piety, starting with Deuteronomy, accepted the techniques and much of the language of Old Wisdom in regard to study and meditation, applying them to Torah; but it excluded interest in nature in favor of total concentration on the history of God's relationship to Israel.

The traditions of Old Wisdom, which attempted to comprehend the order of this world, both in terms of its natural and moral dispensation, on the basis of intellect and introspection, struggled for several centuries. Qoheleth demonstrates that nature-rooted Old Wisdom survived, at least in him, and with a gently embittered

and cynical tone, into the late era. Otherwise, by then, nature was relegated to the background, literally. Sirach shows the pattern. To be sure, he devotes a chapter (43) to the wonders of God's creation, but only as a prelude to the famous, and much longer, paean to famous pious men. Creation becomes merely a setting for *Heilsgeschichte*, woven into the pattern of historical salvation (as in Psalm 136 and Nehemiah 9). Nature also played a role in the more cosmological forms of apocalyptic literature and mysticism, but there, too, only a subordinate one. Rabbinic ex-coriation of those who admire a tree for its beauty instead of meditating, as they should be, on Torah, shows how much a feeling for nature had faded in the wise.

I feel honored to dedicate this essay to the memory of my teacher, Thorkild Jacobsen, who was a master at the integration of philological, religious, and human-istic approaches.

Redefining “Inchoate Marriage” in Old Babylonian Contexts

SAMUEL GREENGUS

The concept of “inchoate marriage” was introduced by Driver and Miles, who recognized that, in the Old Babylonian laws, full marriage bonds were not created by any single act but, rather, completed through a series of actions, generally over a period of time.¹ This gradualism of entering into marriage by “stages or degrees” responds to the universal human concerns and cautions that marriage, ancient or modern, evokes. Indeed, marriage, uniting unrelated individuals from two separate families, requires that intimate family status be conferred upon outsiders; and future children of the union will become heirs to family wealth and responsibilities. Changes such as these must therefore proceed in an orderly and deliberate fashion in which all parties, insofar as possible, know their rights, privileges, authorities, and statuses.

The gradualism (or stages) that we propose for Babylonia reflects a view of marriage that is compatible with what one finds in other pre-industrial societies.

Author's note: This article has a two-fold purpose. First is tribute to the memory of Thorkild Jacobsen, whom I was privileged to know both as his student and friend. He was warm, generous, unfailingly helpful, and possessed an unrivaled ability, through his rich imagination and intellect, to make the ancient cuneiform records “come to life” and reveal the physical and intellectual environments in which they were originally written. This article revisits subjects that we first discussed together in my student days. Second is the opportunity to share reflections coming out of my reading and beneficial use of Raymond Westbrook’s *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (AfO Beiheft 23; Horn, 1988). This wide-ranging and important study supplies a platform that facilitates our discussion of Old Babylonian marriage; it is abbreviated here as *OBML*. Additional abbreviations follow CAD and *AHw*. *CH*: the Code of Hammurabi based upon G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (2d ed., 2 vols.; Oxford, 1956–1960); *LE*: the Laws of Eshnunna based upon R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (2d ed. rev.; Jerusalem, 1988), cited as *LE*². *MAL* refers to paragraphs in the Middle Assyrian Laws as cited in G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (1935; reprint ed., Darmstadt, 1975) and G. Cardascia, *Les lois assyriennes* (Paris, 1969). Translations offered in this study are the author’s. I refer to my own earlier studies on Sumerian and Babylonian marriage with the following abbreviations: “Bridewealth”: “Bridewealth in Sumerian Sources,” *HUCA* 61 (1990): 25–88; “Contract”: “The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract,” *JAOS* 89 (1969): 505–32; “Ceremonies”: “Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites,” *JCS* 20 (1966): 55–72.

1. Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws* I, 248–50, 322–24.

Indeed, the very concept of “inchoate marriage” only emerged when Driver and Miles considered customs of marriage among 19th-century Palestinian Arabs.² In the making of marriages, one also encounters the need or desire of families to affirm the social rank and value of the husband, wife, and their kin; elaborate celebrations of all the rites of passage are and have long been the means to do so among elite families of means. As an historian of ancient Chinese marriage has noted: “In most societies weddings are great occasions for displaying status; sometimes more is spent on the ritual festivities than on durable items that end up in the dowry as families perform the rites elaborately to confirm or enhance their status.”³ One should thus carefully study religious and ceremonial rites as well as any economic transfers between the parties. In ancient China, marriage incorporated an elaborate series of formal activities: divination to determine if the match and timing were auspicious; initial inquiry between the families; petition of the groom to make his betrothal; sending betrothal gifts to the bride’s family; inquiry by the groom to his ancestors before fetching the bride home; fetching the bride by groom or his representative; sending off of the bride by her parents; escort of the bride to her husband’s home by her relative or representative; formal transfer of the bride to the husband’s family; visit to the husband’s ancestral temple before consummating the marriage; visit by the bride to her parents after a period of time to inquire of their health and report on her new life.⁴ The Chinese practices need not of course be taken as paradigmatic for Babylonia but there are, as we will see, many striking parallels. In Babylonia, as in China, “inchoate marriage” was more than the two-staged process that has often been assumed. We are able to describe five successive stages of “inchoate marriage” for which we propose the terms: deliberative, prenuptial, nuptial, connubial, and familial. Cuneiform scholars have focused much attention upon the “prenuptial” stage because of the bridewealth gifts and the sexual taboos affecting the future wife (see presently below). In their discussions, the continuing “inchoateness” of the “connubial” and “familial” stages has been largely overlooked.⁵

But there is more. Scholars have resisted assigning legal weight to the ceremonial and symbolic acts occurring in these successive, inchoate stages, even when these acts are mentioned within the laws! I believe that this oversight has contrib-

2. Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws* I, 249².

3. Patricia B. Ebrey, “Introduction,” in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, eds. Rubie S. Watson and Patricia B. Ebrey (Berkeley, 1991), 2.

4. See Melvin P. Thatcher, “Marriage of the Ruling Elite,” in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, 25–57. Thatcher discusses Chinese marriage during the 8th–6th centuries B.C.E. Many of these customs, however, survived into modern times and were observed even in marriages of lesser social status, according to Rubie S. Watson, “Wives, Concubines, and Maids: Servitude and Kinship in the Hong Kong Region, 1900–1940,” in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, 231–55.

5. An apparent exception is C. Wilcke, “Familiengründung im alten Mesopotamien,” in *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*, ed. E. W. Müller et al. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für historische Anthropologie E.V.; Freiburg, 1985), 213–317. In passing (on p. 244), Wilcke observes that marriage is a long process beginning with betrothal and ending with the birth of the first child.

uted to the overly narrow view of “inchoate marriage” that has been mentioned above. Ceremonies and symbolic acts can be more than ornamental; for the ancients they were often fundamental and constitutive actions, symbolic markers of legal change.⁶ We must therefore also explore ceremonies and symbolic rites associated with each one of the stages of marriage as part of our investigations. In the discussion that follows we will endeavor to do so, in the hope of allowing the stages of “inchoate marriage” that can be found both in and outside of the laws to be more vividly seen and their impact and consequences appreciated.

“Inchoate Marriage” in the Laws

The stages of “inchoate marriage” appear in the Old Babylonian laws primarily because of their impact on marital property. Marital property includes bridewealth contributed by the husband or his family, dowry contributed by the bride and her family, and other assets that may devolve to husband, wife, their siblings, their own children, or other relatives. The laws focus upon the pre-nuptial, nuptial, connubial, and familial stages of “inchoate marriage.”⁷ The paragraphs of the laws describe the boundaries or transitions between these stages, where unanticipated events or intrusive actions interrupt the marriage and conflicts develop over the rights to and ownership of marital property.

CH §§159–61 take place in the “prenuptial” stage. The prior “deliberative” stage, during which the families negotiated and planned, is past, since the future husband has already sent or delivered his bridewealth gifts⁸ to the home of his

6. Westbrook, *OBML*, 1, referring to our earlier study, “Ceremonies,” asserts that “the conclusion of marriage was attended by many more ceremonies than was necessary in law for its validity.” He goes on to say: “. . . it is only in terms of rules of law that marriage is defined. To know what marriage is, therefore, it is necessary to have recourse to legal norms alone . . . before . . . social, economic, or other aspects can be discussed.” I believe, however, that law, at this point in civilization, had not yet fully separated itself from the formal actions and rites that are described in the laws as well as in other sources. (Cf. further on this point the quotation from Max Weber cited below.) The impact and consequences of customary (required?) rituals and ceremonies therefore must be explored. Besides, most ancient “legal norms” that we modern scholars identify are, after all, constructs of our own minds, since the abstract legal rules we search for are usually embedded in casuistic form rather than being overtly expressed.

7. There are a number of Akkadian terms that appear to reflect the stages of marriage that we have identified. *Emūtum* and *ḥadaššūtu/ḥadāšu* are used to describe the “nuptial” stage; see notes 32 and 49 below. *Ḫā’irum*, *ḫirtum*, formed from the verb *ḫi’āru* “choose,” reflect the “prenuptial” stage of marriage, although the terms are also used to describe husband and wife later on in their marriage. The term *aššūtum u mutūtum*, which may perhaps owe its duality to Sumerian *n.am.đam.šè*, seems nonetheless to reflect the “connubial” stage or experience. The correspondence of Akkadian terms to stages of marriage merits further investigation. For textual references, see Westbrook, *OBML*, 11, 18–20.

8. The OB bridewealth gifts, termed *tirḫatum* (majority of cases), *biblum*, or more rarely *zubullum* and *šubultum*, are discussed in “Bridewealth,” 65–85. *mu.túm*, apparently to be read *šurubtum*, occurs as a term describing deliveries of bridewealth in ARM 26, 11:32–36. These very same bride-wealth gifts are then described as *biblum* in ARM 26, 10:11–15 and also as *tirḫatum* in ARM 25,

intended wife; but now the marriage has been canceled. These cases deal with the disposition of the bridewealth gifts when this happens.

LE §25 parallels the case described in CH §160; the future husband wishes to proceed with the nuptials but is refused:

If a man calls out (for his bride) at the house of his (future) father-in-law⁹ but his father-in-law *cuts him (off)*¹⁰ and gives his daughter to [another],¹¹ the father of the daughter shall return in double measure the bridewealth gift he received.

Driver and Miles noted important features that mark this “prenuptial” stage of inchoate marriage: the father of the woman is already identified throughout as *emum* “father-in-law (of the future husband)”; in CH §161, the woman, though still residing in her father’s house, is called *aššatum* “wife”; and her prospective husband, as far as any outsider is concerned, is the *bēl aššatim*, the legal husband or “master of the wife.” The “inside parties” at this stage could cancel the marriage and suffer only property loss; but the “prenuptial” stage had more serious consequences for any outsider who attempted to have sexual relations with the future wife after the delivery of the future husband’s bridewealth gift. According to LE §26 and CH §130, outsiders would suffer the death penalty as rapists or adulterers.

The “prenuptial” stage is contrasted with the “connubial stage” of marriage in LE §§17–18:

616:62! For these texts, see J.-M. Durand, “La mission matrimoniale,” *Archives épistolaires de Mari* (ARM 26; Paris, 1988) I/1, 95–117 (at pp. 100–104).

9. The expression *ana bīt emim šasû* has been compared with *ana bītim/bābim šasû*, which comes to mean “to claim”; see CAD Š/2, 160. In discussing the passages cited by CAD and others, Yaron, *LE*², 58, 191–98 and Westbrook, *OBML*, 39–41 overlook the close Sumerian parallels noted by me in “Contract,” 521⁷⁸ and also by T. Jacobsen, “Religious Drama in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (eds. H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts; Baltimore, 1975), 65–97. The Sumerian passages have also been discussed by C. Wilcke, “Familiengründung,” 277–79. The Sumerian parallel phrase *é.e gù.ba.an.dé* “call out to the house” is followed by the spoken words *é gál.lu / é gál.ù* “open the (door of) the house,” suggesting that there was an actual ceremony or event taking place here and not just figurative language of claim. As Jacobsen (*ibid.*, p. 65) notes: “The rite is patterned after the normal Ancient Mesopotamian wedding ritual, which had the bridegroom appear with his wedding gifts of edibles at the door of the bride’s paternal house asking to be let in.”

10. Our translation of this verb, written *ik-ši-su-ma*, is based on a possible link to *kašātu* “to cut off” (CAD K, 287). This reading, faithful to the signs as they appear on the photograph, was suggested by J. Van Seters, “Jacob’s Marriages and Ancient Near Eastern Customs,” *HTR* 62 (1969): 377–95 (on p. 381). It is interesting to note that the Hittite Laws §§ 28–29, which deal with situations very similar to CH §§160–61, employ the verb *tuḫš-*, which literally means “to cut off.” See Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23; Leiden, 1997), 37–39 and 304. Other attempts to interpret this Akkadian verb appear in Yaron, *LE*², 58.

11. This word is restored as [*šanīm*]. For discussion of the suggested restoration [*ebrim*] “friend,” see Westbrook, *OBML*, 39–40⁸².

If the son of a man brought a bridewealth gift to the house of (his) father-in-law and if one of the couple ‘went to (his/her) fate,’ the money shall return to its owner. If (however) he took her and she entered his house (and then) either the ‘taker’ or the ‘bride went to (his/her) fate,’ he shall not collect everything that he brought; he shall take back only what is left over.¹²

The wife’s dowry, consisting of clothing, jewelry, household items, and sometimes even slaves and real estate, was usually much larger and more valuable than the husband’s bridewealth gift.¹³ The dowry typically came with the woman when she left her father’s home and entered her husband’s house.¹⁴ This event inaugurated the “connubial” stage of marriage. But the marriage was still “inchoate” with respect to dowry; the assets of the dowry were intended for the wife and her future children, not for her husband. *CH* §§163–64 describe how, if the wife died without children, the dowry reverted to her family; the widowed husband was, however, then also entitled to a refund of the value of his earlier bridewealth gift. However, if the woman bore children to her husband before her death, then the dowry belonged to them and nevermore to her father or his heirs. This change, brought about by children, inaugurates the “familial” stage of marriage. The marriage is no longer “inchoate” but completed. *CH* §162 declares:

If a man has taken a wife (and) she bore him children and that woman ‘went to her fate,’ her father shall make no claim upon her dowry. Her dowry belongs to her children.

Marriage, in antiquity, as now, was “for better or for worse, for richer or poorer.” In *CH* §117, a husband beset by debts was permitted to sell his wife (as well as his son or daughter) into debt slavery. A tragedy of this sort could not be totally prevented; it could befall a woman already during the “connubial” stage

12. These law paragraphs, as preserved in what appear to be school texts, are awkwardly drafted with respect to the subject of the verbs “collect” and “take back”; the subject appears to be the husband; yet he would be unable to collect if he and not his wife died, as the phrase before suggests as one of the possible mishaps. I understand the last phrase “what is left over” as limiting the husband to reclaiming only inedible items; perishable or consumed items could not be recovered, just as is the case in *MAL* §§30–31, 43. Other scholars have attempted to interpret this phrase as somehow having in mind the return of a dowry after deducting the bridewealth as in *CH* §§163–64 (discussed below). But there is no mention of dowry in *LE* §§17–18! For more discussion, see “Bridewealth,” 68–69.

13. A clear statement of comparable value is found in *ARM* 1, 46, with improved readings of J.-M. Durand, “Le dames du palais de Mari à l’époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie,” *MARI* 4 (1985): 403–4. The king anticipates receiving back a dowry of more than twice the value of the bridewealth that he will be giving on behalf of his son.

14. This transition is clearly described in *CT* 8, 50a, a document in which a woman’s father sets aside a future dowry for his daughter. In lines 8–11, he states: *ūm mutum ilhazušī qāti mutiša išabbatma ana mutiša irub*, “On the day a husband takes her, she shall take hold of the hand of her husband and enter her husband’s house (with this dowry).” Other texts that connect the transfer of dowry to the husband with the entry of the wife into his home are *BE* 6/1, 101; *CT* 47, 83; *CT* 48, 50; Dalley, Edinburgh, 15. All of these texts are treated in Westbrook, *OBML*.

even before she had children.¹⁵ But the woman could contract with her husband so that she would not be responsible for debts that he might have incurred prior to the “connubial” stage. This is the situation in *CH* §151. However, according to *CH* §152, debts incurred after the “connubial” stage had begun were their joint responsibility: “If after that woman entered the man’s house there was a debt incurred by them,¹⁶ both of them must satisfy the money-lender.”

While the “nuptial” stage of marriage is recognized in the laws, our discussion of these law paragraphs is deferred to the next section, because of important links between practices described in the laws and what we learn about the nuptials from sources outside of the laws.

“Inchoate Marriage” Outside of the Laws

Deliberative Stage. *CT* 3, 2:15 appears to preserve an OB example of a rite associated with the “deliberative” stage of “inchoate marriage.” It records instructions given to a diviner:

If you perform a divination by means of oil (to find out if it is favorable) to take a wife, you shall separately cast one (drop) for the male (and) one for the female; and if they join, the normal course of events: they shall be married. If they join but the man’s (drop) is disturbed(?), the man will die. If the woman’s (drop) is disturbed(?), the woman will die.¹⁷

Evidence for the “deliberative” stage is scarce since any marriage plans are still very tentative at this point in the relationship.

15. In *MAL* §32, this liability—responsibility for her husband’s debts—could befall a woman even before she entered her husband’s house (*lū ana bīt emiša laqī?at lū lā laqī?at*) if her husband bestowed upon her a marriage settlement (*nudunnūša tadnat*). The husband’s settlement was a customary contribution of “indirect” or complementary dowry. This gift signified that the “connubial” stage had started; the woman therefore became liable for his debts and obligations. For further discussion, see Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 202; and G. Cardascia, *Les lois assyriennes* (Paris, 1969), 174–77.

16. Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 233; note the OB variant text, PBS 5, 93, which defines the situation more narrowly: “there was a debt incurred by her husband.” This variant brings with it an echo of the situation in *CH* §117.

17. This passage is almost completely cited in CAD E, 146a. One may compare the hemerologies from later periods: Labat, *Calendrier*, 130–31, §61: *DIŠ DAM DU₁₂-ši* for each month of the year and similar passages cited there; see also B. Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit: Ein Betrag zum Thema ‘Beilager und Eheschliessung,’” *SymDav* 2, 41–105 (on p. 86³). The practice in Mesopotamia was similar to what one finds in other pre-modern cultures. In G. Sjöberg, *The Preindustrial City Past and Present* (New York, 1965), 155, we read:

Within numerous preindustrial cities, cutting across diverse cultures, magical rites are used to decide whether the union is an auspicious one. In Indian cities to this day horoscopes are read to determine the suitability of a marriage. . . . Indian newspapers . . . contain numerous references to this practice. . . . If the horoscopes of the couple are deemed incompatible, marriage is impossible, and the families must renew their efforts to secure a spouse for their offspring.

Pre-nuptial and Later Stages. Important evidence for activities taking place during the “prenuptial” and later stages of marriage is found in UET 5, 636, which records many rites and ceremonies that accompanied these stages, at least for the most wealthy, elite families. Families of lesser status may very well have married with less fanfare; for in less affluent settings, as we note presently below, even a future husband’s bridewealth gift might be absent.¹⁸ One may compare, for purposes of illustration, the description of a most modest wedding in China of the Imperial Period: “just three cups of weak tea and a bow at the family shrine.”¹⁹ The families in UET 5, 636 celebrated a far more elaborate wedding; the preserved document is a record of expenses—food, drink, gifts—that was kept for the father of the bride. The entries (I–XII) in the document help us to reconstruct the sequence of events beginning during the “prenuptial” stage and taking us to the beginning of the “connubial” stage, when the bride left Ur to begin her new life with her husband in his home at Larsa.²⁰

Pre-nuptial Stage. Entries I–II (lines 1–8) take place during the “prenuptial” stage; they include the woman’s father sending gifts of garments, gold, and silver to a person who is apparently the future husband and, in addition, offerings to the gods in Larsa and Ur. The character of these religious rites is not clear; they may have been intended to secure divine blessings upon the couple prior to the wedding.²¹

Entry III (lines 9–17) records the arrival of the future husband’s bridewealth gift at the home of the woman in Ur; there are outlays of food and oil for anointing given to the persons who brought the bridewealth and, in addition, what may have been a small counter-gift of food to be given to the husband’s family and carried back to Larsa by the husband’s brother.²² The arrival of the future husband’s family at Ur is recorded in Entries IV–V (lines 18–25). It is not clear from this

18. The same is true for marriage in Sumerian sources; see “Bridewealth,” 69–72.

19. Susan Mann, “Grooming a Daughter for Marriage: Brides and Wives in the Mid-Ch’ing Period,” in *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*, 204–20 (at p. 204).

20. The text was first presented in “Ceremonies.” Important subsequent treatments are J. Renger, “Who Are All Those People,” *Or* 42 (1973): 259–73; B. Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit,” 76–88; Wilcke, “Familiengründung,” 267–84 (with collations); D. Charpin, *Le clergé d’Ur au siècle d’Hammurabi: (XIX^e–XVIII^e siècles av. J.-C.)* (HEO 22; Genève, 1986), 61–69 (with some collations). The reader seeking more detail than is presented here may consult the articles cited.

21. In a royal marriage at Mari, sheep were allocated by the representatives of the future husband for sacrifices to be performed for the future wife: *a-na SISKUR.RE.ĤÁ ša DUMU.MUNUS-tim e-zi-bu* (ARM 26, 11:16–17).

22. The bridewealth gift is here called *biblum*; the counter-gift of food was placed upon a tray or portable table, which may have been the same one upon which the husband’s *biblum* was placed. For other occurrences of foodstuffs upon a table or tray given as bridewealth, cf. “Ceremonies,” 59–61. See also D. Soubeyran’s notes to ARM 23, 375, which records gifts of garments given out in connection with a royal marriage; this text refers to the construction of a new table (to carry the bridewealth?) and a carriage (to convey the bridal couple?). For Sumerian *níg.dé.a* (counterpart to Akkadian *biblum*) consisting of foodstuffs, see “Bridewealth,” 77–82. ARM 26, 10:13–15 describes a custom of veiling the bride after presenting the *biblum*; see J.-M. Durand, “La mission matrimoniale,” *AEM* 1/1 (1988): 95–117 (on pp. 103–4); Wilcke, “Familiengründung,” 282–83; and “Ceremonies,” 72.

record when the future husband arrived; he came either at this time, or perhaps earlier with the bridewealth gift and stayed on to wait for his parents.²³

Entry VII (lines 29–31) records the performance of what appears to be an apotropaic ritual (of separation?) by the future husband's mother: *ina* KÁ^dEN.KI *ummašu ipšurma* “in the Gate of Enki his mother ‘released’.” The verb *pašārum* appears in rituals of absolution or protection from potentially hostile forces; a Seleucid catalogue of namburbi rituals lists one entitled “If they give a wife to a man . . .”²⁴

The Nuptial Stage: Kirrum and the Marriage Pact. Entry VIII (lines 32–33) describes the “nuptial” stage of marriage: “On the day she bathed,²⁵ 1 (60 liter) container beer for *kirrum*.” The *kirrum*, a type of jar filled with beer, was poured and apparently drunk by the parties making an agreement (or pact) or beginning a new commercial venture.²⁶ This formal drinking calls to mind the modern English term “bridal” which derives from the medieval custom of drinking the “bride-ale,” a ceremony which came to stand for the entire wedding proceedings.²⁷ The ceremonial drinking of the “cup” is also a feature found in the making of OB treaties and sale agreements.²⁸

23. Entry IV (lines 18–20) records the arrival of two women, apparently honored guests; a sheep was slaughtered for them. Entry VI (lines 26–28) records the slaughtering of a sheep plus beer and flour (for bread) for the groom's mother upon her arrival. Wilcke, “Familiengründung,” 270–73 restores the arrival of the groom's father in Entry V and similar largesse for him.

24. Such rituals were typically performed by the *āšipu*, who was a professional exorcist. However, simpler rites and incantations might be performed by non-specialists and even the affected person himself. In a discussion of namburbi rituals, J. Bottéro, “*Rapports sur les conférences: Antiquités Assyro-babyloniennes*,” *Annuaire de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études* (1973–1974): 87–122 (on pp. 100–101), points out an incantation to be recited by a person who wakes from a bad dream; this text is KAR 252, i 7–12, treated by Oppenheim in *Dream-book*, 300a. The Seleucid catalogue is W 22279, published by R. Caplice, “Further Namburbi Notes,” *Or* 42 (1973): 508–17.

25. The text states: *inūmti ir-mu-ku-ú*. In “Ceremonies,” 57, I translated the verb as plural but pointed out (pp. 61–62) Sumerian parallels where Inanna bathes before allowing Dumuzi to enter her house and consummate their marriage. The bride, in ancient times as in modern times, is the central figure in a wedding. Subsequent readers have followed Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit,” 78–79, in taking the verb as singular with “irrational” length. I have deferred to them here but do not really understand why the groom should not also have bathed prior to his nuptials. Cf. on this point the concurrence of J. J. Finkelstein, “*ana bīt emim šasū*,” *RA* 61 (1967): 127–36 (at p. 136).

26. For references, see “Ceremonies,” 62–65 and CAD K, 408–9; to these OB references, one may add Birot, *Tablettes*, 19:6:3 (BÁN) *še ki-ir-ri e-pé-ri*; *AbB* 2, 157:14 *ki-ra-am lu-uš-pu-uk*; and *AbB* 12, 148:20–21: *ki-ra-am ša aš-ša-ti aš-pu-u[k]-ma*. The use and custom of *kirrum* appears to have been well established in Babylonia as well as in the Diyala area.

27. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st ed., s.v. “bridal.” The “pouring” and “drinking” of *kirrum* may be a custom somewhat distantly related to the rich folk tradition found among many peoples where bride and groom share a common cup or dish of food as part of their wedding ceremonies; for examples, see E. Westernmark, *The History of Human Marriage* (3 vols.; London, 1925), I, 448–56. In Stone, *Nippur*, 34 (discussed below), beer is also shared with the witnesses who are present at the giving of parental consent.

28. ARM 8, 13: rev. 11–14 at the conclusion of a sale agreement states: *kāram ikulū kāsam ištū u šamnam iptasū* “They (the parties) ate the ram, they drank the cup, and they anointed themselves with oil.” This symbolic sharing of food demonstrates solidarity and amity between the parties and

LE §§27–28 assign legal force to the ceremony of *kirrum* or “bride-ale”:

If a man took another man’s daughter without asking her father and mother and did not arrange ‘bride-ale’ and a marriage pact (*riksātum*) for her father and mother,²⁹ (even) if she lives in his house for a full year, she is not a wife. If he arranged a marriage pact and ‘bride-ale’ for her father and mother and took her (in this appropriate manner), she is a wife. The day she is caught with another man she shall die; she shall not live.

CH §128 addresses the same situation in briefer fashion, omitting the requirement for parental consent and the drinking of “bride-ale”: “If a man took a woman and did not arrange a marriage pact, that woman is not a wife.” The omission of *kirrum* in CH §128 has caused scholars to overlook or doubt its legal importance.³⁰ Is there any reason to regard CH §128 as depicting the formation of marriage in a manner fundamentally divergent from what is described in LE §§27–28?

It is important, first of all, to recognize that marriages could take place in a less elaborate as well as in a more elaborate fashion. There are, e.g., two places in the laws where the woman is described as “wife,” first, after the bringing of bride-wealth, as in LE §26, CH §§130, 161, and again, after the marriage pact with (or without) “bride-ale,” as in LE §27–28, CH §128. When bridewealth was given and accepted, the future wife “became a wife” in a limited sense, i.e., to outsiders; but the marriage could still be dissolved by the parties. However, not every marriage involved the giving of bridewealth gifts. This is clearly seen in CH §§138–139, which describes marriages without bridewealth; and this omission, apparently involving families of lesser status or means, is further confirmed by the OB marriage documents, which record numerous marriages without mention of bridewealth.³¹

their mutual satisfaction and accord. ARM 26, 404:60–64 relates how the kings “After they deliberated and made the pact (*riksātum irkusū*) and the ass was slaughtered, they each one to another had the oath sworn and sat down to the cup. After they quaffed the cup, they offered gifts one to another.”

29. The full Akkadian phrase is *kirram u riksātum ana abiša u ummiša iškun*. The construction has created some awkwardness for translation; the verb *šakānum* elsewhere (e.g., CH §§122, 128) takes *riksātum* as its object; there is no attestation of the use of this verb with *kirrum*, for which the only verb attested is *šapākum* “pour” (cf. F. R. Kraus, “Briefschreibübungen im altbabylonischen Schulunterricht,” *JEOL* 16 (1964): 16–39 [see pp. 24–25]; TCL 17, 64:16; CT 4, 18b: 5–6—cited in “Ceremonies,” 63–65—and additional references added in n. 26 above). In UET 5, 636:33 the bride’s father supplies the beer for the *kirrum* (as does the cloister for the incoming novice priestess in CT 4, 18b—a dedication ceremony patterned after marriage). The preposition *ana* must therefore derive from the other obligation for the future husband, in other words, the marriage pact (*riksātum*) in which he is the initiating party, as reflected in CH §128 and in Stone, *Nippur*, 34 (see text with nn. 32–33 below), where the parent(s) of the bride respond(s) to the husband. The awkwardness of formulation is discussed by Westbrook, *OBML*, 29, 31²².

30. Yaron, *LE*², 200–205, ponders the different formulations and suggests that they may be due to a different focus within each law collection. On p. 202, he considers the possibility that either *kirrum* or *riksātum* alone might have been sufficient.

31. Cf. “Bridewealth,” 76. OB texts recording marriage without bridewealth include: *ARN*, 37 and 54; Meissner, *BAP*, 89; BE 6/2, 48; CT 2, 33 and 44; CT 6, 26a; CT 6, 37a; CT 8, 22b; CT 8,

The same may be true of *kirrum*. Evidently, a man and woman could not begin the socially recognized “connubial” stage of their marriage without nuptials, which included a formal marriage pact or *riksātum*. The drinking of “bride-ale” may have been an option, necessary to express parental consent for those women who required it.

There is an OB document that appears to record a formal expression of parental consent to marriage: “Concerning the wedding of Ištar-lamassi and Sin-abušu—‘as for (his) taking (in marriage) my daughter who is (still) young,’ Nannatum answered ‘yes.’”³² A list of 14 witnesses follows, including among them Ištar-lamassi, her mother, and Sin-abušu, the future husband. After the witnesses, just before the date, the text states: “1 1/3 shekel silver worth of beer these witnesses drank; 1 liter oil (for) their anointing.”³³ Thus, we have preserved in this record the consent of both parents as required by *LE* §§27–28: the father’s consent expressly stated; and the mother’s consent (and the daughter’s agreement to marriage) indicated by the inclusion of their names in the witness list. The document also records what appears to be the drinking of “bride-ale” by the witnesses.

Defining the Marriage Pact. The marriage pact (*riksātum*) that appears along with the drinking of *kirrum* or “bride-ale” in *LE* §§27–28, was not a betrothal agreement, i.e., an agreement to wed at a future time, as has been suggested.³⁴ Formal

37d; *CT* 48, 49; Gautier, *Dilbat*, 14; PBS 8/2, 155; Speleers, *Recueil*, 230; Stone, *Nippur*, 1; *TCL* 1, 61; *TIM* 4, 48–49; *TLB* 1, 229; *UET* 5, 87; *VAS* 18, 114; *YOS* 12, 371; *YOS* 15, 73. These documents (except for *ARN*, 54) are treated in Westbrook, *OBML*, 112–36. *ARN*, 37 and *YOS* 15, 73 are more fully restored in E. C. Stone and D. I. Owen, *Adoption in Old Babylonian Nippur and the Archive of Mannum-mešû-liššur* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 3; Winona Lake, Ind., 1991), 50–51, 63–64. (*YOS* 15, 73—an unpublished text copied by Goetze—is Cornell 4). The omission of bridewealth may be due to the fact that many of these marriages involved women who were of lower social status; they were adopted or manumitted or sometimes remained unfree, as was pointed out in “Contract,” 512, nn. 31–32. Another factor may have been a second marriage for one or both of the partners; this is the case in Stone, *Nippur*, 1, *TLB* 1, 229, and *VAS* 18, 114.

32. The text, Stone, *Nippur*, 34:1–5, states: (1) *aš-šum e-mu-ti* (2) *ša ES₄.DAR-la-ma-s[i]* (3) *ù d^{EN}.ZU-a-bu-šu* (4) *a-na a-lja-zi ma-ar-ti ša* (5) *TUR d^{ŠEŠ}.KI-tum a-na-am i-pu-(ul)-ma*. Stone (p. 64) points out that two years later, in *BE* 6/2, 42, a relative of Sin-abušu reclaims documents left with Nannatum who appears to be the father of Ištar-lamassi. Stone believes that this transaction may be the reason why this ceremony was recorded in writing. The syntax of lines 1–5 is not smooth; it is possible to read the verb in line 5 as *i-pu-lu(!)*, suggesting that mother (and daughter?) also answered “yes.” Stone calls this document a “betrothal.” But *emūtu* in all other contexts relates to the nuptials or wedding; cf. *CAD* E, 162. It is unusual to see these proceedings recorded in a written document. See, on this point, references cited in n. 46.

33. Lines rev. 7–9: *ša* 1(?) 1/3 *KU₃.BABBAR KAŠ an-nu-tum ši-bi(šic) iš-tu-ú* 1 *SILA₃ l.GIŠ a-na pi-ša-ši-šu-nu*.

34. Westbrook, *OBML*, 31–32, 58–59, has argued that *riksātum* is a betrothal contract only; marriage itself needed no contract; it was, rather, a change of legal status. The payment of bridewealth gave the future husband the right to complete the marriage by taking legal control of the woman. Westbrook’s hypothesis (p. 31) is challenged by the fact that in *UET* 5, 636, the *kirrum* was drunk at the time of the wedding (i.e., “nuptial” stage); one cannot therefore maintain its connection with

betrothal agreements are well attested for Sumerian marriages in the Ur III period, but evidence for them is scant for the Old Babylonian period.³⁵ Clearly, some agreement needed to take place between the families during the “deliberative” stage, especially before sending or bringing bridewealth gifts; but formal records of such agreements are lacking. A letter, AbB 12, 63:5–8, relates: “Concerning the matter of Amat-Sin: at the time when she was young, Nana promised the son of the gentleman that he could take her (in marriage).”³⁶ The letter goes on to discuss other matters but indicates that the marriage between Amat-Sin and the son of the gentleman had already taken place at the time this letter was written; Nana was apparently Amat-Sin’s father.³⁷ Note that the “betrothal” agreement is here not called *riksātum*, “pact or contract,” but simply *qabūm*, “promise.”

It is difficult to attach much importance to OB “betrothal agreements”—such as they may have been—since the laws begin to deal with marriage only in the “pre-nuptial” stage when a gift of bridewealth was given and received. If agreements were made but no bridewealth given, or if the bridewealth was refused, then such agreements were evidently dissolved without legal or financial consequences.³⁸ We can see the tentative nature of the situation that existed between the parties who were still in the “deliberative” stage in a SB *tamītu*, where the “betrothed” husband seeks divine consultation prior to bringing his bridewealth gift:

riksātum, which he takes to be a pre-nuptial or betrothal agreement. Westbrook attempts to argue that *kirrum* in UET 5, 636 is different from the *kirrum* in LE §§27–8, since it was provided by the woman’s father and not by the husband (arguing from *ana*—but see n. 29). Alternatively, he argues that the parties in LE §§27–8 agreed on the *kirrum* during the pre-nuptial stage (i.e., betrothal) but did not actually drink it until the nuptials took place. He insists (p. 56) that *riksātum* in LE §§27–28 and in CH §128 was “separate from the act of marriage.” While Westbrook (pp. 32–34) argues for *riksātum* being a betrothal agreement, he does not deny that the extant marriage documents were written down at a later time, “upon completion of the marriage.” (I would assume that the documents were written down at or near the time of the nuptials.) Westbrook asserts that the written marriage documents give us information about the terms of the contract but that it is difficult to distill the essence of the contract, since the written documents vary so much in content. Westbrook (pp. 16, 31, 48, and 60) argues that, at the very least, whether written or not, the “betrothal agreement” gave the man the right to “take control” (i.e., *aḥāzum*), of his wife; he does so when they “complete the marriage.” When is a marriage completed? Westbrook (pp. 48–53 and 100), after denying legal validity to all ceremonies (including *verba solemnia*, *domum deductio*, *copula carnalis*), admits to some uncertainty on this important point.

35. For the Sumerian betrothal agreements, see “Bridewealth,” 74–77, and earlier in “Contract,” 524–32. None of these Sumerian agreements mention bridewealth.

36. Lines 5–8 state: *aššum PN₁ ištu šeḫretma PN₂ ana mār awilim ana aḥāzim qabām iškun.*

37. Lines 15–16 state: *šāti u mār awilim ša ihuzuši.*

38. In OBML, 34–60, Westbrook begins his discussion of what he terms “standard inchoate marriage,” that is, a marriage where bridewealth was given; but he does not explain how the future husband acquired the right to complete the marriage in situations where no bridewealth was given, situations that Westbrook (p. 55) recognizes as having also occurred. This is problematic since he (p. 34) also agrees that a betrothal agreement alone (i.e., without payment of bridewealth) would not make the future bride an *aššatum*, one who is subject to the penalties of LE §26, CH §130.

[O Šamaš, lord] of judgement! O Adad lord of divination! [So-and-so] wants to bring a bridewealth gift to the place of (his) wedding (*bīt emūti*); [By your] divine majesty, the bridewealth gift he wishes to bring in joyous heart, glad countenance, and (in) festive attire—will that (gift) be accepted happily so that his heart will (likewise) be happy? [This] is what I ask Šamaš and Adad.³⁹

The entire marriage could be called off by the bride's family simply refusing to accept the prospective groom's bridewealth gift. If, however, the bride's family accepted the groom's bridewealth gift but the nuptials were delayed, then—and only then—can we speak of the couple being in any sense “betrothed.” We can consider them to be betrothed because of the legal consequences that followed from acceptance of the bridewealth gift by the bride's family, as has been previously discussed. The Sumerian betrothal agreements, by contrast, had more legally binding power; in them, oaths were sworn which became the basis of court actions; and monetary penalties were paid if the sworn betrothal agreements were cancelled.

So what was the Old Babylonian *riksātum*? I maintain that it was an archaic form of contract, entered into at the time of nuptials, which created the bonds of marriage between the parties: the husband on the one side and the wife on the other side. *The main purpose of the ancient marriage pact or contract was thus to effect and signify a change in the status of the parties.* This type of “status contract” is described by Max Weber:

The ‘contract,’ in the sense of a voluntary agreement constituting the legal foundation of claims and obligations, has thus been widely diffused even in the earliest periods and stages of legal history. . . . The situation is vastly different today. The present-day significance of contract is primarily the result of the high degree to which our economic system is market-oriented and of the role played by money. . . . But contracts characteristic of a market economy are completely different from those contracts which in the spheres of public and family law once played a greater role than they do today . . . we shall call the more primitive type ‘status contract’ and that which is peculiar to the exchange or market economy ‘purposive contract.’ The distinction is based on the fact that all those primitive contracts by which family relations are created involve, substantially, a change in what may be called the total legal situation . . . and the social status of the persons involved. To have this effect these contracts were originally either straightforward magical acts or at least acts having a magical significance. For a long time, their symbolism retained traces of that character. . . . By means of such a contract a person was to become somebody's child, father, wife, brother . . . vassal, subject. . . .⁴⁰

39. Craig *ABRT* I, 4 i 1–6, partly cited in CAD E, 162b, and H, 224a. The bridewealth gift is here described as *šubultum* (see n. 8).

40. *Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society*, ed. and trans. Max Rheinstein, and trans. Edward Shils (New York, 1954), 105–6. I commented on the historical development of contract in “Contract,” 513–14, but did not at the time recognize the important distinction that should now be made between “status contracts” like marriage and adoption and other economically oriented “purposive contracts.” Westbrook *OBML*, 58–59, stresses the importance of recognizing that marriage involved a change in status.

Weber’s references are instructive in that they bring to mind situations comparable to marriage, namely, adoption and treaties, two subjects about which there are substantial available data in OB sources. Adoption has been well discussed; one finds parallels with marriage involving the recitation of *verba solemnia*, a well-attested formal mechanism by which a new status of marriage (or adoption) could come into existence or be dissolved.⁴¹ A rich documentation concerning OB treaties has come to light from Mari. Treaty partners can be described by the terms “father” or “brother,” and the status of solidarity and friendship between the parties is the goal as summarized by the key phrase: *itti nakrīya lū nakrāta itti salāmīya lū salmāta* and variations.⁴² We find the use of the phrase *riksātam šakānum* to describe treaty formation, which takes place through a variety of related activities. These activities include drawing up documents listing names of the gods by whom parties swear and texts of the agreements reached; symbolic acts such as “touching the throat,” “raising the hand,” sacrifice of an ass, drinking the cup.⁴³ The phrase *riksātam šakānum*, “to make a treaty,” embraces all of the symbolic elements and actions which went into forming the treaty and the new relationships and responsibilities that were thereby created.

Analogies can be drawn with marriage in that *riksātam šakānum* here likewise describes a bundle of activities that create this new status with its obligations. This is why CH §128 can use a single term, *riksātum*, to describe the creation of a binding relationship between the spouses without enumerating all of the acts and elements that went into doing so. LE §§27–28 specifically adds *kirrum* because it is a ceremony linked with conveying parental consent, which is the main point of the law paragraphs there. The marriage contract, like the treaty, needed to include and convey in a decisive fashion the agreement of the contracting parties and their legal representatives.

41. On the recitation of *verba solemnia* in OB, MA, and NB marriage contexts, see “Contract,” 514–24 as well as n. 34 above. Westbrook, *OBML*, 50 and 69–70, concedes that *verba solemnia* were recited in OB adoption (CH §170) and divorce proceedings. He also acknowledges (on pp. 31–32) that *verba solemnia* may have been recited (and ritual acts performed) as part of the marriage (i.e., the nuptials).

42. D. Charpin, “Les représentants de Mari à Babylone,” *AEM* 1/2, 156, and ARM 26, 372:57–59 and 404:57–58. Similar phrases proclaiming sororal solidarity are found in OB marriage documents involving co-wives who become adoptive sisters. References are collected in my article “Sisterhood Adoption at Nuzi and Genesis,” *HUCA* 46 (1975): 5–31 (in nn. 32, 38); some of these passages are cited in CAD S, 91b and Z, 85–86. Note also, for treaties, the symbolic act *sisikti abim u mārim . . . rakāsum/kašānum* and its discussion by D. Charpin, “Un traité entre Zimri-Lim de Mari et Ibāl-pī-El II d’Ešnunna,” *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Études sur la civilisation Mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Paris, 1991), 163 (citing A. 3359+:19 and ARM 26, 449:55).

43. D. Charpin, “Une alliance contre l’Elam et le rituel du *lipit napištim*,” *Mélanges Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990), 109–18, with many other references given there. For *riksātam šakānum* used in treaty contexts, see ARM 26, 372:220–22. See also n. 28 above.

The marriage pact was created not by a single action or activity but rather through a combination of symbolic words and ceremonial acts.⁴⁴ We do not know whether *verba solemnia* and *kirrum* were the sole symbolic rites and ceremonies involved in forming the marriage contract; there may have been others, depending upon circumstances and variations in local customs. Weber, for example, in his essay after the quotation given above, continues with a discussion of how oaths were often used as a vehicle both in “status” and “purposive” contracts.

Oaths, in fact, are sometimes found in Old Babylonian marriage; in two (or three) documents oaths were sworn by the groom in the king’s name, apparently during the nuptials.⁴⁵ Oaths do not appear to be associated with every marriage and apparently arose from special circumstances; they were apparently added to secure performance of some or all of the contractual provisions that are recorded in the written marriage documents in which the oaths are found.⁴⁶

There may be another, indirect reference to the use of oath with the marriage pact in an OB document from Larsa. The document states:

Šat-Marduk swore an oath by the life of Samsu-iluna the king concerning Aḫuni son of Ilšu-ibbi as follows: “Unto Aḫuni son of Ilšu-ibbi—I do not hold him; I am not besworn unto him. Let him not come back (to me and) speak to me of a male-female (relationship); let him not kiss my lips and I will not agree to any

44. Cf. “Contract,” 520. Westbrook, *OBML*, 31–32 and 56, maintains that marriage came about through the act of *ahāzum*, separate from the making of the contract, which in his view is only a preliminary, betrothal agreement (see n. 34). Yet his theory must then also explain the broad use of *ahāzum* in *LE* §§27–28 and in *CH* §128, where the verb is used even when legal marriage status is denied! Cf. also the similar broad use of *hiārum* in the rape of Ninlil and the postponed legal recognition of *usus* marriages in *MAL* §34 and Ur-Nammu Laws §5 (“Contract,” 521). In my understanding, *ahāzum* is a general, non-specific term capable of being used to describe any or all of the actions normally performed during the nuptial phase of marriage—including consummation and “making the contract,” i.e., the *riksātum*.

45. TIM 4, 48; Stone, *Nippur*, 1; and perhaps *ARN*, 37 discussed in “Bridewealth,” 75–76. I am now less certain of the interpretation of TIM 4, 48 that I gave in “Contract,” 512³⁴, since there are now two (or three) such documents with oaths. Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit,” 104, saw the oath in TIM 4, 48 as a kind of “marriage promise”; this text (and my earlier interpretation) is discussed by Westbrook in *OBML*, 52.

46. Oaths were sworn and recorded in the following (26) marriage documents: *ARN*, 37; *ARN*, 54; Meissner, *BAP*, 90; BE 6/2, 40; BE 6/2, 48; *BIN* 7, 173; *CT* 2, 33; *CT* 2, 39a; *CT* 6, 37a; *CT* 8, 22b; *CT* 8, 37d; *CT* 47, 40; *CT* 48, 53; *CT* 48, 56–7; Finkel, “An Early Old-Babylonian Legal Document,” *RA* 70 (1976): 45–54; Gautier, *Dilbat*, 14; PBS 8/2, 155; PBS 8/2, 252; Speleers, *Recueil*, 230; Stone, *Nippur*, 1; TIM 4, 48; TLB 1, 229; VAS 8, 4–5; VAS 8, 92; Waterman, *Bus Doc.*, 72. Oaths are not recorded in the following (26) marriage documents: Meissner, *BAP*, 89; *CT* 2, 44; *CT* 6, 26a; *CT* 8, 7b; *CT* 33, 34; *CT* 48, 48–52; *CT* 48, 61; *CT* 48, 67; *PRAK* 1, B17; TCL 1, 61; TCL 1, 90; TIM 4, 46–47; TIM 4, 49; TIM 5, 1; UET 5, 87; VAS 9, 192–3; VAS 18, 114; Waterman, *Bus Doc.*, 39; YOS 12, 371; YOS 12, 457; YOS 13, 440; YOS 15, 73. All of these documents (except for YOS 13, 440 and cf. n. 31 above) are treated in Westbrook, *OBML*. The special circumstances that led to the writing down of marriage documents are discussed in “Contract,” 512–13. Cf. also Westbrook, *OBML*, 6 and 8.

male-female (relationship); moreover, if he invites me for sexual intimacy, I will inform the elders of the city and the head (of the council). If they see me secretly (with him), then as I have profaned (this) oath by the king, let them deal with me.” And Aḫuni son of Ilšu-ibbi (by) the life of Samsu-iluna the king swore as follows: “I will not approach Šat-Marduk and I will not speak to her of a male-female (relationship).”

M. Anbar, who published this text, has noted the absence of any reference to divorce. There is, likewise, no mention of bridewealth (or dowry). The relationship appears to have been broken off during or directly following the nuptials, before consummation could take place. The statement made by Šat-Marduk seems to refer back to and cancel a previous oath, apparently made in connection with the marriage pact at the time of their (ill-fated) nuptials.⁴⁷

According to the laws, legal responsibility for making the marriage pact rested upon the groom. The role of the bride was more passive; she may not have spoken, rather she would have shown her acceptance of the obligations of the marriage through her willing participation in the marriage pact rites and ceremonies that were performed.⁴⁸

The End of Nuptials and Afterward. Consummation apparently took place after the making of the marriage pact; it was part of the nuptials; but its customs and conduct are more fully described in ritual and religious texts than in legal and economic records.⁴⁹ There may be a prelude to consummation in several OB references that

47. The text is BM 13912, no. 8, in M. Anbar (Bernstein), “Textes de l’époque babylonienne ancienne,” *RA* 69 (1975): 121–25. In line 6 the woman states: *lā kalākšu lā tummākšuma* “I do not hold him; I am not besworn to him.” The document is witnessed and sealed by 8 witnesses. This woman, after beginning and breaking off the nuptials, was apparently seen as a legal adult, no longer subject to the jural authority of her father. Such independence is recognized by Westbrook, *OBML*, 31, where he asserts that “the legal obligations of marriage . . . are between the bride and groom alone.” *Ai* 7 ii 43–iii 3 suggests that divorce would be necessary, following the nuptials, in a situation where the couple had opportunity to have sexual relations. See Landsberger *apud* J. J. Finkelstein, “Recent Studies in Cuneiform Law,” *JAOS* 90 (1970): 243–56 (at p. 245).

48. See the discussion in “Contract,” 520–22, which discusses the implications of parental consent and outlines a variety of possibilities, reflected in the formulation of second or third person *verba solemnia*. There is no evidence for the necessity of a formal verbal response from the parties addressed. One may add to the earlier discussion the occurrence of second person *verba solemnia* which are found in certain NB marriage documents; see Roth, *Marriage Agreements*, 6. Cf also, for the participation of the bride, Stone, *Nippur*, 34, discussed above in connection with nn. 32 and 33.

49. Cf. discussions in “Contract,” 524⁹²; Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit,” 79–81; Jacobsen, “Religious Drama” (above, n. 9); Wilcke, “Familiengründung,” 281–85; Westbrook, *OBML*, 52–53. In some of the royal marriages at Mari, the bride came to the palace of the groom, where the wedding and consummation took place. At Mari, the term *huddušu* describes how the bride was escorted, conducted, and brought to her groom for their nuptials; see J.-M. Durand, “La mission matrimoniale,” *AEM* 1/1 (1988): 112–13. There is an echo of the pomp surrounding such journeys in the MB installation rite for the priestess of Hadad at Emar. When she leaves her father’s house to enter the temple after seven days of celebration, they cover her head with a colored headdress “in the manner of a bride”; two female attendants conduct her “like a bride” in a torch-lit night procession accompanied

may describe a ceremony of the groom removing the fibula or pin fastening the bride's dress. This reminds one of the present day custom where, after the wedding ceremony, the groom, with broad and deliberate gestures, removes the bride's garter and throws it to the male bridallers who seek to catch it for good luck.⁵⁰

The nuptial celebrations often included a honeymoon for the new couple, a period whose duration depended upon the wealth and circumstances of the families; the story of Atrahasis suggests that nine days was typical. This was a time for celebration and getting to know one another, free from the necessity of work and everyday pursuits.⁵¹

Entry XII (lines 46–50) describes the end of the nuptial celebrations and the beginning of the “connubial” stage: “the day they (husband and his attendants) led her away (back to his home in Larsa).” This important transition was also the occasion of seeking divine guidance through divination.⁵² The arrival of the bride at her new home was again an occasion for celebration.⁵³ There the couple returned

by musicians. See Arnaud, *Emar* 6, 369: 48–66. In later periods, the terms *ḥadāṣu*, *ḥadaššutu* are used to describe these events and encompass the following nuptials as well. See E. Matsushima, “Les rituels du mariage divin dans les documents accadiens,” *Acta Sumerologica* 10 (1988): 95–128 (116–19).

50. TIM 4, 48:7 speaks of the groom opening “the fastening pin of her virgin(?) (garment)—dalla (GIŠ.GI.DÙ) nu-mu-un-zu-na in-duḡ.” See “Bridewealth,” 76 and n. 45 above. In “New Duplicates to SBTU II,” *AfO* 30 (1988): 1–23, M. Geller has published duplicates to nos. 6–7, where this same event of removing the fastening of the woman's clothing is paralleled by the “maiden who has never been deflowered, never had sex in her husband's lap.” A variant of this phrase appears in S. Lackenbacher, “Note sur l'Ardat-Lilī,” *RA* 65 (1971): 119–54, where we have the sequence: “the maiden whom like a woman, a man has not deflowered her, touched her charms, stripped off her garment” (p. 136). Another formulation (p. 124) has the sequence “the man who in the bosom of his wife did not touch her charms, strip off her garment, who was forced to leave the house of his wedding (*ina bīt emūtiša šūšā*).” See also in CAD S, 193 *šillū*, lex. section. A different(?) form of needle ceremony may be at the root of line 187 from the Nanshe Hymn published by Heimpel, *JCS* 33 (1981): 65–139, which states: bulug-nam-dam-ma téš-bi ba-dab₅, “He joined them together with the needle of matrimony” (cited in *Sumerian Dictionary* B, 174). In his article “*šillām paṭārum* ‘To Unfasten the Pin’, *copula carnalis* and the Formation of Marriage in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *JEOL* 32 (1991–92): 66–86, M. Malul argues (p. 70) that this act, rather than being a ceremony, was “clearly a euphemism for the act of copulation.” I disagree with his conclusion and would argue that such ceremonies are the public preliminaries to actual consummation that follows and takes place in privacy. Malul also states (p. 85) that consummation “bore the legal consequence of sealing an inchoate marriage.” But, as I have already noted, a state of “inchoateness” extends even beyond the nuptials. In this same vein, the sequence or story in *Ai* 7 ii, 47–51 suggests that an act of formal divorce is required after the bride has entered the groom's house, even if consummation has not yet taken place. Cf. perhaps the events in *CT* 45, 86 described below.

51. For references and discussion (including UET 5, 635, Entries IX–XI), see “Ceremonies,” 66–71, and “Bridewealth,” 70¹⁹⁸. Reflections of extended wedding celebrations are also found in the sacred marriage rites; cf. *ABL* 4, 366 and *SBH*, no. VIII (pp. 145–46), which have been discussed by E. Matsushima, “Le rituel hiérogamique de Nabû,” *Acta Sumerologica* 9 (1987): 138–43.

52. Labat, *Calendrier*, 130–33, §§62–63; these sections deal with bringing the new bride home: DAM-su ana É-šu TU; É.GI₄.A ana É-šu TU.

53. VAS 13, 77 is a record of expenditures for various occasions; among them are three separate entries: 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR PN₁ DUMU PN₂ i-nu-ú-ma DAM.A.NI ú-še-ri-bu.

to normal life with its attendant realities and problems, although, to be sure, their marriage remained "inchoate" with respect to dowry until after the birth of the first child, which inaugurated the "familial" stage of their marriage.⁵⁴

Some Unplaced Documents. In closing, I must mention a few additional documents that have been described as reflecting "inchoate" marriage; but I am not fully certain as to their place within the continuum of "inchoate" marriage that I have described. They all deal with the breakdown of marriage. In *CT* 45, 86, a man carries out a ceremony of divorce against a woman who is living in his father's house. He is ordered to make an appropriate financial settlement. *FLP* 1340 records a procedure under oath; one man (the woman's father) states that he did not receive any bridewealth; the other man states that he will not "take" the daughter in marriage and that one should "throw her in the river." *BE* 6/2, 58 closes a ten-year relationship between the parties with divorce action and payment of (divorce) money some years after delivery and augmentation of the dowry (*BE* 6/2, 40 and 47).⁵⁵ The dissolving of marriages by formal divorce actions suggests a time after the "connubial" stage of marriage had begun. The delivery of dowry prior to the divorce in *BE* 6/2, 58 supports this determination. The procedure in *FLP* 1340 seems to have occurred during the "prenuptial" stage. The woman's father claims that a house was not purchased with bridewealth money; the man refusing to marry claims that the would-be bride was involved in some sexual misconduct with another man. Their claims appear to mirror the "prenuptial" situations described in the laws, *LE* §§25–6, *CH* §§130, 159–61 discussed above.

54. The birth of a child was a time for festivities and rejoicing, as seen in a number of *Ur III* documents cited by Wilcke, "Familiengründung," 293–95, and, earlier, at Ebla; cf. "Bridewealth," 63.

55. Westbrook, *OBML*, 43–45, 69, and 114–16, describes *CT* 45, 86 and *BE* 6/2, 58 as "inchoate" marriages. But previous studies have given other interpretations (see literature cited by Westbrook—and n. 50 above). *CH* §§142–43 have often been discussed in connection with these cases; I have given my interpretation of these laws in my article, "Filling Gaps: Laws Found in Babylonia and in the Mishna but Absent in the Hebrew Bible," *Maarav* 7 (1991): 149–71 (pp. 167–71). *FLP* 1340 is published and treated by D. I. Owen and R. Westbrook, "Tie Her Up and Throw Her into the River! An Old Babylonian Inchoate Marriage on the Rocks," *ZA* 82 (1992): 202–7.

A Model Court Case Concerning Inheritance

WILLIAM W. HALLO

*To the memory of Thorkild Jacobsen,
my mentor in Sumerian*

In 1959, Thorkild Jacobsen published “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide.”¹ Therewith he launched the study of a new Sumerian literary genre. The text qualified as literary on a number of grounds.

(1) First and foremost, it was preserved in several duplicate exemplars, all from Nippur and, although one at least was found “lying on the floor of . . . a private house,” these gave every indication of ultimately emanating, like so many other Nippur texts, from a scribal school, not from any royal or judicial archive.²

(2) Second, the text was, in four of its six exemplars, followed by “a number of other records of trials before the Assembly of Nippur,” more specifically by two such records.³ Unlike the “Sammeltafeln” from the central archive in the palace of the governor of Girsu (Telloh) in the Ur III period, however, it did not begin the entire tablet with the superscript *di-til-la*, “final verdict(s),”⁴ but rather concluded each case, if the restorations by Jacobsen⁵ and Finkelstein⁶ are correct, with the subscript *di-dab₅-ba pu-ùl₃-ru-um Nibru-ka*, “case accepted for trial in the Assembly of Nippur.”

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1. Thorkild Jacobsen, “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide,” in *Studia Biblica et Orientalia III: Oriens Antiquus* (Analecta Biblica 12; Rome, 1959), 130–50; reprinted in idem, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, ed. W. L. Moran (Harvard Semitic Series 21; Cambridge, 1970), 193–214, 421f. (Hereafter abbreviated as *TIT*.)

2. Ibid., 133f. = *TIT* 196f.

3. Ibid.

4. Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (Munich, 1956–57), vol. 1.2, 8; vol. 2.263–393. Outside Girsu, the superscript is not employed: *ibid.*, vol. 1.12.

5. “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial,” 136, 138 = *TIT* 200f.

6. Jacob J. Finkelstein, “Sex Offenses in Sumerian Laws,” *JAOs* 86 (1966): 355–72, esp. p. 359, note h.

(3) Third, “real” judicial proceedings, at least in the Ur III period, normally feature a list of from one to five sworn witnesses⁷ or, failing that, record that the case was confirmed in front of the governor, as in the case of the “fugitive ox,”⁸ and sometimes add the seal of the governor, as in the case of the death sentence passed on Lugal-gizkim-zi.⁹ In the vast majority of cases, they are dated. The trial for homicide notably lacked any of these features.

In these last respects, Jacobsen’s text had much in common with another genre, the “model contracts.” These texts, well attested in the scribal curriculum, also lack witnesses and date, though in this case indicating their absence by replacing them with the notations “its witnesses, its month, its year.”¹⁰ On the analogy of such model contracts, one may therefore designate Jacobsen’s text as a “model court case.”¹¹

This designation is certainly not the first one applied to the genre. Kramer began by calling it “the first legal precedent” or simply “a memorable precedent.”¹² Jacobsen spoke of it as part of a “collection of trial-records, whether didactic or otherwise.”¹³ I referred to it as a “literary collection of legal decisions by the kings of Isin,”¹⁴ while Landsberger described it as a “literarisches ditilla.”¹⁵ Greengus shortened my designation to “‘literary’ legal decisions” and described the genre as “a literary collection of classic textbook cases.”¹⁶ Renger, who at one time proposed to edit the entire genre, designated them as “zu Übungszwecken benutzte Rechtssurkunden.”¹⁷ Martha Roth went from “literary legal decisions”¹⁸ via “model court

7. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, vol. 1.68f.

8. Meir Malul, “An Ur III Legal Document in the Possession of the Museum of the Kibbutz of Bar-Am, Israel,” *ASJ* 11 (1989): 145–54, esp. p. 147:20: *igi ensi₂-ka-še ba-gi-in*.

9. Jean-Marie Durand, “Une condamnation à mort à l’époque d’Ur III,” *RA* 71 (1977): 125–36; Martha T. Roth, “Appendix: A Reassessment of RA 71 (1977) 125ff.,” *AfO* 31 (1984): 9–14. Note that the governor of Nippur serves as sole witness here and that he seals the document.

10. Stephen J. Lieberman, “Nippur, City of Decisions,” in *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers Read at the 35th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. Maria deJong Ellis (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14; Philadelphia, 1992), 127–39, esp. p. 130 n. 18.

11. So now Martha T. Roth, “‘She Will Die by the Iron Dagger’: Adultery and Neo-Babylonian Marriage,” *JESHO* 31 (1988): 186–206, esp. p. 196.

12. Samuel Noah Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Col., 1956), ch. 8 and p. 53.

13. “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial,” 134 = *TIT* 197.

14. W. W. Hallo, “The Slandered Bride,” in *Studies . . . Oppenheim*, ed. Robert M. Adams (Chicago, 1964), 95–105, esp. p. 105.

15. Benno Landsberger, “Jungfräulichkeit,” in *Symbolae . . . Martino David Dedicatae*, ed. J. A. Ankum et al. (Leiden, 1968), vol. 2.41–105, esp. p. 47.

16. Samuel Greengus, “A Textbook Case of Adultery in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *HUCA* 40–41 (1969–70): 33–44, esp. pp. 43f. Cf. idem apud Å.W. Sjöberg, *Or* 39 (1970): 92f.

17. J. Renger, review of E. Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* in *OLZ* 68 (1973): 132 and n. 3.

18. Martha T. Roth, “Scholastic Tradition and Mesopotamian Law: FLP 1287” (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1979), 149 n. 28. So too Hans Neumann in *RAI* 38 (1992), 87 n. 47.

records”¹⁹ to “model court cases.”²⁰

If I now prefer the last label, it is in recognition of the close relationship between this genre and that of the model contracts, a relationship already noted above and one which was particularly stressed by Stephen Lieberman. It was his intention to edit both genres together in what he called the “Manual of Sumerian Legal Forms” (MSLF).²¹ It was a project that occupied the last decades of his life, and one in which I joined him as a junior partner, having busied myself with it since at least 1970, although to a much less exclusive extent. In particular, Lieberman had photographed the numerous texts of the Manual in the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania, identifying and classifying them and assembling them in numerous loose-leaf binders of photographs, now on deposit in the Babylonian Section. Thanks to the courtesy of Åke Sjöberg and Erle Leichty, I have had an opportunity to consult these binders and to satisfy myself that they contain no duplicates to the new example of the genre offered herewith. The nearest parallel seems to be provided by the text A 30216 (presumably from the Oriental Institute) which says, i.a.: *di-kuru₅-e-ne Ur-^dEn-líl-lá nam-erim₂-šè ku₅-[ru-dè]*, “the judges (remanded) Ur-Enlila for taking the oath” (cf. lines 17–19 below).

The new case can with considerable assurance be assigned a Nippur provenience on internal grounds. In this it resembles the majority of the cases hitherto identified. These now include (a) Jacobsen’s trial for homicide, and the two that follow it on some tablets, dealing respectively with (b) a dispute over family prebends²² and (c) the deflowering of a slave-girl,²³ (d) a dispute over inheritance,²⁴ and (e) Greengus’ trial for adultery, previously published and edited by van Dijk.²⁵ To these we may consider adding (f) a sixth case, again dealing with adultery,²⁶ and possibly (g) a seventh, apparently “a dispute of heirs over a slave-girl.”²⁷ The first

19. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” *JAOS* 103 (1983) (reprinted as *Studies . . . Kramer*, ed. J. M. Sasson; AOS 85; New Haven, 1984), 275–82, esp. p. 279. H. Vanstiphout, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 208, refers to this text as a “case history” and speaks of its genre as “at least partly a fictive court case (or possibly the opposite: a commonly known *cause célèbre*).”

20. Above, n. 11.

21. Lieberman, “Nippur,” 127 n. 1, 131.

22. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” 282 (2).

23. Finkelstein “Sex Offenses,” 359f. Cf. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” 282 (3).

24. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” 282 (5).

25. J. van Dijk, “Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden in Bagdad,” *ZA* 55 (1963): 70–90, esp. pp. 70–77: “1. Ehescheidungsprozess.” Further comments by van Dijk, “Note sur l’interprétation d’IM 28501,” *Or* 39 (1970): 99–102.

26. Greengus, “A Textbook Case,” 42 n. 26, and Roth, “‘She will die,’” 196f. ad UET 5:203f. with previous literature, to which add M. Malul, “gag-ru: *sikkatam maḥāšum/retūm*, ‘To Drive in the Nail’: An Act of Posting a Public Notice,” *OA* 26 (1987): 17–35; and now V. Hurowitz, “‘His master shall pierce his ear with an awl’ (Exodus 21.6)—Marking Slaves in the Bible in Light of Akkadian Sources,” *PAAJR* 58 (1992): 47–77, esp. p. 54.

27. Greengus, “A Textbook Case,” 43 n. 31.

four cases and the last come from Nippur, the fifth possibly from Isin²⁸ and the sixth from Ur.

As in most of the six model court cases already published or summarized, the trial takes place in Nippur, specifically before the assembly (*pu-ùh-ru-um*),²⁹ in the case of the inheritance text³⁰ more specifically in *ub-šu-ukkin-na*.³¹ Whether the king presided over the assembly is not clear here; in the homicide trial, the king in Isin explicitly remanded the case to the assembly in Nippur,³² and that also seems to have been the case in the inheritance case.³³ In the new inheritance case, the (unnamed) king figures only in the final promissory oath.

Like the other examples of the genre, indeed like a number of other genres including, notably, royal hymns and royal correspondence, the new case can be said to derive from authentic originals of neo-Sumerian (Ur III and early Isin I) date. This point of view was implied by Finkelstein when he included the trial for homicide (i.e., case a) among “documents from the practice of law” (without further comment) in *ANET* (3d ed., p. 542), and when he wrote “that the Nippur case (i.e., case c) is one that came to trial.”³⁴ It was made most forcefully by Greengus, who concluded his study of the “textbook case of adultery” (case e) by saying: “We need not . . . doubt the essential historicity of the trial and the penalties.”³⁵

As far as these undated texts can be dated on internal grounds, they belong to the early Isin I period in the 20th century B.C. The inheritance case from Nippur is brought before King Ishme-Dagan of Isin (ca. 1953–1935 B.C.), while the homicide case is taken before his second successor Ur-Ninurta (ca. 1923–1896 B.C.). In the adultery case from Isin(?), the name of the *maškim*-commissioner, Ishmedagan-zimu, implies a date after, perhaps well after, the accession of Ishme-Dagan.

The unnamed judges of the new text (line 16) are typical of neo-Sumerian court cases in general,³⁶ but its prosopography ties it securely to Old Babylonian Nippur. Since part of the disputed inheritance involves the office of “anointed priest of Ninlil” and “elder,” it is worthy of note that these offices existed only in Nippur, where they are frequently attested in tandem, according to the exhaustive survey of Renger.³⁷ In particular, one may note that an *A-ab-ba-kal-la* and his son ^d*En-lil-maš-zu* served in one or both of these capacities;³⁸ the former functioned in

28. Van Dijk, “Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden,” 73.

29. In the two trials for adultery (above, nn. 16, 26), no specific city is mentioned, and in the second (from Ur) no assembly either.

30. Above, n. 24.

31. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” 282.

32. Jacobsen, “An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial,” 137 = *TIT* 199.

33. Roth, “The Slave and the Scoundrel,” 282 (5).

34. Finkelstein, “Sex Offenses,” 360.

35. Greengus, “A Textbook Case,” 44 n. 34.

36. Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, vol. 1.32–47.

37. Johannes Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit. 2. Teil,” *ZA* 59 (1969): 104–230, esp. pp. 143–72. Cf. now also Richard A. Henshaw, *Female and Male: The Cultic Personnel* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 31; Allison Park, Penn., 1994), 29–32.

38. Renger, “Untersuchungen . . . 2. Teil,” 168.

the last year but one of Sumu-el of Larsa (ca. 1867 B.C.),³⁹ when Nippur passed for the first time, if briefly, into the hands of Larsa,⁴⁰ while the latter (or his namesake?) succeeded to the office by the sixth year of Enlil-bani of Isin (ca. 1854 B.C.), according to the seal inscription impressed on the division of his inheritance.⁴¹ As Kraus stated, we can thus determine the existence, in Old Babylonian Nippur, of prosperous priestly families who formed a living and economic community that lasted for generations, and possessed a family tradition which demonstrably spanned five and six generations.⁴² Under such circumstances it would not be at all unthinkable that the Enlil-mashsu and his grandson Aabba-kalla of the new text belong to the same priestly family.

The involvement of Ninurta is consistent with his role as patron deity of correct behavior, a role attested by the fact that he, along with Utu, was most often invoked in Sumerian proverbs enumerating perversions of justice and offenses against good manners.⁴³ But it also ties the new case more specifically to Nippur, a center of Ninurta worship at least since the Sargonic period,⁴⁴ and the place where Ninurta figured prominently in judicial decisions. In the famous case of “the slandered bride” during the reign of Samsu-iluna, this deity was represented by his bronze weapon (*urudu-šita₂*);⁴⁵ in a “paternity suit” again involving female witnesses or alderwomen (*šibāti*),⁴⁶ the weapon is identified by name as Ubanuilla.⁴⁷ Even the late compendium of juridical formulas known as *ana ittišu* preserves the recollection that, in the assembly (*ub-šu-ukkin-na* = *puḫrum*, i.e., of Nippur), testimony was taken before the weapon (*giš-tukul* = *kakku*) of Ninurta.⁴⁸ In the new case, it is the “gate of Ninurta” to which the contending parties were remanded for

39. Ibid., 152, based on PBS 8/2:169 i 5 + ARN 23 (Ni 9211) ii 12. Cf. D. O. Edzard, *Die “Zweite Zwischenzeit” Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 112; F. R. Kraus, “Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden,” *JCS* 3 (1951): 154–56.

40. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 103.

41. YOS 14 No. 321 and Seal Inscription 132. For the royal oxen-names of this text, see Hallo, “The Limits of Skepticism,” *JAOS* 110 (1990): 187–99, esp. p. 190 and n. 30; idem, in *Studies . . . Tadmor*, ed. M. Cogan and I. Eph’al (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33; Jerusalem, 1991), 160f. n. 108. It is likely that the one is named after Irra-imitti of Isin (ca. 1868–1861), less so that the other is named for Sin-magir of Isin (1827–1817).

42. Kraus, “Nippur und Isin,” *JCS* 3 (1951): 155f. For a comparable situation at Nippur in the 21st and 20th centuries, cf. Hallo, “The House of Ur-Meme,” *JNES* 31 (1972): 87–95; Richard L. Zettler, “The Genealogy of the House of Ur-Meme: a Second Look,” *AfO* 31 (1984): 1–9.

43. Hallo, “Biblical Abominations and Sumerian Taboos,” *JQR* 76 (1985): 21–40; Jacob Klein and Yitschak Sefati, “The Concept of ‘Abomination’ in Mesopotamian Literature and the Bible,” *Beer-Sheva* 3 (1988): 131–48 (in Hebrew, English summary pp. 12*f.).

44. Hallo, review of Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* in *JAOS* 101 (1981): 253–57.

45. Hallo, “The Slandered Bride,” 95.

46. PBS 5, 100; latest edition by Erle Leichty, “Feet of Clay,” in *Studies . . . Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens et al. (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11; Philadelphia, 1989), 349–56.

47. See on this weapon, Angim line 132, with the comments by Jerrold S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* (Analecta Orientalia 52; Rome, 1978), 124; and Hallo, review of Cooper, 255.

48. B. Landsberger, *MSL* I 84f.; cf. Hallo, “Cult Statue and Divine Image: A Preliminary Study,” in *Scripture in Context II*, ed. Hallo et al. (Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), 9 and nn. 58–60.

the oath.⁴⁹ Perhaps it was named for the “emblem” of Ninurta⁵⁰ which figures in other court cases. Kraus even weighed the possibility that the comparable “gate of

49. My thanks to Å. Sjöberg for help with identifying the crucial sign at the beginning of lines 18 and 20.

50. T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven/London, 1976), 9, 14 (cited Hallo, “Cult Statue,” 9 n. 58) and p. 128f. (cited Hallo, review of Cooper, 255).

YBC 9839

Transliteration

- ¹Ur-^dEN.ZU-na dumu ^dEn-líl-maš-su
 ù An-né-ba-ab-du₇ šeš-a-ni
 še-ga-ne-ne-ta giš-šub-ba-ta / in-ba-e-eš
 egir Ur-^dEN.ZU-na ba-úš-a-ta
 5 mu-10 àm-gub-bé (or: mu-12 an-gub-bé)
¹An-né-ba-ab-du₇-e(?)
pu-úh-ru-um EN.LÍL.KI-ka
 gaba i-in-ri
 igi-ni in-gar-*ma*(?)
 10 1/3 ma-na kù-babbar šám 2-geme₂-ka
¹Ur-^dEN.ZU-na šeš-gal-mu
 níg-na-me na-ma-an-sì bí-in-du₁₁
¹A-ab-ba-kal-la dumu Ur-^dEN.ZU-na
 igi-ni in-gar-*ma*
 15 kù-bi u₄-bi-ta šà-ga-ni al-du₁₀
 bí-in-du₁₁
 di-kuru₅-e-ne A-ab-ba-kal-la
 ká ^dNin-urta-ka
 nam-NE.RU ku₅-ru-dè ba-an-sì-mu-uš
 20 ká ^dNin-urta-ka
 lú-lú-ù ba-e-en-ne-gin
 še-ga-ne-ne-ta
 4(?) gín kù-babbar

Reverse

- ¹A-ab-ba-kal-la [. . .]
 25 ¹An-né-ba-ab-du₇ [. . .]
 in-na-an-[. . .]
 8 sar giš-giri₁₁ šà a-šà [. . .]
 mu ha-la-ba ha-la-ba di nu-ub-du₁₁-ga-aš
 šà Mul-líl-maš-su-da-ka
 30 ¹A-ab-ba-kal-la ù 2 šeš-a-ne-ne / ibila Ur-^dEN.ZU-na-ke₄-ne

Nanna” in an Old Babylonian lawsuit represents a panel of judges (“Richterkolleg”) which rendered the verdict.⁵¹

51. F. R. Kraus, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (SD 11; Leiden, 1984), 53 n. 115, with reference to M. Rutten, “Un lot de tablettes de Manana (*suite*),” *RA* 54 (1960): 19–40, esp. p. 39 line 5.

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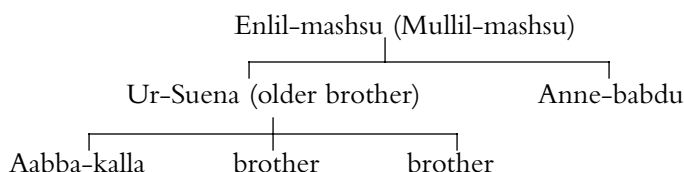
Translation

- 1 Ur-Suena son of Enlil-mashsu
- 2 and Anne-babdu his brother
- 3 by mutual agreement divided (their inheritance) by lot.
- 4 After Ur-Suena died—
- 5 10 [or 12] years having passed(?)—
- 6 Anne-babdu
- 8 confronted
- 7 the assembly of Nippur,
- 9 appeared (in court) and
- 12 declared:
- 10 “One-third pound (20 shekels) of silver, the price of 2 slave-girls,
- 11 Ur-Suena my older brother
- 12 in no wise whatsoever gave to me!”
- 13 Aabba-kalla son of Ur-Suena
- 14 appeared (in court) and
- 16 declared:
- 15 “His heart was satisfied at that time with that money!”
- 17 The judges remanded Aabba-kalla
- 18 to the gate of Ninurta
- 19 for taking the oath.
- 20 By the gate of Ninurta
- 21 each man was made to go towards (accommodate) the other.
- 22 By mutual agreement
- 24 Aabba-kalla
- 26 gave
- 23 4(?) shekels of silver
- 25 to Anne-babdu.
- 27 8 rods of orchard within the field of . . .
- 28 in lieu of the respective inheritance shares not adjudicated
- 29 according to the wish (lit. heart) of Mullil-mashsu
- 30 Aabba-kalla and his two brothers, the heirs of Ur-Suena,

- ¹An-né-ba-ab-du₇-ra
 in-na-an-sì-mu-uš
 u₄-kúr-šè nam-guda₂-^dNin-líl-lá a-šà-šUKU-bi
 nam-bur(!)-<šu>-ma nam-ká-DU₈(?) X
 35 É a-šà giš-giri₁₁ geme₂ arad₂
 níg-gur₁₁ é-ad(!)-da a-na-me-a-bi
 ka dub-libir-ra šà(?) ḥa-la-ba A-ab-ba-kal-la
¹An-né-ba-ab-du₇-ra
 ibila Ur-^dEN.ZU-na-ke₄-ne-ra
 40 inim nu-un-gá-gá-a
 mu-lugala-bi in-pà

 Rest blank

To form an idea of the family relations involved in this lawsuit, it may be useful to reconstruct a brief genealogy.



Legal commentary

Enlil-mashsu was presumably a guda-priest (of Ninlil) at Nippur, given the essentially hereditary character of that office.⁵² In line with contemporary usage, he left no will or testament,⁵³ and his two sons, Ur-Suena and Anne-babdu, mutually agreed to divide his inheritance by lot (lines 1–3), the common practice, especially at Old Babylonian Nippur.⁵⁴ Ur-Suena is mentioned first and was the older brother (line 11). As such, he would have been entitled to a preferential share under Old Babylonian usage at Nippur.⁵⁵ In any case, he was the first of the two

52. Renger, “Untersuchungen . . . 2. Teil,” 168f.

53. G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, vol. I (Oxford, 1952), 343; F. R. Kraus, “Vom altnesopotamischen Erbrecht,” in *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession* (Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiquis Pertinentia 9; Leiden, 1969), 1–17, esp. p. 4.

54. See CAD I, 198f. s.v. *isqu* and CAD M/2, 131 s.v. *mitgurtu*.

55. E. Ebeling, “Erbe, Erbrecht, Enterbung,” *RLA* 2 (Berlin/Leipzig, 1938), 459; Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, vol. 1.113; CAD E, 78 s.v. *elātu*; F. R. Kraus, “Erbrechtliche Terminologie im alten Mesopotamien,” in *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession*, 18–57, esp. pp. 55–56.

32 gave
 31 to Anne-babdu.
 38 Anne-babdu
 41 swore in the name of the king
 33 that he would henceforth
 40 not raise a claim
 39 against the heirs of Ur-Suena
 33 for the office of anointing priest of Ninlil and its prebend field,
 34 or the office of “elder” or the office of gate-opener(?),
 35 house, field, orchard, slave-girl, male slave,
 36 or any (other) property of the patrimony whatsoever
 37 on the basis of an old document regarding the inheritance share of Aabba-kalla.

brothers to die (line 4). This occurred an unspecified number of years after the death of Enlil-mashsu. Ten (or twelve) years after his own death, his younger brother Anne-babdu filed suit in the assembly of Nippur against his sons (lines 6–9), the nephews of Anne-babdu who, as grandsons of Enlil-mashsu, would have been entitled to the full share of their deceased father.⁵⁶ Only one of these grandsons is identified by name, the others merely as “his two brothers” (line 30), but all three are designated as “heirs” of Ur-Suena (line 30). Aabba-kalla, no doubt the eldest of the three, was in line to inherit the office of guda-priest and may well be identical with the holder of this office whose son again bore the name of Enlil-mashsu in the first half of the 19th century.⁵⁷ He apparently chose to speak and act on behalf of his younger brothers in the lawsuit.

In the suit, the plaintiff Anne-babdu deposed that Ur-Suena had given him nothing (out of the inheritance), not so much as the price of two slave-girls (lines 10–12). At 20 shekels for the two or 10 shekels each, this is within the contemporary price range. For a male slave gored to death by an ox, for example, the Laws of Eshnunna provide compensation to the owner at 15 shekels, the Laws of Hammurapi at 20 shekels.⁵⁸ Responding for the defendants, Aabba-kalla deposed that in fact the plaintiff’s heart had been satisfied with “that money” (i.e., presumably, the 20 shekels) “at that time” (i.e., presumably, at the time of the division of the inheritance [lines 14–16]). The idiom used is a technical term for “satisfaction in conveyance” widely attested across the ancient Near East.⁵⁹

56. Ebeling, “Erbe,” 459.

57. Above, nn. 38–41.

58. *ANET* 163:55, 176:252.

59. Yochanan Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiquis Pertinentia 8; Leiden, 1969).

Faced with this conflicting testimony, the judges turned the defendant over to the gate of the divine Ninurta for the oath (lines 17–20). Apparently the contending parties were induced to come to terms (lines 20–21), although on balance the compromise reached may be said to have favored the plaintiff. By mutual consent, he was given four shekels of silver by the defendant (lines 22–26), and while this sum represented only one fifth of his claim, it was supplemented by 8 “rods” of orchard given to him by the defendant and his two brothers in lieu (or in view?) of the shares of inheritance not yet(?) adjudicated (lines 27–32). In return, the plaintiff had to renounce, under oath and for all time, any further claims against the defendants, even if in keeping with an old record involving their share (lines 37–41). Such claims included, in the first place, the office of guda-priest of Ninlil and the land allotment that went with it and, further, all other real estate, slaves, or moveable property of any kind from the patrimony (lines 33–36).

A somewhat different interpretation is offered by Martha Roth.⁶⁰ She suggests that Anne-babdu sued only for non-delivery of the slave-girls and that Aabba-kalla was sent to the oath ordeal for lack of proof that this debt had been long satisfied, though the heirs settled out of court, so to speak, i.e., without the oath being administered. The real estate of lines 27–31 was a separate issue. Having remained undivided hitherto, it was given to Anne-babdu who, now that he had no further property in common with the other heirs, could renounce any further claims against Aabba-kalla on the inheritance.

It is interesting to note the two different kinds of oath involved in the court case, the *nam-erim₂* oath and the *mu-lugal* oath. According to D. O. Edzard, the distinction between them is one of “timing,” with the *nam-erim₂* oath an asseveration regarding an action in the past, and the *mu-lugal* oath the promise of an action to be taken or avoided in the future.⁶¹ But a detailed review of Ur III texts from Nippur by Izumi Yoda has shown that the distinction was rather one of jurisdiction: the *nam-erim₂* oath invokes divine sanction, the *mu-lugal* oath royal sanction.⁶² (The rarer examples of *mu-dingir* oaths must belong to the former sphere.) In the present case, Ninurta was invoked to decide between two conflicting testimonies, while the future observance of the compromise agreement arrived at was put under royal auspices.

The new text is a valuable addition to the sparsely attested genre of model court cases. Like the other examples of the genre, it probably owes its inclusion in the scribal curriculum of Nippur (and of schools elsewhere which took their cue from Nippur) to the belief that it illustrated some particularly interesting points of law. We can only speculate what those points were. Two may be proposed here, one positive with negative implications, the other negative with positive implications.

60. Letter of March 7, 1996.

61. D. O. Edzard, “Zum sumerischen Eid,” in *Sumerological Studies . . . Jacobsen*, ed. S. J. Lieberman (AS 20; Chicago, 1975): 63–98.

62. Izumi Yoda, “Oaths in Sumerian Archival Texts: A Case Study in Ur III Nippur” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale, 1993).

On the positive side, it is striking that, ten years after the death of the elder son, which itself occurred an unspecified number of years after the division of the inheritance, the younger son is still entitled to sue the surviving heirs of the deceased elder son for what he regards as his rightful share of the inheritance. By implication, this seems to rule out what we today might call a “statute of limitations,” at least with respect to inheritance.

On the negative side, however, the plaintiff obligates himself under oath to lay no further claim to any part of the patrimony, even if in the future an older document should turn up to substantiate such a claim. That seems to be the import of line 37, though it is not phrased with quite the degree of explicitness associated, for example, with the possible appearance of a document sealed with a lost seal, where real and model contracts agree in specifying: “should any sealed tablets be lost and then found again, they are to be destroyed,”⁶³ or variations of this formula.⁶⁴ Comparable explicitness is associated with the appearance of a fraudulent tablet (*tuppu sihtu*) which, if it turns up, is to be considered false (*sār*) and destroyed (*ihheppī*).⁶⁵ Such Akkadian usage even left its mark on later Aramaic formulations, as shown by A. Skaist.⁶⁶ Implicitly if not explicitly, however, the concluding agreement in the new case puts an end to further litigation and frees the defendants in perpetuity from the threat of new lawsuits.

One final reason may be suggested for the selection of this particular case for the scribal school curriculum, or canon in the sense in which I use the term,⁶⁷ from the presumably vast stock of authentic court cases on deposit in the archives of Nippur. It illustrates nicely a broader principle enshrined in another, and probably earlier, stage of that curriculum, namely the proverb collections. In Proverb Collection 14 we read: “To have the younger (son) driven out of the patrimony by the (first-born) heir—this is an abomination of Ninurta.”⁶⁸ A newly published variant seems to have instead, “A (first-born) heir who is driven out of the patrimony is an abomination to Ninurta.”⁶⁹ The model court case published herewith appears to be an apt illustration of the longer version of this proverb.⁷⁰

63. Hallo, “Seals Lost and Found,” in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Gibson and R.D. Biggs (BiMes 6; Malibu, Calif., 1977), 56 and n. 5.

64. Cf., e.g., MVN 3, 257; Bertrand Lafont, *RA* 80 (1986): 13:7 and *NABU* 1990:14, No. 19; cf. Wilcke, *ZA* 78 (1988): 29 n. 101 (and 8 n. 36).

65. CAD S, 181f., 240.

66. Aaron Skaist, “The Background of the Talmudic Formula WHKL ŠRYR WQYM,” in *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages* (Y. Kutscher Memorial Volume; Ramat Gan, 1980), xl–liv, esp. p. l.

67. Hallo, *Origins* (Leiden, 1996), 150–52, with previous literature.

68. Hallo, “Biblical Abominations,” 24, 39; variant texts *ibid.*, 23, 39. Bendt Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (Bethesda, Md., 1997), vol. 1.301 (rev. 3') restores, reads, and translates the texts somewhat differently and does not assign it to Collection 14; for the older variants, see now *ibid.*, 310, 332 and vol. 2, plate 131.

69. *CT* 58, 69 i 6f.; cf. the comments by Hallo, review of *CT* 58 in *JAOS* 116 (1996): 265f., *ad loc.* See now Alster, *Proverbs*, vol. 1.278.

70. Cf. also S.P. 1.141: “The brothers in anger destroyed their father’s estate”: Alster, *Proverbs*, vol. 1.28.

Glossary of Technical Terms

- a-ša-šUKU = *šukūšu*, “subsistence holding” (line 33)
 ba = *zāzu*, “divide (an inheritance)” (line 2)
 di-du₁₁ = *dīnam dānu*(?), “adjudicate” (line 28)
 dub-libir-ra = *ṭuppu labīru*, “old document” (line 37)
 é-ad-da = *bīt abi*, “patrimony” (line 36)
 egir = *arkatu*, “estate,” or *arki*, “after” (line 4)
 gaba-ri = *maḥāru*, “to approach (an authority) with a demand or complaint, to sue”
 (line 8)
 giš-šub-ba = *isqu*, “lot” (line 3)
 ha-la-ba = *zittu*, “share (of an inheritance)” (lines 28, 37)
 ibila = *aplu*, “heir, eldest son” (lines 30, 39)
 igi-gar = *pāni šakānu*, “to appear (in court)” (lines 9, 14)
 inim-gar = *raqāmu*, *baqāru*, “to claim, to sue” (line 40)
 mu-lugala-pà = *nīš šarri tamû*, “swear in the king’s name” (line 41)
 nam-erim₂ = *mamītu*, “oath (by the deity)” (line 19)
 nam-guda₂ = *pašišūtu*, “office of anointed priest” (line 33)
 nīg-gur₁₁ é-ad-da: cf. nīg-gur₁₁ é-a-ba = *makkūr bīt abi*, “patrimony” (line 36)
 šà-ga-ni al-du₁₀ = *libbašu ṭāb*, “his heart was satisfied” (line 15)
 še-ga-ne-ne-ta = *ina mitgurtišunu*, “by mutual agreement” (lines 3, 22)
 šeš-gal = *ahu rabû*, “older/oldest brother” (line 11)
 (nīg) u₄-bi-ta = (*ša*) *matīma*, “(a thing) of the past” (line 15) (MSL 13:115:27)

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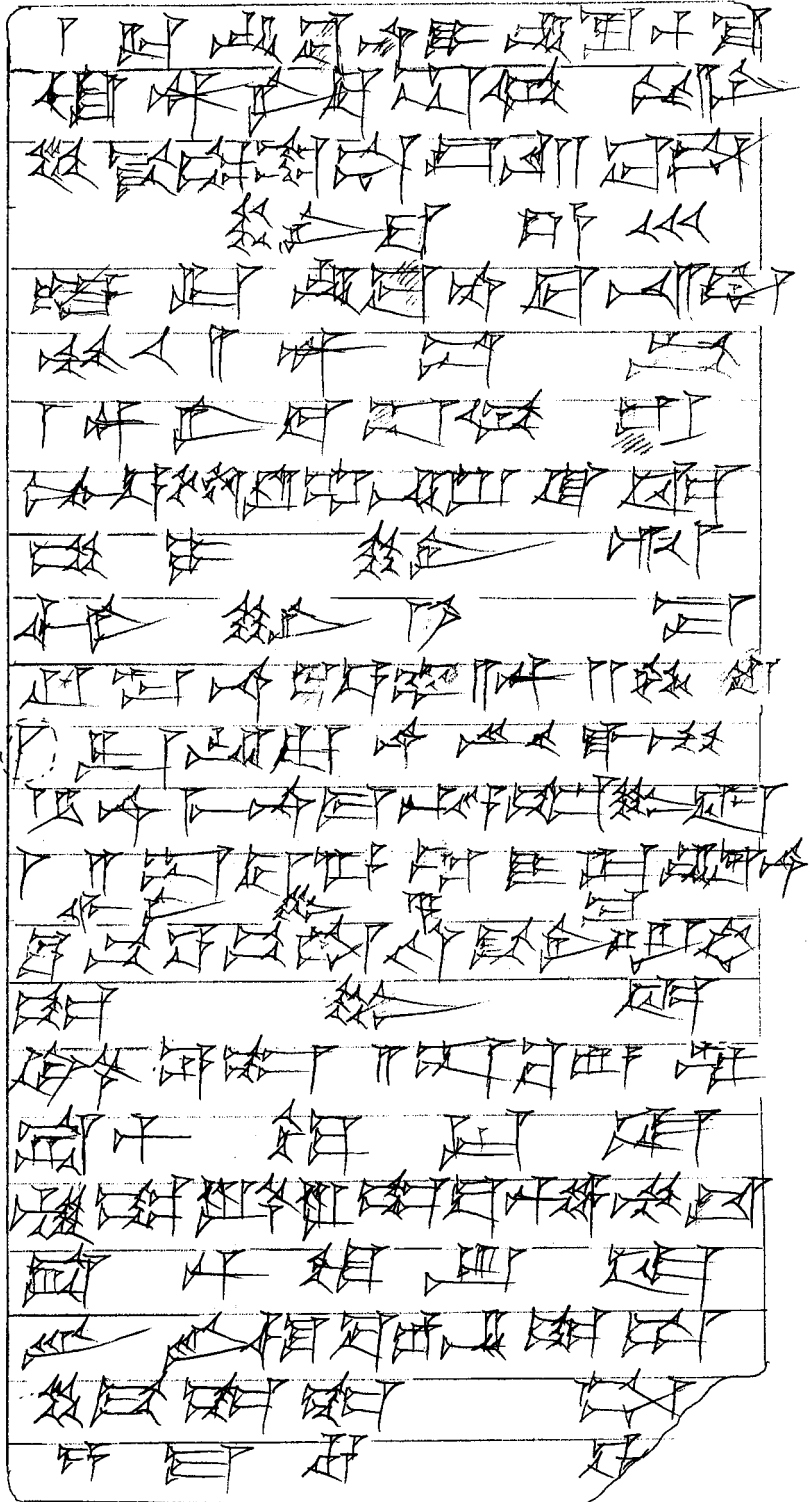
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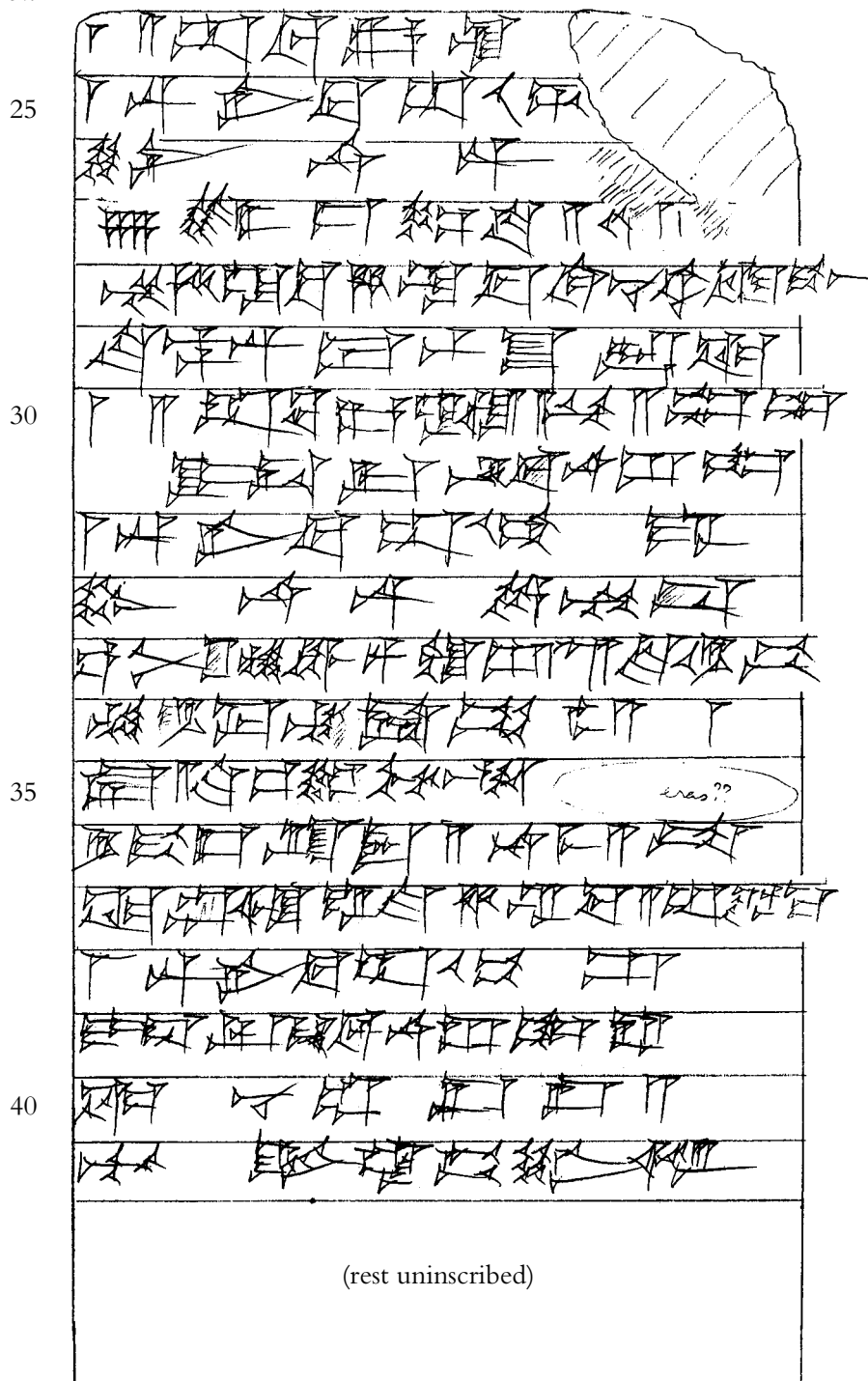
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The Lady of Girsu

WOLFGANG HEIMPEL

Among the many talents of T. Jacobsen was his ability to see a world behind a mere sliver of evidence and to illuminate astonishing depths of view. It is not always clear whether that which he saw is reality; but even where it might not be, his insights advance the process that will lead us eventually to a piece of reality or to the realization that we have too little information to reach it. The following considerations are based on very little information, and this writer, while being convinced that the reality of their subject cannot yet be reached, is encouraged by Jacobsen's work to yield to the lure of a treasure of insight in the darkness of pre-history into which the subject of Ningirsu's name leads.

1. The Meaning of the Name Ningirsu

The Sumerian name of the male city-god of Girsu, Ningirsu, means "Lady of Girsu." Already in 1932, A. Jeremias thought that this was due to the original bisexual nature of the god.¹ Yet there is no female trace in his nature. On the contrary, he is the image of testosterone-laden maleness. He is god of the plow and irrigation, and he battles fearsome monsters who threaten the sown. How, then, shall we explain the name?

Concerning this problem, A. Falkenstein (CRRAI 3 [1954] 46) observed: "Ein appellatives *nin* 'Herr' is nirgends bezeugt und ausserdem ist das Element *nin* in den genannten Götternamen (i.e., Ningirsu, Ningizzida, Ninazu) sicher nicht identisch mit *nin* 'Herrin,' da die Emesalform dafür *umun* lautet, nicht *gašan*." The logic of this argument is difficult to follow. If *nin* in male divine names is not identical with the word *nin* which is the generic term for that which we translate as "lady" and if a generic term *nin* with the meaning "lord" does not exist, what then is that *nin* which is neither? Emesal writings of divine names indeed replace the element *nin* according to gender of the bearer of the name by *umun* or *gašan*, but they also replace *lugal* by *umun*, as in *Umunbanda* = *Lugalbanda*, and *ereš*

1. *Der Alte Orient* 32/1, 12. I owe the reference to B. Groneberg, *WO* 17 (1986): 27.

by gašan, as in Gašankigala = Ereškigala. We certainly do not want to conclude that lugal does not mean king because it was rendered in Emesal by u m u n = lord.

In his “Introductory Considerations” to the topic of pantheon in Mesopotamia, W. G. Lambert, like Jeremias before him, was tempted to explain the problem in terms of alleged bisexual divine nature. Considering the meaning of the element nin in the case of Ninšubura, he stated: “While as a common noun nin means only ‘lady’ or ‘mistress,’ in divine names it can be masculine: ‘master’ ”; and he continues on the nature of Ninšubura: “Up to the reign of Hammurabi the gender of this vizier is variable. Rim-Sin’s inscriptions attest the deity in both genders and so far there is no explanation of this phenomenon.”² We have to realize, however, that what we might understand as one god with a particular nature was, in this case, really three gods, three images standing in three different shrines. They were all viziers of master gods, but they surely differed in the identity of the master, in looks and dress, and in gender. The Ninšubura of Rim-Sin 8 was female, and her shrine was called E₂-nin-bi-túm, “House-fit-for-its-Lady.” It was located in Ur, and was presumably not a temple, as translations have it, but a room in the sanctuary of an Inana figure. The Ninšubura of Rim-Sin 12 was male and lived in E₂-áĝ-ĝá-sun-mu, “House-providing-Instruction,” also in Ur and presumably a room in a sanctuary of An. The Ninšubura of Rim-Sin 13 finally was again male and lived in E₂-mekilib-ba-saĝ-ila, “House-raising-the-Head-in-total-Power” in Girsu.³ There is no reason to believe that any of these or other Ninšubura figures bears any bisexual traits. The gender difference was presumably the result of the identification of Ninšubura figures with viziers and of the custom for a master to have a vizier of the same gender.

D. O. Edzard thought that nin designated the title of a ruler and was originally neutral in gender; later, but still prehistorically, it was limited to female gender as a generic term, while keeping its gender neutrality in divine names.⁴ The hypothesis agrees with the fact that many Sumerian designations of persons do not distinguish gender: lú “person,” dumu “child,” en “en-priest” and “en-priestess,” and with the fact that religion is a highly conservative environment, in which much prehistory survives. Yet it does not convince in the case of nin because the sign with which the word was written includes a representation of the female pubic triangle. The sign can be traced back to the earliest stage of writing.⁵ It is likely, then, that already at that early stage the word was identified with female gender.

A. Westenholz thought that he had actually found two instances of nin as a generic term designating males in *Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena* (1975), nos. 3 and 67,

2. *Or* 45 (1976): 12.

3. The inscriptions are quoted according to D. R. Frayne, *RIME IV* (1990).

4. *RLA IV* (1975): 336 sub “Herrscher.” The argument is based on F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 3 (1951): 66–67 and n. 11.

5. See the references in M. W. Green and H. J. Nissen, *Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (1987), 256, sign 400.

texts from Nippur of the time before Naram-Sin of Akkad. The administrative context is unknown and does not emerge clearly from the texts themselves. It is easy to think of scenarios to accommodate the word *nin* in its usual meaning “lady, queen.”⁶

There actually exists a reference for *nin* as a generic term applied to a male. It is not quoted in discussions of the meaning of *nin*, doubtless because it is so patently suspect. The reference may be added here as a curiosity. UET I 40 is a hand copy by C. Gadd. According to the copy, Ur-Nammu would have built a house for the male moon-god ^dNanna *nin-an-na nin-a-ni*, “Nanna, the lady of the sky, his lady.” No original of this “inscription” has been located despite the statement of the authors of UET I that the inscription was found on numerous bricks.⁷ It was probably created when Gadd hastily transliterated the inscription in which Ur-Nammu commemorates building the house for Inana Kununa (^dInana *Kù-nun-na*), misread his handwritten Inanna as Nanna, and replaced erroneously *Kù-nun-na* by *an-na* when he transferred the transliteration to cuneiform, as is the method of copying cuneiform texts occasionally used by scholars.⁸

P. Mander, comparing the Early Dynastic III godlists from Tell Abu Šalabih and Fara, identified the entry ^dNin-urta in Fara with ^dNám-urta in Abu Šalabih under the title “Nomi verosimilmente riconducibili tra loro che si presentano con varianti grafiche, concettuali o in lacuna,” without specifying whether he regarded the variants as graphic or conceptual.⁹ G. J. Selz proposed that the name ^dNám-urta and two more divine names having *nám* as first element “should perhaps be understood as “Lord (of) x/y” etc.”¹⁰ The proposition raises the possibility of finally explaining why the element *nin* in divine names can describe males. Perhaps the

6. Text 3 is a list of names. After three personal names, the word *nin* is found; then follow two more personal names, which complete the text. The notation *nin* may indicate that the three persons listed before it belonged to the staff of a queen. Text 67 is a list of parcels of land and persons. The persons were probably the recipients of the land. The text is not well preserved and has a complex format. The notation *nin É* follows a list of 4 parcels and associated names. The last of the names is Puzur-Aštar, presumably a male. Westenholz seems to have understood *nin É* as a designation of Puzur-Aštar’s occupation. It may refer again to the queen as head of a household. Perhaps *É nin*, “household of the queen,” is meant.

7. UET I (1928), p. xi. See the comment of H. Steible’s edition in *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* (FAOS 9/2; 1991): 102. Steible quotes C. Wilcke’s explanation of the error and adds his own. Both blame the ancients.

8. In that method, the drawing of wedges is schematic and does not attempt to render the ductus of the script and the spatial arrangement of signs.

9. *Il Pantheon di Abu-Šalābīkh* (1986), 113. I quote the entry from Fara in the edition of M. Krebernik, “Die Götterlisten aus Fāra,” *ZA* 76 (1986): 169. This edition includes the results of repeated collations. The copy of the entry from Abu Šalabih is found in R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh* (OIP 119; 1974), 82 IV 15.

10. “The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp: Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia,” in *Sumerian Gods and their Representations*, ed. I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (Cuneiform Monographs 7; 1997), 191 n. 89.

word *nám*, which was in later lexical tradition still identified with *bēlum* “lord,”¹¹ is the word hidden behind the spelling *nin* in male divine names. The reason for writing this word with *nin* would still remain unclear, yet /*nam*/ and /*nin*/ are relatively close in pronunciation, especially if one considers that /*n*/ and /*m*/ appear elsewhere in spellings of one and the same word, that transliterated /*i*/ in *nin* could have represented /*e*/, and that younger /*e*/ often replaces older /*a*/. Even if we agree with this linguistic hocus-pocus, there remains the difficulty that the same text which writes ^d*Nám-urta* writes also ^d*Nin-ĝir+su* and many dozens of names beginning with the element *nin*. It seems to me much more likely that the scribe intended to write ^d*Nin-urta* and omitted the element *SAL* before the sign *nám*. Note that the entry is flanked by divine names beginning with the element *nin* and that the text is in the habit of listing such names in groups.

2. Socio-Historical Hypothesis

It appears then that we cannot dispose of the difficulty of a male god with the name “Lady of . . .” on philological grounds. If we look for a social model that would explain the name Ningirsu “Lady of Girsu,” we do not have to look far today, when women are beginning to occupy formerly all-male positions. Just as women become chairmen, so male gods may have moved into positions formerly held by female gods.¹² These were conceivably positions of city-gods, which may have been occupied by females as a rule in prehistoric times. It is noteworthy that many city-gods were female throughout Babylonia and especially in the conservative territory of Lagaš: Gatumdu of Lagaš City, Ninmar of Gu’aba, Nanše of Nina, Dumuzi-Abzu of Kinunir. Male were Ningirsu of Girsu, Lugal-Uruba of Urub, and Nindara of Kiesa. If we could penetrate the dark long stretches of time before ED III, we might find that city-gods were originally all female and that males entered such positions as time went by. While this is possible, it may be wrong, and a documented case is needed. I cannot offer such a case, but I believe that I have found a feature of the relationship between Ningirsu and Bau in Girsu which indicates a change from female to male in divine supremacy in Girsu and a circumstance of that change.

3. Bau as Lady of the Holy City

In my article “The Gates of Eninnu,”¹³ I proposed that Gudea Cylinder A XXV 25—XXVI 14 describes the gates that are also shown on the architectural plan which Gudea has on his knees on Statue B; that one of these gates, Tarsirsir,

11. As pointed out by W. G. Lambert in *OrAnt* 20 (1981): 94–97.

12. If so, the ancients did not change the title. The modern female chairman became a chair, or chairperson; the slayer of dragons and tiller of soil was proud to be the “lady” of Girsu.

13. *JCS* 48 (1996): 17–29.

led to the sanctuary of Bau, Etarsirsir, “House Tarsirsir,” which was located within the walls of the plan;¹⁴ and that the walls enclose the sacred precinct of Girsu, which the ancients called the “Holy City” and which enclosed temples of Ningirsu, temples of Bau, and temples of several other deities.

In the inscriptions of Gudea and other rulers of his period, Bau is called “Lady of the Holy City,” while Ningirsu is never related to the Holy City as its king or Lord. He is mentioned in connection with the Holy City just once in the ED III period by Eanatum who “built the wall of the Holy City for Ningirsu.”¹⁵ It is remarkable that Gudea in his numerous inscriptions, including Statue B and the cylinders which describe in considerable detail the building and restoration of Ningirsu’s temple Eninnu White Eagle, never mentions the fact that this temple was located inside the Holy City. Even when he detailed the work on the six gates he did not mention that they were the gates of the wall of the Holy City. Yet he commemorates building “for Bau her wall of the Holy City.”¹⁶ It seems as if Gudea was reluctant to mention the primary position of Bau within the Holy City in connection with his construction on the temple of Ningirsu. He may have been sensitive to the possibility of insulting the pride of Ningirsu by stating plainly the fact that on the soil of the Holy City, where Ningirsu’s temple stood, Bau was Lady.

4. Evolutionary Model

That Eanatum built the wall of the Holy City for Ningirsu and that about 300 years later Gudea did the same for Bau appears to indicate a shift from male to female in ownership of the central sacred precinct of Girsu, not a shift from female to male, as the hypothesis proposed here demands. Yet how little do we know! In a span of about 300 years, we have two episodes when ownership of the Holy City was spelled out. And how easy it is to invent scenarios into which these distant islands of knowledge can be fitted! For example, it may have been an iconoclastic act of Eanatum to assign the wall of the Holy City to Ningirsu, an act that was later repealed. Later rulers, among them Gudea, may not have wanted to repeat the mistake. Whatever the true reason for the change in ownership of the Holy City may have been, the name “Lady of Girsu” of the male city-god of Girsu propels us to

14. In addition to the arguments for locating Etarsirsir inside the Holy City proposed in the aforementioned article, the Ur III text from Girsu published by G. A. Barton as no. 28 in *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets* (1918) and collated by T. Maeda in *ASJ* 2 (1980): 207, is relevant. It lists wool rations for menial workers in various temples. The temples were identified as 3 houses of Bau, 2 houses of Ningirsu, and single shrines and summarized as “these houses (are) 14, Holy City” (é-bi 14 uru-kù). It is not conceivable that none of the 3 houses of Bau was Etarsirsir. The meaning of Tarsirsir is unclear, a fact that has led many scholars to read tar as sila “street” despite the spelling É-dār-sír-sír in AO 6775. A full discussion of the problem is given by G. J. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagasch* (Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 13; 1995), 26 n. 73.

15. E’annatum 2 III 7–8.

16. FAOS 9/1 (1991), Gudea 4 = RIME III/1 (1997) Gudea 5.

assume a shift of divine rule of the city from female to male. It may have proceeded as follows: The principal deity of Girsu was originally Bau. Her first temple stood on Tell A overlooking the Tigris not far from where the river arm leading to Nina branched off.¹⁷ At some point another temple was built for her on lower terrain to the southwest, closer to the center of the city. Her image in that temple was differentiated from the image in the old temple by the addition of the epithet “Lady of Girsu.” The epithet described her specific function as divine overseer of the affairs of the city. This function was taken over by a male divinity, who may have been her husband, or antagonist, or both, and who continued to use the title Lady of Girsu. Step by step, this male Lady of Girsu gained in power at the expense of Bau. The latest phase of this process is historical. In ED III Bau still owned considerable areas of agricultural land,¹⁸ but by Ur III she had lost them all, and the last remnant of her erstwhile power was her titular ownership of the Holy City.

It goes without saying that the explanation of the name Ningirsu cannot be applied to all names of male deities beginning with the word *nin*. One could argue that some of these names have been wrongly interpreted and actually fit the pattern. For example Ningizzida may not mean “Lady of the Good Tree” but rather “Lady of Ĝišzida,” understanding the second element as the designation of a place. Yet such explanation cannot convince in the case of Ninazu, which seems to mean “Lady Leech,” and in innumerable other cases where the second element is not in the genitive and obviously not a geographical name.

17. See my reconstruction in “The Gates of Eninnu.” Note also that Tell A was the highest of the tells in the ruin of Tello, which indicates that it was settled first.

18. The sources do not allow a reliable estimate of the size of her holdings and their relation to the holdings of Ningirsu. For a general description of the evidence see Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 40–41.

izuzzum and *itūlum*

JOHN HUEHNERGARD

In 1939, A. Poebel presented an exhaustive study of the common Akkadian verb *izuzzum/uzuzzum* ‘to stand’,¹ in which he concluded that the forms of the verb were not, as had been generally maintained previously, aberrant forms of a root **nzz* but rather reflected the N stem of a middle-weak root **z-w/γ/ʔ-z*. In the course of his discussion, in a lengthy footnote,² he also argued that the allegedly irregular verb *itūlum/utūlum* ‘to lie (down)’ was actually the Gt of *niālum/nālum*, a verb with similar meaning. A few years later, in 1952, W. von Soden published a study entitled “Unregelmäßige Verben im Akkadischen,”³ having worked through the attested forms of *izuzzum* and *itūlum* and other difficult verbs for his fundamental *Grundriss* (GAG), which would also appear that year. As the title of his article indicates, von Soden concluded that Poebel was mistaken, that *izuzzum* and *itūlum* were instead to be considered irregular verbs “deren Formenbildung aus keinem der bekannten Paradigmen ganz abgeleitet werden kann” (p. 164). Von Soden’s view, naturally presented as well in GAG (§107) and still maintained in the recently published third edition of GAG,⁴ has in the intervening four decades become canonical, with few dissenting voices heard.⁵

Author’s note: It is a pleasure to dedicate this study to the memory of a dear friend. The following paper takes up a study of one of his Chicago colleagues, and it was my great fortune to be able to discuss its main points many years ago with Thorkild over some Akvavit in Bradford; his well-known passion for things grammatical was in full evidence, and, as always, he offered many insightful criticisms. I am also grateful to S. Dalley, W. R. Garr, J. Hackett, M. Smith, and the late W. L. Moran for their helpful comments during discussions of this topic.

1. A. Poebel, *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* (AS 9; Chicago, 1939), Study III: “The Verb *uzuzzu*, ‘to stand,’” 75–196.

2. *Ibid.*, 105 n. 1.

3. ZA 50 (1952): 163–81; henceforth: von Soden, ZA 50.

4. W. von Soden unter Mitarbeit von Werner R. Mayer, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (3. ergänzte Auflage, *Analecta Orientalia* 33; Rome, 1995).

5. W. G. Lambert is perhaps the only dissenter in recent years; in “A New Verb: **šī’ālum* ‘re-joyce,’” RA 77 (1983): 190–91, he labels *itūlum* “a I/2 of *na’ālum*,” and in “A Further Attempt at the Babylonian ‘Man and His God,’” *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (ed. F. Rochberg-Halton; American Oriental Series 67; New Haven, 1987), 196, he suggests that the evidence “strongly supports Poebel’s interpretation of the forms of [*izuzzum*] as

But Poebel was right: *izuzzum* is indeed the N of a root **zww*; *itūlum* is simply the Gt of *niālum* (root *nyl*).

Von Soden was certainly correct to point to a number of problems in Poebel's study of *izuzzum*. Poebel was sometimes not careful to distinguish forms of individual dialects from each other. His proto-forms are often unlikely from a Semitic point of view, and the derivational processes he assumed are frequently rather forced; he relied almost entirely, for example, on phonological developments, some of them quite dubious.

But von Soden's fundamental complaint about Poebel's hypothesis was the latter's assumption of a triradical root underlying the forms of *izuzzum*. Von Soden insisted instead that most weak verbs—both in Akkadian and in Semitic generally—were originally biradical. This is equally strained, and led von Soden to posit equally dubious paths of development. Thus, for instance, he suggested (ZA 50, 165) that the best explanation of the frequent doubling of the final radical in forms of *izuzzum* was that the root was originally biradical, **ziz*; yet the most likely contenders for original biconsonantal status in Semitic and Akkadian, namely, certain roots I-*w*, such as **(w)rd* 'to descend', never double the final radical in their inflection.⁶ In fact, as is well known, the only roots in Akkadian that regularly double the final radical in their inflection are hollow roots, such as *mātum* 'to die', with G durative 3mp *imuttū* and Š infinitive *šumuttum*.

To explain forms with doubling of the first *z*, such as the durative *iz-za-(a-)az* and the preterite *iz-zi-iz*, von Soden was forced to invoke an ill-defined root augment *n*. If there was such a morpheme (and I doubt it), then it must have appeared on other originally biradical roots as well, as von Soden indeed claimed, in GAG §102a–b. But then why is the inflection of those roots not parallel to that of *izuz-*

being based on a root **zww*, used, like quadrilaterals, in the IV stem for the normal meaning." I. J. Gelb, in his *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (MAD 3), 304, also listed *izuzzum* under *Z²₆Z*, i.e., *zww*.

6. In contrast to von Soden and a number of others, I myself am a firm believer in the original triradical nature of most "weak" roots in early Semitic (except perhaps for certain verbs "I-*w*," as just noted). I am, however, willing to admit that the situation may have been more complicated at a pre-Semitic, or early Afroasiatic, stage. Yet there has been no adequate explanation of how Semitic roots might have "acquired" the "extra" radicals they exhibit. I am not at all convinced, for example, by the reconstruction of monoconsonantal root augments proposed by C. Ehret, *JAL* 2/3 (1989): 107–202. Nor is there, to my knowledge, a reasonable explanation of why *w* and *y* alone should be excluded from the roster of original consonants that go into the composition of Proto-Semitic roots, especially when known Semitic phonological processes allow us to derive nearly all attested forms of verbs "middle weak" and "final weak" in the descendant languages from roots *X-w-X* and *X-y-X* and roots *X-X-w* and *X-X-y*, respectively. Indeed, contrary to the view held by von Soden (see, e.g., GAG §§50c, 73a–c), Akkadian is one of the Semitic languages, along with Ge'ez, that most clearly indicate roots with *w* and *y* rather than with vocalic elements.

In any case the analysis offered here is based on known Akkadian morphology and phonological developments and on well-established analogical processes. It proceeds from paradigms of so-called "hollow" roots as these are attested in Akkadian and does not depend on whether these are considered originally to have been *CvC* or *Cw/yC*.

zum, with its unusual infinitive and its exceptional doubling of the final radical? One cannot claim that *izuzzum* is from a root *ziz* with “root augment *n*” and that *našāqum* ‘kiss’ is from a root **šiq* likewise with “root augment *n*,” and then discount the differences in their inflection as insignificant, as von Soden suggested by supposing that “die Verbalflexion in für uns prähistorischer Zeit weitaus ungleichartiger und weniger schematisiert war als später” (ZA 50, 164). We may not assume that prehistoric languages behave differently than known languages.

Von Soden also dismissed writings such as durative *iz-za-a-az*, with an extra vowel-sign, as pausal forms; yet such writings are indeed typical of hollow verbs⁷ and rarely met with otherwise, even “in pause.”

Finally, von Soden’s alternatives to Poebel’s proposals concerning these verbs are linguistically unsatisfying, for at least two reasons. First, they require the assumption, for both *izuzzum* and *itūlum*, of a set of nearly homophonous suppletive roots, *ziz/nzz/šiz/tiz* for the former and *nīl/til* for the latter; while suppletive roots are a common enough phenomenon, even in Semitic (e.g., *ntn/yhb* in some Aramaic dialects), the near homophony of these biforms suggests a failure in analysis and reconstruction. Secondly, von Soden’s alternatives assume, obviously, “irregular” or non-paradigmatic verbs for Proto-Akkadian, and thus probably for Proto-Semitic, when it is otherwise unnecessary to posit such forms for other early Semitic languages or, therefore, for common Semitic.

The question of non-paradigmatic forms requires some comment.⁸ Although very few, if any, forms of *itūlum* are non-paradigmatic (i.e., fail to conform to the expected paradigm of the Gt of a root *n-γ-l*; see further below), it cannot be denied that in nearly all the dialects the forms of *izuzzum* do not conform to any one otherwise-normative paradigm. This does not, however, mean that such forms (or the paradigm of *izuzzum* in general) were irregular in origin. Indeed, when we

7. See also the comments of C. Wilcke, ZA 80 (1990): 298: “Schreibungen wie diese ([iz]-za-a-az) [in VS 22 20:6'] zeigen, daß *izuzzum*, das (im Präsens) wie die Verba mediae vocalis vor Vokal den letzten Konsonanten längt, analog zu diesen das Präsens ohne vokalische Endung mit langem *ā* (oder *ā*) bildet.”

8. Besides *izuzzum* and *itūlum*, the other allegedly irregular verbs discussed by von Soden in ZA 50 (and resumed in GAG §107n–v) are (3) *nadānum* ‘give’, (4) *na’ādum* ‘pay attention’ and *nādum* ‘praise’, (5) Assyrian **našš* ‘carry’, and (6) *utlellūm* ‘raise oneself’. The only non-paradigmatic forms of *nadānum* are the Assyrian durative *iddan*, which is undoubtedly formed on the analogy of *alākum* (*illik* : *iddin* :: *illak* : X; see V. Christian, WZKM 33 [1926]: 143), and imperative *din*, which has apparently lost its initial *i*; the Assyrian nominal forms, infinitive *tadānum*, participle *tādin*- and verbal adjective *tadin*-, must have arisen because of the ambiguity of the finite forms: the preterite *iddin* and the perfect *ittadin*, at least, may be analyzed as forms of either *n-d-n* or *t-d-n*. As for *na’ādum* and *nādum*, von Soden himself admitted (ZA 50, 174) that they are essentially regular, if subject to some confusion. The Assyrian forms of an apparent verb **našš* have of course been insightfully explained by S. Parpola (*Aššur* 1/1 [1974]: 1–10) as the phonological reflexes of *našā’u* ‘carry’, pronounced in Assyrian [nasa’u], with, e.g., perfect 3mp [ittas’u] = *ittasšū* (see also R. Voigt, “A Note on the Alleged Middle/Neo-Assyrian Sound Change *s’(*š’)* > *ss(š)*,” JNES 45 [1986]: 53–57). Finally, *utlellūm* is now properly noted as the Dtr (Rt) stem of *elūm* in GAG³ §107v.

look to other Semitic languages, we find no examples of “irregular” verbs whose irregular features cannot be explained as the results of developments *within* those individual languages. It is highly unlikely that only Akkadian inherited from common Semitic one or two verbs with irregular inflections. Thus, we are led to try to discover the original, paradigmatic nature of such verbs.

Despite the difficulties encountered in von Soden’s view of these verbs, we are nevertheless grateful for his careful arrangement of their forms by both form and dialect and for his discussion of the problems in Poebel’s presentation.

As noted above, von Soden claimed that forms of *izuzzum* cannot wholly be derived out of any known paradigm. In fact, however, with the recognition of a few straightforward and well-motivated analogical developments, the attested forms of *izuzzum* can indeed be assigned to the conjugations that Poebel so insightfully proposed.

Let us begin, not with the unusual infinitive form *izuzzum* (see further below), but with the most commonly attested forms of the verb, the preterite *iz-zi-iz* and the durative *iz-za-(a-)az*, both of which are attested, indeed, normative, in all dialects. Writings of the preterite form *iz-zi-iz* and pl. *iz-zi-zu* (the form with doubling of the second *z*, *iz-zi-iz-zu*, is uncommon in the early period; see further below) can of course be analyzed in several ways: as G of a verb *nazāzum*, as Gt of a verb *ziāzum*, or as N of a verb *zuāzum/ziāzum*. The durative form *iz-za-az* (less often *iz-za-a-az*) might be Gt of *zuāzum* or N of *zuāzum*, or a form based analogically on *illak* ‘goes’. The intersection of these possibilities is the N of *zuāzum*, i.e., root **zwz/zyz* (or, in von Soden’s terms, **zūz/zīz*); this is confirmed by the forms of the durative with vocalic ending, in all of which the final radical is doubled, as it is in the durative of all stems of middle-weak verbs; in other words, pl. *iz-za-az-zu* corresponds to G forms such as *idukkū* ‘they kill’, *iqiššū* ‘they give’, and N forms such as *izzuzzū* ‘they will be divided’⁹ and *iqqippu* ‘(which) is believed’. The medial vowel of *izzazzū* points to a verb that is inflected not like *zāzum* ‘divide’ and *dākum* ‘kill’ with medial *-u-*, nor like *qiāšum* ‘give’ and *qiāpum* ‘entrust’ with medial *-i-*, but rather like *bāšum* ‘be ashamed’ and *bā’um* ‘walk along’, which exhibit throughout their G stems a medial *-a-*¹⁰ and would thus be expected to exhibit a medial *-a-* in the N durative as well, were it attested for these verbs. For the N preterite, however, as for all other verbs with *-a-* in the G and N duratives, we expect a medial *-i-* (e.g., durative G *išabbat* and N *iššabbat*, but preterite N *iššabit*), thus **id-dik* (no examples yet attested), *iqqīp*, and, accordingly, the common form *izzīz*.

Thus, the most commonly attested forms of *izuzzum*, found from the earliest dialects onward, conform precisely to the expected paradigm of a middle-weak, *a-a* class verb in the N stem: durative *izzāz*, pl. *izzazzū*; preterite *izzīz*, pl. originally *izzīzū* (later also *izzizzū* on the analogy of the Š and D stems of other middle-weak verbs; see further below). If then we can find reasonable historical explana-

9. On the relationship between *izuzzum* ‘stand’ and *zāzum* ‘divide’, see further below.

10. Cf. GAG §104a* for other examples: *hāšum* ‘worry’ and *mā’um* ‘vomit’.

tions for the remainder of the attested forms of this verb that proceed from the same paradigm, Poebel's claim will be shown to be justified. We therefore turn to a review and discussion of the attested forms.¹¹

N (von Soden's G)	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>izuzzum</i>	
durative	<i>ipparras</i>	<i>iddāk/iddukkū</i> <i>iqqīap/iqqippū</i> cf. G <i>ibāš/ibaššū</i>	Oakk.	<i>i-za-a-z; i-za-aD; pl. subord. i-za-zu-ni</i>
			OB	<i>az/iz-za-a-z, iz-za-a-a-z;</i> <i>pl. iz-za-(az-)-zu/za</i>
			MB	<i>pl. iz-za-a-z-zu</i>
			SB	<i>iz-za-a-z, ta-(az-)za-a-z, iz-za-a-z-zu-ka</i>
			N/LB	<i>iz-za-a-z, iz-za-z-i; 3fs ta-za-a-z-zu;</i> <i>1cp ni-iz-z-i, ni-iz-ze-ez-zu-ú</i>
		<i>iddūak</i>	OA	<i>i-za-a-z; pl. i-za-zu, i-za-a-z-zu</i>
			MA	<i>iz-za-a-z; pl. iz-za-(a-)zu, iz-za-za</i>
			NA	<i>az/iz-za-a-z, i-za-a-z, i-za-zu, ta-za-a-z-za</i>
perfect	<i>ittapras</i>	[?]	OB	<i>it-ta-z-i-iz, subjn. at/it-ta-z-i-iz-zu;</i> <i>pl. it-ta-z-i-zu</i>
			MB	<i>it-ta-š-i-iz; pl. it-ta-š-i-iz-zu</i>
			S/N/LB	<i>it-ta-z-i-z; 1cs at-ta-š-i-iz; 2pl ta-ta-š-i-iz-za-a[?], 3mp it-ta-š-i-iz-zu</i>
			OA	<i>i-tí-z-i-iz</i>
			NA	<i>at/it-ti-ti-is/z, ta-ti-ti-is/sa, it-ti-ti-is-su,</i> <i>ventive it-ti-ti-z-i, at/it-ti-it-z-i, ni-ti-ti-z-i</i>
preterite	<i>ipparis</i>	[<i>iddīk(ū)?</i>], <i>iqqīp(ū)</i>	Oakk.	<i>prec. li-z-i-iD; pl. li-za-zu-ma</i>
			OB	<i>(li-)iz-z-i-iz; pl. iz-z-i/zí-zu,</i> <i>less often iz-z-i-iz-zu</i>
			MB	<i>iz-z-i-iz; pl. iz-z-i-zu; prec. w. sf. li-iz-z-i-su</i>
			S/N/LB	<i>iz-z-i-iz, iz-z-i-zu, prec. li-iz-z-i-z;</i> <i>1cs az-z-i-zu, 3mp iz-z-i-su</i>
			OA	<i>i-z-i-iz</i>
			MA	<i>prec. la-za-a-z</i>
			NA	<i>az-z-i-iz, iz-z-i-iz, iz-z-i-zu, la-z-i-iz, li-z-i-su, ta-z-i-z-i; also rarely e-z-i-iz</i>

11. The forms listed below are presented in the following sequence of dialects: Oakk, OB, MB, SB, N/LB, OA, MA, NA; to save space, the line for a dialect is omitted if it attests no examples. The forms have been culled from *AHw* and *CAD*, as well as from Poebel, AS 9; von Soden, ZA 50; *AfO* "Register" (1980ff.); for Oakk. also I. J. Gelb, MAD 3, and B. Kienast with W. Sommerfeld, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften* (FAOS 8; Stuttgart, 1994); for OA also Hecker, *GKT* §100c, and Lewy, *Or.* 28 (1959): 351–60; for MA also W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Mittelassyrischen* (AOAT 2; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), §82.5; for NA also the glossaries in SAA volumes 1–9, 11; for MB also Aro, *Glossar* (StOr 22); for NB also Ebeling, *Glossar*, and N. Woodington, *A Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian Letters of the Kuyunjik Collection* (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1982), 148–51.

imperative	<i>napris</i>	[?]	OB	<i>i-zi-i-iz</i> ; pl. <i>i-zi-i-iz-za</i>
			MB	<i>i-ši-i-iz</i> ; pl. <i>i-ši-i-iz-za</i>
			SB	<i>i-zi-iz/zi-i-iz</i> , <i>i-zi-za-nim-ma</i> ; <i>i-ši-i-iz(-za)</i>
			N/LB	<i>i-ši-iz</i> ; pl. <i>i-ši-i-iz-za-a/a'</i> (also once <i>i-zi-i-iz?</i>)
			OA	<i>i-zi-i-iz</i> ; fs <i>i-zi-i-zi</i> ; pl <i>i-zi-i-za-ma</i>
			MA	<i>i-zi-za</i> (4×); <i>iz-zi-za</i> (2×)
			NA	<i>i-ti-is/z</i> , pl. <i>i-ti-is-sa</i> , sg. ventive <i>it-zi</i>
infinitive	<i>naprus-</i>	[?]	OB	<i>i-zu-uz-zum/zi-im/za</i> , ¹² <i>ú-zu-uz-zi-im</i> , once <i>na-zu-u[z₄-z]um</i> ¹³
			MB	gen. <i>ú-zu-uz-zi</i> , <i>ú-zu-zi-ka</i> ; <i>ina ú-šu-uz-zi</i> PN
			SB	<i>ú-zu-uz-za/zu</i>
			N/LB	gen. <i>i-šu-zi-šu</i> , <i>ina ú-šu-uz-zu-ia</i>
			OA	acc. <i>i-zI-za-am</i>
			NA	<i>ana i-tu-us-si</i> , <i>ammar it-us-si</i>
vbl. adj.	<i>naprus-</i>	[?]	OB	<i>na-zu-uz</i> ; 3fs <i>na-zu-uz-za-at</i> ; 3mp <i>na-zu-i-iz-ú</i>
			MB	3mp <i>ú-zu-uz-zu</i> ; 3ms w. sf. <i>u-šu-uz-za-šu</i>
			SB	<i>na-zu-uz-zu</i> , <i>na-an-zu-zu</i> ; <i>u-šu-uz(-zu)</i>
			N/LB	<i>ú-šu-uz</i> ; 3mp <i>ú-šu-uz-zu</i> ; 3fs <i>ú-šu-(uz-)za-at</i> ; 1cs <i>u-zu-za-ku</i>
			NA	<i>ú-šu-uz(-zu)</i> ; 1cs <i>ú-zu-za-ku-ma</i>
participle	<i>mupparis-</i>	[?]	OAkk.	pl. <i>mu-za-zu</i>
			OB	<i>mu-za-zu-ut maḥrika</i> , <i>mu-za-za-tum</i> ; <i>mu-uz-zi-i-iz libbim</i>
			MB	<i>mu-zi-i-iz pān</i> GN; <i>mu-ša-^rzu-tu</i> ¹
			S/N/LB	<i>mu-uz-zi-i-iz</i>
			OA	pl. <i>mu-zi-zu</i>
			MA	<i>muzzizu</i> (AHw)
			NA	<i>mazzazu</i> (AHw)
Nt (von Soden's Gt)	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>izuzzum</i> (only attested in OB and only in the durative)	
durative	<i>ittapras?</i>	[?]	OB	3ms <i>i-ta-za-az</i> ; 2ms <i>ta-ta-za-az</i> ; 3fp <i>i-ta-za-az-za</i> , <i>it-ta-za-az-za</i> ¹⁴

12. Also now at Mari, along with *uzuzzum*; see Durand, *MARI* 3 (1984): 281, on ARM 1 120:8.

13. Gurney, OECT 11 no. 1:16; see his comment, p. 18.

14. All forms from OB omens, except the last, 3fp, which is found both in an omen (*it-ta-za-a[z-za]* YOS 10 31 vi 30) and in an OB letter (*it-[t]a-za-az-za* AbB 3 114:13').

Ntn (von Soden's Gtn)	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>izuzzum</i> (only attested in OB and SB)	
durative	<i>ittanapras</i>	[?]	OB	<i>it-ta-na-až-za-až</i> ; Mari [it]- <i>ta-na-za-až</i> ; in poetry rarely <i>it-na-(až-)za-až</i> ¹⁵
			S/N/LB	<i>la-a ta-at-ta-nam-za-až</i> ; <i>i-ta-nam-za-až-žu</i>
perfect	<i>ittatapas</i>	[?]		no examples
preterite	<i>ittapas</i>	[?]		no examples
imperative	<i>itapas</i>	[?]	OB	pl. <i>i-ta-až-za-až-za-a-ma</i>
infinitive	<i>itaprus-</i>	[?]	OB	gen. <i>i-ta-až-žu-už-zi</i>
vbl. adj.	<i>itaprus-</i>	[?]		no examples
participle	<i>muttapris-</i>	[?]	OB	f.sg. bound form <i>mu-ta-zi-za-at</i>
			SB	bound form <i>mut-ta-ziž</i>
<hr/>				
Š	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>izuzzum</i>	
durative	<i>ušapras</i>	<i>ušmāt/ušmattū</i>	Oakk.	<i>u-sa-za-za-su₄(?)</i>
			OB	<i>uš-za-žu</i>
			SB	<i>tuš-za-až/za-(a-)ma</i>
			N/LB	<i>už-za-až</i> , <i>už-za-žu</i> ¹⁶
		<i>ušbiat/ušbittū</i>	OA	<i>ú-ša-žu-žu</i> (3s subord); <i>tù-ša-za-až</i>
		<i>ušamāt</i>	NA	<i>ú-ša-za-žu</i> , <i>ú-šá-za-za-ni-ni</i>
perfect	<i>uštapris</i>	<i>uštamīt/uštamittū</i>	S/N/LB	<i>ul-te-ziž/zi-iz</i> , <i>ul-te-zi-zi-šú</i> , <i>ul-te-ež-zi-an-ni</i> , <i>ul-ta-až-zi-žu</i> ; LB <i>ul-ta-až-zi-iz</i>
		<i>uštimit</i>	OA	<i>uš-ta-zi-za-am</i> , <i>nu-uš-ta-zi-iz-kà</i>
			NA	<i>us-sa-zi-iz</i> , <i>us-sa-an-zi-sa-an-ni</i> ; <i>ú-sa-za-a-a-zi</i> , <i>us-sa-ze-jí-zi</i> , ¹⁷ <i>ul-ta-až-zi-žu</i>
preterite	<i>ušapris</i>	<i>ušmīt/ušmittū</i>	Oakk.	<i>uš-zi-iz</i> ; <i>u-ša-zi-iz</i> ; <i>u-sa-^fzi-sú¹(?)</i>
			OB	<i>uš-zi-iz</i> , prec. <i>li-iš-zi-iz</i> ; pl. <i>uš-zi-žu</i> , Mari once <i>už-zi-žu</i> ¹⁸

15. RA 15 (1918): 176:14,18.

16. Woodington rightly suggests that these forms and the preterite *už-ziž/zi-iz* cited below “are remnants of the earlier Š formation,” i.e., *ušzāz*, *ušzīz*, exhibiting an unusual assimilation as in the Mari form cited below under the preterite.

17. On these forms, in which the base has been expanded with a medial glide, see von Soden, ZA 50, 168–69; they have the appearance of ŠD forms (cf. the MB ŠD forms of *niālu*, *(lu-)uš-na-il*, cited below).

18. I.e., *užzīzū* < *ušzīzū*, exceptionally with assimilation as in the NB durative forms just noted; see Durand, MARI 3 (1984): 282.

			MB	<i>uš-zi-iz, ul-zi-iz; ú-še-ez-zi-iz</i> ¹⁹
			SB	<i>ul-ziiz/zi-iz(-za-an-ni), tuš-ziiz; ša . . .</i> <i>ú-šá-zi-zu-in-ni, ú-še-ziiz;</i>
			N/LB	3ms <i>uz-ziiz, uz-zi-iz-áš-šú-nu-tu</i> ; ²⁰ <i>u-šá-az-zi-zu; 1cs ú-šá-az-iz-zi;</i> LB <i>uš-ziiz-zu</i>
			OA	<i>lu-šá-zi-iz-za-ku-um</i>
			NA	<i>ú-šá-(az-)zi-iz, nu-šá-az-ziiz-u-ni</i>
imperative	<i>šupris</i>	<i>šumīt/šumittā</i>	OB	<i>šu-zi-iz</i>
			SB	<i>šu-uz-ziiz</i>
			N/LB	LB <i>šu-uz-zi-iz</i>
			OA	<i>ša-zi-iz, ša-zi-za-am</i>
infinitive	<i>šuprus-</i>	<i>šumutt-</i>	OB	<i>ana šu-zu-zi-šu</i>
			SB	<i>šu-(uz-)zu-zi</i>
			MA	<i>a-na ša-zu-zi</i>
vbl. adj.	<i>šuprus-</i>	<i>šumutt-</i>	MB	<i>ša . . . šu-zu-uz-zu, šu-zu-za-at</i>
			SB	<i>šu-zu-zu-ú-ma</i>
			N/LB	LB <i>šu-uz-zu-uz-zu</i>
participle	<i>mušapris-</i>	<i>mušmitt-</i>	only OA	gen. <i>mu-šá-zi-zi-im</i>
Št	sound verb	other middle-weak forms		<i>izuzzum</i>
durative	<i>uštāpras</i>	<i>uštāmāt</i>	only SB	<i>tul-ta-za-as-su</i>
Štn	sound verb	other middle-weak forms		<i>izuzzum</i>
durative	<i>uštanāpras</i>	[?]	only MB	<i>ul-ta-na-za-zu</i> (Ḫurro-Akk. from Assyria)

Finally, there is a curious form found in an OB grammatical text, *in-na-an-zi-iz*, which von Soden listed in *AHw* under *izuzzum* as an N form, along with an OB/SB nominal form *nazzāzum/nanzāzu*.²²

19. Cf. the unusual Emar form *i-še-zi-iz*, with *i-* for expected *u-*, in a text recently published by D. Arnaud (*SMEA* 30 [1992]: 218–19, text 13:3).

20. On these forms see n. 16 above.

21. See GAG³ Ergänzung to Paradigm 28.

22. B. Kienast has suggested that the Eblaite lexical form *tù-uš-tá-NI-ZU-um* may be a derived verbal noun of *izuzzum*; see “Nomina mit t-Präfix und t-infix in der Sprache von Ebla und ihre sumerischen Äquivalente,” in *Il bilinguismo ad Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984), 225–55, esp. p. 252. This is formally quite unlikely, however.

Clearly there are a number of forms that deviate from what is expected in the N, Ntn, and Š stems of a middle-weak root.²³ Most of these deviations can, however, be accounted for by assuming three sets of uncomplicated and well-motivated analogical developments.

(1) Doubling of the final radical *z* in N forms other than the durative, and the *i* of the N perfect *ittazīz*, are due to analogy with the corresponding Š forms of *izuzzum* and other middle-weak verbs.

On the basis of the close affinity between the G and the N stems in the paradigms of other verbs, we should expect the G and N stems of middle-weak verbs to pattern similarly. Thus, since in the G of middle-weak verbs only the durative forms exhibit doubling of the final radical with the addition of a vocalic ending (e.g., plural dur. *idukkū*, vs. pret. *idūkū*, perf. *iddūkū*, inv. *dūkā*; infin. *dākum*, verbal adj. *dīk-*), we should assume that the same was true of the forms of the N.²⁴ The common early spellings of the N preterite as *iz-zi-zu*, therefore, probably reflect the expected original form *izzīzū* (so also for the participle, on which see further below), whereas the doubling of the final radical in rarer, later writings of the preterite as *iz-zi-iz-zu*, and in the more frequent examples of the imperative (*izizzā*), perfect (*ittazizzū*), infinitive (*izuzzum*, etc.), and verbal adjective (e.g., with 3fs subject, *nazuzzat*), is unexpected. This innovative doubling was undoubtedly prompted by analogy with the Š (and D) stem of middle-weak verbs, including the Š of *izuzzum*, in all forms of which the final radical is regularly doubled before a vocalic ending; thus, for example, given the Š durative : preterite contrast *ušmāt/ušmattū* : *ušmīt/ušmittū* and *ušzāz/ušzazzū* : *ušzīz/ušzizzū*, the corresponding N forms could be re-formed as *izzāz/izzazzū* : *izzīz/X = izzizzū*. Analogy with the Š (and D) stem is also the source of the unexpected *i*-vowel in the perfect of *izuzzum*: on the basis of the sound verb pattern *ittapras*, in which the vowel between the last two radicals is that of the N (and G) durative, the form **ittazāz* is expected; in *ittazīz* (etc.; for the later forms, see below) we find the vowel of the preterite *izzīz*, as is the case in the Š perfects (*uštamīt*, *uštazīz*).

23. Note that, apart from forms of *izuzzum* and the ubiquitous *iddāk* in CH, N forms of middle-weak verbs are quite rare, so that there are a good number of lacunae in our knowledge of the paradigm. It may be suggested that since such forms were relatively uncommon, the paradigm of *izuzzum* could be perceived to be almost *sui generis* from the start; thus, the likelihood of new analogical formations, bringing it into line with more common structures, would have been quite high.

24. This is the case with the Gt verb *itūlum*: as the examples cited below indicate, only forms of the durative double the final radical (thus, e.g., 3mp *itillū* vs. preterite *ittilū*). But forms of Gt *itūlum* occurred alongside G forms of the same verb (*niālum/nālum*), whereas a G of the N verb *izuzzum* is rarely attested (for possible examples, see further below). Thus, speakers could more readily associate forms of *izuzzum* with the corresponding—and well-attested—Š stem, in which the doubling was normative (inherited from Proto-Akkadian).

(2) Certain Š forms of *izuzzum* with an unexpected extra syllable after the stem-augment š, such as OA *ušazzaz* rather than *ušzāz*, are the result of analogies with corresponding Š forms of *alākum*; the Ntn of *izuzzum* has been similarly affected by the Gtn of *alākum*.

Š forms such as OB/SB durative *ušzāz* and OAkK/OB/MB preterite *ušzīz* correspond to Š forms of other middle weak verbs, such as *ušmāt* and *ušmīt* (as do the solitary SB Št and peripheral MB Štn forms). Other forms in OAkK, OA, NA, and MB/SB/NB exhibit an *a* between the stem-marker š and the initial consonant (in MB with *a* > *e* as in similar forms, i.e., *ušapris* > *ušepris*). The OAkK writings such as preterite *u-ša-zi-iz* may denote /uša-zīz/, /ušāzīz/, or /ušazzīz/; the second and third of these possibilities will be considered presently, in conjunction with OA forms; the first normalization is admittedly unlikely, but could, theoretically, at least, reflect either an archaic pattern that has failed to undergo syncope for some reason, or an innovative pattern formed on the analogy of the sound verb, *ušapris*. In the OA forms, the *a* does not undergo vowel harmony and is therefore probably not a short vowel in an open syllable.²⁵ Further, in the durative pl. form *ú-ša-zu-zu* the penultimate syllable does exhibit vowel harmony, indicating that the final *z* is single. Since a form */ušāzuzū/ from */ušāzaz/ has no analogues, we are undoubtedly to understand /ušazzuzū/ from /ušaz-zaz/, a form that must have been generated on the analogy of *ušallak*, the Š of *alākum*, an analogy made possible by the similarity of the basic forms of these two verbs: durative *illak* : *izzāz*, preterite *illik* : *izzīz*.²⁶ It is not clear

25. Contrast the OA Š imper. f. sg. of *zuāzum* ‘divide’: *šl-zi-zi* = *šizizī* < */šazizī/; see GAG³, p. 54*, Ergänzung to Paradigm 28.

26. For Assyrian, it is also possible to propose an analogy with forms of *tadānum* ‘give’: G/N durative *iddan* : *izzāz*, preterite *iddin* : *izzīz*, perfect *ittidin* : *ittizīz*, thus Š *ušaddan* : X = *ušazzaz*. But this analogy does not obtain as thoroughly in OAkK and in Babylonian, where the durative *inaddan*/*inaddin* retained its original trisyllabic shape. (Indeed, it is likely that Assyrian *iddan* also came into being by analogy with *illak*; see n. 8 above.) An analogy with *alākum* thus has broader application and greater economy, being available in all stages and dialects of the language.

The phonologically unexpected double *-ll-* in the G preterite *illik* (already attested in OAkK in writings such as *il-li-kam*, *tal-li-ik*) and the double *-tt-* in the G perfect *ittalak* and in Gt and Gtn forms of *alākum*, rather than the single consonant and preceding long vowel expected in compensation for the loss of the preconsonantal **h*, as in other verbs I-ʾ (i.e., **yvhlik*, **yvhtalak* should have yielded ***īlik*, ***ītalak*), is difficult to explain but is almost certainly Proto-Akkadian. The G perfect/Gt preterite form *ittalak* of course calls to mind corresponding forms of active verbs I-*w*, such as *ittarad*, where the double *-tt-* is probably due to a Proto-Semitic phonological rule **w*C > CC when C was a dental (see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* [Berlin, 1908–13], vol. 1 §64; cf., e.g., the Arabic Gt of *whd*, as in *yattahid* < **yawtahid*; further, probably, Hebrew *yīššōr* < **ywṣur* ‘fashion’ and similarly with a number of other Hebrew roots I-*y* and II-dental). But other parallels between *alākum* and verbs I-*w* are lacking. (The fact that both exhibit theme vowels *a-i*, which von Soden mentioned in ZA 50, 165, as of significance for *izuzzum*, is not relevant. Since the *a-i* class must be reconstructed for Proto-Semitic, and since **h*lk and at least some verbs I-*w* must have belonged to that class, as in Hebrew, the feature is simply vestigial and does not

whether the remaining Š forms in OA are also patterned on the analogy of *šālukum*, thus perfect /uštāziz/, imperative /šāziz/ and participle /mušāziz-/, or whether there is a doubling of the initial radical, thus /uštazziz/, /šazziz/, and /mušazziz-/, as in later dialects (NA and MB/SB/NB), in which such doubling is graphically indicated, and which are the result of analogies to verbs I–*n* (see the next paragraph).²⁷ Also analogous to forms of *alākum* are the OB/SB iterative forms of *izuzzum*, in which the initial radical *z* is again unexpectedly doubled (the sound verb Ntn pattern *ittanapras* leads us to expect **ittan(a)zāz*); here too, the parallel *illak* : *izzāz* could readily have suggested *ittanallak* : X = *ittanazzāz* (and similarly imperative *itallak* : *itazzaz*, infinitive *italluk-* : *itazzuz-*, participle *muttallik-* : *muttazziz-*).²⁸

(3) Other forms with unexpected doubling of the first radical *z* arise through analogy with verbs I–*n*.

As was just noted under (2), a number of Š forms in late dialects, such as Š preterite *ušazziz*, pattern after verbs I–*n*. There are at least two sources from which such forms could have arisen, i.e., forms that could have been (mis-)analyzed as I–*n* and thus generated other I–*n*-type forms analogically: there is first of all the basic preterite *izziz*, which might have been analyzed by some speakers as a preterite of a verb *nazzum*; more likely, however, the source is the Š durative *ušazzaz*, which, once it had been created on the analogy of *alākum*, could also be taken as the Š durative of a verb I–*n*, allowing an entire I–*n*-type paradigm to come into existence. A similar process, probably proceeding from the preterite *izziz*, may be responsible for the nominal forms *mazzāzum* and *mazzaztum* (compare, e.g., *iddin* and *maddānum* [rare], *maddattum*; *ikkis* and *makkasu*), in which the doubling of

tie these verbs together in any historically meaningful way. The fact that **hlk* and verbs I–*w* underwent phonological processes that made them paradigmatically unusual, in both Akkadian and Hebrew [and Aramaic], meant that these verbs escaped the general abandonment of the *a-i* class in those languages. It is tempting nevertheless to compare this I–*w*-like form in Akkadian with the apparent I–*w* behavior of Hebrew *hālak*, but the similarity is probably fortuitous: in Hebrew the I–*w* behavior proceeded from the imperative, where **hlik* > **lik*, after which the prefix-conjugation forms were reshaped on the analogy of the corresponding verbs I–*w* [i.e., **rid* : **yvrid* :: **lid* : X = *ylvik*], whereas in Akkadian the I–*w* behavior is restricted to the perfect and other *-t-* forms, which do not occur in Hebrew.) Provisionally, I would suggest that the *-t-* forms of *alākum*, like those of verbs I–*w*, are the result of a similar sound rule, viz., **ht* > *tt* (e.g., in **yvhtalak* > *ittalak*) and that this doubling was analogically transferred to the preterite as well, so that **yahlik* was replaced by **yallik*; it must be admitted, however, that other verbs I–**h* are not similarly affected in their *-t-* forms (e.g., *atwūm* ‘to speak’, pret. *itawū*). (One might also think of a sound rule to explain the preterite, i.e., **hl* > *ll*, but this is contradicted, e.g., by *ālum* ‘town’ < **ahlum*.)

27. Similarly with the MA infinitive *ša-zu-zi*: /šāzuz-/ or /šazzuz-/.

28. But note that unlike the corresponding Š and Gtn forms of *alākum* on which they are based, many Š and Ntn forms of *izuzzum* continue to double the final radical, like most forms of the basic N paradigm of the verb.

the initial radical is otherwise difficult to explain, since N stem nouns with an *m-* prefix, apart from the N participle (*mupparis-*), are unknown in Akkadian.

The noun *nazzāzum* (later *nanzāzu*) is, as von Soden suggests (GAG §56h), an instance of the relatively rare *naprās* pattern, the few examples of which are clearly associated with N finite verbs (*naplāsum*, *nalbābum*).²⁹ In *nazzāzum*, too, as in *mazzāz(t)um*, the doubling of the initial radical is unexpected and must have come about because some forms of the verb could be interpreted by speakers as deriving from a root I–*n*. In this case, however, the precise line of development is unclear; *nazzāzum* has the appearance of an N stem noun of a root **n-z-z* (unlike *mazzāzum*, which has the appearance of a G stem noun), and yet the only forms in the verbal paradigm that may be analyzed as N of **n-z-z* are the late verbal adjective *nanzūz* and the unique OB lexical form *in-na-an-zi-iz*. *nanzūz* may have come into existence alongside the earlier *nazūz* if the latter was perceived to be similar to N forms of verbs I–?, which in SB exhibit biforms such as *nēmud/nenmud* (see GAG §97f). The OB form *in-na-an-zi-iz* appears in a grammatical text (OBGT X 73 = MSL 4 113:73), near the end of a list of equations of Sumerian *gub* with Akkadian *izuzzum*; the form, which is equated with Sumerian *ba-ra-gub-bé*, is apparently intended as a durative, like the following form and the preceding seven forms in the list. As J. Black notes in his study of grammatical texts, both sides of the equation here are unexpected;³⁰ there seems to have been an attempt to “make up” an N form of a verb that was no longer perceived, by this particular scribe at least, to be an N itself; i.e., *innanziz* must be a back-formation from *izziz* felt by the scribe to be a G preterite of **nazāzum*.

The participle vacillates between *muzzāzum*, found in OAKk and OB, and *muzzizum*, also attested in OB as well as in OA and MA. Since the participle in the Akkadian derived stems normally has the same base as the preterite (N *ipparis/mupparis*, D *uparris/muparris*, Š *ušapris/mušapris*; also in middle-weak verbs: D Bab. *ukīn/mukīn*, Š *ušmīt/mušmīt*), the expected form is *muzziz*, with the same vocalism as preterite *izziz*. But the OAKk/OB *muzzāz* exhibits the same pattern as the Arabic N participle *munqām*, and may perhaps reflect an earlier Semitic form.³¹

Certainly the most curious forms of the paradigm of *izuzzum*, attested in nearly all of the dialects, are those with initial *i-*, namely the imperative *iziz* (pl.

29. In GAG §56h (17a), von Soden suggested that *naprās* functions as an alternative N infinitive, and in *AHw*, 773a, he listed three instances of *nazzāzum* as N infinitives of *izuzzum*. In none of the contexts do these forms function verbally, however, and so they should simply be considered verbal nouns, like *naprust* forms (GAG §56h (18b)).

30. J. Black, *Sumerian Grammar in Babylonian Theory* (Studia Pohl, series major 12; Rome, 1984), 30. Black says that “the form *ba-ra-gub-bé* = *innanziz* (X 73) is completely mystifying.”

31. It must be admitted, however, that Arabic *munqām* shares its pattern with the prefix-conjugation forms, such as the imperfect *yanqānu*, a pattern that also appears in Hebrew *yikkôn* < **yvnkānu*. Further, Arabic *munqām* is both the active and the passive N participle. Thus, its value for comparison with the Akkadian *muzzāz* is uncertain.

izizzā), the verbal adjective *izūz* (with 3mp subject *izuzzū*), and of course the infinitive itself, *izuzzum*, which von Soden termed “ganz unregelmäßig” (ZA 50, 166). (Forms with initial *u-*, viz., infinitive and verbal adjective *uzuzzum*, as has long been recognized, are secondary, the result of vowel harmony: *i...ú > u...ú*.³²) Von Soden and others have, not unreasonably to be sure, compared the imperative with forms of verbs I-*n*; thus, just as we find preterite *iddin* and imperative *idin*, we find *izzīz* and *izīz*, as though the root were **nzz*. But that comparison does not account for the forms of the infinitive and the verbal adjective with initial *i-*. On the other hand, those same forms would seem to present a major stumbling block to Poebel’s interpretation of the paradigm as the N stem of a root *z-w-z* or *z-γ-z*, for which we might expect imperative **nazīz*, and infinitive and verbal adjective *nazūz-*, on the analogy of the sound verb forms, *napris* and *naprus-*, respectively. Indeed, although an imperative **nazīz* is not attested, we do find the verbal adjective *nazūz-* in a few OB literary texts (altered to *nanzūz-* in later dialects, as noted above); and one recently-published OB hymn offers the infinitive *na-zu-u[z₄-z]um* (OECT 11 1:16).³³ But how do we explain *izuzzum*? The answer, I believe, has recently appeared in an intriguing paper by D. Testen entitled “The East Semitic Precative Paradigm.”³⁴ It will be recalled that there are a number of Akkadian verbal forms that have apparently lost an expected initial *n-*, viz.,

- G imperative of verbs I-*n*: *purus* but *uqur* (*naqārum*); *piqid* but *ikis* (*nakāsum*);
- Gtn imperative, infinitive, and verbal adjective of verbs I-*n*: *pitaras* but *itaqqar*, *pitarus-* but *itaqqur-*; similarly in Gt forms of verbs I-*n*;
- Ntn imperative, infinitive, and verbal adjective of all verbal root types: *itapras* for expected **nitapras*, *itaprus-* for expected **nitaprus-*.

Testen plausibly suggests a simple phonological rule: Proto-Semitic initial clusters *#nCv* became **iCv* in Proto-Akkadian.³⁵ I would propose that the forms of *izuz-*

32. Besides the examples just mentioned, viz., *uzuzzum* < *izuzzum* (in the infinitive and verbal adjective; note that the imperative, *izīz/izizzā*, never shows initial *u-*), and the corresponding *utūl(um)* < *itūl(um)*, several other instances of this assimilatory change may be noted: the Gt imperative of *qālum* in an OB name from Iščālī, *qutūl* for expected *qitūl* (Greengus, *OBTIV*, p. 84), as noted by von Soden in ZA 71 (1981): 150; the month name *Elūlum/Ulūlum*; and the noun *uṣurtum* ‘plan’, which appears as *iṣurtum* in OA and is thus originally a *parus-t* form **yaṣurtum* (Hecker, *GKT* §11a).

33. See O. Gurney’s note to OECT 11 1:16, *ibid.*, p. 18.

34. *JSS* 38 (1993): 1–13.

35. See *ibid.*, p. 10. Testen actually suggests Proto-Semitic **n- > u / #_Cu...* and *> i / #_Ci/a...*, to account for **nqur > uqur*; I would suggest, however, that the rule was simply **n- > i / #_Cv...*, and that the resulting **iqur* became *uqur* either by a type of vowel harmony (as in *izuzzum > uzuzzum*, etc., for which see above, n. 32) or by analogy with sound verbs, in which the first vowel nearly always echoes the second (*piqid*, *ṣabat*, *purus*).

Babylonian Gt forms of verbs I-*n* do not fit the sound rule as Testen has written it, since, e.g., the infinitive has the form *pitarus-*, so that *itqur-* would seem to derive from **nitqur-*. But comparison with the Assyrian counterparts suggests that the bases were originally **ptarus-* and imperative **ptaras*, and so in verbs I-*n* **ntaqur-* and **ntaqar*; see Testen, *loc. cit.*, p. 9, and R. Whiting, *Or.* 50 (1981): 11 n. 45.

zum with initial *i-* also reflect the action of this rule: whereas the ancestral forms of the N imperative, infinitive, and verbal adjective for most verbs would have had initial **na-*, because the following base began with a consonant cluster, the corresponding forms of middle-weak verbs would have had simply an allomorphic initial **n-*, since the following base began with a single consonant; i.e.,

imperative **na-pris* > *napris*, but **n-zīz* > *izīz*

infinitive/verbal adjective **na-prus-* > *naprus-*, but *n-zūz-* > *izūz-*.³⁶

As suggested earlier, the doubling of the final radical in all these forms when a vocalic suffix is added is a result of analogy with Š forms of middle-weak roots, such as *šumuttum*; thus an original imperative pl. **n-zīzā* > **izīzā* → *izīzzā* and an original infinitive **n-zūz-um* > **izūzum* → *izuzzum* (similarly for the vbl. adj.). If this line of development is correct, then *izīz* and *izūz* reflect the original, phonologically historical forms of the imperative and the infinitive/vbl. adj. of the N of *zww/zyz*. It follows that *nazūz-*, the infinitive and vbl. adj. forms with *na-*, are secondary developments; they would have arisen, as already hinted at above, through paradigmatic leveling on the basis of the sound verb: *naprus-*, therefore *nazūz-*.³⁷

One form that does not fit the development just outlined for the forms with initial *i-* is the OA infinitive, which is written *i-zi-za-am* (in the accusative). J. Lewy, in discovering this form, analyzed it as the G of a root **γzz* and normalized *izēzum*.³⁸ But the pattern *iRēRum* is not attested for the infinitive of roots I–γ in OA.³⁹ Further, most other forms of the paradigm do not conform to a root I–γ. Thus, Lewy's interpretation of this form must be rejected. I must admit, however, that I am at a loss to explain the medial *-i-*.⁴⁰

In MB and later we find forms of *izuzzum* in which the root seems to be **šw/yz*: perfect *ittašiz*, pl. *ittašizzū*; imperative *išiz*, pl. *išizzā*; infinitive *išuzzu*; verbal adjective *ušūz*, with 3mp and 3fs subject *ušuzzū*, *ušuzzat*. In NA, on the other hand, we meet with forms in which the initial *z* is replaced by *t* and the final *z* sometimes appears as *s*: perfect *ittitiz/s*, pl. *ittitissū* (and a ventive form with anomalous loss of a medial long syllable, *ittitzi*, alongside the expected *ittitizzi*); imperative

36. Comparing the verbal adjective *nazūz-*, W. G. Lambert, in *Fs. Reiner*, 196, also suggests that *izuzzum* is derived from **nizuzzum* “with dropping of the *n-* before *-i*, as regularly in the IV/3 infinitive of the strong verb and in parts of verbs primae nun.”

37. Despite the fact that only *nazūz-* is attested for the verbal adjective before MB, when *izūz-/išūz-* makes its first appearance. The rarity of these forms in general (since the durative *izzāz* was used in all dialects in place of the predicate verbal adjective) means that we cannot state categorically that *izūz-* did not occur in the earlier dialects.

38. Von Soden also writes *i-ze-za-am* in *AHw*, 408–9; Hecker, *GKT* §100c, however, writes *i-zi-za-am*.

39. See Hecker, *GKT* §93a (*išārum*), §97d (*idā'um*), and his note 3, *ibid.*, p. 173.

40. Von Soden, in the additions to *AHw*, 1564, suggests that *izēzum* also occurs at Mari, in *ARM* 2 55:12. The context is broken, however, and the copy militates against reading the first sign after the break in line 12 as *i*. [Addendum: Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, vol. 2 (LAPO 17; Paris, 1998), 453, n. 57, reads line 12 as [a-ki-il ka-a]r-ši³⁴-ia im-ti-du-ma].

itiz/s, pl. *itissā* (and again an anomalously shortened ventive form: *itzi* < *itizzi*); infinitive *itussu*. Several explanations for these forms have been suggested, but von Soden was undoubtedly correct to see in them simply cases of dissimilation (ZA 50, 166).⁴¹ In fact, if we may assume, as seems likely, that the writings in these dialects in which the earlier *z...z* appears are archaisms or historical spellings, we may propose that the newer forms reflect pronunciations resulting from the consistent application of a sound rule that operated in the same environment in both later Babylonian and later Assyrian, but that produced a different result in the two main dialects, viz., *z* > Bab. *š*, Ass. *t* / *ν* — *νz*; in other words, the dissimilation takes place only when the first *z* was intervocalic and not doubled.⁴² The Assyrian vacillation between *z* and *s* as the final radical is probably simply a facultative devoicing of the final consonant, extended eventually as well to other forms of the paradigm.

If we are right that the forms of the basic paradigm of *izuzzum* are N verbs, and the iterative forms Ntn rather than Gtn, then the OB durative examples of the form *i(t)-ta-za-az(-zu)*, which von Soden labels Gt verbs, must instead be Nt verbs. The Nt is an exceedingly rare stem; it did not appear at all in the first edition of GAG, and even the third edition calls its existence only “wahrscheinlich” (§95d*). Certainly it is an Akkadian innovation within Semitic;⁴³ in some instances it seems to function, like the Gt of certain G verbs, as a stem denoting the separative nuance for verbs that appear lexically or commonly in the N stem, such as *naprušum* and *nenmudum*. Although von Soden normalized these OB forms *ittazzaz*, with the first *z* doubled, none of the writings indicates a doubled *zz*; thus, perhaps the form should be normalized as *ittazāz* (pl. *ittazazzū*), as we would expect from other Nt duratives (*ittapras*).

Two last forms remain to be accounted for, viz., the precative forms *li-za-zu* (3mp), in an Oakk text, and *la-za-az* (1cs), in an MA text; these are unusual in having a medial *ā* rather than the *ī* that is both expected on the basis of the preterite *izzīz* and the imperative *izzīz* and indeed found in several dialects, including an Oakk example (albeit written *li-zi-iD*; see below, n. 52). I would suggest that these are vestigial G forms, *lizāzū* and *lazāz*, exhibiting the same theme-vowel as the N durative *izzazzū*. We may note by way of comparison that the root *p-l-s* ‘see, look’, which occurs overwhelmingly in the N (*naplusum*), is also rarely attested in a very

41. S. Bloch, *Or.* 9 (1940): 326, also suggested that the MB forms with *š* were the result of dissimilation.

42. Woodington, *Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian Letters*, 149, proposes a similar rule for the NB forms. A probable exception to our rule is found in the MB text UM 1/2 16: ³³*a-na pa-an be-lī-ia a-na ū-zu-uz-zi* ³⁴*ma-am-ma ia-nu mu-ša-^fx-tu/li¹ ma-la be-lī i-du-ū* ³⁵*it-ta-šū-ū* ‘there is no one to “stand” before my lord; all “those who stand(?)” whom my lord knows, have left’. The form in question is read *mu-ša-^fzu-tu¹* by J. Aro, *StOr* 22, 116, followed by von Soden, *AHW*, 409a. The damaged third sign as copied does not resemble ZU in lines 33 and 35 closely, but it must be admitted that the reading makes good sense.

43. The Mishnaic Hebrew perfect form *nitpa^{ae}l* is, of course, unrelated, having replaced the earlier perfect *hitpa^{ae}l* on the analogy of the *nip^{ae}al*.

few examples of the G (in OB and SB, including the G infinitive *palāsum* in lexical lists).

From the foregoing discussion, *izuzzum* thus emerges not as an unprecedented irregular verb without parallels either in Akkadian or in Semitic, but rather, originally at least, as a paradigmatically “normal” middle-weak verb conjugated primarily in the N and Š stems, with their associated *-tan-* forms and with a separative Nt durative in OB. The non-occurrence of the verb in the G (with the possible exceptions of the OAk and MA precatives in *ā*, just noted), is interesting, but by no means unique; we may compare, for example, *naprušum*, which is also found only in the N and the Š.⁴⁴ Though paradigmatically regular originally, the seemingly unusual forms of *izuzzum* (unusual because N forms of middle-weak verbs were otherwise uncommon) were prime targets for reanalysis as members of other paradigms, and analogical processes thus produced new forms not proper to the N and Š of a middle-weak root, such as doubling of the final radical in certain forms of the N (originally proper only to the durative) and doubling of the first radical in certain forms of the Š.⁴⁵

As to the precise shape of the original root, Poebel vacillated between **zww*, **zyz*, and **zʿz*, preferring the first of these. Certainly the last can safely be discounted immediately, since in Assyrian, in which verbs II-ʾ and verbs II-*w/y* are conjugated differently (the former generally exhibiting a strong ʾ, as in *išaʾulū*),

44. See GAG §90g; further, D. O. Edzard, “Die Stämme des altbabylonischen Verbums in ihrem Oppositionssystem,” in *Studies . . . Landsberger* (ed. H. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen, AS 16; Chicago, 1965), 111–20, esp. pp. 115, 117 on N/Š verbs. Hebrew also exhibits a number of lexically N-stem verbs: *nôtar* ‘remain, be left’ ~ *hôtîr* ‘leave over’, *niššab* ‘stand’ ~ *hiššîb* ‘station’ (note the semantic parallel with *izuzzum*); *nišbaʿ* ‘swear’ ~ *hišbîaʿ* ‘adjure’; see P. A. Siebesma, *The Function of the Niphʿal in Biblical Hebrew* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica; Assen/Maastricht, 1991), esp. p. 96.

45. Such “paradigm-shifting” is attested for other verbs in Akkadian. For example, the uncommon verb **šīānum* ‘urinate’ (Semitic root **θ-y-n*) is attested once in the G (SB, infinitive *šānu*) and several times in the Gt durative, *išīān* and (subordinate) *išīnnu*; at some point, the preterite Gt (or perfect G) *išīn* was reinterpreted as *išīn*, the preterite of a root **š-t-n*, from which a new durative *išattin* was generated. We may also point to a number of verbs originally II-guttural that have shifted to II-*w/y*, such as *maʾādum* ‘be much’ (Semitic **m-ʾ-d*), whose preterite *imʾid* became *imīd* and whose verbal adjective *maʾdum* became *mādum* in dialects such as OB; these were understood to derive from a verb *miādum*, so that the perfect shifted from *imtaʾid* to *imīd* and the durative from *imaʾid* to *imīad*; similarly *riābum* ‘replace’ from an original root **r-ʾ-b* (*irʾib* > *irīb*, etc.), *rādu* ‘shake’ probably from a root **r-ʿ-d* (**yvrʿud* > *irūd*), and Assyrian *ruāqum* ‘be distant’, from **r-ḥ-q* (which developed as expected in Babylonian into *rēqum*, and in the Assyrian D stem into *reʾuqum*); on these forms, see my study “Further South Semitic Cognates to the Akkadian Lexicon,” in *Semitic Studies . . . Leslau* (ed. A. S. Kaye; Wiesbaden, 1991), 697, 700. Conversely, the II-*y* verb *ḥiāqum* is re-formed in OA as a II-ʾ verb, *ḥaʾāqum* (see Hecker, *GKT*, 158 n. 1), probably because of the ambiguity of the preterite *iḥīṭ*, which could be analyzed as *iḥʾīṭ*. Similar metanalysis and paradigm-jumping is also attested in other Semitic languages in which individual forms are morphologically ambiguous, i.e., subject to interpretation as members of more than one paradigm; thus, e.g., in some Aramaic dialects the imperfect of geminate verbs is reshaped on the analogy of I-*n* verbs, because the m. sg. of their imperatives fall together (ʿol ‘enter’ < **ḡull* and *pol* ‘fall’ < **npul*); many examples may also be cited from Hebrew, Geʿez, and most of the modern Semitic languages.

izuzzum follows the pattern of verbs II-*w/γ*. To decide between **zwz* and **zyz* is more difficult. Since the inflection of *izuzzum* is like that of *bāšum*, the identity of the medial consonant is obscured (i.e., *ibāš* may in theory derive from either **γvbwāθ* or **γvbyāθ*,⁴⁶ unlike *ikūn* < **γvkwūn* and *išim* < **γvśyīm*); the nominal derivatives of the root are likewise ambiguous with regard to the identity of the original middle radical.⁴⁷ An etymological connection with *zuāzum* ‘to share’, mooted by Poebel (pp. 179–82), seems most unlikely.⁴⁸

We are thus forced to turn to possible cognate evidence for the etymology of *izuzzum*. Poebel (pp. 182–89) compared the Mishnaic Hebrew/Jewish Aramaic verb *zwz* ‘to move away’ and the noun *māzūzā* ‘doorpost’ (also in Jewish Aramaic as *māzuztā*); despite von Soden’s reservations (ZA 50, 169 n. 1: “wenig wahrscheinlich”), this seems to me a very plausible suggestion. Further, it is bolstered by a probable Ugaritic cognate. In a persuasive article entitled “A Note on Ugaritic *ndd-γdd*,” published some fifty years ago, M. Pope suggested that the verbs in a number of Ugaritic passages were best understood as N forms of a root *d-w-d*.⁴⁹ Most convincing are two passages in which this verb is in parallel to, or associated with, *q-w-m* ‘to stand’ (suffix-conjugation *qm* ... *ndd* in KTU 1.3 i 4, 8; prefix-conjugation *γdd wyqm* in KTU 1.10 ii 17);⁵⁰ it seems clear that *ndd/γdd* in these passages also means ‘to stand’, and the parallel with Akkadian *izuzzum*, likewise N of a middle-weak root, is striking.⁵¹ The Mishnaic Hebrew and Ugaritic verbs, if

46. In the case of *bāšum*, of course, as probably also in the case of *izuzzum*, cognate evidence shows that the root is II-*w*.

47. Cf., e.g., *makāšum* < **makwašum* and the DN *madānum* < **madyanum*.

48. Poebel (pp. 176–79) also suggested a connection with a “pre-Akkadian” and Sumerian word for ‘base’, which he normalized *zāzum*; later spellings, however, show that the word is actually *sassum* (see the dictionaries) and thus not related to *izuzzum*. P. Haupt, “Ass. *zāzu*, halve, and Eth. *azzāza*, command,” *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 10/2 (1927): 264–67, also separated the roots of the verbs ‘divide’ and ‘stand’, but considered the root of the latter to be *nz*.

49. JCS 1 (1947): 337–41. As Pope noted in an addendum at the end of his article, the same suggestion had also been proposed some years earlier by F. Rosenthal in *Or.* 9 (1940): 293 n. 1 (review of C. Vroilleaud, *La déesse Anat*). I wish to thank W. R. Garr for bringing Pope’s article to my attention.

50. See M. Smith, “Poetic Structure in KTU 1.3 I 4–21,” *UF* 22 (1990): 317–19, esp. 318.

51. Most later Ugaritologists seem to have overlooked, ignored, or tacitly rejected Pope’s suggestion for these (and other) passages, since his article is generally not cited (but see, inter alia, J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu According to the Version of Ilmilku* [AOAT 16; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971], 71; C. L’Heureux, “The Ugaritic Rephaim Texts: CTA 20–22. Translations and Philological Notes,” *Society of Biblical Literature 1977 Seminar Papers* [ed. P. J. Achtemeier; Missoula, 1977], 287 with n. 16; J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* [2d ed.; Edinburgh, 1978], 144; and the study of M. Smith cited in the preceding note). In a 1988 study, J. Tropper and E. Verreet, apparently unaware of Pope’s study, proposed precisely the same interpretation of the verbs discussed by Pope, as well as verbs in a few other passages, and also connected the Ugaritic verb etymologically with Akkadian *izuzzum*; see their “Ugaritisch *ndy*, *γdy*, *hdy*, *ndd* und *d(w)d*,” *UF* 20 (1988): 339–50, esp. 346–47, 349.

they are indeed cognate, as seems entirely likely, obviously indicate a common Semitic root **ḏ-w-ḏ*.⁵²

* * * * *

The case of *itūlum* is considerably more straightforward than that of *izuzzum*. As noted above, Poebel, in a footnote to his *izuzzum* study (p. 105 n. 1), asserted that *itūlum* was simply the Gt stem of **n-γ-l*, a verb also attested in the G (as *niālum* and *nālum*; see below), Gtn, D (rarely), and Š stems. Poebel did not claim priority for this view, but referred to Ungnad;⁵³ Poebel did, however, flesh out the details in his long footnote.

Von Soden’s response to Poebel’s discussion of *itūlum* is puzzling. Stating that he had to depart from “Poebels nicht in jeder Hinsicht zutreffenden Bemerkungen,” he simply reiterated his own belief that the root of *itūlum* appeared in several variations (**nīl*, **nāl*, **tīl*, and sometimes **nʾl*), without addressing at all Poebel’s claim that the apparent **tīl* forms were simply Gt verbs. And yet, as has already been suggested, nearly all forms may indeed be gathered under the cover of a single root *n-γ-l*. A list of attested forms of *niālum/nālum* (G, Gtn, D, Š) and *itūlum* (= Gt) is presented below.

G	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>niālum/nālum</i>	
durative	<i>iparras</i>	(1) <i>iqīap</i> /(2) <i>ibāš</i>	Oakk.	(1) <i>tá-ni-al</i> ; (2) —
			OB	(1) —; (2) <i>i-na-al</i>
			SB	(1) <i>a-ni-il₅-la(m)</i> , <i>i-ni-lu</i> ; (2) <i>a-na-lu₄</i> , <i>i-na-al-la</i>
			N/LB	(1) —; (2) <i>i-na-la</i> !?
			no Assyrian forms attested	
perfect	<i>iptaras</i>	(1) Bab. <i>iqṭip</i> , Ass. <i>iqṭiap</i> /(2) <i>ibtāš</i>	only OB	(1) <i>it-ti-lu</i> , [<i>i</i>] <i>t-ti-lam</i> ⁵⁴ ; (2) —

52. The Jewish Aramaic forms adduced by Poebel are undoubtedly loans from Hebrew. The Semitic root **ḏ-w-ḏ* would thus apparently be homophonous with the root from which Akkadian *zuāzum* ‘divide’ is probably derived; see W. F. Albright, “Notes on Assyrian Lexicography and Etymology,” *RA* 16 (1919): 173–94, esp. 181, who associated the latter with Arabic *ḏāda* (dissimilated from **ḏāḏa*) ‘drive, remove, ward off’ (cited by Poebel, p. 180, n. 1). It is tempting to suggest that the two Oakk examples in which a final stop is written, precative *li-zi-iD* and durative *i-za-aD*, might reflect a similar dissimilation (presumably in a dead-end dialect), viz., *lizziḏ* ~ *lizziḏz* and *izzāḏ* ~ *izzāḏz*. This at least seems to me more likely than that the writings reflect the original interdental *ḏ*, as was apparently hinted at by A. Goetze, “Akkad Dynasty Inscriptions from Nippur,” *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* (= *JAOS* 88/1; ed. William W. Hallo; New Haven, 1968), 56a, n. c.

53. In Koehler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi’s Gesetz*, vol. 2, 150. Note also, e.g., the glossary of Streck’s *Assurbanipal* (VAB 7/3; Leipzig, 1916), 527, where the form *at-te-ʾi-i-la* is listed as I/2 of *naʾālu* ‘sich legen, sich niederlegen’, and with the same meaning as the latter.

54. Both of these are from Gilg. P: in iii 30–32 three perfects (*issakpū*, *uttappiṣ*, *uktaššid*) are followed in line 33 by *it-ti-lu*, undoubtedly another perfect rather than Gt (i.e., *itūlum*) preterite; i 24 has [*i*] *t-ti-lam-ma i-ta-mar* ‘he lay down and saw’, again probably a sequence of perfect–*ma* perfect.

preterite	<i>iprus</i>	(1) <i>iqīp</i> /(2) <i>ibāš</i>	SB N/LB NA	(1) <i>i-ni-il</i> ; (2) <i>a-na-lu, li-na-al</i> (1) —; (2) <i>i-na-al, a-na-al-ma</i> (1) <i>li-ni-la</i> ; (2) <i>li-na-al</i>
imperative	<i>purus</i>	(1) <i>qīp</i> /(2) <i>bāš</i>	only SB	(1) <i>ni-il</i> ; (2) —
infinitive	<i>parāsum</i>	(1) <i>qīāpum</i> / (2) <i>bāšum</i>	only SB	(1)/(2) <i>na-a-lu</i>
verbal adj.	<i>paris-</i>	(1) <i>qīp</i> -(2) <i>bāš-</i>	OB MB SB OA	(1) <i>ni-lu, ni-i-lum</i> ; (2) — (1) —; (2) Nuzi <i>na-al</i> (1) <i>ni-il, ni-lu</i> ; (2) — (1) —; (2) <i>na-al</i>
participle	<i>pāris-</i>	<i>qāʾip-/muqīp-</i>	not attested	
Gt	sound verb	other middle-weak forms	<i>niālum/nālum</i>	
durative	<i>iptarras</i>	(1) <i>iqtiap</i> / (2) <i>ibtāš</i>	OB MB SB NA	(1) Mari <i>it-te(-e)-el, it-ti-il-lu</i> ; (2) — (1) Nuzi <i>it-ta-al, it-ti-il-lu</i> ; (2) — (1)/(2) <i>a-ta-al, it-ta(-a)-al</i> ; (2) <i>it-ta-lu</i> (1) —; (2) <i>la ta-ta-la</i>
perfect	<i>iptatras</i>	(1) <i>iqtatīp</i> / (2) <i>ibtatāš</i>	OB SB	(1) <i>it-ta-ti-il</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>it-ta-til</i> ; (2) —
preterite	<i>iptaras</i>	(1) Bab. <i>iqtiāp</i> , Ass. <i>iqtiap(?)</i> / (2) <i>ibtāš</i>	OB MB SB OA NA	(1) <i>it-ti-lam</i> ⁵⁵ ; (2) — (1) <i>it-ti-lu</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>it-til, at-til, li-it-til, it-ti-lu</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>a-ti-il</i> ₅ ; (2) — (1) <i>li-it-til</i> ; (2) —
imperative	Bab. <i>pitras</i>	(1) <i>qitīp</i> /(2) <i>bitāš</i>	OB SB	(1) <i>i-ti-lam</i> ⁵⁶ ; (2) — (1) <i>i-til</i> ; (2) — no Assyrian forms attested
infinitive	Bab. <i>pitrus-</i>	<i>qitūp-/qutūp-</i>	OB SB	<i>i-tu-lim, ú-tu-lim, ú-tu-ul</i> <i>i-na i-tu-li-šú</i> no Assyrian forms attested

55. In Atra-ḫasis I 299–300, Lambert and Millard read *i-na* [. . .] *x na-de-e e-er-ši / li-^fi^ʾ-ti-[lu aš-ša]-tum ù mu-sà* ‘When [. . .] . the bed is laid / Let the wife and and her husband lie together’. But *li-^fi^ʾ-ti-[lu]*, with its ^ʾ before the infix *-t-*, is unprecedented as a form of *niālum/itūlum*, and very difficult to account for as such. I would suggest that another verb appeared here, perhaps *li-ilḫ-ti-[nu]* ‘let them choose each other’ (although *ḫiārūm* is not otherwise attested in the Gt), or *li-ilḫ-ti-[šū]* ‘let them hurry in (together)’ (Gt or Gtn of *ḫiāšum*, but again the former is not attested).

56. C. Wilcke, “Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin,” ZA 75 (1985): 200:59: *at-ta i-ti-lam-ma lu-na-as-sí-lḫa-am za-ap-pi-ka* ‘Du, leg auch zu mir, ich will mir deine Locken auszupfen!’.

verbal adj.	Bab. <i>pitrus-</i>	<i>qitūp-/qutūp-</i>	SB N/LB no Assyrian forms attested	<i>ú-tul, ú-tu-lu</i> <i>ú-tu-la-ni</i>
participle	<i>muptaris-</i>	<i>muqtīp-</i>	not attested	
Gtn	sound verb	other middle- weak forms	<i>niālum/nālum</i>	
durative	<i>iptanarras</i>	(1) <i>iqtanī(a)p</i> , <i>iqtanayyap/</i> (2) <i>ibtanāš</i>	OB MB SB N/LB OA	(1) <i>id-di-i-ni-lu</i> ⁵⁷ ; (2) — (1) <i>it-ta-na-a-a-lu</i> ; Bogh. <i>it-ta-na-ia-a[l]</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>it-ta-na-a-a-allu</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>at-te-ni-i-la</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>ta-ti-ni-li-ni</i> (2fs subord.); (2) —
perfect	<i>iptatarras</i>	?	not attested	
preterite	<i>iptarras</i>	(1) <i>iqtip, iqtayyap</i> / (2) <i>ibtāš</i>	OB SB NA	(1) <i>at-ti-il-lam-ma</i> ; (2) — (1) <i>li-ta-til</i> ⁵⁸ ; (2) — (1) <i>at-te-ʔi-i-la</i> ; (2) —
imperative	<i>pitarras</i>	<i>qitīp/qitayyap</i>	not attested	
infinitive	<i>pitarrus-</i>	<i>qitayyup-</i>	not attested	
verbal adj.	<i>pitarrus-</i>	* <i>qitayyup-</i>	not attested	
participle	<i>muptarris-</i>	* <i>muqtayyip-?</i>	only SB	<i>mut-ta-ʔi-lu-tum</i>
D	sound verb	other middle- weak forms	<i>niālum/nālum</i>	
durative	<i>uparras</i>	Bab. <i>ukān</i> Ass. <i>ukān</i>	not attested	
perfect	<i>uptarris</i>	Bab. <i>uktīn</i> Ass. <i>uktaʔin</i>	only OB	<i>tu-ut-ti-il</i>
preterite	<i>uparris</i>	Bab. <i>ukīn</i> Ass. <i>ukaʔin</i>	MB/MA SB	Šalm. I <i>ú-na-i-lu</i> <i>ú-ni-li</i>

57. CT 15 5 ii 1: *i-na e-er-ši id-di-i-ni-lu*; this unusual form presumably represents *ittenilū* < *itta-nilū*, but the writing is difficult to account for. In CAD E, 317a, this interpretation is rejected in favor of “*ina e-er-ši id-di inīlu* (mng. obscure).”

58. STT 28 v 5, 21: DINGIR *šá-a-šú šá taš-pu-ra-na-šú¹-ma ur-ta-ḫa-ni-ma li-ta-til* K1-*ia* ‘let that god, whom you sent to us and who had intercourse with me, lie with me’; see O. Gurney, *AnSt* 10 (1960): 122. On the form, see below.

imperative	Bab. <i>purris</i> Ass. <i>parris</i>	Bab. <i>kīn</i> Ass. <i>ka''in</i>	not attested	
infinitive	B. <i>purrus-</i> A. <i>parrus-</i>	Bab. <i>kunn-</i> Ass. <i>ka''un-</i>	only SB	<i>nu-ʔu-[lu]?</i>
vbl. adj.	B. <i>purrus-</i> A. <i>parrus-</i>	Bab. <i>kunn-</i> Ass. <i>ka''un-</i>	not attested	
participle	<i>muparris-</i>	Bab. <i>mukinn-</i> Ass. <i>muka''in-</i>	not attested	
Š	sound verb	other middle- weak forms	<i>niālum/nālum</i>	
durative	<i>ušapras</i>	Bab. <i>ušmāt</i> Ass. <i>ušmīat</i>	only SB	<i>uš-na-al</i>
perfect	<i>uštapis</i>	<i>uštamīt</i>	OB SB NA	T. Asmar [u]š-te-ní-il(?) <i>ul-te-ni-il</i> <i>ú-sa-ni-lu₄</i>
preterite	<i>ušapis</i>	<i>ušmīt</i>	OB MB SB N/LB NA	<i>lu-uš-ni-il</i> ; Mari <i>tu-úš-ni-il</i> ⁵⁹ ŠD <i>(lu-)uš-na-il</i> <i>uš-ni-il</i> , <i>tuš-ni-il-la</i> LB <i>lu-ul-ti-il-šú</i> <i>li-šá-ni-il</i>
imperative	Bab. <i>šupris</i> Ass. <i>šapis</i>	<i>šumīt</i> <i>šimīt</i>	OB SB	<i>šu-ni-la-am</i> <i>šu-ni-il</i> , <i>šu-ni-ʔi-il</i>
infinitive	B. <i>šuprus-</i> A. <i>šaprus</i>	Bab. <i>šumutt-</i> Ass. <i>šumutt-</i>	only SB	<i>šu-nu-ul-lu</i>
vbl. adj.	B. <i>šuprus-</i> A. <i>šaprus</i>	Bab. <i>šumutt-</i> Ass. <i>šumutt-</i>	OB SB	Mari <i>šu-nu-la</i> ⁶⁰ <i>šu-nu-ul</i> , <i>šu-nu-la-ak</i>
participle	<i>mušapis-</i>	<i>mušmīt-</i>	not attested	

Let us consider first the D and Š forms. These are based uniformly on a root II-*w/y*. The rare D forms are transitive, ‘lay (out, flat)’, vis-à-vis the intransitive G *niālum*. Similarly the very common Š forms, meaning ‘cause to lie down, cause to sleep’, are unexceptional formations of a root **n-w/y-l*. The sole exception is the

59. ARM 26/2 297:20.

60. Ibid., 297:22.

very late (LB) form *lu-ul-ti-il-šú* ‘I will let him sleep’ (YOS 3 19:29), which, if properly understood, is from a secondary root **tālu* (**tiālum*) created, no doubt, by misanalysis of *ittil* as a perfect of such a root.

The G conjugation of *niālum/nālum* shows an interesting alternation between forms like those of *qiāpum* and forms like those of *bāšum*. As we have seen, von Soden interpreted this alternation as reflecting two roots, **nīl* and **nāl*. It is much simpler, however, to suggest that these forms reflect but a single root, *n-γ-l*, which exhibited a variability in its theme-vowels, i.e., earlier **γvnyil-* > *inīl* or **γvnyal-* > *ināl*.⁶¹ There is a discernible dialectal distribution of these alternants: OAkk, OB, MB, and SB for the most part exhibit forms with *-i-*, whereas Assyrian and later Babylonian (under the influence of Assyrian) generally have forms with *-a-*.⁶² It is well known that other Akkadian verbs exhibit such variation across dialects.⁶³

In ZA 50, 169, von Soden suggested that in OB only the alleged root **tīl* occurred. In the meantime, however, the verbal adjective *nīl-* (both attributive *nīlum*, in a lexical list, and predicative, subordinate *nīlu*) has been attested; further, as suggested above (see n. 54), OB *ittīlam* and *ittīlu* in Gilg. P. are best taken as perfects of *niālum* (although **tiālum* is of course not ruled out formally). Finally, OAkk now attests the durative *tanīal*. To be sure, forms of *itūlum* are much more common than forms of *niālum* in OB, but it does not then follow that the former is not simply the Gt of the latter. Indeed, in most of the examples of *itūlum* in the early dialects, especially OB, the meaning is reciprocal, ‘lie with (*itti*) s.o.’, rather than simply ‘lie down (to sleep)’.⁶⁴

As to the forms of *itūlum* itself, these correspond, as Poebel noted, precisely to what we expect of a Gt verb from a root I-*n* and II-*γ*.⁶⁵ With the infinitive and verbal adjective forms *itūlum* may be compared, e.g., the II-*γ* form *šitūmum*, with its pattern *R₁itūR₃um*, and the I-*n* form *itmušum*, in which the initial radical *n* does

61. In other words, the preterite *inīl* reflects the *a-i* class, like *qiāpum*, whereas *ināl* reflects the *a-a* class, like *bāšum*. As in *bāšum*, the expected durative form of the *a-a* class has been replaced analogically; i.e., for *bāšum* we expect **ibūaš* < **γvbawwaθ*, but the latter has been superseded by analogy with preterite forms: *iqīš(ū) : ibāš(ū) :: iqīaš/iqīššū : X = ibāaš(ibāš)/ibaššū*. Similarly, once preterite *ināl* is extant (see the next note), expected *inīal* < **γvnayyal* is supplemented by *ināll/inallū*.

62. It is unlikely that the variation in theme-vowel patterns goes back to Proto-Akkadian. Rather it is probably a development within the dialects. Note the OA verbal adjective *nāl*, which is undoubtedly original. It may be suggested that the G forms of the verb were originally similar to those of *ṭiābum*, viz., pret. *iṭīb(ū)*, dur. *iṭiāb/iṭibbū*, verbal adj. *iṭāb*; thus, pret. *inīl(ū)*, dur. *inīāl/inillū*, verbal adj. *nāl*. The parallel between *nāl* and *bāš* could well have triggered the rise, in Assyrian, of other forms of *niālum* patterned on the corresponding forms of *bāšum*, thus *ināl(ū)*, *ināll/inallū*; conversely, the less common pattern of the verbal adjective *nāl* could readily have given way in Babylonian to the more dominant one of *nīl*. In both cases the developments are essentially paradigmatic levelings.

63. See J. Aro, *Die Vokalisierung des Grundstammes im semitischen Verbum* (StOr 31; Helsinki, 1964); B. Kienast, “Zu den Vokalklassen beim akkadischen Verbum,” in *Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient* (Adam Falkenstein Fs.; ed. D. Edzard; Wiesbaden, 1967), 63–85.

64. Cf. Poebel, AS 9, 105 n. 1.

65. See the helpful collection and discussion of Gt and Gtn forms of middle-weak verbs by J. Renger, JNES 31 (1972): 230–32.

not appear.⁶⁶ The expected durative sg. *ittīal* is thus far unattested as such, but the OB Mari reflex (with *iā* > *ē*), *ittēl*, does occur, as does the later Bab. form *ittāl* (with *iā* > *ā*); the pl. is *ittillū*, with doubling of the final radical as we expect in a middle-weak verb (as in *ištīam*, pl. *ištimū*). The form *ittatīl* with its two *ts*, attested several times in CH, is simply the Gt perfect (*iptatras*). Thus, both semantically and formally, there can be no doubt that *itūlum* is the Gt of *niālum*.

Gtn forms were listed by von Soden under *itūlum* in *AHw* and *GAG* (§107j), though he noted elsewhere (*ZA* 50, 171) that at least some Gtn forms could be assigned to either of his alleged roots **tīl* or **nīl*. Again, we may simply note that the attested examples exhibit the forms expected of the Gtn of *niālum*. The few forms with medial *ʔ*, such as NA pret. *atteʔīla* and SB ptcpl. *muttaʔilūtu*, are of course patterned after verbs II-ʔ rather than verbs II-γ, but some overlap between these two root types in the derived stems is not uncommon in the later dialects.⁶⁷ A sole example, SB *li-ta-tīl*, attested twice in the Sultan-tepe copy of “Nergal and Ereškigal,” does not fit this view, but is hardly sufficient grounds to dismiss it. As with the LB Š form *lultīl*, discussed above, this Gtn form was probably coined by a scribe on the analogy of *ittīl*, taken to be from an ad hoc root **tālu* (**tiālum*).⁶⁸

A number of examples of **n-γ-l* are attested in the lexical lists from Ebla. These tend, I believe, to confirm the analysis presented here. The following forms merit consideration:⁶⁹

- | | | |
|------|----------|---|
| 1131 | ù-di | <i>na-a-um</i> (var. <i>si-tum</i>) |
| 1132 | ù-di-di | <i>tá-tá-ì-lum</i> (var. <i>si-kà-bù-um</i>) |
| 1133 | ù-en | <i>nu-u₉-lu-um</i> (var. <i>téš-tá-i-lum</i>) |
| 801 | an-en-en | <i>tù-uš-tá-i-i-lu-um</i> (varr. <i>na-ʔx¹-[]-lum</i> , <i>tù-[uš-tá]-é-[lum]</i>) |

The first form, *na-a-um*, with its variant /šittum/ ‘sleep’ (n.), is the G infinitive /naya-lum/ (with the well-attested Eblaite loss of *l*), corresponding to Akkadian *niālum*.⁷⁰ The second, *tá-tá-ì-lum*, with its variant /švkābum/ ‘lie down’, is the Gt infinitive *tattayilum*, a *taptaris* form like other Eblaite Gt verbal nouns, and probably reciprocal in meaning (‘sleep with one another’), thus corresponding to Akkadian *itūlum*.⁷¹ The third form, *nu-u₉-lu-um*, may be the D infinitive /nuyyulum/; the interpretation

66. For this phonological phenomenon see the discussion above on the infinitive, imperative, and verbal adjective of *izuzzum*.

67. Cf. the biforms for the Gtn infinitive of *šīamum* listed in *GAG* Paradigm 28: *šitaʔumulšitaj-jumu*.

68. Unless we are to see in *li-ta-tīl* a Neo-Assyrian-style instance of the Gtt or Dtt (‘let him be made to lie’). On such verbs see S. Parpola, “*likalka ittatakkū*,” *StOr* 55 (Jussi Aro MV; Helsinki, 1984), 185–201, esp. 199–200.

69. Examples are quoted from G. Pettinato, *MEE* 4.

70. See P. Fronzaroli, “Materiale per il lessico eblaita,” *SEb* 7 (1984): 176.

71. K. Hecker, “Doppelt t-erweiterte Formen oder: Der eblaitische Infinitiv,” in *Il bilinguismo ad Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984), 205–23; B. Kienast, “Nomina,” *ibid.*, 225–55; M. Krebern timer, “Verbalnomina mit prä- und infigiertem t in Ebla,” *SEb* 7 (1984): 191–211, esp. p. 194.

of its variant is disputed.⁷² The last form has also been taken by some scholars to be a form of *n-γ-l*, viz., the Št infinitive (*tuštāpris*). M. Krebernik, however, has argued that both of the last two examples are to be assigned to a root *n-h-l* or *n-ḥ-l*.⁷³

No etymology is proposed by von Soden for *itūlum*, *nālum*, or *niālum*. Undoubtedly, however, P. Fronzaroli is correct that we are to connect Akkadian *n-γ-l* with Hebrew and Ugaritic *l-γ-n* ‘to spend the night’, and that both in turn are derived from **layl(ay)-* ‘night’, with dissimilation of one of the two *ls*.⁷⁴

The question naturally arises as to whether the average speaker of, say, OB recognized *izuzzum* as the N of *zwz* and *itūlum* as the Gt of *niālum*. It might be suggested that the presence of *izuzzum* and of *itūlum* as infinitives in lexical lists indicate that the sense of the original paradigms had been lost. But *itūlum* may certainly be compared with other Gt infinitives that appear in lexical lists, including, for example, the following:

atmū (ʔ-*w-w*) ‘speak’ (see CAD A/2, 86);
itmušu (*n-m-š*) ‘move away’ (see CAD N/1, 220b);
šitūlum (š-ʔ-*l*) ‘consider’.⁷⁵

And if, as argued above, *izuzzum* is only marginally dissimilar from the phonologically expected shape of the N infinitive of a verb II-*w*, then we may at least compare its presence in lexical lists to that of other lexically N verbs, such as *naprušum* and *naplusum*.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the number of analogical innovations to which the forms of *izuzzum* were subject suggests that the etymological origin of the verb may not have been apparent to most speakers. And quite probably the made-up “neo-N” form *immanziz* in the OB grammatical text indicates that forms like *izzâz* and *izuzzum* were not perceived, by that scribe at least, as N forms. In the end, one has the sense that the original nature of *itūlum* as part of the paradigm of *niālum* was not forgotten, but that *izuzzum* rather early became detached from its etymological and paradigmatic moorings.

72. See the studies cited in the preceding note.

73. See his article cited in n. 71 above.

74. “Materiale per il lessico eblaita, 1,” *SEb* 7 (1984): 176. I made the same suggestion in my paper in *Semitic Studies* . . . Leslau (above, n. 45), 692, unfortunately unaware at that time of Fronzaroli’s proposal. The hapax Akkadian verb *liānu*, attested in a SB lexical text and equated with *alāku*, if related to our forms (*AHw*: ‘nachts gehen?’), is presumably a loan from NWS.

Early writers, such as F. Delitzsch in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896) and Streck (see above, n. 50), associated *niālum/nālum* with Hebrew *nihēl* ‘lead, conduct’ and Arabic *nahila* ‘drink’/ʔanḥala ‘give to drink, water’, but these are cognate with another Akkadian verb, *naʾālu* ‘to water, moisten’.

75. Note also *ḫitrušu*, *ḫitnuqu*, *šitrušu*, *šitpušu* in MSL 17 101 (Boghazkoy Erimḫuš i 4–7).

76. Even an Ntn infinitive may appear in a lexical text, as in OB *i-tāk-tu-mu-um*, immediately following *ú-zu-uz-zum*, both glossing LU (MSL 14 123:284f.); for later examples of *itaktumu(m)* in lexical texts, see *AHw*, 465.

Addendum

This paper was submitted in the fall of 1996. In the meantime, two important publications have appeared in which *itūlum* and *izuzzum* are also considered: J. Tropper, “Probleme des akkadischen Verbalparadigmas,” *AoF* 24 (1997): 189–210, esp. pp. 201–8; M. Streck, review of G. Buccellati, *A Structural Grammar of Babylonian*, *AfO* 44/45 (1997–98): 314–25, esp. pp. 321–22. Both Tropper and Streck likewise conclude that *itūlum* is simply the Gt of *niālum*; *itūlum* is also presented as such in my *Grammar of Akkadian* (HSS 45; Atlanta, 1997), 392 and in my paper in the *Leslau FS* (1991, p. 692; see above, n. 45). For *izuzzum*, Tropper posits a root *nzz*, while Streck posits two related roots originally, *zīz* and *nzz*; despite their thorough treatments, however, I continue to believe that it reflects instead the N of a root *zwz*, as suggested by Poebel and in the present paper.

A New Look at the “Oppression of Uruk” Episode in the Gilgameš Epic

JACOB KLEIN

The Oppression of Uruk by Gilgameš is described in detail in two literary sources of differing date and character.¹ In the first-millennium recension of the Akkadian Gilgameš Epic, the narrative immediately following the prologue begins with a recital of Gilgameš’s sweeping oppression of the young men and women of Uruk (Gilg. I 63–91).² The oppression episode is first narrated by the poet (63–77) and is then placed in the mouth of the gods, who repeat it almost verbatim when they bring the people’s complaint to Anu (81–91). The oppression episode appears here as the ultimate cause for the creation of Enkidu, whose role in the epic is to challenge Gilgameš and put an end to his tyrannical conduct.

The other source elaborating on the theme of the oppression is the Sumerian epic “Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld” (GEN), where Gilgameš is described as oppressing the young men of Uruk through some sort of game or athletic contest that was played with two objects of unknown nature, called in Akkadian *pukku* (Sum. 𒂍𒅗𒂗𒅗) and *mekkû* (Sum. 𒂍𒅗𒂗𒅗𒂗𒅗). At the complaint of the people, the gods caused the *pukku* and the *mekkû* to fall into the netherworld (GEN 149–67). This, in turn, brought about the death of Enkidu, who volunteered to descend there and retrieve the above objects for his master (GEN 177ff.).

Both sources have long been available in relatively reliable editions: The Akkadian source has been recently edited by Wilcke in his survey of the prologues of Akkadian epics;³ for the Sumerian source, see Shaffer’s careful edition of GEN,

1. This study is a revised version of a paper, read before the 203d meeting of the American Oriental Society, which took place in Chapel Hill, April 1993. In my lecture, I dedicated the paper to Thorkild Jacobsen, who had officiated as the President of the AOS during the previous year and attended my lecture. I now duly dedicate the paper to his cherished memory.

2. Line numbering follows my own reconstruction of the Gilgameš epic (cf. S. Shifra and Jacob Klein, *In Those Distant Days: Anthology of Mesopotamian Literature in Hebrew* [Tel-Aviv, 1996], 188f.). For the reconstruction of this passage, see the following note.

3. Claus Wilcke, “Die Anfänge der akkadischen Epen,” *ZA* 67 (1977): 153–216. See especially *ibid.*, 200–211. Wilcke reconstructs lines 63–91 (= lines 52–74 in his edition) from three NA manuscripts: K 8584 (= c); BM 34248 + 1017 + Rm 785 + 1017 (= f); and N.D. 4405/4 = IM 67577

which appeared in 1963 as a dissertation and has not yet been superseded.⁴ Nevertheless, the precise meaning of the two texts and the exact nature of the oppression in both the Akkadian and Sumerian sources remain somewhat obscure. This state of matters may be justified for the Akkadian source, which is still slightly damaged and can therefore not be fully reconstructed. For its part, the Sumerian source, in spite of its completeness, has for a long time defied a connected translation;⁵ only in its most recent translations has it acquired a reasonable sense.⁶

In the following discussion I would like, first, to indicate briefly the various hypotheses put forward concerning the nature of the oppression according to the Akkadian epic. Following this, I will suggest an improved and more complete rendering of the oppression episode in the Sumerian source. Finally, I will take a new look at the problem of the relationship between the late Akkadian version of the oppression motif and its earlier Sumerian parallel. In my survey of the various interpretations of the Akkadian source I am greatly indebted to Tigay's aforementioned discussion of the "oppression" episode in his study of the Gilgameš epic.⁷

As Tigay points out, one of the most elusive problems of the Akkadian Gilgameš epic is the question: how did Gilgameš oppress Uruk? The most common view has been that the oppression involved the imposition of corvée labor.⁸ Tigay rejects this view on the ground that the epic does not use any of the standard Akkadian terms for corvée labor.⁹

(= H). My reconstruction of this passage in the Appendix below has benefited from revised copies of texts H (D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 37 [1975], pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII) and BM 34248 + Rm 786 + 1017 + BM 34351 (+) K 15145, which were kindly provided by A. R. George; from the notes in a recent translation of the epic by R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer (*L'Épopée de Gilgamesh* [Paris, 1994], 45ff.); from a transliteration of the epic by S. Parpola (*The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh* [= SAAT 1; Helsinki, 1997], 71f., lines 52ff.); and from a recent translation of the epic by George (*The Epic of Gilgamesh* [London, 1999], 3, lines 63ff.). Note that the reconstruction of line 71 (= 88–89) is highly tentative.

4. Aaron Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš* (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1963), 66–69. For the three most recent translations of GEN, see Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 248–74; S. Shifra-Klein, *Anthology*, 308–21 (Hebrew); George, *Gilgamesh*, 178–95. The revised translations of Tournay-Shaffer and George appeared after the completion of this study. The rendering of lines 149–64 in their translation agrees partially with the one proposed below. For an ingenious hypothesis regarding the historical relationship between the Sumerian epic GEN and the Akkadian Gilgameš epic, see Géza Komoróczy, "Akkadian Epic Poetry and Its Sumerian Sources," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Hungaricae* 23 (1975): 41–63.

5. Cf. S. N. Kramer, "The Epic of Gilgameš and Its Sumerian Sources," *JAOS* 64 (1944): 20; A. Shaffer, "Sources," 105–6; J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia, 1982), 189.

6. See Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 254ff.; George, *Gilgamesh*, 183.

7. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, Chap. 9, "The Oppression of Uruk" (178–91).

8. This view is held, e.g., by Oppenheim, von Soden, Edzard (see Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 181 n. 7).

9. Such as *ilku*, *dullu*, *abšānu*, *tupšikku*, *šipru*, *iškaru*, *dikātu*, *kudurru*, *zabbilu*, *allu*, *marru*. Cf. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 182 n. 12.

On the other hand, it had long been observed that the OB recension (P) of the Gilgameš Epic clearly describes the *jus primae noctis* as a customary privilege of Gilgameš; this custom was perhaps connected with Gilgameš’s role in the sacred marriage rite.¹⁰

However, the relationship between the *jus primae noctis* scene in P and the “oppression” motif in the beginning of the late recension is problematic, as Tigay’s vacillation indicates. On the one hand, he admits that “the text does not specify that the purpose for which the girls are taken is sexual; conceivably they were drafted for domestic service.”¹¹ On the other hand, he states that “it is hard to believe that *jus primae noctis* is not at least part of what is suggested in I, ii, 7–28.”¹²

But, whether or not we restore [ana ḥā’iriša] or [ana ummiša] at the end of Gilg. I 72 (=90), or take *mārat qurādi ḥīrat eḥli* (line 77) as the direct object of the verb *ul umaššar*, the whole passage cannot possibly refer to the sexual abuse of the brides, since after exercising the *jus primae noctis*, Gilgameš did release the brides to their husbands! The sweeping statement in I 72 (= 90) that “Gilgameš does not release the young maiden to her mother/spouse” etc., can only refer to a mass and continuous activity, such as domestic labor, which Gilgameš imposed on the young women (just as on the young men).

10. Gilg. II 88’–115’ (= P iv 10–37); see Appendix 3; cf. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 182ff. See also Gilg. II 143’–152’ (= P v 22–32):

- 143’ *kajjāna ina Uruk niqīātum*
- 144’ *eḥlūtum ūtellilū*
- 145’ *šakin uršānu*
- 146’ *ana eḥlim ša išaru zīmūšu*
- 147’ *ana Gilgameš kima ilim*
- 148’ *šakiššum meḥrum*
- 149’ *ana Išḫara majjālum*
- 150’ *nadīma*
- 151’ *Gilgameš it[ri w]a[rdat]im*
- 152’ *ina mūši inne[mm]id*
- 143’ In Uruk offerings were (brought) continually,
- 144’ The lads purified themselves.
- 145’ A hero has been set up (for the fight);
- 146’ For the lad of the perfect features,
- 147’ For Gilgameš, as for a god,
- 148’ A rival has been set up.
- 149’ For Išḫara the bed
- 150’ Was set.
- 151’ Gilgameš will unite
- 152’ With the girl at night.

Most probably we have here a description of the preparations for the sacred marriage rite in Uruk. This ceremony was apparently preceded by a contest between the ruling king and a hero (this has been pointed out to me by A. R. George; see also Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 69, note n; 71, note q).

11. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, *ibid.*, correctly referring to the analogous “law of the king” in 1 Sam 8:11–18.

12. Cf. Appendix 3, lines 100’–115’ below.

In addition to corvée labor and sexual abuse (*jus primae noctis*), Assyriologists have also considered a third possibility as regards the oppression in the Akkadian epic, namely athletic contests.¹³ The arguments that can be brought forth in support of the hypothesis that Gilgameš oppressed the people of Uruk, especially the young men, through athletic contests, are as follows:

(a) The Hittite version of the Gilgameš Epic states concisely: “Daily the young men of Uruk he kept on besting.”¹⁴

(b) The Akkadian epic contains a number of key words and expressions that allude to Gilgameš as an unrivalled champion in athletic contests: “In the sheepfold(s) of Uruk, he is used to wandering about, he prevails in strength like a wild bull, lofty is his head. The onslaught of his weapon verily has no equal” (Gilg. I 63–65). Thus “he constantly terrifies the young men of Uruk by (his) tyranny” (line 67).

(c) The only one who is able to challenge and stop the royal “superman” is Enkidu, as the poet puts it in his mouth (Gilg. I 215–22):¹⁵

alkī šamḥat qerēnni yāši
ana bīti ellim qudduši mūšab Anim u Ištar
ašar Gilgameš gitmālu emūqi
u kī rīmi ugdaššaru eli niši
anāku lugrišumma dan[niš] luqab[bi]
[luštar]riḥ[?] ina libbi Uruk anākūmi dannu
[anāku] ūmma šimātu unakkar
[ša in]a šēri i²aldu [dā]n emūqi išu

Come, Šamḥat, take me
 To the pure and holy temple, the dwelling of Anu and Ištar,
 The place of Gilgameš, perfected in strength,
 And who like a wild bull prevails in strength over the people.
 I will challenge him, and will boldly speak (to him);
 I will boast in the midst of Uruk: “I am he who is mighty!”
 Thus I (will say) and I will change destinies;
 He [who] was born in the steppe is mighty; strength he has!¹⁶

(d) As pointed out by W. G. Lambert,¹⁷ Astrolabe B names the month of Abu as the month of Gilgameš, when for nine days wrestling games are instituted in his

13. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 184–89.

14. Hitt. Gilg. I i 11b–13a. This statement has nothing to do with Gilgameš’s possible foreign origin and the circumstances of his succession to the throne (contra Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 184–85).

15. Thompson, Gilg. I iv 43–v 3; Parpola, *Gilgamesh*, 73, lines 199–206.

16. Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 58, nn. 62–63 restore lines 220–21 (= V 1–2) as follows: *[lū ša]riḥ ina libbi Uruk anākūmi dannu! [err]umma šimātu unakkar* “He may boast in Uruk: ‘I am he who is mighty!’ I will enter and change destinies!” Parpola, *Gilgamesh*, restores at the beginning of line 221: *[lūr]umma* “Let me enter!”

17. “Gilgameš in Religious, Historical and Omen Texts and the Historicity of Gilgameš,” in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, ed. P. Garelli (Paris, 1960), 56.

honor. An early allusion to this custom may be found in the Death of Gilgameš A 27–31.¹⁸

(e) In a later period, Šulgi of Ur, who speaks of himself as the “brother and friend” of Gilgameš, boasts in a self-laudatory hymn of his prowess in “wrestling and athletics” in terms similar to the poet’s description of Gilgameš:

ḡešpu₂ lirim₃-ma [kalag²-ga²-bi²]-me-èn
 sipa-me-èn šu-si-gíd gíd-da-ḡ[u₁₀² x]¹á¹ [m]i-ni-gùn
 kisal maḥ-a ki mè-gim ¹a¹-[ba² b]a²-ni-gi₄
 ur-saḡ gal-gal-kal[am-m]a-ke₄-ne
 kala-ga l[ú]² á² tuku-tuku kur-kur-ta igi saḡ-ḡá-ne
 lú kar-[ra²] ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄-ne
 šu gaba ri-x du₁₀ bad [tu]ku-ne
 kišib-lá-ḡu₁₀-ù NAG² mu-da-¹ab¹-du₁₁
 gu₄ dù-gim si²-bi-ta mu-[g]i₄-eš
 lirim₃-ta ù-su tuku ì-me-nam
 ḡešpu₂^{pú²}-ta á-ḡál ì-me-nam
 šul-gi si-pa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn lú ¹nu¹-mu-da-sá-me-èn
 (Šulgi C 130–142).¹⁹

I am [the *strong man* of] wrestling and athletics,
 I, the shepherd, I make (*my*) *strength* radiate with my long fingers.
 In the great court, like on the battle-field, *who could challenge me?*
 The great heroes of the Land,
 The strong ones, the *mighty men*, selected from all the lands,
 The runners of Sumer,
 Those who *repel* with hand (and) breast, who possess wide-open knees—
 I *contested* them with my *hands*.
 Like *goring* oxen I turned them back by their *horns*.
 In athletics I was indeed the mighty one,
 In wrestling I was indeed the strong one;
 I, Šulgi, the faithful shepherd of Sumer, am a person with whom none can
 compete!

However, as Kramer already felt, the most important clue to the interpretation of the oppression theme in the Akkadian epic is given by the analogous *pukku* and

18. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 186f., n. 33; cf. A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la mort: Textes de Tell Haddad VI* (CM 19; Groningen, 2000), 16.

19. The transliteration of the above passage is based on the author’s personal manuscript. For the time being, see G. R. Castellino, *Tivo Šulgi Hymns (BC)* (Rome, 1972), 256f. See also Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 187f.; Robert Rollinger, “Aspekte des Sports im Alten Sumer: Sportliche Betätigung und Herrschaftsideologie im Wechselspiel,” *Nikephoros* 7 (1994): 7–64 (especially, 43ff.). Note that Rollinger translates the key terms lirim₃ and ḡešpu₂ (ḡešba₂) as “Wettlauf” and “Ringkampf,” respectively. I cannot agree with Tigay that the athletic contests were always connected with marriage ceremonies and the *jus primae noctis*, described later in the OB recension of the Gilgameš Epic.

mekkû incident in “Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld.” Tigay, in his discussion of this incident, comes to the conclusion that in the Akkadian epic “the meaning of *pukku* was misunderstood” and “the nature of the contest became blurred.”²⁰

I wonder if this characterization of the relationship between the two sources is accurate. I believe that, after a careful reexamination of the Sumerian source, we can arrive at a more balanced view as to the relationship between the two sources.

A new study and a revised translation of the *pukku* and *mekkû* incident in GEN 149–68 lead to the following reconstruction of the plot:

Gilgameš cut down the *huluppu*-tree and had its trunk made into a throne and a bed for Inanna. Subsequently, he fashioned from the base or roots of the tree a *pukku*, and from its branches, a *mekkû* (lines 149–51). Landsberger first interpreted the *pukku* and the *mekkû* as a “drum” and a “drumstick,” respectively. Later, he changed his mind and opted for a “hoop” and a “driving stick.” Finally, he preferred to see in the *pukku* a kind of wooden ball or puck, and in the *mekkû*, a stick, a type of mallet, suggesting that these served as playthings for a game such as polo or croquet.²¹ In agreement with Landsberger, Jacobsen, Tigay, and Ann Kilmer, I assume that the Sumerian text appears to refer to a game similar to polo, croquet, or hockey.²² In my opinion, the most suitable candidate for identification with Gilgameš’s game is polo, which apparently originated in prehistoric Egypt and later

20. Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 191.

21. “Einige unerkannte oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen,” *WZKM* 56 (1960): 124–26; 57 (1961): 23. The instrument rendered by Akk. *pukku* corresponds to Sum. $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}g$ in all sources from all periods. Note that T. Jacobsen, who generally accepts Landsberger’s hypothesis as to the nature of the game, reads the above Sumerian word with a final nasal / $\text{g}/$ (i.e., $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}\text{g}\check{\text{g}}$), and assumes that it refers to a kidney-shaped wooden puck; cf. “The Gilgamesh Epic: Romantic and Tragic Vision,” in *Lingering Over Words*, ed. T. Abusch et al. (HSS 37; Atlanta, 1990), 234 n. 7. This identification, however, may be erroneous because Akk. *kalitu* “kidney” is always equated with $\text{ella}\text{g}\check{\text{g}}_2$ (= BIR), never with $\text{ella}g$ (= LAGAB). Note, further, that Sumerian $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}g$ occurs only two more times in monolingual Sumerian literary texts. In SP Coll. 5.93 (= 3.95) we read: $\text{ur-gi}_7 \text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}g$ (var. $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{illar}$) *ra-gim dum-dam i-ib-za*, “she grumbles like a dog hit by a ball (var. by a throwstick)” (cf. B. Alster, *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* [Bethesda, 1997], 97, 138, and 387). The other attestation of this word is in Šulgi B 106, where Šulgi boasts of his expertise in hunting with missile-like weapons that are thrown by hand (cf. G. R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns* [Rome, 1972], 40:107; text cited from G. Haayer’s manuscript): $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}g \text{ n}\check{\text{ig}} \text{ an-na diri-ga-}\check{\text{am}} \text{ t}\check{\text{u}}g\text{-gim im-ra-ra-an}$, “the (wooden) ball, the thing that soars to heaven, I (can) throw like a piece of cloth.”

As to the second instrument, rendered by Akk. *mekkû*, its Sumerian equivalent differs from source to source: In the Sumerian epic GEN, this word is written consistently with $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{E.KID-ma}$ in all the Nippur texts (text V i 5 = line 176 is no exception; see Wilcke, *Kollationen*, 21, sub I 5); whereas the Ur orthography, on the other hand, seems to be $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{E.KID-ma}$. The only seeming exception, text t (UET 6, 57 rev. 1), which is read by Shaffer in line 150 as $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{KID-me}$, may turn out to read $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{KID}^1$ upon collation. In the bilingual hymn Inanna J (see n. 25 below), *mekkû* is equated with $\text{g}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{-d}\check{\text{u}}\text{-a}$, whereas the late lexical texts consistently equate it with $\text{ĝ}^{\text{S}}\text{ella}g$ (see CAD M/2, 7, sub *mekkû* A).

22. T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (London, 1976), 212; Tigay, *Gilgamesh*, 190, n. 47; A. D. Kilmer, “A Note on an Overlooked Word-Play in the Akkadian Gilgamesh,” in *Zikir šumim* = FS F. R. Kraus (Leiden, 1982), 129f. This interpretation of *pukku* and *mekkû* has been accepted most

spread eastward. Possibly the first organized sport ever played, the game may have been connected to fertility rites²³ or training for war.²⁴

In light of the above information, it is not impossible that the game that was played with the *pukku* and *mekkû* was originally connected with the cult of Ištar, the goddess of fertility and love; but this is not at all certain.²⁵

recently also by Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 47 note x; 255 note m, and George, *Gilgamesh*, 183. Von Soden keeps Landsberger's first rendering of *pukku* and *mekkû* and sees in them a drum and a drumstick, respectively (cf. *AHW* 642, 878). According to M. Duchesne-Guillemin, drums in the ancient Near East were never played with drumsticks. In her opinion, the above terms should rather refer to a type of "scraper" (i.e., to "an implement with a series of notches cut in") and a stick that served for making a rattling and rhythmic noise (cf. "Pukku and Mekkû," *Iraq* 45 [1983]: 151ff.). For a recent but inconclusive discussion of these terms, see B. Groneberg, "Tilpānu = Bogen," *RA* 81 (1987): 121ff.

It is interesting to note that the ball for outdoor polo is usually made from willow root (cf. R. D. Henderson and R. F. Kelley, *Encyclopaedia Americana* [1969], vol. 22, 325b, sub "Polo"). Gilgameš, according to the Sumerian epic, also fashions the *pukku* (ball) from the roots of the *huluppu*-tree. Although there is a tendency to identify this tree with the "oak" (see the Akkadian dictionaries), since this tree grew on the bank of the river, the possibility cannot be excluded that in our myth it should be identified with the willow.

23. Cf. Henderson and Kelley, "Polo," 325a-325b:

There are references to the so-called polo before and shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, in Egypt, Arabia and Persia, but the earliest authentic account of polo was written about the year 860 A.D. by al-Jahiz, who described events some 800 years before his time. These early games sometimes had as many as a thousand on a side. Cumulative evidence indicates that these large assemblies were not games, but folk fertility rites, usually practiced in the spring-time of the year . . . with the ball as a symbol of fertility. Started in dim, prehistoric days in Egypt, where the ceremonies were on foot, they spread eastward through Arabia and Persia. There the rites were adapted to the equestrian habits of the Persians. Later historians, writing hundreds of years after the events they recorded, undoubtedly interpreted the earlier stories in the light of contemporary practice, by which time the expert Persian horsemen were beginning to convert the religious rite into a secular game.

24. Cf. "Polo," *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 14 (1974), 760:

Polo . . . is the oldest of all equestrian sports and, according to some authorities, the oldest organized sport of any kind. Definite historical references establish that polo was being played in Iran (Persia) during the 1st century AD. Some scholars claim an even earlier birth of the game and credit the Persians (i.e., the Elamites?) with its invention as far back as 2000 BC. In any case . . . the game is definitely of Oriental origin. In its early forms, it was less a sport, in the modern sense of the word, and more a training game for Oriental cavalry units, usually to the king's guard or other elite mounted troops. Indeed, to the warlike tribesmen, polo was a miniature battle with as many as 100 "players" to the side.

25. See Inanna Hymn J IV B 5-6: ^c-lagellag ġiš-dù-a-gim nin-mè-a ur-a-ra sì-sì-ga-ba-ni-ib = *kīma pukku u mekkê bēlet tāhazī šutamḥiṣu tamḥāru*, "O lady of the battle, let the fight clash like a ball and a mallet" (cf. CAD M, sub *mekkû* A). Cf. Groneberg, *RA* 81 (1987): 121ff.

Note that Kilmer, *Zikir šumim*, 129f., tends to see in the *pukku* and *mekkû* male sexual symbols, symbolizing the insatiable energies and the (homo)sexual appetite of Gilgameš, and she assumes that this game is particularly connected with wedding ceremonies.

Gilgameš is very proud of the new playthings. He takes them out to the city square and there plays proudly (lines 151–52)²⁶ and vigorously with them together with the young men of his city (line 153) from morning until evening. It seems that he never tires in his play and easily wins all the games. Why?

The reason he prevails in the game seems to be given by line 154, which reads as follows:

e-ne erin₂-dumu-nu-mu-un-su-a-ke₄-ne íb-ba u₅-a²⁷

I propose to translate this line as follows: “While he (= Gilgameš) was riding/mounted on the backs of a group of widows’ sons . . .”²⁸

As has been pointed out above,²⁹ polo is assumed to have been played in ancient times on foot, then later, on horseback. Now, if we are justified in identifying Gilgameš’s game with polo or its antecedent, it was certainly played on foot. The only one who had the privilege of playing the game while mounted was the king, Gilgameš. However, instead of riding on a horse or on a donkey, Gilgameš seems to have been mounted on the backs of his subjects, one at a time, while playing the tiring game. We may further assume that Gilgameš did this by pressing his feet around the hips (íb) of the human “horse,” holding on to his neck (gú) by his left

26. We take the *verbum operandi* du₁₁-du₁₁(-g) in lines 151–53 as denoting “to play,” perhaps elliptic for e-ne du₁₁(-g), Akk. *mēlulu* (see already Shaffer’s rendering in “Sources,” 106, line 153). IM.DI (var. KA.DI) is to be read ní-silim, which corresponds to Akk. *tašrīhtu*, *šutarruḫu*. It is not impossible that in line 152 we have the full form of this word: ní-silim du₁₁-du₁₁(-g); cf. J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan, 1981), 215f.

For a radically different rendering of GEN 151–52, see Pascal Attinger, *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne: La construction de du₁₁leldi “dire”* (Göttingen, 1993), 676. Attinger equates ní-silim du₁₁-du₁₁-ge in line 152 with Akk. *šutarruḫu*, and takes al-du₁₁-du₁₁-ge in lines 151 and 153 as a participial form of the compound verb al-du₁₁(-g), Akk. *erēšu*. Consequently, he renders lines 151–52 as follows: “Lui qui désirait sans cesse un *ellag*, joue de l’*ellag* au carrefour, lui qui ne cessant de faire son propre éloge fait son propre éloge au carrefour.”

Tournay-Shaffer, in their recent translation of GEN 151–52 (*Gilgamesh*, 254), take the verb du₁₁-du₁₁(-g) as a synonym of díim in line 150 and accordingly render lines 151–52: “Il façonna la boule et l’apporta sur la grande place; ayant façonné le (*maillet*), il l’apporta sur la grande place.” The above translation seems to ignore the obscure complex IM.DI (var. KA.DI), which recurs twice in line 152.

27. This line, according to Shaffer’s edition (“Sources,” 67), is furnished by three texts:

3N-T124:26 (P): e-ne erin₂ dumu-nu-mu-un-su-a-k[a í]b²-íb u₅-a

BE 31, 55:20 (S): [e-n]e erin₂ dumu-nu-mu-un-su-a-ke₄-ne íb²-x ¹u₅¹²-[x]

UET 6, 56:27 (r): e-ne erin₂ dumu-nu-mu-un-su-a-ni íb-ba u₅-a.

28. Literally: “he—of a group of widows’ sons—on their hips mounted” (note the “anticipatory genitive”). íb = *qablu*; u₅ = *rakābu*. Shaffer consistently reads the complex íb-ba-u₅-a as a finite verbal form with the prefix chain i-ba-. In his 1963 edition of GEN, he failed to translate this alleged verbal form. In their 1994 translation of GEN, Tournay-Shaffer render the line as follows: “lui, il monte à califurchon sur les jeunes enfants des veuves!” (*Gilgamesh*, p. 254).

For a radically different interpretation of this whole episode, see Jacobsen, *Treasures*, 212.

29. See n. 23 above.

hand while his right hand was striking the ball with the mallet. Thus he never grew tired and was able to play from sunrise to sunset without stop.³⁰ But alas, the human horses, the poor orphans, became extremely tired, if they actually did not pass out; they constantly complained: "Oh, my neck, oh my back!" (line 155). The tyrannical Gilgameš paid no heed to their complaints, and he did not give them a rest all day long,³¹ so that the mothers and the sisters of these orphans had to provide them with food and drink on the playground (lines 156–57).

When evening came and it grew dark, Gilgameš marked the place where the ball had stopped (lines 158–59), probably in order to resume the game the next day at that point. Then he picked up the precious ball and carried it home for the night.

The poor orphans could not bear this oppressive athletic game, and at night their mothers (the widows) and sisters (the young girls) cried out to the gods for help (lines 162–63). The gods, in accordance with the universal rules of justice and the literary pattern of oppression, outcry, and divine response,³² responded to the outcry. As a result, the next morning when Gilgameš came back to the marked place in the city square and mounted the orphans' backs in order to continue his cruel game (line 161), the gods caused his ball and mallet to fall to the bottom of the netherworld (line 164).³³ Thus they put an end to the orphans' suffering.

Frustrated, Gilgameš tried to reach out for the instruments with his hands and feet, but without success (lines 165–66). Having realized that he had lost his playthings, he sat down at the gate of the netherworld³⁴ and began to cry and lament (lines 167ff.).³⁵

In view of the above interpretation of the Sumerian source, I cannot agree with Landsberger and those who follow him that the Akkadian poet completely misunderstood his Sumerian source and misinterpreted the term *pukku* in this

30. See also Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 255f. note n, for a very similar interpretation of the nature of Gilgameš's conduct in this game.

31. The poor boys were probably taking turns carrying their master in the game.

32. For the pattern of "oppression, outcry, and divine response," see Tigay's discussion, *Gilgamesh*, 180.

33. Reading *dúr-kur-ra-šè*. *dúr* = *šuburnum*, *išdum*, *šaplum*, and *warkatum*. Shaffer ("Sources," 69) read *tuš-kur-ra-šè* and translated (ibid. 106) "to the realm of the netherworld."

34. Cf. line 167: *abul-ganzir igi-kur-ra-ka dúr im-ma-ni-in-ġar*. This line is interpreted by Shaffer ("Sources," 106) as referring to the *pukku* and *mekkú*. Accordingly, he translates: "At the gate of Ganzir, the ante-room of the netherworld, it came to rest." For the present interpretation, see the following note.

35. If we are right in assuming that the *pukku* and the *mekkú* fell to "the bottom of the netherworld" (line 164; cf. n. 33 above), it seems unlikely that they came to rest at its front. Hence we have to assume that line 167 refers to Gilgameš and is to be translated: "At the gate of Ganzir in front of the netherworld he sat down" (= *dúr im-ma-ni-in-ġar*). For the literary cliché of sitting down and crying, see also Gilgameš and Huwawa 152f-152g (D. O. Edzard, "Gilgameš und Huwawa A. II. Teil," *ZA* 81 [1991]: 219): *ġu-wa-wa dúr im-ma(-an)-ġar ér im-ma(-an)-pà sig₇-sig₇ i-ġá-ġá*.

context.³⁶ Consequently, I prefer to read Tablet I, line 66 (= Thompson, *Gilg.* I ii 10) of the epic as follows: *ina pukkīšu tebû rû'ûšu* "On account of his ball (game) his companions are (constantly) aroused!"³⁷ If the above rendering is correct, and if we bear in mind that the lines in the Akkadian epic that refer to the oppression of the young men of Uruk (lines 63–74) concentrate on nothing but the physical strength of Gilgameš, we come to the conclusion that both the Sumerian epic and the late Akkadian epic basically refer to the same theme: the oppression of the people of Uruk through athletic contests.

However, in spite of the basic similarity between the Sumerian prototype and the Akkadian epic, there are still fundamental differences between the two sources. The Sumerian epic portrays Gilgameš as a petty ruler of a small, provincial city-state who oppresses only one limited social group of his citizens through his obsession with athletic contests. Since he does not possess absolute power, he oppresses and exploits only the orphans, a socially weak and vulnerable group, who have no paternal protectors. With these acts he neglects, violates, and abuses his royal duties, since in ancient Mesopotamia it was the duty of the king especially to protect orphans and widows.³⁸ Furthermore, the whole oppression episode in the Sumerian epic seems to have lasted only one day. The quick and efficient response of the gods to the people's complaint is self-understood, if we bear in mind that the outcry came from the widows, a social group under special divine protection.

In contrast, the late Akkadian epic portrays Gilgameš as a great king of a powerful city-state, with absolute power over the entire population. According to this source, Gilgameš subjugates and oppresses the entire population, and his tyranny affects both men and women. The oppression of the males still consists mainly of athletic and military contests, and the special *pukku* and *mekkû* game is still echoed in one concise line of verse (line 66). This line refers only to the *pukku* "ball,"

36. Landsberger reads in line 66 *ina puqqīšu* and translates the line accordingly: "seine Genossen stehen (in Bereitschaft), seiner Befehle harrend" (*WZKM* 56, 125 n. 49). Similarly, Tigay (*Gilgamesh*, 190): "his companions stand (in readiness) heedful of him." This erroneous interpretation gained popularity among recent translators of the epic; cf. M. Gallery Kovacs, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford, 1989), 4:55; J. Bottéro, *L'épopée de Gilgameš* (Paris, 1992), 67:55; Tournay-Shaffer, *Gilgamesh*, 46:12.

37. So already A. D. Kilmer, *Zikir šumim*, 130. Similarly von Soden translates this line: "Durch seine Trommel sind daurend im Gang seine Gesellen," *Das Gilgamesch Epos* (Reclam³, Stuttgart, 1989), 17:10; so also C. Wilcke: "Durch seine Trommel sind [seine] Genossen (stets) aufrecht," *ZA* 67 (1977): 207:55; and F. Malbran-Labat, "A son tambour, ses compagnons doivent se lever," *Gilgamesh: Presentation, traduction et notes* (Paris 1992), 9:10.

38. This motif is attested in Sumerian and Akkadian law codes, reform texts, and literary texts from the time of Urukagina of Lagaš and Urnammu of Ur. Cf. Ukg. 4, 12:23–25 (= 5, 11:30–12:1) *nu-siki nu-ma(-nu)-su lû-á-tuku nu-na-ĝá-ĝá-a*, "That the orphan and the widow not be delivered to the mighty man"; Codex Urnammu 162–65: *nu-siki lû-níĝ-tuku-ra ba-ra-an-ĝar nu-mu-un-su lû-á-tuku-ra ba-ra-an-ĝar*, "The orphan was not delivered up to the wealthy man; the widow was not delivered up to the mighty man" (cf. J. J. Finkelstein, "The Laws of Urnammu," *JCS* 22 [1969]: 68). See in general Moshe Weinfeld, *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations* (Jerusalem, 1985), 26ff.

which was the principal instrument of the game, and the first of the two instruments to be mentioned.³⁹ Here, however, the whole episode is described in general and somewhat obscure terms to allow the inclusion of the young women of Uruk in the description and to render the oppression motif all-inclusive and sweeping. Whereas the first part of the description pertaining to the male population can still be interpreted as referring to athletics, the second part pertaining to the female population seems to allude to some form of *corvée* or domestic service, as Tigay has suggested and subsequently rejected. On the other hand, one can hardly detect in the whole episode an explicit or implicit reference to heterosexual or homosexual abuses.

Finally, it should be observed that there is a perfect correspondence between the problem created by Gilgameš’s behavior and its divine solution. Since, according to the Akkadian epic, the oppression takes gigantic proportions and involves more than a particular game with a particular set of implements, its elimination requires more radical measures: The insatiable and energetic tyrant has to be restrained. This aim can be achieved only by creating a match for him, a man whose physical strength equals that of the oppressor and whose friendship and love will take possession of him and absorb all of his attention. This is the special and sophisticated role that Enkidu plays in the Akkadian epic, which has no counterpart in any of its Sumerian sources.

Appendix

1. Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld 149–168

- 149 e-ne úr-bi ḡiṣellag-a-ni-šè ba-da-ab-dím-e
 150 pa-bi ḡiṣE.KID-ma-ni-šè ba-ab-dím-e
 151 ḡiṣellag al-du₁₁-du₁₁-ge sila ùr-ra ḡiṣellag na-mu-un-è
 152 IM.DI du₁₁-du₁₁-ge sila ùr-ra IM.DI na-mu-un-è
 153 guruš uru-na-ka ḡiṣellag al-du₁₁-du₁₁-ga-ne
 154 e-ne erin₂ dumu nu-mu-un-su-a-ke₄-ne íb-ba u₅-a
 155 a gú-ḡu₁₀ a íb-ba-ḡu₁₀ a-nir(-ni) im-ḡá-ḡá-ne
 156 ama tuku dumu-ni-ir ninda mu-na-ab-túm
 157 nin₉ tuku šeš-a-ni-ir a mu-na-dé-e
 158 ú-sa₁₁-an-e um-ma-te-a-ta
 159 ki ḡiṣellag ḡar-ra-ka-ni ḡiṣ-ḡur in-ḡur-re
 160 ḡiṣellag-a-ni igi-ni-a mu-ni-in-íl é-a-ni-šè mu-un-túm

39. The *pukku* and *mekkû* are a formulaic pair of words, and hence, associatively, the *pukku* can stand for both of them. This assumption is borne out by the Sumerian epic itself. At the main turning points of the story, both terms appear in parallelism (cf. GEN 149–50; 164; 169; 175–76; 179–80). Occasionally, however, the poet refers only to the *pukku*, e.g., when he describes the game on the broad square (lines 151–60), or when he quotes Gilgameš’s lament of the loss of his playthings (lines 170–71).

- 161 á-gú-zi-ga-ta ki ġiš-ḥur in-ḥur-ra íb-ba u₅-a
 162 šu-dù-dù-a nu-mu-un-su-a-ta
 163 i-^dutu ki-sikil tur-ra-ta
 164 ġiš^{is}ellag-a-ni ù ġiš^{is}E.KID-ma-ni dūr kur-ra-šè ba-da-an-šub
 165 šu-ni mu-ni-in-du₁₁ sá nu-mu-un-da-du₁₁
 166 ġir-ni mu-ni-in-du₁₁ sá nu-mu-un-da-du₁₁
 167 abul ganzir(IGI.KUR.ZA) igi kur-ra-ka dūr im-ma-ni-in-ġar
 168 ^dgilgameš ír im-ma-an-pà še_x(SIG₇)-še_x(SIG₇) ì-ġá-ġá

 149 He, himself, has made its base/root into his *ball*,
 150 Its branches he made into his *mallet*.
 151 He *plays with the ball*, he brings the *ball* out in the broad square.
 152 He *plays with it proudly*, he brings it out *proudly* in the broad square.
 153 The young men of his city, who were *playing* with the ball—
 154 Since he (= Gilgameš) was riding on the backs (lit. hips) of a group of widow's sons—
 155 Lament: “Oh, my neck, oh, my back (lit. hip)!”
 156 He who has a mother—she brings her son bread;
 157 He who has a sister—she pours water for her brother.
 158 After evening had arrived,
 159 He drew a mark at the place where the ball settled down.
 160 He lifted the ball before him, and brought it to his house.
 161 At daybreak, while he was (again) riding on their backs at the place where he had drawn the mark,
 162 At the widows' complaint,
 163 At the young girls' outcry,
 164 His *ball* and his *mallet* fell down to the *bottom* of the netherworld.
 165 He stretched out his hand—but he could not reach them,
 166 He stretched out his foot—but he could not reach them;
 167 At the gate of Ganzir, in front of the netherworld, he sat down.
 168 Gilgameš burst into tears, was grievously crying: . . .

2. Epic of Gilgameš I 63–91

- 63 ina supūr[i] ša Uruk šū itta[nallak]
 64 ugdaššar rīmāniš šaqû rē[šāšu]
 65 ul īši šāninamma tebû kakkûšu
 66 ina pukkīšu tebû rû²ûšu
 67 ūtaddari eḷlūtu ša Uruk ina kukitti
 68 ul umaš[šar] Gilgameš māra ana abīšu
 69 urra u [mū]ši ikaddir šēriš
 70 [Gilgameš[?] šū[?] rē[?]]û[?] ša Uruk supūri
 71 šū rē[?]ûšīnāma u x x-a-ti [gaš]ru šū[pû mūdû x x x]

72 *ul umaššar* [Gilgameš batulta ana] ¹*ummiša*
 73 *tazz[imta]šina ár-x-[x]*
 74 [] *urḫi ina pān [ilī]*²
 75 *gašru šūpū mūdū* [u x x]
 76 *ul umaššar* Gilgameš batulta an[a mutiša]
 77 *mārat qurā*[di ḫīrat eḫlī]
 78 *tazzimtašina i[štenem]mā išt[arātu]*
 79 *ilū šamāmī bēlū zik[ri]*
 80 [i]šassūšu²
 81 *tultabšimī rīma kadra ina Uruk supūri*
 82 *ul išu šāninamma te[bū kakkūšu]*
 83 *ina pukkī(šu) šutbū* [rūʾūšu]
 84 [ūtaddari eḫlūtu ša Uruk] *ina kukitti*
 85 *ul umaššar* Gilgameš māra ana abīšu
 86 *urra ū mū*[ši ikaddir šēriš]
 87 *šū rēʾūma ša Uruk su*[pūri]
 88 *šū rēʾūšināma u-x-*[]
 89 *gašru šūpū mūdū* x []
 90 *ul umaššar* Gilgameš batulta ana u[mmiša]
 91 *mārat qurādi ḫīrat e*[ḫlī]

63 In the sheepfold(s) of Uruk, he is used to wander about,
 64 He prevails in strength like a wild bull, lofty is his head,
 65 The onslaught of his weapon verily has no equal,
 66 His companions are aroused by his *pukku*,
 67 He constantly terrifies the young men of Uruk by (his) tyranny:
 68 Gilgameš does not release the son to his father,
 69 Day and night he “rears up” in violence.
 70 [Gilgameš—he is the shepherd] of Uruk, “The Sheepfold,”
 71 He, their shepherd, *oppresses them*—mighty, outstanding, [wise, *but cruel*]!
 72 [Gilgameš] does not release [the young maiden to] her mother,
 73 Their complaint
 74 before [*the gods*].
 75 Mighty, outstanding, wise [*but cruel*]!
 76 Gilgameš does not release the young maiden to [her husband],
 77 The warrior’s daughter, the young man’s spouse!
 78 The goddesses heard their complaints,
 79 The gods of heaven, the lords (who pronounce) the decrees,
 80 Called out [*to Anu, their father*]:
 81 “You have created the ‘mighty wild bull’ in Uruk, ‘The Sheepfold,’
 82 The onslaught of his weapon verily has no equal,
 83 His companions are aroused by (his) *pukku*,

- 84 He constantly terrifies the young men of Uruk by (his) tyranny:
 85 Gilgameš does not release the son to his father,
 86 Day and night he ‘rears up’ in violence.
 87 He is the shepherd of Uruk, [‘The Sheepfold,’]
 88 He, their shepherd, [*oppresses them*]—
 89 Mighty, outstanding, wise [*but cruel*]!
 90 Gilgameš does not release the young maiden [to her *mother*]
 91 The warrior’s daughter, the young man’s spouse!”

3. *Epic of Gilgameš II 88’-115’*

- 88’ *iššīma īnīšu*
 89’ *ītamar awīlam*
 90’ *izzakkaram ana ḥarimtim*
 91’ *šamkat ukkišī awīlam*
 92’ *ana mīnim illikam*
 93’ *zikiršu lušālšu*
 94’ *ḥarimtum ištasi awīlam*
 95’ *ikuššumma itawūšu*
 96’ *eṭel êš taḥīšam*
 97’ *mīnu alāku mānaḥṭika*
 98’ *eṭlu pīšu ipušamma*
 99’ *izzakkaram ana En[kidu]*
 100’ *bītiš emūtim iqrūni[nni]*
 101’ *šīmat nišīma*
 102’ *ḥijār kallūtim*
 103’ *ana paššūr sakkē eṣēn*
 104’ *uklāt bīt emi šajjahātīm*
 105’ *ana šarri ša Uruk rebītim*
 106’ *peti pūg nišī ana ḥāri*
 107’ *ana Gilgameš šarri ša Uruk rebītim*
 108’ *peti pūg nišī*
 109’ *ana ḥāri*
 110’ *aššāt šīmātīm irahḥi*
 111’ *šū pānānumma*
 112’ *mūtum warkānu*
 113’ *ina milki ša ili qabīma*
 114’ *ina bitiq abunnatišu*
 115’ *šīmassu*

- 88’ (Enkidu) lifted his eyes
 89’ And beheld a man.
 90’ He said to the harlot:

- 91' "Šamḥat, let the man come here!
92' Why has he come?
93' Let me ask his name!"
94' The harlot called the man,
95' He came to him and he said to him:
96' "Lad, where are you hurrying?
97' Why this arduous pace for you?"
98' The lad opened his mouth,
99' Saying to Enkidu:
100' "They have invited me to a wedding;
101' (This is) the custom of the people,
102' When selecting brides:
103' I will heap up on the festal table
104' Tasty delights for the wedding.
105' For the king of Broad-Marted Uruk,
106' Open is the bridal canopy for nuptial choice.
107' For Gilgameš, the king of Broad-Marted Uruk,
108' Open is the bridal canopy
109' For nuptial choice.
110' He mates with betrothed brides,
111' He first,
112' The husband afterward.
113' This was ordained by the counsel of the gods,
114' From the cutting of his umbilical cord
115' It has been destined for him."

A Rare Exorcistic Fragment

W. G. LAMBERT

A hitherto unpublished fragment of text is given here in honour of one who would have delighted in its manifold problems and would have (no doubt) solved more than are solved here. It is the upper portion of a tablet in the British Museum, published by kind consent of the Trustees of that institution. It is BM 54716, from the 82-5-22 collection, for which collection see J. E. Reade in E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum VI* (London, 1986), xxxii–xxxiii. According to this information our tablet could have come from Babylon or Sippar, but that is no help for the interpretation of the text. The lines on the reverse are continued on the left edge, but there is no colophon. Thus paleography and orthography are the only means of dating the tablet. From the large but somewhat clumsy script and the spelling conventions of the Sumerian, it would appear that this is a late Old Babylonian or early Cassite-period tablet. The NI regularly lacking the vertical wedges favours an early Cassite-period date, as does also perhaps the é written with three wedges (obv. 1), since this is not a cursive hand. Note that NIN is written as SAL+ŠU, and DAM as SAL+MA.

The content is Sumerian and exorcistic. There is only one column on each side, and more than half of the length of the tablet is preserved, so the complete tablet may have had some 50 lines, of which the whole or part of 34 remain. The obverse is devoted to Ki-sikil-líl-lá, the female demon, Ardat-lilí in Akkadian, and closely related to the much later Lilith. There was a bilingual incantation series dealing with this demon in the late libraries, the remains of which are edited by S. Lackenbacher in *RA* 65 (1971): 119–54 (to which add K 13341?), but they offer nothing directly relevant to our text. However, it is always possible that this series did include a late duplicate of our piece that has so far not been recovered. The words which follow each mention of this demon in lines 2–10 of the obverse seem to offer praise. Though šu-tag-ga in line 4 could be either “adorned” or “afflicted,” line 5 “she made charm/pleasure” is complimentary, as is the mention of “(being?) given ladyship” in line 6. The section is too damaged for a purposeful translation, until a duplicate is found.

The reverse offers a zi . . . ħé-pà “be exorcised by” listing, covering the whole pantheon very briefly but with many obscurities. Since it is better preserved than

the obverse, a translation is given, but it is meant to be used only with the notes which follow.

The question which arises from this tablet is whether the two sides come from a single incantation, from two related incantations, or from two incantations not of the same category. It is possible that the demon to be exorcised should be listed in litany fashion with a string of epithets, one for each recitation of the name, and that then this demon should be exorcised by a listing of benevolent gods, with some final phrases to achieve the end sought. The final lines after the *zi . . . ḫé-pà* section, though not restorable so far, make a perfect conclusion to an incantation. The first suggestion, then, is entirely possible. The other two possibilities take account of the fact that *zi . . . pà* listings became a self-contained genre, at least for the longer ones. E. Ebeling edited the three longest in *ArOr* 21 (1953): 357–403, as “Gattungen I–III” (Gattung IV is not related). The first and second are bilingual and in their present forms probably not older than the late second millennium B.C. But Gattung III is unilingual Sumerian and late Old Babylonian. However, it is much longer than our listing could have been when complete. The shorter *zi . . . pà* lists occur in incantations of different kinds, e.g., in an *Udug-ḫul* incantation, *CT* 16, 13 11–28, dupl. *LKU* 28 1–5. Thus one must allow the possibility that in the gap in our text a new incantation began, either about *Ki-sikil-líl-lá*, or of an entirely different category. In Ugarit, tablets have been found which offer together on one tablet incantations which belong to different genres in the late libraries, where the material is more systematically organized. *Ugaritica* V 17 is an example of such diversity on a single tablet.

One matter of general interest occurs. Gilgamesh appears among the nether-world gods, as would be expected. His name is written ^dGiš.GIM-maš as in the Babylonian pieces from Boghazköy, but the epithet “man of the boat [. . .]” is otherwise unknown. Gilgamesh is associated with a boat in the standard late version of Tablets X and XI, but there he uses the boat to cross the waters of death and then abandons it and returns to Uruk. However, there is a general tradition that Gilgamesh at death became a netherworld god, so perhaps in this tradition he replaced Ur-Šanabi as boatman of the netherworld river, ferrying people (mostly dead) across the waters of death. This idea can be supported from Tablet XI of the late version, since Ur-Šanabi was ordered off from his work with the boat and accompanied Gilgamesh back to Uruk. Clearly another boatman was needed at that moment, and the position could have been kept ready for Gilgamesh. *Ur-ra* = *ḫubullu* IV 341–42 knows a boat of Gilgamesh:

^{giš} má-GIŠ-KAL-TUKU	=	e-lep ^d Giš.GÍN-maš
^{giš} má-GIŠ-TUKU	=	MIN MIN

MSL V 179

However, all the boats of the immediately preceding gods listed in this source were the ceremonial barges actually used in the cults in Babylonia at some period, or periods, in history, and it is at least possible that there was a boat of this type for a cult

of Gilgamesh in some town, perhaps Uruk. But since Gilgamesh is the last in this list of cultic barges and their owners, perhaps his case is different, and the names given were of a boat crossing the waters of death. We do not know.

BM 54716 (82-5-22, 1044)

Obverse

- 1 [én]-é-n[u-ru (. . .)]
- 2 [k]i-sikil-líl-lá a-x [. . .
- 3 ki-sikil-líl-lá a-ab-[x (x)] x x x
- 4 ki-sikil-líl-lá šu-tag-ga
- 5 ki-sikil-líl-lá ħi-li ¹mu-ni¹-in-aka
- 6 ki-sikil-líl-lá nam¹-nin¹ [(x)] x [x] x-an-ba
- 7 [ki-siki]l-líl-lá x x [. . .]
- 8 [ki-sikil-lí]l-lá x [. . .]
- 9 [ki-sikil-lí]l-lá x [. . .]
- 10 [ki-sikil-lí]l-lá guruš-bi dam-a-ni x (x) x
- 11 [x x] x gud-a-ni x-x-a-ni
- 12 [x (x)] lú-ud-da-kar-ra
- 13 [ki²-sikil²-lí]l²-lá líl²-na x-(x)-gar
- 14 . . .] x gal-bi na GÍ[N (x)] x mu² x x x
- 15 . . .] dam-a-n[i . . .
- 16 . . . d]am-a-ni x [. . .
- 17 . . .] x x [. . .

* * * *

Reverse and Left Edge

- 1 [zi . . .] ħé-p[à]
- 2 [zi . . .] x x-ne ħé-pà
- 3 [zi ^de]n-ki [a-a] ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ ama' ^dnin-líl ħé-p[à]
- 4 [zi n]a-DU ħé-pà zi IGI-pa-na ħé-pà
- 5 zi na-DU pa-na x (x) KUR ħé-pà
- 6 zi na-DU pa-na x-DI ħé-pà
- 7 zi ^dbišeba(^{GUD}_{GUD} LUGAL) ħé-pà
- 8 zi pa-na igi-gál-la ħé-pà
- 9 zi lá-búr-x ħé-pà
- 10 zi ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal ^den-líl kur-ra-ke₄ ħé-pà
- 11 zi ^dNIN-ki-gal-la nin eri₁₁-gal-an-na-ke ħ[é-pà]
- 12 [z]i ^den-nam-tar-re sukkal kur-ra-k[e₄ ħé-pà]
- 13 [z]i ^dbí-du₈ ì-du₈ kur-r[a-ke₄ ħé-pà]
- 14 [z]i ^dGIŠ.GIM-maš lú ^{giš}má x [. . . ħé-pà]
- 15 [(x)] ki-gub-ba nam-ba-an-x [. . .]

- 16 x nam-ba-da-BAD ki-gub x [. . .
 17 [(x)] am²-na x x x-te [. . .
 (end)

Translation of Reverse and Left Edge

- 1 Be exorcised [by . . .],
 2 Be exorcised [by the . . .] . . . s,
 3 Be exorcised [by] Enki, [father] of Enlil, mother of Ninlil,
 4 Be exorcised [by] NaDU, be exorcised by IGIPana,
 5 Be exorcised by NaDU-pana . . . ,
 6 Be exorcised by NaDU-pana . . . ,
 7 Be exorcised by Bisheba,
 8 Be exorcised by the wise Pana,
 9 Be exorcised by . . . ,
 10 Be exorcised by Nergal, Enlil of the “mountain,”
 11 Be [exorcised] by Ereshkigal, mistress of the lofty Hades,
 12 [Be exorcised by En-Namtarre, vizier of the “mountain,”
 13 [Be exorcised] by Bidu, door-keeper of the “mountain,”
 14 [Be exorcised] by Gilgamesh, the boat-man of . . . [. . .],
 15 [. . .] do not . . . [. . .] the standing place,
 16 . . . do not . . . the standing place . . . [. . .
 17 [(. . .)] . . . [. . .
 (end)

Notes

Obv. 2–3: In the bilingual Kisikillilla series, ab = *aptu* occurs in allusions to the demon’s malevolent activities, but it is not certain that this is the intention here, and the traces here do not fit the bilingual lines *RA* 65 (1971): 131, 2 and 135, 5’ and 7’.

Obv. 13: A reading ¹un¹-gar is possible if the sign UN can end in a single vertical wedge.

Rev. 1–14: Lines 10–14 so far as preserved are fully intelligible and offer a listing of netherworld deities not unlike those of Gattungen II and III (see below), but lines 1–9 in contrast are mostly obscure. Line 3 deals with Enlil’s and Ninlil’s ultimate ancestors, Enki and Ninki, of which pair the second one seems to have dropped out here. For this ancestry, see the present writer in *Ancient Cosmologies*, ed. C. Blacker and M. Loewe (London, 1975), 50–55. Gattung II at the beginning offers first Anu’s ancestry, then Enlil’s in En- Nin- pairs (E. Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 [1953]: 381f.), but Gattung III, unfortunately damaged for the first seven lines, hardly has space for both ancestries, and the preserved “lands” in lines 5–6 certainly allude to Enlil. Probably Gattung III had only Enlil’s ancestry in a short form, since it was traditional in Sumerian texts from at least the Fara period onwards (see

P. Mander, *Il Pantheon di Abu-Šālabīkh* [Naples, 1986], 109, 1–14 and 29, 273–88). Thus our text begins when first intelligible with Enlil, but the only other identifiable god in the first nine lines is Utu/Šamaš in line 7. One could have expected at least Sîn before Utu/Šamaš, and perhaps Iškur/Adad and Inanna/Ištar after Utu/Šamaš. But instead there are the mysterious, repeated na-DU and pa-na, not to mention lá-búr-x in line 9. Without more knowledge speculation would be purposeless. The sun-god is written with an extremely rare name and sign, so it would be unwise to dismiss na-DU and pa-na as corruptions at the present time.

Rev. 7: For this name of Šamaš see the present writer in *RA* 76: (1982): 72, 6 and note; also in *BiOr* 52 (1995): 89 (on p. 186 n. 341).

Rev. 10–14: For the comparable netherworld section of Gattung II, see E. Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 (1953): 387–88, lines 52–80, and for Gattung III, *ibid.*, 396, lines 61–69. The latter, however, is extremely difficult to read, and Ebeling merely emended the copy of Lutz in *PBS* I/2, 112. Thus, we offer here our own reading of the tablet, with a corrected line-numbering:

- 63 zi ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal ^den-líl uru-gal-la-ke₄ ḫ[é]-
 64 zi ^dNIN-ki-gal-la nin-líl ki-gal-la-k[e₄ ḫé]-
 65 zi ^dnin-giš-zi-da gu-za-lá kur-ra-ke₄ [ḫé]-
 66 zi ^dnam-tar na-gal-maḫ kur-nu-gi-gi-da-k[e₄ ḫé]-
 67 zi ^dḫuš-bi-ša agrig kur-ra-ke₄ ḫé-
 68 zi ^dšár-šár-bi-id gír-lá kur-lam-ma ḫé-
 69 zi ^dè-ta-na sukkal è-kur-idim-ke₄ ḫé-
 70 zi ^dil-ti-lam? a ḫi x x (x) ḫé?-
 71 zi ^dig-sa-UR/IB/LÍL lú-si-gar IGI.KUR.ZA-[ke₄ ḫé]-

All the gods given in our tablet also appear in Gattung II (rev. 10 = 52; 11 = 56; 12 = 70; 13 = 75; 14 = 79) with, however, others interposed. But while Gattung III has nine gods to only five of our text, only three of the five are certainly the same (rev. 10 = 63; 11 = 64; 12 = 66). Our rev. 13, Bidu, might be the same god as the mysterious ^dig-sa-UR/IB/LÍL of Gattung III 71, in view of similar function. Also III 70, if monstrously corrupt (what we have read LAM might possibly be -mes), might parallel rev. 14, but it is much too uncertain.

An earlier Old Babylonian listing of netherworld gods occurs in one of the elegies published first by S. N. Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet* (Moscow, 1960), 54, lines 91–98, re-edited with duplicates by Å. W. Sjöberg, “The First Pushkin Museum Elegy and New Texts,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 315ff. The gods there (leaving out Nanna and Utu who were only temporarily down there for a session of judgment) are:

- ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal ^den-líl kur-ra-ke₄ . . .
 en ^dnin-giš-zi-d[a]
 kala-ga ^dbil-ga-mes . . .
^mbí-du₈ ù e-ta-na . . .

An Old Babylonian copy of a Sumerian Utu hymn also offered a listing of nether-world gods, but it is incompletely preserved at that point, but the following are clear (quoted from M. E. Cohen, “Another Utu Hymn,” *ZA* 67 [1977]: 14, 73–78):

[. . .] ^drèr¹-[ra . . .]
 [. . . ^dnin-giš]-zi-da-^dkam¹ [. . .
^dbil-ga-mes en₅-si kur-ra-ke₄
^me-ta-na nu-banda kur-ra-ke₄

The better known Incantation to Utu, last edited by B. Alster in *ASJ* 13 (1991): 27–96, in lines 237–40 lists only Ningišzida and Bidu, as does a Neo-Assyrian funerary inscription (see below). The same two preceded by Namtar occur in a late copy of an Akkadian incantation, *LKA* 90 rev. 24, dupl. Sm 38. What may be the earliest list of netherworld gods occurs in the Sumerian text describing Ur-Namma’s arrival in the netherworld and the gifts he gave to the various divine authorities down there. They are:

89 ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal ^den-líl kur-ra-ra
 94 ^dbil₄-ga-mes lugal kur-ra-ke₄
 99 ^dNIN-k[i-ga]l ama ^dn[in]-a-zu-ra
 103 ^ddumu-zi dam ki-ág ^dinanna-ra
 107 ^dnam-tar lú nam-tar-tar-ra-ra
 111 ^dhuš-bi-ša₆ dam ^dnam-tar-ra-ra
 117 šul ur-sag ^dnin-giš-zi-da-ra
 121 ^dDÌM-PI-ME-kù-ge
 125 nitalam-a-ni ^dnin-a-zi-[mú-a]

S. N. Kramer, “The Death of Ur-Nammu and his Descent to the Netherworld,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 114–15

This was presumably composed soon after Ur-Namma’s death and so reflects Ur III ideology. The high status of Gilgamesh in this list confirms the Ur III ideology, since he was intimately associated with the Ur III royal family. The lack of Etana here is also perhaps significant, since he was a king of Kish, outside the cultural zone of Sumer as understood during the Ur III dynasty. Thus, one may conclude that the incantation studied in this article was not composed under the Third Dynasty of Ur in Sumer. The Death of Gilgamesh also assigns an important position to Gilgamesh in the netherworld pantheon, since its listing is: Gilgamesh, Ereshkigal, Namtar, ^dDÌM-PI-kù, ^dbí-’it¹-ti, Ningišzida with Dumuzi, and finally Enlil’s ancestors Enki, Ninkī, etc. (A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. al-Rawi, *Gilgameš et la mort: Textes de Tell Haddad VI* [CM 19; Groningen, 2000], 23, 8–18). But the prominence of Gilgamesh here may simply reflect the fact that he is the centre of the text.

While Gilgamesh’s position in the netherworld is well known, Etana’s has received less comment, indeed the most recent edition of the Akkadian legend, J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Legend of Etana* (Warminster, 1985), does not allude to his

eventual status in the netherworld, though there is a fragment of text apparently alluding to the tragedy of his coming death, K 8563 rev. on p. 124. One must surely assume that both Gilgamesh and Etana received their special offices in the netherworld as consolation prizes for having failed to achieve personal immortality.

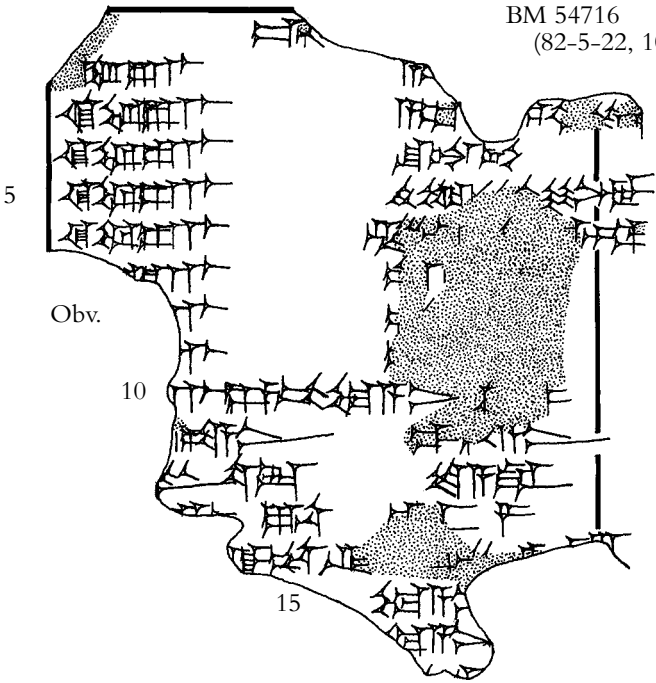
Rev. 12: Note how *en* is developed from an epithet to being part of the name, just as in the Sumerian King List the king of Kish is *en-me-(en)-bára-ge-si*, but on contemporary inscriptions the name appears as *me-bára-si* (D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 53 [1959]: 9–26). It happens more commonly with *nin*, as in *^d(nin)-geštin-an-na*.

Rev. 13: The reading of the name *^dNE-du₈/ti* has been dealt with by A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi in *RA* 76 (1982): 189–90; K. Deller in *NABU* 1991/18; and K. Nashef in *NABU* 1991/97. The important evidence is the variant writings *zi ^dNE-du₈ i-du₈-gal kur-ra-ka* and *zi bi-tu ú-du-gal kur-ra-ka* in two copies of an incantation from Tell Haddad (A. Cavigneaux and F. al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 [1995]: 198, 42 = 23') and *^dbi-tu-ḥi-du-gul* in a funerary inscription for a royal concubine of the time of Ashurnasirpal II (A. Fadhil, *BagMit* 21 [1990]: 463, 19). The writings *bi-tu/ṭu-(ḥ)* confirm that the normal orthography is to be read *^dbí-du₈/duḥ*, but do not settle the etymology. Deller opted for an Akkadian origin of the name, an imperative *peti/petu(ḥ)*. The only evidence in Akkadian for a *-u* vowel for this verb offered is *SBH*, 75 ii 18–19: *ga-na i-du₈ é ma-al-ù = a-tu-u bīta pe-tu-u*. Since the reverse of the same tablet (iii 14) offers a regular form of this verb in the phrase *é tag₄ nam-mi-in-lá² = bīta ip-te-šim-ma*, it is especially unwise to press into service an isolated form such as *pe-tu-u* as proof of a possible form *iptu**. This *pe-tu-u* is no doubt a scribal error influenced by the immediately preceding *a-tu-u*. A couple of passages in later Syriac are irrelevant, and in any case have been explained by C. Brockelmann as an inner-Syriac development, as alluded to by Nashef. The latter also rightly referred to the Akkadian divine name *^dip-te-(elḥ)-bi-tam* as parallel, but we see it not as proof of an Akkadian etymology but as proof of a Sumerian etymology: *^dbí-duḥ/du₈/ti* is Sumerian, “He opened.”

BM 54716



BM 54716
(82-5-22, 1044)



The Burden of Scribes

JACK M. SASSON

In memory of Thorkild Jacobsen, I dedicate this study of a “Mari” letter (A.427 + M.8431) that Ibalpi-El, one of Zimri-Lim of Mari’s most trusted officers, sent to the king. In it, Ibalpi-El corrects information he had previously dispatched on the identity of a city captured by Bunuma-Addu, king of Nihriya, a principal locality in a confraternity of Benyaminite villages in the Balih region. My speculations on the source of the error that was made during transmission will also permit me to raise some issues about the way scribes handled correspondence and about the behavior of royal agents monitoring provincial regions.

The relevant contents of the letter read as follows:

Previously, when a tablet from Hamman was sent to me, I had its information copied on a tablet that I sent to my lord. Having reached Dēr, I looked into this matter: Bunuma-Addu did not capture Aparhā; it is Hadurahā that Bunuma-Addu captured. But the scribe who wrote Hamman’s tablet made a mistake. He wrote “Aparhā” on a tablet and, without getting (it) heard, encased it in a clay envelope. In no way was Aparhā captured; Hadurahā he did indeed capture.¹

The background of this letter is not of immediate relevance; suffice it to say that during Zimri-Lim’s reign, Bunuma-Addu repeatedly tried to break out from

1. A.427 + M.8431: 5–16

5] [i-n]a [pa]-ni-tim tup-pí ha-am-ma-an ša a-na (še)-ri-ya [ú-ša]-bi-lu-[nim^l]-ma a-wa-at tup-pí-im ša-a-tu i-na tup-pí-im ú-ša-áš-te₄-er-ma a-na še-er be-lí-ya ú-ša-bi-il de₄-er^{ki} ak-šu-ud-ma wa-ar-ka-at te₄-[mi]-im ša-a-tu ap-ru-ús-ma 10] ¹bu-nu-ma-^dIM a-pa-ar-ḫa-a-^{ki} ú-ul iṣ-ba-at a-lam^{ki} ḫa-du-ra-ḫa-a-^{ki} bu-nu-ma-^dIM iṣ-ba-at ù dumu é tup-pí-im ša tup-pí ha-am-ma-an iṣ₇-tú-nu ir-su-ub-ma a-pa-ar-ḫa-a-^{ki} i-na tup-pí-im iṣ₇-tú-ur ù tup-pa-am ba-lum šu-ús-me-e-em 15] iḫ-ri-im mi-im-ma a-pa-ar-ḫa-a-^{ki} ú-ul ša-bi-it ḫa-du-ra-ḫa-a-^{ki} iṣ-ba-at . . .

This text is edited by D. Charpin in “‘Lies natürlich . . .’: à propos des erreurs de scribes dans les lettres de Mari,” in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherrn von Soden zum 85. Geburtstag am 19. Juni 1993*, ed. M. Dietrich and D. Loretz (AOAT 240; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 43–47.

the control that Mari had over the Balih region south of Harran.² Hamman was Zimri-Lim's *suqāqum* at Dēr on the Balih and therefore was one of a handful of royal officers expected to keep a watch over developments in the Tuttul region. Ibalpi-El, a *merhūm*, roamed the region, troubleshooting for the king among notoriously volatile tribes. The two towns mentioned in the letter, Aparhā and Hadurahā, must be located in the same territories; but we know something only about the former. Once the seat of an independent kingdom ruled by Larim-Numaha, Aparhā seems to have bordered on Yamhadian territory. With Yamhad's blessing, the town was brought under Šamši-Addu's control.³ We presume that it remained under Zimri-Lim's protection, as that would explain his interest in its welfare.

Of Hadurahā, so far there is no other mention; but this should not make it a town of lesser magnitude, whether or not Mari would have greeted its fall with less alarm than that of Aparhā.

Let us first reconstruct Ibalpi-El's own narrative of events. According to him, Hamman, having learned of Bunuma-Addu's conquest, relayed to Ibalpi-El news about a defeated city. Ibalpi-El had his scribe include this information in a letter that he ordered dispatched to Zimri-Lim. A curiosity is Ibalpi-El's decision not to forward the original letter that he received from Hamman, as was normal in such circumstances.

In telling about his next activity, Ibalpi-El did not dwell on how much time elapsed between the posting of his letter and his arrival at Dēr; nor did he justify

2. For background, see M. Ghouti, "Témoins derrière la porte," in *Florilegium marianum: Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury*, ed. J.-M. Durand (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 1; Paris, 1992). Regarding the Upper Balih region, see F. Joannès, "Routes et voies de communication dans les archives de Mari," *Amurru* 1 (1996): 337, 342. On Zalmaqum and some of its kings around ZL9', see M. Birot, *Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân* (ARMT 27; Paris, 1993), 25. See also S. Maul, "Die Korrespondenz des Iasim-Sūmū. Ein Nachtrag zu ARMT XIII 25–57," in *Florilegium marianum* 2: *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot*, ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 3; Paris, 1994), 27 and note (b) to text #6.

The speech quoted in a fragmentary letter sent to Zimri-Lim may well be Bunuma-Addu's, evidently in happier days, "Since time immemorial, the house of Nihriya and the house of Mari are but one; . . . blood (kinship) and solemn oaths obtain between us." This passage is cited from J.-M. Durand, "Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite," in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Actes de la XXXVIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991; Paris, 1992), 116 n. 152.

3. ARM 5:21 (LAPO 17: 488), reedited by J.-M. Durand in "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie I," *MARI* 5 (1987): 189–90. See also the improved readings by W. Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria During the Early Old Babylonian Period (From the End of Ur III to the Death of Šamši-Adad)* (Changchun [China], 1994), 112. This victory was recalled also in ARM 5:72, a text that has been reedited by Durand, *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo*, II/1: *Semitas Occidentales* (Ebla, Mari) (Colección: Estudio Orientales 8; Sabadell, 1995), 496–97. ARM 10:178 and 26:266 give account of the hostilities that preceded. Note that LAPO 16–18 = Jean-Marie Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari* (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 16–18; Paris, 1997–2000) appeared after this paper was completed.

Aparhā may be the same town as Amarhi, which in *Florilegium marianum* 2, 107 (Yahdun-Lim era) seems to lie not too far from Tuttul on the Balih: D. Charpin, "Une campagne de Yahdun-Lim en Haute-Mésopotamie," *Florilegium marianum* 2, 196–97.

what made him go to Hamman's home town. This is worth observing because, ordinarily, Mari officials and diplomats did not shy away from elaborate narrative rationalization. By cluttering letters with news of interim activities, they kept the king focused on their own alacrity and zeal. Ibalpi-El's abrupt change of locus, therefore, deserves notice, for it gives the impression that a gnawing suspicion about the accuracy of Hamman's tidings was at the root of his travel to Dēr.

Once there, Ibalpi-El promptly carried out an investigation that brought to light the true state of events. The error, he discovered, originated with a scribe who, in fact, stood accused of two lapses: First, that he wrote "Aparhā" when he should have written "Hadurahā"; second, that he sealed the tablet without checking its contents. After a brief excursus, I will take up seriatim each of these missteps.

In the Mari archives as elsewhere, *dub.sar* (*tupšarrum*) is the normal term for "scribe," although it is frequently bound to another noun when the context requires the mention of a specialist.⁴ To a lesser extent, *dumu é dub.ba* (*mār bīt tuppim*) is also used, and the two designations can even be found in the same context (as in ARM 1, 7:32–43). If a distinction is to be made between the two designations, however, it should not be on the basis of maturity or experience, for the two terms attract a similar range of adjectives such as *taklum*, "reliable," *nawrum* "outstanding," *našrum* "discreet," and *ummenûm* "masterly"; rather, at Mari *dub.sar* seems to be the more inclusive term, while *dumu é.dub.ba* seems more appropriate to administrative contexts. In the CAD, "accountant" was used when translating *dumu é.dub.ba* in one Mari passage, and, in a broad sense, this meaning should do.⁵ Yet, the highly literate scribe who composed bilingually a

4. For example, *tupšar amurrîm*, *tupšar sakakkim*, see the comments of D. Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Babylone," in *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2* (ARM 26/2, ed. D. Charpin et al.; Paris, 1988), 140–41; M. Birot, ARMT 27, 252–53.

5. See CAD A/1, 135 (sub *adû C*), in connection with ARM 6, 7:5–12. See also *AHu*, 616, sub *mārum*. Here is a selection of passages:

- ARM 1, 7:37ff. (= LAPO 16: 187, Šamši-Addu to Yasmah-Addu)

Another matter; there is to be a *tēbibtum*-census: soldiers are to be cleared (of claims), fields surveyed, and once more fields distributed among the people of the land. Since there are enough expert *dumu é.dub.ba* (copyists?) at hand (with you), send to me, at Šubat-Enlil, Ursamanum together with skillful(?) scribes (*dub.sar*) (to apportion the fields).

- ARM 6, 7:5–16 (= LAPO 17: 796, Bahdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim)

Concerning the wadi at Dēr, we got ready for previous work and for work on the *takkirum* canal. The accountants (*dumu é.dub.ba*) calculated the work-load required: together with the previous work, a 2000-man workforce for the *takkirum* canal would be too small. We therefore deliberated (about it) and decided to go ahead with work (just) on the *takkirum* canal. The work undertaken is coming along fine.

- ARM 6, 65:15', 18' (= LAPO 17: 850, Bahdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim); broken, refers to the lack of *dumu é.dub.ba*.

- ARM 13, 35:32–37 (= LAPO 18: 858, Yasim-Sumu to Zimri-Lim; see A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Babylonia* [Chicago, 1967], 98–99)

[Arranging for boat shipment of barley from Emar to Mari.] If this money is to come here, 2 accountants (*dumu é.dub.ba*) and 10 inspectors ought to accompany it. May my lord

self-deprecating but torrid appeal to Zimri-Lim calls himself a “*dumu é.dub.ba*,” and so was termed a man called upon to record an oracle from Šamaš. Mukan-nišum, so well known to us as a factotum at the Mari palace, is given that designation, although he is also called a *šatammum*.⁶ Therefore, with the Mari testimony about the relevant terminology being decidedly equivocal, it is difficult to resolve whether or not Ibalpi-El was intentionally slighting the culprit when he labeled him a “*dumu é.dub.ba*”; but it is worth noticing that even after personally making inquiry in Dēr, Ibalpi-El refrains from naming the scribe about whom he complains.

There are some fine studies in Assyriology that reconstruct the training of scribes, recreate the scribal school curriculum, and even debate the technology of cuneiform script.⁷ But the routine of chancellery scribes—how they took dictation, how they prepared their letters, and how they verified their contents—remains

send me an answer to this letter.

- ARM 26, 251:11 (Yasim-Dagan and Meptum to Zimri-Lim)

Qišti-Mamma, Yarim-Dagan, and Sumna-Addu arrived here. Conforming to what our lord wrote, we dispatched with them Šidqi-etar, leader of a division from Suhum, Simhi-Erah, son of Abu[. . .] from Abattum along with 2 recording secretaries (*dumu é.dub.ba*), so that they were with them during the plunge. The servant was then able to certify, “My mistress told me the following, ‘Ever since my lord Zimri-Lim spread the border of his garment over me, an *ušmu* . . .’” [On this idiom, a symbol of protection, see S. Lafont, *NABU* 1989/45.]

- ARM 26, 414:29–42 (Yasim-El to Zimri-Lim)

Another matter; Atamrum the *āpilum* of Šamaš came here to tell me, “Send me a discreet scribe so that I can dictate the message that Šamaš has sent me for the king.” This is what he told me. I dispatched Utukam and he wrote this tablet. This man then had witnesses stand by and then told me, “Promptly send this tablet so that he can act according to what it says.” This is what he said to me.

Utukam is here expressly given the title *dumu é.dub.ba*. An Utukam occurs in *Florilegium marianum* 2, 72–73 as overseer of slave women taken prisoner in Idamarāš (ZL12’), P. Marelli, “Esclaves et reines,” in *Florilegium marianum* 2. J.-M. Durand, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* I/1, ARM 26/1 (Paris, 1988), 391, says that an Utukam occurs also in M.12704+.

- A.1258+ is a bilingual “letter” to Zimri-Lim (= LAPO 16: 22). In line 16’ a scribe, who labels himself a “*dumu é.dub.ba*,” nevertheless writes a highly literary letter to Zimri-Lim. The label is very likely self-deprecating hyperbole. See D. Charpin, “Les malheurs d’un scribe ou de l’inutile du Sumérien loin de Nippur,” in *Nippur at the Centennial: Papers Read at the 35^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. M. deJ. Ellis (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 14; Philadelphia, 1992), 7–27.
- A.2671+. In a passage Durand has excerpted, Yassi-Dagan tells Ilšu-našir, “Now you are a scribe who is intelligent and, since your youth, have grown up at the palace-gate” (*inanna atta mār bīt tuppī ša īnka nawrat u ištu šeḫrēta ina bāb ekallim tarbū*), “Administrateurs de Qaṭṭunân,” in *Florilegium marianum* 2, 91 n. 21.

6. Cited by Durand in *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo*, 409.

7. On the training of scribes and on the scribal curriculum, see Å. Sjöberg, “The Old Babylonian Edubba,” in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on His Seventieth Birthday, June 7, 1974*, ed. S. Lieberman (Assyriological Studies 20; Chicago, 1976), 159–79. Regarding the study of

hazy. It is unlikely that, over the many centuries of cuneiform history, scribes followed a single *modus operandi* in handling correspondence, and it would not do to corset Mari scribes into one. Still, there is a corpus of small Mari tablets which suggests that, despite the Sumerian quip about scribes who were so talented that their “hand matches the[ir] mouth,”⁸ palace scribes did not take dictation in our sense of the word. That is, they did not transform, verbatim and instantaneously, sound into signs; nor apparently did they convert what they heard into shorthand.⁹

mathematics, see K. Nemet-Nejat, “Systems for Learning Mathematics in Mesopotamian Scribal Schools,” *JNES* 54 (1995): 241–60. On the technology of cuneiform script, see the contributions that Marvin Powell collected in a special issue of *Visible Language* 15/4 (1981): 319–440, entitled “Aspects of Cuneiform Writing.” (Generous bibliographies are appended to each article.)

On scribes and their social contexts, consult the bibliography in L. E. Pearce, “The Scribes and Scholars of Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. M. Sasson et al. (New York, 1995), 2265–2278. On the diversity of scribal stylistic practices at Mari, from Yahdun-Lim to Zimri-Lim, see J. M. Durand, “Unité et diversités . . .,” 121–23. Durand’s seminal work on scribal stylistic changes toward the end of the *šakkanakku* period, “La situation historique des *šakkanakku*: nouvelle approche,” *MARI* 4 (1985): 147–72, deserves special mention. The stimulating work of M. de Odorico, *Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Inscriptions* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 3; Helsinki, 1995), contains much information on scribal tactics in reshaping documents.

On the scribal disciplines in Neo-Assyrian times, see S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (State Archives of Assyria 10; Helsinki, 1993), xiii–xxvii. On the diverse purposes Neo-Babylonian scribes assigned their documents, see L. E. Pearce, “Statement of Purpose: Why the Scribes Wrote,” in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, Md., 1993).

On literacy in Mesopotamia, there is a good introduction to the issues as well as a useful bibliography in H. Vanstiphout, “Memory and Literacy in Ancient Western Asia,” *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 2181–2196.

8. More correctly, the aphorism goes, “The scribe whose hand matches the mouth, he is indeed a scribe”; see Sjöberg, “The Old Babylonian Edubba.”

9. *tupam šutawūm* seems to be the idiom for an official giving dictation. (But see now W. Heimpel, “*šutawūm* und *šutaptūm*,” *ZA* 86 [1996]: 164–69.) See *Florilegium marianum* 2, 9:9, 57:12, 116:5, 123:6′; Birot, *ARM* 27, 36:6–7 (see p. 94—following *ARM* 6, 18:8), renders “to have a tablet written.” The verb itself refers to the act of repeating something to someone else, whether heard or read, as in *ARM* 26, 298:13–18: “There are no high-born elderly women in the palace (one of whom) could serve as mentors to [Queen] Beltum so that, as it suits the occasion, they could tell her or repeat to her what is appropriate (*awātum ālikat iqabbēššim u uštawwāši*).” See also the excellent usage in the oath protocol between Ešnunna and Mari (lines iii:2′–9′; cited from D. Charpin, “Un traité entre Zimri-Lim de Mari et Ibāl-pi-El II d’Ešnunna,” in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès [Paris, 1991], 142–44 = *LAPO* 16: 292):

[If a vassal] of my father goes forth [to battle] and if he writes for marshalling his armies and his support troops; if Duhšum, [son] of Ibalpi-El, son of Daduša, king of Ešnunna, my father, or [if] his notables who have come here debate the task of marshalling troops or present (their plan) to me—this advice or discussion, good or bad, I shall not write it to any of the kings or leaders that exist in the entire land, whether he is an enemy or ally of Ibalpi-El, son of Daduša, king of Ešnunna, my father, nor shall I broadcast it [*mimma ša iqabbūnim ana šarri šumšu u rabbēni . . . la ašapparu la uštawwu*]. I will not even reveal to my servants such a secret matter.

Rather, they outlined what they heard in the form of very compressed entries, each of which began with the preposition *aššum*.¹⁰ To illustrate, here is a brief extract from A.3625, a memorandum Joannès published in the *Mélanges Birot*.¹¹ As other texts of the same genre, the document begins as if *in medias res*,

- 1] —About not meeting each other
- About [not?] conferring with Hammurabi and Qarni-Lim
- About not sending a messenger
- About the topic (with) the following, “I will write wherever I want to; but you need not write where you do not want to write”
- About the topic not to write Hammurabi and Qarni-Lim during troubles
- 10] —About the topic regarding the Hana chiefs (*abbé hana*)
- About not keeping with you what is valuable
- About not restoring sons of notables to the throne of their fathers’ house
- About not writing to Hammurabi and Qarni-Lim.

Armed with such outlines, the scribe would later reconstruct the commissioned letter. Such a hypothesis would elucidate how the scribe knew (more or less anyway) what size tablet would be needed to cover the relevant topics.¹² It could also clarify how previously received letters were quoted with significant, but rarely complete,

10. Two studies by F. Joannès are the fundamental collections for memoranda, “Textes N° 91 à 245,” in *Archives administratives de Mari 1; Archives royales de Mari XXIII*, ed. G. Bardet et al. (Paris, 1983), 85–226; “Nouveaux Mémoires,” in *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, ed. J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper (Paris, 1985), 97–113.

Additional examples may also be published as ARM 23, 592 and ARM 26, 406. Durand, “Administrateurs de Qaṭṭunān” (full reference above, n. 5), 95–96, refers to a number of thick, inelegantly written tablets from the Yasmah-Addu period that likewise begin with *aššum* but end with formulas regarding Mari’s safety. Badly preserved, these documents probably had a very brief shelf-life.

A number of Mari administrative documents display aide-memoire characteristics; these include ARM 25, 785–86 (*aššum*, in *medias res*), ARM 23, 83 (*aššum*, at end), ARM 21, 386, ARM 23, 561, 562, 593; ARM 24, 220 (no *aššum*); ARM 7, 260 (using *ša*); ARM 8, 92.

For Rimah examples of the same (OBTR 326–28, where scribes used the sumerogram mu for *aššum*), see P. Abrahams, “Memorandum à Tell al-Rimah,” *NABU* 1988/37, 26. On the proposition that Neo-Assyrian scribes may have kept “war diaries” from which they created annals and monumental inscriptions, see, lastly, De Odorico, *Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Inscriptions*, 117–20.

11. Joannès, “Nouveaux Mémoires,” 105–6. Remarkably enough, a (near) duplicate of this text is extant (M.13705), F. Joannès, “Un nouveau mémorandum de Mari,” *NABU* 1987/29, 15–16. I have no clear notion of what it means to have a duplicate of a draft document.

12. Even when exchanged between the same correspondents, “Mari” letters can differ appreciably in size, shape, and thickness, see D. Charpin, “Corrections, ratures, et annulation: la pratique des scribes mésopotamiens,” in *Le texte et son inscription*, ed. R. Laufer (Paris, 1989), 58–59. This is unlike the court letters of the Neo-Assyrian period, on which see the useful remarks of K. Radner, “The Relation between Format and Content of Neo-Assyrian Texts,” in *Nineveh, 612 BC: The Glory and Fall of the Assyrian Empire*, ed. R. Mattila (Helsinki, 1995), 71–72.

correspondence in contents and orthography (choice of signs as well as Sumero-grams), albeit with less attachment to the layout of words.

The topic is complicated by the need to discriminate among potential sources for discrepancies found in transmitted texts. They could be generated by the authors of letters rather than by their scribe. Thus, when a bureaucrat writes on the same topic to people of authority over him, the formulation may differ appreciably, even if the contents generally remain the same. The same can be said when an administrator, finding himself on the defensive, takes up a topic about which he had previously written, but alters its contents significantly when quoting his earlier formulation.¹³

More difficult to evaluate are stylistic idiosyncracies that occur in the correspondence of bureaucrats. Thus, N. Wasserman has noticed that in using the particle *assuri*, Bahdi-Lim consistently gives *asurri* . . . -*ma*, his colleagues Kibri-Dagan, Ibalpi-El, Yamsu, and Sammetar almost never do so, while Yaqim-Addu and Yasim-El use either form. As long as the assignment of palace scribes (whether to specific individuals—bureaucrats, diplomats, royal family—or to specific tasks) remains poorly understood, such a stylistic discrepancy could be cogently assigned to scribes or to administrators. Similarly ambiguous in their origin are the conventions (if that is the correct term) that control how different topics were sequenced in the same letter or how lists of personal and place names were arranged.¹⁴

Regarding scribe-generated discrepancies in recopying documents, the evidence is much more forthcoming when assessed from administrative archives.¹⁵ As far as epistolary texts are concerned, any conclusion will have to await careful comparison between a quoted passage and the original from which the quotation is presumably derived. Two letters that Durand recently edited as *FM* 2, 55 (A.682) and 56 (A.856) may be lightly treated here to contrast the types of discrepancies that occur when generated, respectively, by authors of letters and by scribes.¹⁶

FM 2 55

To “my lord,” from La²um, “your servant”

5] Qattunan, city and district, is safe.

FM 2 56

To “my lord,” from La²um, “your servant”

13. I give illustrations for these phenomena in “Shunukhra-Khalu,” in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Honor of Abraham Sachs*, ed. E. Leichty et al. (Philadelphia, 1988), 329–51.

14. See his “The Particle *assurelê* in the Mari Letters,” in *Florilegium marianum* 2, 328 n. 52. Regarding a possible “convention” controlling the sequencing of place names, see D. Charpin, “Centre et périphérie,” *NABU* 1995/86, 77.

15. See for now, J. M. Sasson, “Accounting Discrepancies in the Mari NĪ.GUB [NĪG.DU] Texts,” in *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. G. van Driel et al. (Leiden, 1982), 326–41.

16. The letters are edited by Durand in “Administrateurs de Qattunân,” 96–97. Passages from these letters are treated by W. Heimpel, “The infinitive of *išû*,” *NABU* 1996/16, 11, and by J.-R. Kupper, “Le rituel *elûnum*,” *NABU* 1996/32, 22–23.

6] Yesterday, my lord's tablet reached me saying,

I have now conveyed a tablet to Ibalpi-El. If messengers from Hammurabi, king of Kurda—that is “donkey-riders” [i.e., dignitaries]—have reached Qattunan, the bearer of my tablet together with the tablet that he is carrying should make his way toward Kurda, to Ibalpi-El. But if the messengers of the Kurda king have not arrived, detain with you until the *pagrā'û*-festival the bearer of my tablet, together with the tablet he is carrying.

20] This is what my lord wrote to me. **Perhaps my lord has had a lapse in memory: Ka'ala-El has already made his way to Kurda.** With Ibalpi-El **staying** at Ṭabatūm, my lord's tablet **that he has sent to Ibalpi-El** has made its way (there) in the usual way.

27] Now, however, **Sin-išmenni, Yakun-ašar, and Yašub-rabi**, Kurda messengers, **have come here with Ka'ala-El. Ka'ala-El, having taken their lead, has made his way to my lord. They are also bearing for my lord his (sacrifice) share from the Elūnum festival.**

5] Previously, my lord wrote to me stating,

I have now conveyed a tablet to Ibalpi-El. If Kurda messengers—that is “donkey-riders” [i.e., dignitaries]—have reached Qattunan, the bearer of my tablet together with his tablet should make his way toward Kurda, to Ibalpi-El. But if the messengers of the Kurda king have not arrived, the bearer of my tablet, together with the tablet he is carrying, should be detained with you until the *pagrā'û*-festival.

20] This is what my lord wrote to me. Because Ibalpi-El (is) in Ṭabatūm, my lord's tablet has made its way (there) in the usual way.

23] Now then, the Kurda messengers have made their way to my lord *and I have sent a notice about them to my lord. As to the bearer of the tablet that my lord has sent to Ibalpi-El, I had detained him; but he has already set out to my lord.*

In the earlier letter, La'um, who at that time was apparently deputy governor at Qattunan, gives a rather impudent response to a directive from the king. Soon afterwards, La'um realizes that he misunderstood the king's message and naturally worries about his witticism (jest?). He therefore writes again (*FM* 2, 56), quoting the king's original message, but this time giving it a straightforward answer. As it happens, the letter Zimri-Lim sent La'um is available to us (*FM* 3, 138), and its contents sharpen the magnitude of La'um's offense:¹⁷

I am just now conveying a tablet to Ibalpi-El. The bearer of the tablet, together with the tablet that he is carrying, (should . . .) with you (*about x lines missing*) and make his way toward Ibalpi-El. Otherwise, if messengers of Hammurabi do not seem to be coming at all, then this man should stay with you until the *pagrā'û*-festival and then return to me, together with the tablet that he is carrying.

17. For *Florilegium marianum* 3, 138 (M.7592), see Isabelle Guillot, “Les gouverneurs de Qattu-nân: nouveaux textes,” in *Florilegium marianum* 3: *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet*, ed. D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 4; Paris, 1997), 288–90.

Despite the missing lines, Zimri-Lim's directive is clear. He had already sent orders to Ibalpi-El directly, and he wants La'um to dispatch an amendment to that earlier letter that depended on whether or not a delegation from Hammurabi (of Kurda) reaches Qattunan. (We are dealing therefore with two letters addressed to Ibalpi-El.) If the ambassadors arrived, the courier was to take the king's (amended) message to Ibalpi-El. Otherwise, the courier was to wait until the *pagrā'u* were complete before returning with the tablet to the king, presumably because this festival, itself linked to celebrations honoring Ištar, took the king elsewhere.¹⁸ Again despite the missing lines, we notice that the king is not placing Ibalpi-El at Kurda; in fact, Zimri-Lim's words imply that (new?) instructions were to reach Ibalpi-El only if Kurda sent a delegation to Zimri-Lim, and we might imagine that, given the volatile conditions of the time, Zimri-Lim was orchestrating counter-actions to Hammurabi's political maneuvers.

La'um's trespasses were therefore many. He presumed that his king had a faulty memory of Ibalpi-El's whereabouts and that he no longer recalled who accompanied Kurda's delegation; so he took it upon himself to correct the king's plan. *FM* 2, 55 implies that although a delegation came from Kurda, La'um sat on the tablet brought by the courier rather than sending it to Ibalpi-El.

It is not necessary to quote the original Akkadian to note how La'um reshuffled his thoughts.¹⁹ Presumably, La'um wrote his letter after the *pagrā'u* festival, but it is equally possible that he wrote it sooner, when he caught his gaffe. *FM* 2, 56 lacks the opening reassurance that everything is well in Qattunan: perhaps he was in a hurry to enter the topic at hand; perhaps he was no longer in Qattunan when he caught his error. In the quotations of *FM* 2, 56–57 given above, I highlight in **bold** the passages in *FM* 2, 55:21–34 that were not repeated in *FM* 2, 56:21–30. Noteworthy are the absence of the witticism, the lack of details on the members of the Kurda delegation, the suppression of any reference to Ka'ala-El, whom the king is (falsely) accused of confusing with Ibalpi-El, and to the gift that Kurda was bringing to Zimri-Lim.

In *italics*, however, are portions that are new to *FM* 2, 56. In them, La'um underplays his notice in *FM* 2, 55 about the Kurda messengers, and he alerts the king about sending back the courier and his message as though nothing were untoward. He offers no apologies for his failure to dispatch them both to Ibalpi-El upon the arrival of the Kurda delegation.

The above episode illustrates the errors of administrators who have not sufficiently reflected on orders sent to them in written form. The differences between the message Zimri-Lim sent (*FM* 3, 138) and La'um's citation of it in *FM* 2, 55 and

18. On this linkage, see J.-M. Durand and M. Guichard, "Les rituels de Mari," *Florilegium marianum* 3, 35–36.

19. *Florilegium marianum* 3, 138:4–9': *a-nu-um-ma ṭup-pa-am a-na še-er* ^m*[i-ba-a]l-pí-AN uš-ta-bi-lam* *[lú wa-bi-il ṭup-pí-im qa-du-um ṭup-pí-im [ša na-šu-ú] ma-aḫ-ri-k[a-ma]* [several lines missing] *R'] a-na [še-er i-ba-al-pí-]AN li-ti-[ig] ú-la-šu-ma mi-im-ma dumu.meš ši-ip-ri ša ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi ú-ul i-il-la-kunim lú šu-u a-di pa-ag-ra-i [m]a-aḫ-ri-ka li-ši-ib-ma qa-du-um ṭup-pí-im ša na-šu-ú a-na še-ri-ya li-tu-ra-am.*

56 are of such magnitude that we should presume that La'um was quoting it from memory. Because La'um was literate, we may presume that he no longer had the king's original message at his disposal when acting on it.²⁰ In fact, the letter was found in Mari, presumably brought back to the capital upon the king's return.

In contrast, the types of discrepancies that are *scribally generated* can be assessed by paralleling the two versions of La'um's (faulty) recollection of the king's original message as embedded in his two letters:

FM 2, 55:7–20

- . . . a-nu-um-ma
 tup-pa-am a-na še-er ^{mi}i-ba-al-pí-AN
 ú-ša-bi-lam šum-ma dumu.meš ši-ip-ri
 10] **ša ha-am-mu-ú-ra-bi lú** Kur-da-a-ⁱki
 ra-ak-bu-ut anše.ḫá a-na qa-aṭ-^{tú}na-an^{ki}

 ik-šu-du-nim lú wa-bi-il tup-pí-ya
 qa-du-um tup-pí-im **ša na-š[u]**
 a-na še-er i-ba-al-pí-AN
 15] a-na Kur-da^{ki} li-ti-iq
 šum-ma dumu.meš ši-ip-ri lú kur-da-a-yu^{ki}
 la ik-šu-du-nim-**ma** wa-bi-il tup-pí-ya
 qa-du-um tup-pí-im ša na-šu
 a-di pa-ag-ra-**a**-i ma-aḫ-ri-ka-ma
 20] ki-la-šu . . .

FM 2, 56:7–20

- a-nu-um-ma tup-pa-am a-n[a še-e]r
^{mi}i-ba-al-pí-AN ú-ša-bi-lam
 šum-ma dumu.meš ši-ip-ri kur-da-y[u^{ki}]

 10] ra-ak-bu-ut anše.ḫá
 a-na qa-aṭ-^{tú}na-an^{ki}
 ik-šu-du-nim lú wa-bi-il
 tup-pí-ya qa-du-[um tup-pí-šu]
 a-na še-er i-ba-al-pí-AN
 15] a-na Kur-da^{ki} li-[ti-iq]
 šum-ma dumu.meš ši-ip-r[i lú kur-da-a]-yu^{ki}
 la ik-šu-du-nim **lú** wa-bi-il
 tup-pí-ya qa-du-um tup-pí-im ša na-[šu]
 a-di pa-ag-ra-i ma-aḫ-ri-ka
 20] li-ka-l[i . . .

Unlike the discrepancy created by La'um's recollection of FM 3, 138 (the king's original message), the differences in the above passages can be attributed to the scribe whose job it was to give context to La'um's two replies. FM 2, 55 was undoubtedly sent out earlier than FM 2, 56, but given how widely the formulations differ from Zimri-Lim's letter, we can suggest that the scribe relied on La'um's memory of FM 2, 138 when composing the first letter but that he had a draft of FM 2, 55 when composing FM 2, 56.

To explain differences between their citations of the king's order, I had thought that FM 2, 56 was narrower than FM 2, 55. But photos kindly placed at my disposal (courtesy J. M. Durand and B. Lafont) do not support the notion. For reasons that are difficult to untangle, the scribe framed the quotations within the same number of lines (perhaps he was emulating the original format); yet he tightened them in FM 2, 56 by removing words or signs that do not affect contents or comprehension (in **bold** above, at FM 2, 55:10, 13, 17, 19). In only one case did the scribe include a sign that was not in FM 2, 55 (at FM 2, 56:17). One discrepancy

20. In ARM 27, 151:8–10 (probably ZL8'), the governor of Qattunan, Zimri-Addu, complains that La'um, a scribe for army personnel (dub.sar mar.tu), is given more authority than he is.

was the scribe's: in *FM* 2, 55:20 the verbal form is *kilašu* (G imperative + accusative suffix) where *FM* 2, 56:20 has *likkali* (N precative).²¹

We can conjecture, therefore, that most of the work of administration scribes took place in their own quarters. Thus, when Ašmad, Ibalpi-El's assistant, needed to broadcast essentially the same document to seventeen regional leaders, his scribe must have slaved late into the day working out the necessary adaptations and interpolations.²² And if their work included copying from another text, they relied on a colleague to read aloud from one text while they checked the other. This, apparently, is the meaning of the term *muštassûm*, which is applied to one of the two partners in the enterprise.²³

21. These verbal forms are additional evidence that La'um was quoting his king's instruction from memory, for Zimri-Lim himself had written *awilum šû adi pagrâ'î lišib*.

22. See A.3591, datable to just before ZL3' and edited in M. Guichard, "Au pays de la Dame de Nagar," 256–57. Ašmad writes to the king:

I have listened to the tablet my lord conveyed to me. My lord wrote to me the following, "The ruler of Ešnunna has just left on his campaign." As soon as I listened to my lord's tablet, I conveyed tablets to all the kings, to:

Bunu-Ištar	[king of Kurda]
Hatnu-rabi	[king of Qaṭara]
Šarriya	[king of Eluhut]
Šarrum-ki[ma]-kalima	[king of Razama (in Yamutbal)]
Turum-nakte [sic]	[King of Šehna/Subat-Enlil]
Haya-Sum[u]	[King of Ilanšura]
Huziran	[= Huziri, king of Hazzikkannum]
Kabiya	[king of Kahat]
Hatni-turuk	[king of ?]
Mariya . . .	[King of ?]
Hammurabi	[King of Kurda]
Sibkuna-Addu	[King of Šadu]
Asdi-takim	[king of Harran]
Bunuma-Addu	[King of Nihriya]
Yarkab-Addu	[King of Talhayum]
Abi-etar	[King of ?]
and Asqur-Addu	[King of Karana],

saying, "The ruler of Ešnunna is coming up, thinking, 'I shall stabilize my frontier' and 'I am heading for Šubat-Enlil.'"

16] This is what the ruler of [Ešnunna] wrote to [my lord] . . . [The remaining lines of this text are not given in Guichard's treatment; but the few lines cited seem to deal with Benyaminites in revolt against Zimri-Lim.]

Guichard (236 n. 2) terms such letters "circulaires." They are not to be confused with many examples of letters copied, allegedly in toto, within other letters. See, for example, ARM 26, 129 and *Florilegium marianum* 2, 116. I would love to have the "originals" of such copied letters for comparison, for I suspect that the copies would not prove particularly faithful.

23. I cite two passages in which this term occurs. The first is in a colophon to a Šamši-Addu "Chronicle," reading "ŠU Habdu-Malik *muštassû* Limi-Dagan"; M. Birot, "Les chroniques «assyrienne» de Mari," *MARI* 4 (1985): 232. Here the choices are either that Limi-Dagan dictated the text (so Durand, apud Birot, 232 n. 9) or that he helped Habdu-Malik confirm it as a correct copy. I found the first notion less plausible, if only because chronicles are not likely to be created but are compiled

With this in mind, we can get back to Hamman's scribe and his alleged lapses. The claim is that he heard Aparhā but wrote "Hadurahā."²⁴ While in documents

from a number of documents. I would therefore translate the colophon, "Work of Habdu-Malik; Limi-Dagan (being) the reciter." Habdu-Malik may well be the same as the scribe who operated during Zimri-Lim's reign (8, 33:23). None of the published references to a Limi-Dagan (menials or tribesmen) is likely to correspond to Habdu-Malik's colleague.

The word *muštassūm* makes a more ambiguous appearance in M.7481 (= *Florilegium marianum* 2, 17, Maul, "Die Korrespondenz des Iasim-Sūmū," 48–50), a letter Yasim-sumu sent to the king:

5] I am herewith sending to my lord an inscription (*narūm*) for the chariot of Nergal and an inscription for the palanquin of Itur-Mer.

11] The inscription for the chariot of Nergal, should it be written on the chariot's face ("breast") or the rear ("tail")? My lord should consider the matter; yet this inscription should be written on the rear ("tail"), where the weapon is set, so that reader and reciter could read it ([*šās*]um u *muštassūm ištānassū*).

22] As to the inscription for the palanquin that god [Itur-mer] rides, it could be written (either) on the face ("breast") or back. Whatever his decision, my lord should write me so that before my lord sets forth toward here, these inscriptions can be written.

In this document, both palanquins and chariots have a "breast" (*irtum*); but palanquins have backs (*warkatum*) and chariots have a "tail" (*zibbatum*) on which the divine weapon is secured. *narūm* seems to refer to some sort of (wooden or stone) inscription that could be fixed on chariots and palanquins, rather than to a clay tablet, with a draft of the text to be copied on the vehicles. In this case, *šaṭārum* [N] should be taken metonymically: once the inscriptions are fixed, chariot/palanquin will have been written. That a *narūm* could be comparatively small is known already from literary texts, see J. G. Westenholz, "Writing for Posterity: Naram-Sin and Enmerkar," in *kinattūtu ša dārāt: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, ed. A. F. Rainey et al. (Tel Aviv, Occasional Publications 1; Ramat Aviv, 1993), 213–16.

Still, the positioning of the inscriptions is critical here. Yasim-sumu is of the opinion that, as far as the palanquin is concerned, the inscription could be set front or back, but he advises that it should be set toward the rear of the chariot, nearer the weapon. His reason has something to do with ease of reading. But why mention two types of readers when the verbal conjugation precludes making a choice ("reader or reciter")? Does the reading involve antiphony ("read to each other")?

I have used M.7481 to clarify 2 Sam 6:2 in "The Lord of Hosts, Seated over the Cherubs," in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible. Essays in Honour of John Van Seters*, ed. S. L. McKenzie and T. Römer (BZAW 294; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 227–34.

24. The verb *rasābum* (construed with accusative) occurs in A.2701, a text Charpin has published in "Lies natürlich . . .," 48–50. Hulalum writes to a king, likely Yasmah-Addu:

5] Among the tablets that were brought from Qatna to the king [Šamši-Addu], there was one tablet that was to be brought to my lord [= Yasmah-Addu], but Qatna messengers mixed it up and presented it to the king.

14] I opened it and, observing it to have been written to my lord, I did not recite it to the king. I am herewith getting this tablet sent to my lord.

As Charpin himself notes in "Errare humanum est (à propos de verbe *rasābum*)," *NABU* 1995/28, 23–24, the verb *rasābum* occurs also in AbB 7, 110:28 (about a field mistakenly mentioned in a sealed tablet) and in AbB 10, 192:22 (about a theft, contrasting how the writer mistakenly took something [*ina la idim arsubma elqe*], and how someone else made a mistake but continued to speak without knowledge [*irsumma ina la idim iqbi*]).

D. Charpin refers to another document that seems to have gone astray, the unpublished A.977 ("Tāwītum »libellé, formulaire,«," *NABU* 88/85, 58–59). General Samidahum writes, "Yasim-El came

found in Mari there are several “A”-signs that could be taken for a “Ha”-sign (because they can have a *Winkelhaken* at the bottom left), for a scribe to misread “Ha” for “A” would not be as likely.²⁵ To explain how the sequence *-dura-* in Hadurahā could have been copied as *-par-* in Aparhā, I have tried to match possible combinations of relevant signs, even distortions of relevant signs, with those in the Mari repertoire; but it was in vain. Consequently, I am reasonably satisfied that if there was an error, it would not have occurred during a *copying process*, not when the scribe created the letter I cite above after consulting his own notes, and not when he copied the information from a letter reaching Hamman with news of Bunuma-Addu’s triumph. (For that matter, I might excuse on similar grounds Ibalpi-El’s own scribe, unpracticed though he may have been, when he copied the information from Hamman’s tablet.²⁶) Rather, the mistake was likely to have happened a step or two earlier, during an *oral transfer* of information—either when the scribe misheard what Hamman was telling him to write Ibalpi-El or when Hamman himself was hearing news of Bunuma-Addu’s victory.

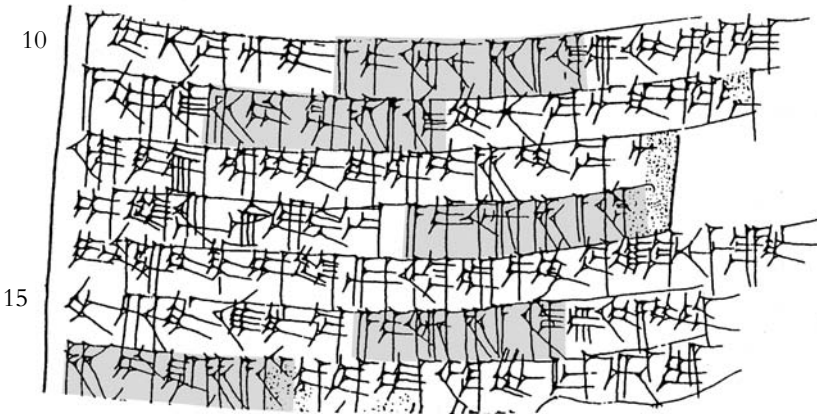


Fig. 1. Relevant passages citing Aparhā (lines 10, 13, 15) and Hadurahā (lines 11, 16). Copy: D. Charpin.

here with 200 troops from the palace gate, carrying a tablet from my lord; but the bullae had no formulations. Although it bore my lord’s seal, it did not give at the bottom whether (it was) for me or Hamman.”

25. See Bottéro’s sign list (#311, 217) in ARM 15, 21–22 and his notes to #311 on p. 29. Other relevant signs are **du** (#135), **dur** (#82), **ra** (#178), **pa** (#153 could look like **tap**), **pār** (#47s).

26. Contra Charpin, who writes (“‘Lies natürlich . . .’” 47),

La question qu’on ne peut manquer de se poser consiste à savoir si l’erreur est vraiment celle qu’Ibāl-pî-El prétend: est-ce vraiment le scribe de Hammān qui s’est trompé? N’est-ce pas plutôt au moment où son propre scribe a recopié l’information qu’il a commis une erreur? On ne peut exclure cette seconde solution, d’autant qu’on constate que le scribe de A.427⁺ a oublié un signe à la l. 5.

Now I will admit to lacking an inner ear for the native pronunciation of “Hadurahā” and “Aparhā,” given the many possible phonemes represented by the consonants in the cuneiform orthography. Still, the phonetic difference between the two names does not seem wide enough to believe that a scribe would have put down “Aparhā” just when Hamman was telling him “Hadurahā.” This comment also means that I strongly doubt what essentially is Ibalpi-El’s second charge: that had the scribe only recited his text (to a colleague, but especially to Hamman) to aurally verify its contents, he would have caught the error and made the needed correction before dispatching the faulty letter to Ibalpi-El. So, while Ibalpi-El remains technically accurate when implicating the scribe, the transmission of false information must have taken place *before* Hamman called him in for dictation.²⁷ In other words, when a letter to Ibalpi-El about Bunuma-Addu’s conquest was first drafted, everyone in Hamman’s circle placed it at Aparhā and not Hadurahā.

Still, while exonerating a scribe from a crime against the profession should in itself be a noble goal for any of us, there is nevertheless need to offer a plausible accounting for Ibalpi-El’s own motivations in drafting his corrective letter to Zimri-Lim.

In the Mari age, people high and low wished to be first with the latest, communicating what they learned not only to the king, but also to those who had the king’s ear; for the game was to keep themselves in the king’s mind, and therefore in his favor. Consequently, officials did not hesitate to plagiarize the latest news, even when forwarding the tablets from which they themselves learned that news. Perhaps they imagined that only their own version of account would stick in the king’s memory.

In doing so, these officials were hardly frugal with their supply of clay. One episode drawn for illustration has the king complaining that when he sought a certain Yahadum, he received instead information on Yadiha-abum. A close reading of the text allows me to reconstruct the exchange of at least nine tablets via teams of messengers shuttling among Terqa, Qattunan, and the king’s quarters. In addition, at least four *lāsimū* were entrusted with an oral version, if not versions, of the original request.²⁸ This whole undertaking suggests an administration with little discipline for ordered exchange. Yet, I might add, this Rube Goldberg style in state administration, with its consequent webbing of recycled information, is precisely

27. Occasionally, one reads of the reticence of correspondents to send material before checking its accuracy; but they seem to be excuses rather than formulation of policy. In ARM 26, 304:9–10, Yamšum writes, “News that I hear here or there or that I witness, I am not sending it to my lord until I have confirmed it. It is possible that once in a while I have not checked on some news; but it is in no sense a lie. I cannot lie to my lord.” Iddiyatum is less verbose in 26, 521 when he claims that he does not send what he writes until he sleeps on it and checks it out.

28. The choice of messengers is occasionally discussed in the texts, e.g., ARM 26, 318:5–7, where Zimri-Lim is quoted as saying, “Write me above all whatever news comes to you, but make sure that your message carrier remains vigilant (*ana wābīl ṭuppika nu*”*idma lidnin*).”

what gives Mari its thick texture but also confers upon its world an intimacy that is rarely matched elsewhere.

The dossier is treated by Charpin, “‘Lies natürlich . . .’” (50–54) and includes two letters, A.2453 and ARM 3, 68. I give them in the chronological order in which they were written. (My rendering of the final paragraph in A.2453 is not certain; Charpin understands it differently.)

[ARM 3, 68 = LAPO 18: 1068] To “my lord,” from Kibri-Dagan, “your servant”

5] Regarding Yadiha-abum, a Sahri man about whom my lord wrote to me, I promptly wrote to Yaqqim-Addu, giving him strict instruction. Yaqqim-Addu wrote to Yapah-Lim, a royal agent at Sahri, and townsmen searched for this man—imposing oaths where there was a town—but this man was not to be found.

15] Now, the tablet that Yapah-Lim conveyed to Yaqqim-Addu, Yaqqim-Addu had it conveyed to me with urgency telling me, “send this letter to my lord so that he can hear it.”

23] Now, then, my lord should hear this tablet: this man has not been found in Sahri.

[A.2453] To “my lord,” from [Yaqqim-Addu], “your servant”

5] My lord wrote to me, “I have written you about Yahadum, [a Sahri man], but you wrote to me about Yadiha-abum.” This is what my lord wrote to me.

9] No (royal) courier ever came to me! Instead two men from Terqa came to me to say, “Kibri-Dagan has sent us with urgency to you saying, ‘write to Sahri for them to search for Yadiha-abum, then send him to me.’” This is what they told me.

19] Promptly I sent two of my servants to Yapah-Lim, the royal agent at Sahri and this man wrote to me, “I have toured the province, but there is no Yadi¹-abum.”

24] But I minded the oath of my lord; [the men?] did not pronounce Yahadum’s (name). Had they told me, “Convey to me the man whose son Hana-tribesman kidnapped,” I would have heeded the words . . .

Here is a reconstruction of events:

[YA = information drawn from Yaqqim-Addu’s letter, A.2435]

[KD = information drawn from Kibri-Dagan’s letter, ARM 3, 68]

1. [KD] The king asks Kibri-Dagan to find a man in Sahri, a town under Yaqqim-Addu’s jurisdiction. **Tablet**
2. [YA] Kibri-Dagan sends two Terqa men to Yaqqim-Addu, asking him to search for Yadiha-abum. **2 men**

NB [KD] Kibri-Dagan claims to have *written* Yaqqim-Addu. **Tablet**

3. [YA] Yaqqim-Addu asks Yapah-Lim of Sahri to search for Yadiha-abum.
 NB [KD] Kibri-Dagan claims that Yaqqim-Addu wrote to Yapah-Lim.
 2 men
4. [YA] Yapah-Lim sends a tablet to Yaqqim-Addu, reporting the absence (non-existence?) of a Yadi^l-abum in Sahri. **Tablet**
5. [KD] Yaqqim-Addu relays this tablet and a report to Kibri-Dagan. **Tablet**
6. [YA] Yaqqim-Addu sends a report to the king. **Tablet**
7. [KD] Kibri-Dagan forwards Yapah-Lim's report, plus his own letter, where Yadiha-abum is said to be the person sought. **Tablet + ARM 3, 68**
8. [YA] King, upset, writes Yaqqim-Addu an angry letter about searching for the wrong man. **Tablet**
9. [YA] Yaqqim-Addu writes the king to exculpate himself. **A.2435**

As it is not likely that the king would have sent apologies to Yaqqim-Addu, this segment of the episode may not have generated more documents. Inspecting this dossier carefully, however, leads me to believe that the initial error took place in the first communication between the king and Kibri-Dagan: If the commission was made *by letter*, then the error was likely the king's (or his secretary's), since Kibri-Dagan always looked for a "Yadiha-abum" (see ARM 3, 68:5–6); but if the commission was done orally, then any of those involved (king, messenger, or Kibri-Dagan) could have made the error. The possibility that there was an oral/aural lapse gains if nicknames had been used during the commission: Yadiha-abum = *Yadihum* vs. *Yahadum* = Yahad-abum/DN. Each of these spellings of names (as well as others coined on the same verbal roots) is attested in Mari documents.

We know from other correspondence that Hamman himself was in direct contact with Zimri-Lim; but neither he nor Ibalpi-El was the king's only reader of events in the Balih area. Events were very fluid throughout the Mari age and information flew fast and hard.²⁹ Moreover, the region leaked like a sieve, as far as the trade in news was concerned, and the likelihood is great that the king was made aware separately of Bunuma-Addu's activity. In fact, it is also likely that Ibalpi-El himself must have learned the true account of Bunuma-Addu's conquest from the same types of sources. So he went back to Dēr because he needed to confirm the news before correcting it; but he also needed to finesse his way out of embarrassment, and I believe that the main aim of the letter I presented above is to do just that.

But Ibalpi-El's real scapegoat is not the scribe, who remains protected by anonymity, but Hamman himself. Worth noticing is line 5, which reads, *ṭuppi Hamman ša ana šēriya ušābilūnim*. Now in Mari as elsewhere in OB texts, the third-person plural was used as an indefinite subject to facilitate focus on an activity when there was no particular interest in who was responsible for it. But in the royal correspondence,

29. See ARM 26, 490:4–7, excerpted from a note a diplomat wrote the king, "My previous tablet was hardly placed in an envelope than couriers, four of Asqur-Addu's men, came here to say . . ."

which includes the reports of diplomats, this locution also served to disguise immediate accountability for acts that were being reported.³⁰ By assigning to anonymous deliverers the posting of a letter which, moreover, was sealed by an undisciplined scribe, Ibalpi-El is censuring Hamman doubly, not only for generating defective news but also for sloppy and lax supervision of underlings. In contrast, the king is invited to compare Hamman's unprofessional behavior with that of Ibalpi-El who, as is shown in lines 6 to 8, takes full responsibility for transmitting the latest news.

This episode, in fact, is not the only one in which Ibalpi-El gives an unflattering portrait of Hamman. In A.2995, an unnamed *suqāqum* of a neighboring town shares with Hamman highly sensitive news about Bašsum, a trusted officer of Zimri-Lim who nevertheless was apparently in cahoots with the same Bunuma-Addu. The next day Hamman hides three witnesses behind a door despite having taken a solemn oath never to betray the *suqāqum*'s secret. Incredibly enough, Hamman persuades this gullible leader to repeat his incriminating information. Ibalpi-El relays this whole episode to Zimri-Lim; but while he is subtly disapproving of Hamman's behavior, Ibalpi-El does cloak the identity of the *suqāqum*, a potential victim, in the same way as he does that of the scribe of A.427.³¹

In this example, as well as in the text featured above, Ibalpi-El has done more than report on regional events; he has also taken aim against a potential competitor for the king's attention, launching another salvo in a never-ending campaign to

30. See my comments in "On Reading the Diplomatic Letters in the Mari Archives," *Amurru* 2 (forthcoming).

31. A.2995 + M.14337 (= LAPO 16: 310; Ghouti, "Témoins derrière la porte," 63; see also ARM 26, 24), a letter Ibalpi-El sent to Zimri-Lim:

4] The *suqāqum* (king's agent) of Arduwan in Zalmaqum came here to Dēr and told Hamman,

A man who normally does Bašsum's business with Bunuma-Addu—well, once, when he conveyed a garb and a jacket (*naḥlaptum*) to Bunuma-Addu, the latter said, "No doubt, look how Bašsum is being forthright with me."

This is what this man told Hamman.

15] The next day, Hamman stood 3 men behind wooden double-doors to witness for him—Dada, Yašub-Lim and Yaptuna-El. He called this man from Ardawan, and began to question him as follows, "Go back to the words you spoke yesterday." This man proceeded to tell Hamman, "If you reveal this conversation to anyone, I will die beyond doubt!" Hamman proceeded to place himself under oath for him, "I shall not reveal your words to anyone."

28] Because he placed himself under oath for him, [the man from Ardawan] went back to the words which he spoke the day before, "For 2 years now, Bašsum has been continually beholden to Bunuma-Addu." Dada, the resident-agent, Yašub-Lim, and Yaptuna-El of Dēr could each hear these words from behind wooden double-doors.

35] As for me, having come to Dēr, Hamman set matters before me, "[From] there, he cannot [protect] nor preserve the city." My lord should pay careful attention to these matters and answer me one way or another. Either I should send Bašsum to my lord like [a criminal?] or would it be better for me to grab him here? My lord should answer me one way or another so that I can carry out my lord's order.

prove himself more dependable and more loyal than any other colleague, and therefore to be more deserving of the king's favor.³²

As for Zimri-Lim, how did he react to receiving first false then correct news about Aparhā? He could have consulted with his private secretary, Šunuhra-halu, about the likelihood of Ibalpi-El's scenario. However, on other occasions in which he was likewise the recipient of dubious information, Zimri-Lim proved to be remarkably tolerant of human error. Not surprisingly, Ibalpi-El and Hamman continued to occupy their high positions throughout Zimri-Lim's relatively brief reign. As to Hamman's scribe at Dēr, I do not know what eventually happened to him; but protected by the anonymity Ibalpi-El conferred on him, I am sure he continued to ply his trade long after Zimri-Lim had given up the ghost.

32. One of the longest letters in the Mari archives is a diatribe against Ibalpi-El, ARM 27, 151.

In the Beginning

ÅKE W. SJÖBERG

In memoriam Thorkild Jacobsen

The purpose of this study is to edit and comment upon three Sumerian texts that deal with the “Beginning,” a topic of interest for Thorkild Jacobsen, to whose memory this study is dedicated. The three texts date from the ED, Ur III, and OB periods, respectively.

Text 1: AsO 4153. Early Dynastic period.

In the spring of 1978, Thorkild Jacobsen delivered guest lectures at the University at Aarhus (Denmark) and at the University of Copenhagen. His lectures were published the same year under the title *Mesopotamiske Urtidssagn* (*Mesopotamian Ancient Myths*) (Copenhagen, 1978).

Among the texts translated by Thorkild Jacobsen we find AO 4153, copied in Cros, *Tello* (Paris 1910), 180, an Early Dynastic mythological text, perhaps an excerpt from a larger text (see J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 [1965]: 39), dealing with the era before the creation of the universe. The cuneiform text has been republished by E. Sollberger in *Corpus des Inscriptions “Royales” Présargoniques de Lagaš* (Genève, 1956), 47, as Ukg. 15. The text has been transcribed, translated and commented on by J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965): 39ff. Jacobsen’s Danish translation is found in his book, pp. 19–20. There is no transliteration of the cuneiform text; Jacobsen did not comment on his translations; and there are no philological notes.¹

1. See “I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood”: *Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11*, ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumura (Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4; Winona Lake, Ind. 1994), 167, where an unpublished manuscript by Thorkild Jacobsen, “Two Mesopotamian Myths of Beginning” (1978), is listed. Jacobsen delivered this paper at a symposium on mythology given at Sweetbriar College (pp. 143f.). It is very possible that the second myth dealt with by Jacobsen is Text 2 in this article.

Column i

1. [an-e]
2. [x¹ muš
ʔha¹-mu-ni-
sig-sig
3. ki-e SAL.ḪUB₂-
na dalla
ḫa-mu-
ak-e
4. SAR-am₃ te-
me-nam
5. ki-buru₃ a še₃-ma-
si

Column ii

1. ʔan¹ en nam-
šul-le/eš₂
al-gub
2. an ki teš₂-
ba šeg₁₂ an-
gi₄-gi₄
3. u₄-ba en-ki
nun-ki nu-
se₁₂
4. ^den-lil₂
nu-ti
5. ^dnin-lil₂
6. nu-ti

Column iii

1. u₄-ʔda¹
im-ma
2. ul-[la]
im-m[a]
3. u₄ nu-zal-[(zal)]
4. i₃-ti
nu-e₃-e₃

Column i

1. [Let An-Heaven . . .]
2. . . .
3. Let Ki-Earth come forth in (all) her
lavishness(?)!
[or: Ki-Earth came forth in (all) her lavishness].

4. She was green (like) a garden, it was cool.
5. The holes in the ground were filled with water.

Column ii

1. An, the En, was standing (there)
as a youthful man.
2. An-Heaven and Ki-Earth were “resounding” together.
3. At this time the Enki-and the Nunki-gods
did not (yet) live,
4. Enlil did not (yet) live,
5. Ninlil did not (yet) live,

Column iii

1. “Today”(“last (year),”
2. “The remote (time)” (“last (year),”
3. The sunlight was not (yet) shining forth,
4. The moonlight was not (yet) coming forth.

Commentary

Column i

2. J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965): 40: “Que . . . les [rep]tiles descendent.” He referred to R. Jestin, *Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak* (Paris 1937), no. 67(!) ii 1–3, which he reads as (1) an me-lam₂ ba (2) me-lam₂ ki (3) i₃-si-sig (text: si:sig:NI) and translates “le ciel répand le splendeur brûlante, celle-ci couvre la terre”; however, it is doubtful that there is a connection between our text and the passage quoted by van Dijk.² Jacobsen’s translation: “Han böjede hovedets (stråle)krone ned,” (lit.) “he bent down (his) head’s (radiant) crown” : [s]ag-muš ḥa-mu-ni-sig-sig. Jacobsen might have thought of sag-muš, attested in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 274: sag-muš₂ (var. muš₃)-aratta^{ki}-ke₄, which is translated by him in *Harpes That Once* . . . (New Haven and London, 1987), 298, as “the crest upon Aratta’s head”; also sag-muš-mu, which M. E. Cohen, *Lamentations 2* (Potomac, Md., 1988), 648:41, translated as “my (of Inanna) diadem” (p. 649). However, the meaning of sag-muš is not known and the translation “(radiant) crown” is uncertain.

sig-sig (si₁₁-si₁₁) has been interpreted by Jacobsen as corresponding to Akk. *ša-pālu* D: *šuppulu*. muš as “snake” or [z]u₂-muš (Akk. *tultu*) is, in my opinion, a highly doubtful interpretation.³

2. sig-sig is connected with snakes in Šulgi R 14: giš-mi-ri₂-za-zu-u₃ muš-sig-sig, trans. by J. Klein in *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology*, ed. J. Klein and A. Skaist (Ramat-Gan, 1990), 103, as “According to your oars, you are a sigsig-snake.” sig = *qatnu* “thin,” “narrow,” and I translate “thin snakes” and understand it as referring to the oars of the boat. There is no connection with sig-sig in our text.

3. I see no connection with Gudea Cyl. A xxv 1, where a part of the temple is compared to “a flood wave whereinto water snakes dive,” a-gi₆ muš-a sig-ga-am₃ (trans. by Jacobsen, *Harpes That Once* . . . , 319); sig as “dive” (sig: *špl*) is somewhat uncertain but cannot be ruled out.

Restorations [k]A or [s]ag are both uncertain; according to the two copies of this text, [x] [x¹ muš is a possibility, the first sign to be restored being a small sign.

Jacobsen, according to his translation, evidently interpreted “han” (“he”) as referring to An; in line 3 ki-e is ergative, and line 1 might be partially restored as [an-e . . .].

3. J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 40: “Que la terre fasse resplendir son sein(?)”; Jacobsen: “og jorden spredte med sin venstre hånd skamleberne,” “and the earth spread (open) (her) vagina with her left hand.”

Jacobsen understood the line as ki-e (a₂/šu-)gabu₃-na gal₄(-la) dalla ḫa-mu-ak-e, but his translation “spredte” (“spread”) for dalla ḫa-mu-ak-e is uncertain.⁴ He interpreted gal₄ as gal₄-la, corresponding to Akk. *biṣṣūru, ūru*, “female genitals.”

SAL.HUB₂ occurs in Two Elegies 138: SAL.HUB₂ dam-še₃ mu-ni-pa₃-da, where Akk. trans. *šu-mu-uh₂-ti a-na mu-ti u₂-zak-ki-ru¹*, “the/my beautiful one whom (Ninurta) has chosen as spouse” (see CAD Š/3, 281, *šummuḫu*; read there eme₃ dam-še₃ etc.; *mutu*, “spouse” is otherwise always the husband), see Civil apud Wiggermann, *ZA* 78 (1988): 233f. n. 35: Here SAL.HUB₂ must denote in some way the spouse-to-be of a deity; the Akkadian translation *šummuḫtu*, “the lovely one,” may be based on a connotation of sexual attractiveness.⁵ (*šummuḫu*, *šummuḫtum* are also proper names.)

The compound dalla-ak seems to be attested in our text only and is probably a synonym of dalla--e₃ (Akk. *šupūm*).

2–3. Note preformative ḫa- in both lines. While van Dijk, *ibid.*, 40, translated ḫa- as “may . . .”: “[Que] les [rep]tiles descendent”; “Que la terre fasse resplendir son sein(?),” Jacobsen evidently interpreted ḫa- as an assertive particle. Van Dijk (p. 40): “Le text début apparemment par un discours dans lequel des instructions sont données. On ne voit pas par qui.”

-na (in SAL.HUB₂-na): -(a)na, possessive suffix (if our interpretation is accurate), shows that ki “Earth” was personified; in Text 3 (below), line 2 bar-bi “its body,” and line 4 nam-nun-ba “in its greatness,” Ki- Earth is demythologized.

4. J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 40 (4–5): “(Alors), un trou dans la terre remplit d’eau, les rigoles du jardin (et) l’enclos” (sar-am₃ te-me-nam); Jacobsen (4): “hun var grön og vürlig,” “she was green and spring-like.” Copy has mete(TE+ME)-nam but mete- has been split up, the second part written in the following line. Jacobsen understood SAR as nisig “green.” SAR as kiri_x “garden”: “(Earth) was (like) a garden” is a possibility. But from where does Jacobsen’s translation “vürlig”/ “spring-like” come? TE+ME might be mete-n(= *simtu* CAD S, 278ff.): kiri_x mete-nam, “(Earth) was a suitable garden.” However, I prefer to read te-me-nam. It seems possible that

4. Cf. dalla = *rapāšu*, Aa VIII/1:89 (MSL 14, 491); = *napalkū*, see CAD N/1, 270; *Symbolae Böhl*, 40:31 (astrol. comm.); dalla = *makāku, mukukku* “to spread”: CAD M/1, 121, *makāku* lex. section.

5. In CAD S, 148, sub *sanqū* (“choice”) the Ugaritic version of the Message of Ludingirra 39 in standard orthography is read as [zu₂-lu]m SAL.KAB.NUN-na ku₇-ku₇, in syllabic orthography su₁₁¹-lum-te-el-mu-na ku-uk-ku, Akk. trans. *asannu duššupu*; the OB version has su₁₁-lum-dilmun-na-ku₇-ku₇, “sweet date from Dilmun.” Read SAL.TUKU¹ (dilmun) ki(ḏ)-na in the Ugaritic version.

Jacobsen thought of *te-me-en* “cool”; *en-te-na* (: *en-temen-na*), Akk. *kuššu* “cold season”; *u₄-te-en* “morning” and “evening.” *te-me-en* (*te-me-nam*) is the long form for *te-en* “cool.”⁶ *u₄-te-me-en* “morning” or “evening” is attested in Pre-sargonic documents; see, for instance, *DP* 43 iii 1: *u₄-te-me-na-ka* “in the morning/evening,” also vi 5; vii 3; viii 9; *DP* 54 i 6; vii 11.⁷

5. Jacobsen: “Han reagerede med at fylde hulningen med (regnets) saed,” “he ‘reacted’ (‘responded’) by filling/deciding to fill the holes with the seed (of the rain).” For J. J. van Dijk’s translation, see my commentary on line 4. *PSD* B, 201, sub *buru₃* B 2.; Bilingual *ki-buru₃-da-gin₇* = *ki-ma šu-pu-ul er-se-ti*, “like the deep earth/depth of the earth” (*šupul eršeti* is to be added in CAD Š/2, 224 sub *šuplu* s.; *šupul eršeti* would be *buru₃-ki-a*); *ki-buru₃* also Akk. *huptu* “hole, cavity.” This line goes together with Text 2 (below), line 2 *buru₃* a *nu-bal*, “no water was drawn (from) the deep,” referring to the time before the earth was organized by the gods.⁸

Column ii

1. J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 40: “An, comme En, se dressa comme un jeune héros”; in *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*. AOAT 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), 130, van Dijk reads and translates our line: an *en-nam šul-le-eš₂* al-gub, “An, étant *ba‘al*, se dressa en jeune héros”; Jacobsen: “Himmelen, grødegiveren, var lige gæv i mandomskraft,” “Heaven, the giver of growth, was as redoubtable in his prime (maturity)”: *nam-šul-le-eš*. an *en(-)* is written AN×EN (ligature) as in text 2:1 (below). For Jacobsen’s interpretation of *en*, see *ZA* 52 (1957): 107 n. 32; see also Jacobsen’s translation of *en-ki nun-ki* in ii 3.

2. Cf. Barton, *MBI* 1 i (x) 12–14 (*ASJ* 16 [1994]: 18): an-*ne₂* ki-da inim/*gu₃* an-dab₆-e ki an-da [in]im an-dab₆-e, “Heaven conversed with Earth, Earth conversed with Heaven”; cf. J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965): 43 (7). This “conversation”

6. For the dropping of -m- between two vowels cf. *emen* : *en*, *ešemen* : *ešen*, *kamaš* : *kaš₄*, *munus* : *nus*, *sumun₂* : *sun₂*, *sumur* : *sur₂*, *umuš* : *uš₄*. See also in the comm. on ii 3 (above)—*numun_x*(?) > *nun*.

7. *u₃-TE-am₃* in Gudea Cyl. A xvii 29 is certainly *u₃*(= *u₄*)-*temen-am₃*, “in the morning/evening”; cf. Gudea Cyl. B iii 26: *u₄-[te]men-ta*, “from early morning.” See further Ebla Bil. voc. 774 (MEE 4, p. 286): *u₄-temen* = *še₃-er a-me-nu*, *ša-ar* DI (photo) (*sa-* in MEE 4 is a misprint for *ša-*), see M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 (1983): 29; F. M. Fales, in *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, ed. P. Fronzaroli (Florence, 1984), 182; *šēru* “morning”; also corresponding to *līlīātu* “evening”: both meanings come from *te-en* “cool,” Akk. *kašū* “cool”; *u₄-te-na* = *ka-ši u₄-mu*, CBS 115 ii 11 (NB commentary, see CAD K, 269, *kašū* s. “cool”); cf. *u₄-te-en* “morning light”: see *gi₆-bi-ta u₄-te-en-še₃* = *mu-ša-am a-di ur-ri-im*, *OBGT* I 811 (MSL 4, 59).

8. Urnanše 49 i 5–ii 2: *ur₂-zu₅ den-ki ki-buru₃ gal₂* (referring to a reed), “Enki set your root in the deep hole” (to get the water for the reed); read as **ḥabrud*(: *ki.ū*) *gal₂*, “(im) Erdloch(?) vorhanden sein lassen” in Steible, *Die altsumerische Bau- und Weihinschriften* (FAOS 5/1; Wiesbaden, 1982), 111, but *ki.ū* is not to be read *ḥabrud*; cf. *ki×ū* with reading *ḥabrud(a)*, Akk. *ḥurru* “hole” (CAD H, 252f.). J. S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions* (New Haven, 1986), 32/33, “After Enki set your roots in the earth” (*ki u-gal₂*, *u-gal₂* for *u₃-gal₂*; I cannot concur with that interpretation). *ki-buru₃* in Urnanše 49 is the same as in our text (1) i 5. While Urnanše 49 ii 2 has *ki-buru₃* (*buru₃* seems certain after collation), our text writes *ki+ū* (written as one sign, *ū* at the lower part of the sign *ki*).

probably took place after the separation between Heaven and Earth,⁹ which took place u_4 -ul-la “in the remote day” (cf. ul-[la] in our text iii 2); u_4 -ul an ki-ta (bad-DU-a-ba), “in the remote time (day) when An-Heaven was separated from Ki-Earth”, *BASOR* 88 (1942): 16:38, incipit (= Lugalbanda Epic I 1, line to be restored).¹⁰

šeg₁₂-gi₄(-gi₄), Akk. *šagāmu* “to roar,” “to thunder,” “to resound.”¹¹

As to the problem whether there was a *Weltberg* (Heaven and Earth united) in Sumerian mythology,¹² I refer the reader to the Ur III text NBC 11108:5, which J. J. van Dijk treated in *AOAT* 25 (1976), 129 (also treated below in this article as

9. See *PSD* B, 36 bad, B 3. “to separate,” “to part” with references to passages mentioning the separation between heaven and earth; we can add there OIP 99, 168 ii 1–2; 203 ii 4’–5 (both texts are Presargonic); Gudea Fragn. 3 i 2; further the incipit Lugalbanda Epic I 1 (mentioned in the comment above); and finally a bilingual passage: ^dutu u_4 an ki-ta b[a]-ra-bad-DU-a-ta = *enūma šamū itt[i] K[[-ti₃]] issū*, E. von Weiher, *Uruk 3* (Berlin, 1988), no. 67 i 9–10 (also M. Dietrich, in *AOAT* 240, 67, 4.2:9–10). *KAR* 4:1 (quoted in *PSD*, B 36b): u_4 an ki-ta tab gi-na bad-a-ta eš-a-[ba] was translated by A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*² (Chicago, 1954), 68, as “When heaven had been separated from the earth, the distant trusty twin,” understanding tab as “twin” (otherwise Sum. maš-tab-ba) following a suggestion by Jacobsen (see *JNES* 5 [1946]: 143 n. 24). If the translation is correct, then there was a conception, otherwise not known to us, of An-Heaven and Ki-Earth as twins.

The separation between heaven and earth is mentioned by Berossus; see P. Schnabel, *Berossus und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1923), 245ff. et passim; Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*,² 77f.; J. J. van Dijk in *AOAT* 25 (1976), 125.

10. In the Barton text, quoted above, the “shrine Nippur” (eš₃ nibru^{ki}) is mentioned before the “conversation” between An and Ki, while in the text treated above, Enlil and Ninlil did not yet exist.

In *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hungaricae* T. XXI. (Budapest, 1973), 40, G. Komoróczy states that according to the earliest Sumerian concept sky and earth separated into two parts automatically, without any external power; this means, Komoróczy says, that the Sumerians regarded the development of the universe in its elementary form as the self-movement of the *principium*. However, it should be noticed that in OIP 99, 136 iii 1’–3 and OIP 203 ii 3’–5’ Enlil (U_4 .GAL.NUN; 203 ii 3’) ([U_4 .GAL].NUN) separates the heaven from the earth; however, in our Text 1 Enlil does not yet exist when the separation takes place.

11. It remains uncertain whether some cosmogony lies behind the Epic of Gilgames V iii 15 (also VII iv 15): *ilsū šamū qaqqaru irammum* “the heavens roared, the earth resounded” (in a description of a dream). I also refer the reader to a Ugaritic text: The Palace of Baal C 19–22 (see J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* [Edinburgh, 1977], 49; R. F. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* [HSM 4; Cambridge, 1972], 69, n. 46): *rgm* *š. w. lḥšt. ’abn t’ant. šmm. ‘m. ’arš thmt. ‘mn. kbkbm*, “a tale(?) of tree(s) and a whisper of stone(s), the groaning (converse) of the heavens together with the earth, of the seas with the stars” (cf. *BiOr* 37 [1980]: 277 on text 3 C iii 24—*rgm* [1] “tale,” [2] “word, matter,” but in context has overtones of “thunder”). M. Dahood, *Psalms* 2 (Anchor Bible 17; Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 3f. on *t’ant* assumes a root *’ny* (comparing Hebr. *’ānā(h)* III “be opportune, meet,” “to face”; Baumgartner *Hebr. Lex.*⁽³⁾, p. 68 “widerfahren (lassen)”; *t’ant* “meeting,” “assignation”: Dahood; for *’ny* “groaning,” see *UF* 9 [1977]: 266–67).

12. S. N. Kramer in his *Sumerian Mythology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia, 1972), 39 assumed that there was a *Weltberg* in Sumerian mythology; so also J. J. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* (Heidelberg, 1959), 17. Jacobsen, however, denied its existence, see *JNES* 5 (1946): 141 (“there is . . . no evidence for a Sumerian *Weltberg*”). While Kramer and van Dijk interpret *hur-sag-an-ki-bi-da* in Tree and Reed line 1 (also quoted above in the comment on Text 2, lines 12–13) as *Weltberg*, Jacobsen interprets *hur-sag* (in *hur-sag-an-ki-bi-da*) as “the range of mountains bordering the Mesopotamian plain on the east. As seen on the eastern horizon, its shining peaks towering from earth up into heaven, the

text no. 2); he restores and reads [an ki] *teš₂-bi-a mu-dib* and translates “[Ciel (et) Te]rre était liés l’un à l’autre (faisant) une unité,” i.e., An-Heaven and Ki-Earth

hursag appears indeed to belong equally to both of the cosmic entities (i.e., heaven and earth).” Cf. P. Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890), 195ff. (Weltberg); B. Meissner, *Assyrien und Babylonien* 2 (Heidelberg, 1925), 107f. (Weltberg).

A first-millennium text reflects the united heaven and earth: *ki-še₃ an ki teš₂-bi la₂-a-ta = ana ēma šamū u eršetu ištēniš nanduru*, “towards the place where heaven and earth are bound together” JCS 21 (1969): 3:4. It does not refer to the horizon since the text says that Utu-Šamaš should come out from the horizon (*an-ur₂-ta*) to the place where heaven and earth unite.

In this connection we refer to Ebla Voc. 781 (MEE 4, p. 287): *an-ki = si-li-sa-a*; text AK has *an-ki = si-bi₂-LUM. si-li-sa-a: širšā(n)* “the two ‘roots,’” “the two foundations”; see M. Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983): 30:

Der Dual “die beiden Wurzeln” würde dann—wohl auf mythologischem Hintergrund—”Himmel und Erde” (*an-ki*) bezeichnen, während die andere Glosse, *si-bi₂-lum*, falls zu Akk. *šapālu* “tief sein” gehörig, wohl besser zu einer Deutung des Sumerogramms als ^dki “die Erde als Gottheit” passt.

Cf. F. Fronzaroli, *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (1984), 123, on *si-li-sa-a // širš-ā(n)* “the two foundations,” “the two roots” as a cosmological conception. [An interpretation of *si-li-sa-a* as *šilšalā(n)* “(anel-lo di) catena,” comparing Akk. *šeršerrum*; cf. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil*, ed. P. Michalowski et al. (Aula Or 9; Barcelona, 1991), 169 n. 31. Cf. further G. Conti, *Misc. Eblaitica* 3 (Florence, 1990), 189: *si-bi₂-lum: šiplum* “chio che sta sotto” with ref. to Akk. *šapiltu*; see already G. Pettinato, MEE 2, 67; also W. G. Lambert, in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla*, ed. L. Cagni (Napoli, 1984), 396: “*si-pi₅-lum*, presumably ‘lower,’ fits the context even if its basis in *an-ki* is not fully clear.”] The following entry (782) in the Ebla Vocabulary is *an-še₃ = a-i-num₂* (MEE 4, 287: *a-i-lum*), interpreted as *‘alīnum > a’īnum* “oben,” see J. Krecher, in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla*, 157; also G. Conti, *Misc. Eblaitica* 3, 190; Akk. *elēnum* “above.” For Eblaitic *šip(i)lum*, if = Akk. *šaplu*, *šaplū* we would have expected *ki-ta*, not *an-še₃*. J. Krecher in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla*, 163 n. 163, reads *si-bi₂-gum₂* and refers to Akk. *šupku* in *šupuk šamē*: CAD Š/3, 323f., *šupku* “base”; 324 *šupuk šamē* “horizon,” and his interpretation is preferable to *si-bi₂-lum* “low,” “lower,” “nether,” and I read the Ebla lex. entry as *an-ki = šipigum*, Akk. *šipkum*. Sum. *ul-ḥe₂* is Akk. *šupuk šamē*, see TCS 3, 115, commentary to line 324: *giš-ḥe₂* (var. -ḥe) *u₂-sa₁₁-an-na ni₂-te-a-ni-še₃ sa₇-ga*, where I translated *giš-ḥe₂* as “firmament,” taking *šipku* as a by-form for *šupku*; see, however, CAD Š/3, 70f., *šipku* “accumulation, heap, mound,” quoting *šipik šamē* (lex. sect., p. 79, and p. 71 line d) as referring to the horizon (as the base of the sky).

The two foundations of heaven and earth are found in Codex Hammurabi i 21–25: *ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdāša šuršudā*, “(everlasting kingdom) whose foundations are firmly laid like (those of) heaven and earth,” and further in Codex Hammurabi xl 67–69: *ina esagil ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdā* (SUḪUŠ)-*šu kīnā*, “in Esagil, the temple whose two foundations are firm as (those of) heaven and earth”; also Samsuiluna inscription A 11–12: KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *suḫuš-bi an ki-gin₇ mu-na-gi-ne₂-eš-a*, Akk. version KA₂.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *SUḪUŠ(= išdā)-šu kīma šamē u₃ [eršetim] [u]kinnūšum*, “(Anum and Enlil) made the foundations of Babylon firm for him like (those of) heaven and earth.” (I. Kärki, *Königsinschriften II. Babylon* [Helsinki, 1983], 23, “das Fundament von Babylon wie (das) des Himmels und der Erde”; *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*, ed. D. Frayne [RIME 4; Toronto, 1990], 381: “the foundation of Babylon . . . like [that of] heaven and earth”). Samsuiluna A Akk. vers.: *SUḪUŠ-šu: išdā-šu*; if singular, we would expect *iššissu*; also CH: *SUḪUŠ-šu kīnā; bītu* (referring to a temple) *kīma AN KI šuršudu*, KAH 1, 46:3 (Senn.), see OIP 2, 151, no. 13; *suḫ[uš]-an-ki mu-un-gi-na-eš-a-ba = [i]š-di AN-e u KI-ti₃ u₂-ki-in-nu*, E. von Weiher, *Uruk* 3, no. 67:23–24; cf. *te-me-en-da-ri₂-an-ki-ke₄ = ina da-ru-ti te-me-en AN-e u KI-ti₃*, “on the eternal foundation of heaven and earth,” Elevation of Inanna-Ištar III 47–48.

In a first-millennium text (A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* [SAA 3; Helsinki, 1989], 20, 8:15) we meet with the two foundations of the heavens alone: *išdāšu kunnā ki ša[māmī]*, “its (the city’s) foundations are as firm as (those of) the heavens”; further *kīma šamē išdāšunu likūnu* “let their (the temple’s)

united, being a *Weltberg*. This interpretation is however uncertain; see commentary on this text below.¹³

3. In AOAT 25 (1976), 128, n. 22, van Dijk reads this line as u_4 -ba en-ki nun-ki (as against eridu^c in *AcOr* 28, 40) nu-si₁₂, a reading suggested to him by J. Kre-

foundations be as firm as (those of) the heavens,” VAB 4, 252 ii 17, also *CT* 34 iii 19, *et passim* in Nbn. (CAD Š/1, 347a, *šamû* A, in comparisons). ur_2 “foundation” (Akk. *išdu*) in connection with an ki “heaven and earth” is found in Temple Hymns line 33: ur_2 -zu an ki-da kuš₂-u₃-zu (Ur III version), kuš₂-u₃-de₃/dam (OB version), “your (the temple’s) foundation labors(?) / serves(?) heaven and earth.” The foundation of the temple seems to have been understood as the foundation of heaven and earth and, thus, has a mythological background. ur_2 is also attested in connection with an ki in a Kassite inscription: aš-ti an ki-gin₇ ur_2 -gi-na-ni, “the foundation of his (royal) seat (is) like the (foundation of) heaven and earth,” BE 1/1, 68 ii 7–8 (Burnaburiaš II). Is ur_2 “foundation” (: *išdu*) to be understood as corresponding to *išdā* (dual) in the last two passages? Cf. also an-na ur_2 -bi-a in-nu ki-a gaba-bi-a in-nu, *CT* 58, 43:8. (an- ur_2 , ur_2 -an-na = *išid šamē* is the horizon, lit. “the base of heaven”).

See further e_2 an-gin₇ uru_4 (ki) gar-ra, “a house based on a foundation like (that of) heaven” (in a riddle) *Aula Or* 5 (1987): 19 no.1:1. The base (foundation) of heaven, transferred to a temple, is attested in L.W. King *BMS* 33:7: [e_2 -s]ag-il₂ duru[š] AN(: *šamē*).

The foundations of the heavens are found in the Old Testament: 2 Sam. 22:8: “the earth rocked and quaked, the foundations of the heavens *mōs^cdōt haššamayim* shook” (cf. Ps. 18:8: “the earth rocked and quaked and the foundations of [the] mountains *ū mōs^cdē hārīm* shook”).

They are also found in Ps. 82:5: *yimmōfū kol mōs^cdē ʾāreš* “all the foundations of the earth totter”; *mōs^cdē ʾāreš* also in Prov. 8:29; see also Ps. 104:5: *yāsad ʾereš ʿal m^ckōndhā bal timmōt ʿōlām wāʿed*, “he has founded the earth on her (two) foundations, so that it shall never totter”; *mōs^cdōt hāʾāreš* Isa. 40:21. Cf. Ps. 18:16 “the channels of the sea were seen *wayyiggālū mōs^cdōt tēbēl* and the foundations of the world were laid bare.”

The “(two) pillars (stanchions) of heaven” *ʿammūdē šamayim* are found in Job 26:11, where the two pillars have to be understood as the two foundations which carry the heavens. The “(two) pillars” of the earth are also found in Job 9:6: *ʾereš . . . ʿammūdāhā*; also Ps. 75:4. In Ugarit, the foundations of the earth are found in The Palace of Baal F i 40–41 (J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* [Edinburgh, 1977], 56) *mm. dbbm. d msdt. ʾarš* “with creeping species(?) from the foundations of the earth.”

tlm. ʿgšr. ʾarš “the two hills (mounds) that . . . the earth,” The Palace of Baal viii 4 (Gibson, *ibid.*, 66), might refer to the two stanchions (foundations), as two mounds upon which the earth rests.

13. In a bilingual incantation (*STT* 199:1–4) we meet with a cosmogony that heaven and earth were created by themselves: [an] ni₂-bi-ta tu-[ud-da-am₃] = [AN]-[u_2]¹ *ina ra-ma-ni-šu₂-nu [ib]-ba-ni*, [ki n]₁₂-bi-ta [t]u-ud-da-am₃ = *er-še-tu₄ ina ra-ma-ni-ša₂-ma [i]b-ba-ni*, [an] ʾidim¹-am₃ : AN- u_2 *nag-bi ki-ti₃ nag-ʾbi¹* : ki idim-am₃, “Heaven was created by itself, Earth was created by itself. Heaven was abyss, Earth was abyss”: Heaven and Earth are two separate entities. In a first-millennium text (see A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry* [Helsinki, 1989], 59, no. 26) we meet with a concept that there was an era before heaven and earth were created; the text (lines 4’–5’) reads as follows: [d] *šamaš ša zīmīšu dan-nu u nū[r]šu . . . ša* *adi lā šamē u eršetī ibba[nū . . .]*, “Šamaš, whose radiance is strong and whose light [. . . , whose . . .] were created before heaven and earth were created [. . .]”; also *šu-u₂ ina ša₃ e-nu-ma e-liš iq-ʾti-bi¹ ki-i AN-e ki-ti₃ la ib-ba-nu-ni AN.šAR₂ it-[tab-šī]*, “it is said in Enuma eliš: when heaven and earth were not (yet) created, Aššur came into being.” A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry*, 85:54; also p. 89:45 (rest.). (The text adds p. 85:55: *kī ālu u bitu ibšūni šū ittabšī*, “[only] when city and temple [already] existed, did he come into being.”) The first two lines of Enuma eliš I (*enūma eliš lā nabū ša-māmū šapliš ammatu šuma lā zakrat*, “when above the heaven had not been named, below the earth had not been called by name”) strongly point to the assumption that heaven and earth did not yet exist, were not yet created (cf. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*² [Chicago, 1952], 18, with n. 18).

cher; but already C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 132, read the passage as en-ki nun-ki and translated “die Herren der Orte, die Fürsten der Orte.”¹⁴ Jacobsen translates this line as follows: “I hine dage var jordens en (grødegiver) og jordens nin (grødegiverske) ikke til,” “in those days the earth’s en (giver of growth) and the earth’s nin (giver of growth) did not exist.” In *JNES* 5 (1946): 138f., Jacobsen translated ^den-ki and ^dnin-ki as “The earth lord,” “The earth lady.”

se₁₂ is *ašābu ša ma’dūti* “to live/sit (ref. to) plur.”; see P. Steinkeller, *Or* NS 48 (1979): 55, with n. 5.

Column iii

1–2. u₄-^rda¹ im-ma ul-[la] im-m[a], J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.* 40: “La splendeur (des champs) éta[it] poussière, la floraison éta[it] poussière.” “était poussière” would have been Sum. im(-ma)-am₃.¹⁵

Jacobsen: “‘idag’ och ‘igår’ var det samme,” “‘today’ and ‘yesterday’ was the same”; “‘tidernes morgen’ og ‘igår’ var det samme,” “‘the morning of time’ and ‘yesterday’ was the same” (would have expected im-ma-am₃). Jacobsen’s “today” is u₄-da = *ūmam* “today”; his “yesterday” seems to depend on im in (mu-)im-ma, Akk. *šaddagda* “last year.”¹⁶

14. nun-ki for nin-ki: see Urnanše 49:8: gi en-ki nun-ki du₁₀ ḥe₂-ga₂-ga₂; ZA 83 (1993): 178:24 (MA, MB: Meturan) ^den-ki-ke₄-ne nun-^den-ki-ne with vars. en-ki-ne₂ nun-ke-ne₂; CT 44, 26:5: ^den-ki-ne-še₃ ^dnun-ki-ne-[še₃], dupls. STT 2, 172:9, CT 17, 6:39, and CT 17, 37 Tablet Z col. B:10 write ^dnin-ki-; en-ki together with nun-ki also seems to be attested in *Hommage à Léon de Meyer* (Leuven, 1994), 74:9: zi-en-ki-in u₃ nu-mu-e-ki-in ḥe-pa = zi-en-ki-ne u₃ nun-ki-ne. Here nu-mu-e- is a syllabic writing closer to nun-ki than nin-ki. nu-mu-e seems to reflect an old numun_x > nun (cf. *enmen_x > en), cf. n. 5. Is -e (in nu-mu-e-) a scribal error for -un? Old references for ^den-ki and ^dnin-ki as the ancestors of the Mesopotamian gods are found in Krebernik, *Beschwörungen* (Hildesheim, 1984), 96, no. 19 (c) ii 2; 102, no. 20 (b) 3; Deimel SF, 24, no. 24 v 17–18 (see J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 [1965]: 7); OIP 99, 48:68; ^den-ki and ^dnin-ki are the first couple in the OB god list TCL 15, 10:1–2.

15. For his interpretation, van Dijk (*AcOr* 28, 43f.) refers to Lugale IV 44–45 (OB line 180): i₃-ne-eš₂ u₄-da-a-ša₃-ga uḥ₃-gi₆, bil. version i-ne-eš₂ u₄-da a-ša₃-ga uḥ₃-gi₆ = *i-na-an-na* [u₄-m]u *eq-lu id-ra-ni šal-mu* (in *AcOr* the text was not complete), “maintenant, la splendeur des champs (est devenue) cendre noire”; cf. Jacobsen’s trans. (*Harps*, 245) “and till today black cinders are in the fields.” (Gilgameš and the Netherworld, line 5 [quoted by van Dijk] should be read u₄-ul ni₂-ul-e mi₂-zi du₁₁-ga-a-ba, not im-ma du₁₁-ga-a-ba). Further, van Dijk quotes Gilgameš Epic XI 106: [mim]ma namru ana etūti uttiru, “il a réduit toute la splendeur à l’obscurité”; line 118: ūmu ullā ana tiṭti lū itūrma, “le jour d’autrefois est redevenue argile,” and line 133: u kallat tēnišēti itūra ana tiṭti; I quote van Dijk: “Ces lignes contiennent une allusion aux temps antérieurs à l’existence de la vie qui a émergé de la surface argileuse de la terre. Pour cette raison, u₄-da nous semble correspondre à mimma namru de Gilg. 106 ‘la splendeur,’ sousentendu ‘la splendeur de la végétation.’”

16. im: im-ma (without mu) “last year,” Presarg.: DP 280 i 5; ii 4; also 281 i 5; ii 2; Sarg. and Ur III documents, see Yang Adab, A 624:19; (cow hide) im-ma-kam, Donbaz-Foster Telloh no. 75:3; (wool) im-ma-kam “from the last year,” Donbaz-Foster Telloh, no. 147:12; also rev. 2; 7; (field) im-ma lugal-m[u] in-na-[sum-ma], “which my lord had given him last year” FAOS 19 (1995), 42, Adab 830:5–6; CT 5, 29 ii 18; Nies UDT 69:3; im-ma “last year” Nies UDT 42:17; also 42:36; Barton Haverford 1 pl. 42 no. 63 ii 13.

For “the morning of time” (lit. translation of Danish “tidernes morgen,” i.e., the beginning of time) for *ul*, cf. the common expression *u₂-ul*, Akk. *ūm ullūti*, and cf. the loanword *ulla* in Akkadian, which is explained as UD *maḥ-ru-u₂* in Malku III 109f.; also [*ul*]-*lu-u* = *maḥ-ru-u*, *maḥ-ru-u* = *pa-nu-u*, LTBA 2, 2:367f. *ul*-[*la*] might stand for *u₄-ul-la*. (For *ūmū ullūtu*, see M. Dietrich, in *Von Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram von Soden*, ed. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz [AOAT 240; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995], 57ff.)

See Deimel ŠL 399, 165, where our text ii 2–iii 4 is quoted and rendered as “seit Jahren (heute wie im vergangenen Jahre), seit undenklichen Zeiten (in den fernsten Zeiten wie im vergangenen Jahre) ging der Tag nicht mehr auf, das Licht leuchtete nicht mehr,”¹⁷ where already Deimel understood *u₄-da* as “heute” (“to-day”) and *im-ma* as “im vergangenen Jahre” (“last year”). *-a* in *u₄-da* and *im-ma* is the locative postposition (temporal locatives); see also the following line. “Yesterday” is in Akk. *amšali*, *timāli*, *mūša(mma)* but is not, as far as I know, equivalent to *im* (*im-ma*) and, therefore, Jacobsen’s translation of *im-ma* as “yesterday” is uncertain. To my knowledge *u₄-im-ma* “yesterday” is not attested in Sumerian.

However, a different interpretation of *u₄-da im-ma* might be possible: *u₄* “weather,” “sultry weather,” “air,” and *im* “wind.” *u₄-da im-ma* would then be Akk. *ṣētu zīqu* (locative *u₂-da im-ma*) referring to seasons (CAD S, 152, *ṣētu* 1 d); cf. E. Weidner’s translation “Ernte(-) und Sturm(-Zeit)” in *AfO* 7, 171:1ff.; see also B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949): 252 (1; 3) *zi-qu u* UD.DA (n. 30) “Wind und Wetter” (**im*-(*ma*) *u₄-(da)*), being the two periods March–May and September–November. If this interpretation is correct, the text says that there were no seasons. However, the interpretation of *ul* then becomes difficult, and it is uncertain whether it might denote a season.¹⁸

iii 1–2. If Jacobsen’s interpretation is accurate (assuming that “last year,” which I have preferred, or “yesterday” is of little importance), these lines conceptualize time before creation as standing still.

3–4. While van Dijk (*AcOr* 28, 41) translates *u₄* (3) and *i₃-ti* (4) as plurals: “les jours ne luisaient pas, les nouvelles lunes ne montaient pas au ciel,” Jacobsen understood *u₄* and *i₃-ti* as singulars. With line 4 compare Gudea Cyl. A xi 26: *gi₆-a-na i₃-ti ma-ra-e₃-e₃*, “at night moonlight will come forth for you,” followed by *e-bar₇-gana₂ u₄-ma-dam ma-ra-e₃-e₃* (xi 27), “. . . day(light) will come out for you at high noon,”¹⁹ where redupl. *e₃-e₃* occurs as in our text but *u₄ nu-zal(-[zal])* is used instead of *u₄ nu-e₃-e₃*.

17. Deimel did not realize that the text referred to “the Beginning.”

18. It might be too far-fetched to interpret *ul* as corresponding to *inbu* (CAD I/J, 144, *inbu* lex. section) “fruit”: the season when dates, apples, pomegranates, pears, grapes ripen, i.e., in the autumn, cf. B. Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949): 257 n. 48. *ul* as “fruit” seems, however, to be attested in lexical texts only. As far as I know, the common word for “fruit” (*gurun* = *inbu*) never refers to fruit season. Cf., however, *šeg₃* which corresponds to Akk. *zunu* “rain” but also *šarbu* “rainy season,” and “cold” which occurs together with *ṣētu* (UD.DA) in Gilgamesh Epic X iii 6 (perhaps also Gilgamesh Epic IX iv 34), and in ZA 24, 169:13 (CAD S/2, 60).

19. Cf. Ebla Bil. Voc. 0443 (MEE 4, 377): *u₄-ma-dam-še₃* = *ma-gi-a-šu*. *ma-dam* is Akk. *hišbu* “abundant yield, produce.” *u₄-ma-dam* also in *Studia Geo Widengren Oblata* I (Leiden, 1972), 64 rev.

It might be somewhat surprising to read in the text that Ki-Earth was green and cool before sunlight and moonlight existed, and that Earth was still dark. Cf. Text 2 (below), lines 1–2: as long as Earth was dark, no water was drawn from the deep and nothing was produced; there was no light, darkness expanded over the earth (line 7), and there was no vegetation (line 9).²⁰

Text 2: NBC 11108. Ur III period

1. a[n] [e]n-ne₂ an mu-zala[g][?] -¹ge[?]
¹ki¹ ¹mu¹-gi₆/kikki kur-še₃ igi[?] m[u]-[x]
2. buru₃ a nu-bal nig₂ nu-gar ki-dagal
[x x]—ri[?] nu-ak
3. [i]šib-maḥ-d^{en}-¹lil₂¹-la₂ nu-u₃-gal₂
[š]u-¹luḥ¹-ku₃-ge šu nu-u₃-ma-ni-du₇
4. [x] [x¹-an-na-ke₄ šu nu-u₃-tag

ii 29': u₄-ma-dam mu-ḥe₂-gal₂-la ti [. . .]; we would have expected u₄-ma-dam-ma (note -ḥe₂-gal₂-la) in the latter passage, although not necessarily in the Gudea passage. *ḥiṣbu* A “abundant yield, produce”; however, *ḥ*, referring to the day(light) is not attested. The Gudea passage was translated by Jacobsen as “plentiful day-light” in *ZA* 52 (1957): 123 n. 71 (cf. his translation “plenteous sunshine” in *Harp*, 402); Sjöberg, *Or NS* 39 (1970): 82 “‘reichliches’ Licht.” -še₃ in the Ebla lex. entry is the terminative postposition; u₄-ma-dam-še₃ has to be understood as a temporal expression (cf. OBGT I 805; MSL 4, 59) gi₆-zal-še₃ = *a-di ka-ša-a-tim* “to the morning coolness”; cf. also OBGT I 811; 816; 821, all entries + terminative -še₃; cf. also Ebla Voc. 1205–1206 above.

ḥiṣbu is, according to CAD H, 202, sub *ḥiṣbu*, a metathesis of **ḥiḥṣu*: *ḥabāṣu* A “to be elated”; *ḥitbuṣu* “to be exuberant, flourishing.” u₄-ma-dam (ma-dam in adjectival use) might then be Akk. **ūmu ḥabṣu*, **ūmu ḥitbuṣu* “exuberant daylight.”

20. In Genesis, the first act by the creator is to create light to illuminate the earth. In our Text 2:1, the heaven is illuminated, but the earth is dark. One should note that in Genesis, heaven seems to have light. It might be difficult to harmonize Gen. 1:3–4 with 1:14ff., where God, after having let the earth produce vegetation, creates sources of light to shine upon the earth, the sun to dominate the day, the moon to dominate the night (cf. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* [Göttingen, 1895]; English translation *Creation in the Old Testament*, ed. B. W. Anderson [Philadelphia, 1984]), 31; cf. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*², 101f.: Primeval darkness, Light before the luminaries. Also in Text 1, the earth is a cool, green garden and comes forth with deeps full of water, not only before the gods came into existence but also before the creation of the sun and the moon. There might be some connections between our Texts 1 and 2 and the beginning of the story of creation in Genesis 1. (Cf. D. T. Tsumura, “I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood” [1994], 323f. for a discussion on the *ʾôr* “light” and the *m^eʾōrōt* “luminaries” in the OT creation story.)

In Text 2 we read that before the creation took place there were no deeps to draw water from, that the earth did not bring forth produce; the earth was dark, and there was no vegetation. In this connection I refer the reader to Prov. 8:22–29, an amazing tale with a strong mythological coloring about the “Beginning”: “Wisdom” was together with the creator before the “Beginning” and during the creation of the world; the text is worth mentioning: she was fashioned *mēʾōlā*, “at the beginning of time,” *mērōš miqqadmē-ʾāreš*, “at the primeval times of the earth”; seas did not exist and there were no springs filled with water; the foundations of the mountains had not yet been laid, and there were no hills; the creator had not yet made earth with its open fields and lumps of earth. “Wisdom” was present when the creator set the heavens in place, and placed a crossbar(?) upon the sea, when he let fountains gush forth, when he assigned the sea to its limit, and she was present when the creator laid the foundations of the earth.

- [x] [x¹ DI
 5. [x] [x¹ teš₂-bi¹-a mu-LU
 6. [x x x] [x¹ [x¹-u₃]-TUKU¹-TUKU
 7. [u₄¹ [n]u-[zala¹ gi₆¹-am₃ mu-la₂
 8. an-ne₂ [da¹-ga-an-na-
 ka-ni [nu¹-mu-ni-ib₂-guru₁₇
 9. ki-du u₂-šim-ma
 ni₂ nu-mu-*gid₂-gid₂-e
 10. me-^den-[lil₂-la₂-ke₄¹ kur-kur-ra
 [šu¹ [nu-u₃-du₇¹
 11. [x x x x¹-[an¹-na-ke₄ / [x¹ [x] [x x x¹-?
 12. [x] [x¹ [x¹ [x] [x] [x¹ n[u]-[(x)]-um-di-di
 13. dingir-an-[na¹ [dingir¹-k[i]-a
 nu-u₃-[ma¹-su₈-[su₈¹-ge-eš₂

1. An, the En, illuminated(?) the sky (but) let earth (still)
be dark . . . into the “land.”
2. No water was drawn (from) the deep, nothing was produced,
. . . the wide earth . . . was not (yet) done.
3. The great *išib*—“priest” of Enlil was not (yet)
present,
4. . . . of An was not (yet) adorned,
5. . . .
6. Heaven and Earth had not (yet) taken each other in
marriage(?).
7. Light did not (yet) shine, darkness expanded.
8. An-Heaven had not(?) . . . his heavenly abode,
9. Ki-Earth did not . . . fragrant herbs and plants.
10. The divine powers of Enlil were not (yet) perfected.
11. . . . of An . . .
12. . . .
13. The gods of Heaven, the gods of the Earth
were not (yet) walking about.

Commentary

[I have at my disposal a photo of the tablet and a cast made in Nippur by the late Dr. George F. Dales. I do not know whether the cast was made before or after varnish had been applied to the tablet, but I assume that the cast was made after that procedure to save the obviously brittle surface.]

1. The first two signs are AN+EN (ligature); cf. text no. 1 ii 1 above: AN×EN for an en. The second an is written over an erasure. The two signs following mu- are somewhat damaged, but I consider the reading m[u]-zala[g]-[ge¹ to be almost certain. The reading n[u]- is excluded on the cast.

gi₆ (alone), as a verb (Akk. *tarāku*, *ṣalāmu*), is, as far as I know, only attested in an Izbu Commentary and in a grammatical text (see CAD § 70, s.v. *ṣalāmu*); otherwise GI₆-GI₆: kukku₂. It might permit us to read GI₆ as gig(g)i. GI₆ in the Pre-sargonic period was pronounced as gigi, cf. M. Civil, in *Ebla 1975–1985*, ed. L. Cagni (Napoli, 1987), 155.²¹

W. G. Lambert's remark in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 5 (1979): 71, that "Die Erschaffung des Lichts als erster Schöpfungsakt scheint der Genesis eigentümlich zu sein" should, if the reading -zala[g]-¹ge¹ is accurate, now be modified. It is worth noticing that Genesis 1:2 only mentions that Earth was *tōhū wā-bōhū*²² and that darkness was over the sea (*ʾhōm*) and the "spirit" (wind) of God covered(?) the waters. Heaven was obviously filled with light. B. Alster (*JCS* 28 [1976]: 122 n. 37) doubts van Dijk's translation ". . . faisait resplen[dir] le ciel"; Alster wants the texts to say that there was no light at all; however, he does not state how he would read the verb in the first line.

The second part of the line has been translated by van Dijk as "le monde infernal était [invi]sible." Since an and ki are mentioned in the line, kur denotes the netherworld. The sign following igi van Dijk read as nu²-g[al₂], but mu- is certain (cast).

2. buru₃ "deep": *PSD* B, 199; our reference quoted sub 1.1 (last quotation). This line goes together with Text 1 (above) i 5: ki-buru₃ a še₃-ma-si (after the separation between An-Heaven and Ki-Earth; see commentary). buru₃ does not here denote the netherworld as in *PSD* B, 199, sub buru₃ 1.2.²³ In AOAT 25, 129 n. 27, van Dijk does not exclude reading the first sign as [ku]r, but it seems unlikely on the cast. The second part of the line has been read by van Dijk as [a]bsin nu-ak, "sur la vaste terre le sillon n'était pas fait," but a reading [a]sin₃ is excluded on the cast.

3. išib-maḥ: abzu-a bulug₃-ga₂ išib-maḥ-am₃ eš₂-da-ku₃ šu du₈, "raised in the *abzu*, the august *išib*, who holds the pure *ešda*-jar in his hand," TCL 15, 25:6 (van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* [Heidelberg, 1960], 81), referring to Ningišzida; ^dnin-dub išib-maḥ-eridu ki-ga₁₁-ke₄ na-izi ba-ni-si, "Nindub, the august *išib* in Eridu, filled it with the smoke of incense," Gudea Cyl. B iv 4–5.

4. J. J. van Dijk, AOAT 25, 129: [nu-gi]g²-an-na-ke₄ šu nu-u₃-[ta]g, "l'h[iérodul]e²⁷ du Ciel n'était pas ornée." Cf. van Dijk's commentary, p. 131, on other possible restorations.

21. For GI₆-GI₆/gigi, kikki, kukku₂ as a verb see, for instance, Eridu Lament 1.22; 23: u₄ ba-da-kukku₂; Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna 248: igi-ni ba-kukku₂; Inninšagurra 49; 160; 177; see also the bil. refs. CAD E 412, *etū* bil. sect.

22. See D. T. Tsumura, "I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood" (1994), 310–28.

23. The first passage quoted in *PSD* B: *OrSuec* 19–20 (1970–1971): 142, no. 1 ii 25' should be read bur₃-ra u₄-zalaḡ ša-mu-un-ne-ri-ib-e₃ and be translated (as this author does in *OrSuec* 19–20) "in the deep," not "from(!) the depths," and the second passage (YOS 1, 14:1–2) should be read nin-kislaḡ-bur₃-ra.

5. J. J. van Dijk, AOAT 25, 129: “[Ciel (et) Te]rre étaient liés à l’autre (faisant) une unité.” According to van Dijk’s copy, the sign before UR can be [k]i; restoration [an k]i would be almost certain, but cast and photo do not support van Dijk’s copy. The reading *teš₂-bi-a mu-lu* is a possibility.²⁴

If we read *dib*, *teš₂/ur-bi-a dib* would correspond to *ištēniš našbutu*; cf. van Dijk, AOAT 25, 131, who translates *teš₂-bi-a mu-dib* as Akk. *ištēniš ikkamû* “étaient liés ensemble.” Cf. *ki-še₃ an ki teš₂-bi la₂-a-ta* (var. *la₂/lal-*) = *ana ēma šamû u eršetu ištēniš nanduru*, “to the place where Heaven and Earth embrace” JCS 21, p. 3:4 + CT 51, 111.

6. J. J. van Dijk, AOAT 25, 129: [nam-dam-š]_{e3} [n]u-^ru₃¹-t[u₁₂-t]u₁₂ (cast: [x x] ^rx x¹-^ru₃]-^rTUKU¹-TUKU), “ils (i.e., heaven and earth) ne s’étaient pas pris en [mariage].” Van Dijk’s restoration of the line is somewhat uncertain, but compare E. von Weiher, Uruk 3 (Berlin, 1988), no. 67 i 19–20 (also M. Dietrich, AOAT 240, 67, 4.2:19–20): ^dutu u₄ an [ki]-bi nam-[d]am-š_{e3} ba-an-du₁₂-eš-a-ba = *e-nu-ma ša-mu-u u₃ qa-q-ru ana aš₂-šu-ti in-na-aḫ-zu*, “when Heaven and Earth had taken each other in marriage”; the Akk. text is complete in STT 2, 136 iv 37.²⁵

7. J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 129: it[i n]u-[z]al gi₆ am₃-mu-la₂, but the reading is highly uncertain. The first sign might be ^ru₄¹ “day, daylight” since it is followed by gi₆ / gig(g)i/kukku_x “darkness.” Van Dijk’s reading -[z]al is supported neither by his own copy nor by the cast. The reading ^ru₄¹ ^rnu¹-^rzalag¹ is almost certain.

8. J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 129, interprets *da-ga-an(-na)* as *dag-an(-na)* “demeure céleste” (*dag* = *šubtu*; *da-ga-an-na/dag-an-na* would correspond to *šubat šamê*), and I accept his interpretation with some hesitation. It might be preferable to read *da-ga-an-na-ka-ni* instead of van Dijk’s reading *da-ga-an-na giri_x-zal* etc.:²⁶ “le Ciel montra sa face resplendissante dans le Dagan”; *da-ga-an-na* is a genitive compound and we would have expected *da-ga-an-na-ka*. Cf. JCS 40 (1988): 168 ii 8–9: *dag-da[g]-ga ti-la-mu-de₃ dag-a[n]-^rna-ka¹ ti-la-mu-de₃*, “when I (Inanna) was living in (my) dwelling places, when I was living in the heavenly dwelling (or: in An’s dwelling place).” The reading -^rna-ka¹ is almost certain. (*da-ga-an* [*da-gan*] is Akk. *kullatu* “all, totality” and interpreting *dagan-ak-ani* as “his totality,” “all he [has created]” might be a possibility but a genitive compound is not expected.) Van Dijk,

24. Cf., perhaps, Enlil in the Ekur 93: ^den-lil₂ sipa-zi teš₂-ba lu-a (where reading *lu-a* is preferable to *dib-a*): Falkenstein’s translation in *Sumerische Götterlieder* (Heidelberg, 1959), 23, “Enlil, dem guten Hirten der (Menschen), die durch sich selbst zahlreich sind,” is far from certain.

25. Enki and Ninmah 6–7: [dingir-a]n-n[a]-ke₄-ne ba-tu-^rud¹-da-a-ba ^dAMA.^dINANNA nam-dam¹-š_{e3} ba-du₁₂-a-ba, “when the gods of heaven had been ‘born’ and the goddesses had been taken into marriage” ultimately goes back to the old conception of a marriage between An-Heaven and Ki-Earth.

26. The tablet has *da-ga-an-na-* at the end of the first part of the line, and *ka-ni* are the first two signs in 2(b); line not indented. In the Gudea Cylinders there are several expressions which are divided up over two lines and even verbal chains are broken up (for instance, Cyl. A i 24: *ga-ga ga-na-//ab-du₁₁*); also *i₇-de₃ ḫul₂-la-e wr. i₇-de₃ ḫul₂-//la-e* Cyl. A ii 6; *ša₃-ma-mu₂-da-ka* “in the dream” Cyl. A iv 14, wr. *ša₃-ma-mu₂-da-//ka*: new line but in the same case as in the preceding passages, and so also in our line above. See also JCS 40 (1988): 179 ii 2; 11 (Ur III/Early Isin).

ibid., 129: giri_x-zal mu-ni-ib-kur_x (interpreting kur_x as corresponding to *abālu*, *našū*). If we read ¹nu¹-mu-ni-ib-guru₁₇, the exact meaning of guru₁₇ eludes us.

There are traces of a sign before mu- on the cast but they are not copied by van Dijk. A negation nu- seems to be required because of context.

9. J. J. van Dijk, ibid., 129: “là où il allait, il ne pouvait pas s’étendre dans les prés.” ki du is “là où il allait” (cf. Lugale 91/III 2 [people] ki-du-bi, bilingual version ki-du-ba, var. -bi = *ašar il-la-ka*), but I have preferred to understand ki-du as “(the) earth.”²⁷ (ki-gub, Akk. *manzāzu*, can hardly be considered.) I prefer to interpret ki-du as ergative (: ki-du-e), however, a translation “(An-Heaven) did not . . . the Ki-Earth . . . fragrant herbs and plants” is a possibility.

J. J. van Dijk, ibid., 129: ni₂ nu-mu-gid₂-e, but the cast clearly shows -gid₂-gid₂-; van Dijk translates “il ne pouvait pas s’étendre dans les prés.”

ni₂-gid₂ : (1) Lugalbanda Epic II 44: mušen-e a₂-u₄-zal-le-da-ka ni₂ un-gid₂ (two texts have šeg₁₁ um/un-gi₄ instead of ni₂ un-gid₂), “Wenn der Vogel sich bei Tagesanbruch streckte” (so Wilcke, but the translation is uncertain); var. šeg₁₁-gi₄, Akk. *šagāmu* “to roar,” “to resound”; (2) lugal-mu ni₂ nu-te ni₂ nu-gid₂-i, Išbierra to Ibbisin 2:2, translated as “My king, fear not, dread not” by S. N. Kramer in OECT 5, p. 17; (3) ni₂ (var. ni₃) ba-an-da-gid₂-da igi-du (var. du₃)-la₂ ga-di-da, Nisaba Hymn 60 (which I was not able to translate). With our line compare Tree and Reed line 4 (see Text 3 below): [ki] u₂-šim-e hi-li gu₂ bi₂-ib₂-e₃, “Earth covered herself with fragrant plants (in) abundance” (gu₂-e₃, Akk. *ḫalāpu*). A reading ni₂ nu-mu-bu-bu-e cannot be ruled out but its translation remains difficult.

10. Line read according to van Dijk’s copy. The first sign seems, however, dubious; the small *Winkelhaken* before ME (on photo and cast), which would then be igi, might only be damage on the surface. I am not able to read the second part of the line on the cast.

11. The line is very damaged and I do not venture to read the traces on the cast.

12. J. J. van Dijk, ibid. 129: [dingir-ga]l, but his copy does not point to [-ga]l; if [-ga]l, we would have expected [dingir-gal-ga]l, but it is doubtful whether there is enough space for this restoration.

12–13. Note -di-di in 12, but -su₈-su₈-ge-eš₂ in 13. J. J. van Dijk’s reading and restoration a-nun(a)-[ke₄-n]e nu-¹u₃¹-um-di-di is, therefore, uncertain since

27. Cf. ki-in-du “earth”; see, for instance, a-an-na a ri-a-meš dumu ki-in-du tu-ud-da-a-meš = ša₂ ri-ḫu-ut ^aa-nim re-ḫu-u DUMU.MEŠ i-lit-ti ki-ti₃ šu-nu (ref. to demons), CT 16, 12 i 22–23; OB Fore-runner 367 (see Geller, FAOS 12 [Stuttgart, 1985], 40) writes ¹ki-in¹-da tu-¹da-meš¹ (copy TIM 9, 62:10) which proves the reading -du; egi₂] [^di]nanna-ke₄ an e-ra-an-ba-gin₇ ki-in-du gi-d[a . . .] = [ru-ba]-[a¹-tu₄ ^diš-tar ki-ma AN-u₂ qi₂-šu₂-ki er-š[e-tu₄ . . .], “Lady Inanna-Ištar, as heaven has been given to you, also earth . . .,” Elevation of Inanna-Ištar IV A:5–6; also IV 6–7; however, reading ki in-¹DU-gi- is also a possibility; ki-in-du-ba a-da-ri₂ ḫe₂-em-mi-gar, Akk. version a-na er-se-ti-šu me-e da-ru-tim lu aš-ku-un,” (I dug its canal and) provided perpetual water for its land,” D. Frayne, RIME 4, 336; Hammurabi 2:63–65: “territoire habité, par opposition aux terrains désertiques de Sippar,” Mélanges Birot, ed. J.-M. Durand and J.-R. Kupper (Paris, 1985), 264 (comm. on line 63).

we would then expect verb + plural ending $-e\check{s}_2$ or $-[(e-)ne]$. I very much doubt the reading $a-nun(a)-[ke_4-n]e$.²⁸

*Text 3. Old-Babylonian Period*²⁹

1. $ki-ur_3-gal-e\ ni_2\ pa\ bi_2-ib_2-e_3$
bar(-)dul-le-eš nam-SIG₇
2. $[ki]-dagal-e\ ku_3\ na_4-za-gin_3-bi$
bar-bi am₃-mi-ib-si
3. $[n]a_4-esi\ na_4-nir_7\ na_4-gug\ su_3-DU-ag_2-ga_2$
šu-tag ba-ni-in-du₁₁
4. $[ki]\ u_2-\check{s}im-e\ \check{h}i-li\ gu_2\ bi_2-ib_2-e_3$
nam-nun-ba mu-un-gub
5. $[k]i-ku_3\ ki-sikil-la\ an-ku_3-ra\ ni_2-bi\ mu-na-ab-sig_7$
6. $an\ dingir-ma\check{h}-e\ ki-dagal-la\ du_{10}\ im-ma-ni-ib-nir$
7. $a-ur-sag-gi\check{s}-gi-bi-da-ke_4\ \check{s}a_3-ga\ ba-ni-in-ri$
8. $ki-du_{10}\ ab_2-zi-de_3\ a-du_{10}-ga-an-na\ da\ bi_2-ib_2-ri$
9. $ki-u_2-nam-ti-la-ke_4\ \check{s}a_3\ im-\check{h}ul_2\ u_2-tu-ba\ mu-un-gub$
10. $ki\ kiri_4-zal-e\ \check{h}e_2-gal_2\ im-ili_2$
kurun₂ la₃ ir su₃-ud.

28. If van Dijk's restoration of line 12 is accurate, the line, and the following line 13, refer to a time when the gods of heaven and earth did not yet exist. An-Heaven was the father of the *anunna*-gods, see Ewe and Grain 1–2: $\check{h}ur-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ke_4\ an-ne_2\ dingir-dingir-a-nun-na\ im-tu-de_3-e\check{s}-a-ba$, “when, at the ‘mountain’ of Heaven and Earth, An-Heaven had created (engendered) the *anunna*-gods.” Enlil, after the separation between An-Heaven and Ki-Earth, placed the *anunna*-gods on the earth: $^d en-lil_2\ a-nun\ ki\ mu-gar-gar$, “Enlil placed the *anunna*-gods on the earth,” Zame Hymns 11–12. (B. Alster, *JCS* 28 [1976], 121: “Enlil who placed the Anunna gods below^{sic} earth.”) However, it should be noted that in the translated lines from this Early Dynastic hymn, Nippur and Enlil are not connected with the separation between Heaven and Earth, but Enlil's city, Nippur, is in this hymn described as $uru\ an-da\ mu_2\ an-da\ gu_2\ la_2$, “city which is grown together with Heaven, embracing Heaven” (lines 1–2): Nippur is, like Earth before separation, united with An-Heaven. This conception is partially reflected in one of the names of that city: $dur-an-ki$, “the Bond of Heaven and Earth.” In this connection, Alster (see *JCS* 28, 122; also AOAT 25, 18) refers to an Early Dynastic text (A. Westenholz, *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia I* [Malibu, 1975], 124, no. 4 iv' 8': $dur\ sur\ an\ la_2-gin_7$) which Alster translates as “the twisted rope to which heaven is secured,” assuming that it is possible that the passage hints at the time when Enlil, by separating heaven and earth, established $dur-an-ki$ as the navel of the earth. However, it is far from certain that this passage refers to Nippur at the creation of heaven and earth. Text 1 ii 4–5, Enlil and Ninlil did not yet exist; in the Barton Cylinder i, the “shrine Nippur” exists in the real “Beginning” when storms and lightning occur in Nippur (cf. B. Alster, *JCS* 28, 122). We might add here that in the “Nippur-theology” the god Enlil separated Heaven from Earth: see also OIP 99, no. 136 iii 1'–3' (quoted in *PSD* B, 36, bad B 3.); for Enlil as the deity who separated Heaven from Earth, see especially Creation of the Hoe 4–5 (quoted in *PSD* B, 8). In our Text 1, the separation between An-Heaven and Ki-Earth takes place before Enlil (and his spouse) yet existed, even before the older generations of gods existed, which is contrary to the Nippur conception.

29. Texts: TCL 16, 53 (coll. by S. N. Kramer and M. Civil); ISET 2, 73 Ni. 4463+ and dupls.

J. J. van Dijk has transliterated and translated the first 29 lines of the text in *AcOr* 28 (1965): 45–47, and his commentary is found on pp. 47ff.; an English translation of the first ten lines by S. N. Kramer is found in his *History Begins at Sumer* (Philadelphia, 1981), 303–4 (Chapter 33, “The First Sex Symbolism”); a Danish translation of the first twelve lines of the composition is provided by Thorkild Jacobsen in *Mesopotamiske Urtidssagn*, 20–21.

Even if these first lines describe the birth of the Tree and the Reed, the text is originally a mythological text describing the copulation of Heaven and Earth. In my opinion, the first lines of this literary composition contain the description of a bride who adorns herself for her husband: An-Heaven and Ki-Earth have separated. After “divorce” follows marriage!³⁰

30. Cf. Lugale 26: lugal-mu an-ne₂ ki-sa₇-ga giš₃ im-ma-ab-du₁₁, bil. version lugal-mu an-na ki-sa₇-ga giš₃ im-ma-ab-du₁₁ = *be-lu₄ a-nu₃ er-se-tu₄ ba-ni-tu₄* (vars. *er-se-ta ba-ni-t[a]*) *ir-še-e-ma*, “my lord! Anu (‘Heaven’) inseminated the beautiful Earth,” originally reflecting the copulation between Heaven and Earth after their separation. Reading ki-sig₇-ga “the green earth” is a possibility, and, in that case, the Akkadian translation would have been *eršetu aruqtu*; cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 98/101:29: *u-raš-sig₇-ga-gin₇* “wie die begrünte Erde” and comm., p. 125; cf., perhaps, Text 1 i 4 (earth) SAR-am₃ with commentary.

In this connection I refer the reader to *SRT* 6 rev. iii 14–16 (and dupl. *SRT* 7:25–27: ama-mu *u-raš nin-dingir-re-e-ne an-da ki-na₂-ku₃-ga ša₃ kuš₂-u₃ e-ne-su₃-ud gal ba-e-du₁₁*, “my (of the goddess Ninisina) mother Uraš, the lady of all the gods, was intimate with An in the bed-place and cohabiting”; cf. also *SEM* 100:1–2: *JCS* 34 (1982): 64:1–2: *nin me-maḥ dib sag il₂ ni₂ gur₃ dumu-ki-aga₂-an-gal-la nin-in-si-na u-raš-e tu-da ša₃-gal nam-gal DU*. The “Isin-theology” made the goddess Ninisina the daughter of An-Heaven and Uraš-Earth. Uraš (= *eršetum*) is identical with Ki-Earth; see A. Falkenstein, *AnBi* 12 (1959): 71:3: (the moon god is) *men-an-uraš-a = agē šamē u eršetim*, “the crown of heaven and earth.” (cf. UET 1, 112:1–2 [: Nuradad 3] where Nanna is *men-an-ki*). First millennium: [dumu]-maḥ-an-*u-raš-[a]* = [*martu*] *u rabitu ša danim u d[. . .]*, *KAR* 15:1–2 (= 16:1–2). (Uraš also occurs as the mother of other deities, for instance, of Baba, Išaran, Nisaba, Ninsumuna, Iškur). Isin, the city of Ninisina, and her temple in the city is “the axis (bulug) (between) heaven and earth” in Presargonic, OB, and Post-OB texts (see E. Bergmann, *ZA* 56 [1964]: 9f. and *PSD* B, 174f., sub bulug A 4; Bilingual 2.).

See further *KAR* 144 rev. 8 (cf. *ZA* 32 [1919]: 174:58; also *PSBA* 23 [1923]: 122:11) *kīma šamū irḫū eršetu im²idū šammū*, “as the heaven inseminated the earth, (so that) vegetation became abundant”; see also text 2:6 above. CAD K, 581, sub *kuruppu* 1.b offers a “demythologized” translation: “just as rain fertilized the earth and vegetation became plentiful,” and it was probably understood thus by ancient Mesopotamians. Further: Erra I 28: *anum LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ eršetu irḫēma*, “Anum, the lord (king) of the gods, inseminated Earth (and she bore him seven gods . . .).” (See L. Cagni, *L’Epopée di Erra* [Rome, 1969], 152 [on Erra I 28] where *eršetu* is “la terra,” while Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos* [Würzburg, 1995], 41 interprets *eršetu* as Unterwelt. In the Sumerian and Akkadian texts where we meet the conception that Heaven inseminates Earth, *ki-eršetu* does not denote the netherworld).

An-Heaven and Ki-Earth appear as a couple in the OB incantation YOS 11, 46:1: *an lugal-am₃ ki nin¹-am₃*, “An is king/lord, Ki is queen/lady” (copy has *nin₉* “sister”); cf. J. J. van Dijk, YOS 11, p. 35.

A totally different (and later) concept lies behind the statement in YOS 11, 5:1 (OB incantation): *anu irḫiam šamē šamū eršetam uld[un]im*, “Anu inseminated the heaven, the heaven gave birth to earth”; also in *CT* 17, 50:1ff. (and dupl. *AMT* 25/2:15ff.; first millennium): *ultu anu ibnū šamē šamū ibnū eršeti*, “after Anu has created the heaven, and the heaven has created the earth”; also F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, pl. 12 (also pp. 32ff.), line 24, “when Anu had created the heavens.”

However, the text is demythologized: bar-bi (2): bar-ra-ni “her body,” nam-nun-ba : nam-nun-na-na. Cf. here Text 1 (above), line 3: SAL.HUB₂-na “in (all) her lavishness,” where ki “Earth” is personified. Further, as far as I know, ki-ur₃ (line 1) (Akk. *duruššu*) “habitat” is not a mythological concept, nor is ki-dagal (line 2).

Commentary

1. While Kramer translates ni₂ pa bi₂-ib₂-e₃ as “made herself resplendent,” and J. J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28 (1965): 46, as “se fit resplendir lui-même,” Jacobsen translated “(the earth) tog mineralerne frem,” “took forth (the) mineral”; but I am not sure how he reached this translation.³¹ bar dul-le-eš or bar-dul-le-eš? bar-dul in bar-dul-le-eš might be bar-dul/bar-dul₅, a garment (see *PSD* B, 119ff., bar-dul₅ B). Translation: “she beautified herself as with a *bardul*-garment.” sig₇ = *banû* B “to grow”; “to be pleasant”; *bunnû* “to beautify”; see G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild* (Heidelberg, 1971), 51ff., where (p. 52) nam-sig₇ has been rendered as “blühte”: sig₇ “blühen” and “grün.” Jacobsen “smykke,” “decorate,” “adorn.” bar (also line 2): “body,” “her body,” “corps,” “son corps” (Kramer; van Dijk); Jacobsen: “flanker,” “flanks.” Unfortunately, line 2 was translated in *PSD* B, 98, bar A 3.2.5 as “precious metals and gems were inlaid in the outer facade of the vast place,” and thus just as demythologized as Jacobsen’s “flanker.” (Kramer, van Dijk, and Jacobsen read the second part of the line differently; bar[-]dul-le-eš is certain).

4. Kramer: “Heaven arrayed himself in a wig of verdure, stood up in prince-ship”: [an-e] (ergative); so also van Dijk. Jacobsen, however, translated “iklædte sig for himmelen,” “dressed herself for heaven.” A restoration [ki-e] (ergative) is preferable. I prefer Jacobsen’s interpretation; it retains a flair of mythology, but I would prefer [an-ra] “for An,” cf. line 5: an-ku₃-ra.

6. This line reflects the copulation between Heaven and Earth after their separation.

8. Kramer: “(she) was impregnated with the rich semen of Heaven”; van Dijk: “reâut la bonne semence d’An”; Jacobsen: “tog . . . himmelens gode saed til sig,” “took the good semen of Heaven to herself.” da-ri, Akk. *ḫatānu* “to protect”; Akk. *našû ša almatti* “to support a widow”; *našû ša šehri* “to support a child,” see J. J. van Dijk, *ibid.*, 51; Civil, in *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton (AOS 67; New Haven, 1987), 39:13: ‘nu¹-siki il₂-il₂-mu nu-mu-un-su ‘da ri¹-mu, “(my . . . plant), which supports the orphan, sustains the widow”; da-ri = [le-qu-u ša₂ li-qu-ti] “to adopt a child” SIG₇.ALAN 14:252; dingir sag-sukud-da mu-un-GAM da-ri ba-an-[. . .] = *i-lu re-mi-nu-u₂ za-qip* ‘kan²₁-šu₂ ḫa-tin en-ši, “merciful god, who raises up the submis-

31. Jacobsen might have read im-sig₃ (instead of ni₂ pa) and interpreted it as im-sig₇ as corresponding to *guḫlu* “the *g*-mineral”; “antimony”; cf. im-sig₇-sig₇ = *e-gu-u₂* = [gu-uh-lu], *Hg* B iii 53, cf. *Hg* A II 139; see CAD G, 125, sub *guḫlu*, but cf. also [im]-pa-a = *guḫlu*, Deimel ŠL 399, 140; it is not Sumerian but should be [kut]-pa-a, see CAD G, *guḫlu* and CAD K, 610, sub *kutpû* “black frit” (a mineral).

sive, protects the weak,” 4R 2 19, 2:39–40; (animals) PN-ra da mu-na-ri, *DP* 214: . . . cf. G. J. Selz, *ASJ* 7 (1985): 253, with n. 6: “hat er sie an der Seite (herbei)-geführt “; (animals) PN₁ PN₂ GN-a da mu-na-ri, “hat . . . abgegeben”: Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (Studia Pohl 9; Rome, 1972), 489 i 9–ii 2; cf. also Selz, *ASJ* 7, 253 (with n. 7); (field and plowing) ¹x¹-bi da ga-na-ab-¹ri¹ “let me . . . of its . . .,” *ITT* 1, 1119 rev.; cf. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (Atlanta, 1993), 55 (without trans.; FAOS 19 [Stuttgart 1995], 97, Gir 21:9 where ¹x¹-bi-da ga-na-ab-ri, “später(?) will ich es für ihn eggen”); lu₂-sipa-de₃ maš₂-si₄ da bi₂-ri, “the shepherd . . . the brown kid,” 6 N-T 637 rev. ii 11–12 (unpubl., Ur III lit.); nig₂-gu₂-na-še₃ da ba-ri-e (nig₂-gu₂-na = *unūtu* “utensils”), Šulgi B 105 (note terminative -še₃); ^dbil₃-ga-meš en-kul-a[b ki-ke₄] da mu-ni-ri(ĜU) gaba-na bi₂-[x(x)] ki-ta ki-si-ga-aš ba-ta-an-¹x¹-[(x)] giš₃ im-ma-ni-du₁₁ ne im-ma-ni-sub₆(TAG), “Gilgameš, the lord of Kulaba, took care(?) of her and . . . on her chest, and from there he brought(?) her to a silent place, copulated with her, kissed her,” 6 N-T 450 i 9’–11’ (unpubl., Ur III lit.). da-ri in gu₄-da-ri-a (lex. Proto-Lu 441 (profession); maš/maš₂-da-ri-a (see Selz, *ASJ* 17 [1995]: 251ff., 264ff.); a₂-gu₄-numun-na gu₄-giš-ur₃-ra-da-ri-a u₃ gu₄-e-us₂-sa, UET 3, 1068 rev. Note the order in lines 6–8 of our text: du₁₀ im-ma-ni-ib-nir (du₁₀-nir, Akk. *reḫû*, *rakābu*) a . . . ša₃-ga ba-ni-in-ri (a ša₃-ga ri, “to impregnate a woman”) . . . a da bi₂-ib-ri.

Archaic City Seals and the Question of Early Babylonian Unity

PIOTR STEINKELLER

He was a man, take him for all in all,
I shall not look upon his like again.
Hamlet, 1, 2

Among Thorkild Jacobsen's many pioneering contributions to Assyriology, his studies in the historical and cultural development of early Mesopotamia occupy an especially prominent and important place. Perhaps no other scholar has been more responsible for fashioning our image of those formative stages—be it in the area of political history, religion, or belles-lettres. For better or for worse, the shape of early Mesopotamia as it exists in books today is to a significant extent the product of Jacobsen's mind—a combination of exemplary deduction, great intuition, and free imagination.

As is so often the case in matters early Mesopotamian, it is to Jacobsen that we owe the first cogent argument for the existence, in the late prehistoric through the Early Dynastic periods, of a supra city-state institution that united all of Sumer into a single political and religious body.¹ According to Jacobsen, this hypothetical institution—dubbed by him the “Kengir League”—was centered around the city of Nippur, which served as the league's meeting place, as well as the religious capital of all Sumer.

Part of the evidence adduced by Jacobsen in support of his proposal was a group of “puzzling jar sealings” from archaic Ur, which bear multiple depictions of city names.² As Jacobsen reasoned, “since such collective sealings imply collective

1. “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia,” *ZA* 52 (1957): 106–9.

2. *ZA* 52 (1957): 109. The sealings in question, originally published by L. Legrain, *The Archaic Seal-Impressions* (UE 3; London, 1936), have recently been re-edited by R. J. Matthews, *Cities, Seals and Writing: Archaic Seal Impressions from Jemdet Nasr and Ur* (Materialen zu den Frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients [= MSVO] 2; Berlin, 1993), 40–47 and figs. 12–125. There also survives a similar sealing from Uruk (W. 11456), apparently of the same date as the Ur examples, for which see Matthews, *op. cit.*, 39 and fig. 10b.

responsibility for the goods sent under the seal we may see in them evidence of official deliveries to Ur by groups of cities, a feature most easily understandable in terms of a league of cities such as the Kengir League. An obvious parallel is the bala deliveries of later times.”³

Ten years after these words appeared in print, yet another—and even earlier—collective city seal became known. The seal in question is impressed on a number of Uruk III tablets, all of which, except one, come from the site of Jemdet Nasr.⁴

Ever since Jacobsen offered his discussion of the city seals, these completely unique documents have continued to fascinate scholars—philologists and archaeologists alike—challenging their interpretational skills. This is hardly surprising, since this is the only evidence of a potentially historical nature that survives from late prehistoric times. Most of the scholars who have written on this subject tended to side with Jacobsen’s original idea that the city seals attest to some sort of formalized arrangement, be it political, religious, economic, or commercial.⁵ The most recent exemplification of this approach is the monograph by R. J. Matthews, who republished and extensively discussed all the existing city seals.⁶ Matthews concluded that

3. ZA 52 (1957): 109. See also *ibid.*, 109 n. 35: “Collective seals such as those to which the fragments of impressions published by Legrain attest are most easily understood as used for sealing deliveries from a common fund of goods, created for a common purpose by individual contributions from the cities collectively sealing, i.e., league funds. Whether such collective seals would normally have the names of all the members of the league, or only the names of a group contributing, e.g., during a certain period of the year, or at a specific point, is not clear from the evidence.”

4. See B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum* 1 (Oxford, 1966), 8 no. 9. The first person to recognize that this seal names cities was M. Lambert, RA 64 (1970): 189. Republished by Matthews, MSVO 2, 34–38 and fig. 10a. For its provenience, contents, and function, see the detailed discussion below.

5. See H. T. Wright, *The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Anthropological Papers 38; Ann Arbor, 1969), 31 (“Evidence on the distribution of goods between major towns is provided by a series of seal impressions from Ur. . . . A system by which a storehouse in a town is related to those in several nearby towns, and which can build up into chains of interrelated towns stretching from one end of the alluvium to the other, is implied”); P. R. S. Moorey, “The Late Prehistoric Building at Jemdet Nasr,” *Iraq* 38 (1976): 104 (“Even if Jacobsen’s concept of a ‘Kengir League’ remains only an illuminating hypothesis, the tangible evidence these sealings provide for a close commercial relationship already in the late prehistoric period is in itself significant enough”); H. J. Nissen, *The Early History of the Ancient Near East, 9000–2000 B.C.* (Chicago, 1988), 142 (“. . . the so-called ‘city-seals’—especially those we know from Ur, but also those from other sites—might be the distinguishing marks of trade associations made up of the cities named individually on the seals”); P. Steinkeller, “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia and the Origins of the Sargonic Empire,” in *Akkad, the First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions*, ed. M. Liverani (History of the Ancient Near East, Studies 5; Padova, 1993), 114–15 (“. . . the only way in which the existence of this seal can be justified is to assume that the cities in question held certain goods in joint ownership, which in turn implies a community of interests and some form of economic cooperation among these cities . . . one could see in this system a pan-Babylonian cooperative organization, of essentially economic character, which controlled a common fund of resources”).

6. MSVO 2 (see above, n. 2, for full reference).

these seals, particularly the one dating to the Uruk III period, indicate the existence of a cooperative institutionalized grouping of a number of alluvial cities. But, as he was careful to stress, the precise nature of this arrangement remains elusive:

The formal basis of this cooperation is likely . . . to have been military and defensive albeit rooted, perhaps, in an already existing religious and ritual network. . . . Our sources for archaic city cooperation do not permit much elaboration in interpreting its nature but, at the least, the sealed tablets from Jemdet Nasr indicate a role for the city grouping as an authorization or guarantee body for transactions involving foodstuffs in such small quantities that some symbolic, perhaps religious, factor is involved. Further, the city group clay sealings from Uruk and, later, Ur show a concern with the storage and redistribution of unspecified goods. These functions, vague as they are, suggest a role beyond the purely military and defensive, including administrative elements.⁷

But there were also two dissenting opinions, one of which saw in the city seals merely the manifestation “of an ideology of self-conscious cultural similarity” that was shared by the city-states named in the seals,⁸ while the other denied these seals any historical reality altogether, explaining them instead in purely semiotic terms.⁹

Is it possible, with the evidence presently available, to reach a better understanding of the city seals? This is rather unlikely in the case of the Ur examples, since those survive only as jar sealings, which is not enough to determine the nature of the administrative context in which they functioned. The case of the Uruk III seal is different, however, in that it is impressed on inscribed tablets, whose contents

7. Ibid., 49.

8. N. Yoffee, “The Late Great Tradition in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. E. Cohen et al. (Bethesda, 1993), 303–5. Cf. also *ibid.*, 304: “If one may regard the names of cities as part of the decorative fabric of the seals, then one is able to consider these extremely limited ‘scenes’ as seeking to convey an idea, specifically an idea of inclusivity among Mesopotamian city-states.” See also *idem*, “Too many chiefs? (or, Safe texts for the ’90s),” in *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* ed. N. Yoffee and A. Sherratt (Cambridge, 1993), 66: “Without claiming to explain the exact purpose of these city-seals, I do wish to raise the possibility that they may reflect neither political nor economic patterns of behavior. Indeed, it may make perfectly adequate sense to regard these seals, which record the names of various cities, as presenting an idea, specifically the idea of a common cultural structure among city-states that were politically independent.”

9. So P. Michalowski, “On the Early Toponymy of Sumer: A Contribution to the Study of Early Mesopotamian Writing,” in *kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, ed. A. F. Rainey (Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications 1; Tel Aviv, 1993), 125–28. See especially the following conclusions: “One may view these data as evidence of an otherwise unattested political league or trading association, or one may simply prefer to infer that the routing of goods was indicated on the closing mechanism by means of cylinder seals on clay and that this routing was routine, otherwise there would have been no need for a permanent seal to be cut with the city names integrated into the designs. It is unnecessary, in my view, to reconstruct political or socio-economic institutions in order to explain the data at hand; this is a needlessly complicated postulate for the situation we find. It is easier to propose a semiotic explanation of the ‘city seals’” (p. 128).

might potentially elucidate the background of the respective transactions. To be sure, a correlation between the seal and the tablets was sought already by Matthews. But, as I believe, further significant progress can still be made in this area.

Important new light on this whole issue is thrown by the recently republished archaic tablet MSVO 4, 15. This document, which was originally included in ATU 1 as no. 656, belongs to a group of illicitly excavated tablets that almost certainly come from the cite of Tell 'Uqair = ancient Urum.¹⁰ This identification is assured by the frequent mention in these tablets of the sign-group UR₂.HA. "RAD," a writing of the name of Urum.¹¹ What is so significant about this tablet is that it bears an impression of the *same* city-seal that appears on the Jemdet Nasr documents studied by Matthews.¹²

Writing about this document before the appearance of MSVO 4, Matthews was incredulous that it could have come from a site other than Jemdet Nasr.¹³ His reasons were the absence of other cases of identical sealings found on tablets from different sites¹⁴ and the fact that the tablet allegedly does not name the toponym UR₂.HA. "RAD". However, the toponym in question *does* in fact appear there, as is now made clear by Englund's hand-copy.

This new datum calls for a reexamination of all the pertinent sources. The Jemdet Nasr tablets with a city seal belong to a group of seventeen documents which are closely linked to each other by contents and structure.¹⁵ The documents form-

10. See M. W. Green, "Urum and Uqair," *ASJ* 8 (1986): 77-83; I. J. Gelb et al., *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus* (OIP 104; Chicago, 1991), 40-41; R. K. Englund, *Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Diverse Collections* (MSVO 4; Berlin, 1996), 9-14.

11. This toponym is later written UR₂×U₂, UR₂×A.HA, UR₂×HA, etc. See Steinkeller, "On the Reading and Location of the Toponyms ÚR×Ú.KI and A.HA.KI," *JCS* 32 (1980): 23-25; Green, *ASJ* 8 (1986): 77. The identification, in the archaic writing, of the last sign (= ZATU-432) as "RAD," which was suggested by Green, ATU 2, 264, is very doubtful. Most likely, ZATU-432 is a separate sign of unknown reading which, sometime during the archaic period, coalesced with A (= ZATU-1).

12. Englund, MSVO 4, 13 and pls. 8-9, no. 15.

13. MSVO 2, 36. See also idem, "Offerings to the Gods: Seal Impressions on Archaic Tablets," in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, ed. U. Finkbeiner et al. (Mainz, 1995), 392 ("... there is still room for doubt").

14. Actually, this phenomenon is not as unique as Matthews thinks. For example, impressions of the same seal of Saušatar of Mitanni survive both from Nuzi and Tell Brak. See I. L. Finkel, "Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984," *Iraq* 47 (1985): 193; N. J. J. Illingworth, "Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986," *Iraq* 50 (1988): 100, 102; D. L. Stein, "A Reappraisal of the 'Saušatar Letter' from Nuzi," *ZA* 79 (1989): 38, 45.

For this phenomenon, note also the following Ur III examples, brought kindly to my attention by Dr. Rudi Mayr: the seal of Babati, impressed on bullae from Puzriš-Dagan (BRM 3 37 and 38; B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* [New Haven, 1981], 250-54 no. 654) and on a tablet from Ešnunna (*JCS* 28 [1976] 178-79 TA 1931-T615); the seal of Úrim^{ki}-ki-dūg muhaldim, on tablets from Ur (UET 3 252) and Puzriš-Dagan (BIN 3 585); and the seal of ^dSuen-a-bu-šu sagi du₁₀-ús nam-dumu, on tablets from Ur (UET 3 242) and Puzriš-Dagan (Sigrist TENUŠ 210; PDT 2 916).

15. This was recognized first by K. Szarzynska, "The Sumerian Goddess INANA-KUR," in *Papers on Asia Past and Present*, ed. M. Mejer et al. (Orientalia Varsoviensia 1; Warsaw, 1987), 10 n. 7.

ing this uniform group are MSVO 1, 161–74, 176, 178, 180; the sealed ones among them are MSVO 1, 161, 163, 166–70, 172–74, 176, 178, and 180. As for their contents, all of the documents record quantities (usually identical) of figs, apples, wine (or grapes/raisins), and a certain fish product.¹⁶ Similar commodities also appear in the ‘Uqair tablet MSVO 4, 15.¹⁷ As Englund notes in reference to this document, “not only are these products the same as those known in accounts from Jemdet Nasr bearing the same seal impression, but also the final column contains notations exactly parallel to those in the final column of the Jemdet Nasr texts.”¹⁸

As they appear in the Jemdet Nasr texts, these notations (with the exclusion of certain variants¹⁹) are as follows:

NI.RU Inanna/dingir²⁰ 3 (≡) Unug.

In the corresponding ‘Uqair tablet (MSVO 4, 15) the same notations read:

UR₂.HA.“RAD” MAH×NA dingir 3 (≡) PAP Unug.

When discussing these phrases, Matthews was unable to reach any conclusions about their precise meaning, suggesting only that “the occurrence of UNUG_a on these tablets may signify the participation of Uruk itself in whatever transactions are being dealt with.”²¹ As I would suggest, an improved understanding of these notations is now possible. I submit that the phrase Inanna/dingir 3 Unug is to be translated “triple Inanna/deity of Uruk.”²² In all probability, the “triple Inanna/deity of Unug” is none other than the three forms of Inanna to whom offerings were

16. Written as: pēš “fig,” hašhur, “apple,” UKKIN+DIN, “jug (UKKIN) of wine/grapes/raisins (DIN),” and GA₂+“GEŠTUG,” the last item very likely representing the fish product /adaku’a/, usually written with the signs ZATU-173, 174, 180, 181 (see Steinkeller, Review of M. W. Green and H. J. Nissen, *Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk*, *BiOr* 52 [1995]: 701). In some instances, figs are measured in ZATU-735 (formally related to ÉŠ, “rope”), which may be an early writing of either níg-dù-a or še-er-gu, both meaning “string.” In two instances (MSVO 1, 172, 173), the food-stuffs also include DUG+AŠ (a type of beverage?) and ŠU₂ (meaning unknown).

17. These are: din, “wine/grapes/raisins,” pēš, “figs,” hašhur, “apples,” suhur, “carp,” ZATU-759+KU₆ (a fish product, possibly related to /adaku’a/), SAR (possibly to be read nisig, “vegetables”), plus two unknown items (ZATU-737+SU and ZATU-648), both measured in “jars” (DUG). While resembling the foodstuffs appearing in the other texts, this listing is sufficiently different to indicate a separate origin of the tablet in question (thus corroborating the conclusion that the tablet comes from Tell ‘Uqair, and not from Jemdet Nasr).

18. MSVO 4, 22.

19. In several texts, the list of foodstuffs is followed by various sign-groups, possibly representing personal names and titles: ŠU(vertical).KI.NUN (MSVO 1, 165, 166², 167, 170, 171, 172), EN.ŠE+SAR UD NI.RU en PAP 1(vertical) (MSVO 1, 169), en ‘x’ [. . .] (MSVO 1, 173), and ‘X.X’ ŠU (MSVO 1, 176). The poorly preserved text MSVO 1, 178 seems to have had a different structure altogether, but it ends in Unug and is sealed with the city seal. It possibly mentions en NI+RU in ii.

20. dingir replaces Inanna in MSVO 1, 167; possibly also in MSVO 1, 173.

21. MSVO 2, p. 38.

22. Szarzynska, “The Sumerian Goddess INANA-KUR,” 10 n. 7, speculated that the sign-group Inanna 3 is a writing of Innanna kur (for which see the following footnote), but, in my view, this is most unlikely.

regularly made in archaic Uruk: Inanna ḫú d(UD), “morning Inanna,” Inanna sig, “evening Inanna,” and Inanna NUN, “princely(?) Inanna.”²³

Accordingly, if one disregards the variants (whose meaning still eludes us), the contents of all these texts may be reduced to the following basic pattern:

x commodities (issued by) the city of NI.RU (= ancient Jemdet Nasr²⁴) /
Urum for the triple Inanna/deity of Uruk.

This new understanding of the tablets brings us to the question of the seal’s function. But we need first to examine the legend of the seal itself.

The seal is divided into two registers, which may originally have recorded as many as twenty toponyms. The names of some eleven toponyms now survive, of which the identifiable ones are Ur (Urim₂ = ŠEŠ.UNUG),²⁵ Larsa (UD.UNUG), Zabalām (MUŠ₃.UNUG), Urum₂ (UR₂.HA. “RAD”), BU.BU.NA₂,²⁶ and probably Kesh.²⁷

Matthews hypothesized that also Nippur, Uruk, and Kutha are named in the seal,²⁸ but these identifications—if not completely impossible—are extremely unlikely.²⁹ The latter three readings are clearly forced, as they were motivated by

23. See Szarzynska, “Offerings for the Goddess Inanna in Archaic Uruk,” *RA* 87 (1993): 7–26 (especially 8–22). Inanna NUN could alternatively be explained as “Inanna of Eridu/Enki.” There existed, in archaic Uruk, yet another form of Inanna, called Inanna kur, “Inanna of the mountains/Netherworld,” but no offerings were made to her. See Szarzynska, *RA* 87 (1993): 8.

24. For the identification of NI.RU as the ancient name of Jemdet Nasr, see Englund, *MSVO* 4, 12 n. 22; idem, “Grain Accounting Practices in Archaic Mesopotamia,” in *Changing Views on Ancient Near Eastern Mathematics*, ed. J. Höyrup (Berlin, forthcoming). Cf. also Steinkeller, review of *MSVO* 4 (*BSOAS* 62/1 [1999]: 115–17).

25. For the writing, see most recently Steinkeller, *BiOr* 52, 705 under no. 388, 710 under nos. 595–96.

26. BU.BU.NA₂ is probably to be read arina_x. See D. R. Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names* (AOS 74; New Haven, 1992), 122 n. 279; Steinkeller, *BiOr* 52, 699 under no. 58. This toponym appears also in the Uruk City List, line 14 and in an economic tablet from Uruk (A. Cavigneaux, *Bagh. Mitt.* 22 [1991]: 78, W 24004/3b). For the last attestation, see also below, p. 256 and n. 32.

27. This toponym was interpreted by M. Lambert, *RA* 64 (1970): 189, as either Umma or Akshak. Identification with Kesh was suggested by Green, *ASJ* 8 (1986): 77. Matthews, *MSVO* 2, 34–35, analyzes the grapheme in question as “two signs, perhaps the jar with lid.” The “jar” is more likely a “womb,” related formally to the “omega” symbol of Ninhursag = uterus with ovaries, for which see J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Austin, 1992), 146–47. The second sign is probably šU₂ (= ZATU-534). This writing is conceivably a precursor of KEŠ₃, which unquestionably appears on several of the Ur sealings (Matthews, *MSVO* 2, fig. 12, nos. 1, 5, 6, and 7), either in its complete form EN₂(=šU₂+AN).ŠAG₄ (nos. 5 and 6) or defectively as AN.ŠAG₄ (nos. 1 and 7). A possible meaning of the latter logogram is en₂ “incantation” (Akk. *šiptu*) + šag₄ “womb,” i.e., “the one of womb/birth incantations,” referring to Ninmah/Ninhursag, the goddess of Kesh. (Here note that the spelling EN₂.HIXGAD, for which see G. B. Gragg, “The Keš Temple Hymn,” *TCS* 3, 159, is a later—probably ED—development.) Unfortunately, the name of Kesh is not preserved in the Archaic City List, and so the identification of the grapheme in question as Kesh cannot be verified.

28. *MSVO* 2, 34–37.

29. The alleged occurrence of Nippur was sought by Matthews in a pair of signs which he analyzed as EN.NUN. While the identification of the first sign as EN is possible, the interpretation of the

Matthews' desire to harmonize the seal with the Uruk City List.³⁰ But, of course, there is no reason why these two documents should necessarily show an identical sequence of toponyms, for their respective purposes were quite different. Whereas the city seal attested to a specific political situation, limited to a particular time and place, the geographical list served as an exhaustive scholarly catalogue of all the major "Sumerian" cities, arranged hierarchically according to their size and importance. It is imperative, therefore, that the seal be treated with utmost caution, since any attempt to impose readings on it could distort its unique purpose.

How are we to explain the function of this seal, in the light of the information provided by the Jemdet Nasr and 'Uqair documents? As the later sealing practice had it, sealed documents were almost invariably receipts for movables, with the recipient acting as a sealing party.³¹ Such receipts would be deposited among the records of the issuing party, to serve as proofs of expenditures. If, as seems highly likely, the documents considered here are receipts as well, we would have to assume that the city seal identified the recipient of the foodstuffs destined as offerings for Inanna of Uruk. In other words, that person or persons acted as an official collector of such offerings. Since the seal is impressed on tablets both from NI.RU = Jemdet

second sign as NUN is very questionable. However, even if the signs were indeed EN.NUN, there would still be no reason to suspect that Nippur is meant here (the underlying assumption is that NUN stands for E₂, as in the so-called UD.GAL.NUN orthography of the ED period, but there is no evidence that this orthography was known already in Uruk III times). Here it is important to note that Nippur's name is spelled correctly (EN.E₂) in the contemporaneous Uruk City List, line 2 (for the interpretation of the second sign as E₂, see Steinkeller, *BiOr* 52, 700 under no. 142). The same writing also appears on at least one of the Ur sealings (MSVO 2, fig. 12, no. 1, probably also fig. 14, no. 16), as well as on a sealing from Uruk (*ibid.*, fig. 10b). In this connection, note further that the sign-group EN.NUN (if, in fact, this is the correct reading of the signs in question) is otherwise very common in Uruk III texts. See, e.g., "Officials," line 14 (ATU 3, 87) and the occurrences in economic tablets from Uruk, where it is often written as a ligature (ATU 2, 198 under no. 135; ATU 5, 119–20).

As for the occurrence of Uruk, the complicated sign which Matthews reads as UNUG is certainly not UNUG (ZATU-583). If anything, it is URU (cf. the Uruk IV forms of ZATU-597); for the sign-form, cf. also ATU 5, pl. 71 9579, *cd.*

The sign which Matthews interprets as Kutha could indeed be ZATU-219 (= ALIM) (see Steinkeller, *BiOr* 52, 701 under no. 219), but Kutha's name would be expected to be written ZATU-219.UNUG. The sign ZATU-219 alone could stand not only for Kutha, but also for Kish.

30. For this list, see R. K. Englund and H. J. Nissen, *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (ATU 3; Berlin, 1993), 145–50. Although Matthews does not say so explicitly, his reconstruction of the toponyms on the city seal apparently assumes that this document is a version of the Uruk City List. Such, at least, is the opinion of Englund, MSVO 4, 14 n. 37, who talks of the "version of this list contained in the Jemdet Nasr 'city seal.'" But, as I argue below, there is no reason to think that this is the case.

31. As a matter of fact, this is true of legal documents as well. The loan document is but a receipt for loan issued (silver or grain); the sale document, a receipt for price paid; the hire document, a receipt for wages paid; etc. For this point, see Steinkeller, "Archival Practices in Third Millennium Babylonia: Some General Considerations and the Specific Case of the Archives of Umma in Ur III Times," to appear in *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions*, ed. by A. Bowman and M. Brosius (Oxford, 2001).

Nasr and Urum = ‘Uqair, this necessarily means that its “owner” was based *outside* of either of these two cities, and that he represented, therefore, some supra city-state institution. As the facts can best be reconstructed, a representative of that institution traveled to NI.RU and Urum, collected the offerings for Inanna, and left behind receipts sealed with his official seal.

These conclusions, if correct, would obviously be of great importance, for they would provide us with the first tangible evidence of a pan-Babylonian organizational scheme in the Uruk III period. All one can say at present about this arrangement or “organization” is that it involved a number of major Babylonian cities and that it imposed on those cities an obligation to provide ritual offerings for the chief deity of Uruk. Among the cities belonging to this organization apparently were Ur, Larsa, Zabalani, Urum, BU.BU.NA₂, Kesh(?), and NI.RU = Jemdet Nasr. Very importantly, this system embraced the entire Babylonian alluvium, as shown by the inclusion in it of the northern Babylonian cities of Urum and NI.RU.

Unfortunately, the fact that the seal is preserved incompletely makes it impossible to determine whether NI.RU’s name was originally recorded on it. If it was not, we would find here an indication that many other cities, apart from those mentioned in the seal, may have been involved.

Further evidence for this organization may be provided by a fragmentarily preserved tablet from Uruk,³² which appears to be a list of slave-women that were donated to Inanna’s temple at Uruk (èš) by various cities.³³ Among those cities, the names of Ur, Larsa, and BU.BU.NA₂ survive, which, incidentally, are also named in the city seal.

Although our evidence attests only to ritual obligations on the part of the member cities, it does not exclude the possibility that the organization in question also had economic, as well as political and military objectives. However, it is important to keep in mind that no such evidence is likewise available for the Early Dynastic “Kengir League,” whose existence was so imaginatively postulated by Jacobsen.³⁴ With the data at hand, it appears unlikely that the latter organization—if it existed at all—could have amounted to much more than an amphictyonic arrangement of purely religious nature.

While agreeing broadly with the earlier interpretations, our understanding of the organizational scheme reflected in the city seal does, however, differ significantly in one respect. It now becomes clear that Uruk, rather than being merely one of the participating cities, was the focus and beneficiary of the system.³⁵ That

32. A. Cavigneaux, *Bagh. Mitt.* 22 (1991): 77, W. 24004/3b.

33. SAL.KUR ŠU(horizontal) èš (rev.). Cf. Englund’s description of this document: “a list of female slaves donated to Uruk cults by major Babylonian towns?” (MSVO 4, 14 n. 38).

34. Here it should be emphasized that this league remains largely hypothetical. The only evidence *suggesting* its existence is the bala institution of Ur III times, whose roots plausibly (but not necessarily) went back to the Pre-Sargonic period.

35. In this light, it is not surprising that the seal apparently does not name Uruk itself (see above, p. 254 and n. 29).

Uruk should enjoy such preferential treatment is not at all surprising. If one considers Uruk's paramount position in Late Uruk times—as evidenced in the physical size of Warka vis-à-vis other contemporaneous sites, the role Uruk played in the development of writing and scribal learning, and the archaeological record surviving from there—this is precisely the situation one might expect.

With all due caution, it may be suggested that the “organization” thus reconstructed was an antecedent of the later “Kengir League.” Although that amphictyonic organization remains a largely hypothetical construct, it would seem likely that, as indicated by the Ur III data pertaining to the so-called bala institution, its focus was the city of Nippur and its chief deity Enlil. This leads us to the unavoidable conclusion that, sometime in the beginning of the Early Dynastic period, the original Urukean organization underwent a dramatic transformation, by which its focal point was transferred from Uruk to Nippur. Such a development appears to be entirely plausible, for there exists independent evidence of the rise, roughly at that time, of Enlil to the position of the head of the Sumerian pantheon, which was concomitant with the decline of the importance of the cults of Enki and Inanna. Undoubtedly, this religious transformation reflected political changes which had taken place either at the end of the Uruk period or at the very beginning of Early Dynastic times: the ascendance of the city of Kish and its region to power, as a result of which the center of gravity of Babylonian politics had moved from the area of Uruk and Eridu to the region of Nippur.

This brings us, finally, to the issue of the city sealings from Ur, which provided some of the inspiration for Jacobsen's “Kengir League.” In light of what we now know about the Uruk III seal, it will not be unreasonable to assume that these sealings attest to a similar arrangement of amphictyonic nature. But around which particular city and cult did this arrangement center? The fact that the sealings seem to date to the ED I period³⁶ should probably favor the choice of Nippur, since it is likely that, already then, Nippur enjoyed the status of religious capital of Babylonia. But without any corroborating evidence, this whole question must remain open for now.

36. See, most recently, Matthews, *MSVO* 2, 43.

Sanctus Lugalbanda

H. L. J. VANSTIPHOUT

1. Introduction¹

1.1. The Sumerian word /ku(g)/ is usually translated as “shining, bright, clean, pure,” or “holy, sacred,” or “free (of claims), noble.”² In its first meaning it is frequently used for objects, for the body (often in connection with fragrant oils), for shining things (such as light or the face), and for the cultic status of a person. The third meaning is limited to legal practice; it is used for persons but also for real estate. It is the second meaning, “holy, sacred,” which interests us here. In general, it can be used in this sense for priests, kings, and gods, referring to their bodies, their activities, their qualities, their abodes, their possessions, etc. It is obvious that the differences between the first two meanings are not always clear-cut. Yet as an epithet³ for a person, the second meaning will generally be the correct one. And it is used relatively seldom as an epithet. The goddess most frequently referred to with the epithet ku(g) is Inana, whom we regularly meet as kug-^dinana. That this is an epithet rather than a description is shown by the uncommon, even irregular,

1. I was able to examine most of the tablets cited in this paper in the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia. Heartfelt thanks therefore go to the generosity of Prof. Åke Sjöberg, Curator of the Babylonian Section, who allowed me to quote from the unpublished pieces. The gist of this contribution formed part of invited lectures for the Departments of Near Eastern Studies and Comparative Literature of the University of Michigan, and for the Departments of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and Fine Arts of Harvard University in the spring of 1995.

2. See, e.g., *CAD* E, s.v. *ellu* (which is the Akkadian equivalent), 102–6. The meaning “bright, pure” combined, one supposes, with the aspect of “noble” is also responsible for a rather technical meaning of ku(g), viz. “precious metal,” which can be yellow (kug-sig₁₇ “gold”) or white (kug-bab-bar “silver”). The interminable discussion as to whether we are justified in translating ku(g) as an epithet of persons and some objects as “holy” is, to my mind, fruitless, irrelevant, and even nugatory, especially in the light of the often neglected fact that our “holy”/ “heilig” (Old English *hālig*, Gothic *hailag* = “holy,” whereas Old English *gehāl* and Gothic *hails* = “healthy”) is *etymologically* “whole, healthy,” as in “wholesome.” And yet since Ulfila’s time nobody has ever worried about the aptness of the word as a translation of either *sacer* or *sanctus* or both, or of Greek *hagios*. Moreover, the main point of my argument is that Lugalbanda’s career, his qualities, and his function make him into what we recognize as a “holy man” and that this typological identification does not depend on the way we guess ku(g) should be translated.

3. In contrast to a contingent description.

position of the adjective ku(g): the adjective ought to follow its noun. Where it does not—and the adjective ku(g) is almost the only adjective regularly so used—this always indicates a “frozen” adjective, or an epithet not to be separated from its noun or name. The only non-divine being referred to with the epithet ku(g) with relative frequency is Lugalbanda.

1.2. Who is Lugalbanda? The name literally means “small/young/junior (banda) king (lugal).” It does not have the connotation of “crown prince” or the like; that would be “king’s (eldest) son.” We suspect that the name itself might be a kind of epithet turned into a name.⁴

We have four types of evidence about him, to wit: (a) the *Sumerian King List*;⁵ (b) documents relating to his divine status, which starts in the Ur III period (ca. 2110–2004 B.C.E.);⁶ (c) later references to his heroic or legendary status;⁷ and (d) two long narrative poems in which he is the central hero. It is this last evidence which particularly concerns us.

According to the *Sumerian King List*, Lugalbanda was a king of the city of Uruk; his predecessor was king Enmerkar, the main personage in all the narratives that treat the *Matter of Aratta*,⁸ of which our Lugalbanda narratives are also part, and indeed he was Lugalbanda’s overlord. Lugalbanda was considered to be the human father of Gilgameš, whose mother was the goddess Nin-sun.

If they are “historical” personages at all, he and his dynasty might tentatively be placed somewhere between 3200 and 2800 B.C.E.; but we really know nothing⁹ about the dynasty’s history or historicity.

1.3. The Lugalbanda narratives are part of a larger cycle which we may call the *Matter of Aratta*. In two of its poems king Enmerkar and his enemy, the Lord of

4. This happens frequently in royal onomastics (or perhaps, more correctly, titulature). There are a number of royal names (throne names?) which consist of the combination en “lord” with a descriptive phrase indicating an aspect of royalty: en-me-bara-ge-si, “Lord (whose) transcendental power (me) fills (si) the throne-dais (barag)”; en-SUĜ-kešda-na, “Lord (wearing) the turban (SUĜ-kešda, lit. “the bound crown”) of heaven (an-a(k)).”

5. This “historiographic” document was drawn up during the Isin period (ca. 2000–1790 B.C.E.). See the magnificent edition in Jacobsen (1939). P. Michalowski (1983) evaluates and interprets the work as a conscious description of the *idea* of historical reality, and thus more a piece of ideology than of history.

6. See Wilcke 1987, 117–21, §§1–3.

7. See Wilcke 1987, 131, §4.2.

8. For an overview, see Vanstiphout 1983 and 1995.

9. With the exception of a “contemporaneous” inscription of Enmebaragesi of Kish, who, according to the literary tradition, was roughly coeval with, or slightly older than, Gilgameš. This would put the dynasty at the slightly lower date of between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E., for which there are also other grounds. Still, the historicity (or not) and the precise location in time of these heroic (and tragic: even the young dying “god” Dumuzi is linked to the dynasty in the so-called historiographic document known as the King List!) rulers has no relevance for the understanding and appreciation of the literary traditions about them. Would a historical Arthur imply a historical Morgan le Fay or Sir Pellinore? Does the undoubted historicity of Charlemagne influence our interpretation of the steed Bayard?

Aratta, are the main actors, and Lugalbanda is not even mentioned.¹⁰ In contrast, the twin stories about Lugalbanda clearly revolve only around Lugalbanda. Still, both the setting at the beginning and the solution at the end imply and indeed present the same framework of a contest between Enmerkar and his opponent. The material we possess for these tales is much alike in shape, quality, and distribution. What we have is mainly Old Babylonian, but one tale¹¹ had a version or a fore-runner in Ur III times. Indeed, it is plausible that the cycle originated in Ur III times, since the dynasty then ruling over southern Mesopotamia traced its origin to the rulers of Uruk. The compositions were held in high regard: there are well-written exemplars of the complete text, as well as partial editions on good four-column or single-column tablets; there are very few exercise extracts. The material comes mainly from Nippur, although Ur has yielded some very fine pieces as well, and several other sites have provided a few additional fragments.

2. *The Story—or Stories*

2.1. One of the tales, here referred to as LB II, or *Lugalbanda and the Imdugud Bird*, was edited in an exemplary fashion by Wilcke (1969).¹² The other poem, LB I, or *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*, preceded LB II, since it shows the beginning of the conflict into which Lugalbanda's adventures are woven, and it seems to have no real conclusion. Unfortunately, there is no edition as yet of LB I, although a number of specialist studies allows us to reconstruct much of the story.¹³

A single outer frame encompasses both stories. This frame is a rather abstract one. The story goes thus:

Enmerkar undertakes a military campaign to subdue Aratta. On the march towards Aratta, Lugalbanda is abandoned by his comrades. He manages to survive, to acquire special powers, and to find his comrades again, in time to be instrumental in breaking the deadlock caused by Enmerkar's ineffectual siege of Aratta, and in bringing about in this manner the ultimate submission of that city to Uruk.

10. Or is he? The central part of *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* consists of the seven journeys a messenger has to undertake between Uruk (i.e., Sumer) and Aratta (over seven mountain ranges) in order to deliver a triple challenge, three seemingly unsolvable riddles, and their unexpected solutions. It does not take a mathematical genius to see that the "magic number" seven is thus obtained mechanically. One of the requirements of the messenger is that he be "miraculously swift of foot"—which happens to be precisely the supernatural power Lugalbanda acquires during his tribulations.

11. The poem here indicated as LB I. Note that its twin, LB II, has two (bilingual) fragments from the Kuyunjik collection, which is basically the royal archive and library of the Assyrian kings of the first millennium B.C.E. This might seem unexceptional in view of the enduring fame of Enmerkar in later tradition, but, in fact, it happens only very rarely that a classical Sumerian composition survives the commonly presumed Kassite literary revolution in the latter half of the second millennium B.C.E.

12. Note also the following basic reviews and/or review articles: Bauer 1973; Civil 1972; Falkowitz 1983; Hruška 1974; Jestin 1970; Klein 1971; Kramer 1971; Pettinato 1975; Sauren 1973.

13. See mainly Alster 1976 and 1990; Hallo 1983. Wilcke 1969 gives an important number of passages; also Cohen 1973 (Introduction, pp. 4–25), Falkowitz 1983, and Kramer 1971 adduce elements for a reconstruction.

This unified and unifying frame, to my mind, clinches the argument for regarding the two narratives as one story to be told and traduced in two installments. Despite both the ingenuity of the defenders of the “two poems” theory,¹⁴ and the unmistakable way in which the ancients themselves treated the two halves as separate “tablets” or volumes, it *is* one story. Put somewhat succinctly,¹⁵ my arguments are the following.

(a) As two independent poems, LB I has no ending, and LB II has no beginning.

(b) The opening scenes in LB I mean not merely to explain how Lugalbanda came to be abandoned but also ultimately to prepare us for his miraculous return with just the right kind of supernatural power needed by the Urukians at this juncture. If the scheme of the framework were torn asunder, the strong parallelism or reciprocity between the beginning of LB I and the finale of LB II would lose its relevance and its very logical and smooth progression towards a resolution at the end of the second installment of a difficulty introduced in the beginning of the first.

(c) The abstract scheme of the framework is nearly identical with the frameworks of the two narratives that have Enmerkar as their hero, viz. *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*¹⁶ and *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdāna*¹⁷—but *only if* the Lugalbanda story is understood as a whole.

(d) The references, formal and conceptual, between the two texts are so obvious and permeating that LB II makes little sense without LB I; but what is perhaps even more important is the fact that both texts constantly refer to the framework as such, and as a united framework.

(e) Lastly, although our competence in Sumerian narrative poetry is not so great as we would wish it to be, we can identify some strikingly close stylistic and formal correspondences between LB I and LB II that are not shared by the Enmerkar stories.¹⁸

14. Wilcke 1969: 5–8 marshalls the arguments in favour of the unity of the two narratives but comes to the conclusion that the matter cannot be settled as yet. This position invalidates a number of points raised in the long refutation by Kramer 1971, which, to be fair, starts from Wilcke’s reconstruction and interpretation of the plot of *Lugalbanda and the Indugud Bird* as such, not merely from his pp. 5–8. Alster 1990: 63 n. 17 seems to misunderstand Wilcke. Wilcke’s original sentence is a query, not a statement, and it goes: “Sind es zwei selbständige Epen, die in einem Zyklus aufeinander folgen, oder gehen sie ohne Füge ineinander über?” Wilcke then continues: “Diese Frage muss solange der Schluss von ‘Lugalbanda im Finstersten des Gebirges’ nicht enthalten ist, offen bleiben . . .” Falkowitz 1983: 104f. actually argues for two independent poems, but cut up in a *different* way, thus going thoroughly against the ancient tablet division.

15. The matter deserves a renewed and detailed treatment, not in the last place because of our growing understanding of the poem’s immanent and overt structural features. This is not the place to do so.

16. For this text see Kramer 1952, Jestin 1957, and Cohen 1973. See Jacobsen 1987 for the most recent translation.

17. Edited as Berlin 1979. See also the reviews Behrens 1982 and Heimpel 1981.

18. This matter too deserves full and detailed treatment. But at least one hint can be given: both Lugalbanda stories show a penchant for mixing relatively long “descriptive” or “explanatory” passages

For all these reasons, I cannot concur with Alster's proposed analogy¹⁹ with the Homeric poems. Surely the "relationship" between the Iliad and the Odyssey is different in both intent and structure. The analogy would only apply if the goal of Odysseus' travels were not Ithaca but Achilles' tent before Troy, and if Odysseus brought back some miraculous or unexpected power which would break the deadlocked situation of the Greek army.

Meanwhile the fact remains that our story is much more about Lugalbanda's adventures than about the conflict between Uruk and Aratta and its resolution. But a short presentation will show that the two cannot really be separated.

2.2. The first part, *Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*, is still unedited;²⁰ it runs as follows:

It describes how Lugalbanda, the eighth and youngest brother of the commanders of Enmerkar's host, falls ill in the mountain regions. His brothers leave him in a cave in the mountains with some provisions, and promise to take him with them on their return journey—if he should still be alive. Lugalbanda spends a whole night in prayer to a succession of great luminaries: the setting sun, the evening star, the moon, and the rising sun. He recovers, leaves the cave, and manages to stay alive by catching wild animals, (re)inventing fire and the cooking of bread and other food, while not forgetting to offer part of this food to the gods who have protected him. Night comes again; the powers of darkness arrive and presumably threaten the hero, who is saved by the reappearance of the morning star and the sun. The text breaks off near the end, so that we do not know precisely how this first part of his adventures ended.

2.3. The second half, *Lugalbanda and the Imdugud Bird*,²¹ begins at a point not far from the end of the first story in spatial and temporal terms.

Lugalbanda seems to be stranded at the foot of mount Sabum, in southern Iran. He stumbles on the nest of the Imdugud-bird, and finds that the bird's young is all alone in the nest. He takes it out, treats it to fine food and generally takes good care of it. Upon returning, the parents are upset at not finding their young, and consequently very happy when Lugalbanda suddenly produces it in fine condition. Imdugud wants to recompense Lugalbanda with all kinds of fine gifts; Lugalbanda refuses everything but superhuman speed. Thus equipped, he very soon rejoins his brothers at their ineffectual siege of Aratta; he keeps silent about his newly acquired quality. Enmerkar is in a quandary; he wants a messenger to go to Inana in

with the flow of narrative: the descriptions of sleep and dream in LB I; the "Hymn to the Beer Goddess" and the description of the Imdugud bird in LB II. This technique is absent from the Enmerkar stories.

19. Alster 1990: 63.

20. See above, n. 13.

21. Often referred to as *Lugalbanda and Enmerkar*. Imdugud is probably the correct reading of the Sumerian name of this creature, who later in Akkadian tradition and literature is called *Anzû* and becomes the main opponent of the warrior god Ninurta in the *Anzû Poem*, for which see Vogelzang 1988.

Uruk and ask her for a decision: shall Aratta submit to Uruk or not? No one dares to undertake the lonesome and dangerous journey. Then Lugalbanda volunteers; he travels to Uruk and brings back Inana's solution (she prescribes a magic ritual that will grant bloodless victory to Enmerkar) in an incredibly short time. Aratta submits; its beauty is praised, as is Lugalbanda's heroism—or holiness.

3. *Lugalbanda's career*

3.1. *Structure: "rites de passage"*

It is easy to recognize here an almost classical formulation of the *rites de passage*.²² Separation, transition and (re)integration, or, if you prefer, the preliminary, liminary and postliminary moments are obviously there in the tripartition which structures the story. The encompassing *passage* structure (dereliction by companions → sojourn in the wilderness → return) is clear. But much more is at hand.

3.1.1. First, the phase of transition—the sojourn in the wilderness—is actually the central subject or topic of the text as a whole. This phase is long and highly articulated. It consists of two main episodes, providing the redactional rationale for dividing the story into two parts. Furthermore, both episodes are very elaborate, so much so that each of them can be broken down further into subsections. And these subsections themselves provide replications of the tripartite passage structure. Such a phenomenon was foreseen and even explicitly indicated by Van Gennep himself,²³ but in our case this replication has a specific shape and function. That is to say, the central, or liminary, part (sojourn in the wilderness) is subdivided into several stages that repeat the tripartite structure and use details which are known from sundry manifestations of the *rite de passage*. Thus one can recognize at least four replications of the general structure, arranged in a linear and progressive sequence.

(i) First there is the "healing" episode. The *separation* is obvious: Lugalbanda is left while he is deadly ill, and his companions somewhat ceremoniously prepare a resting place for him:

A couch they prepared for him as a nest;
Dates, figs, cheeses,
Sweetmeats as for the ill

...

(All this) they put by him as a dish prepared for the sacred, the most precious place.²⁴

22. See in general Van Gennep's classic study 1966 (1908). I have used the English translation (1966). The structural feature of the poems as *rites de passage* was first noticed by Robert Falkowitz 1983: 105. Since he did not work out the details, one can have some sympathy with Alster's scepticism (Alster 1990: 66 n. 28). But a close reading of the central episode as one big *passage* divided into four subsections, as will be presented here, refutes Alster's objection.

23. Van Gennep 1966: 11.

24. Lines 88–91 LB I:

88. nig₂-dag gud₃-gin₇ mu-na-se₃-ge-ne
89. zu₂-lum ^{gis}peš₃ X-du₇ ga-ar₂-ra ga-ra-[]

Also they promise that they will take him back to Uruk—dead or alive—on their return journey.

The *transition* is articulated in (a) a fourfold series of prayers,²⁵ (b) sleep with a dream predicting safety and even a new status,²⁶ and (c) recovery²⁷ with the help of Utu:

Then the righteous one, who soothes Enlil's heart [Utu?], grew the plant of life;
The swift stream, the foster-mother from the hills, brought the water of life.
The plant of life he [Lugalbanda] placed in his mouth.
The water of life he scooped up.²⁸

The *reintegration* takes the form of Lugalbanda regaining his life-force by securing subsistence and offering a feast to the gods who have succoured him.

(ii) To be sure, the specific separation in the first episode was the separation of Lugalbanda from his companions; but, in fact, it was also the threat of the most absolute separation: that from life itself. In the second episode we again meet with a threatened separation: that from the normal and ordered universe. The location, a desolate region in the wilderness, amply indicates this. What is more, Lugalbanda, though he has reentered the realm of the living, is now threatened by the forces of darkness and chaos. In a remarkable study Franz Wiggermann has analyzed the concept (and motif) of these dark forces.²⁹ His central idea is (correctly) that the

90. nīg₂-gu₇-gu₇ nīg₂-lu₂-tu-ra i₃-gu₇-u₃-ne

...

94. 𒊩banšur ki-kug ki-kal-kal-la-aš se₃-ke-gin₇ mu-na-ab-gub-bu-ne

Note that (a) the nest in line 88 is an unmistakable proleptical allusion to Imdugud's nest in LB II; (b) that the "sacred place" in line 94 is certainly to be taken as the common euphemism for the grave; by that token we may also read the food-offerings as a *kispum*.

25. See below, section 3.2.

26. Vanstiphout 1998.

27. In fact one recognizes here a replication within the replication. By the combination of prayers and dream the reintegration is requested and then granted; on the level of action (healing sleep with a favourable dream) the reintegration is illustrated by the actual cure and the consequent securing of subsistence, and sanctioned by the feast offered to the gods. This type of telescoping or specular ("mirroring" in the sense that a mirror repeats its image endlessly) narrative technique, for which one can now fruitfully consult L. Dällenbach, *Le récit spéculaire* (Paris, 1977), is frequently used in Sumerian poetry; it is rarely noted, however, and even more rarely understood for what it actually is. A splendid (but totally unrelated) example of this technique in the grandest manner has been discussed by the present writer in Vanstiphout 1992b.

28. Lines 261–64 (LB I):

261. u₄-bi-a zi-du ša₃-kuš-u₃ ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ u₂* nam-ti-la i-im-mu₂

262. id₂-ḫal-ḫal-la ama-ḫur-sag-ga₂-ke₄ a nam-ti-la im-tum₃

263. u₂-nam-ti-la-ka ka nam-mi-in-gub-bu

264. a-nam-ti-la-ka dub nam-[mi]-in-rig₇

The u₂ in line 261 is an emendation. Only one manuscript (the Yale text) has a sign before nam-ti-la; but the sign is u₃ instead of the expected u₂!

29. Wiggermann 1996.

Mesopotamian *Weltanschauung* posits an unbridgeable chasm between the complex of order, civilization, divine rule, ordinary humanity—in short, (ideal) Sumerian culture—on one side, and disorder, upheaval, lack of control, unruly demonic powers, irrational savagery—in short, everything that poses a threat to the idyllic *Pax Sumerica*—on the other. For these inimical powers Wiggermann has coined the felicitous term “The Shadow Side.” It is precisely this Shadow Side which now threatens Lugalbanda, and tries to impede his return to civilization.

Although we can hardly understand the difficult last part of the first Lugalbanda story,³⁰ it is probable that the *passage* structure is repeated there as well. Lugalbanda is still separated from the civilized world; the manner in which he counters the threat, again with the help of the luminary gods, is also a transitional or liminary stage. In any case, he ends up in a new situation, and a new territory.

(iii) He now arrives in liminal territory *par excellence*: the regions bordering on the “civilized” world as we know it, whence probably the more or less precise geographical identification.³¹ This is real border country in all senses, for it lies close to the everyday world, but is nonetheless peopled by beings from the shadow side, such as the bird Imdugud.

In this episode something quite extraordinary happens. While Lugalbanda at this moment is still in liminal territory, he is, so to speak, on the road back to re-integration into his society; furthermore, Lugalbanda himself applies the *passage* technique quite consciously at this point. He takes the young Imdugud from its nest, prepares a feast, and adorns the fledgling. When Imdugud and his wife return from the hunt, the nest is eerily and ominously silent:

When the bird stalled,
 When Imdugud stalled,
 And screamed towards his nest,
 His young gave no answering call from the nest!
 Again the bird screamed towards his nest
 But the young gave no answering call from the nest.
 Up till then, whenever the bird had screamed towards his nest
 The young had always given an answering call from the nest.
 But now, when the bird screamed towards his nest
 The young gave no answering call from the nest.³²

But when they finally arrive, they see the young bird in its nest, sated, well cared for, and, one presumes, happy. Thereupon Lugalbanda appears and tells them what he has done—with an explicit allusion to the “inverted” integration of the young

30. See n. 13. The latter part of LB I is under intensive study right now; since we do not have the end of the story, it is better not to anticipate our results, except in the most general terms.

31. Mount Sabum, in southwestern Iran. See Wilcke 1969: 29–40 for the real or, in any case, realistically presented geographical contours of this episode.

32. Lines 68–77 (LB II); see Wilcke 1969: 98–101. Although a new study of the complete poem is forthcoming, all quotes from LB II in the present contribution refer to Wilcke’s splendid edition.

Imdugud.³³ In return for restoring the young bird to its parents, he asks to be incorporated into Imdugud's society. And so it happens; Imdugud offers him a number of superhuman qualities or gifts, which by right are in Imdugud's special power. Lugalbanda refuses everything but superhuman speed, alike unto that of Imdugud himself. Thus Lugalbanda succeeds in partaking partially of the world of the superhuman powers by accepting Imdugud's young into his own society in a ritually prescribed way. It is clear that Lugalbanda at this point has himself become a liminal figure: nominally he is situated between this world and the Shadow Side; and he partakes of both worlds.

(iv) *(Re)integration* is the topic of the fourth episode in the over-arching³⁴ *passage* structure. Lugalbanda's return is presented as happening very suddenly:

As when somebody out of heaven alights on earth
Lugalbanda suddenly stood in the midst of the array of his companions.³⁵

Abruptly Lugalbanda reappears in the midst of the troops, who are still besieging Aratta without any effect. Here we have again an inversion of the scheme: Instead of their fetching him upon their return, Lugalbanda has returned to his friends. He has joined them to their utter amazement. But he is greeted with mistrust and disbelief. They do not understand this sudden return, and they do not believe his explanations:³⁶

"What is this, Lugalbanda, that you are back?
The troop left you as if you had fallen in combat!"³⁷

...

"How did you come back from the hills, where no one travels alone?
From there no one could return to civilization by himself!"³⁸

...

Lugalbanda's peers and companions
dismissed in their heart the words he spoke.³⁹

33. Lines 126–28 (LB II), Wilcke 1969: 104–5. Lugalbanda says to Imdugud:

"May your wife be my mother !
May you be my father!
And I will gladly receive the young into the company of my brethren!"

The point is that he has already done so: by feeding and talking care of the young he has assimilated it to his society.

34. Namely, the structure: Separation from Friends → Wilderness → Return.

35. Lines 222–23 (LB II).

36. There is a marvelously parallel passage in the first chapters of Jules Romains' magnum opus *Les hommes de bonne volonté*, part xvi, "*Verdun*."

37. Lines 227–28 (LB II).

38. Lines 231–32 (LB II).

39. Lines 244–45 (LB II).

Yet, in the end, they lovingly take him back, and they seal the reintegration with a feast. The *passage* has been completed.

3.1.2. This feast highlights one of the most striking crimson threads running through this very rich texture: that of the feast or (communal) meal. Van Gennep already marked the meal of communion as a characteristic feature which symbolizes, effectuates and sanctions the reintegration.⁴⁰ The significance of this motif and its function of incorporation into a number of heroic adventures and related poetic environments has been indicated in a masterful recent study by J.-J. Glassner.⁴¹ In our case this rather transparent and not always well-articulated motif is used in a very subtle manner: over and over again, in the varying contexts, it takes on new shades of meaning. In combination these points of sustenance-in-repose repeat and illustrate the sequence and the telicity of the different phases and forms of the transition of the hero from one stage to the other.

(i) In the first instance it is clear that the food left by the companions at the side of the gravely ill Lugalbanda is meant as a *viaticum* or a funeral meal.⁴² This is strikingly confirmed by the fact that after the series of prayers this food is replaced by the plant-and-water-of-life, which the gods themselves mete out.⁴³ This episode can be explained very plausibly as meaning that (“human”) food first denotes separation; but then afterwards (“divine”) food brings about incorporation: his friends “buried” him; the gods brought him back to life.

(ii) In the next episode, which is strongly reminiscent of Robinson Crusoe,⁴⁴ Lugalbanda rediscovers fire-making, hunting and cooking. Divinely inspired by means of a dream,⁴⁵ he now prepares a feast for the gods. This theme receives extensive treatment. First, he reinvents the making of *fire*:

Shining flints he took in hand
and struck them together.⁴⁶
. . . ⁴⁷ he put in an open space.

40. Van Gennep 1966: 29: “The rite of eating and drinking together, *which will be frequently mentioned in this book*, is clearly a rite of incorporation, of physical union, and has been called a sacrament of communion” (my italics).

41. Glassner 1990. See also Vanstiphout 1992b.

42. See n. 24.

43. See above, with n. 28 (p. 265).

44. As neatly observed by Bendt Alster (Alster 1990: 65). With as much justification one could point to Jules Verne’s *L’île mystérieuse* for the motif of the abandoned one who reinvents just about everything necessary for survival on his own, but with fullest confidence in the Supreme Being. The implied parallel between nineteenth-century ideology of positivist technological “progress” and Sumerian cultural attitudes is tempting, but, in view of the stark cynicism and overwhelming humanism of, for example, the Disputations, it is probably misleading.

45. This dream is very interesting in its own right. See my study in Vanstiphout 1998, in which I argue that the dream is the precise moment of Lugalbanda’s election by the gods or, at any rate, of his realization that he has been elected.

46. Translation highly speculative.

47. Tinder?

With the hard flint he struck a spark.
This fire shone up as daylight over the empty plain.⁴⁸

Then he discovers the art of *baking*:

He had never learned to bake bread; he knew not what an oven is;
Yet with seven pieces of charcoal he baked the dough;
The dough kept baking by itself.⁴⁹

Then he reinvents the art of *hunting*:

As the red-brown bisons, the mountain bisons, were trotting in the plain
He wanted to catch one *in a trap*.
He tore out a juniper⁵⁰ tree by its roots, and cut its branches.
Those roots, which are like long rushes in the plain,
Holy Lugalbanda cut with his knife.
And thus he fettered the red-brown bison, the mountain bison.⁵¹

And so he is able to put a sumptuous meal before the gods:

When the sun rose . . .
Lugalbanda [invoked] Enlil.⁵²
An, Enlil, Enki and Ninḫursag
He seated for a meal near the shambles.
There, in the mountain land, where he had prepared the place,
He brought the food, he offered these first fruits:

48. Lines 283–87 (LB I):

283. i₃-zalag-ga šu im-ma-an-ti-en
284. teš₂-ta ḫe₂-em-ra-ra-a-ta
285. U₃.BAPPIR.LA.MA.RA.SIG edin-e ba-ni-in-ku₄
286. ^{na}KA.SAL.LA izi bi₂-in-[]
287. izi-bi ša₃-sig-ga u₄-gin₇ mu-na-an-e₃

49. Lines 288–90 (LB I):

288. ninda-gug₂-duḫ nu-zu im-šu-rin-na nu-zu
289. ne-mur-imin-ta ninda-gi-izi-eš-de₂-a ba-ra-an-duḫ
290. ninda ni₂-bi-a en-na-am₃ šeg₆-šeg₆

One source (L = UM 29-16-433, unpubl.) adds four partly broken lines between 288 and 289.

50. This is the *šedu* tree. Is the identification correct?

51. Lines 304–9 (LB I):

304. am-si₄ am-kur-ra u₂-a su₈-ba-bi
305. diš-am₃ []-dim-ma-na im-ma-ra-an-dab₅
306. pa-še-dug₃-kur-ra ur₂-ba mi-ni-in-bu-bu pa-ba mi-ni-in-suḫ-suḫ
307. ^{gi}ši-re₉-¹na¹-bi ^uA.U₄.SAKAR-gid₂-da-a-ša₃-ke₄
308. kug-^dlugal-ban₃-da gir₂-ta ba-ra-an-šab
309. am-si₄ am-kur-ra saman-e bi₂-in-la₂

52. These two lines are found in only two MSS: N 1594 and 3 N-T 919, 467 = *SLFN* 8.

Dark beer, wine, white beer,
 All kinds of liquor which please the palate,
 He poured over the plain as fresh water.
 He cut the meat of the red-brown goat;
 He roasted brown bread over the fire for them.
 He made the fragrant smoke rise up to them as incense put on a fire.⁵³

It is manifest that this feast is presented as a regular libation combined with a burnt offering.

(iii) It is as yet not clear whether the final episode of LB I also contains a repast scene.

(iv) On the other hand, the repast Lugalbanda prepares for the young of the Imdugud bird is emphasized:

Lugalbanda, wise and deft as he is,
 Adds to the sweet tidbits fit for gods
 In good measure the finest condiments.
 He kneads honey into the dough, and double the amount.
 This he put before the fledgling, Imdugud's young;
 He fed it on freshly dried meat, and pickled mutton;
 He enticed its mouth with baked meats.
 Then he put the young of Imdugud back in the nest,
 Applied kohl to its eyes,
 Put *seeds*⁵⁴ of the white cedar before its beak,
 And crumbled dried fat over its head.⁵⁵

The last quatrain shows that the meal is accompanied by body care. This feature is also known from the general *rite de passage* literature; but it is also well known as an essential element of the hospitality ritual.⁵⁶ At the same time, the *viaticum* motif is

53. Lines 365a–75 (LB I):

- 365a. ^dutu nam-ta-e₃-aš 'X' []
 365b. lugal-ban₃-da-mu ^den-lil₂-le 'zi'¹-[]
 366. an ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-^hur-sag-ga₂-ke₄
 367. si-sag-ta ^{giš}bun-na im-da-ni-in-dur₂-ru
 368. kur-ra ki-gar-ra mu-un-ak
 369. ^{giš}bun ba-ni-in-gar ne-sag ba-ni-in-de₂
 370. kaš-gig₂ kurun ziz₂-babbar
 371. geštin nag-nag gu₂-me-ze₂ dug₃-ga
 372. edin-na a-šed₁₃-še₃ im-ma-ni-in-de₂-de₂
 373. uzu-maš₂-si₄-ke₄ giri₂ bi₂-in-ak
 374. ur₅-nig₂-gig₂ izi im-mi-in-sig₃
 375. na-izi-si-ga-gin₇ i-bi₂ bi₂-in-mu₂

54. The text has “twigs.” One wonders whether “seeds” are meant, as is known from the general Middle Eastern custom of offering the guests fragrant and succulent seeds to chew after a meal.

55. Lines 50–60 (LB II).

56. See Glassner 1990: passim. The motif is also important in the *Adapa* story.

reused here in an *inverted* sense, since the parents may be thought to suppose that their offspring is dead, but the sumptuous feast that Lugalbanda has prepared proves that it is alive and doing well; the feast is a symbolic expression of the fact that the young bird is alive. Incidentally, this feature also reinforces the link between LB I and LB II.

Furthermore, this feast leads to the “recompense”; Lugalbanda asks for and receives the superhuman power of swiftness, which will enable him to meet his brethren again as well as to become the necessary mediator between the king and his goddess Inana. And it is surely not a coincidence that this passage is introduced by the lines:

No traveling [*provisions did he take with him*];
He only took his weapon.
In the air Imdugud flew;
On earth Lugalbanda ran. In the air Imdugud looked up and saw the troop;
On earth Lugalbanda looked up and saw the dust raised by the marching troop.⁵⁷

(v) Finally, the *reintegration episode* uses the motif thrice. In a first instance, the brothers are astounded that Lugalbanda—who was without food—has survived:

“You were unable to eat the wholesome cream of the byre;⁵⁸
You were unable to drink the pure milk of the stall.
How did you manage to return from the mountains, where no one can travel alone,
And from where no one can return to civilization by himself?”
Again his brothers and companions pressed him with questions without end:
“The mountain brooks may be mothers of abundance,
But their banks are remote from where the water is—⁵⁹
How could you drink from them, how did you get to the water?”⁶⁰

It is clear that the companions are convinced that the absence of food would normally have meant separation from life itself. Lugalbanda’s reply is intriguing; he lies:

“The mountain brooks are mothers of abundance
Though their banks are remote from the water.
But *I slid down their sides(?)*, and drank as from a water skin.
I howled like the wolf, and I ate plants.
As the wood pigeon I picked over the earth, and ate acorns.”⁶¹

Still, despite their disbelief, the companions accept him again in their midst:

57. LB II 203ff.

58. Somewhat unclear; does it mean: “. . . as we can do”; or is it: “. . . when we left you, you were not able to even . . .”?

59. In the mountains, the streams run in deep canyons so that the water cannot be reached from the banks.

60. LB II 229ff.

61. LB II 239ff. Lugalbanda’s reply is manifestly nonsense. He does not betray the secret; and this silence was ordered by Imdugud himself. See below.

As if he were the chick of a gam-gam bird⁶² still in its nest,
 They gave him food and drink,
 And thus they chased away the *weakness* of holy Lugalbanda.⁶³

Although we have not identified the bird in question, line 248 is an unmistakable allusion to the episode where Lugalbanda cares for the young of Imdugud. Line 250 on the other hand takes us back to the very beginning of Lugalbanda's sojourn in the wilderness. And the link between these two passages is line 249, which deals with food and drink!

It is very plausible to interpret this reintegration scene as a poetic reworking and even extension of the concept of the meal which sanctions and symbolizes the reintegration. This brings us to a general feature of the manner in which the *rite de passage* is used as the core of the piece: this happens by way of a conscious poetical transformation.

3.1.3. For it cannot be denied that this reintegration scene, which, after all, deals with a subtopic, albeit a central one, of the whole story, consists of a poetic/narrative reworking of a cultic or sociological motif, which reworking lays the foundation for the story. The intrinsically simple scheme of separation → liminality → reintegration is not only *sequentially* repeated; it is also *hierarchically* repeated. The long sojourn in the liminal regions itself consists of a series of smaller *passages*, with their own structure and meaning. Moreover, these reworkings of the basic scheme show a surprising variation. The motif is reversed as well as applied directly: Lugalbanda's care for Imdugud's young functions as a mirror image of his (Lugalbanda's) own earlier tribulations; later, on his return, it is referred to again on the textual, as well as on the situational level. A minute analysis of the poetic strategies that are at hand here would take us too far astray.⁶⁴ But the fact that it happens here, and in this manner, has some further relevant implications.

First, it means that the poet is fully conscious of the poetic possibilities of this structure. And this, in turn, means that he experiences and uses the originally ritualistic scheme as material, or as an instrument, or both—but not as the *substance* of his poem.

A second implication, which follows from the first, is that the *rite de passage* no longer functions as an isolated, independent whole. It becomes part of a larger literary structure, and its details are worked out according to the requirements and intentions of that larger structure. In other words, however clear and transparent the liminality process, the poeticization of only *this* structure cannot have been the

62. Not identified.

63. LB II 248ff. The last line is somewhat unsatisfying: Lugalbanda was healed a long time ago, and by his own efforts though with a little help from his gods. A late and clumsy addition? Or does it mean that Lugalbanda is still weakened from the arduous journey? Or must we understand that they assume that Lugalbanda is still weak? Or is he dissembling here as well?

64. But such an analysis will certainly be of the highest importance for a better understanding of Standard Sumerian literary technique and practice.

poet's only intention. The poem is not a literalized rite, nor the literary description of a sociological process *per se*. On the contrary, it is a poetic composition which uses, among other material, a sociological process in order to construct its own immanent structure.

Third, there is the matter of the seemingly exaggerated emphasis on food and eating. This too is an example of what the poet intended with his creation. Food, and consequently eating, is presented here as the prime symbol of the problem inherent in the *passage* structure. This is the reason why it is used so frequently and in so many modes. And in a way, the poet seems to want to lead us up the garden path in this respect; it appears that Lugalbanda's main aim is simply to stay alive; the important role of fasting and abstention in most ritual *passages* notwithstanding, this rather rationalist poet seemingly points out that in this case food is of prime importance. But at the same time it is clear that even this is not the real subject; Lugalbanda's "meaning" cannot be restricted to the mere feat of staying alive under impossible circumstances.

And finally, the elaborate *passage* of the hero is, in its details, manifestly directed toward a specific, not a general, goal. His endurance in all these deprivations and difficulties only makes sense because they finally enable him to acquire a property which his companions do not have, and whose very existence is to remain hidden from them. From this two further insights appear. On the one hand, the *passage* structure is needed in order to prepare Lugalbanda explicitly and pointedly for his new function. Thus the general intention of the *passage* is particularized, because the hero has to become not merely a full member of society, as would any other youngster, but specifically a *special* person. What is at stake is a strictly personal and unique career and position. Second, we must also note that the goal (reintegration) is interpreted here in a totally unexpected sense; instead of reincorporation into a group of peers, Lugalbanda has become so *uncommon* that there can be no question or possibility of reintegration into a *peer* group. He cannot be wholly incorporated into his earlier society, for he remains in personal communion with the non-human other world. He has attained a unique status, which in effect separates him much more than before from his erstwhile brethren. This signifies, in a sense, a blowing up of the transition ritual; he becomes the ultimate median figure, a liminal figure, between the world of the gods and that of men. To be understood as a journey, the *passage* between these worlds can be undertaken effectively only by him, and only by means of the supernatural powers which he has acquired during his adventures. The poem is about Lugalbanda's transformation into a mediator between the two worlds.

3.2. *Linearity: transformation*

It is a paradox that it is precisely this somewhat baroque elaboration, by means of conscious adaptations, of the simple *passage* principle that allows us to track a rather straight line of transformation of the hero's personality.⁶⁵

65. Kafka's "Verwandlung" would be an apt term.

3.2.1. From the start he is specifically marked as being but the eighth of the band of leaders:

Seven they were, seven they were;
 seven young men born in Kulab, seven they were.
 These seven, born from Uraš, reared with the milk of the wild cow—
 These heroes were the most beautiful in Sumer; they were as kings in their power.⁶⁶
 They grew up at An's high table.
 These seven—of the companies they were the leaders;
 Of the army they were the commanders;
 Of the regiments they were the captains.
 They were leaders of three hundred men each;
 They were captains of six hundred men each;
 They were commanders of seven times three thousand six hundred men.
 Their king they served among the elite troops.
 Lugalbanda was but the eighth.⁶⁷

3.2.2. When Lugalbanda falls ill, the companions abandon hope right away. Furthermore, they seem to have a logistical problem: no one could carry him back to Uruk:

When he (Lugalbanda) had marched half the distance,
 Illness overcame him, headache overcame him.
 Like a Sagkal-snake, which . . . , he turned and tossed.
 Like a gazelle caught in a trap he bit the dust;
 He could not (open) his clenched fists;
 He could not put down his lame feet.
 King nor army could give him a helping hand;
 Although they were (like) a dust cloud lying over the mountains⁶⁸ (they said):

66. More literally, “full prime of life.”

67. Lines 59–71 (LB I):

- 59. u₄-bi-a imin he₂-na-me-eš imin he₂-na-me-eš
- 60. di₄-di₄-la₂ peš-tur zi-kul-aba^{ki}-a imin he₂-na-me-eš
- 61. imin-bi-ne uraš-e tu-da šilam-ga gu₇-a-me-eš
- 62. ur-sag-me-eš ke-en-gi-ra sig₇-me-eš a-la-ba nun-na-me-eš
- 63. ^{giš}banšur-an-na-ke₄ e₃-a-me-eš
- 64. imin-bi-ne ugula-a-ke₄-eš ugula-a-me-eš
- 65. šagina-a-ke₄-eš šagina-a-me-eš
- 66. nu-banda₃-a-ke₄-eš nu-banda₃-a-me-eš
- 67. ugula-lu₂-300 300-ta-a-me-eš
- 68. nu-banda₃-lu₂-600 600-ta-a-me-eš
- 69. šagina erin₂ 7×sar₂ 7-ta-a-me-eš
- 70. en-ra ka-kešda-igi-bar-ra-ka-na mu-na-su₈-su₈-ge-eš
- 71. lugal-ban₃-da 8-kam-ma-ne-ne

68. As numerous as a dust cloud?

“Let him be carried to Uruk!”—but no one could carry him.

“Let him be carried to Kulab!”—but nobody could carry him.⁶⁹

While it is only fair to remark that they do worry about Lugalbanda’s well-being, it is also apparent that they think the campaign can do without him: nobody is indispensable, and the expedition must go on. Anyway, notwithstanding the loving care they bestow on him, his companions are not optimistic about his survival:

His brothers and friends

Take counsel together:

“If our brother only could rise again, sun-like,⁷⁰ from his bed,

And if the god who smote him should leave,

He would be able to eat and drink;

His force would grow again to the power of marching;

And he would surely be able to escape from the cave in the mountain,

And cross over the range.⁷¹

But if Utu should call our brother

To the sacred and precious place⁷²

Just as surely health will flow away from his limbs.

On our return from Aratta

We will carry back our brother’s (dead) body to the city of Kulab.”⁷³

69. Lines 75–84 (LB I):

- 75. kaskal mu-un-sa₉ kaskal mu-un-sa₉-ba
- 76. ki-bi-a tu-ra mu-na-te sag-gig mu-na-te
- 77. muš-sag-kal GI.TUN₃-ra-gin₇ e-ne-dag i₃-si-il-e
- 78. maš-da₃ ḡ⁸bur₂-ra dab₅-ba-gin₇ ka saḥar-ra bi₂-us₂
- 79. šu-ni dab₅-ba nu-mu-da-an-gi₄-gi₄
- 80. giri^{ki}-ni gu₂-ba nu-mu-da-an-ga₂-ga₂
- 81. lugal-zi-ga šu nu-mu-na-an-gal₂
- 82. kur-gal-e muru-e ki ḥe₂-us₂-sa-a-ba
- 83. unu^{ki}-ḥe₂-en-tum₂-mu-de₃ tum₂-mu nu-ub-zu
- 84. kul-aba^{ki} ḥe₂-en-tum₂-mu-de₃ tum₂-mu []-ba-ni-zu-zu

70. Do they mean “tomorrow morning”?

71. An unmistakable allusion to the sequel of the story: in the end Lugalbanda will be able to cross the mountains far more swiftly than any of them.

72. The grave.

73. Lines 120–31 (LB I):

- 120. šeš-a-ne-ne ku-li-ne-ne
- 121. ni₂-bi-a ad mi-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄-ne
- 122. u₄ šeš-me ^dutu ḡ⁸na₂-a-gin₇ mu-zi-zi-i-a
- 123. dingir nig₂ mu-ni-ra-ni bar-ta im-da-gub
- 124. ne un-gu₇ ne un-gu₇
- 125. ne₃-ni ne₃-ki-us₂-sa ba-an-daḥ
- 126. gar₃-gar₃-kur-ra-ke₄ ḥe₂-en-tum₂-mu-de₃ murgu bal-e-dam
- 127. tukum-bi ^dutu šeš-me
- 128. ki-kug ki-kal-kal-aš gu₃ im-ma-an-de₂

3.2.3. Thus Lugalbanda cannot rely upon his companions. Therefore he puts his trust in a higher power: he utters four touching prayers to the great luminaries which appear in turn in the skies.

First he addresses the westering sun, praying that he not be left there, helpless, as one without a family:

“Utu, I greet you—let me not stay ill!
 Hero, son of Ningal, I greet you—let me not stay ill!
 My brothers are now climbing the mountain passes;
 Let me not stay ill in this cave, this most horrible place on earth!⁷⁴
 (This is) a place where no mother or father stands ready (for me);
 A place where no acquaintance or neighbour stands ready;
 My mother says not ‘Oh my son!’
 My brother says not ‘Oh my brother!’”⁷⁵

But there is a *progression* in this series of prayers. To Inana, the evening star, he prays that this desolate spot may become a living place for him. This is an intended ambiguity. Lugalbanda says that he wishes to exchange the cave for “his” civilized dwelling place, i.e., the place where he came from. But, at the same time, he wishes that the cave would become habitable for him. The imagery he uses shows this:

“Oh, that this were my house, that this were my city,
 That this were the town where my mother bore me,
 That this were even as the *hole* for a snake,
 That this were as the crevice for a scorpion!”⁷⁶

129. ^{gi}gi-gi-en-na-ka-na silim-bi ^{he}he₂-en-da-šub

130. ^uu₄ me-en-de₃ aratta^{ki}-ta iri₄-a-me-de₃-en

131. ad₆-šeš-me kul-aba^{ki}-še₃ ga-ba-ni-ib-ku₄-re-de₃

74. A clear antithetic allusion to the “holy, most precious place” mentioned earlier. But also an allusion to a civilized burial ceremony, where one expects family and neighbours to attend.

75. Lines 150–57 (LB I):

150. ^dutu silim ga-ra-ab-dug₄ nam-ba-ku₄-ku₄-de₃

151. ur-sag dumu-^dnin-gal silim ga-ra-(ab)-dug₄ nam-ba-ku₄-ku₄-de₃

152. ^dutu šeš-mu-ne-ka kur-ra mu-un-e₁₁-de₃

153. ^hur-ru-um-kur-ra ki-šur₂-ki-ka nam-ba-an-ku₄-ku₄-de₃

154. ki ama nu-gub-ba a-a nu-gub-ba

155. zu-a nu-gub-ba kal-la nu-gub-ba

156. ama-mu a dumu nu-um-me

157. šeš-mu a šeš-mu nu-um-me

76. Lines 181–84 (LB I):

181. ^dinana e₂-mu ^{he}he₂-me-a uru₃-mu ^{he}he₂-me-a

182. uru ama mu-tu-da []

183. muš-gin₇ KI.KAL-mu ^{he}he₂-me-[a]

184. gir₃-gin₇ ki-in-dar-[]

In a third prayer, to the moon god, Lugalbanda does not mention his own destiny as such. He simply praises the god for his eternal justice, as a general and absolute principle which overrides his (Lugalbanda's) contingent situation:

“The shackles you cast off from justice;
But evil you do not unchain;
When you chase away the origin of evil, its consequences will also disappear;
And when your heart swells (in anger)
You spit your venom towards evil like a viper!”⁷⁷

Finally, he trustfully addresses the rising sun, this time without a specific request. He is confident that the sun god will abide with him, whatever happens:

“Brave Utu, when you rise, the people rise—
Utu, without you
No bird is trapped, no slave is caught.
For the lonesome traveler you are the companion;
Oh Utu, wherever two are walking, you are the third one;
Of him who holds the reins, you are the *harness*(?).
The poor one, the destitute, the naked one—
Your warm rays clothe them as a woollen cloak;
The body of even the simplest servant girl they cover like a gleaming robe.
With the elders, the nobility,
Also old women will give praise to your sunshine
In all eternity.
Your sunshine is wholesome as balm.”⁷⁸

77. Lines 219–23 (LB I):

- 219. nig₂-si-sa₂-e ka-keš-bi-e duḥ-u₃
- 220. nig₂-ne-ru ka-keš-bi nu-duḥ
- 221. nig₂-ne-ru sag-bi um-du-du egir-bi-im bi₂-ib-tum₂
- 222. u₄ ša₃-zu i-im-il₂-i-am₃
- 223. nig₂-ne-ru-e muš-ze₂-gur₅-a-gin₇ uš₁₁-zu ši-im-ri-e

It is somewhat strange that the care for justice, normally Utu's competence, is here ascribed to Nan-nar/Sîn.

78. Lines 240–52 (LB I):

- 240. šul-^dutu zi-zi-da-zu-de₃ un ši-mu-e-da-zi-zi
- 241. ^dutu za-e-da nu-me-a
- 242. mušen-e gu nu-du sag šaga nu-di
- 243. lu₂-dili-du-ur₂ šeš-tab-ba-ni-me-en
- 244. ^dutu lu₂-min-du eš₅-kam-ma-bi za-e-me-en
- 245. ulul-la₂ ^{gi}gi-tab-ba-ni za-e-me-en
- 246. uku₂-re lu₂-lul-e lu₂-tug₂-nu-tuk-e
- 247. gaba-u₄-da-zu zulumḥi-kug-gin₇ ša-mu₄-mu₄
- 248. e₂-ur₅-ra ^{tu}g₂siki-babbar₂-ra bar-ba im-dul
- 249. ab-ba-ab-ba-gu₂-tuku-gin₇
- 250. bur-šu-ma-e-ne gaba-u₄-da-zu

3.2.4. Still alone, but reinforced by his faith in the gods,⁷⁹ he now goes on to discover the possible ways in which he can stay alive by his own efforts in this desolate place.

Thus gradually, in four stages, Lugalbanda regains his full life force. First, in gracious response to his prayers, the sun god grants him life as such.⁸⁰ This life force is somewhat abstract and general: the terminology (“plant of life” and “water of life”) is that of the creation stories and related pieces of mythology.⁸¹ At first sight, this might not look spectacular; but it is, for in reality it means that, in fact, Lugalbanda is presented here as being *created anew*, and that his survival is, at the same time, the creation of a new human being.

Yet the gods are careful; they will not allow Lugalbanda to return to the human world with the reckless boldness and arrogance of one who has withstood impossible dangers. Also, they appear to show a special interest in Lugalbanda, and possibly even a special calling for him in his new life. This calling may be seen in the very act of a “second creation.” But being born again is not enough; he has to undergo another series of trials. These trials are not just aptitude tests; while undergoing them, he acquires a number of properties which will stand him in good stead in his future career. At the same time, his new status of a special relationship to the divine world grows apace.

Thus he must immediately demonstrate that he can again fend for himself. In a passage quoted above,⁸² he reinvents a number of elements of culture which will enable him to survive: fire, cooking, hunting. But as the text has it, “still he was alone; no one, not even the sharpest eye, could see him.”⁸³ In an ominous dream, which is specifically meant for Lugalbanda alone, he is told—indirectly—that he has to sacrifice the animals he has caught to the gods.⁸⁴ He carries out the implied instruction, showing that he is able to understand the intentions of the gods.⁸⁵ In pious gratitude he prepares a banquet for the gods:

251. a-ar₃ u₄-ul-li₂-a-aš ši-im-dug₃-dug₃-ge-ne

252. gaba-u₄-da-zu i₃-gin₇ rib-ba-am₃

79. And also the trust the gods put in him!

80. Lines 261ff., quoted above in n. 28. This outcome is predicted by the closing lines of each prayer passage: Lines LB I 170–71: “Utu accepted his tears / and made the breath of life descend into the cave,” ^dutu a-igi-na šu ba-an-ši-in-ti / zi-ša₃-gal₂-la-ni ħur-ru-um-kur-ra-kam mu-ni-ib-e₁₁-de₃; LB I 195–96: “Inana accepted his tears / and with Utu’s breath of life she soothed him as with quiet slumber,” ^dinana a-igi-na šu ba-an-ši-in-ti / zi-ša₃-gal₂-la ^dutu u₃-sa₂-gin₇ ba-an-ku; LB I 224–25: “Sîn accepted his tears, and granted him life;/ he also gave him the strength to stand,” ^dsuen-e-a-(igi-)na šu ba-an-ši-in-ti nam-ti mu-na-sum / ne₃-ni ne₃-ki-us₂-sa ba-an-daĥ.

81. See, e.g., the use of these terms in Pettinato (1971).

82. Section 3.1.2. (ii).

83. LB I 321: diš-a-ni lu₂-igi-nigin nu-mu-un-da-ab-bar-re. A translation “still he was alone; wherever he looked, he could see nobody” is also possible.

84. For the dream passage see Vanstiphout 1998.

85. The text states clearly that this is not self-evident. LB I 337 reads: “To the liar it (the dream) speaks lies; to the truthful the truth,” lul-da lul-di-da zi-da zi-di-da.

As if all these good things were brought to⁸⁶ Dumuzi himself,
 The food prepared by Lugalbanda
 Was consumed with relish by An, Enlil, Enki and Ninḫursag.⁸⁷

Thus he has testified to his faith in the gods; but he also reinforces his *communio* with the gods by means of this banquet.

3.2.5. Yet his newly regained life force, his Crusoe-like resourcefulness, his faith, his unconditional devotion to the gods, are all put to a new test at the end of the first poem. Unfortunately this episode is at present too badly preserved and too poorly understood to be of much use. What we do know is that he now comes under attack from the forces of darkness, and that he is able to withstand this attack with the help of the gods. It should be noted that the enemy this time is not his own physical weakness (illness) or natural danger (the desolate mountainland), but the forces of evil which threaten him. In other words, under the protection and with the aid of the gods, he now conquers external evil.

3.2.6. Now Lugalbanda's time of trial and apprenticeship is almost over. When he reaches the region of mount Sabum, home of the bird Imdugud, he again approaches the borders of the world inhabited by humans. But his special relationship to the world of the gods will now also enable him to integrate into the world of supernatural or, at least, superhuman forces. The first episode in LB II is manifestly a *reversal* of the last episode in LB I (the attack by the forces of darkness). There are two aspects in this development that are striking.

(a) The super-natural or, at any rate, non-natural⁸⁸ being Imdugud is presented here as ethically neutral, which presentation contradicts some other traditional sources.⁸⁹ But the point is much more that Lugalbanda's treatment of the young of Imdugud⁹⁰ deftly parallels the banquet he prepared for the gods in LB I; however, it simultaneously contrasts with his own first deliverance by the gods.⁹¹ In a sense, he acts here as both a human being and a superhuman force.

(b) It may be more significant from the point of view of his personal metamorphosis that this episode ends again in a kind of trial—this time a moral one. The lavishly decked-out passage, wherein the bird Imdugud offers Lugalbanda all kinds of presents, must surely be read as a temptation scene. Imdugud's first tender consists of a wealth of agricultural produce:

86. This is what both extant manuscripts have; but the context makes it very plausible that "by" is meant.

87. Lines 376–78 (LB I). See also section 3.1.2. (ii) for lines LB I 365a ff.

376. i-gi-in-zu ^ddumu-zi-ir dug₃-ga X gi₄-a ku₄-ra

377. ni_g₂ šu-dug₄-ga lugal-ban₃-da

378. an ^den-lil₂-^den-ki ^dnin-ḫur-sag-ga₂-ke₄ dug₃-ga-bi mu-un-ku₂-uš

88. "Natural" in the sense of pertaining to the common human race.

89. E.g., the Akkadian *Anzû* poem, for which see Vogelzang 1988.

90. See above, section 3.2.1. (iv).

91. In the sense that it is he who now gives food and care to a weak and "abandoned" being. And he can do this because his time in the wilderness has taught him how.

“As a freighter arriving from the harvest place, bulging with bounty,
You may proceed proudly towards the brickworks of Kulab!”
But Lugalbanda, revered by posterity, did not accept.⁹²

Then Imdugud offers him very special (magical?) arrows:

“Your toothed arrow, when it hits somebody, will be as a dragon;
It shall cut his throat as (cleanly) as when one parts a fish with the knife;
It shall ever remain as sharp as a knife-point.”
But Lugalbanda, revered by posterity, did not accept.⁹³

Or invincible military prowess:

“When you cast the net over the foreign countries, it shall be ineluctable;
When you march against a city, it shall [surrender to you].”
But Lugalbanda, revered by posterity, did not accept.⁹⁴

Finally, he holds out the promise of an unending supply of dairy products:

“The ghee of the lush meadows will be thine;
The cheese of the lush meadows will be thine!”
But Lugalbanda, revered by posterity, did not accept.⁹⁵

Now Imdugud gives up, promising: “I shall gladly determine as your fortune whatever is in your heart(’s desire).”⁹⁶ The wish of Lugalbanda, who is emphatically called “the holy one” here, is as follows:

“May my loins receive the strength to run tirelessly,
And may my arms share that same strength!”⁹⁷

A few lines later we read:

“Wherever my eyes alight, I want (to be able) to set my feet;
Wherever my heart prompts me, I want (to be able) to go,
And only when my heart dictates so will I loosen the sandal’s thong!⁹⁸
When Utu shall make me re-enter my city Kulab,
Those that have *slighted*⁹⁹ me will not be pleased!”¹⁰⁰

92. LB II 139ff. The passages are actually much longer; here only the summation and Lugalbanda’s stubborn refusal are given. As to the repeated last line, the notion—or epithet—“revered by posterity” is as clear a marker of his status as a holy man as one could wish.

93. LB II 145ff.

94. LB II 152ff.

95. LB II 156ff.

96. LB II 166.

97. LB II 168ff.

98. Or: “give me so much strength that I only have to rest when I want to.”

99. Perhaps better “cursed.” But we have no indication that anybody has cursed Lugalbanda, while the fact that his companions did not think that he was really indispensable to the success of the expedition may well have been construed as a slight by Lugalbanda.

100. LB II 175ff.

It is not too hazardous to interpret these lines as a pointer to Lugalbanda's resentment or vindictiveness towards his erstwhile society of human companions who abandoned him. The motif is not heavily accentuated¹⁰¹; yet it may well imply a new kind of temptation, this time of a moral order: the temptation of pride and/or thirst for revenge.

3.2.7. However that may be, we now find Lugalbanda fully equipped with supernatural speed, ready to depart on his way to the Urukean troops.¹⁰² Before parting, Imdugud adds a word of advice:

The bird spoke to holy Lugalbanda:
 "Well then, Lugalbanda mine,
 I will advise you; take my advice.
 I will say a word; listen to what I have to say:
 What I have told you, and the properties I have granted you,
 Do not mention that to your friends;
 Do not reveal it to your brethren.
 It is a fact that favour often causes evil envy in others' hearts.
 I am off to my nest now; you go to your troops!"¹⁰³

With this counsel Imdugud tries to protect Lugalbanda against jealousy; but, at the same time, he points out the advantages of reticence, secretiveness and possibly also modesty.

3.2.8. Upon his return, or reintegration, Lugalbanda acts accordingly, as we saw earlier. But in the meantime things have come to a crisis; the siege remains ineffectual, and Enmerkar, the commander, has requested volunteers to return to Kulab in order to ask Inana's advice. In fact, the message Enmerkar wants to send to Inana in Uruk shows that he is somewhat nettled. He reproaches Inana that she has not made an unequivocal choice between himself—or Uruk—and the lord of Aratta, and in his message he demands a clear decision. Nobody volunteers; in a strongly formulaic series all troopers refuse: "Nobody said: 'I shall go to Kulab!'; nobody said: 'I shall go to the city!'"¹⁰⁴ Thereupon Lugalbanda offers his services:

Only Lugalbanda rose in the midst of the men and said:
 "Sire, I shall go to the city; no one has to come with me!
 I shall go to Kulab; no one has to come with me!"¹⁰⁵

3.2.9. Lugalbanda's companions are sceptical about his offer, and they reproach him for being reckless, vain and proud:

101. Although it recurs in Imdugud's farewell words.

102. See above, section **3.1.1. (iv)**.

103. LB II 209ff.

104. Repeated as LB II 272–73; 275–76; 279–80; 281–82.

105. LB II 284ff.

They growled at him as at a strange dog which wants to enter the pack;
 They reared their *heads*¹⁰⁶ as at a strange foal which wants to enter the herd¹⁰⁷ (saying):
 “Why did you say to the Lord of Uruk: ‘Send me to her!’?”
 Why did you say to Enmerkar, son of the Sun:
 ‘I will go to Kulab; nobody has to come with me!’? Why did you say that?
 And why you alone? You will have no support on the journey!
 And if our guardian angel does not go with you,¹⁰⁸
 If our benevolent protective spirit does not travel with you,
 You will never again stand to with us for mustering,
 You will never again sit down with us for resting,
 You will never again march in our steps!
 He who wants to (go to) the high mountains, where nobody can go alone,
 Shall not return to the society of men! Neither shall you return!”¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Lugalbanda sets out, and again:

He traveled without provisions;
 He only took his side weapons.¹¹⁰

And he completes the impossible journey in a single day:¹¹¹

When he saw the first light of day—a time at which one does not set foot on the
 broad earth¹¹²—
 (he departed and)
 Five, six, seven mountain ranges he crossed.¹¹³
 Nearing midnight, but before Inana sat down for her evening meal,
 He bestrode the brickwork of Kulab with great relief.¹¹⁴

As Inana herself remarks, this is little short of a miracle.¹¹⁵ She gives her divine advice, and so Lugalbanda is able to return, break the deadlock, and bring the expe-

106. Literally “neck.”

107. The companions are irritated; they think Lugalbanda acts foolishly by attempting something which he should know is impossible. It is possible, but not certain, that there is another reason for their impatience: They might be forgiven for thinking that Lugalbanda is trying to rise in the king’s favour, and this in a blatantly unjustified way (since his proposal is doomed to fail). Note also that they now regard him as an intruder, since he breaks their solidarity.

108. Maybe they regard themselves as those guardian angels and protective spirits; but this is uncertain.

109. LB II 323ff. As to the last line, remark that the troops seem to forget that Lugalbanda has done this before; but then, they did not believe him in the first instance either (line 245).

110. LB II 340f. The lines appear earlier as 250–51.

111. LB II 337.

112. I.e., “very early.” According to T. Jacobsen 1987: 340 this would be an aside to the audience. If this is true, it is almost unique in Standard Sumerian literature.

113. This expression for the long and arduous journey is also used in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, where the journey has to be made seven times. See Vanstiphout 1992a.

114. LB II 344–46.

115. LB II 356: (Inana speaking) “How were you able to come here from Aratta, all by yourself?”

dition to a successful conclusion. The poem ends with the praise of Lugalbanda, the holy one.

And this is only as it should be because in the last episode the wondrously swift journey in and of itself is not the only noteworthy feature. Even more important is the implied fact that Lugalbanda is the indispensable mediator between the divine and the human worlds, thanks to his personal status and his miraculous powers, bestowed upon him by the higher powers. He, and only he, has become the go-between between these worlds. Reviewing the whole narrative from the end-point of his hardships and tribulations, and the resulting transformation, we perceive how every detail in the previous stages of his development has worked towards this apotheosis.¹¹⁶

4. *Lugalbanda's Holiness*

Given the application of a specific epithet (ku(g)) to Lugalbanda alone, we must now see to what extent our analysis of the text allows us to call Lugalbanda a “holy man.” This question can be answered in several ways, and on several levels.

4.1. A first observation: that Lugalbanda is marked out from all his heroic rivals by the consistent use of the epithet ku(g)—however we wish to translate it¹¹⁷—is obvious. It is abundantly clear that the reason why the Mesopotamians used the epithet for Lugalbanda is that they perceived him functionally to share this attribute with a number of sacral objects, places and beings.¹¹⁸ And therefore ku(g) in this context is best understood as “holy.” The Mesopotamians themselves called him that; so why should we not?

In general one can easily verify that Lugalbanda shows a number of qualities which are universally perceived as belonging to the category of holiness, whatever the contingent terminology, and which belong in greater or lesser degree to all that is holy:

- Election (illustrated by the notion that the gods in fact almost raise him from the dead and re-create him),
- Devotion (his prayers full of faith),
- Communion with divinity (the banquet for the gods),
- Exclusivity (distance towards his fellow human beings at his return),
- Mystery (secrecy towards his fellows¹¹⁹)
- Unknown and even miraculous power (swiftness, Otto's *energicum*!¹²⁰).

Still, this is not completely satisfying, since these qualities as such are somewhat static and might have been “granted” for the nonce to other figures as well. We

116. It is one of the most striking poetical features of this piece that the recursive or even cyclical format of the *rite-de-passage* structure is welded to the strictly linear development of the least important personage into the most important one, and this seamlessly.

117. See above, n. 2.

118. See in general Wilson 1994: 5–34.

119. This would fit Otto's *mysterium* perfectly (Otto 1917).

120. See preceding note.

need to return to the story as such in order to see whether its structure and development can shed light on the matter of his status as a saint.

4.2. In the first place, it is abundantly plain that the story as a whole is not just an exciting adventure. It is a *Werdegang*, or a *Bildung*, that governs the narrative structure as well as the choice of narrative detail. Lugalbanda *becomes* a saint in the course of the story. And the pattern of this evolution is highly interesting.

It has often been observed that the hagiography¹²¹ of late antiquity and medieval times, whether Christian or not, shares many features with the heroic epic and romance¹²²—so much so that one might speak of a structural relationship. Therefore, it is relevant to compare some basic features of the Lugalbanda story to its nearest kin: the heroic tales of the same period, essentially the Enmerkar and Gilgamesh cycles.

The treatment of the Aratta material in the aforementioned heroic tales shows that the framework, being the opposition Uruk ↔ Aratta, is very important; and this same framework manifestly encircles our story as well. Still, the difference in status is unmistakable. In the Lugalbanda story the framework is just that: a frame, as of a painting. The real subject and the main personage is Lugalbanda, and the real story is his evolution. In the closing episode it is therefore Lugalbanda, not Enmerkar, who personally communes with Inana in order to secure the saving words.

Moreover, Lugalbanda does not act in his own interest: on the contrary, all his exertions have as their intention the performance of a great and useful task for the community (of course, *his* community), and not the realization of personal ambition. This opposes him to a “purely heroic” figure such as Gilgamesh.

Also, Lugalbanda’s treatment of a liminal figure (Imdugud) is completely different from Gilgamesh’s promethean act against Huwawa: He at least allows Huwawa to be killed, in flagrant and open transgression of the will of the gods.

Finally, there is the constant communion with the world of the gods and other supernatural beings—communion which grows in intensity as the story develops, and which influences, even creates, Lugalbanda’s extraordinary personality. This is in stark contrast to the rest of the epic material, where such contacts function much

121. See in general Bray 1992, Cox 1983, Elliott 1987, Henken 1991.

122. The distinction, first elaborated (even invented?) by Ker (1896), is in any case, and notwithstanding N. Frye 1957, very doubtful. For all that, it still holds sway over a disproportionately great part of the analytical discourse about narratives in older literatures. It should be noted that P. H. Frye 1908 alluded to a different division: On the basis of the genre of tragedy he proposed that epics with a positive outcome for the main heroes are to be called “romance,” while the “pessimistic” epic should be called “tragedy,” to which it is much more akin. For “epic,” see basically Bowra 1952, De Vries 1963, Haymes 1977, and for “romance” Vinaver 1971, N. Frye 1976. In recent scholarship, the distinction is not given much weight, and indeed it has been shown that the distinction between “Germanische Heldendichtung” and “Höfische Epik” is non-existent on the textual level. For the manifest generic affinity between heroic poetry and the *vitae* of the saints, see Elliott 1987: 16–76, and for common motifs, Bray 1992. Bray 1992: 14 writes: “The closest parallel to a *vita sancti* in Irish narrative tradition is the hero tale.”

more as a background or a motor than as the story itself. This is not to say that the story is devoid of important structural elements and motifs present in the other heroic songs. These are abundantly there. But in our case they are extremely specified for this single, unique purpose: the construction of the personality of Lugalbanda. This is a heroic tale of a very special kind.

4.3. From this point of view it is not absurd to point out a number of similarities between our story and known structures from early Christian and medieval hagiographies.

There is the encompassing central motif (or perhaps even theme) of the *vita* as a journey. A journey with a double meaning: in the *vitae*, as in the Lugalbanda story, the journey is a “real” voyage as well as an internal, psychological, ethical one, and it has a specific object. Moreover this journey has in both cases a specific rhythm: it is divided into a *descensus* and an *ascensus*. In the case of Lugalbanda this rhythm is subtly diversified, but in the main the threats in LB I are reflected and solved by the victories in LB II.¹²³ This basic pattern is also present in many *vitae*.¹²⁴

Also, the sojourn in the wilderness is a well-known motif from the hagiographies, particularly those from Egypt and the Near East. The motif of the saint as a pre-eminently liminal personage is obviously combined with the sojourn in the wilderness.¹²⁵

Finally, our story shares a number of significant subsidiary motifs with the *vitae sanctorum*. It may suffice to mention the provision of food for the hero by others, or by the hero for others;¹²⁶ the loving *communio* with animals which are otherwise very dangerous—in our case the Imdugud episode;¹²⁷ miraculous methods of travel.¹²⁸ All these are very well known from medieval hagiography.

5. Concluding Remarks

Still, some circumspection remains advisable. Motifs do not by themselves generate a structure or a story. According to structuralist orthodoxy, the selection, sequencing and organization (or hierarchization) of these motifs must be deemed to be more important than the motifs themselves. Nor is every *vita* the same. There are many different types of saints, and every type has its own specific type of story or narrative structure. In our case we certainly do not have to do with the saint as martyr, or the saint as an “athlete of the spirit,” or the coenobite who forswears all earthly things. It seems difficult, though perhaps not impossible, to find a precise personal analogue (or homologue?) for Lugalbanda in hagiography. But even if one might find such a thing, this would not seem particularly relevant to me, and it is

123. This might be the reason for dividing the stories in two halves.

124. See, e.g., Elliott 1987: chapters 5 and 6. She explicitly compares the saint’s travels to the Quest in romance.

125. See Elliott 1987: chapter 7.

126. See Henken 1991: 74–79.

127. See Henken 1991: 80–96.

128. See Henken 1991: 97–101. On p. 97 she states: “Transport and travel are another sphere in which a saint’s miraculous powers are displayed.”

by no means necessary. For the thesis I am trying to defend here is that the Lugalbanda story has laid down the general directives, as it were, for a distinctive type of story which in later and other cultural traditions served as a kind of adaptable stencil for the exceedingly rich production of similar stories.

For this story is marked to a very high degree. This is not an untidy accumulation of curious motifs. On the contrary, these motifs, many of which in themselves are widely known from heroic epic and romance but also from folk tales, are selected and organized in such a way that every part contributes to a highly specific central narrative line. This line can be summarized as follows:

- (i) selection, by the grace of the gods, of an unlikely individual to be saved from great danger;
- (ii) isolation of that individual from common humanity in the form of an extraordinary voyage and a sojourn in the wilderness;
- (iii) utter and exclusive devotion of that individual to the gods;
- (iv) a series of trials during which the individual acquires not only strength to survive, but also extraordinary powers;
- (v) special communion with the non-human world;
- (vi) integration into and participation in the divine or at any rate superhuman world;
- (vii) reintegration into the human world as a mediator between the divine and the human worlds;
- (viii) functioning as the saviour of his human society in crisis.

This ordered sequence makes the “hero” into a saint, who is to be revered by his contemporaries but also by posterity—in both traditions.

As a narrative structure and as the poetical expression of the underlying concept of how and why very uncommon individuals can participate in the divine world in order to save humanity, the Lugalbanda poem may therefore be seen as an archetype, or perhaps even a prototype, of much later literature in precisely the same mode.

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Der Kodex Urnamma (CU): Versuch einer Rekonstruktion

CLAUS WILCKE

Seit F. R. Kraus die schlecht erhaltene achtkolumnige Nippurtafel Ni. 3191 aus Bruchstücken rekonstruiert und S. N. Kramer sie 1954 als “Urnammu Law Code” vorgelegt hatte,¹ ist die Zahl der Textzeugen durch Veröffentlichungen von Miguel Civil (1965),² O. R. Gurney und S. N. Kramer (Gurney/Kramer 1965), F. Yildiz (1981) und zuletzt P. Michalowski und C. B. F. Walker (Michalowski/Walker 1989)³ auf insgesamt fünf⁴ angewachsen, von denen drei einander jeweils teilweise überlappen.

1. Kopie wiederholt in Kramer 1976: 128f.; Photos wiederholt in Kramer 1956: 118f.

2. Civil (1965: 4–6 und 11) sieht in Text E (UM 55–21–71) ein Fragment aus der Rückseite einer Tafel zu 3 Kolumnen (je Seite) und stellt es mit Vorbehalt zum “Kodex Lipit-Eštar” (= CL). Roth (1995: 26f.) stellt sie dort zwischen B v und “xiii” (= xi der Originalausgabe, Steele 1948) als §§a–f. Sieht man in UM 55–21–71 ein Fragment aus der Vorderseite einer Mehrkolumnentafel, so ordnen sich seine beiden Kolumnenbruchstücke inhaltlich und nach den Raumverhältnissen gut in die Lücken zwischen B iii 5 und 1’ und zwischen B v 20 und vi 1. UM 55–21–71 begann dann höchst wahrscheinlich unmittelbar nach dem Ende von Text A, ist also Teil einer zweiten Tafel des CU, allerdings mit mehr Zeichen je Zeile als in Text A, der vier Kolumnen je Seite aufweist. [Die äußere Form des Bruchstückes scheint nach Autopsie des Originals im Oktober 1997 stärker für eine Zuordnung zur Vorderseite zu sprechen.]

3. Die Autoren erwägen die Zugehörigkeit zum CU, so auch Roth (1995: 36), die den Text aber separat behandelt und ihn in der Einleitung zum CU (1995: 13–14) nicht erwähnt; Argumente für die Zuordnung dieses Fragments zum CU, auch für die Verfasserschaft Urnammas, die nach van Dijk (1981: 93f. Anm. 20a), z.B. Kramer (1983), Steinkeller (1987: 21 Anm. 10; 1988: 47 Anm. 2); Lieberman (1989: 244 Anm. 11) und Roth (1995: 13)—nicht aber Michalowski und Walker—bezweifelt hatten, schon bei Wilcke (1993: 37 Anm. 45).

4. Ein mögliches sechstes Fragment stammt aus Kiš: AO 10638, veröffentlicht von J. Nougayrol (1952). Die wenigen erhaltenen Reste könnten in den Lücken vor B iv 1’ (§a1) und vor D i’ 1’ (§c1) Platz finden. Leicht abweichend von Nougayrol lese ich:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| i 1 | [tu]kum-bi lu-ù saḡ gu ₄ -ùr-ka ʾiʾ ¹ -k[u ₅ ʔ] | Wenn jemand den Kopf ² eines (im Gespann) |
| | | hinteren Pflugrindes verletzt, |
| i 2 | [a-rá minʔ]-ʾàm ¹ ḫé-[x x] | soll/kann er [zweifach ² . . .]. |

Es sind altbabylonische Abschriften, gefunden in den antiken Städten Nippur (A: Ni. 3191; E: UM 55-21-71), Ur (B: U. 3739[+3740) und Sippir (C: Si. 277⁵; D: BM 54722+).⁶ Sie gehören zu unterschiedlichen Versionen und gehen, wie die divergierenden Kolumnenbreiten und Textvarianten zeigen, sehr wahrscheinlich auf verschiedene Originale zurück,⁷ d.h., auf Inschriften auf in Nippur im Enliltempel und in Ur im Heiligtum des Mondgottes (und vermutlich auch in anderen Städten⁸) aufgestellten Statuen (alan).

[Die 2001 im Internet in Teilphotographie veröffentlichte, fragmentarische, Ur III-zeitliche Zylinderinschrift MS 2064 der Schoyen Collection kann ich nicht mehr berücksichtigen. Dort ii' 6–7 könnte zu §a10' zu stellen sein; ii' 8–14 gehört zu §c1–2 (s.u. Anm. 115); ii' 17ff. könnte zu §c4ff. zu stellen sein; Kol. iii' wäre in die Textlücke zwischen §c5 und §d1 einzuordnen; iv' 10ff. gehört in den Bereich von §d1ff. Dieses Exemplar gibt auch Anlaß zu fragen, ob die Fassungen der aB Textzeugen auf späteren, redaktionellen Überarbeitungen des Textes fußen oder leicht abweichende Versionen anderer, nicht nur in der Kolumnenbreite (s.o., Anm. 7) differierender Originale vertreten, ähnlich den aufgrund der Unterschiede in der Gestaltung des Prologs für den CH anzunehmenden Überlieferungsvarianten.]

Wichtige Fortschritte brachten der auf A und B gestützte Rekonstruktionsversuch J. J. Finkelsteins (1969) und J. J. A. van Dijk's Beiträge zur Veröffentlichung von C durch F. Yildiz (1981). Lesung, Übersetzung und Deutung haben zahlreiche weitere Juristen und Philologen gefördert.⁹

i 3	[tuku]m-[b]i 'lú-ù géme úrdu' ù níġ-ga l[ú x x]	Wenn jemand Sklaven oder Habe eines And[eren] [(Große Lücke)]
iv 1'	[é ² ad-d]a ² -na ba-an-ge-en-'na ² x ¹ [x x]	[wird, was] in seinem/ihrer Vaterhaus bestimmt worden war, [. . .]
iv 2'	[tuk]um-bi lú-ù é in-bùr [(x x)]	Wenn jemand in ein Haus eingebrochen ist [(und . . .)]
iv 3'	[x] lú é bùr-dè ^{x-x} in-da-an-zu i[n-x-x]	und jemand wußte, daß er in das Haus einbrechen würde, [wird man] ihn [. . .]

(Ende des Textes; Doppelstrich)

5. Nach V. Donbaz apud Lieberman (1989: 244 Anm. 11) stammt die Tafel ebenfalls aus Nippur.

6. Herzlich danke ich all jenen, die mir großzügig Einsicht in die Originale ermöglichten und bereitwillig Rückfragen beantworteten: F. Yildiz und V. Donbaz in Istanbul, Å. Sjöberg, E. Leichty und S. Tinney in Philadelphia, und C. B. F. Walker im Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities des British Museum. Ni. 3191 war aus technischen Gründen für Kollationen leider nicht zugänglich. Herzlicher Dank gilt auch den Herausgebern für ihre Geduld mit den im Laufe der Jahre entstandenen Änderungswünschen des Autors.

7. A und B zeigen sich mit ihren unterschiedlich schmalen Kolumnen als Tochter- oder eher Enkelabschriften zweier verschiedener Statuen- oder Steleninschriften. Die breiteren Kolumnen von C und D sind normalen altbab. Tontafelformaten angeglichen.

8. Ob die Sippir-Texte auf eine dort aufgestellte Statue zurückgehen oder aber ihre spezielle Form nur im Laufe der Überlieferung erhielten, ist nicht erkennbar.

9. Siehe die eklektische Bibliographie am Ende dieses Beitrages; zuletzt Frayne 1997, Urnammu 20.

Der Text ist immernoch sehr bruchstückhaft; die Anordnung der Fragmente aus Ur ist noch nicht ganz zweifelsfrei erwiesen;¹⁰ die Lesung der sehr schlecht erhaltenen Tafeln aus Nippur und Sippir ist vielfach sehr unsicher; Beginn und Schluß der Inschrift sind fast gänzlich verloren.

Im folgenden versuche ich—eingedenk der warnenden Worte Thorkild Jacobsens (1976, 247)—den Anfang des Textes zu ergänzen und in Form einer neuen Umschrift und Übersetzung neue Lesungs- und Deutungsvorschläge beizusteuern. Für Anfang und Ende des Textes stütze ich mich vor allem auf Passagen der Gudea Statue B, auf die Urnamma-Inschriften Nr. 26, 28 und 47¹¹ und auf die Abschrift der Inschrift auf einem Statuensockel Šū-Su³ens HS 2009+2985+BT 4¹², zu der Civil (1989: 60f.; 64) mit 6N-351 ein Bruchstück des Originals beige-steuert hat:

Gudea, Stat. B i 1–12 (Steible 1991: 1.165ff.; Edzard 1997: 31):

é ^dNin-ġir-su, lugal-na-ta, alan Ġù-dé-a, énsi, ⁽⁵⁾ Lagaš^{ki}, lú é-ninnu,
in-dù-a-ke₄

1 sila kaš, 1 sila ninda, ⁽¹⁰⁾ $\frac{1}{2}$ sila zì-dub-dub, $\frac{1}{2}$ sila níġ-àr-ra zíz-AN, sá-du₁₁
ba-ġál-la-àm

Das ist, was vom Hause des (Gottes) Ningirsu her für die Statue Gude³as, des Stadtfürsten von Lagaš, dessen, der das Eninnu erbaut hat, als regelmäßige Lieferung vorhanden ist:¹³ 1 Liter Bier, 1 Liter Brot(teig), $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter Mehlstreuopfer, $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter Emmergrütze.

Gudea, Statue B vii 49–53 (Steible 1991: 1.172f.; Edzard 1997: 36):

alan-e, ù kù nu za-ġin nu-ga-àm, ù urudu nu ù AN.NA nu, zabar nu, kíġ-ġá
lú nu ba-ġá-ġá, ^{na}esi-àm

An der Statue bringt niemand mit Arbeit etwas an—es ist weder Silber, noch auch ist es Lapislazuli, ist weder Kupfer noch Zinn, noch ist es Bronze. Sie ist (aus) Gabbro-Stein.¹⁴

10. Gurney/Kramer 1965 nahmen eine 10-kolumnige Tafel an; Civil 1966, gefolgt von Finkelstein 1969: vermutete eine 8-Kolumnen-Tafel; das ist wahrscheinlicher. Unsicher ist aber der Abstand zwischen den erhaltenen Teilen von Kol. ii; s. unten Anm. 97 zu A 303 // B ii 37.

11. Steible 1991/2: 149–52; die Lesungen des Textes lassen sich anhand der Photos noch etwas verbessern; s. Abb. 1, S. 333 (Urnamma 47 nach der Photographie bei H. Steible 1991, Tafel xiii–xiv).

12. Edzard 1959/60; Kutscher 1989: 71–101; 114–15; 122–23; 126–27); Oelsner 1989: 407f. Mein Dank gilt J. Oelsner für Kollationen der Jenenser Tafelhälfte.

13. Mit Falkenstein (1950: 107: “ist zu ihrem regelmäßigen Opfer gesetzt”) lesen Steible (1991/2: 158f.: “sind . . . unter ihren regelmäßigen Abgaben vorhanden”) und Edzard (1997: 31: “being the regular offerings for the statue”) sá-du₁₁-ba ġál-la-àm. Falkensteins und Steibles Wiedergabe des Lokativs (im suffigierten -ba) scheint mir nicht gerechtfertigt: es handelt sich um die regelmäßigen Opfergaben, nicht einen Beitrag zu ihnen. Edzard läßt den Lokativ unberücksichtigt. Mir ist darum ein Verbalpräfix ba- plausibler, das den Lokativ-Terminativ (wörtlich: “an der Statue”) aufnimmt. Die Konstruktion findet sich auch in Westenholz 1987: 61 i 11– ii 3: [bar]-b[i-t]a, ¹É¹-lú, ^{ġis}[dusu nu-[n]a-sum, ^{ġis}dusu É-lú, éren-né ba-ġál-la-àm, “Danach(?) gab Elu ihm (= Enlile-maba, i 6) die Tragkorb-Abgabe nicht; die Tragkorb-Verpflichtung von Elu lag (darum) bei der Truppe.”

14. Zum Diorit-ähnlichen Gabbro-Stein und seiner Herkunft aus ‘Omān und zu ‘Omān als dem antiken Magan s. Heimpel 1982: 65ff.; 1987: 22ff.—A. Falkenstein 1949: 225 und ihm folgend

Gudea Statue B ix 5–11 (Steible 1991/1: 178f.; Edzard 1997: 38):

(Götter im Ergativ) nam-tar-ra-ni h́é-dab₆-kúr-ne, gu₄-gim, u₄ dè-na
h́é-gaz, am-gim, á huš-na h́é-dab₅, ^{giš}dúr-šar lú mu-na-de₆-a-ni,
saḫar-ra h́é-em-ta-tuš . . .

(Götter) sollen ihm sein Schicksal ändern! Wie ein Rind soll er in der
Abendkühle(?) geschlachtet werden, wie ein Wildstier soll er in seiner
wilden Kraft gefangen werden! Von seinem Stuhl/Thron, den jemand
ihm gebracht hat, herab(gestoßen) soll er im Staube sitzen . . .¹⁵

Urnamma 26 ii 1–4 (Steible, 1991/2: 124f.; Frayne 1997, Urnammu 17):

níg ul-lí-a-ke₄ pa mu-na:ni-è, gaba a-ab-ba-ka, ki-sAR-a nam-ga-eš₈
bí-sá,¹⁶ má Má-gan šu-na mu-ni-gi₄

Das Althergebrachte ließ er ihm (= dem Gott Nanna) erstrahlen. Am
Rande des Meeres ließ er an der Kaimauer¹⁷ die Übersee-Kauffahrer
ankommen, brachte die ‘Omān-Schiffe in seine (= Nannas) Hand
zurück.

Urnamma 28 i 15–ii 14 (Steible 1991/2: 131; Frayne 1997, Urnammu 28):¹⁸

. . . di níg gi-na, ^dUtu-ta, bar bí-tam, KA bí-gi-in,
lú ^dNanna-a, in-dab₆-kúr-a, lugal h́é-a, énsi h́é-a, lú áš du₁₁-ga,
^dNanna^(l)-gim, h́é-na, ki-tuš ^dNanna-ka, h́é-éb-gibil, iri-ni gi-zú-ta,
h́é-ta-dag-dag-ge, nam-ti-il níg gig-ga-ni, h́é-a(/na)

Mit dem gerechten Urteil des (Gottes) Utu hat er es überprüft und
bestätigt.

Der, der es Nanna gegenüber(?)¹⁹ ändert—sei er ein König, sei er ein
Stadtfürst—soll zu einem Verfluchten Nanna’s gemacht werden! Selbst
wenn es in Nannas Wohnsitz erneuert wird, soll seine Stadt ihn aus dem
(Schatten des) Baldachins²⁰ vertreiben! Das Leben soll zu etwas ihm
Verhaßten gemacht werden!

Steible 1991/1: 172 und Edzard 1997: 36 lesen lú nu-ba-šá-šá (vgl. aus dem aAkk Nippur Westenholz 1987: 50 ii 1: lú lú nu(-)ba-gi₄-gi₄-da-a), was ein graphisches Fossil wäre. Ich verstehe lú nu < *nu-um “es ist kein Mensch” analog zu kù nu etc.

15. Siehe Wilcke 1990: 491.—u₄-NE-na wird traditionell (so auch Steible 1991/1: 178) mit “an diesem seinem Tage” (u₄-ne-na) wiedergegeben; Edzard 1997: 38 “on that day” übersetzt das in der Tat redundant erscheinende Possessivsuffix nicht. Ich vermute eine unorthographische Schreibung für u₄ te-na und Fortführung des Bildes über das Äquativ-Suffix hinaus: Der Abend als typische Opferzeit.

16. Steible liest bí-silim “hat er—den Fernhandel gesunden lassen.” Die Metapher Krankheit/Gesundung auf ein Abstraktum anzuwenden, scheint mir sehr gewagt.

17. Zu ki-sAR-a als Allographie für kissa(KI.ŠEŠ.DÙ)-a = *ki(s)šú* “Stützmauer” s. Walker/Wilcke 1981: 98f.; unten, Z. 79 ist jetzt ki-^lsur^l-ra zu lesen; die Allographie “ki-sar-ra” entfällt damit.

18. Siehe Wilcke 1990: 492 mit Anm. 80–81.

19. ^dNanna-a sieht wie ein Ergativ (< *e) aus. Doch kann Nanna hier nicht handelndes Subjekt sein; die Handlung richtet sich vielmehr gegen ihn. Trotz Personenklasse ein Lokativ anstelle des Dativs?

20. gi-zú ist als die von Civil 1967: 65f. besprochene Baldachin-Konstruktion im Palast (Hinweis W. Sallaberger) verstanden. Weniger wahrscheinlich: gi-zú “Rohr(stock) mit Stachel(n)” oder (s. *AHu*

Urnamma 47 (Steible, 1991/2: 149ff.; Taf. 13f.; Frayne 1997, Urnammu 18):

- (i) ^dNanna, lugal-a-ni, ¹ki¹-sur-ra, má Má-¹gan^{ki1}, ⁽⁵⁾ An-¹né¹, ^dEn-¹líl-le¹, saĝ-šè ¹i-in²-rig₇-ge²-eš²¹-[a], Ur-^dNamma¹, nita ¹kala-ga¹, ⁽¹⁰⁾ lugal ¹Uri₅ki-ma¹, lugal ¹ki-en¹-gi ¹ki-uri-ke⁴¹, u₄ é ^dNanna¹, mu-dù-¹a¹,
 (ii) di níĝ gi-[na], ^dUtu-ta, ^{KA} mu¹-na-gi-in, ¹šu-na mu¹-ni-¹gi⁴¹, ⁽⁵⁾ ¹u₄¹-ba ¹alan¹-na-ni, ¹a mu¹-na-ru.
 (ii) 7) ¹lu á¹ níĝ ¹hul-dím¹-ma, ¹ib-áĝ¹-ĝe₂₆-a, ¹mu-sar-ra¹-bi, [í]b-kúr-a, ^dNanna, (iii) ¹lugal-ĝu₁₀¹ ¹nam¹ [. . .], ^{d1}N[in²-gal x x], [(Rest der Kol. zerstört)] (iv) ¹hé-en₆-tíl-e, iri-ni-da, saĝ-ki-ni, ħa-ba-da-¹gíd¹-[dè], ⁽⁵⁾ ¹ĝi¹g[u-za-ni-ta], saĥar-r[a ¹hé-em-ta-tuš], iri-n[i] g[i-zú-t]a, ¹hé-¹ta¹-[dag]-¹dag-ge¹, [n]am-t[i²]-i[l²], [níĝ g[i]g]-g[a-ni], ¹hé-a¹.

Dem (Gott) Nanna, seinem Herrn, hat das Gebiet der ‘Omān-Schiffe, das (die Götter) An und Enlil (ihm) zum Geschenk gemacht hatten, Urnamma, der starke Mann, der König von Ur, als er das Haus des (Gottes) Nanna erbaut hatte, ihm aufgrund des gerechten Urteils des (Gottes) Utu bestätigt und es in seine Hand zurückgebracht. Damals hat er ihm seine Statue geweiht.

Wer dagegen eine böse Anweisung erteilt, diese Inschrift ändert, den soll mein Herr Nanna ver[fluchen], N[ingal . . .], [(Rest von Kol. iii abgebrochen). In . . .], soll [(die Gottheit) X] ihn wohnen lassen, und seine Stadt zornig anschauen! Vom Thron herab(gestoßen) soll er im Staub sitzen! Seine Stadt soll ihn aus dem (Schatten des) Baldachins vertreiben! Das Leben soll zu etwas ihm Verhaßten gemacht werden!

Šū-Su’en-Statuensockel-Inschrift HS 2009+ xii 13–xiii 1 // 6N-351; Frayne 1997, Šū-Sîn 7:

- 1 sila ninda, 2 sila tu₇, 1 sila kurun, 1 sila kaš, *1 ma-la-kum_x(GÚM) udu, [níĝ-da]b₅ u₄²¹-da-ka, ¹banšur, ^dEn-líl, lugal-[ĝá-ta],
¹1 gín² x x¹, 1 sila i du₁₀-ga, níĝ-dab₅ iti-da(-[k]a), é ^dNin-líl, nin-ĝá-ta, ^dŠu-^dSu’en, ki-áĝ ^dEn-líl-lá, lugal ^dEn-líl-le, ki-áĝ ša-ga-na, in-pà, lugal kala-ga, lugal Uri₅-ma, l[ug]al an-ub-[da limmu-b]a-ke₄, i-ba
 1 Liter Brot, 2 Liter Suppe, 1 Liter . . . -Wein, 1 Liter Bier, 1 Schaf-Schlegel, für tägliche Opfer vom Tische meines Herrn Enlil,
 1 Schekel . . . , 1 Liter gutes Öl für monatliche Opfer aus dem Hause meiner Herrin Ninlil,

und CAD s.vv. *leṭū* “gespalten” [oder *lētū* “Spalter?”] und *luṭū* “Spalter” [oder: “Gespaltener?”]; s. auch *uššušu* “mißhandelt”) “Rohr-Gerät mit Zinken” (ähnlich einer Forke).

Die Verbalform *hé-ta-dag-dag-ge* hier, in Urn. 47 iv 8 und unten in CU D iii’ 14’ verstehe ich mit Steible 1991: 2.134 Anm. 9 als Kausativ zu *dag* = *nagāšu* “to leave, to go away” (CAD); auch ein Kausativ zu *dag-dag* = *itangušu* “umherlaufen” (d.h., “heimatlos machen”) ist denkbar.

21. Civil 1989: 60 liest das Zeichen (nach Z. 12) als *itu*. Die Umschrift Edzards, die Kollation Oelsners 1988 und Kutscher 1989 lesen u₄; es liegt nahe, an tägliche Opfer zu denken, da die Mengen von Speisen und Getränken als Tagesration sinnvoll erscheinen, bei monatlicher Berechnung aber viel zu ärmlich ausfielen.

hat²² Šū-Su'en, der Geliebte Enlils—den König, hat Enlil liebend erwählt—der König von Ur, der König der vier Himmelsecken und -seiten, zugeteilt.

Die angeführten Textzeugen nennen die jeweilige Quelle der Opfergaben, Urnamma 47 eine in Ur für Nanna errichtete Statue (mit dem Text des CU?). Wir erhalten so einen Hinweis auf mögliche Ergänzungen am Anfang der Inschrift.

Die Fluchformeln der Urnamma-Inschriften zeigen gemeinsame Merkmale, die sonst nur noch bei Gudea und in Text D erscheinen, woraus ich die Zuordnung zu Urnamma erschlossen habe (Wilcke 1993: 37 Anm. 45). Ein zweites Argument unterstützt die Gründe von Michalowski/Walker (1989) für Urnammas Verfälschung des CU: der Katalog der befreiten Orte in Z. 125ff. taucht z.T. im Katastertext Urnammas wieder auf und ist mit Urnammas Sieg über Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak von Anšan zu verbinden (s. Steinkeller 1980a; 1987: 19 Anm. 1; Wilcke 1987: 108–11). Ein drittes ist das Maßsystem in Z. 135–49: es weicht vom unter Šulgi von Ur üblichen, aus der Akkadzeit übernommenen Standard ab. Die Ratio 1 ba-rí-ga = 60 sila; 1 ba-an = 10 sila entspricht zwar dieser Norm; nicht aber die Gleichsetzung 1 sila = 1 ma-na "1 Pfund"; s. auch unten, Anm. 66–67.

Denn—Wasser als gemessene und gewogene Materie vorausgesetzt—das sila Šulgis ist doppelt so groß (ca. 1 Liter, also ca. 1 kg Wasser). Das Maßgefäß sila ist ebenso wie die Gewichtseinheit ma-na "Pfund" in 60 Schekel, das Schekel in jeweils 180 Korn (= Gran) unterteilt. Mißt nun ein sila ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter und faßt 1 Pfund Wasser, sind Hohlmaßsystem und Gewichtssystem direkt aufeinander bezogen. Das Umrechnen aus einem System ins andere und die Normierung oder Kontrolle von Gewichten durch Hohlmaße und umgekehrt ist denkbar einfach. Das hier standardisierte ba-rí-ga-Maß, der "Scheffel" zu 60 sila, ist also halb so groß wie das für die Akkad-Zeit und die Zeit Šulgis und seiner Nachfolger errechnete;²³ das gilt dann auch für das Kor zu 5 Scheffel, das dem alten Lagaš-Kor von 144 sila erstaunlich nahe kommt, falls dort das sila dem Liter-Maß entspricht. Damit tun sich aber neue Schwierigkeiten auf, da die in den §d5–7 aufgeführten Rationen/Lohnzahlungen, soweit die Beträge erhalten sind, sehr gering ausfallen würden. Diesen Fragen nachzugehen, kann hier der Ort nicht sein.

Das im CU vorgestellte Maßsystem verknüpft wohldurchdacht und sinnvoll Hohlmaße und Gewichte. Wenn die Theorie über das Verhältnis von Hohlmaßen

22. Der Ergativ in xii 34 (in 6N-351 erhalten) deutet auf einen Wechsel der grammatischen Person, in der von König Šū-Su'en die Rede ist. Oder soll man im Original KE₄ als Schreibfehler tilgen?

23. Powell 1984: 54 möchte die Relation von Gewicht und Hohlmaß über Gerste bestimmen (10.800 Gerstekörner = 0,6 Liter) und sagt: "The Ur III sila is about the size of the present day Bavarian Maß, but neither of these is the natural size for a drinking cup. They are rather the result of metrological evolution including *doubling of basic units* (in which the basic unit disappears from the record) . . ." (Hervorhebung C. W.). Ähnlich, wieder über ein Doppelmaß, bestimmt er (1989/90: 508f.) die Kapazität des sila nach der Akkadzeit als die von 1.000 Gramm Wasser—gestützt einerseits auf die in die Akkadzeit zurückreichenden Ziegelmaße und die Standard-Gewichtsrelation von Ziegelgewicht zu Wasser und andererseits auf die Bestimmung des sila als 6³ Kubikfinger.

zu Gewichten in der Akkadzeit und von der Zeit Šulgis an das Richtige trifft, ist es nicht das Šulgis. [Siehe aber unten, Anm. 67.]

Der uns nun vorliegende, rekonstruierte Text des Kodex Urnamma läßt sich in mehrere Teile gliedern. Segmentierung und Hierarchisierung sind zwar im Detail oft subjektiv; Temporalsätze ($u_4 \dots -a$) “als . . . ” (* in der Übersicht) und das Zeitadverb u_4 -ba “an diesem Tage,” “damals” (Fettdruck in der Übersicht) können aber, soweit erhalten, als Hinweise dienen:

- a) Weihinschrift der Statue ([1]-30)
 - aa) Weihung der Statue ([1]-[20])
 - ab) Festsetzung täglicher Opfer in monatlicher Berechnung ([21]-[30])
- b) Legitimation des Herrschers (*31-149)
 - ba) Legitimation durch göttliche Berufung (*31-[51+x])
 - ba-1) Berufung Nanna's (Stadtgott) durch Reichsgötter (*31-35)
 - ba-2) Berufung Urnammas durch Nanna (**36-46**)
 - ba-3) Göttlicher Auftrag? (47-[51+x])
 - bb) Außenpolitische Maßnahmen (mit göttlichem Beistand) ([51+x+1]-86)
 - bb-1) [Sieg über Anšan?] ([51+x+1]-[?])
 - bb-2) Sieg über Namḥani von Lagaš ([?]-78)
 - bb-3) Heimholen des 'Omān-Handels (79-86)
 - bc) Innenpolitische Maßnahmen (**87-149**)
 - bc-1) Beseitigung staatlichen Unrechts (**87-124**)
 - bc-1.1) Beschreibung des Unrechts (**87-102**)
 - bc-1.2) Rechtssetzung (^f**103**¹-13)
 - bc-1.3) Abschaffung des Unrechts ([114]-24)
 - bc-2) Befreiung nordbabylonischer Städte von Frondienst für Anšan (**125-34**)
 - bc-3) Normieren von Maßen (135-49)
- c) Öffentliche Inkraftsetzung der Rechtsordnung (**150-D iii 8'**)
 - ca) Fest (bei Errichtung der Statue) (**150-61**)
 - ca-1) Darbringung von Opfern im ganzen Land (**150-56**)
 - ca-2) Anlage von Gärten (als Festort) und Bestellung von Personal (157-61)
 - cb) Prinzipien der Rechtsordnung (162-C 39)
 - cb-1) Gleichheit vor dem Recht unabhängig von Stand (162-65)
 - cb-2) Gleichheit vor dem Recht unabhängig vom Vermögen (166-68+C 37-39)
 - cc) Selbständigkeit des Herrschers bei der Rechtssetzung (169-C 46)
 - cc-1) Unabhängigkeit von Spitzen der Staatsverwaltung (169+C 43-46)
 - cc-2) Unabhängigkeit von Familienmitgliedern (170-C 46)
 - cd) Die Rechtsordnung (C 47-D iii 8')
 - cd-1) Zusammenfassung (C 47-51)

- cd-1.1) Abschaffung von Unrecht (C 47–49)
- cd-1.2) Setzen von Recht im Lande (C 50–51)
- cd-2) Die einzelnen Gesetze, eingeleitet mit: “An diesem Tage”
(C 52–D iii 8’)
- d) Sicherung der Inschrift vor Tilgung durch Fluch (D iii 9’–?).

Schon ein erster Blick auf diese Textübersicht zeigt den Kodex Urnamma als wichtigen Meilenstein in der Entwicklung altnesopotamischer Rechtssetzung. Er steht mit der Berufung auf die göttliche Wahl des Herrschers und, wie schon Kramer (1954) sah, mit der Beschreibung früherer Mißstände und deren Beseitigung im göttlichen Auftrag in der Tradition der “Reformtexte” Irikaginas von Lagas, bringt aber eine wesentliche Neuerung mit der kasuistischen Formulierung von Gesetzen, die “an diesem Tage” Gültigkeit erhielten und zweifellos auch behalten sollten.

“Dieser Tag,” das zeigt der Text (C52) sehr deutlich, wurde mit Opferfesten im ganzen Lande (“an den Ufern von Euphrat und Tigris”) begangen, und dafür sind eigens von königlichen Obergärtnern zu betreuende Gärten angelegt worden. Es ist ohne Zweifel der Tag der Errichtung der Statue mit dem Gesetzestext und seiner öffentlichen Bekanntmachung.

Damit liegt eine eindeutige Aussage zu der in der Literatur heißumstrittenen Frage vor, ob die altorientalischen “Gesetzestexte” jemals und wenn überhaupt, wann sie promulgiert wurden (Renger 1994: 28f, 50).²⁴ Denn dem bei Frayne 1997, Urnammu 20, nach Z. 181 fehlenden u₄-ba des Kodex Urnamma entspricht das *inūmī-šu* “zu dieser Zeit” des Kodex Hammurabi (CH) unmittelbar vor den Gesetzen.²⁵ Ihm geht in beiden Texten eine summarische Aussage über die Schaffung von Gerechtigkeit im Lande voraus. (Im Kodex Lipit-Eštar (CL) ist die Schwelle zwischen dem Prolog und den Gesetzen nicht erhalten.) Es wäre sehr erstaunlich, wenn dieses *inūmī-šu* des Kodex Hammurabi ganz anders zu verstehen wäre als das u₄-ba des Kodex Urnamma,²⁶ wo es entweder ein den Bedingungssätzen der Ge-

24. Der Ansicht Rengers 1994: 50, “die akzeptierte ‘unvollständige’ Natur dieser Gesetze würde die Promulgation und Wirksamkeit der Gesetze auf die behandelte Rechtsmaterie beschränken,” wird man bei einer weiten Fassung des Begriffes “Rechtsmaterie” zustimmen können; denn derartige Gesetze sind darauf angelegt, analog für jeweils konkrete Fälle interpretiert zu werden.

25. Hurowitz 1994: 15f. Anm. 32 sieht diese Parallelität (er liest irrtümlich u₄-bi), zieht aus ihr aber keine Konsequenzen.

26. Hurowitz 1994: 15 mit Anm. 32 sieht *inūmī-šu* in CH v 25 parallel zu seinem Gebrauch in RIME 4 Hammu-rāpi 2, 25–33//28–35; 7, 38–41 und möchte es unmittelbar mit CH xlvii 9–10: *Hammurabi šarrum giṭmālum anāku* verbinden und die Gesetze und die “title lines” (xlvi 1–8) tilgen (“to excise the laws along with the title lines”). Mit dieser m. E. nicht aufrecht zu erhaltenden Annahme steht und fällt die zentrale These seines an vielen geistreichen Beobachtungen reichen Werkes.

Renger 1994: 51f. stellt die Steleninschrift des CH zu den “Kommemorativinschriften,” in denen “der Bericht über den Bau des Tempels . . . verschiedene Erweiterungen erfahren [hat], in denen weitere Taten des Herrschers beschrieben werden . . . Im CH . . . nehmen die Rechtssätze (. . .), die mit den Worten ‘damals’ eingeleitet werden, strukturell den Platz ein, der in Weihinschriften diesen weiteren Taten eingeräumt wird.” Er verweist auf seine Behandlung des Epilogsabschnittes

setze vorausgestelltes, zu den jeweiligen Nachsätzen zu stellendes Zeitadverb sein

Rs. xxiv(xlvii) 59–xxv(xlviii) 47 (S. 31f., s.u.) und folgert: “Die strukturelle Position der Rechtssätze in der Steleninschrift scheint mir ein Indiz dafür, daß die Stele nicht primär um der Rechtssätze willen geschaffen worden ist. Sie ist nur Teil dessen, was Hammurapi die Nachwelt von seinen Taten wissen lassen will. Die . . . Verschriftung rechtlicher Normen, wie sie die Rechtssätze des CH darstellen, hätte somit eine commemorative Funktion.” Darum kann er, obschon er die gegen die Gesetzesnatur des CH angeführten Beweise entkräftet, “überzeugende Argumente” für “einen gesetzgeberischen Akt i[m] Zusammenhang” mit den auf den Stelen aufgezeichneten “Rechtssätze[n] . . . nicht erkennen.”

Das Schaffen von Recht und Gerechtigkeit ist freilich die einzige im CH berichtete Tat des Herrschers; der appositionelle Epitheta-Katalog des “piety register” (Hurowitz 1994: 71ff.) ist kein Tatenbericht. Die “Rechtssätze”—41½ von 51 Kolumnen—sind keine “weitere Tat”; denn sie explizieren die in v 14–24 berichtete Ausführung des göttlichen Auftrages von i 27–59: “Als Marduk mich beauftragte, die Menschen zu lenken und dem Lande Sitte angedeihen zu lassen, legte ich Recht und Gerechtigkeit in den Mund des Landes und trug Sorge für das Wohlergehen der Menschen” (Übersetzung: Borger 1982).

Renger 1994: 32 sagt zu Rs. xxiv 59–xxv 47: “In der zitierten Passage geht es weniger um die möglichen Rechtsfolgen für den Recht Suchenden, sondern vielmehr um Ruhm und Segnungen für Hammurapi.” Im Text der Stele selbst erkenne ich aber keine Gründe für eine unterschiedliche Gewichtung der beiden Interessen des “Autors” der Stele. Der Wunsch nach Ruhm und Segnung ist ebenso explizit ausgesprochen wie der, daß der “geschädigte Bürger, der von einem Rechtsfall betroffen ist (sic: *ša awātam iraššū*), meine Stele ganz genau laut lesen (oder sich vorlesen lassen: Gtn und Štn gleichlautend) und meine überaus kostbaren Worte hören” solle und daß “meine Stele ihm den Rechtsfall aufzeige und er das ihn betreffende Urteil (sic) ersehe (*awātam likallim-šu din-šu limur*). Beide Wünsche sind miteinander verknüpft, denn den Preis und die Segnung soll nicht ein zukünftiger Bestauner des Denkmals, sondern eben der aussprechen, der im Text der Stele sein Recht gefunden hat. Die Schutzgottheiten und der Tempel Esāgila sollen diese guten Worte über Hammurabi vor Marduk bringen (Rs. xxv 48–58). Ein “kommemorativer,” Ruhm schaffender Wert von detaillierten Rechtssätzen zu ganz konkret beschriebenen Fällen kann doch nur darin gründen, daß diese Regelungen fortan Geltung haben (sollen).

Ein gesetzgeberisches Interesse hat man für den CH im Streben nach einer für ein aus verschiedenen Teilen zusammengewachsenes Reich verbindlichen Rechtsgrundlage gesucht. In gleicher Lage fand sich auch Urnamma. Renger 1994: 32–34 führt gegen das Motiv “Rechtsvereinheitlichung” das Gewohnheitsrecht und nebeneinander bestehende, unterschiedliche Rechtskreise an. Gerade in letzterem liegt aber das Motiv für einen Gesetzgeber, ihm essentiell erscheinende Bereiche des Rechtswesens zu vereinheitlichen, was z. B. das große Interesse des CH an den rechtlichen Verhältnissen der zu öffentlichen Dienstleistungen Verpflichteten erklären kann. Ob dieses Streben von Erfolg gekrönt war, ist für die gesetzgeberische Intention irrelevant, bedarf aber noch eingehenderer Untersuchung.

Die gesetzgeberische Absicht sollte sich in den Selbstaussagen der Herrscher äußern; darauf geht Renger aber nicht ein. Hammurabi nennt (i 27–49) den Auftrag der Götter An und Enlil an ihn, Gerechtigkeit zu schaffen, als ihr einziges Motiv, ihn zum König zu erwählen. Die Ausführung dieses Auftrages ist für ihn Anlaß, die Stele zu errichten (Rs. xxiv 59–78). Er hat bei seiner Rechtssetzung “Sumer und Akkad” (v 8–9; Rs. xxiv 50–51), die gesamte Welt (ii 3–4; v 11–12 “die vier Weltsektoren” [Übersetzung: Borger 1982]) und “das Land” schlechthin (i 33; v 17; Rs. xxiv 6) im Auge, und das “piety register” umreißt das weitgespannte, aus mehreren ursprünglich selbständigen Staaten zusammengefügte Herrschaftsgebiet Hammurabis. Urnamma nennt seine Absicht, Recht für das unter ihm vereinte Land zu setzen, ausdrücklich im *zà-mí*-Lied TCL 15, 12: 27–28: *⁴Utu ka-ḡā inim ba-ni-in-ḡāl, di ku₅-ru-ḡu₁₀ ki-en-gi ki-uri ka téš-a bí-in-sè*, “Utu legte das (verständige) Wort in meinen Mund, ließ durch mein Rechtsprechen Sumer und Akkad einmütig reden,” und *ibid.* 33–34: *ní su-a bí-ús-sa-ḡu₁₀-e^{i-na x-x-ri-ja}*, *di ku₅-ru-ḡu₁₀ ki-en-gi ki-uri úš aš-a mi-ni-ib-dib*, “Die Furcht (vor

kann²⁷ oder aber zu einem Nominalsatz mit getilgtem Prädikat (“galt” oder “war Gesetz”) gehört, dessen Subjekt die folgenden, kasuistisch formulierten Gesetze bilden. Die Entscheidung für letztere Lösung legt der Kodex Hammurabi nahe, der ein Prädikat auf das Gesetzeskorpus folgen läßt: (v 24ff.) *inūmī-šu, šumma awilum . . .* (xlvii 1–8) *dināt mišarim, ša Hammurabi šarrum lē’um ukinnu-ma mātam ūsam kīnam u rīdam damqam ušāšbitu*, “An diesem Tage galt: »Wenn jemand . . .« sind die gerechten Rechtssprüche, die der tüchtige König Hammurabi festsetzte und damit das Land einen sicheren Weg und gute Führung ergreifen ließ.”

Nur hier wird von Hammurabi in der 3. Person gesprochen. Die Gesetze mit folgendem Prädikat erweisen sich so deutlich als ein Zitat aus einem anderen Kontext, d.h., aus der zeitlich von der Abfassung des Textes der Stele getrennten, ursprünglichen Verkündung der Gesetze (vielleicht im Jahr Hammurabi 22).

Trotz dieser Gemeinsamkeiten bestehen auch große Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Kodizes. Der Kodex Hammurabi macht keine detaillierten Aussagen in der Tradition der Reformtexte Irikaginas über beseitigte Mißstände, und er beginnt nach den Gesetzen nicht unmittelbar mit der die Inschrift schützen sollenden Fluchformel. Vielmehr folgt auf das erwähnte Prädikat des Nominalsatzes, dessen Subjekt die Gesetze sind, zunächst eine Aussage über die Aufstellung der Gesetzesstele und ihren Zweck (Rs. xxiv 9–78), die *mutatis mutandis* vielleicht mit der am Anfang des Textes des Kodex Urnamma stehenden Weihung der Statue verglichen werden kann. Darauf folgen allgemeine Wünsche für das Bekanntwerden von Hammurabis Gerechtigkeit, die Beständigkeit der Inschrift und den guten Namen des Königs (Rs. xxiv 49–xxv 2), gefolgt vom konkreten Wunsch, daß der Rechtsuchende die Gesetzesstele zurate ziehen und den König dankbar preisen solle. Erst nach dem eindringlichen, mit Segen und Fluch bewehrten Wunsch, zukünftige Herrscher sollten das auf der Stele aufgezeichnete Recht pflegen und nicht abschaffen, kommt die Sicherung der Inschrift durch ausführliche Segenswünsche und Flüche.

Einige der Neuerungen des Kodex Hammurabi finden sich nun bereits im Kodex Lipit-Eštar, der ebenfalls nach den Gesetzen und vor dem Fluch einen teilweise zerstörten Passus (xix 6–17; 1’–4’) über die Inkraftsetzung der Gesetze (ohne Zeitangabe) enthält: “Sumer und Akkad ließ ich die beständigen Gesetze (wie) aus dem wahrhaftigen Munde des Sonnengottes ergreifen” (xix 6–8), gefolgt von allgemeinen Aussagen über die Rechtssetzung und ihre Folgen für das Wohl des Volkes und, nach einer Lücke, der Aufstellung der Stele (xix 2’–4’).

den genannten Strafen), die ich (den Menschen) eingeflößt habe, ließ durch mein Rechtsprechen Sumer und Akkad in einer Spur gehen.” Im CU ist der Herrscher von An und Enlil wegen seiner Rechtschaffenheit und Gerechtigkeit zum Könige erhoben worden (36–46) und hat mit göttlicher Unterstützung Gerechtigkeit im Lande geschaffen, das Sumer und Akkad umfaßt (103–113). Der Text spricht (A 125ff.) von einem von fremdem Joch befreiten Gebiet; die Ortsnamen zeigen es zu Akkad gehörig. Eine ähnliche Wendung findet sich auch im CL 54–68 (A iii 9–23), der ebenfalls den göttlichen Auftrag an den König, Recht zu setzen, als Motiv für seine Auswahl durch die Götter nennt (24–36).

27. Dagegen spricht sich m. E. zurecht Hurowitz 1994: 15f. Anm. 32 aus.

Zeigt der Kodex Lipit-Eštar so Neuerungen gegenüber dem Kodex Urnamma, die der Kodex Hammurabi weiterführt, so unterscheidet er sich von letzterem aber durch den fast gänzlich zerstörten Katalog von beseitigten Mißständen. Kraus (1984: 21ff.) hat in diesem Katalog einen Vorläufer der uns von Samsu-iluna und Ammi-šaduqa (in Bruchstücken) vorliegenden “Königlichen Verfügungen” erkannt; die Gemeinsamkeit äußert sich dabei auch—Kraus hebt es nicht eigens hervor—in der Formulierung; denn dem den Erlaß der Leistungspflicht in den Edikten ausdrückenden (*w*)*uššurum* entspricht im Kodex Lipit-Eštar das Verbum *šu-ba(r)*.²⁸ Vielleicht hat Hammurabi auf den Einschluß seiner Maßnahmen für den sozialen Frieden im Lande in den Text seiner Gesetzesstele verzichtet, weil er diese vor seiner Statue “König der Gerechtigkeit” hat aufstellen lassen, auf der sicher eine solche “Königliche Verfügung” aufgezeichnet war. Damit war die literarische Trennung von Erlaß und Gesetzeskodifizierung vollzogen.

Der Stil der kasuistisch formulierten Gesetze entspricht dem, was aus den späteren Rechtssammlungen bekannt ist: quasi zur Entscheidung anstehende exemplarische Rechtsfälle werden als Bedingungssatz (perfektiv) stilisiert, gefolgt von der im Indikativ im kursiven Aspekt ausgedrückten Rechtsfolge im Nachsatz dazu. In einigen wenigen Fällen weicht der CU von diesem Schema ab und formuliert die Rechtsfolge ganz oder teilweise im Prekativ (§24 B iii 3'. 7'; §c4 D i 12). Keiner dieser Prekative gibt einen Wunsch wieder, sie sind vielmehr in konzедierender Funktion gebraucht, auch wenn in §24 B iii 7' eine Forderung mitzuschwingen scheint: Die Möglichkeit, sich der Verpflichtung, eine Sklavin zu stellen, durch eine Silberzahlung zu entledigen, wird eingeräumt, wenn die Sach-Leistung unmöglich ist.

Die innere Ordnung des CU, soweit er sich z. Zt. wiederherstellen läßt, folgt dem von H. Petschow (1965, 1968a, 1968b) für die Gesetzestexte entdeckten und auch schon für den CU vermuteten Prinzip der Assoziation, unterscheidet sich aber in Vorgehen und Detail stark von dem zum CH zu Beobachtenden.

Vor allem drei miteinander verwobene Hauptstränge scheinen das Werk zu durchziehen: das Interesse am Rechtsfrieden und der Ahndung von Verbrechen und Vergehen, das Interesse an der Familie, zuvörderst der Ehe, und schließlich Sonderfälle aus dem Recht der Sklaven. Dazu kommt das starke Bestreben, in “Tarifen” Gebühren, Preise und die Höhe von Wiedergutmachungs-Zahlungen zu regeln.

Dem Beginn mit den Strafen für Mord, Raub und Freiheitsentzug (§§1–3) folgt das Problem des freigelassenen verheirateten Sklaven (§4) und das von Status und Erbrecht von Kindern aus der Ehe eines Sklaven mit einer Freien (§5), daran werden wieder strafrechtliche Bestimmungen aus dem Bereich der Ehe angeschlossen (§§6–7), daran einerseits die Bestrafung/Kompensation für die Vergewaltigung einer Sklavin (§8) und Fragen des Ehescheidungsrechts (§§9–11 oder 12), gefolgt

28. Beides wörtlich “freilassen”; s. auch Kienast 1982: 35f. mit Anm. 25 zu *šu-bar* = *wuššurum* in *neusum*. Briefen und altass. Prozeßurkunden; vgl. auch Charpin 1987 zu *andurāram wuššurum* in Mari.

von der Bestrafung der falschen Anschuldigung, u.a., wegen Ehebruchs (§§12a?–14'). Daran schließt der Paragraph über den zurückgewiesenen Schwiegersohn an (§15'), was nahelegt, daß an üble Nachrede als Ursache des Geschehens gedacht ist, wenngleich, anders als im §161 CH, nicht *expressis verbis* von *calumnia* die Rede ist.²⁹ Auch §16 (Sklavenflucht innerhalb der Stadt) kann in diesen Kontext gehören, falls es wie im §12 CL und §16 CH um Sklaven-Hehlerei geht, denn diese wird am ehesten durch Nachbarn bekannt. Der außerhalb der Stadt ergriffene flüchtige Sklave schließt sinnvoll an (§17). Es folgt das große Kapitel "Körperverletzung" mit einem "Tarif" für unterschiedliche Tatbestände (§§18–26), an dessen Ende einerseits die Auslösung von Fehlgeburten bei Freien und Sklavinnen und andererseits die Ehr- und Körperverletzung der einer Ehefrau gleichgestellten Sklavin steht.

Beim Wiedereinsetzen des Textes nach einer größeren Lücke folgen 2 Paragraphen über das Verhalten von Zeugen vor Gericht (§§a2–3) gefolgt—Stichwortanschluß: "Prozeß"—von dem abermals durch eine kleinere Lücke unterbrochenen Kapitel "Flurschäden und Feldarbeiten" mit einem "Tarif" für die Tiermiete (§a8'). Warum mit §§a9'–10' nun das Erbrecht von Töchtern abgehandelt wird, kann ich nicht erkennen.

Nach einer Lücke unbekannter Größe folgen Regelungen unter dem Stichwort "Haus," zunächst die Haftung des Hausbesitzers betreffend (§§c1–2), danach wieder ein "Tarif" (Lohn für Baumeister?) in §c3, gefolgt von zwei Paragraphen aus dem Eherecht (Konkubinat mit Sklavin?), vielleicht weil das Haus-Personal betroffen ist. Dann folgt nach einer weiteren Textlücke ein weiter aufgefächerter "Tarif": zunächst Arzthonorare, (§§d1–4), dann Lohn/Rationen für das weibliche Personal in Staatsbetrieben (§§d5–7), gefolgt von Regelungen im Kreditwesen (§§d8–10), für die Feldpacht (§d11) und schließlich, nach einer neuerlichen Lücke, genormte Preise für den Hauskauf und die Hausmiete.

Ein ins Einzelne gehender Vergleich der drei Gesetzestexte (und des Kodex Ešnunna) hinsichtlich der in ihnen behandelten Rechtsmaterie würde hier zu weit führen; er würde aber auch zeigen, daß die beiden sumerischen Kodizes einander ergänzen, der Kodex Hammurabi aber, wie es scheint, den Versuch unternimmt, das Material der früheren Kodizes dort, wo sich Überschneidungen ergeben, neu und umfassender zu behandeln.

Kodex Urnamma

A ₁	[^d En-líl]	[(Dem Gott) Enlil,]
	[lugal kur-kur-ra]	[(dem) Herrn aller Länder—]

29. Petschow 1973 geht auf den §161 CH nicht ein, da er sich auf die falsche Beschuldigung einer strafbaren Handlung konzentriert. Das für den *ibrum* "Freund" verfügte Eheverbot spiegelt m. E. einen ähnlichen Talionsgedanken, wie es die Fälle aus dem Strafrecht tun, wird doch dem Verhinderer der Ehe die Heirat der umstrittenen Frau untersagt.

	[alan Ur- ^d Namma]	[der Statue Urnammas,]
	[nita-kala-ga]	[des starken Mannes,]
5	[lugal Uri ₅ -m]a ¹	[des Königs von Ur,]
	[lugal ki-en-gi]	[des Königs von Sumer]
	[ki-uri-k]a	[und Akkad] ³⁰
	[na ₄]-bi	[Stein]
	[^{na} esi ² -à]m ³¹	ist [Gabbro-Stein] ³² —
10	[Ur ²]- ^r d ²¹ N[amma ²]	[habe ich, Ur]-N[amma ²]
	[nita ka]la-g[a] ³³	[der sta]rk[e Mann],
	[lugal U]ri ₅ [^{ki} (-ma)]	[der König von U]r,
	[lugal K]i-en-[gi ki-Uri] ³⁴	[der König von S]ume[r und Akkad],
	[u ₄ é] ^d [Nanna]	[sie, als ich das Haus] des (Gottes)
		[Nanna,]
15	[lug]al-ğá [mu-dù-a]	meines [He]rrn, [erbaut und]
	[má má-gan ^{ki}]	[ich die Magan (= ‘Omān)-Schiffe]
	[di ní]ğ gi-na]	auf [das ge]re[chte Urteil]
	[^d Utu-t]a ² šu-n[a ²]	[des (Gottes) Utu] hin [in s]eine Hand
	[mu-ni]- ^r gi ₄ ¹ -[a]	zurückge[bracht hatte],
20	[a mu-na-ru]	[ihm geweiht]. ³⁵
	[u ₄ -ba]	[Damals]
	[^{gi} banšur ³⁶ ^d E]n- ^r lil ¹	setzte ich vom [Tische]
	[lugal-ğ]á-t[a] ³⁷	[meines Herrn E]nlil
	[alan Ur]- ^d Namma-k[e ₄ ?] ³⁸	für die Statue Urnammas
25	^r nidba ²¹ iti-da	als monatliche Opferspeise
	1,30 še gur	90 Kor Gerste,
	30 udu	30 Schafe

30. Ergänzt in Anlehnung an Gudea, Stat. B i 1–12; s.o., S. 293.

31. Z. 7–9 umschreiben Finkelstein 1969: 66: “[. . .]x, [. . .]-bé, [. . .] AN”; Roth 1995: 15: “[. . .] ba [. . .] bi [. . .] an”; davor keine Lesung oder Ergänzung; Frayne 1997 folgt hier Finkelstein; im folgenden übernimmt er zumeist die Lesungen von Roth, was hier nicht mehr eigens dokumentiert werden kann.

32. Ergänzt in Anlehnung an Gudea, Statue B vii 49–53; s.o., S. 293.

33. Finkelstein 1969: 66 folgt Kramer 1954: 42 und liest “[. . . ka]am-m[a]”; Roth 1995: 15 ergänzt wie oben im Text.

34. So ergänzt auch Roth 1995: 15 die Zeilen 10–13; danach keine Ergänzung bis Z. 24.

35. Ergänzt nach Urnamma 47 i 1–ii 6 und z. T. nach Urnamma 26 ii 2–4; s.o. S. 294f.

36. Oder: é “vom Hause?” Vgl. den Ninlil-Abschnitt der Statuen-Basis-Inschrift Šū-Su’ens und den Anfang von Gudea Statue B; s.o., S. 293, 295.

37. Ergänzung nach der Sockelinschrift der Šū-Su’en-Statue und ihrer Abschrift auf HS 2009; s.o., S. 295. Finkelstein 1969: 67 las in Z. 23 “[. . .] šu?-na?”

38. Kramer 1983: 454: “I reexamined the photograph . . . the sign I copied as MA is really Nam-ma, and . . . should therefore be restored to read [^dur-]^dnamma-r[a]”; demgegenüber übernimmt Roth 1995: 15 die Lesung [. . . ka]lam?-ma?-šè von Finkelstein 1969: 67 ohne sein Fragezeichen bei -ma; ich folge Kramer, ergänze aber -k[e₄] nach Gudea Statue B i 7.

	30	sila ì-nun	30 Liter Butter
		sá-du ₁₁ -šè	für (tägliche) regelmäßige Lieferungen
	30	mu-na-ni-ġar	ihm (= Enlil) fest.
		u ₄ An-né	Als (Gott) An
		^d En-líl-le	(und Gott) Enlil
		^d Nanna-ar	dem (Gott) Nanna
		^r nam-lugal ¹ Uri ₅ ki-ma	das Königtum von Ur
	35	^r mu-na ¹ -sum-mu-uš-a-ba	gegeben hatten,
		u ₄ - ^r ba ^{d1} Ur- ^d Namma{-ke ₄ } ³⁹	da hat er nach Urnamma,
		dumu tu-da	dem von der (Göttin) Ninsun
		^d Nin-sún-ka	geborenen Kind,
		^r ama ¹ -a-tu	seinem geliebten
	40	^r ki-áġ ¹ -ġá-ni-ir	Haus-Sklaven, ⁴⁰
		níġ si-sá-ni-šè	wegen seiner Rechtschaffenheit,
		[ní]ġ g[i-na]-ni-šè	wegen seiner Gerechtigkeit,
		a[l ² mu-n]a ² - ^r ni ² -du ₁₁ ? ¹⁴¹	verlangt ² und
		[nam-lug]al	das Königtum
A_{ii}		[U]r[i ₅ ki-ma]	von Ur
	46	[ĥu]-mu-[na-sum?]	ihm [wirklich] gegeben.
		[i]ri [. . .]	[(Die . . .) St]ädte [. . .]
		ki ² -[en-gi ki-Uri]	[von ²] Su[mer und Akkad]
		a ² -š[ā ⁴² . . .] ⁴³	Feld[er . . .]
	50	a ² x[. . .]	Wasser . . . [. . .]
		na[m- . . .]	. . . [. . .]
		[. . .]	
		[. . .]	
		[. . .]	
	55	[. . .]	
		[. . .]	
		[. . .]	
		[. . .]	
		[. . .]	

39. Vgl. das offenbar fehlerhafte -ke₄ in Z. 77; ein Ergativ an dieser Stelle würde Urnamma von seinen Epitheta trennen und eine andere Person mit ihnen belegen. Die Parallelen im CH und im CL zeigen, daß der König nicht Subjekt der auf die Auswahl der Stadtgottheit durch die großen Götter folgenden Handlung sein kann. Auch Frayne 1997 tilgt das -ke₄.

40. Siehe Kramer 1983: 455 Anm. 11; diese Deutung von ama-a-tu hier findet sich schon bei Wilcke 1974: 193f., Anm. 67.

41. Van Dijk 1981: 93 Anm. 20a las: “x [ĥu²]-mu-n[a-kešd]a ‘ . . . an agreement he made.’ ”

42. Die Spuren auf dem Photo scheinen nicht zu A. EN[GUR] = i₇ “Kanäle” (oder Determinativ) zu passen.

43. Finkelstein 1969: 67 und Roth 1995: 15 ergänzen Z. 43–49 nicht und sehen mu- und “x” als jeweils erstes Zeichen von Z. 46–47 an.

- 60 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 65 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 [. . .]
 70 [. . .]
 [á] ^rd1[Nanna] du[rch die Kraft] des (Gottes) [Nanna],
 ʾlugal-ǵá-ta¹⁴⁴ meines Herrn,
 ʾabulla⁷¹ imin-bi⁴⁵ wurden² deren sieben Stadttore²
 ʾǵál⁴⁶¹ mu-un-da-an-ʾtaka₄?⁴⁷¹ dort mit seiner Hilfe geöffnet.
 75 Nam-ḥa-ni Namḥani,
 énsi den¹ Stadtfürst(en)
 Lagaš^{ki}{-ke₄}⁴⁸ von Lagaš,
 ḥé-ʾmi-x⁴⁹¹ habe ich wirklich dort(hin) ge . . . t.

44. Mögliche andere Lesung der Spuren in Z. 71–72:

[x x] ʾAn¹-[ša-an^{ki}?] . . . von(?) An[šan(?)]
 ʾŠušin^{ki}?¹ (und) von(?) Susa(?).

45. Finkelstein 1969: 67 las: x-ME-7-bi.

46. Man erwartet dem Kontext gemäß einen Affirmativ; der Zeichenrest kann zu ʾḥu¹- ergänzt werden.

47. Finkelstein 1969: 67 gefolgt von Roth 1995: 15 las das Verbum als sum; Kramer 1983: 455 Anm. 12 hatte aber notiert: “. . . last sign in space 74 is not SUM.” Auf dem Photo sieht es so aus, als ende das Zeichen mit einem gebrochenen Senkrechten. Die obige, sehr unsichere Lesung gründet auf der Vermutung, daß von der Eroberung einer feindlichen Stadt (Ĝirsu?) die Rede ist.

48. Vgl. das offenbar fehlerhafte -ke₄ in Z. 36.

49. Kramer 1954: 42 las ḥé-m[i-u]g₅, wozu Falkenstein 1954: 49 Bedenken notierte. Auch Finkelstein 1969: 67 las [u]g₅; anders van Dijk 1981: 93f. Anm. 20a: ḥé-mi-i[b]-t[ù]m, “Namḥani the Ensi of Lagaš [brou]ght (it)”; Kramer 1983: 455 vermutete wohl ḥé-ʾmi-kéš¹: “tentatively . . . : ‘He (Urnammu) . . . d the seven me of . . . bound them(?) on Namḥani, the ensi of Lagaš’”; dazu in Anm. 12: “. . . last sign in space 78 is not UG₅.” Roth 1995: 15 bietet jetzt (Vorschlag M. Civils) ʾḥé-mi-íl¹, “I promoted Namḥani to be governor of the city of Lagaš.” Die Ernennung eines Untergebenen zu erwähnen, wäre sehr überraschend und gänzlich singulär.

Tilgt man das ke₄ in Z. 77, gewinnt Kramers ursprüngliche Lesung für das undeutliche letzte Zeichen von Z. 78, das in der Kopie ungefähr wie ʾÁĠ¹ oder ʾEZEN×X¹ aussieht, wieder an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

Das Ereignis hängt vermutlich mit Urnammas Sieg über Puzur-Inšušinak (Wilcke 1987: 109ff.) zusammen. Ein Datum gegen Ende seiner Regierungszeit wird nach den Beobachtungen Steinkellers (1988) und Maedas (1988) wahrscheinlicher.—Mir scheint auch noch nicht gesichert, daß Šulgi unmittelbar nach dem Tode seines Vaters den Thron in Ur bestiegen hat.

	ki- ^r sur ¹ -ra ⁵⁰	Des Gottes Nanna
80	má Ma-gan ^{ki} -na	Gebiet
	^d Nanna	der Magan(=‘Omān)-Schiffe
	á ^d Nanna	habe ich mit der Kraft des (Gottes)
		Nanna,
	lugal-ğá-ta	meines Herrn,
	h ^é -mi-gi ⁴ ⁵¹	wirklich zurückkehren lassen,
85	Uri ⁵ -ki-ma	sodaß sie wirklich
	ha-ba-tam	für immer in Ur bleiben. ⁵²
	u ⁴ -ba	Damals (für) die Kanäle—
	‘i ⁷ ⁵³ ni-is-Kum	es gab
	ì-ğál-la-àm	einen <i>niskum</i> -Beamten(?). ⁵⁴
90	nam-ga-eš ⁸	(Für) die Übersee-Kauffahrer—
	má-la ^h ₅ -‘gal ¹	es gab
	ì-ğál-la-àm	den Schiffer-Obmann.
A _{iii}	‘udul ⁴ ¹ -e	Bei den Hirten
	[gu ⁴ dab ₅ ud]u dab ₅	gab es
95	[anše] dab ₅ ⁵⁵	den Rinder-Packer, den Schaf-Packer
	[ì-ğál-la]-‘àm ¹	und den Esel-Packer.
	[garadin _x (UR ₁) lú zukum-ma]	Bei den Garben gab es
	[ì-ğál-la-àm]	den Mann für das Trampeln. ⁵⁶
	[. . .]	
100	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	

50. So auch die Lesung Kramers (1954: 43), die Falkenstein, 1954: 49f. mit Hinweis auf UET 1, 50 (Urnamma 26 ii 2–4) “schwer möglich” schien, jetzt aber durch Urnamma 47 (s.o. S. 294) bestätigt wird. Finkelstein 1969: 67 las ki-SAR-ra; dem folgt Roth 1995: 15.

51. Lesung von Z. 82–84 schon bei van Dijk 1981: 93f. Anm. 20a.

52. Siehe tam = *kajjānu* “beständig” (CAD *kajjānu* lex.; s. auch tam = *kīnu*, CAD *kīnu* lex.); ich vermute in der Verbalform eine 3. Pers. Sing. *hamtu* intransitiv: “In Ur wurden sie dauerhaft.”

53. Kramer 1954: 43 las a-guru₉, wozu Falkenstein, der auch die Struktur des Abschnittes klärte, (1954: 50) Bedenken notierte und a-x umschrieb. Finkelstein 1969: 67, gefolgt von Roth 1995: 15, las nach Kollation a-šà, was die Kopie nicht unwesentlich korrigieren würde.

54. Falkenstein 1954: 50 denkt an den “edle[n] Esel,” anše-ni-is-ku. Die Parallelität zum folgenden läßt auf eine Personenbezeichnung schließen; so auch Roth 1995: 15: “the *nisku*-people had control of the fields”; Finkelstein 1969: 67 nahm eine Steuer an: “*niskum*(-levy).” Zur Personenbezeichnung *ni-is-ku* s. *AHW nisku*, CAD *nisku* A und Gelb 1957: 306f.; Krecher 1974: 232f.; Foster 1982a: 85; 1982b: 24; L. 9381, 4–5; 1982c: 342; 1982d: 467; Nr. 9, 11; 469: Nr. 12, 2; Yang 1989: Index s.v. *ni-is-ku*; Van de Mierop, Longman 1985: Nr. 4, 8; Steinkeller 1992: Nr. 53, 56. Die Belege sind nur altakkadisch; dies paßt zur Aussage Urnamma’s, er habe die Rechte dieser Personen abgeschafft. Da es sich dabei um Vorrechte zu handeln scheint und diese (z.T. in Gruppen auftretenden) Personen von der Stadtbevölkerung abgegrenzt werden (CAD *nisku* A; Foster 1982a: 85) würde es sich bei Ableitung von *nasākum* um “(gesellschaftlich) Ausgegrenzte,” bei Ableitung von *nasāqum* um “Ausgesuchte,” vielleicht (nach Südbabylonien) Deportierte oder Umsiedelte, handeln.

55. Siehe unten bei Z. 121.

56. Siehe unten bei Z. 122.

	[. . .]	
	[u ₄ -b]a	Damals habe ich,
	[Ur- ^d]Namma	Urnamma,
105	[nita-kala]-ga	der starke Mann,
	[lugal Uri ₅ k] ⁱ -ma	der König von Ur,
	[lugal ki-en-g]i ki-uri	der König von Sumer und Akkad,
	[á ^d]Nanna	mit der Kraft des (Gottes) Nanna,
	[lugal-ḡ]á-ta	meines Herrn,
110	[níḡ ⁵⁷ g]i-na	mit dem Recht
	[^d Utu]-ta	des (Gottes) Utu
	[níḡ s]i-sá	die Gerechtigkeit
	[kalam-ma [?] ḥ]u-mu-ni- ^r ḡar ¹⁵⁸	im Lande(?) wirklich gesetzt.
	[i ₇ ni-is-Kum]	(für) die Kanäle — den <i>nisKum</i> -Beamten
115	[ki-en-gi ki-uri]	habe ich wirklich in die Hand
	[šu-b]a ḥé-mi-gi ₄ ⁵⁹	von Sumer und Akkad zurückgebracht.
	nam-ga-eš ₈	(Für) die Übersee-Kauffahrer–
	má-laḥ ₅ -gal	den Schiffer-Obmann,
	udul ₄ -e	für die Hirten
120	gu ₄ dab ₅ udu dab ₅	den Rinder-Packer, den Schaf-Packer,
	anše dab ₅ ⁶⁰	den Esel-Packer,
	garadin _x (URI) lú zuk[um-ma] ⁶¹	(für) die Garben den Mann für das
		Trampeln
	ki-en-g[i ki-uri]	habe ich wirklich in die Hand von
	šu-ba ḥ[é-mi-gi ₄]	Sumer und Akkad zurückgebracht.

57. Roth 1955: 15 ergänzt inim.

58. Unsichere Ergänzung von Z. 112–113 nach Finkelstein 1969: 67; ganz anders van Dijk 1981: 93f. Anm. 20a für Z. 108–113 : [á-^d]nanna / [lugal-g]á-ta / [^dnin-kar-nu]n-na / [nin-gá]-ta / [lú²-un]u^{ki} / [aga_x-šē ḥ]u-mu-ni-sig, “with the help of [the might] of Nanna, my [king], of [Ninkar-nunna, my queen], I van[quished the man of Uruk]”; dezidiert dagegen Kramer 1983: 455 Anm. 14. Sind Z. 110–13 vielleicht nach Urnamma 28 i 15–18 (s.o., S. 294) zu lesen: [di níḡ g]i-na, [^dUtu]-ta, [bar ḥé-b]i-tam¹, [KA ḥ]u-mu-ni-g[i¹], “und mit dem gerechten Urteilspruch des Gottes Utu habe ich es wirklich überprüft und es ihm (= Sumer und Akkad) bestätigt?”

Man ist—vorausgesetzt, Finkelsteins Lesung und Ergänzung treffen zu—auch versucht, Z. 112–13 mit dem Steinfragment PBS 15, 31 i zu verbinden ([. . .]-sá, [. . .]-ḡar, [. . .]x), doch lassen sich die Reste von Kol. ii ([. . . s]il[a . . .], 1 sila BI[. . .], 10 g[ín² . . .]) trotz inhaltlicher Nähe nicht mit Z. 135ff. kombinieren.

59. So schon van Dijk 1981: 93f. Anm. 20a für Z. 116; in Z. 115 liest er: “[a-šā ni-is-kum]; Finkelstein 1969: 67 ergänzte in Z. 114–16 [nig-erim(?)], [nig-á-zi(?)], [ḡ⁸tuk]ul ḥé-mi-gi₄; Kramer 1983: 455 ändert Z. 116: [é-b]a ḥé-mi-gi₄, “returned (enmity and violence) to their house”; Roth 1995: 15 ergänzt nichts. Ich nehme an, daß Z. 116 und 124 gleich lauteten.

60. Siehe MVN 7, 380 Rs. 2–3 (datiert Urnamma): 12 anše, ki anše-dab₅-ta, “12 Esel von Seiten des ‘Esel-Packers’”; gu₄-dab₅ ist als PN bezeugt; s. MVN 6, S. 337; 7, S. 201 s.v. gu₄-KU; dies stützt die Vermutung Falkensteins 1954, 50f., es könne sich um eine mit “ÁB.KU” (d.h., /ùnu.d/ = ÁB.DAB₅) = *utullu*, *rē²ú* “Rinderhirt” zusammenhängende Berufsbezeichnung handeln.

61. Finkelstein 1969: 67 liest: uri(?) lú du₈[. . .]; van Dijk 1981: 93 Anm. 20a: uri lú uša[n]; Roth 1995: 15: uri lú gi[r₅-ra]. Ich vermute in URI eine graphische Verkürzung von garadin = *kurullu*,

A _{125f}	u ₄ -[ba], A[kšak ^{(l)ki}]	Damals habe ich Akšak,
C ₁	u ₄ -ba Akšak ^{ki} (?)	
A ₁₂₇	Már-[da ^{ki} . . .]	Marda, Ğirikál,
C ₂₋₃	Már-da ^{ki} , Ğiri-kál ^{(l)ki}	
A ₁₂₈	Ka-zal-[lu ^{ki} . . .]	Kazallu und seine Dörfer,
C ₄₋₅	Ka-zal-lu ^{ki} , ù maš-gána-bi	
A ₁₂₉	Ú-š[a-ru-um ^{ki}]	(und) Ušarum, ⁶²
C ₆	Ú-ša-ru-um ^{ki}	
A ₁₃₀	níḡ An-š[a ₄ -an ^{ki} -a . . .]	die für Anšan Sklavendienst wirklich
C ₇₋₈	níḡ An-ša ₄ -an ^{ki} -a nam-úrdu ḫé-éb-ak-a ¹	leisteten,
A _{131f}	á ^r d ¹ [Nanna], lugal-[ḡá-ta]	mit der Kraft des (Gottes) Nanna,
C ₉	á ^d Nanna lugal-[ḡá-ta]	meines Herrn,
A _{133f}	ama-[ar-gi ₄ -bi], ḫu-[mu-ḡar]	wirklich die Freiheit gegeben.
C ₁₀	ama-ar-gi ₄ -bi ḫu-mu-ḡar	
A _{135f}	urudu[ba-rí-ga], ḫ[u-mu-gub]	Einen Kupfer-Scheffel stellte ich
C ₁₁	*urudu ^{ba} -rí-ga ḫu-mu-*gub ⁶³	wirklich auf;
C ₁₂	1,0 sila-àm ḫé-ge-en ⁶⁴	60 sila ⁶⁵ sind es—legte ich wirklich fest.
C ₁₃	urudu ^{ba} -an ḫu-mu-dím	Ein Kupfer-Seah formte ich wirklich;
C ₁₄	10 sila-àm ḫé-ni-ge-en	10 sila sind es—legte ich wirklich darin fest.
A _{iv140f}	urudu ^b [a-an si-sá lugal-la], ḫ[u ¹ -mu-dím]	Ein königliches Normal-Kupfer-Seah formte ich wirklich;
C _{15f}	urudu ^{ba} -an si-sá lugal-la, ḫu-mu-dím	

hier unscharf für “ungedroschenes Getreide” gebraucht. Die Spuren vor dem Abbruch scheinen mir am besten zu ZI-über-ZI.[LAGAB] ergänzbar zu sein. Zu zukum = *kabāsum* s. CAD s.v. (lex.); Civil 1994: 28:7 (von Rindern gesagt). Es könnte sich um den (besteuerten) Einsatz von Rindern beim Dreschen (Zugrinder des Dreschschlittens) handeln; vgl. Steinkeller 1990: 19; Civil 1994: 95 zu Z. 96–98; siehe auch den CAD *kurullu* A Ende zitierten kultischen Kommentar Sumer 13: 117:6f. (*kurillu* in Verbindung mit *kubbusu*).

62. Zu dem Katalog der z. T. im Katastertext Urnammas ebenfalls erscheinenden Städte s. Steinkeller 1987: 19 Anm. 1; Wilcke 1987: 110f.

63. J. van Dijk 1983 liest das Verbum als *dím*. Nach Kollation ist das *DU* der Kopie korrekt.

64. Zu Lesung und Übersetzung von A 135f. // C 11–12 s. van Dijk 1983.

65. Die für sila übliche Übersetzung “Liter” ist hier nicht möglich; dieses sila ist ein $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter-Gefaß; s.o., S. 296.

A ₁₄₂	6-[àm h́é]-ni-ge-en	6 (Var. 5) sind es ⁶⁶ —legte ich wirklich
C ₁₇	5-{*Ras.}-àm h́é-ni-ge-en	darin fest.
A _{143f}	1:sila:zabar, hu-mu-dím	1 sila(-Gefaß) aus Bronze formte ich
C _{20!}	zabar:1:sila hu-mu-dím	wirklich;
A _{145f}	1 ma-na a, h́é-ni-ge-en	1 Pfund (Wasser ⁶⁷)—legte ich wirklich
C _{21!}	1 ma-na-àm h́é-ni-ge-en	darin fest.
A _{147ff}	1:gín:kù:na ₄ , zà 1,0 ⁶⁸ , ma-na- ^r e ^{69!} h́é-ni-ge-en	Einen Ein-Silber-Schekel- Gewichtsstein
C ₁₈₋₁₉	na ₄ :1:gín:kù zà 1,0 ma-na-e, h́é-ni-ge-en	legte ich wirklich als 1/60 Mine fest. ⁷⁰
A _{150f.}	u ₄ -ba, gú ^{id} Idigna	Damals (an?) den Ufern des Tigris,
C ₂₂	u ₄ -ba gú ^{id} Idigna	
A _{152f}	gú ^{id} [Buranun], ÚR[. . .]	(an) den Ufern des Euphrat,
C _{23f}	gú ^{id} Buranun, gú ^{id} dù-a-bi	an allen Kanalufern,
A _{154f}	n[idba x x], ni[saḡ . . .]	Opfergaben . . . Erstlingsopfer,
C _{25f}	nid[ba ⁷¹ x x], nisaḡ ⁷² ša-g[e-guru ₇]	Wunschopfer
A ₁₅₆	ḡ[iš . . .]	brachte ich dort wirklich dar. ⁷³
C ₂₇	ḡiš ⁷⁴ h́é-em-mi-in-[tag]	

66. Nach Kollation ist das Zeichen sila in C (nach der Zahl 5) getilgt. Der Lesung von Text A mit der Zahl 6 ist darum sicher der Vorzug zu geben: nicht ein ba-an si-sá zu 5 sila (so noch irrig Wilcke 1993: 37, Anm. 5), sondern 6 ba-an si-sá in einem ba-rí-ga hat Urnamma festgesetzt. Das relative Verhältnis der Hohlmaße zueinander ist damit dasselbe wie beim Kor von Akkade und beim königlichen Kor Šulgis.

67. So Text A; Text C schreibt, wie in den vorigen Zeilen -àm: “1 sila ist es.” Es scheint möglich, Text A danach zu -A(.AN) zu korrigieren. Dann wäre aber nicht gesagt, wie Urnamma sila-Maß und Gewicht zueinander in Beziehung setzte. [Liest man in Text A mit der Kopie 1 ma-na-MIN “eine Doppelmine,” lösen sich die metrologischen Probleme; Text C böte dann eine Hyperkorrektur.]

68. Roth 1995: 16 liest: “1” und übersetzt “I standardized (all) the stone weights (from?) the pure(?) 1 shekel (weight) to the 1-mina (weight). Für zà-n = 1/n s. bereits Yıldız 1981: 94 Anm. 24.

69. Roth 1995: 16 liest: -^rḡḡ⁷¹.

70. Wörtlich: “machte ich an 1/60 Mine fest.”

71. Roth 1995: 16 umschreibt: add[ir si h́é-em-mi-sá-sá], “[I regulated] the riverboat traffic;” die Spuren nach dem ŠUKU in Text C sind auf dem Photo nicht zu erkennen. Das diri-Zeichen addir (= A.PA.GISAL.ŠUKU.DIRI) beginnt aber in altab. Zeit nicht mit dem Zeichen ŠUKU; Civil 1965: 5 Anm. 18 zitiert einen Ur III-Beleg mit dieser Schreibung; alle übrigen sind altsumerisch und älter; s. jetzt Selz 1995: 197–209. Für die Verbalform wäre nach der Ergänzung von addir_x in der Lücke kein Platz mehr verfügbar.

72. Roth 1995: 16 umschreibt: kas₄?; Yıldız, van Dijk 1981: 89 Anm. 6 identifizieren es als ITIXEŠXBAD und das Zeichen in Text A als beschädigtes NISAḡ (KWU 259). Kollation von Text C zeigt nisaḡ(MURUB₄).

73. Z. 150–56 erinnern an die von Heimpel 1990: 207ff. und von Sallaberger 1993/1: 177 Anm. 830 besprochene Anweisung an hohe Beamte des Reiches von Ur III (YOS 4, 56), an die Ufer von Euphrat und Tigris, “wie am Tage, als Šulgi die Statue errichtet hat,” sehr große Mengen von Bier

A _{157f}	x[. . .], [. . .]	(. . .)
A _{159f}	[ḡ ^š kiri ₆ ḥé-e]m- ^r mi-x ¹	Gärten [legte] ich dort wirklich an.
C ₂₈	ḡ ^š kiri ₆ ḥ[é-e]b-ḡ[á?-ḡá] ⁷⁵	
A ₁₆₁	šandana lugal ⁷⁶ ḥé-eb-tuku	Sie bekamen wirklich einen
C ₂₉	šandana ^r lugal ḥé ¹ -e[b-tuku]	königlichen Obergärtner.
A _{162f}	nu-siki lú níḡ-tuku-ra,	Die Waise wird dem Reichen nicht
	ba-ra-an-ḡar	preisgegeben.
C _{30f}	nu-siki lú níḡ-[tuku]-ra,	
	ba-ra-na-an-ḡar	
A _{164f}	nu-mu-un-su lú á-tuku-ra,	Die Witwe wird dem Mächtigen
	ba-ra-na-an-ḡar	nicht preisgegeben.
C _{32f}	nu-mu-[un-su lú á-tuku]-ra,	
	ba-ra[-na-a]n- ^r ḡar ¹	
A _{166ff}	lú 1 gín-e, lú 1 ma-na-ra,	Der 1-Scheqel-Mann wird dem
	[ba-ra-na]-an-ḡar	1-Pfund-Mann nicht preisgegeben.
C _{34ff}	lú 1 [gín]-e, lú 1 [m]a-na-ra,	
	ba-ra-n[a]-an-ḡar	
C _{37ff}	lú 1 udu-e, lú 1 gu ₄ -e,	Der 1-Schaf-Mann wird dem
(A--)	ba-ra-na-an- ^r ḡar ¹	1-Rind-Mann nicht preisgegeben.
A ₁₆₉	[šagina-šagina-ḡu ₁₀]-ne	Meine Generäle,
C ₄₀	šagina+šagina-ḡu ₁₀ -ne	
A ₁₇₀	[ama-ḡu ₁₀ nin ₉ še]š-šeš-ḡu ₁₀	meine Mutter, meine Schwestern und
C ₄₁	ama-ḡu ₁₀ [ni]n ₉ ⁷⁷ šeš-šeš-ḡu ₁₀	Brüder,

und Brot und máš-da-ri-a-Lieferungen an Gold, Silber, Rindern und Schafen zu bringen, das Bier ausreichend nach Heimpel (S. 210) für "177,262 und ein[en] halbe[n] Biertrinker," nach Sallaberger für "bei der Dauer des Ezem-maḥ von ca. 6 Tagen (. . .) fast 30.000 Menschen."

Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, daß die Aussage von A 159–60 = C 28–29 noch im Zusammenhang mit dem Ereignis an den Fluß- und Kanalufern steht, daß das mit der Kultfeier verbundene Fest in schattigen Palmgärten gefeiert wurde.

74. Roth 1995: 16 liest: é und ergänzt das Verbum -[dù].

75. Die Kollation bestätigt die in der Kopie gezeichneten Zeichenspuren, die als ḥ[é-e]b-ḡ[á-ḡá] oder als ḥ[é-b]í-i[b-x-(x)] gelesen werden können. Eine *marú*-Form ist im Kontext nicht einfach zu erklären (Verlaufsform?), ein Ergativ-Zeichen der Sachklasse scheint noch weniger zu passen. Die Lesung von Text A läßt sich dagegen unschwer als *ḥamtu*-Konjugation mit Ergativ der 1. Person verstehen.

76. M. Roth 1995: 16 liest: lugal-e. In Text C würden die minimalen Spuren einer solchen Ergänzung nicht entgegenstehen; Text A schreibt aber hier der Kopie zufolge kein -e.

77. Roth 1995: 16 ergänzt die schwache Spur dieses Zeichens zu -[n]e und liest: ama-mu-[n]e "my mothers"; ich folge Yildiz 1981: 89. Die Erwähnung der weiblichen Familienmitglieder in diesem Kontext ist bemerkenswert.

A _{197f}	t[ukum-bi], úr[du-dè], g[éme . . .]	§4 Wenn ein Sklave eine Sklavin, (auf)
C _{61f}	tukum-bi úrdu-dè, géme á-áš-a-ni in-tuku- ^r àm ⁷¹	eigenen Wunsch heiratet,
C ₆₃	úrdu-bi ama-ar-gi ₄ -ni ì-ǵá- [*] rǵá ¹	(sein Herr) diesem Sklaven (dann) die Freilassung gewährt, ⁸³
C ₆₄	é-ta nu-ub-ta-è	wird(!) er das Haus nicht verlassen.
A _{204f}	[tukum-bi úrdu-dè dumu-gi ₇ i]n- ^r tuku ¹	§5 Wenn ein Sklave eine Freie heiratet,
C _{65f}	tukum-bi úrdu-dè, dumu-gi ₇ in-tuku	
A ₂₀₆	[du]mu ¹ - ^r nita ¹ diš-àm	wird er einen Sohn
C ₆₇	dumu-nita diš-àm →	
A ₂₀₇	[lugal-a]-ni in-na-gub-bu	seinem Herrn stellen.
C _{67f}	lugal-a-ni-ir, in-na-an-gub-bu	
A _{208f}	[dumu lugal]-a-ni, [in-na-gub-gu]b-bu-da	Jedes Kind, das seinem Herrn gestellt werden wird,
C _{69f}	dumu lugal-a-ni-ir, in-na-gub-gub-bu- ^r da ⁷¹⁸⁴	
A ₂₁₀	[níǵ-ga é]-ad-da-na	wird die Habe seines Vaterhauses
C ₇₁	níǵ-ga é-ad-da-[na]	
A _{211ff}	[maš-bi é]-gar ₈ , [é] ad-da-na, ⁸⁵ [i-ba-e]	zur Hälfte nach dem Vermögen seines Vaterhauses [teilen].
C ₇₂	maš-bi é-gar ₈ é [. . .]	
A ₂₁₄	[dumu dumu-gi ₇] lugal-[da nu]-me-a	Die Kinder einer Freien werden ohne Mitwirken des Königs
C ₇₃	dumu dumu-gi ₇ lugal-da nu-[me-a]	

[weg]en seiner Rückstände im Gef[äng]nis be[funden]. Ur-Ba³u, der Gen[darm] des Ri[chters] Ur-Ninsaza, ließ ihn herauskommen. Der Königsgendarm Lu-Šara und Ur-Ba³u schworen, ihn im Monat iv zurück[zu]bringen. Monat iii, Jahr [. . .].” /ennuǵ/ ist demnach ein “staatliches” Gefängnis.

83. Intransitiver Gebrauch des Verbums ǵar oder nicht genannter Ergativ?

84. Yıldız 1981: 91, gefolgt von Roth 1995: 17, liest: in-na-ab-gub-bu-da. In der Kopie unterscheidet sich das Zeichen nach -na- nicht vom folgenden; die Lesung -ab- ist epigraphisch möglich, würde aber einen Absolutiv der Sachklasse voraussetzen (Kollektiv?). Eine reduplizierte verbale Basis könnte distributiv verstanden werden.

85. Nicht in Roths Umschrift (1995: 17); Finkelstein 1969: 68: “[. . .]x x.”

A ₂₁₅	[nam-úrdu-da(-na) la-ba-an]-ku ₄ -re	nicht zu (seinen) Sklaven gemacht.
C _{74f}	nam-úrdu-d[a ¹ (-na)], la-ba-an-[ku ₄ -re(-eš)]	
C _{76f}	tukum-bi, dam ġuruš-a a nu-ġi ₄ -a	§6 Wenn jemand der jungfräulichen Ehefrau
C ₇₈	níġ á-ġar-šè lú in-ak-ma	eines Mannes Gewalt antut ⁸⁶ und sie
C _{79f}	a bí-in-ġi ₄ , nita-bi ì-gaz-e	defloriert, wird dieser Mann getötet.
A _{222f}	t[ukum-bi dam ġuruš], n[í-te-ni-ta]	§7 Wenn die Ehefrau eines Mannes freiwillig
B _{i1-3}	tukum-bi, dam ġuruš, me-te-ni-ta	
C _{86f}	tukum-bi dam ġuruš-a, ní-te-a-ni-ta	
A _{224f}	[lú] b[a- . . .], ú[r- . . .]	einem Manne folgt und er in ihrem
B _{i4-5}	lú ba-an-ús, úr-ra-na ba-an-nú	Schoße liegt,
C _{88f}	lú ba-an-ús-ma, úr-ra-ni ba-an-nú	
A ₂₂₆	mun[us-b]i ʾi ¹ -[. . .]	diese Frau wird getötet werden.
B _{i6-7}	munus-bi, lú ì-gaz-e	diese Frau wird der Mann töten.
C ₉₀	munus-bi ì-gaz-e	
A _{227ff}	ʾnita-bi ¹ , [ama]-ʾar-ġi ₄ -ni ¹ , [i]-ʾġar ¹	Für diesen Mann wird seine Freiheit festgesetzt.
B _{i8-10}	nita-ba, ama-ġi ₄ -bi, ì-ġar	
C _{91f}	nita-bi ama-ar-ġi ₄ -ni, ì-ġá-ġá	
A _{230f}	tukum-bi, (. . .) a nu-ġi ₄ -a	§8 Wenn jemand der jungfräulichen
B _{i11f}	tukum-bi, géme lú, é nu-ġi ₄ -a	Sklavin eines Mannes
C _{81f!}	tukum-bi, géme lú-ù a nu-ġi ₄ -a	
A _{232f}	n[íġ] ʾá-ġar-šè ¹ , [lú] ʾi-ak ¹	Gewalt antut, ⁸⁷
B _{i14f}	níġ á-ġar-šè, lú ì-ak	
C ₈₃	níġ á-ġar-šè lú in-ak-ma	

86. Roth 1995: 17 übersetzt: “If a man violates the rights of another . . .” und macht damit den Ehemann zum unmittelbar gewaltsam Geschädigten. Wörtlich scheint zu übersetzen zu sein: “Wenn jemand die jungfräuliche Ehefrau eines Mannes zum Objekt der Gewalt macht . . .”; vgl. auch §8.

87. Roth 1995: 18 übersetzt: “. . . acts in violation of the rights of another, . . .”; s.o. §6.

A_{vi}	[. . .]	sie defloriert, dieser Mann wird 5
B_{116ff}	é bí-gi ₄ , lú-bi, 5 gín kù, ì-lá-e	Schekel Silber abwiegen.
C_{84f}	a bí-in-gi ₄ , 5 gín kù-babbar ì-lá-e	
B_{120ff}	tukum-bi, lú dam PI-ni, in-ta ₆ -ta ₆	§9 Wenn sich jemand von seiner Ehefrau scheidet,
C_{93ff!}	tukum-bi lú-ù, dam nìta-dam-a-ni, in-ta ₆ -ta ₆	
B_{123f}	1 ma-na kù-àm, ì-lá-e	wird er 1 Pfund Silber abwiegen.
C_{96f}	1 ma-na kù-babbar, ì-lá-e	
A_{245f}	[tukum-bi nu-ma-s]u, [lú in-t]aka ₄	§10 Wenn sich jemand von einer Witwe scheidet,
B₁₂₅	tukum-bi, nu-ma-su, ì-ta ₆ -ta ₆	
C₈₉	tukum-bi nu-mu-su lú in-taka ₄	
A_{247f}	[. . . k]ù-b[abbar], [. . .]	wird er $\frac{1}{2}$ Pfund Silber abwiegen.
B_{128f}	$\frac{1}{2}$ ma-na kù, ì-lá-e	
A₂₄₉	[tukum-bi nu-m]a-[su]	§11 Wenn im Schoße einer Witwe,
B_{130f}	tukum-bi, nu-ma-su	
A_{250f}	[. . .]	ohne daß es einen schriftlichen Vertrag
B_{132f}	[d]ub KA-kéš, nu-me-a,	gibt,
A_{252f}	[lú úr-ra-na ba-a]n-n[ú], [x x k]ù-babbar ¹ nu- ¹ lá-e ¹	jemand lag, wird er kein Silber abwiegen.
B_{134ff}	lú úr-ra-na, ba-an-nú, kù nu-lá-e	
A_{254f}	[tukum-b]i ¹ lú-[ù], [x x x] AN [x x]	§12 Wenn jemand . . .
B₁₃₇	tukum-bi, [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .]	
A₂₆₀	[. . .]	(§12a ⁸⁸) . . .

88. Vermutlich nimmt §12 weniger Raum ein als die 16 Zeilen von A 254 bis A 269; mit einem weiteren Paragraphen (§12a) ist zu rechnen. Die Paragraphenzählung ist aber beibehalten.

	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
A ₂₆₅	[. . .]	
A ₂₆₆	([. . .])	
A ₂₆₇	[. . .]- ¹ ka ¹ m	ist ein . . . von . . .
A ₂₆₈	¹ x x ¹ [a]d- ¹ da-bi ¹	diese(r) väterliche . . .
A ₂₆₉	lú ¹ x ¹ dumu-ne- ¹ ka ¹ m	ist ein . . . (-Mensch) der Kinder.
A _{270f}	tukum-[bi], nam-uš ₇ -zu ⁸⁹	§13' Wenn jemand jemanden
A _{272f}	lú lú-ra, in-da-a[n ² -l]á ⁹⁰	der Hexerei beschuldigt,
A _{274f}	^d I ₇ -lú- ¹ ru-gú-šè ¹ , in-DU	ihn zum Ordalfluß bringt,
A _{276f}	^d I ₇ -lú-ru- ¹ gú ¹ , um-dadag	wird, sobald der Ordalfluß ihn gereinigt (heraus)kommen läßt,
A ₂₇₈	lú in-túm-m[a ¹⁹¹]	derjenige, der ihn (dorthin) brachte,
A _{vii279f}	2 ² [+1 gín ² kù]-babbar, [i-lá-e]	3 ² Schekel Silber abwiegen.
B _{ii1-2}	3 gín ⁹² kù, i-lá-e	
A _{281ff}	t[ukum-bi], d[am . . .], [. . .]	§14' Wenn jemand (jemanden)
B _{ii3ff}	tukum-bi, dam ġuruš-a-da, úr-ra, nú-a	beschuldigt, bei der Ehefrau eines Mannes im Schoße
B _{ii7}	lú i-da-lá	gelegen zu haben, ⁹³
B _{ii8f}	i ₇ -dè, ù-um-dadag,	sobald der Fluß ihn gereinigt (heraus)kommen läßt,
B _{ii10}	lú i-da-l[á-a],	wird der, der ihn beschuldigt hat,

89. Roth 1995: 18 liest: nam-x-x; Finkelstein 1969: 68 hatte "nam-ka_x?-?" umschrieben und so Kramers ursprüngliche (1954: 44) Lesung "nam-uš₉-zu" in Zweifel gezogen. Die Kopie scheint nam-¹ka_xli-zu¹ zu erlauben; s. Wilcke 1973: 13 Anm. 21.

90. Finkelstein 1969: 68 las in-da-a[b-l]á; ebenso, doch ohne Klammern, Roth 1995: 18.

91. Finkelstein 1969: 68, gefolgt von Roth 1995: 18, las: lú in-túm-mu.

92. Falls B ii 1 hier richtig zugeordnet ist, ist vielleicht zu konjizieren zu $\frac{2}{3}$ -ša¹ "2/3 Minen"; damit würden auch Finkelsteins (1969: 74) Bedenken zu Z. 271 entfallen.

93. Roth 1995: 18: "If a man accuses the wife of a young man of promiscuity"; §13 zeigt aber den Beschuldigten im Dativ; ich nehme Tilgung des (in §13 genannten) Dativs an.

B _{ii11f}	$\frac{1}{3}$ -ša(-[na] kù], ì-[lá-e]	$\frac{1}{3}$ Pf[und Silber] ab[wiegen].
B _{ii13f}	tuku[m-bi], mí-ús-[sá-tur]	§15' Wenn ein Schwiegersohn
B _{ii15f}	é ú-[úr-ra(-na)-ka], ì-[in-ku ₄]	in das Haus (s)eines Schwiegervaters eintritt,
A ₂₉₄	ú-[. . .]	sein Schwiegervater seine Ehefrau
B _{ii17}	ú-ú[r-ra-ni dam-a-ni],	
A _{295ff}	múr[gu-bi-ta], lú [kúr-ra], ⁹⁴ b[a-an-na-sum]	danach einem anderen gibt,
B _{ii18ff}	múrgu-[bi-ta], lú [kúr-ra], ba-a[n-na-sum]	
A ₂₉₈	n[íġ- . . .]	wird er ihm die Brautgabe
B _{ii21}	níġ-d[é-a ⁹⁵]	
A _{299f}	¹ a ¹ -[rá . . .], [. . .]	zweifach geben.
B _{ii22f}	a-rá [min-àm], ì-n[a-sum-mu]	
A _{301f}	[tukum-bi], [géme úrdú lú]	§16' ⁹⁶ Wenn [jemandes] Sklavin oder Sklave
B _{ii35f}	tuku[m-bi], géme ¹ úrdú ¹ l[ú]	(in B anscheinend nach §17' gestellt)
A ₃₀₃	[iri-a ba-zàḥ]	[in der] St[adt entflieht] ⁹⁷
B _{ii37}	ir[i-a ba-zàḥ] [. . .]	
(305)	[. . .]	

94. Roth 1995: 18 ergänzt: lú [ku-li-ni-ir] nach CL xvii 14', wo aber das Wort lú nicht erscheint. Finkelstein 1969: 68 hatte lú-[kúr-ra(?)] ergänzt.

95. Finkelstein 1969: 69 ergänzt níġ-d[é-a in-túm-a-ni?]; dem folgt Roth 1995: 19 ohne Fragezeichen. Der Platz in B reicht für eine solche Ergänzung nicht aus.

96. Vgl. CL §12.

97. Finkelstein 1969: 69; 76 meint, die Entsprechung zu A 302–12 fehle in B durch Haplographie. Roth 1995: 19 stellt B ii 24–34 vor A 315. Ich vermute eine unterschiedliche Folge der Paragraphen über Sklavenflucht in A und B, da die erhaltenen Reste in A 315ff. zu B ii 24ff. parallel sind und weil ich eine Analogie zu CL §12 erwarte. Dementsprechend unterscheiden sich auch Lesungen und Ergänzungen.

Die Größe der Lücke in Text B zwischen ii 35 und ii 1' schätzte Finkelstein als "consisting of only one line." Bei unserer Rekonstruktion entspricht sie A vii 303–315, der letzten Zeile von A vii (Z. 324) und den ersten drei von A viii, d.h. ca. 15 Zeilen von Text A. Der Lücke zwischen B i und B ii stehen 25 Zeilen von A gegenüber. B ii 1'ff. umfaßt 19 Zeilen; deren Zuordnung zu A 224ff. ist nicht ganz deutlich, da B den Text der Paragraphen jeweils kürzt. B läßt auch schon A 321 aus; es ist darum zu erwarten, daß B auch den Text in der Lücke gekürzt hat. Aber oft entsprechen zwei Zeilen von B nur einer in A. Darum rechne ich mit einem Abstand von ca. 10 Zeilen zwischen B ii 35 und B ii 1' (Kolumnenlänge ca. 66 Zeilen).

	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
(310)	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	
A ₃₁₅	[tukum-bi x x]- ¹ a ²¹	§17' Wenn in ² . . .
B _{ii24f}	t[ukum-bi], x[x-a],	
A ₃₁₆	¹ géme úrdu ¹ [x x]-a	der oder die entflohene Sklavin oder
B _{ii26f}	gé[me úrdu], ba-[zàh-a]	Sklave
A ₃₁₇	ki-sur-ra ¹ iri ¹ -na-ka	die Grenze ihrer/seiner Stadt
B _{ii28f}	ki-[sur-ra], i[ri ² -na-ka]	überschritten
A _{318f}	íb-te-bala, lú ¹ im ¹ -mi-gur	hat, und jemand sie/ihn zurückbringt,
B _{ii30f}	í[b-ta-bala], lú [im-mi-gur],	
A ₃₂₀	lugal saḡ-ḡá-ke ₄	wird der Eigentümer des Sklaven
B _{ii32}	¹ lugal ¹ [. . .]	
A ₃₂₁	lú im-mi-in-gur-ra	demjenigen, der ihn zurückgebracht hat,
A _{322f}	[2] gín kù-babbar, ì-lá-e	2 Schekel Silber abwiegen.
B _{ii33f}	2 gín [kù], ì-n[a-lá-e]	
A _{324f}	tukumbi, [lú lú-ra]	§18' Wenn jemand jemandem
A _{viii2ff}	[. . .], [x x]-a-ni,	mit [. . .] sein [. . .] abschneidet ² ,
	[ba]-ni-in-ku ₅ ⁹⁸	
B _{ii0'-2'}	[x x-a-ni], [x x-t]a, [íb-t]a-ku ₅	

98. Roth 1995: 19 folgt Finkelstein 1969: 70 und liest in Z. 328: [gì]ri-ni in-ku₅. Der Zeichenrest des “[gì]ri” ist in der Kopie und auf dem Photo nicht zu erkennen. Gegen die Annahme eines auf den Geschädigten verweisenden Possessivsuffixes der 3.Pers. Sg. in dieser Zeile scheint mir dasselbe Possessivsuffix in Z. 227 zu sprechen, will man nicht die Nennung zweier verschiedener Objekte (“sein x und/oder seinen Fuß”) annehmen. Finkelstein und Roth stellen auch B ii 5'-9' (“35-41”) zu diesem Paragraphen. Die Zuordnung der Reste in B ii 1'ff. zu den Zeilen in A ist sehr fraglich.

A _{329f} B _{ii3'f}	10 gín kù-babbar, ì-la-e [x x k]ù-àm, [ì]-lá-e	wird er 10 Schekel Silber abwiegen.
A _{331f} B _{ii5'}	tukum-bi, lú lú-ra [tuk]um-bi ⁹⁹	§19' Wenn jemand jemandem
A _{333f} B _{ii6'}	ḡiṣtukul-ta, ḡir-pà-rá, [. . .]-ta	mit der Keule seinen Knochen,
A _{335f} B _{ii7'f}	al mu-ra-ni, in-zi-ir [. . .]-ni, [íb-ta]-ku ₅	den er ge . . . t hat, bricht,
A _{337f} B _{ii9'f}	1 ma-na kù-babbar, ì-lá-e [. . . kù]- ^r àm ¹ , [. . .]-e	wird er 1 Pfund Silber abwiegen.
A _{339f} B _{ii11'}	tukum-bi, lú lú-ra [tukum]-bi	§20' Wenn jemand jemandem
A _{341f} B _{ii12'ff}	ḡéṣpu-ta, ¹⁰⁰ kiri ₄ -ni in-ku ₅ [. . . -n]i, [. . . -t]a, [. . .]- ^r ku ₅ ¹	mit einem Ringer-Haken die Nase bricht,
A _{343f} B _{ii15'ff}	$\frac{2}{3}$ ma-na kù-babbar, ì-lá-e [. . .]-àm, [. . . -à]m, [. . .]-e	wird er $\frac{2}{3}$ Pfund Silber abwiegen.
A _{345f} B _{ii18'}	tukum-bi, [lú] ^r lú-ra ¹ [tukum]-bi	§21' (/22) Wenn jemand jemandem
A _{347f} B _{ii19'}	^r x x-ta ¹ , [x] x x ¹⁰¹ [. . . -t]a, (ⁱⁱⁱ 1)ḡ[ir ² . . .], i[n- . . .]	mit . . . einen Knochen ² . . . ,
B _{iii3f}	2 g[ín kù-àm], ì-[lá-e]	wird er 2 Schekel Silber [abwiegen].
B _{iii5}	t[ukum-bi] [. . .]	§22' W[enn . . .] ¹⁰² [. . .]
E _{i!} 1'	^r ì ¹ -[lá]- ^r e ¹	wird er [abwiegen].
E _{i!} 2'	tuk[um-bi á-su]ḥ	§23' Wenn (jemand) [mit dem Ellenbo]gen
E _{i!} 3'	dumu-mí lú-[ka i-ni-in]-ra	jemandes Tochter schlägt,

99. Im folgenden ist die Zuordnung der erhaltenen Reste in B zu denen von A unsicher.

100. Finkelstein 1969: 70 liest: ^{uradu}gír?-ta; Roth 1995: 19: x-x-ta.

101. Maximal 20 Zeilen fehlen bis zum Ende von Text A.

102. Da eine Zeile in Text E ca. 2 Zeilen in Text B entspricht, endet der mit B iii 5 beginnende Paragraph vermutlich mit E i' 1'. Ca. 38 Zeilen fehlen in B bis B iii 1'.

E _{il} 4'	níḡ šà-[ga-n]a	sodaß ihre Leibesfrucht
E _{il} 5'	šu mu-u[n-da-an-lá]	abgeht(?),
E _{il} 6'	$\frac{1}{2}$ ma-na [kù-babbar ì-lá]-e	wird er $\frac{1}{2}$ Mine Silber abwiegen.
E _{il} 7'	tukum-b[i b]a-úš	Wenn sie(?) stirbt,
E _{il} 8'	níta-bi ì-[gaz]-e	wird dieser Mann getötet werden.
E _{il} 9'	tukum-bi 'á-suḥ ¹⁰³	§24' Wenn (jemand) mit dem Ellenbogen
E _{il} 10'	'géme ¹ lú-ka i-ni-in-ra	jemandes Sklavin schlägt,
E _{il} 11'	níḡ šà-ga-na	sodaß ihre Leibesfrucht
E _{il} 12'	šu mu-un-da-an-lá	abgeht(?),
E _{il} 13'	5 gín kù-[babbar ì-lá]-e	wird er 5 Schekel Silber abwiegen.
E _{il} 14'	tukum-[bi ba-úš]	Wenn [sie stirbt],
E _{il} 15'	saḡ *sa[ḡ-gim ba-ab-sum-mu]	wird er Haupt [für] Ha[upt geb]en.
[E _{il} 16'	tukum-bi ba-x]	[Wenn sie verletzt ist],
B _{iii0-1'}	[saḡ saḡ-gim], [ba-ab-sum-m]u,	wird er [Haupt für Haupt geb]en;
B _{iii2}	[géme in-ni-r]a ² -a	[die Sklavin, die er gesch]lagen hat,
B _{iii3'}	ḥa-ba-túm-mu	kann er an sich nehmen. ¹⁰⁴
B _{iii4'f}	tukum-bi, géme nu-tuku	Wenn er keine Sklavin hat,
B _{iii6'f}	10 gín kù-babbar-àm, ḥé-na-lá-e	kann er ihm 10 Schekel Silber abwiegen.
B _{iii8'f}	tukum-bi, kù nu-tuku	Wenn er kein Silber hat,
B _{iii10'f}	níḡ na-me nu-na-ab-sum-mu	wird er ihm gar nichts geben.
B _{iii12'f}	tukum-bi, géme lú nin-a-ni-gim,	§25' Wenn (jemand) der wie ihre Herrin
B _{iii14'f}	dím-ma-ar, áš ì-ni-du ₁₁	gemachten Sklavin flucht, ¹⁰⁵

103. Die Spuren lassen sich zu tu[r-r]e oder zu 'á-suḥ¹ ergänzen; zu á-suḥ = *ammatu* "Elle," *kišir ammati* "Ellenbogen" s. CAD *ammatu* lex. YOS 1, 28 iv 1–10 unterscheidet zwischen unabsichtlichem zà-ús "an jemandes Seite stoßen" und saḡ "schlagen." Ist hier absichtliches Schlagen gemeint?

104. Roth 1995: 20: "he shall bring [a slave woman]." E i'16–B iii 1' handelt (wenn richtig rekonstruiert) von dauernder Behinderung als Folge der Fehlgeburt. Der CH §§209–14 berücksichtigt diesen Fall nicht. Ergänzung in E i' 15 nach CL (Steele 1948) §12 D ii 21f.: saḡ saḡ-gim, ba-ab-sum-mu.

105. Roth (1995: 20: "if a slave woman curses someone acting with the authority of her mistress") setzt hier und in §26 Stellvertretung der Herrin voraus und ist mir wenig wahrscheinlich.

B _{iii16'} f	1 šila mun-àm, ka-ka-ni,	wird man ² 1 Liter Salz in seinen Mund
B _{iii18'}	ì-sub _x (TAG)-bé	reiben.
B _{iii20'} f	tukum-bi, géme lú nin-a-ni-gim	§26' Wenn (jemand) die ihrer Herrin
B _{iii22'} f	dím-ma-ar, <níġ> in-ni-ra	gleich gemachte Sklavin schlägt, . . .
	. . .	
	(ca. 44 Zeilen fehlen in B) ¹⁰⁶	
	. . .	
B _{iv1'}	[i-na-a]b- ^r gub-bé ¹⁰⁷	§a1(/27) . . . wird er [ihm] stellen.
B _{iv2'} f	tukum-bi, lú lú ki-inim-ma-šè	§a2(/28) Wenn jemand als Zeuge
		auftritt,
B _{iv4'} ff	íb-ta-è, lú im-zuġ, ba-an-ku ₄	(dann) zum “Dieb” erklärt wird,
B _{iv7'} f	15 ġin kù-babbar-àm, ì-lá-e	wird er 15 Schekel Silber abwiegen. ¹⁰⁸
B _{iv9'} f	tukum-bi, lú lú ki-inim-ma-šè	§a3(/29) Wenn jemand als Zeuge
		auftritt,
B _{iv11'} f	íb-ta-è, nam-érim-ta e-gur	dann aber vom Beweiseid
		zurückscheut,
B _{iv13'} f	níġ di-ba en-na ġál-la, íb-su-su	wird er den (Streit)gegenstand dieses
		Prozesses, soviel es ist, ersetzen.
B _{iv15'} f	tukum-bi, ^{a-šā} aša ₅ lú	§a4(/30) Wenn jemand das Feld eines
		Anderen
B _{iv17'} f	níġ á-ġar-šè, lú ì-ak, ba-an-uru ₄	eigenmächtig ¹⁰⁹ bestellt, der
		(Eigentümer)
B _{iv20'} f	di bí-du ₁₁ , ġú in-ni- ^r šub ¹	prozessiert und ihn zur Untätigkeit
		zwingt, ¹¹⁰

106. In diese Lücke könnte AO 10638 i einzuordnen sein; s.o. Anm. 4.

107. Vgl. aber die Schreibungen in-na(-an)-gub-bu in A 207 = C 69f. und in-na-gub-gub-bu-da in A 209 = C 70.

108. Zur Höhe der Geldstrafe vgl. oben §3.

109. Wörtlich: “gewaltsam.”

110. Roth (1995: 20: “and he sues (to secure the right to harvest the crop claiming that) he (the owner) neglected (the field)”) läßt die Kausativkonstruktion in ġú in-ni-šub unberücksichtigt und unterstellt, daß der mit Gewalt um sein Feld Gebrachte es inzwischen wieder in seinen Besitz gebracht habe.

B _{iv22'f}	lú-bi, á-ni íb-ta-an-e ₁₁ -dè	wird dieser Mensch seinen Arbeitsaufwand verlieren.
B _{v2f}	tukum-bi a-šà ₅ aš ₅ lú	§a5(31) Wenn jemand das Feld eines Anderen
B _{v4}	lú a- ^r e ²¹ bí-de ₆	vom Wasser wegtragen läßt,
B _{v5}	a-šà 0;0.1 [GÁN]A	wird er je <i>iku</i> Feld
B _{v6f}	3;0.0 še [gu]r, ì- ^r ág- ^g e ₂₆ ¹	3 Kor Gerste ¹¹¹ aufschütten.
B _{v8f}	tukum-bi, lú lú,	§a6(132) Wenn jemand jemandem
B _{v10f}	a-šà ₅ aš ₅ apin-lá-šè, ì-na-sum	ein Feld zur Pacht gibt,
B _{v12ff}	nu-un-uru ₄ , šà-sù-ga, ì- ^g gar	er es nicht bestellt, es ertraglos bleibt,
B _{v15ff}	0;0.1 GÁNA, 3;0.0 še gur, ì- ^g ág- ^g e ₂₆	wird er je <i>iku</i> 3 Kor Gerste aufschütten.
B _{v18ff}	tukum-bi, lú lú, [. . . ur]u ₄ ?-a, [. . .]x	§a7(133) Wenn jemand einem Anderen, der das Feld (?) bestellt hat, . . .

(ca. 44 Zeilen fehlen in B bis B vi 1)

E _{ii1' 1'}	í-ta-ab ¹ -[e ₁₁ -dè]	wird er ver[lustig gehen]. ¹¹²
E _{ii1' 2'}	tukum-[bi x x x]	§a8' Wenn [jemand (ein Feld pachtet und)]
E _{ii1' 3'}	gu ₄ -áb-ùr-ra lú [in- ^h u ^g]	jemandes (im Gespann) hinteres Pflugrind [mietet],
E _{ii1' 4'}	mu-2-àm addi[r-bi]	wird er zwei Jahre lang als Mietzins [für es]
E _{ii1' 5'}	8;0.0 še gur in-na- ^g ág- ^g ág-[e]	jeweils 8 Kor ihm (dem Eigentümer) abmessen.
E _{ii1' 6'}	gu ₄ -áb sa ^g murub ₄ addir-[bi]	Für ein (im Gespann) vorderes oder mittleres Pflugrind wird er als [dessen] Mietzins

111. Hierzu Wilcke 1999: 338f. Roth 1995: 20: "720 silas" geht von einem Kor zu 4 Scheffel (240 sila) aus. Da nicht von gur-sa^g-^gál die Rede ist und das im CU eingeführte ba-an si-sá lugal-la ein Kor zu 5 Scheffel (300 sila) voraussetzt (s.o., S. 296), nehme ich es auch hier an; unklar ist aber noch, wie die Größe des sila-Maßes hierbei zu berücksichtigen ist.

112. Dies könnte der Schluß von §a7 sein, da andernfalls die Kolumnen in Text E sehr lang ausgefallen sein müßten.

E _{ii!} 7'	6;0.0 še gur in-na-ág-ág- ^r e ¹	ihm 6 Kor Gerste jeweils abmessen.
E _{ii!} 8'	tukum-bi lú ba-úš	§a9' Wenn jemand stirbt und
E _{ii!} 9'	dumu-nita nu-un-tuku	keinen Sohn hat,
E _{ii!} 10'	dumu-mí dam nu-un-tuku-a	soll eine unverheiratete Tochter zu
E _{ii!} 11'	ibila-a-ni ^r *h ^é -*a ¹	seiner Erbin gemacht werden.
E _{ii!} 12'	tukum-[bi x x x]	§a10' Wenn [. . .]
E _{ii!} 13'	dumu-mí-a-ni *n[íḡ ²] ^r *a ¹ -[x x x]	seine Tochter etwas ² [. . .]
E _{ii!} 14'	níḡ-ga é ad- ^r da-na ¹ [x x x]	die Habe ihres Vaterhauses [. . .]
E _{ii!} 15'	nin ₉ bàn-da <é>gar ₈ é- ^r a ¹ -*n[a x]	Die jüngere Schwester [wird sie ² nach ²]
E _{ii!} 16'	[x x x] ^r x x ¹ [x x x]	Vermögen ihres Hauses [. . .]

(kleine Lücke von 1–2 Paragraphen)

B _{vi!}	ì-na-lá-e	§b1(37) wird er ihm abwiegen.
	(Ende von Text B) ¹¹³	

. . .

D _{i!} 1' ¹¹⁴	^r tukum-bi lú-ù é lú ¹ -[ke ₄ ús-sa-ni]	§c1(/a) Wenn jemand, [angrenzend an] das Haus eines Anderen,
	é-a-ni n[u-un-kalag]	sein Haus ni[cht sichert], wird,
	lugal še-ke ₄ nam-érim [un-ku ₅]	wenn der Eigentümer der Gerste den Beweiseid schwört,
	lugal é-e-ke ₄ še níḡ <ú>-gu *dé- ^r a ¹ [íb-su-su]	der Hauseigentümer die verloren gegangene Gerste [ersetzen]. ¹¹⁵

113. In die folgende Textlücke unbekannter Größe gehört vielleicht AO 10638; s.o., Anm. 4.

114. Roth 1995: 36ff. behandelt Text D als separate Rechtssammlung ("Laws of X"), hält ihre Zugehörigkeit zum CU aber für möglich. Im folgenden weise ich Abweichungen von der editio princeps und der Ausgabe durch M. Roth nur in Ausnahmefällen nach.

115. Vgl. CL §11, wo das durch die Nachlässigkeit des Nachbarn (durch Einbruchsdiebstahl) verlorene Gut als níḡ ú-gu dé-a-ni bezeichnet wird. Die Ur III-zeitliche Zylinderinschrift MS 2064 der Schoyen Collection schreibt in der zweiten, auf dem Photo erkennbaren Kolumne

(ii' 8) tukum-bi éxšE² || lú-ka lú še ì-/ḡar (9) éxšE²-bi ba-bur_x(LAGABxBÙR)
(10) lugal-še-ke₄ nam-NE./RU ù-ku₅ (11) lugal éxšE²-a-ke₄ íb-/su-su

D _{i'5'}	[tu]kum-bi lú-ù é lú-*k[a še in-ġar] [lugal] ʽé-e¹-ke₄ [inim-bi in-kúr²] [lugal še-ke₄ *l]ú ki-inim- ma-bi ʽ*ù¹-[un-túm] [lugal é]-ʽe¹-ke₄ še ša-bi* ^{na116} -a l[á-a íb-su-su]	§c2(/b) Wenn jemand, im Haus eines Anderen [Gerste deponiert], der Hauseigentümer [dieses bestreitet(?)], wird, sobald der Eigentümer der Gerste die Zeugen dafür beibringt, der Hauseigentümer die Gerste, die darin zu we[nig ist, ersetzen]. ¹¹⁷
D _{i'9'}	[tuku]m-bi lú-ù é lú ba-[. . .] [x x x] addir-bi [. . .]	§c3(/c) Wenn jemand das Haus eines Anderen . . . [. . .], [. . .] den Lohn dafür [. . .]
D _{i'11'}	[tuku]m-bi munus-e dam ¹¹⁸ -a-ni-[. . .] [*gé]me² in-na-an-*zu ¹¹⁹ ʽ*dam¹-[a-ni géme-bi] ḫa-[. . .]	§c4(/d) Wenn eine Frau ihrem Ehemann [. . .] [eine Skla]vin zum Beischlaf gibt, soll/kann(?) [ihr] Ehem[ann diese Sklavin . . .]
D _{i'13'}	[tukum-b]i ʽlú-ù¹ dam²-a-n[i . . .] (Spuren) . . .	§c5(/e) Wenn jemand sei[nem/n] Ehepartner [. . .]
D _{ii'1'}	tu[kum-bi . . .] a-zu ʽí¹-[silim . . .]	§d1(/f) Wenn [. . .] der Arzt ihn [heilt, . . .]
D _{ii'3'}	tukum-bi l[ú . . .] a-zu ì-silim 5 gí[n² kù-babbar . . .]	§d2(/g) Wenn jema[nden . . .], der Arzt ihn heilt, [ist sein Lohn] 5 Schekel Silber.

“Wenn jemand in jemandes Kornspeicher Gerste deponiert, in diesen Kornspeicher einge-
brochen wird, wird der Eigentümer des Kornspeichers Ersatz leisten, sobald der Eigen-
tümer der Gerste den Beweiseid leistet.”

Danach ist §c1 sicher zu ergänzen.

116. Die Glosse -na steht unter dem -bi-; ist gemeint ša-ga!-na-a? Oder ša-bi-a (a)-na?

117. Vgl. CE §§36(f.).

118. Text: NIN₉, möglich darum “ihrer Schwester.”

119. Das von Michalowski/Walker ʽḫun¹ gelesene Zeichen scheint mir nach Kollation eher zu
(oder ba?) zu sein. Die Situation dürfte (allerdings ohne die Besonderheit des Priestertums) der des
§144 CH und der Westbrook 1988 und Wilcke 1984 besprochenen entsprechen.

D _{ii'} 5'	tukum-bi ušumga[¹²⁰ . . .] a-zu ì silim *2[+X gín kù-babbar . . .]	§d3(<i>lh</i>) Wenn ein Drac[he . . .] und ein Arzt ihn heilt, [ist sein Lohn] 4 [Schekel Silber].
D _{ii'} 7'	tukum-bi ur-[mah ² . . .] a-zu ì-silim ^r *10 ²¹ ġ[ín kù-babbar . . .]	§d4(<i>li</i>) Wenn ein Lö[we ² . . .] und ein Arzt ihn heilt, [ist sein Lohn] 10 ² Sch[ekel Silber].
D _{ii'} 9'	géme uš-bar dun-dun-na á ^r *iti ¹ 1-a-ka-ni [. . .]	§d5(<i>lj</i>) Der Monatslohn einer Webereisklavin beim Fäden- Spannen ¹²¹ [ist . . .].
D _{ii'} 10'	^r géme uš-bar šà ¹ -tuku ₅ ¹²² - ^r da á ¹ iti ¹ 1-a-ka-ni [. . .]	§d6 Der Monatslohn einer Webereisklavin beim Filzherstellen [ist . . .].
D _{ii'} 11'	[x x x]- ^r ka ¹ á-bi 0;0.2 š[e-àm] [x x x-k]a? á-bi 6 síla š[e-àm] ^r *a- [*] ga ¹ -[am x] ^r *ù ¹ á-bi 0;1.1? ¹²⁵ šè-àm	§d7(<i>lk</i>) [Für . . .]. . . beträgt ihr Lohn 20 síla Gerste. ¹²³ [Für . . .] . . . beträgt ihr Lohn 6 síla Gerste. ¹²⁴ [Für . . .] . . . a-ga-[am]- (Sklavinnen) beträgt ihr Lohn 70 síla Gerste.
D _{ii'} 14'	tuku[m-b]i munus _{LÚ.KURUN.NA} -àm 1 piḫu lú-ra in-na-an-sum	§d8(<i>ll</i>) Wenn eine Schankwirtin jemandem einen 20-síla-Krug (Bier) gibt,

120. Die Zeichen GAL.X[. . .] scheinen zu ušumgal zu ergänzen zu sein. Welches Tier sich hinter dem Namen dieses Fabelwesens verbirgt, ist mir unklar.

121. Zu dun = *šatû*, *dêpu*, *rêšû* (*râsu*) “Kettfäden spannen” s. Waetzoldt 1972: 129f.; CAD *šatû* lex.

122. Zu šà-tuku₅ = *šê²u* “Filz herstellen” s. CAD s.v.; Steinkeller 1980b; zur Lesung tuku₅ s. Cavigneaux 1976: 62f.

123. Wirtschaftstexte der Ur III-Zeit bezeugen 20-síla-Rationen für alte Frauen (*géme šu-gi₄*) und als höchste Stufe der Kinderrationen (Waetzoldt 1987: 132–33; Wilcke 1998: 25–34).

124. Eine 6-síla-Monatsration ist m.W. selbst für die jüngsten Säuglinge in den Urkunden der Ur III-Zeit nicht bezeugt; Waetzoldt 1987: 132ff. notiert 10-síla-Rationen für Neugeborene.

125. Die Zeichen lassen sich auch als 1 síla lesen; in dieser Größenordnung wäre nur eine Tagesration sinnvoll. Trifft die Lesung der Spuren am Zeilenanfang als ^ra-ga¹-[am] zu, ist das aber unwahrscheinlich, da diese Arbeiterinnen/Sklavinnen-Gruppe (Waetzoldt 1987: 133 Anm. 114: “obscure class of women designated by the term a-ga-am”) monatlich und in gleicher Höhe wie die anderen entlohnt wurden.

	[u ₄] 'buru ₁₄ -ke ₄ ¹ 0;0.5 še [šu ba-ab-te-ġe ₂₆]- ¹ e ²¹	wird sie am Erntetag 50 sila Gerste [empfangen]. ¹²⁶
D _{ii'} 17'	'tukum ¹ -bi lú l[ú-ra] '*1;0.0 še gur ur ₅ ¹ -ra-šè [in-na-an-sum] [m]u 1-àm máš-bi [0;1.4 še-àm ¹²⁷]	§d9(/m) Wenn jemand jemandem 1 Kor Gerste als Darlehen gibt, [ist] sein Zins in einem Jahr [1 Scheffel, 4 Seah Gerste]. ¹²⁸
D _{ii'} 20'	[t]ukum-bi lú l[ú-ra] 10 gín kù-babbar ur ₅ -ra-š[è in-na-an-sum] mu 1-àm máš-bi [2 gín kù-babbar-àm]	§d10(/n) Wenn jemand jemandem 10 Schekel Silber als Darlehen gibt, [ist] sein Zins in einem Jahr [2 Šekel Silber].
D _{ii'} 23'	tukum-bi lú l[ú-ra] [a-š]à 'apin-lá-šè ¹ [in-na-an-sum]	§d11(/o) Wenn jemand jemandem ein Feld zur Pacht gibt, [. . .]
	. . .	
D _{iii'} 1'	[. . .]x[. . .] [. . .] 1-gin ₇ -nam 'i ¹ -[. . .]	§e1(/p) [. . .] wie 1 [. . .] wird [. . .]

126. Zu der genauen Entsprechung zum §111 CH siehe bereits Michalowski/ Walker 1989: 390. "5 Liter" statt "50 sila" bei R. Borger 1982: 55 ist ein Versehen.

127. Die Ergänzung nimmt mit Michalowski/Walker 1989: 387 und Roth 1995: 38 den in der Ur III-Zeit üblichen Zinsfuß für Gerstedarlehen und in §d10 den für Silberdarlehen an.

128. Vom §L des CH (und Section 18A des CE) unterscheiden sich dieser und der folgende § durch die eindeutige Aussage, daß die Zinsen auf ein Jahr berechnet sind. Die Höhe der Zinssätze entspricht dem seit Alters in den Urkunden Üblichen. Skaist 1994 und Van de Mieroop 1995 fragen ob der Zinssatz auf die Laufzeit von einem Jahr berechnet sei. Van de Mieroop hält das für ausgeschlossen, erklärt aber nicht, warum die genannten Zinssätze unabhängig von der Laufzeit des Darlehens stets konstant sind. Skaist läßt die Frage offen, ob jährlich oder nicht, kann aber auf Beispiele aus der Rechts-Ethnologie verweisen, denen zufolge feste Zinssätze unabhängig von der Dauer des Kredits vorkommen. In der Tat läßt die Formulierung offen, ob der Zinssatz sich—sehr unwahrscheinlich—auf das laufende Kalenderjahr bezieht, auf ein mit der Auszahlung der Kreditsumme beginnendes Jahr, während dessen Dauer der Zins (in voller Höhe) gefordert werden kann, oder um auf den Zeitraum eines Jahres kalkulierte Zinsen, die bei kürzerer oder längerer Laufzeit anteilig umgerechnet werden. Wilcke 1996: 56–58 kann jährliche Verzinsung einer Schuldsomme für die prä-sargonische Zeit nachweisen. Jährlich berechnete Zinsen dokumentiert auch das Ur III-zeitliche Urteil (Amarsuena 7 i) NRVN Nr. 2 (Wilcke 1990: 483–84), in dem die Formulierungen "wird er ihm, von diesem Zeitpunkt an Zinsen darauf legen" und "von da an, daß es übergeben wurde, wird er Zinsen darauflegen" für eine anteilige Berechnung der Zinsen sprechen.

D _{iii'3'}	[tuk]um-bi 1 šar é [lú in-sa ₁₀] [kù-b]i [. . .]	§e2(/q) Wenn jemand 1 šar Hausgrund [kauft], [ist das Silber da]für [. . .].
D _{iii'5'}	[tuku]m-bi 1 šar ki[slab] [lú] in-sa ₁₀ kù-bi 1 gín 'kù-*babbar ¹ -[àm]	§e3(/r) Wenn jemand 1 šar Hof kauft, [ist] das Silber dafür 1 Schekel Silber.
D _{iii'7'}	[tuku]m-bi 1 šar é-dù- ^r *a ¹ [nam-ga]- ^r tuš ¹ -e lú in-ḥuḡ ¹²⁹ 1 gín kù-babbar ì-l[á-e]	§e4(/s) Wenn jemand 1 šar gebautes Haus zum Bewohnen mietet, wird er 1 Schekel Silber abwiegen.
D _{iii'9'}	[lú m]u-sar-ra-ba šu bí-íb-ùr-ru-a mu-ni bí-í[b]-sar-re-a [áš bala-a]-ba-ke ₄ -eš lú-kúr šu ba-an-zi-zi-a [mu-s]ar-ra-ba šu bí-íb-ùr-ru-a mu nu- ^r sar-dè ¹ in-na-ab-*[s]ar ¹³¹ [lú-b]i lugal ḥé-a en ḥé-a énsi ḥé- ^r àm ¹	Wer diese Inschrift austilgt, ¹³⁰ seinen Namen dorthinschreibt, wegen dieses Fluches einen Anderen die Hand erheben läßt, sodaß dieser veranlaßt ist, dort, wo er diese Inschrift austilgt, einen nicht zu schreibenden Namen zu schreiben —sei dieser Mensch ein König, ein “Herr” oder sei er ein Stadtfürst—
	[ḡ ^{ix} gu]-za gub-*b[a-ta s]aḥar-ra ḥé-éb-t[a]-an-[tuš]	von seinem hingestellten Thron herab(gestürzt) soll er im Staub sitzen!
	[iri-n]i gi- ^r zú ¹ -ta ḥé-eb-ta-dag-dag-ge	Seine Stadt soll ihn unter dem Baldachin weg vertreiben!
D _{iii15'}	[iri]-ni iri ^d En-líl nu-še-ga ḥé-a	Seine Stadt soll zu einer Stadt gemacht werden, der Enlil nicht wohlgesonnen ist!
	[abull]a iri-na-ke ₄ ^r ḡál ¹ [ḥ]é-[é]b-ta ₆ -ta ₆ ¹³²	Die Stadttore seiner Stadt soll man öffnen!

129. Auffällig ist der Gebrauch des Verbums ḥuḡ anstelle von è für die Hausmiete.

130. Zur Rekonstruktion der Fluchformel vgl. Urnamma 47 ii 7–iv 12; s.o., S. 295f.

131. Roth 1995: 39 Anm. 2 tilgt diese Doppelzeile: “A repetition with variation of the first clause . . . probably a scribal error”; sie verweist auf den Vorschlag Liebermans (1992: 130 Anm. 18). Angesichts der Bezeichnung des Absolutivs (Patiens) vor der Verbalbasis und der Tilgung des Ergativzeichens nehme ich ein “Passiv” der transitiven *marû*-Konjugation an.

132. “-tag-tag” bei Michalowski/Walker und Roth ist jeweils ein Druckfehler für -tag₄-tag₄.

	[x] ^{r*x¹} ġuruš iri-na	. . . (und) junge Männer seiner Stadt
	igi(-)nu-du ₈ ħé-me-eš	sollen Blinde sein!
	[x] ki-sikil iri-na ù nu-ku ₄ ¹³³	. . . (und) junge Frauen seiner Stadt
	^r ħé ¹ -me ¹ -eš	sollen schlaflos sein!
	[x] ^{r*x¹} iri-na-ke ₄ ^d En-ki	Am [. . .] seiner Stadt sollen (die
	^d rIškur ¹ ^d Ašn[an-e]	Götter) Enki, Iškur und Ašnan
D _{iii20'}	[x] maḥ ^d En-líl-lá-ka ^r x x ¹	im erhabenen . . . Enlils . . .
	ħé-[x x]	
	[x x] uš tūr-ra ^r *nam-*mu-	. . . der Hürde sollen sie nicht erbauen
	da ¹ -an-dù-n[e?] x x]	können,
	[x x] amaš-[a nam-mu-*u]n-	. . . des Pferchs sollen sie ihm nicht
	^r na-*an-x-[x x x]	[. . .]
	[x x x]x[. . .]	. . .

(nach 5 Zeilen-Lücke: Spuren von 3 Zeilenenden)

Kollationen zu Text C (Si. 277)

i	3:	GÍR KI
	11:	ba-ri-ga ħu-mu-
	17:	-àm
ii	26:	šà-g[e-
	32:	nu-mu- -ra
	49:	i ^d Utu ħí-ni-dé
iii	54:	lú-bi -gaz-e-dam
	63:	. . . -gi ₄ -bi ì-
	70:	in-na-gub-gub-bu-
	71:	níġ-ga é ad-

Kollationen zu Text D (BM 54722+)

i'	4':	. . . níġ (ú)-gu
	5':	. . . é lú-
	7':	ki inim-ma-bi
	8':	. . . šá -a

133. Michalowski/Walker und Roth lesen ù nu-tu-^rdu-e²-eš¹ bzw. -du-[e]-eš "become/be barren," eine mir unverständliche Verbalform.

- 12': in-na-an- [a-ni
ii' 6': ... ì-silim
7': tukumbi
8': ... ì-silim
11': 'á¹-bi ...
13': 'á¹-bi ...
14': ... MUNUS.LÚ.KAŠ. .NA
18': 'še gur ur₅¹-ra-šè
9':
iii' 6': ... 1 gín 'kù¹-
7': ... é-dù-
11': ... in-na-ab-
13': [gíṣgu]-za gub-
16': iri-na-ke₄ 'gál'
17': ġuruš iri-na
19': iri-na-ke₄
21': ... tūr-ra ...
22': ... amaš-[a nam-mu-

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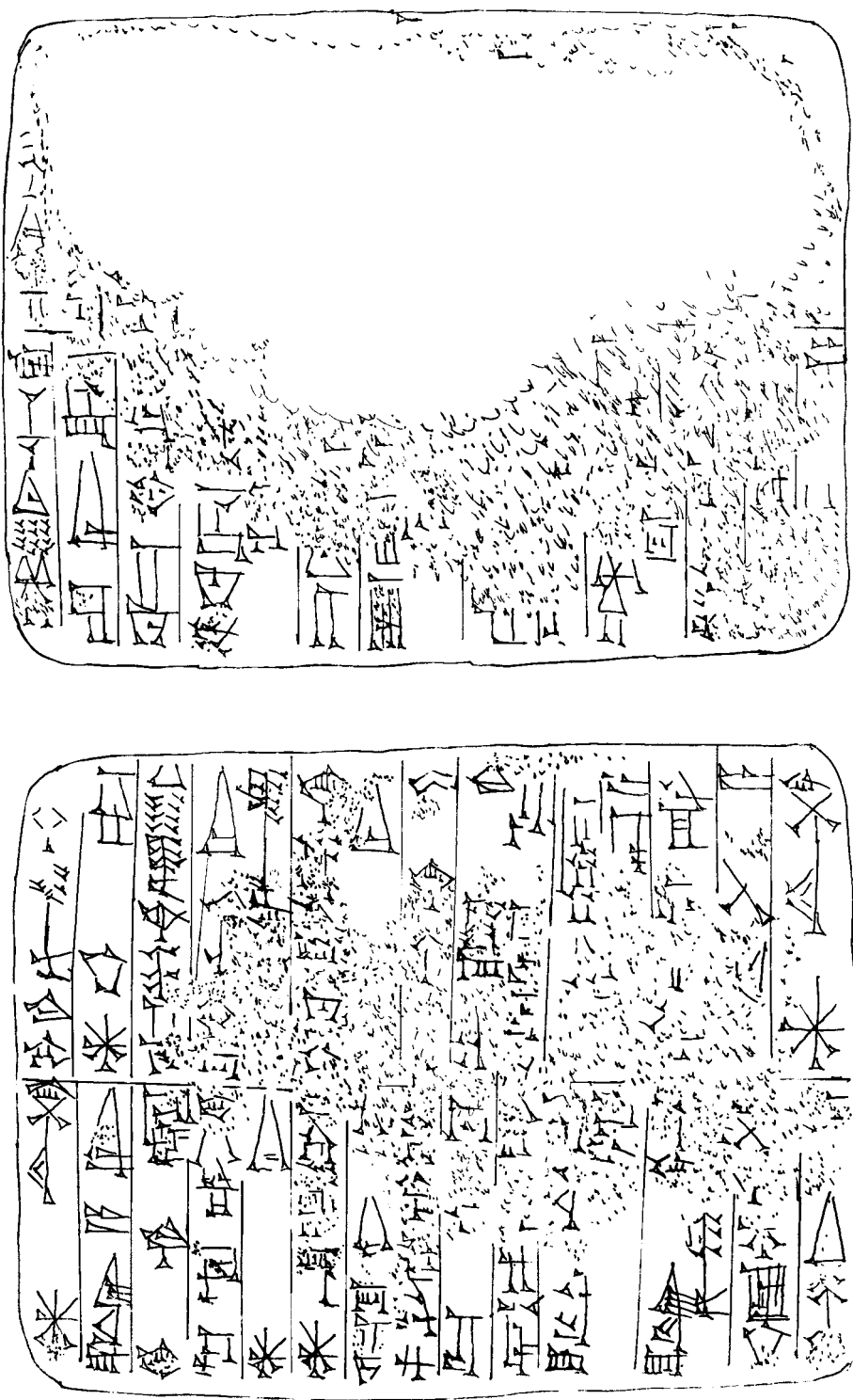


Abb. 1. Urnamma 47 nach der Photographie bei H. Steible 1991, Tafel xiii–xiv.

