

MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES

BY A. POEBEL



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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES
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PREFACE

The subjects of the five investigations here published originally were intended to be dealt with in short articles or notices that were to appear in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* and its successor, the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.¹ However, since their presentation in a convincing manner required a full discussion of the philological and other evidence on which the main results were based, I decided, about three years ago, to present those subjects in the form of detailed studies to appear as a fascicle of the Oriental Institute's "Assyriological Studies" series. It will be realized from this that the five studies are intended not to entertain a wide public but to serve the interest of Assyriologists who desire to base their opinions on broad and comprehensive evidence.

It is a pleasant duty for me here to express my most cordial thanks to Professor F. W. Geers, who in his well-known untiring kindness helped me in looking up text passages in publications or words in the Assyrian Dictionary files of our Institute. I feel indebted also to Professor S. I. Feigin, who kindly permitted me to identify the year formulas of Samsu-ditana referred to in Study IV from the Samsu-ditana date list of our Institute which he undertook to publish.

Owing to recent restriction of the editorial activities of the Oriental Institute the author unfortunately could not enjoy the same valuable and highly appreciated help which he has had from its editorial office for his former publications. I feel all the more indebted to Dr. T. George Allen, head of the office, for giving my manuscript a cursory reading and for making a number of editorial suggestions. Especially, however, I wish to thank Miss Hilde Bechtle, who was charged with the final editorial examination of the manuscript, for the great carefulness and skill with which she accomplished this task.²

A. POEBEL

CHICAGO
May 1946

¹ In a shorter form the manuscript of the third investigation was actually delivered to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* about nine years ago, but subsequently was withdrawn by me because the Journal in its then financial difficulties was not in a position to publish any article the text of which could not be composed entirely or almost entirely on the monotype machines of the University Press.

² Owing to the fact that Miss Bechtle was on leave of absence during December 1946 and January and February 1947 Dr. Allen has also been kind enough to see the manuscript through the press.—A. P.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	vii
I. THE CITY OF ESÂ (DÛR-KURI-GALZU)	1
II. THE "SCHACHTELSATZ" CONSTRUCTION OF THE NARÂM-SÎN TEXT RA XVI 157 f.	23
III. <i>Murnisqu</i> AND <i>Nisqu</i> IN CYLINDER A OF GUDEA	43
IV. THE FORMULA OF THE 16TH YEAR OF SAMSU-DITANA	88
V. THE USE OF MATHEMATICAL MEAN VALUES IN BABYLONIAN KING LIST B	110

ABBREVIATIONS

AbKt	H. WINCKLER (and E. BÖHDEN), Altbabylonische Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauche bei Vorlesungen.
AHwb	FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
AOf	Archiv für Orientforschung, ed. by F. WEIDNER.
ASKt	P. HAUPT, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte.
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ed. by DELITZSCH and HAUPT.
BAGl	C. BEZOLD, Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar.
BBSt	L. W. KING, Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum.
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts, ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT.
Br. Mus.	British Museum
Brünnow	R. E. BRÜNNOW, A Classified List
Bu.	Tablet (etc.) catalogued by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
CCEBK	L. W. KING, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings.
CH	Code of Hammu-rapi.
Chic. Syll.	R. T. HALLOCK, The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary, AO 7661.
CR	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum.
DP	Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, publiés sous la direction de M. J. DE MORGAN.
GSG	A. POEBEL, Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik.
GT	A. POEBEL, Grammatical Texts.
HG	J. KOHLER and A. UNGNAD, Hammurabi's Gesetz, Vol. II: Syllabische und zusammenhängende Umschrift nebst vollständigem Glossar, bearbeitet von ARTHUR UNGNAD.
HGT	A. POEBEL, Historical and Grammatical Texts.
HS	F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Les homophones sumériens.
HT	A. POEBEL, Historical Texts.
ITT	Mission française de Chaldée, Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KARI	E. EBELING, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.
LIH	L. W. KING, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi.
MI	A. T. CLAY, Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection.
MSP	J. DE MORGAN, Mission scientifique en Perse.
MVaG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
NbKi	ST. LANGDON, Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften.
NBStN I	W. J. HINKE, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I.
OBI	H. V. HILPRECHT, Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur.

- OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
 PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
 1 (2, etc.) R SIR H. C. RAWLINSON, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. I
 (II, etc.).
 RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
 ROEC F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme.
 RT Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et
 assyriennes.
 S^a Syllabary A.
 SA F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Le syllabaire accadien.
 SAI B. MEISSNER, Seltene assyrische Ideogramme.
 SAKI F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften.
 S^b Syllabary B.
 SBH G. REISNER, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer
 Zeit.
 SBHGŠ A. SCHOLLMAYER, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš.
 SGI F. DELITZSCH, Sumerisches Glossar.
 StAG A. POEBEL, Studies in Akkadian Grammar.
 Syll. A Syllabary A.
 Syll. B Syllabary B.
 TC VII Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales, Textes cunéiformes
 VII: F. THUREAU-DANGIN, Lettres de Ḫammurapi à Šamaš-ḫâšir.
 UET Ur Excavations. Texts.
 UPUM University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum, Publications of the
 Babylonian Section.
 VS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
 WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
 Yale Syll. Yale Syllabary (A. T. CLAY, Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Baby-
 lonian Collection, No. 53).
 ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Vols. I-XXXIV).
 ZA N.F. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Neue Folge (Vols. I ff. = ZA XXXV ff.)
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Text: 35
8-10/15
L. 3
X 30

STUDY I

THE CITY OF ESÂ (DÛR-KURI-GALZU)

About 30 miles west of Bagdâd, at the southern edge of the depression which is occupied by the Hôr eš-Šeqlaŋiŋe, there stretch the ancient city ruins known as ʿAqar Qûf. An impressive feature of these ruins is the denuded core of a Babylonian ziggurratu which in its present condition still rises 57 meters above the plain west of Bagdâd. On this site many years ago Rawlinson picked up a number of inscribed bricks, from some of which he took, or perhaps reconstructed, the inscription text published by him in 1 R 4 as XIV 1. This text contained the information that the Kassite king Kuri-Galzu, šakanakku of Enlil, built for Enlil, the lord of all lands, the temple Ê - u - g a l , his beloved house¹

Although the text makes no reference to the city standing on the site of ʿAqar Qûf at that time, it was soon concluded that ʿAqar Qûf represented the site of ancient Dûr-Kuri-Galzu. First of all, the fact that a King Kuri-Galzu built a temple at ʿAqar Qûf seemed to agree well with the fact indicated by the city's name Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, "castle or fortress of Kuri-Galzu," that in all likelihood the city was founded by a king named Kuri-Galzu. Besides, all mentionings of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings² clearly indicated that, like ʿAqar Qûf, it was situated in the region west of Bagdâd. They also indicated that Dûr-Kuri-Galzu was one of the most important fortified cities of Babylon, and since in the region west of Bagdâd no other city mound as conspicuous as ʿAqar Qûf is found, this place would seem to be the only one that could be taken into consideration as the site of old Dûr-Kuri-Galzu. In point of fact, if taken together, these arguments were of such force that the identification of ʿAqar Qûf with ancient Dûr-Kuri-Galzu had to be regarded as virtually certain in spite of the fact that they were not based on direct inscriptional evidence. To be sure, there was the statement of Delitzsch, in his *Wo lag das Paradies?* (p. 208), that among the bricks picked up

¹ After Ê - u - g a l , - é - k i - á g - g á - n i Rawlinson's text continues with é - l a - l a - b i or Ê - l a - l a - b i . The grammatical relation of é - l a - l a = *bil lalê*, "house of abundance (etc.)," to Ê - u - g a l is rather doubtful. In the Sumerian of the Kassite inscriptions - b i is frequently used in the same meaning as - (a) n i , "his." Possibly it is, therefore, a second apposition to Ê - u - g a l parallel to é - k i - á g - g á - n i and meaning "his house of abundance." Other possibilities are "and(?) the Ê - l a - l a ," (with - b i = "and"); "(and) its (= Ê - u - g a l 's) é - l a - l a "; "of Ê - u - g a l i t s Ê - l a - l a " (= "the Ê - l a - l a of Ê - u - g a l ")—but this is not likely—or even "their (= the people's or the peoples') Ê - l a - l a ."

² A less known reference to Dûr-Kuri-Galzu is in the fragment of an Elamite inscription, Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, No. 67, l. 5, *Dâr-Ku-ri-Gal-zu*, followed in l. 6 by *Si-par* (= Sippar).

by Rawlinson at 'Aqar Qûf, there were some the inscriptions on which actually mentioned Dûr-Kuri-Galzu. But since Rawlinson himself never published such an inscription or even a statement that he read the name of the city on the bricks, it was quite natural that Delitzsch's statement was regarded as possibly due to a misunderstanding.

Quite recently our knowledge of inscriptions from 'Aqar Qûf has been considerably increased as a consequence of methodical excavations undertaken on the city site by the Iraq government.³ The more preliminary excavations of 1942, which were to trace the outlines of the ziggurratu, revealed on its southeast side a triple staircase of kiln-burnt bricks, some of them bearing a stamped inscription. In the excavations of 1943 part of the temple area southwest of the ziggurratu was uncovered. Sixteen inscribed door sockets were found there, according to which Kuri-Galzu, šakanakku of Enlil, built not only the main temple Ê-u-gal for Enlil, but also Ê-gaşan-an-ta-gál for the goddess 'N i n - Ê—which the excavator as well as Gadd thinks may be a mistake for 'N i n - l í l—and the Ê-sag-dingir-ri-e-ne for Ninurta. In Ê-u-gal also were found several fragments of a colossal statue with a long inscription, one of these fragments, according to Baqir, containing the name 'K u - r i - G a l - z u .⁴

As far as the identification of 'Aqar Qûf with Dûr-Kuri-Galzu is concerned, the most important of these finds would seem to be one of the brick inscriptions,⁵ the last five lines of which read:

u r u ^{ki} (?) B á d - K u - r i - G a l - z u	The city(?) Dûr-Kuri-Galzu
ḥ u - m u - u n -	heed,
b á d - š u l - ḥ i - b i	its outer wall
s i g ₄ - a l - ù r - r a	he built
ḥ u - m u - u n - d ù	of baked bricks.

Since this inscription was made by means of a stamp,⁶ obviously a large number of bricks bore the same inscription. It is therefore quite possible that Rawlinson found one or several of these bricks. Judging from the appearance of the cuneiform signs the stamp must have been cast from an inscription written by hand. Like the inscription in Baqir's report probably all other specimens for this reason were very difficult to read. Would this explain why Rawlinson did not publish any of the brick inscriptions mentioning Dûr-Kuri-Galzu according to Delitzsch's statement?

³ Cf. Taha Baqir, *Iraq Government Excavations at 'Aqar Qûf, 1942-1943* (Iraq, Supplement 1944 [with "Additional Notes" and a translation or discussion of some of the inscriptions by C. J. Gadd]). Meanwhile, additional inscriptions found (1944) in the small temple mound A and especially in the palace mound Tell el-Abjad have been published by Baqir in *Iraq, Suppl. 1945*.

⁴ See below, however.

⁵ See *Iraq, Suppl. 1944*, Pl. 12 (photographic reproduction), and p. 15 (transliteration and translation by Gadd).

⁶ Cf. the legend under Fig. 15: "A stamped brick on which appears the name of the city." See also p. 13 under (6), and p. 3, first paragraph.

section dealing with the temples of Nin-líl (Nin-é).¹¹ But then, of course, lines 7–8 of the Sumerian half-column should likewise form a unit, i.e., the signs *g a š a n* at the end of Sumerian half-line 7 and *g á l* at the end of Sumerian half-line 8 should belong to the name of one and the same temple. It therefore seems quite certain that we have to restore lines 7–8 in the Sumerian column as ⁷[É] - *g a š a n* - ⁸[a n - t a] - *g á l* in conformity with the name of the temple which Kuri-Galzu in the ‘Aqar Qûf door socket inscription states he built (at ‘Aqar Qûf) for ^dN i n - É (^dN i n - l í l). Since the fragment expressly designates this temple as “the house of Nin-líl (Nin-é) in Dûr-Kuri-Galzu,” it is obvious that ‘Aqar Qûf actually is the site of ancient Dûr-Kuri-Galzu.

As for the founder of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, he cannot, of course, have been Kuri-Galzu II, son of Burna-Burijaš II—both contemporaries of Aššûr-uballiṭ I of Assyria (1352–1317¹²)—for the simple reason that the city is mentioned already on the Nippur tablet, Clay, BE XIV, No. 4,¹³ which is dated in the 11th year of Burna-Burijaš II, the father of Kuri-Galzu II.¹⁴ The city is likewise mentioned on the Nippur tablet, Clay, UPUM II 2, No. 134,¹⁵ which is incompletely dated Šabātu 12, 27th year.¹⁶ The Nippur tablets published by Clay comprise, in addition to the reign of Burna-Burijaš II, only those of his son Kuri-Galzu II and his successors down to the reign of Kaštiliášu III. In Babylonian King List A, unfortunately, only the numbers for the regnal years of Kuri-Galzu II and his successors are preserved. But since the longest reigns attributed by the list to the kings of this period are the 25-year reign of Kuri-Galzu II and the 26-year reign of Nazi-Maruttaš,¹⁷ the tablet should—provided, of course, that the numbers ascribed to the two kings contain no mistake—belong to the reign of Burna-Burijaš II, for whom to date at least 25 years are proved by a fully dated Nippur tablet,¹⁸ but who may quite well

¹¹ Note the same distribution of the last explanatory line over two half-columns in l. 1 and the now missing preceding line. Similarly in Fragment No. 2, ll. 19 f.

¹² This is the dating according to the Khorsabad king list, which gives Ninurta-apil-Ekur only 3 years. But, according to the Nassouhi list, which gives him 13 years, Aššûr-uballiṭ I's reign would fall in the years 1362–1327.

¹³ Cf. ll. 11 f.: ¹¹. . . *a-na Dûr-Ku-ri-G[al-zu^{k1}] ¹²*i-še-bi-il*, “May he send (them) to Dûr-Kuri-Galzu.”*

¹⁴ Rev., ll. 1 ff.: ¹*tu gu-si-su* (= Ajjâru) ^{u4-1-kam} ²*mu-11-kam* *Bur-ra-bu-ri-ja-aš* ³*Ni-bru^{k1}*.

¹⁵ Cf. l. 11: [. . .] *Dûr-Ku-ri-Gal-zu^{k1}*.

¹⁶ Lower Edge: [ⁱ] *tu-zí-z-a* ^{u4-12-kam} ^m*u-27-kam*. According to Clay, UPUM II 2, p. 64, another Nippur tablet incompletely dated in the 27th year is CBS 11109 (Nisan 4).

¹⁷ The latest Nippur tablet of the reign of Kuri-Galzu is BE XIV, No. 38, dated: [Month . . .], 16th day, 23rd year, while the latest from Nazi-Maruttaš's reign, *ibid.*, No. 86, is dated Šabātu 15, 24th year.

¹⁸ BE XIV, No. 9, dated Arašsamna 10, 25th year of Burna-Burijaš.

have ruled into his 27th year or, because of the proximity of the day and month date to the end of the year (27th day of the 11th month), perhaps even into his 28th year.¹⁹ Because of these early mentionings of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu the founding of the city can be ascribed, of course, only to the 17th Kassite king, Kuri-Galzu I,²⁰ son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe I.

In the 'Aqar Qûf inscriptions King Kuri-Galzu I bears only the religious title "šakanakku of Enlil." Now in some of the Kuri-Galzu inscriptions excavated at Nippur the royal author likewise bears only this title,²¹ while in others he identifies himself expressly as "Kuri-Galzu, son of Burna-Burijaš,"²² i.e., as Kuri-Galzu II. The latter fact evidently indicates that also the Kuri-Galzu who in the Nippur inscriptions designates himself as šakanakku of Enlil was Kuri-Galzu I; as the first of his name, he had, of course, no need to add to his name the apposition "son of Kadašman-Ḥarbe" in order to indicate which Kassite king by the name of Kuri-Galzu he was. In the case of Kuri-Galzu II, however, an apposition of that kind

¹⁹ In UPUM II, pp. 63 f., Clay states as his opinion that of the two tablets dated in the 27th year, only CBS 11109 may belong to the reign of Burna-Burijaš, while the other tablet, UPUM II 2, No. 134, probably belongs either to the reign of Kuri-Galzu or to the reign of Nazi-Maruttaš. He bases these assumptions on the observation that the name Enlil-kidinni, which is found on CBS 11109, occurs also on tablets of Burna-Burijaš, while the name Ilu-iddina, found in UPUM II 2, No. 134, occurs on the tablet BE XIV, No. 13, which is dated in the 5th year of Kuri-Galzu. Similarly the name Tu-ra-ilu, found in UPUM II 2, No. 134, occurs also on the tablet, BE XIV, No. 24, which is dated in the 16th year of Kuri-Galzu. Clay's conclusion would, of course, make it necessary to assume an error of the king list either in the 25 years attributed to Kuri-Galzu or in the 26 years attributed to Nazi-Maruttaš. One does not quite understand how the observations made by Clay concerning the occurrence of the proper names could suggest to him the possibility that the tablet UPUM II 2, No. 134, might belong to Nazi-Maruttaš's reign. Apparently he envisaged this as a possibility merely because the 26 years attributed to this king in the king list come nearer by one year to the 27th year than the 25 years of Kuri-Galzu. It need hardly be pointed out that the occurrence of the proper names in no manner excludes the possibility that both tablets belong to the reign of Burna-Burijaš, since the interval between the 27th year of this king and the 16th year of Kuri-Galzu is only 16 years (or at the highest probably no more than 20 years). Although the numbers attributed to Kuri-Galzu and Nazi-Maruttaš in the king list are by no means very clearly preserved, it can nevertheless readily be seen that their units are arranged in two stages and that accordingly they can represent only the numbers 5 and 6 and not the numbers 7 and 8 which are arranged in three stages by the scribe of the king list.

²⁰ This is the king to whom Taha Baqir (*op. cit.*, p. 4), following Weidner (AOf III 74), refers as Kuri-Galzu II. There is no conclusive evidence for the existence before our Kuri-Galzu I of another Kassite king Kuri-Galzu. It may be noted that Weidner (*loc. cit.*), with a change of his former opinion, assumes his Kuri-Galzu I, whom he lists as the 15th Kassite ruler, as well as his alleged successor Meli-Šiḫu I, only with some doubt. In point of fact, he gains the space necessary for his interpolation of the two kings only by omitting from his list the 20th king, Kadašman-Ḥarbe II (*var.*: Karaindaš II), and the 21st king, Šuzigaš (*var.*: Nazi-Bugaš). Moreover, Kuri-Galzu II (the 22nd king), son of Burna-Burijaš II, is called *Kuri-Galzu šiḫru*, "Kuri-Galzu, the Younger"; this designation would be rather strange if it referred to a Kuri-Galzu who was the third of his name.

²¹ Cf. Hilprecht, OBI, Nos. 37–38, 47, and 50.

²² *Ibid.*, Nos. 35–36, 39–40.

seemed necessary or at least expedient in order to distinguish his person from that of the former king, Kuri-Galzu I. Moreover, the distinction between Kuri-Galzu, šakanakku of Enlil, and Kuri-Galzu, son of Burna-Burijaš, seems to be supported by a grammatical observation. For in the Nippur inscriptions of Kuri-Galzu, son of Burna-Burijaš, OBI, Nos. 35-36 and 39, the Sumerian preterit form, "he gave (an object) to him or to her as a present" (= Akkadian *ana X iqîš*) appears as *i n - n a - a n - b a* (= *i - n n a - n - b a*), i.e., with preserved subject element *n*, "he," while in the Nippur inscription of Kuri-Galzu, šakanakku of Enlil, OBI, No. 47, it seems to appear as *i n - n [a -] b a* (< *i - n n a (- n) - b a*) with dropped *n*. Similarly the scribes of Kuri-Galzu, šakanakku of Enlil, write *m u - u n - n a - d ù* (< *m u - i - n n a (- n) - d ù*), "he built for him" in OBI, No. 38, and *a m u - n a - r u* (< *a m u - i - n a (- n) - r u*), "he gave to her as a present," in No. 37.²³ As shown by the *ḫ u - m u - u n - d ù* of the 'Aqar Qûf inscriptions and by the interchange of *m u - u n - n a - d ù* and *m u - u n - n a - a n - d ù* in the Uruk inscriptions the choice of the forms with or without *n* depended largely on the customs of the local schools or even on the personal predilections of the individual scribes of the time concerned.

After these preliminary remarks, intended to clear up certain questions concerning Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, we now turn to the proper subject of our investigation, the city of Esá.

In CT XIX 17 ff. (formerly 2 R 48), col. 3, l. 21, we find the following lexicographical equation:

KUR-TI^{ki} | *Dûr-(Ku-ri-)Gal-zi*

and in 2 R 50 (K 4337),²⁴ col. 1, l. 25, the especially important equation:

[*KUR*]^{o-aa-a-TI^{ki}} | *Dûr-Ku!-ri-Gal-zu²⁵*

Compare in the same text also col. 4, l. 7:

É - g i - RIM | "(= *zig-gur-ra-t(um)*) *KUR-TI^{ki}*

and in col. 4, l. 32:

[...]-.....²⁶ | *dûr KUR-TI^{ki}*

²³ On the strength of these observations it would seem possible that also the Nippur Kuri-Galzu inscriptions No. 49 and No. 51, in which the king's name appears without any title, have to be assigned to Kuri-Galzu I, because they give the verb in the form *i n - n a - b a*. Note that already Burna-Burijaš II, the father of Kuri-Galzu II, in the Nippur inscriptions No. 34 and No. 35, writes *i n - n a - a n - b a*.

²⁴ Cf. the transliteration of this text (with emendations and additions) by Weissbach in ZMDG LIII (1899) 655 ff.

²⁵ So according to Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Wörterverzeichnis*, No. 2281, Brünnow, No. 7404, and Weissbach, *loc. cit.*; 2 R 50 omits *Ku*.

²⁶ Brünnow, No. 5109: [B á d]-IŠ-ME-AN-KI; Weissbach, *loc. cit.*: []IŠ?-ME?-AN-KI; 2 R 50: [i]Š-NA-KI.

The text 2 R 50 is usually designated as a geographical or bilingual geographical list. To a certain extent this designation may be regarded as justified, since the text lists (in the indicated order) both in Sumerian and Akkadian:

1. Names of cities and countries with the determinative *ki*, "place."
2. Names of mountains, mountainous countries, etc., preceded by *kur*, "mountain," "mountain land," etc.
3. Names of rivers, preceded by *i₇(d)*, "river."
5. Names of stage towers, preceded by *é*, "house."
6. Names of city walls (in some instances of the inner and the outer wall).²⁷

It will be noted, however, that the geographical names of section 2 are preceded by the four equations *kur*, *ḫur-sag*, *e*, and *ga-bi-ri* = *šadū*, "mountain." Similarly those of section 3 are preceded by the equation *i₇(d)* = *nāru*, "river," those of section 5 by *IGI+É-NIR* = *ziggurratum*, and those of section 6 by *bád* = *dāru*, "city wall." The geographical or rather uranographical or uranogeographical names of section 4, which are not preserved, are even preceded by 17(+x) equations of Sumerian words for "heaven" with Akkadian *šamū*, "heaven." Furthermore, at the end of section 2 we read such "geographical" words as *kur-ú-sal-la*, "a land of safety"; *kur-ú-sal-la-ná-a*, "a land that rests in safety"; *kur-nu-še-ga*, "a hostile land," [*kur-ki-*] *bal*, "a rebellious land," etc. Basically the text is, of course, a purely philological composition, namely, a Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary for use in schools, restricted, however, to words of geographical, uranographical, and topographical character,²⁸ followed in each case by proper names of the same character.

The purely philological character of the text CT XIX 17 ff., from which the equation *KUR-TI^{ki}* = *Dūr-(Ku-ri-)Gal-zi* has been quoted, needs no comment. The text is, however, of a rather composite nature, since it gives not only lexicographical equations of Sumerian words with the corresponding Akkadian words, i.e., equations of the same kind as those found in the so-called syllabaries and vocabularies, but also grammatical equations between Sumerian and Akkadian verb forms,²⁹ as well as between a Sumerian combination of noun plus possessive pro-

²⁷ For section 4 see presently.

²⁸ These words seem to be listed in the order in which the objects designated by them originated according to the Babylonian creation stories, namely: [*a*, "water"]; *ki*, "earth," with its mountains and rivers; *a n*, "heaven"; the *ziggurratu*'s, built by men for the gods; and the city walls, likewise built by men, but for their own protection. Our tablet is probably only one of a whole series of tablets with the words for things whose creation was reported in the creation stories. In this category belong also the lexicographical texts listing the Sumerian and Akkadian names of animals, transliterations and translations of which Landsberger published under the title *Die Fauna Babylonien*. This title is, of course, a misnomer no less than if the text 2 R 50, from which we quoted the passages concerning *Dūr-Kuri-Galzu*, were to be called *The Geography of Babylonia (and of Heaven)*.

²⁹ Cf., e.g., *š u b a - a b - t e - m á | im-ḫur*, col. 3, l. 11.

noun and the corresponding Akkadian combination,³⁰ etc. Note also that the section, col. 4, ll. 26–43, deals with unusual Sumerian names or titles of deities (including “heaven” and “earth”); that the section, col. 4, ll. 51–57, deals with the names of the seven planets, and col. 4, ll. 58–62, with the stars connected with the cities of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Aššûr, and Susa; while col. 3, ll. 12–14, gives unusual ethnic designations for the Amurrean, the Ur(ar)ṭean, and the Gutean. Finally, col. 3, ll. 15–21, equates Sumerian city names with their Akkadian equivalents.³¹ It need hardly be mentioned that the section last referred to has been taken from a text similar to 2 R 50; the section dealing with the unusual divine names from a so-called “god list”; and the section dealing with the planets from an extensive list of stars, etc.

Since the two texts in which the equation $E s \hat{a}^{ki} = D\hat{u}r\text{-}Kuri\text{-}Galzu$ is found belong to the class of Sumero-Akkadian vocabularies, it follows, of course, that the name $E s \hat{a}^{ki}$, occurring in the Sumerian half-column of the vocabulary, represents a recognized Sumerian name. In order to explain this rather guarded formulation it may be stated that it is not intended to assert that every city name occurring in the Sumerian column of a Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary must be of Sumerian origin. There exist, of course, city names of this kind, as, e.g., the names $U r u - k i - \acute{a} g - \text{d}I n n a n a$ (CT XIX 17 ff., col. 3, l. 14) and $U r u - k i - \acute{a} g - M e - m e$ (*ibid.*, l. 15), which in Sumerian clearly mean “Beloved City of Ištar” and “Beloved City of Meme.” On the other hand, however, we find in the Sumerian columns of syllabaries and vocabularies city names without a clear Sumerian etymology. Among them are the names of almost all the important cities of the old Sumerian period, as, e.g., Unu(g), Adab(u), Uri(m), Umma, Zimbar, and Nibru, all or most of which, therefore, must be regarded not as genuinely Sumerian, but as taken over from an older non-Sumerian population of Babylonia. Nevertheless there cannot exist any doubt that, e.g., Unu(g) represented the recognized Sumerian form of the name of the city in contradistinction to Uruk, the recognized Akkadian form of the name. Moreover, the city name ${}^{uru}D u n - n u - Z A - i - d u$ (CT XIX

³⁰ Cf. col. 4, ll. 6 f.: $\acute{a} - k \acute{u} \acute{s} - \grave{u} | ma-na-aḫ-tum \acute{a} - k \acute{u} \acute{s} - \grave{u} - a - n i | ma-na-aḫ-ta-šu.$

³¹ Since we shall refer frequently to this section, it is given here in transliteration:

¹⁵ D a - a t - u š	<i>Da-tu-nu</i>
U r u - k i - \acute{a} g - \text{d}I n n a n a	<i>Rak-na-nā</i>
U r u - k i - \acute{a} g - M e - m e	<i>Ra-ki-mu</i>
¹⁶ U r u - s a g - a n - n a	<i>Du-un-nu</i>
${}^{uru}D u n - n u - S \hat{a} - i - d u$	<i>Šá-Si-A-im</i>
É š (e) ! $\acute{e} \acute{s} i - \acute{s} \acute{e} - i b i b$	<i>Ḫu-da-du</i>
²¹ KUR-TI ^{ki}	<i>Dār-(Ku-ri-)Gal-zu</i>

Thompson's copy gives the first two signs of l. 20 as KI-ŠE with ŠE on the line. Instead of Thompson's ŠE, 2R 48 offers a broken e š above the line, which would make the gloss e š - š e - i b . It seems reasonably certain, therefore, that the original reads as indicated above.

17, col. 3, l. 19) or *D u n - n u - S a - i - d i*³² (2 R 52, No. 2, col. 3, l. 9), which in both texts appears in the Sumerian half-column, is doubtless a Semitic name,³³ but the very fact that the compiler of the vocabulary lists it in the Sumerian column indicates that the Sumerians knew it under exactly that name, while the later Semitic Babylonians knew it under the name *Šá-Si-A-im*.³⁴

An important further step in our discussion of the Esā problem can be made by the observation of another feature of the Sumero-Akkadian syllabaries and vocabularies. Although it has probably not been fully realized, the lexicographical subject matter treated in the Sumerian columns of the syllabaries, vocabularies, etc., is taken exclusively from the old Sumerian literature. This means, of course, that the syllabaries, vocabularies, etc., were intended to serve exclusively as a means for the reading and the studying of the old Sumerian literature, which to all appearances had become what in certain respects might be called "canonical." If we include the very extensive post-Sumerian literature of the Isin, Larsa, and Babylon dynasties, the lowest limit for the end of the Sumerian literary period may be seen in the catastrophe that evidently overtook Babylonia with the Hittite conquest of the city of Babylon and the conquest of the whole country by the Kassites and their rivals from the Sealand. But the process of the "canonization" of the Sumerian literature probably started already in the older post-Sumerian period, i.e., in the period comprised by the dynasties of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. As far as I can see, nothing materially new has been added to the content of the Sumerian columns of the philological explanatory texts in the Kassite and the subsequent periods, while the period of the first dynasty of Babylon, as far as our present knowledge goes, contributed only a few geographical or topographical names.³⁵

Now if the observations just made are applied to the city name Esā, it is obvious that this name must have existed in the Sumerian literature at least before the fall of the first dynasty of Babylon. But since the name could not have existed without the city, it is also clear that there must have been a city Esā at the site of 'Aqar Qūf in a period before the end of the first dynasty.

³² As shown by this writing of the name, the ZA of *𒌦D u n - n u - z a - i - d u* likewise represents *sa*, i.e., *sá*. The writing with this sign evidently traces to the Akkad period, or a period near the Akkad period, in which ZA was still used for the syllables *za*, *sa*, and *ša*.

³³ Cf. in the immediately preceding line the equation of Sumerian *U r u - s a g - a n - n a* with Akkadian *Du-un-nu*.

³⁴ The reading of the name, which is preserved only in CT XIX 17 ff., is somewhat uncertain. It is copied in CT XIX 17 as *Šá-DIRI-im*. Possibly *Šá-Si-A-im* represents an old spelling *Ša-Si-i₇-im* or *Šá-Si-e₈-em* ("City or Town, etc., of Si⁷um") with A = *i₇* or *e₈* (also = *a* and *u₆*); but an uncontracted or diphthongized *Si-a-im* (= *Si⁷a⁷im* for *Si⁷em*) would not be impossible. For the nominative *Si⁷um* cf. the name of the Gutean king *Si - ù - u m* in the inscription of Lugal-anna-tum, iššakku of Umma, Scheil, CR, 1911, p. 319.

³⁵ Cf. the city name *Dūr* (or *B á d*)-*Damiq* (or *Damqi*)-*ili-šu*, 2 R 52, No. 2, col. 3, l. 15, and the Akkadian names of the city walls of Babylon, 2 R 50, col. 3.

It will, of course, be noted that these conclusions are in opposition to the opinion hinted by Delitzsch in *Wo lag das Paradies?* (p. 207), namely, that the $KUR-TR^{ki}$ and the . . . $SA-A-TR^{ki}$ of 2 R 50 (and 48) represent merely "die ideographische Schreibweise des Namens [Dûr-Kuri-Galzu] und deren Lesung." Likewise they differ from Hommel's opinion (*Geographie*, p. 3) that *Sat-ti-ki* or *Esâ-ti-ki* (both written $KUR-ti-ki$), although perhaps indicating the existence of an older city at the site of 'Aqar Qûf, may quite well represent merely the "ideogram" or "the ideographical name" of the Kassite city Dûr-Kuri-Galzu; as such, according to Hommel, they probably were expressly invented for the new city. But the untenableness of these opinions can readily be perceived, even though they still seem to be shared, at least in slightly different forms, by scholars of the present time. In the first place, if Kuri-Galzu I or his Akkadian scholars had deemed it necessary to have for their Sumerian inscriptions a Sumerian name of the city, they could simply have read Bâd-Kuri-Galzu instead of the Akkadian Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, although even this by no means would have been necessary. But if they should actually have been intent upon supplying the newly founded and newly named city with a second name in the Sumerian language and with one of a meaning entirely different from the name Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, they would certainly have given the city such a second name in readily understandable Sumerian³⁶ and not a name of such cryptic meaning as *Esâ* (measured, of course, by the Sumerian known to us from the inscriptions).

What is even more important, it seems altogether incredible that in addition to the cryptic name *Esâ* the Akkadian scholars should have invented also a likewise cryptic "ideographic" writing $KUR-TR^{ki}$, which itself, according to the opinions of the modern scholars, represented the "ideogram" for Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, called by them in a rather confusing manner also its "ideographic name." As one sees, the assumptions of Delitzsch, Hommel, and others lead only into a maze of improbability and confusion. Nor is this in any manner surprising if one considers that their opinions were rooted in the still entirely unclear and confused ideas then entertained by them concerning the existence of a real Sumerian language and the character of what then was called "ideographic writing," etc. A really unobjectionable and natural explanation of the equation $KUR-TR^{ki} = Esâ = Dûr-Kuri-Galzu$ can be obtained only by admitting that *Esâ*, written $KUR-TR^{ki}$, was a city standing at the site of 'Aqar Qûf in a more or less remote period before the foundation of the Kassite city Dûr-Kuri-Galzu.

The fact that the name of the Sumerian city is written $KUR-TR^{ki}$, but pronounced *Esâ*, should take us even a little farther in our conclusions. It will be noted that the Sumerian city names which traditionally are written differently than they are pronounced attach exclusively to cities which already existed in the Sumerian

³⁶ For such a city name cf., e.g., the names quoted above, $URU-KI-ÁG-4INNANA$ and $URU-KI-ÁG-ME-ME$ (CT XIX 17 ff., col. 3, ll. 16 f.).

period; or if, for the sake of greater clearness, we express it in a negative form, no city bearing such a name came into existence during the dynasties of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Note, for instance, such old city names as Zimbir, written UD-KIB-NUN^{ki}; Nibru, written EN-LÍL^{ki}; Lagasa, written ŠIR-PUR-LA^{ki}; Uri(m), written ÛRU-UNU^{ki}; Zararma, written UTU-UNU^{ki}; Sirara, written UD-MÁ-NIN-SIR^{ki}; Zababu, written ZA-SUĜ-UNU^{ki}, etc.; or the river names Buranunu, written ^{id}UD-KIB-NUN; Sirara, written ^{id}UD-MÁ-NINA^{ki},³⁷ etc. Since the Sumerian name of the city antedating Dûr-Kuri-Galzu likewise shows the feature just described, it seems very probable that also the city of Esâ, or whatever its name at that time may have been, was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, or at least a city that already existed in an early Sumerian period. A certain corroboration of this conclusion may perhaps be seen in the fact that the city of Esâ is not found among the many geographical names known to date from the business texts of the third Ur dynasty and likewise is not mentioned in any of the numerous texts of the first dynasty of Babylon. But if, accordingly, the city of Esâ belongs to the time before the third dynasty of Ur, the very fact that it is written, not E - s a - a^{ki}, but KUR-TI^{ki}, clearly points to a still earlier period in which the city was known as K u r - t i^{ki} or whatever the phonetic pronunciation of KUR-TI^{ki} may have been.

This last statement, of course, needs some explanation. It has been the universal opinion that the writing of a Sumerian city name in a manner deviating from its pronunciation represents an "ideographical" writing. In what manner it is an ideographical writing, however, was never explained; in point of fact, all ideas then entertained concerning the so-called ideographical writing of Sumerian words were extremely vague and actually obscured the real issue. There is, of course, an ideographic element in the Sumerian sign system, as, e.g., when the verb root n a k, "to drink," is written with the sign KA, "mouth," combined with the sign A, "water." But clearly recognizable cases of this kind are comparatively few; mostly the signs are pictures of objects used originally, of course, to render the words for the objects in question, but developing—together with the ideographs just mentioned—through a kind of rebus writing into a regular syllabic writing. Whatever else is called ideographic writing represents as a rule either an older word form which is still written although it is read in the later form of the word, or an older word or name that has become obsolete and instead of which a later word or name is read. Both cases have their parallels in English. For instance, the words *night* and *knight* are still written in the same manner as they were when they were pronounced *nixt* and *knixt*, and similarly one still writes the abbreviation for Latin *exempli gratia*, namely e.g., although this is now read "for instance" or "for example." As for Sumerian city and river names, the first case may be illustrated by the so-called ideogram for Sumerian B u r a n u n u, "the Euphrates," namely ^{id}UD-

³⁷ So according to CT XII 22, col. 4, l. 33'.

KIB-NUN, which in reality is a phonetic writing ^{4d}B í r - à l (or ù l) - n u n u , which later changed to Buranunu.^{37a} For the second case compare, e.g., the writing of the Sumerian city name N i b r u , "Nippur," as E n - l í l^{ki}, which, of course, represents the former name of Nippur or rather was the name of a former town or settlement at the site of the later Nibru, probably at the time when only a small settlement belonging to the temple of Enlil or—in the language of that time—belonging to the god Enlil himself, existed there.³⁸ Our Esâ, written KUR-TI^{ki}, evidently belongs to the second class just discussed; but while in the case of N i b r u^{ki} and E n - l í l^{ki} the older name is perfectly clear to us, since ^{dingir}E n - l í l is the chief god of Nippur, we have no manifest indication whatever concerning the relation of K u r - t i^{ki} to the later E s â , although the main god of this city doubtless was Enlil, too.

All foregoing conclusions have been drawn on the basis of the assumption that Strassmaier's conception of the signs e - s a - a in the Sumerian half-line of 2 R 50, col. 1(!), l. 25', as a gloss is correct and that therefore the whole half-line must be restored as [KUR]^{e-s-a-a}TI^{ki}. It may be pointed out that this conception of the Sumerian half of line 25'—and, I may state, *only* this conception—agrees excellently with the fact that later on in the text the city is referred to merely as KUR-TI^{ki}. A gloss indicating the phonetic reading of KUR-TI^{ki} is, of course, necessary only in the place where the city name occurs for the first time in the text. Nevertheless it may be advisable to subject the deviating conceptions of Rawlinson, Weissbach, Hommel, and Gadd to a short examination. From the fact that Strassmaier (as well as Brünnow) without any explanatory remark gives the cuneiform signs e - s a - a in a smaller size than TI and KI and also in a position above the line, one might conclude that he actually observed these features on the tablet; but the fact that Rawlinson as well as Weissbach failed to observe them seems to indicate that the difference in size and position cannot be very obvious.³⁹ This point actually is of no great importance for the decision whether e - s a - a is a gloss or not, since we can observe that glosses as well as variant writings frequently got into the text line⁴⁰

^{37a} Cf. the similar development of Sumerian U r u - k i - á g - ^dI n n a n a and U r u - k i - á g - M e - m e to *Raknana* and *Rakimu* in Akkadian; see n. 31.

³⁸ For a similar designation of a temple city or town cf. D i n g i r^{ki} (K i - D i n g i r^{ki}, B á d - D i n g i r^{ki}), from which evidently developed the Akkadian name *Dêr* (*Dîr*). Note also the city name K á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki}, "gate of the god," which at first evidently was the name of a small settlement at the gate of the Marduk temple Ê-sag-ila.

³⁹ Gadd, in his additional note to Taha Baqir's footnote on p. 4 of Iraq, Suppl. 1944, does not state whether his adoption of Rawlinson's reading . . . s a - a - t i^{ki} is based on a new collation of the passage or not. However, a new collation seems improbable, since the original presumably was not accessible at that time.

⁴⁰ Cf. my remarks in ZA N.F. IV (1929) 82 f. on the s a g - è n^{oa} - t a r (written s a g - L I - E N - t a r) of the Bruxelles vocabulary (col. 3, last line).

and this might have happened here, too. Important, however, is the fact that later on, as just stated, the city is mentioned as KUR-ṬI^{ki} and that therefore the group of signs in col. 1, l. 25, should contain the signs KUR-ṬI^{ki}, while the rest can be only a gloss like those which we observe in the same text in col. 1, l. 28; col. 2, l. 10; and col. 3, ll. 11 f., 21 f., 24, and 26 ff.; as well as in CT XIX 17 ff., col. 3, l. 20. Now one might perhaps argue that since the beginning of the line is broken off, one should supplement the line as [KUR-ṬI]^{e-sa-a-ti}KI, which would make the name of the city Ešáti instead of Ešá. However, against this conception the following may be alleged:

1. Strassmaier evidently must have been of the opinion that the size of the ṬI did not warrant its combination with the preceding e-sa-a.

2. Judging from Rawlinson's copy the broken space at the beginning of the line, after due allowance is made for the restoration of the first broken sign of the gloss to e (or a similar short sign), is sufficient only for one sign of the size of KUR, but not for the two signs KUR-ṬI, unless one is willing to assume that they were crowded. Similarly Weissbach, who in his transliteration tries to imitate the distribution of the signs in the original, indicates only a broken space sufficient for one sign, or possibly, as might have been his idea, a space sufficient to supplement the sign, given by Strassmaier as e, to a somewhat larger sign. Especially, however, should it be noted that with the insertion of KUR-ṬI it would be necessary to assume that in this case the scribe had not left a space between the signs belonging to the name and the following gloss, as he customarily did in other instances.

3. In Rawlinson's copy the signs e-sa-a are placed close to each other, but a space is left between the last sign a of e-sa-a and the following sign ṬI. Since in all other instances the scribe of K 4337 places all signs of a gloss at the same distance from each other—usually very near each other—the larger space between e-sa-a and ṬI should indicate that the ṬI does not belong to the gloss, but represents the ṬI of the name KUR-ṬI^{ki}.

4. Excepting just two single cases I do not recall any instance in the syllabaries and vocabularies where, in a gloss defining the pronunciation of a Sumerian word or name, etc., the length of an interior vowel immediately followed by a consonant is indicated by writing it *plene*,⁴¹ as would be the case if our gloss were e-sa-a-ti.⁴²

⁴¹ The gloss in CT XXV 16 ff., col. 1, l. 25: d mu-ú-ru-u  (probably = šur-šur) | „(= ^dAdad), is to be read not mu-ú-ru-u = Muru (Meissner, SAI, No. 7535; Deimel, Pantheon, p. 43b), but mu-šam-ru-u. This is the III 1 participle of Akkadian marú; cf. the preceding Akkadian names of Adad: ^dRa-mi-mu, l. 24; ^dRa-gi-mu, l. 25; ^dMur-ta-as-nu, l. 26; and ^dMur-ta-i-mu, l. 27.

The two exceptional writings referred to above are found in UPUM V, No. 102, col. 5, l. 1: ʾ d e-e-le | DILI | ye-e-dum, and in the transcription of šED₇ (= kuššu, etc.) with se-e-de on an Assyrian Syllabary B fragment quoted by Delitzsch in his Sumerisches Glossar, p. 243.

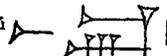
The inference from this observation is, of course, that the gloss cannot be e-s-a-a-ti, or in other words, the "full" writing of the vowel before τ shows that the latter does not belong to the gloss, but to the city name $\kappa\upsilon\tau\text{-}\tau\text{r}^{\text{ki}}$. To be sure, it is a well established and regular custom of the syllabarists and vocabularists to use full writing for the final vowel of monosyllabic phonetic values; cf., e.g., Υ gi-e | GE_6 | *mu-šu*, S^b (CT XI 14 ff.), col. 3, l. 16; Υ k u - u | $\kappa\upsilon_7$ | *maṭ-qu*, *ibid.*, col. 4, l. 30; Υ m a - a | MÁ | *e-lip-pu*, *ibid.*, col. 5, l. 15.⁴³ But this custom applies only to the final vowel of monosyllabic values and not to a vowel in the interior of a word. On the other hand, it likewise fails to explain the full writing of the final vowel of the gloss e-s-a-a; for this represents a dissyllabic value, and the rule is that the final vowel of a dissyllabic phonetic value is not written *plene*, not only when the final vowel is not stressed (as, e.g., in Υ i - t u | ITU | *ar-ḫu*, S^b, col. 2, l. 19; Υ a - k a | ÁG | *ra-a-mu*, *ibid.*, col. 4, l. 4; Υ ú - k u | ÚKU | *ni-šu*, *ibid.*, l. 45), but also when the final vowel *is* stressed (as, e.g., in Υ u - r u | URU | *a-lum*, S^b, col. 4, l. 61).⁴⁴ Nevertheless, in a few instances the final vowel of a dissyllabic word *is* rendered *plene*, namely, in Υ Ni - n a - a | NINÁ^{ki} | . . . | [. . .], CT XI 35 f. (Sm 1300), col. 3, l. 6; Υ B u - b i - e | BUBÉ^{ki} | . . . | ŠU u [r u^{ki}(?)], *ibid.*, l. 10; Υ ni - n u - u | 50 | *ḫa-an-ša-a*, CT XII 1 ff., col. 3, l. 15; Υ ni - n a - a | NINÁ | *id-qu*, Yale Syll.,

The full writing *de-e-le* in UPUM V, No. 102 (a syllabary of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon) may be due to the fact that the copyist in a moment of absentmindedness was thinking of the Akkadian rendering of *DELE* with *de-e-lu* in the next line but one. He may even have been influenced by the full writing of *ḫe-e-dum*, "one," in the Akkadian section of l. 1. A further possibility is that the scribe was anxious to indicate the pronunciation of the signs DI and SI as *de* and *se* and for this reason wrote DI-E-le and SI-E-de , to be understood as $\text{DI}_{(e)}$ -*le* and $\text{SI}_{(e)}$ -*de*, i.e., de_x -*le* and se_x -*de*, with the signs $\text{DI}_E = \text{de}_x$ and $\text{SI}_E = \text{se}_x$. Cf. $\text{IA.ú} = \text{ú}; \text{A.E} = \text{è}; \text{VA.I} = \text{úí}$, etc. (StAG, 29, n. 2, etc., and JNES I 471 ff.). There is no reason for the assumption that the first *e* of *dele*, "one," was long in consequence of a contraction of two vowels, as may be seen from the contraction of the reduplicated *de(le)-dele*, "several" (lit.: "one-one") to *dedle* (*didli*). Nor will a long *è* have to be assumed for *dele* in other meanings, as may be seen from the rendering of ^d*dele-bad* as $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau$ in Hesychius.

⁴² The length of a vowel is indicated, however, when it is immediately followed by a vowel (or hiatus + vowel). Cf., e.g., Υ k u - ú - a | $\kappa\upsilon_6$ | *nu-ú-nu*, Chic. Syll. 109; Υ m u - ú - a | MUA | *ḫabá*, *ibid.*, 263.

⁴³ This rule is not followed when the phonetic value consists merely of a vowel; cf. Υ e | É | *bi-i-tu*, S^b, col. 4, l. 32; Υ ú | UD | *u₄-mu*, *ibid.*, col. 2, l. 14.

⁴⁴ Note that, because of its stress, *uru*, and similarly the sign úru , have developed the phonetic values ru_3 and ru_4 (also r_i from the dialectical eri_4 , iri_4 [= uru]). The values ir_4 and er_4 of URU are of a late origin and perhaps indicate that in the late periods the scribes stressed *uru* and eri_4 on the first syllable. Evidently igi , "eye," must likewise have been stressed igi , since it developed the values gi_3 and ki_4 , as, e.g., in ki_4 -*nim-ta*, "from above," literally "from the upper place(s)," Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 12, l. 5; Ki_4 -*utu-è*, -*ki-nam-tar-ri-ba*, "in its Ki-utu-è, the place of fate determining," Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 26, l. 3 (to be compared with $\text{Ki}!$ -^d*Utu-è*, -*ki-nam-tar-ri-ka*, "in the Ki-Utu-è, the place of fate determining," Lú-Utu of Umma, Clay, MI, No. 14, ll. 6 f.); Ká -*sur-ra-ki₄-u-di-ba*, "in its Ká-sur-ra, the place of marveling," Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 26, l. 6, etc.

179; ^{eš}-šĀ-ašU | še-bu-u, CT XVII 30 ff., col. 4, l. 34; ^dm u l -i-k-u-á  | šU, CT XXIV 2 (K 4333), col. 1, l. 15. On the basis of these observations it is evident that the gloss of 2 R 50, col. 1, l. 25, cannot be e-s-a-a-ti (i.e., ešĀti), for whose full writing no good parallel can be found; it must be e-s-a-a (i.e., ešĀ), for which the syllabaries, etc., offer at least the six parallel cases just enumerated. It will, of course, be recalled that in Sumerian the length or shortness of the vowel as a rule is not a feature of any original word root. Theoretically each vowel is short, but the short vowel will or at least can be lengthened when it bears the word stress. This conditional length of a vowel, however, is not indicated in a syllabary, etc. The reason why length of the vowel is indicated in the case of Ninā, etc., and in the case of our EšĀ, must, of course, be a different one, namely, because in these instances the vowel is unchangeably long, its length being due usually, it seems, to a contraction of vowels, as may be inferred, e.g., from the use of N i n ā^{ki} as "ideogram" for *Ninua*^{ki} (Hebrew *Ninēyē*, Arabic *Ninayā*). Not quite clear is the reason for the full writing of the final vowel of n i n ū, "50," which seems to be composed of n i m i n, "40" (= "2 twenties") + u, "10".

Probably because of the exceptionally great difficulties involved, none of the scholars who in 2 R 50, col. 1, l. 25, read . . . -s a - a - t i^{ki} instead of our [KUR]^{e-s-a-a-tr}^{ki} has expressly stated that in his opinion the whole Sumerian half-line was filled by nothing but a phonetic rendition of the city name which later on in the text was "ideographically" written KUR-TR^{ki}. Obviously, however, only this assumption would justify Rawlinson's, Weissbach's, and Gadd's belief that the signs [. . .] -s a - a - t i^{ki} are part of the city's name or the Sumerian ideogram of Dūr-Kuri-Galzu, etc. Note, moreover, that when Weissbach transliterated KUR-TR^{ki} as S a t - t i^{ki}, his reason for transliterating KUR with the comparatively very rare value *sat* instead of with one of the much more frequently used values *šat*, *mat*, *lat*, or *kur* can have been only his belief that S ā t i^{ki} and S a t t i^{ki} were basically identical phonetic renderings of the same name. In reality, a reading S a t - t i^{ki} is entirely out of the question. The values *sad*, *sat*, and *saṭ* of KUR are late duplications of the values *šad*, *šat*, and *šaṭ*, and these again originated from the Akkadian word *šadū*, construct *šad*, "mountain." For this very reason all these values could not and did not exist in the Sumerian systems of writing. As pointed out by me in OLZ XIV (1911), col. 214, n. 1, the phonetic values *šad*, *šat*, *šaṭ* were entirely unknown in the Akkadian systems of writing down to the end of the first dynasty of Babylon, the sign KUR having only the value *kur* in that period.⁴⁵ The fact that in the late period,

⁴⁵ My statement in OLZ XIV was occasioned by Thureau-Dangin's suggestion (hesitatingly made in *Lettres et contrats* [1910], p. 16) that the masculine name *Az-kur-Adad* be read as a feminine name *Áš-šat-Adad*. It may be recalled that subsequently the misread name was taken as a title *áš-šat Adad* and that on the basis of this reading it was assumed that the Akkadian equivalent of SAL.ME ^dX was *ašsal* ^dX.

in which the final redaction of 2 R 50 took place, *šad* and to some extent *sad* were established values of KUR makes no difference whatever, of course, for in the late periods the Sumerian orthography had become so fixed that the admission into the Sumerian system of writing of a new value originating from an Akkadian word was entirely out of the question. But even if the value *s a d* were unobjectionable, the equation $S a t - t i^{ki} = [..].. - s a - a - t i^{ki}$ would merely create new problems instead of solving anything. For, quite apart from the above mentioned difficulties arising from the full writing of the vowel *a*, we would have here the queer case that our city name, when first mentioned in the Sumerian column, should without any explanation be given in a form strongly different from that in which it is written later on in the same text. If Strassmaier correctly recognized the sign *e* before the supposed $- s a - a - t i^{ki}$, there would still be left some additional space before it, which necessarily would have to be filled out by a further sign, since according to scribal rules the first sign of a word in the Sumerian column consisting of two or more signs is always placed at the beginning of the line. Now while $s a t - t i$ in an emergency might perhaps be equated with $s a - a - t i$, the two signs $.. - e -$ (or one very large sign) before the supposed $- s a - a - t i^{ki}$ would not be explained. Especially difficult, however, would it be to find a suitable explanation for the later omission of a *plene*-written long syllable at the beginning of the name if, in order to make the prefixed part of the longer name as short as possible, it should be assumed that the sign missing before the preserved *e* had a value ending with *e*. But even the equation of $s a t - t i$ with $s a - a - t i$ would in no manner be satisfactory; for although an interchange of a long vowel plus simple consonant with a short vowel plus double consonant can in certain cases be observed in the late periods of the Akkadian language, methodically it would be a very precarious thing to operate with such a change in our case, since the name would be Sumerian and would date from a very old period.

As the final result of the foregoing investigation of the various proposed readings of 2 R 50, col. 1, l. 50, we can now state that the only reading of the Sumerian half-line that is satisfactory in every respect is $[KUR]^{e - s a - a - t i^{ki}}$, according to which the name of the Sumerian city that preceded Dûr-Kuri-Galzu was written KUR-TI^{ki} but pronounced *Esâ^{ki}*. There attaches a certain doubt only to the initial *e* of *Esâ*. But considering that Weissbach, without knowing Strassmaier's reading, believed that he recognized before the two well preserved final double-staged perpendicular wedges of Rawlinson traces of wedges almost identical with those that would change Rawlinson's wedges into Strassmaier's *e*, and considering furthermore that Weissbach's sign—or part of a sign—in the form of a Babylonian *e* cannot readily be identified with, or supplemented to, any Assyrian sign suiting (or likely to suit) the rest of the gloss, it will seem almost certain that Strassmaier's reading *e* is correct.

Only in case both Strassmaier and Weissbach should have been mistaken would it be possible to supplement Rawlinson's double-staged verticals to a sign other than *e*, namely, to *a* or—but with less likelihood because of its relative length—to *k a l*. Much would depend, of course, on the actual size of the break at the beginning of the line. It would therefore be desirable that the original be once more very carefully examined concerning this point. It might even be hoped that re-examination of this extremely important text might result in the publication of a new copy of the whole tablet.

A very interesting feature brought out by the 'Aqar Qûf excavations is, as Baqir states on page 5 of his preliminary report, that Dûr-Kuri-Galzu was built on "an outcrop of soft limestone projecting like a small peninsula into the [‘Aqar Qûf] depression" and that "the ziggurat and all the buildings surviving from Kuri-Galzu's original city were found to have their foundations set directly on the virgin limestone." Similarly, and with an added conclusion, Baqir states on page 11 that "all the buildings excavated so far were originally founded directly on virgin soil, so that any earlier occupation of this part of the site is out of the question. If, as some authorities suggest, Kuri-Galzu did not choose an uninhabited site, traces of pre-Kassite occupation may be found at some future date, possibly beneath the residential part of the town."

From the Sumero-Akkadian vocabulary passages discussed above it is quite evident that the existence of a former city or town at the site of the later Dûr-Kuri-Galzu cannot be doubted. The fact that the foundations of the zigguratu and the temple buildings of the Kassite city were laid directly on virgin ground is in itself, of course, not conclusive proof that an earlier occupation of the site thus far excavated is out of the question. For it is a very likely possibility that Kuri-Galzu's architects removed all debris and even the foundations of former buildings in the temple area because, for religious or even technical reasons, it was deemed necessary or desirable to have the foundations of the new structures laid on virgin rock. It is not even improbable that within the temple area itself pieces of broken dedicatory objects of the old periods still may be found buried in the foundations of the Dûr-Kuri-Galzu temples. Positive indications, however, that an older settlement existed at the site of 'Aqar Qûf before the founding of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu may perhaps be found in the long Sumerian inscription on three fragments of a more than life-size statue, which were found scattered over two rooms of the temple É-u-gal, and photographs of which (much reduced in size) have been published by Baqir on Plate XVII (Fig. 20 a-c). Judging merely from the form of some of the signs, and from the narrow columns, which remind us of the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad, etc., one might perhaps think it possible to ascribe the inscription to the Akkad period or to a period not considerably later than the Akkad dynasty even though some of its grammatical features do not begin to appear, at least in the South

Babylonian inscriptions, before the time of the third Ur-dynasty.⁴⁶ But Baqir states that one of the three inscribed fragments exhibits the name of Kuri-Galzu, the founder of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, clearly written and preceded by the god determinative.⁴⁷ Unfortunately those parts of the photographs which can be read more or less easily (Frag. A, cols. 4'-10'; B, cols. 4'-10'; C, cols. 3'-6') do not contain the king's name, but it may be contained in one of the first columns of Fragment A, which on the photograph are mostly illegible.⁴⁸ The mentioning of the king's name, of course, would prove that in spite of its archaic appearance the inscription actually belongs to the Kassite period, namely, either to the reign of Kuri-Galzu I, the founder of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu, or—depending on the manner in which the king is referred to—to the reign of one of his successors. In case the author of the inscription is Kuri-Galzu I himself, the inscription would fully prove that the site of 'Aqar Qûf was inhabited before the city of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu was founded. For it states at length which temples, gifts, etc., "they," i.e., former kings, had built or made and which temples they had not built or which gifts they had not made, this evidently for the purpose of contrasting the royal author's own building activities with those of his predecessors. Note, e.g., the passage Fragment A, col. 8, ll. 1-18: AN- . . . []-²b a^d ³I n n a n a - r a ⁴h a - l a - ⁵a š m u - ⁶u n - n a - ⁷a n - s i - ⁸m u₄ (!) - u š₄⁴⁹
⁹T i r - g u - ¹⁰l a é - ¹¹n a m - e n - ¹²n a - n i ¹³B ê l i t - ¹⁴i - l e - ¹⁵i r m u -

⁴⁶ Theoretically even the queer and to date unique breaking-up of verb forms and other complexes and their distribution over two or more very short compartments could well be conceived as an innovation already devised by scribes of the Old Akkadian period. Nevertheless, this arrangement can be much better understood as a compromise between an imitation of the case arrangement in the Old Akkadian period and the case arrangement of the neo-Sumerian and later periods. Fragments of a statue inscription with similar narrow columns were found also in the royal palace on Tell el-Abjad in 1945 (see Iraq, Suppl. 1945, Fig. 27).

⁴⁷ Baqir's statements on this point are as follows: on p. 4: "Several fragments were found of a more than life-size diorite statue, inscribed in Sumerian with the accomplishments of the king, Kurigalzu, among which the building of the temple Ê-u-gal is mentioned. One of the fragments bears the name of the king preceded by the god sign"; on p. 11: "Among our most sensational discoveries were large fragments of a diorite statue, probably of King Kurigalzu himself, beautifully inscribed all over with his deeds and accomplishments"; and on p. 13 under (9): "Fragments of a diorite statue (Fig. 20). Three of these bear a Sumerian inscription recording the deeds and accomplishments of Kurigalzu. The name of the king is very clear on one of them (DK-32a). It is preceded by the deification sign DINGIR."

⁴⁸ For instance, two compartments in the middle of col. 3' might well represent | K u - r i | - G a l - z u | .

⁴⁹ The reading of the two last signs is very doubtful and is adopted here merely in order to make clear the build of the verbal form. It presupposes that the sign κu —in other instances the sign looks rather like $b a$ on the photograph—is used erroneously for $m u_4$, and the sign $\acute{e}š(?)$ equally erroneously for $u š_4$. To be sure, in $b a - r a - a n - s i - m u - u š$, B, col. 5, ll. 7f.—it will be noted that this verbal form is attested for the Hammu-rapi period— $m u - u š$ is written with the usual signs $m u$ and $u š$; but similarly also the $e š$ of $n u - m u - n i - i n - t e - e š$ is written with the usual $e š$ instead of with $\acute{e}š$, as elsewhere in the inscription.

¹⁶u n - n a - ¹⁷a n - d ù - u š₄, “[...] they had donated for Ištar as (her) portion. In the Tir-gula (or: The Tir-gula,) her entuship house(,) ⁵⁰ they had built for Bêlit-ilê,” and the passage Fragment B, col. 5, ll. 1-8: ¹{. . . .} - d¹ a - ²s i g - g a - b i ³n u - m u - ⁴n i - i n - ⁵t e - e š - á m ⁶AN.PA.AN-KA(SAG OR DUL?) ; ⁷b a - r a - a n - ⁸s ì - m u - u š, “its . . . they had not . . . ed on (in?) it and they had not . . . ed.” If, on the other hand, the author of the inscription should be not Kuri-Galzu I, but a later king, those statements might well refer to his predecessors since Kuri-Galzu I (including this king, the founder of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu). In this case, of course, the statements just referred to would not give us any clue as to whether the temple Ê-u-gal had existed before Kuri-Galzu I built his new residence Dûr-Kuri-Galzu. More decisive is the passage, Fragments A, col. 5, ll. 11-35, and B, col. 7, ll. 1-23: ¹¹Ê - u - g a l - ¹²a n - n a - ¹³s á - a m₅(?) ¹⁴. . . - b a ¹⁵l i b i r - t a ¹⁶d i n g i r - n u n - g a l ¹⁷a - n e i(?) - ¹⁸m e - a - á m ¹⁹a n u - u n - ²⁰š a - š a ²¹a - n e - ²²n e - n e ²³l u g a l - ²⁴s a g - d i - ²⁵m e - é š ²⁶d i n g i r - k u - k ù(? or sig?) - ²⁷g a - m e - é š ²⁸k i ^d ²⁹E n - l í l ³⁰d N i n - ³¹l í l - b i - ³²t a d i n g i r - ³³n u n - g a l ³⁴a - n e [i -] ³⁵m e - a - á m ⁸z a n u - u n - ⁹š a - š a ¹⁰a - n e - ¹¹n e - n e ¹²l u g a l - ¹³s a g - d i(?) - ¹⁴m e - é š ¹⁵d i n g i r - m e - g i - ¹⁶n a - m e - é š ¹⁷š à - b a ¹⁸l i b i r - t a ¹⁹d N A N N A - ²⁰i r - r a ⁵¹ ²¹š u - l u ħ ²²s i

⁵⁰ The fact that a Tir-gula appears here as a sanctuary of Bêlit-ilê, or as the place where the sanctuary stood, reminds us of the passage Urukagina, Clay Tablet, RA VI 29, obv., col. 2:

¹⁰g i - g ù - n a - ¹¹d N i n - m a ħ - ¹²T i r - k ù - g a - k a - k a ¹³š u b é - , “On the gignû

of Nin-maĥ of the Tirk-kù(g) he has laid(?) (*lit.*: opened?) the (= his) hand.” To all appearances Tir-kù(g) means “the holy grove” (so translated also by Thureau-Dangin in SAKi) and, correspondingly, our Tir-gula will mean “the great grove.” This may indicate that a grove was frequently a feature of the Bêlit-ilê (= Nin-maĥ, etc., or Ištar?) sanctuaries. In CT XVIII 32-35, col. 4, l. 9, tir (or [. . .]tir?) is rendered with *šub-tum*, “dwelling place” (cf. also the explanation of Tin-tir^{ki} as *šubat balâti*); but it is most doubtful that this evidently dialectical word would have been used in old Telloh texts. The designation “great grove,” of course, presupposes that there was or had been also a less extensive sacred grove at Esá (Dûr-Kuri-Galzu). On the strength of the inscription of Lú-^dUtu of Umma, Clay, MI, No. 14, ll. 1 ff.: ¹d N i n - ħ u r - s a g - ²a m a - d i n g i r - r e - n e - r a ⁷t i l l a - k i - á g - n a ⁸é m u - n a - d ù, “For Ninĥursag, the mother of the gods, in her beloved street a temple he built,” it seems likely that the author of the Aqar Qûf inscription intended a locative tir-gula(-a), “in the great grove.” At all events the name Tir-kù(g) must originally have referred to the locality in which Bêlit-ilê was worshiped, but it is not impossible that in the course of time it became the name of the Bêlit-ilê temple erected in the grove, provided, of course, that this temple was the only one standing in it (or in the former grove).

⁵¹ The reading and the interpretation of the signs transliterated as ^dNANNA-ir(?) - ra are uncertain. Is the name of the god conceived as ^dN a n n i - i r instead of ^dN a n n a? The dative of ^dN a n n i r would quite correctly be ^dN a n n i r - r a, while the correct dative of ^dN a n n a would be ^dN a n n a - a r. If the scribe who wrote the inscription for the stonemason intended the latter, i.e., ^dN a n n a - a r, it might well be that by mistake he wrote ^dN a n n a - i r and that, instead of correcting the -ir to -ar, by a new mistake he added -ra. Judging merely from the insufficient photograph the sign before ra might be ni instead of ir and one might therefore read ^dN a n n a - n i - r a or even ^dN a n n a l - r a.

m u - n a - ²³s i₃ - i š. For this passage I offer the following very tentative and preliminary translation (which I hope will be understood as such):⁵² "Ē-u-gal, which reaches to heaven(?), in whose . . . from olden times they had never bowed(?) to any(?) (other) Igiġi, where they (alone) were sovereign(?) rulers and -gods, the place where Enlil and Ninlil had never bowed(?) to any(?) (other) Igiġi, where they (alone) were sovereign(?) rulers and the gods who firmly established the *parsê*,⁵³ in it (i.e., in Ē-u-gal) from times of old they(?) (= the former generations) had conducted a cult for Nanna (Nannir?)." The twice used *libir-ta*, "from of old," "von alters her," indicates, of course, that in the opinion of the royal author of the inscription (or rather in the opinion of his learned scribes, the priests of the temple, etc.) both the Enlil and the Nanna cult in Ē-u-gal dated from a time from which no historical records were preserved, probably even from the time of the creation. Since Ē-u-gal, to which in the passage just translated such a great age is ascribed, is the chief temple of Esâ, it is evident that this city must have been one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, existing, according to Babylonian conceptions, perhaps for millenniums before the founding of Dûr-Kuri-Galzu. If in addition we assume that the city had been destroyed or at least had lost the importance which it formerly may have had in a very early period, this would sufficiently explain why the city is not mentioned, at least to date, in any text of the earlier historical periods. But, as we may assume on the basis of the mentionings of Esâ in the vocabularies, its memory must have been kept alive in the historical literature and probably, as indicated by the historical hints in the 'Aqar Qûf inscription just discussed, also by a small settlement and a continued local cult of Enlil and other deities once worshiped in Esâ. It is to be hoped that further excavations at 'Aqar Qûf will cast a clearer light on the history of ancient Esâ.

In conclusion it may not be amiss to mention that the name Esâ of the old city that once occupied the site of 'Aqar Qûf shows a certain similarity to the name Nahr 'Îsâ, under which the present Nahr Şeqlaûġe was known during the Middle Ages. This similarity, of course, will suggest the thought that the "River of 'Îsâ" originally might have been the "River of the city of Esâ," whose site the canal actually passed and in part even traversed. However, Iâqût († A.D. 1229) reports as a definite Arabic tradition—here quoted from Wüstenfeld, *Jâcût's Reisen aus seinem geographischen Wörterbuch beschrieben* (ZMDG XVIII 397 ff.), p. 402—that 'Îsâ ibn 'Alî ibn 'Abdallah, the uncle of the second Abbaside caliph el-Manşûr,

⁵² Since the text is published only in a very small reproduction from a photograph, the reading of the passage naturally meets with great difficulties. This translation is ventured merely for the purpose of elucidating the meaning of *libir-ta* in the passage and its significance for our problem.

⁵³ Note the characteristic hymnal feature of repetition and progressive explanation in this passage! At first the subject (object, etc.) is referred to only with "they," but in the repetition it is more precisely defined as "Enlil and Ninlil." For this feature cf. my remarks in HGT, p. 65.

who was the founder of the city of Baġdâd, dug the canal, and that the canal therefore bears his name. It may be noted especially that according to Iâqût the 'Îsâ canal, or rather the various branches into which the canal divided itself in the vicinity of Baġdâd, emptied into the Tigris at the "Castle of 'Îsâ." There is no actual reason to doubt the tradition that 'Îsâ, the uncle of Manşûr, built the canal and that for this reason it was given the name Nahr 'Îsâ. The similarity of the old city name Esâ and the name Nahr 'Îsâ may therefore be simply a coincidence. Nevertheless it might be taken into consideration that Iâqût lived more than 400 years after the founding of Baġdâd and that in many instances the Arab traditions are quite contradictory, if not directly unhistorical. I mention only those concerning the Nahr el-Malik, as whose builder tradition names King Solomon, Alexander the Great, and "Aqfûrşâh Oten Balâš, the last king of the Nabaţeans, who was killed by Ardeşêr ben Bâbek."⁵⁴ The canal is, of course, identical with the *Nâr šarri* of the Babylonians which existed long before Alexander and Solomon. Also note the speculations concerning the origin of the name of the city Uâsiţ. According to Iâqût⁵⁵ this city was built by the governor el-Ĥaġġâġ ibn Iûsuf in the years 83 to 86 of the Heġra and derived its name from the fact that it was situated midway between Başra and Kûfa, or from its being the same distance from Kûfa, Madâin, el-Ahwâz, and Başra, namely, 40 parasangs. But "some state, that a place of the same name existed at the site before that time."⁵⁶ If the s (and the t?) should be due to an assimilation to the Arabic root *ust*, the name might even be identical with that of the Babylonian city Ua-ši-it or [M]a-ši-it,⁵⁷ provided, of course, that the first syllable actually was pronounced as indicated. In view of these traditions it might perhaps not be deemed impossible that the Nahr 'Îsâ corresponded to an Akkadian *Nâr Ešâki*(?) and a Sumerian I₇ (d) - E s â^{ki} and that thus it preserved a recollection of the old city name Esâ. Should this actually have been the case, it would, of course—since to date neither a *Nâr Ešâki* nor an I₇ (d) - E s â^{ki} is attested in the Babylonian literature—be necessary to assume that these names of the canal maintained themselves only with the local population. This, however, would by no means be strange even in view of the fact that under that assumption the name would have been preserved for more than two millenniums without being mentioned in the literature. To all appearances the tracts of land lining the canal were originally a natural bed of the Euphrates, stretching at least as far as

⁵⁴ Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

⁵⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁷ Cf. CT XII 6 ff., col. 2, ll. 53 f.: ⁵²U a - ši - it | UD n (= ut-tu-ú) | UD^{ki} ⁵⁴U M a - ši - it | UD n (= ut-tu-ú) | UD^{ki}; CT XII 46 ff. (K 40), rev., l. 77: UD u a - ši - it KI | Ua-ši-it^{ki}; CT XI 35 f., col. 2, l. 25 f.: ²⁵U U]a - ši - it | [UD]-KI | n (= ú-tu)-ki-ki | šU ²⁶[U M]a - ši - it | UD-KI | n-ki-ki | šU; KAVI, No. 89, ll. 8 f.: ²⁷[U a -] ši - it^{ki} | šu-ma ²⁸[M a - ši - it]^{ki} | šu-ma.

the depression which is filled today by the Ḫôr eṣ-Ṣeqlaḫḫe, and it is obvious that a name for that former bed would always have existed, even after parts of the original watercourse, especially in the vicinity of the present Euphrates, were obliterated by the deposits of the river and later by those of the floods passing from the Euphrates to the present Ḫôr eṣ-Ṣeqlaḫḫe.⁵⁸ Possibly the name of the remnant of the watercourse was originally "the Euphrates of Esâ," just as the old courses of the Euphrates at Nippur, Uruk, etc., were called "the Euphrates of Nippur,"⁵⁹ "the Euphrates of Uruk," etc. To be mentioned in the Babylonian literature, however, the canal would have had to play some rôle either in historical events or in religion, business, etc.; but even if it now and then or even frequently had played such a rôle, it may be quite an accidental circumstance that it does not appear in the literature known to us to date, for we know only a very small portion of the historical literature which once existed. Moreover, to date practically no business documents from the northernmost regions of Babylonia, which might have contained a reference to the river or canal, have been excavated. It need hardly be stated that owing to the absence of any conclusive evidence the whole question of a relation between the name of the old city of Esâ and that of the Nahr 'Îsâ is, at least to date, of a purely academic character.

⁵⁸ The bottom of this Ḫôr represents, of course, not the original level of the watercourse, but a level coming much nearer to it than the plain between the Euphrates and the Ḫôr. A less important but still considerable rising of the ground was caused east and southeast of the Ḫôr by the deposits of the Tigris floods.

⁵⁹ Cf. *nâr Puratti Nippur*^{k1}, BE XV, No. 7, l. 8 (?; Kassite period); VIII 1, No. 83, l. 3 (Cambyses); IX, No. 14, l. 2; No. 59, l. 13 (Artaxerxes I); X, No. 7, l. 2 (Darius II). One of the old beds of the Euphrates of Nippur is represented by the present Ḫôr el-Afeḡ.

- ra-pt-is³ bu-ra-a-at⁴ Nār Ir-ni-na⁵*
nār Diglat ù nār Puratti
- mu-še-ši du²-un²-ni iz²-zu²*
a-na ka-la² š[a]r²-ri²?
- 10 *i-nu-ma ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-i*
iš-ti-ni-iš ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni
Kiš^{ki} Kutū^{ki} TI-PI^{ki} Ū-ru-mu^{ki}
Ka-šal-lu^{ki} TIM-TAB^{ki} A-ya-a-ak^{ki}
Ip-ra-at^{ki} Dele-pát^{ki} Uruk^{ki} ù Sippar^{ki}
- 15 *iš-ti-ni-iš ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni*
i-nu-mi-šu-ma Šarru-ki-in a-bi³
Uruk^{ki} i-ni-ir-ma
an-du-ra-ar ummân Kiš^{ki}
iš-ku-un
ap-pa-ti-šu-nu ú-GA-¹al²-li² (-...?)⁹
- 20 *ku-ur-še-šu-nu u-ḫe-ip-pti¹⁰*
- Ištar⁴ A-mà⁴ Šu-pa ù⁴ LUGAL*
- Šamaš ù u₄-mu-um šu-u*
Kiš^{ki} la na-ka-ar a-ḫu-tum¹¹
bi-ri-i-ùt TI-PI^{ki} Ū-ru-mu-um^{ki}
- 25 *i-na Ugar-Šîn bi-ri-i-ùt*
Ē-sa-BAD bīt⁴ Gu-la^{12, 13, 14}
Kiš^{ki} ip-ḫu-ur-ma
Ḫ Ip-ḫur-Kiš^{ki} LÚ-KIŠ^{ki}¹⁵
mār! ...[.].-Ištar ša-ar-ri-[i]ḫ²-tim¹⁶
a-na š[ar²]-ru²-ti²m² iš-šu²-ma
- 30 *Ḫ Pu-ut-ti-ma²-da-al*
šār Ši-mu-ur-ri-ìm
Ḫ In-MÁŠ¹⁷ šār ma-at Na-ma-ar^{ki}
Ḫ Ri-iš-Adad šār A-pti-šal^{ki}
Ḫ Mi-gir-⁴Da-gan šār Má-ri^{ki}
Ḫ Hu-ub-šUM-ki-bi šār Mar-ḫa-ši^{ki}
- 35 *Ḫ Du-uḫ-su-su šār Mar-da-ma-an^{ki}¹⁸*
Ḫ Ma-nu-um¹⁹ šār Makkan^{ki}²⁰
[Ḫ] Lugal-an-na šār Uruk^{ki}[¹]
[Ḫ] Arad-En-líl-lá šār Umm[a^{ki}]
[Ḫ] Amar-En-líl-lá šār Nippur^{ki}]

who smote³ the fountainheads⁴ of the Nār
 Irnina,⁵ of the Tigris, and of the Eu-
 phrates,
 who extended² my² formidable might²
 over² all other kings²,⁶
 when not only⁷
 the four neighboring regions,
 but also⁷ Kiš, Kutū, TI-PI, Urumu,
 Kašallu, TIM-TAB, Aḫák,
 Iprat, Delepat, Uruk, and Sippar,
 all together revolted against me—
 at that time, although my father⁸ Šarru-kín,
 after he had smashed Uruk,
 had freed (from captivity)
 the warriors of Kiš,
 had . . . their nose cords⁹
 (and) had broken to pieces their foot fet-
 ters,¹⁰
 (and), although by Ištar, Ama, Šupa, and
 LUGAL
 (as well as by) Šamaš and that day
 in Ē-sa-BAD, the temple (estate) of Gula,¹³
 (which is) in (the district) Ugar-Šîn
 between (the cities) TI-PI^{ki} and Urumum^{12, 14}
 Kiš had sworn unalterable² friendship,¹¹
 the Kiššites (nevertheless) assembled
 and Iphur-Kiš, a Kiššite,¹⁵
 son(!) ofIštar, a wailing² woman²,¹⁶
 to kingship² they raised, and then
 (also) Puttimadal,
 king of Šimurru,
 In-MÁŠ¹⁷,¹⁷ king of the land of Namar,
 Riš-Adad, king of Abišal,
 Migir-Dagan, king of Mari,
 Ḫubšumkibi, king of Marḫaši,
 Duḫsusu, king of Mardaman,
 Ma(n)nūm,¹⁹ king of Makkan,
 Lugal-anna, king of Uruk,
 Arad-Enlilla, king of Umma,
 Amar-Enlilla, king of Nippur,⁴

For a quick introduction into the subject of our investigation it will be advantageous to quote from Güterbock's discussion of the text, to which we have referred above, the following remarks (on p. 77):

⁴ The additional tablet on which the scribe wrote the continuation of the text has not been recovered.

"Nach der Einleitung, die vor dem ausführlichen Titel Narâm-Sîn's (2-11) wohl in Z. 1 die Anrufung des A.MAL, des speciellen Gottes der Dynastie von Akkad, enthält, beginnt die Erzählung mit dem bekannten Schema *inûma* ('when')—*inûmišu* ('at that time').⁵ Der mit *inûmišu* beginnende zweite Teil ist im ganzen klar: Sargon (= Šarru-kîn)⁵ hatte Uruk besiegt und dadurch Kiš die Freiheit wiedergegeben, und zum Dank dafür hatte sich Kiš durch einen Eid zur Freundschaft verpflichtet. Trotzdem ist nun Kiš der Führer einer Koalition gegen Sargon's Sohn Narâm-Sîn. Der vorausgehende *inûma*-Satz ist aber damit nicht zu vereinen; denn übersetzt man wie dasteht, so ergibt sich ein doppelter Widerspruch: Als sich die und die Städte, darunter Kiš und Uruk, gegen mich empörten, damals hat mein Vater (Šarru-kîn)⁵ Kiš gegen Uruk geholfen. Dieser Widersinn ist nur aufzulösen durch die Annahme, dass das Schema hier nur äusserlich nachgeahmt ist und zwei ganz verschiedene Nachrichten ungeschickt verbindet."

It is, of course, true that if one translates the passage criticized by Güterbock "wie dasteht," i.e., if one translates it word for word with the corresponding German or English words, the result will be "widersinnig." But does this prove that the author of the inscription actually wrote nonsense? In *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen*,⁶ p. 74, I have stated that it is a sound general principle for every translator, before he rashly ascribes to the ancient author any assumed logical unevenness of the text he translates, first to establish as an absolutely certain fact that the unevenness of his own translation is not due either to his own insufficient penetration into what the author wants to say, or to his own insufficient knowledge of the syntactical or stylistic peculiarities of the language from which he translates. As regards the first of the two points just referred to, Güterbock has correctly perceived that the ancient author wants to contrast the revolt of the Kiššites against Narâm-Sîn with the acts of grace bestowed on them by Narâm-Sîn's grandfather Šarru-kîn many years before that time. The question can therefore be only whether Güterbock has sufficiently considered the second of the requirements just quoted from *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen*.

The syntax of English, German, French, Latin, and other Indo-European languages offers two possibilities for contrasting two actions, etc., with each other, namely, either by means of two co-ordinated sentences, the second of which begins with an antithetic particle like "but," "however," "nevertheless," "all the same," etc., or by means of a compound sentence consisting of the grammatically independent main statement and a grammatically subordinated statement (i.e., a clause) introduced by a concessive conjunction like "although," "albeit," etc. The contrast

⁵ The words enclosed in parentheses have been added by me.

⁶ A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament* (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, "Assyriological Studies," No. 3).

between the benevolent treatment of Kiš by Šarru-kīn and the revolt of Kiš against his descendant Narām-Sīn might therefore be expressed either by means of the two co-ordinated sentences: "In a former period Šarru-kīn had showered benefactions on the people of Kiš, but in spite of this the Kiššites revolted against Narām-Sīn," or by means of the compound sentence: "Although Šarru-kīn, Narām-Sīn's grandfather, had bestowed the greatest benefits on Kiš, the Kiššites revolted against Narām-Sīn." Whether the co-ordinating or the subordinating construction is preferred depends largely on the prevailing literary style. To a great extent, however, it depends also—and originally always depended—on the mental approach of the individual to the subject matter of his speech and, as a consequence, on his method of communicating his thoughts to others. As far as a logical concession or rather the expression of an action not expected as a consequence of former happenings is concerned, it may be stated that in the literary forms of the better known Indo-European languages, it is preferentially or almost exclusively expressed by means of a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction or some other expression of the meaning "although."⁷ Especially may it be noted that the syntax of the Indo-European literary languages as a rule makes imperative the use of the subordinating construction in a "Schachtelsatz," i.e., in a sentence in which the concessive statement is encased in the main statement, as, e.g., in the sentence: "At that time the Kiššites, although they owed their liberation from captivity and the restoration of their city to Šarru-kīn, revolted against Akkad." In such a case, at least under ordinary circumstances, any replacement of the subordinating construction by the co-ordinating construction is quite impossible without destroying the whole structure of the sentence.

Now it is a well known and often proclaimed fact that in contradistinction to the Indo-European book languages, the Semitic languages even in their literary forms show a decided predilection for the co-ordinating sentence construction. To a certain extent they do not even bother about expressly making clear the various logical relations between co-ordinated sentences. For instance, Arabic restricts itself as far as possible to the use of the conjunctions *wa-*, "and also," and *fa-*, "and then," and similarly Akkadian restricts itself to the conjunctions *u*, "and also," and *-ma*, "and then"; Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Biblical and Talmudic Aramaic can even get

⁷ In the speech of the common man, on the other hand, subordinating conjunctions of the meaning "although" are practically unknown. For instance, in the language of the working classes of my home town in Germany and in the language of the farmers in the surrounding villages, none of the many concessive conjunctions of the German literary language—as, e.g., "obgleich," "obschon," "obwohl," "wiewohl," "wiesehr auch," "wenn auch," "wenn gleich," "wenn schon," were used. The standard manner of expressing the unexpectedness of an action or of happenings, especially if they were not expected according to moral standards, was by means of the co-ordinating expressions "und da," "und dann," "und nun," or "und infolgedessen," as, e.g.: "Ich hab ihm viel Gutes getan, und da (or: und infolgedessen) erzählt er nun allerhand erlogene Sachen über mich."

along with the one particle *ya-* (*y^e*, etc.), "and."⁸ However, it seems completely to have escaped observation that in the Semitic languages the predilection for the co-ordinating construction goes so far that it can be used even in a "Schachtelsatz." In *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen* I have pointed out various instances of this phenomenon. In point of fact, the recognition of this phenomenon was a precondition for a really grammatical understanding of the logical structure of several of the best known and frequently discussed West Semitic inscriptions, as, e.g., that of Mēša^c of Mō'āb. This inscription begins with the statement: "I, Mēša^c, . . . , built this bāmā for K^emōš . . . because he delivered me from all . . . s and made me triumph over all my foes." But between its subject "I, Mēša^c, . . . ," and its predicate "built this bāmā" are inserted the seemingly independent sentences ("Hauptsätze"): "My father ruled over Mō'āb for 30 years and I became king after my father," to which the following "I built" of the main statement is joined by means of the co-ordinating particle *y^e*, "and." The two inserted sentences are, of course, the logical equivalent of the temporal clause, "after my father had ruled 30 years and I myself had succeeded him as king," so that the whole section logically runs as follows: "I, Mēša^c, son of K^emōš-kēn, king of Mō'āb, the Daibonean, after my father had ruled over Mō'āb for 30 years and I myself had become king after my father, built this bāmā in Qrḥō for K^emōš (etc.)."

If we apply the observation just pointed out to the Narām-Sîn text passage criticized by Güterbock, we have at once the solution of the difficulty found by him in this passage. Logically the main statement of the passage is: "At that time (i.e., at the time of the general revolt against Narām-Sîn) the Kiššites . . . raised Iphur-Kiš, a Kiššite, . . . to kingship(?)." Into this main statement, however, as in the opening statement of the Mēša^c inscription, a series of formally co-ordinated sentences is inserted, namely: "17My father Šarru-kīn . . . 19set free the people of Kiš, he cut(?) their *appāti*, (and) he broke their foot fetters (etc.)." From a syntactical point of view these formally co-ordinated sentences are the equivalent of the subordinate clauses "although my father Šarru-kīn had liberated the Kiššites, had cut their *appāti* (etc.)." The whole statement therefore reads: "At that time, although my father Šarru-kīn had liberated the Kiššites (out of the hands of the Urukites), the Kiššites (revolted against Akkad and) made Iphur-Kiš, a Kiššite, their king."

⁸ These statements are, of course, not contradicted by the fact that where it is deemed necessary the Semites can very well indicate, and frequently do indicate, the logical relation between two sentences by means of co-ordinating as well as subordinating conjunctions or conjunctive expressions, expressly created for this purpose. Cf., e.g., Hebrew *ki* and Akkadian *aššu(m)* (< *ana šum(i)*), "because," and Akkadian *ana šudti*, "therefore"; Akkadian *ištu(m)*, "since," "after," "as soon as"; *inu* (< *in ūmi*), "when," and *ināšu* (< *in ūmišu*), "then"; Arabic *ma'a ʿanna*, "although," and New Arabic *ma'a dālik*, "nevertheless," etc. On a different basis stands the very frequent use in Syriac of the particles ܐܘܢܐ, "but," and ܕܥܝܢܐ = German "denn," which is due to the influence of Greek *δέ* and *γάρ*.

This statement makes perfect sense, while Güterbock's judgment that it is contradictory must be ascribed to the fact that he was not aware of the difference in the use of the co-ordinating construction in Akkadian and modern Indo-European syntax.

While the expression of a temporal relation by means of a co-ordinating instead of a subordinating construction can be observed in Semitic texts in hundreds and thousands of instances, examples of the expression of the antithetic-concessive relation by a co-ordinating construction are comparatively rare in the Semitic literature,⁹ a fact which is quite natural, however, since the antithetic-concessive relation is of a considerably more complicated and therefore more abstract character than the temporal relation.¹⁰ For this reason it may be useful to recall here that in Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen, pp. 18 ff., I have pointed out such a case—in reality two, but very similar or almost identical cases—in the Phœnician inscription on the sarcophagus of King ʿEšmûn-ʿazar of Sidon. The first is contained in the opening statement (ll. 1–6), which at the same time is the main statement of the inscription: “Thus says ʿEšmûn-ʿazar, king of the Sidonians, . . . : Although I, ʿEšmûn-ʿazar, king of the Sidonians, in the month Bûl, in the 14th year of my reign, have been prematurely snatched away (by the death deity), still young in years, an orphan, the son of a widow, and now am lying in this sarcophagus and in this grave in the place I have built, beware (nevertheless) of me, whoever thou art.” In the Phœnician text, however, the antithetic-concessive character of the clause “although I have been snatched away” is indicated neither by a subordinating nor by a co-ordinating antithetic-concessive conjunction; the whole clause consists only of the formally independent statement *nigzallî*, “I have been snatched away.” An important feature, however, is that the apodosis *qēnî*, “beware of me!” is asyndeti-

⁹ Nevertheless, a systematic registration of all observed occurrences will probably bring to light a considerable number of such cases.

¹⁰ The temporal relation deals only with the comparatively simple and concrete ideas, “at that time,” “after that time,” and “before that time”; the antithetic-concessive relation, however, adds to the basic and never absent temporal relation the rather complicated idea that in the natural development of things, or according to moral standards, etc., the second of the two compared actions, etc., could be expected to have been different from, or even the opposite of, what it actually is. Moreover, it connotes a kind of emotional feeling, namely, astonishment or even indignation over the unnatural second action, coupled with the intention of imparting this feeling also to the listener. Naturally, however, the speaker will evidence such reactions only in comparatively few instances, while usually he will relate his or another's actions quite dispassionately and therefore indicate only the temporal relation between the various actions. In this connection it may be pointed out that in the various methods of expressing the antithetic relation mentioned above as customary in the dialects of my home district, the co-ordinating conjunctions “und da,” “und dann,” and “und infolgedessen” actually express only a temporal relation between the two actions. The emotion is, however, frequently expressed by an emphatic stressing of either the demonstrative temporal adverb or a personal demonstrative in the logical apodosis, as, e.g., in: “Ich habe ihm nur Gutes getan, und *nun* erzählt er lauter Lügen über mich,” or: “Ich habe ihm nur Gutes getan, und *der* Mensch erzählt nun lauter Lügen über mich.”

cally joined to the clause.¹¹ The same antithetic-concessive clause complex occurs a second time in lines 12 ff. in the following context: "For I am one favored (by the gods), even though I have been prematurely snatched away, still young of years, an orphan, son of a widow; for I, King ʾEšmûn-ʿazar . . . , and my mother ʾImm-ʿAštart . . . , built the houses of the gods . . . and, moreover, the King gave us Dôr and Ioppe." Note that in this case the logical apodosis ʾanôk niḥan, "(For) I am one who is blessed (by the gods)," precedes the logical protasis niḡzallî . . . , "although I have been snatched away . . . ," but here, too, apodosis and protasis join asyndetically.

Returning now to our Narâm-Sîn text we observe that there, too, the connection of the apodosis (ll. 27 ff.), "the Kiššites (nevertheless) . . . made Iḫur-Kiš their king," with the preceding "although" clauses (ll. 16–26) is likewise asyndetical. This asyndetical connection therefore is a syntactical feature not peculiar to Phœnician only, but traceable also in Akkadian. It will be noted that also the various verbal predicates of the concessive clause, namely, "(although) my father Šarru-kîn . . . had liberated the Kiššites, although he had cut(?) their nose thongs, although he had broken their foot fetters," etc., are all asyndetically joined.

Between the subject *Šarru-kîn abî* of the clause and its first predicate *andurâr ummân Kiški iškun*, however, the text inserts the words *Urukki inîrma*, which if they occurred as an independent statement would mean: "he (= Šarru-kîn) smote Uruk and then (he liberated the people of Kiš)." In view of the above observation the connection of the statement *Uruk inîr* with the concessive clause statement by means of a *-ma*, "and then," indicates, of course, that *Urukki inîr* syntactically does not stand on the same level as the three asyndetically joined antithetic-concessive predicates. In point of fact, if it were to be considered as a part of the antithetic-concessive clause, this would result in a logical difficulty; for the mere destruction of Uruk by Šarru-kîn does not, at least not immediately, furnish a reason why the Kiššites should have remained loyal to the kings of Akkad. It is therefore quite evident that our *Urukki inîrma*, "he smote Uruk and then . . . ," represents one of the very frequent cases referred to above, in which a logically subordinated temporal clause is rendered in Akkadian by means of the co-ordinating construction. In other words, *Urukki inîrma* has the meaning of the English subordinated clause "when (or: after) he had smitten Uruk." With the recognition of this fact we get a perfectly logical and smooth meaning of the whole antithetic-concessive phrase in lines 17–23, namely: "although my father Šarru-kîn, after he had smitten Uruk, had liberated the Kiššites from captivity and servitude, (they [nevertheless] revolted against me.)" Syntactically it is especially interesting that here the logically sub-

¹¹ To some extent this feature is paralleled in the English proverb, "Man proposes, God disposes," and its German counterpart, "Der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt," which might be paraphrased as: "However much a man may plan, it is God who decides the course of events."

ordinated temporal phrase is encased in an antithetic-concessive clause which again is encased in the principal sentence, "at that time Kiš revolted (etc.)." The whole statement, beginning with *inûmišûma* in line 17 and preliminarily ending with *iššû* in line 30, therefore represents a sentence with a concentrically arranged double "Einschachtelung," the grammatical main scheme of which may be illustrated by the formula:

$$A_1 (a_1 [a] a_2) A_2^{12}$$

Like the *Uruk^{ki} inîrma* of line 17, the (*Kiš^{ki}*) *iphurma*, "(Kiš) assembled and then (. . .)," of line 23 logically represents a subordinate temporal clause. It will be observed that by means of its *-ma*, "and then," it is formally co-ordinated with the immediately following statement *Iphur-Kiš^{ki} . . . ana šarrûtim(?) iššû*, "they (namely, the Kiššites) raised Iphur-Kiš . . . to kingship." Now, the whole statement from *Kiš^{ki}*, in line 27, to *iššû*, in line 29, forms the apodosis to the antithetic-concessive clause, "although my father Šarru-kîn had liberated the Kiššites from exile and servitude (etc.)." But the mere assembling of the Kiššites does not form a sharp or direct contrast to the benefits the Kiššites had received from Šarru-kîn; the real and immediate contrast, of course, lies in the fact that the Kiššites put up a king of their own against Narâm-Sîn, by this action deposing the latter as ruler over Kiš. In comparison with this action the fact that the Kiššites assembled represents only a minor or preparatory incident, which in English could well be mentioned in the form of an adverbial phrase. That is, the whole complex, *inûmišûma Šarru-kîn abî . . . andurâr Kiš^{ki} iškun . . . Kiš^{ki} iphurma Iphur-Kiš^{ki} . . . ana šarrûtim iššû*, could well be translated as follows: "At that time, although my father Šarru-kîn (in his time) had liberated the Kiššites, the Kiššites, in a (revolutionary) gathering, made Iphur-Kiš their king." It will be observed that with this rendition of the Akkadian text the whole antithetic-concessive structure from *inûmišûma* to *iššû* consists of a single compound sentence, which sharply brings out the contrast between the benefits received by the Kiššites at the time of Šarru-kîn and their ungrateful behavior at the time of Narâm-Sîn. Akkadian, however, prefers to express the idea of "in an assembly" by means of the verb "to gather," which, of course, since an action is involved, is of a more original and concrete character than the nomen actionis or nomen abstractum "gathering." Moreover, Akkadian prefers to conceive the relation between the gathering and the subsequent action as a temporal relation; this must again be regarded as natural and concrete, since actions always occur in time, a fact which will naturally lead the speaker to think first of the tem-

¹² In this formula A_1 and A_2 represent the two parts of the principal statement ("Hauptsatz") A , into which the subordinate clause a is inserted. Similarly a is divided into a_1 and a_2 by the insertion of the temporal clause a , which is subordinate to a . Owing to the fact that the concessive complex designated in this scheme as a is made up of four concessive clauses and since, as shown above, A_2 likewise contains a temporal clause, the actual scheme of the statement introduced with *inûmišûma* is considerably more complicated, namely: $A_1 (a_1 [a] a_2 + a' + a'' + a''') A_2 (b_1) A_3$.

poral relation between two actions. Finally, Akkadian prefers the co-ordinating construction of the verb, which is again more concrete than any subordinating construction. However, it should be kept in mind that this general tendency toward a concrete expression of ideas concerns only the form of speech; it had no effect whatever on the logical train of thought that ruled the orally delivered as well as the written speech of a logically thinking Akkadian. Complicated ideas find their adequate expression only in a complicated construction of the sentence conveying those ideas, but as the above analyses have shown, even the most complicated (and abstract) syntactical relations can well be expressed in syntactical categories of a concrete—or if one prefers, of a simple or even primitive—nature without destroying or making impossible the logically necessary centralization of the various relations in a sentence built in periods.¹³

If we now try to determine in a more specific manner the position of the logically subordinate *iphurma* within the sentence to which it belongs, a certain difficulty seems to present itself in the fact that although the sentence begins with the singular subject *Kiš^{ki}*, which grammatically is quite correctly followed by the singular verb *iphur*, the grammatical subject of the then following main statement predicate, "they raised Iphur-Kiš to kingship," has changed to the plural "they." This might seem to indicate that *Kiš^{ki}* as a singular belongs exclusively to the singular predicate *iphur*, "it assembled," and not also to the following plural statement, *Iphur-Kiš . . . iššá*, "they raised Iphur-Kiš (to kingship)." Syntactically as well as stylistically, the question is of some importance or at least of some interest because, if the subjects of the two verbs are not identical, it would seem impossible to assume that the whole complex to which the subordinated *iphurma* belongs—i.e., the complex, lines 26–29—begins, as is customary, with the subject of the main statement. It must be noted, however, that in our passage *Kiš^{ki}* designates not "the (material) city of Kiš," but "the people of Kiš," "the Kiššites,"¹⁴ and that it thus—although

¹³ It is a rather common opinion shared, it seems, even by some grammarians, to consider the use by a language of very simple or primitive—and always very concrete—ideas as necessarily indicating backwardness of the language concerned and its inability to express complicated and abstract ideas. This is a serious error. One should, of course, realize—although unfortunately this is not done by all grammarians, especially those who try to define the original or the general functions of tenses, modes, cases, etc.—that everything in a language has its origin in very concrete and simple ideas. In order to perceive this one need only think, for instance, of the fact that in English and German seemingly very abstract verbs or phrases such as "to reject," "to object," "etwas verwerfen," "jemandem etwas vorwerfen," "einen jemandem vorziehen," "to comprehend" and "begreifen," "sich vorsehen," "etwas besitzen," "nachgeben," "von etwas abstehen," "etwas ertragen," "einen ins Unrecht setzen," etc., derive from very concrete verbs, namely, "iactare," "werfen," "ziehen," "greifen," "sehen," "sitzen," "stehen," "tragen," "setzen."

¹⁴ For this meaning note, e.g., that instead of the statement in the Akkadian Šarru-kin inscription, HGT, No. 34, col. 2: ¹³*in iššázim* (ROEC, No. 169) ¹⁴*Uruk^{ki} iššár* (= LAM + KUR-ar), "in (another) battle he vanquished the Urukites," the Sumerian version, *ibid.*, No. 1, has ¹⁵ú-U n u^{ki}-g a -d a ¹⁷šit u k u l ¹⁸e -d a -s i g ¹⁹TUN-KARA ²⁰e -n i [-s i], "with the men (*lit.*:

grammatically a singular and construed with the singular verb *ip̄hur*—virtually represents a plural, namely, “the Kiššites.” To all appearances our passage indicates a rule that, if a city name designating the people of that city is the subject of several statements, only the verb of the first statement is in the singular, while the verbs of the subsequent statements are in the plural, at least, it seems, if these verbs express an active action. Syntactically, therefore, *Kiš^{ki}*, “the Kiššites,” in spite of its singular form, is not only the subject of *ip̄hur*, but also of *iššû*. With this fact established the statement *Kiš^{ki} ip̄hurma Iphur-Kiš^{ki} . . . ana šarrûtim iššû* is to be translated: “the Kiššites (= *Kiš^{ki}*) in an assembly made Iphur-Kiš . . . (their) king.”

An interesting parallel to our clause *ip̄hurma* and additional proof for the correctness of the above conclusions is to be found in the Rimuš inscription, HGT, No. 34, col. 17, ll. 33 ff.: ³³*in ta-a-ri-šu* ³⁴*Ka-za-lu^{ki}* ³⁵*na-ki-ir-ma* ³⁶*SAG-GIŠ-RA*. If we should take the *nakir* of this passage as an independent statement co-ordinated with the immediately following *SAG-GIŠ-RA* (= *inâr* [later *inîr*]), the passage would read in translation: “On his (= Rimuš’s) countermarch (from southern Babylonia) Kašallu had become hostile and he (= Rimuš) smote.” It is evident, however, that this cannot be a correct rendering of Rimuš’s statement, since a statement “he smote” without any indication of what he smote is senseless.¹⁵ But also the statement that Kašallu had revolted¹⁶ while Rimuš was on his march home from Sumer is, to say the least, rather awkward. However, everything is in order as soon as one recognizes that the main statement of the passage is ³³*in ta-a-ri-šu* ³⁴*Ka-za-lu^{ki}* . . . ³⁶*inâr*, “on his march home he smote Kašallu,” while the inserted *na-ki-ir-ma* represents a subordinate temporal clause, which in English is best rendered by means of the relative clause, “which had revolted.” The whole passage now reads quite smoothly: “On his march home he (= Rimuš) smote Kašallu, which had revolted” (of course, before Rimuš’s march home, when he was still engaged in the subjection of the rebels in southern Babylonia).

man) of Uruk, he battled and he defeated them.” Here the Akkadian *Uruk^{ki}*, “Uruk,” “the Urukites,” corresponds to the Sumerian *l ú - U n u g - a (k)*, “the man of Uruk” (used in a collective sense for “the Urukites”).

¹⁵ Any arbitrary supplementing of an accusative object, as, e.g., of an “it” referring to Kašallu, is entirely unwarranted. Exactly as in English, German, etc., the grammatical object simply cannot be omitted in a historical report such as the one here discussed. It needs, of course, no explanation that such instances as Caesar’s *veni, vidi, vici*, the forceful omission of “es” after an imperative like “nimm” instead of “nimm es” in German, and the usual omission in Sumerian and Akkadian dedicatory inscriptions of the accusative object belonging to the verb “he dedicated,” stand on quite a different level, since in the two cases first mentioned all interest centers on the action, while in the last-mentioned instance the relation of the verb to the dedicated object is made perfectly clear by the fact that the inscription is written on this object.

¹⁶ On the perfect and pluperfect meaning of the Akkadian permansive see my forthcoming publication, *The Pi-el in the Historical Development of the Semitic Verb System*. “Kiš revolted” would, of course, be *Kiš^{ki} ikkir*.

The tablet published by Boissier contains only the first half of the Narâm-Sîn text, while the other half, which was written on a second tablet, has not been recovered. Obviously, however, the immediate continuation of the text reported that the ten kings mentioned at the end of the inscription on the recovered tablet—and possibly a few additional kings mentioned in the first lines of the second tablet—joined the revolt of Kiš. This statement, as indicated by the *-ma*, "and then," after *Iphur-Kiš . . . ana šarrâtim iššû*, "they (= the Kiššites) made (Iphur-Kiš) their king," still belongs to the interpolated explanatory section which, beginning with the *inûmišûma* of line 17, merely reports some details of the general uprising against Narâm-Sîn. It needs no proof whatever that after that the text reported Narâm-Sîn's victory over his foes. This statement, of course, does not belong to the interpolation explaining the general revolt. It continues the *inûma* clause of lines 11 ff., which in its entirety now will read: "when the neighboring lands as well as most of Babylonia had revolted against me and when I had defeated all of them in so many battles." Obviously then followed—as the apodosis of the *inûma* clause—the main statement of the whole inscription, namely: "at that time I, Narâm-Sîn, fashioned an object (or built a temple, etc.) and dedicated it to the goddess (or the god?) X," i.e., to the deity mentioned in the first line of the inscription. With this Narâm-Sîn wanted, of course, to show that god or goddess his gratitude for assistance in the subjection of the rebels. It is to this main statement, of course, that the complex, Narâm-Sîn plus appositions, in lines 2–8 of the recovered tablet, belongs—namely, as its grammatical subject. Similarly also line 1, which presumably contains the dative "to (or: for) (the goddess or god) X,"¹⁷ belongs to this final statement, the dative being dependent on the verb *išruk* (or a similar verb) at the very end of the reporting section of the text.¹⁸ The main statement and the *inûma* complex (ll. 10 ff.), which is inserted in it, therefore again form a "Schachtelsatz" very similar to that represented by the text of the Rimuš inscription on vases from Nippur, OBI, No. 5, which reads: ¹*A-na* ²*En-lil* ³*Ri-mu-uš* ⁴*šar* ⁵*Kiš* ⁶*i-nu* ⁷*Elamtam*^{ki} (= ELAM^{ki}) ⁸*ù* ⁹*Parâši*(^{am})^{ki} (= BA-RA-AḤ-SI^{ki}) ¹⁰*inâru-ni* (= SAG-GIŠ-RA-ni) ¹¹*in šallati* (= NAM-RA-AG) ¹²*Elamtim*^{ki} (= ELAM^{ki}) ¹³*išruk* (= A MU-RU), "To Enlil Rimuš, king of Kiš, when he had smashed Elam and Parâši(um), dedicated (this vase) out of the Elamite booty." It will be noted that this inscription, in the same manner as our Narâm-Sîn text, begins with the dative (here: *ana* ²*Enlil*) belonging to the verb *išruk* at the end of the inscription, then names the grammatical subject of *išruk* (namely, *Rimuš, šar Kiš*), then inserts the *inu*, "when," clause (instead of our

¹⁷ See the first annotation to the transliteration and translation of the text (on p. 36).

¹⁸ As pointed out in the annotation referred to in the preceding note, the deity might have been mentioned in l. 1 perhaps not in the dative but in the nominative, which here, of course, would represent a kind of absolute case. Its logical dative meaning, however, would be shown by the dative in the verbal statement at the end of the reporting portion of the text.

inûma clause), and finally adds the verbal part of the main statement (*in šallati Elamitim*^{ki} *išruk*). The scheme of this very simple "Schachtelsatz"—as well as that of the reporting section of the Narâm-Sîn text, if its main groups are reckoned as units—is represented by the formula:

$$A_1 (a) A_2$$

Considering that the Narâm-Sîn text inserts into its *inûma* clause an independent statement (actually a group of statements but, for the sake of clearness, here considered as a unit), into which again the antithetic-concessive clause discussed at the beginning of our investigation is inserted, the formula just given may be enlarged to:

$$A_1 (a_1 - A_1 [a] A_2 - a_2) A_2^{19}$$

In reality the scheme is even more complicated, since not only A, but as shown above, also a, A, and a, actually consist or will consist, respectively, of several co-ordinated sentences or clauses, some of which again encase the temporal clauses discussed above.

As long as the text of the second tablet is unknown, it would seem rather futile to speculate on the question as to how the author or redactor of the text may have achieved the transitions from the section A_2 to the section a_2 , and from the section a_2 to A_2 . Possibly the latter transition was made by an *inûmišu* corresponding to the *inûma* of line 11 of the recovered tablet. Because of the considerable length of the inscription, it is very likely that the author, in A_2 (i.e., in the final part of the main statement), repeated the subject "(I, Narâm-Sîn," of line 2 of the recovered first tablet, and doubtless also the dative which presumably is contained in line 1 of the same tablet. Lines 1 to 9 of the first tablet might therefore appear to be an anticipation of the corresponding complex in the final statement, which reported the dedication, etc. In reality, however, as shown by the shorter inscriptions of the kings of Akkad, as, e.g., the vase inscription of Rimuš quoted above, the dative in the first line of the inscription and the subject complex in lines 2-9 represent the genuine dative object and the genuine subject of the main statement sentence, while the corresponding dative and subject complexes of the verbal statement at the end of the historical part must be considered as mere repetitions. Furthermore, there can exist no doubt that also at the beginning of a_2 , which reported Narâm-Sîn's victory and which at least logically continued the *inûma* clause of lines 10 ff. of the first tablet, the text had the words: "(I, Narâm-Sîn"; for this was necessary because the grammatical subject of the preceding formally co-ordinated statements was a different one, namely, Kiš and the kings enumerated at the end of the first

¹⁹ In this scheme A (= $A_1 + A_2$) represents the main statement of the text, i.e., the statement relating to the dedication of some object to the deity (etc.); a (= $a_1 + a_2$) represents the inserted *inûma* complex; A (= $A_1 + A_2$), the interpolated *inûmišûma* complex; and a, the antithetic-concessive clause.

tablet. Theoretically it would seem quite possible that, as a consequence of the repetition of "(I,) Narâm-Sîn," in the place just mentioned, the repetition of these words in the final statement on the dedication of some object (etc.) was omitted and that this statement simply continued that on his victory. Because of the great length of the text, however, it seems more likely that the author or the late redactor of the text not only repeated the subject "(I,) Narâm-Sîn," in that last part of the text, but in accordance with the long royal inscriptions of the late periods even began it with a new *inûmišu*, "at that time," or with some other suitable transitional phrase.²⁰

Having finished the analysis of the logical progress in our Narâm-Sîn text, we may once more return to the section, lines 16 ff., which begins with *inûmišûma*. In the foregoing we have explained and treated this section as an independent interpolation, chiefly because this permits an immediately corresponding rendering in English. However, since the continuation of our text, which would make the syntactical conception of that section clear, is missing, it will remain at least theoretically a possibility to be reckoned with that the *inûmišûma* of line 16 was intended to introduce the apodosis to the *inûma* clause contained in lines 10–15. In this case the apodosis would, of course, comprise the whole complex from line 16 of the first tablet to the end of the reporting section on the second tablet. Syntactically, this fact would mean merely that the group of formally co-ordinated temporal clauses before the real apodosis at the end of the reporting section would include even the statements which we have explained as independent interpolations. The character of the antithetic-concessive clauses, lines 16b ff., their "Einschachtelung" into the first statement of the *inûmišûma* complex, and the "Einschachtelung" of the temporal clause *Uruk^{ki} inîrma* into the first of the antithetic-concessive clauses, however, will not be affected by that fact in any manner.

There still remains the important question whether there were any means by which the Akkadians could indicate that a formally co-ordinated complex was to be conceived as a subordinate clause. Unfortunately no factual evidence for a decision on this question is available, but it may nevertheless be regarded as very likely that in the spoken language, or when an inscription was read aloud, the speaker or reader indicated, or at least could indicate, the clause character of a co-ordinated complex, for instance, by a short pause before it and after it, by lowering his voice and speaking or reading the subordinate clause more rapidly or slower than the main statements and, in the case of antithetic-concessive clauses, by uttering them

²⁰ Note, e.g., that in the Sumerian Rîm-Sîn inscription on a clay nail from Telloh (Découvertes en Chaldée, Pl. 41), ll. 27 ff., the transition to the main statement at the end of the inscription is made with the phrase: ²⁷n a m - b i - š è ²⁸N i n - š u b u r - l u g a l - m u - r a ²⁹n a m - g a - m e - A B A G - d a - m u - d è, "in my being thankful to my lord Nin-šubur for that (or: therefore, in my being thankful to Nin-šubur?) (I built Ê-me-kili-ba-sag-îl for him)." Similar phrases occur in the Warad-Sîn inscriptions, UET, No. 127, ll. 30 f.; No. 128, ll. 19 ff., etc.

in a manner betraying real or affected indignation, etc. In other words, the speaker or reader may have treated the clauses with a technique quite similar to that which modern masters of elocution employ when making or reading a parenthetic remark which in writing or print would be placed between two dashes. It must, of course, be realized that with the Akkadians not only writing but also reading was principally a professional occupation of the scribes, who evidently developed not only writing—we know that from the inscriptions—but also reading into a real art. The devices indicating the subordinate clauses may well have been used even in conversational Akkadian, though probably not to the same extent, since everyday speech, and especially the speech of the common man, is averse to long and artfully planned sentences.²¹

ANNOTATIONS TO THE TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION ON PAGES 23 F.

1. Line 1 of the inscription is broken at its beginning and its end. Unfortunately also the preserved signs as copied by Boissier are rather indecisive (and perhaps incomplete?), so that it seems impossible to read them in any satisfactory manner. As shown later on, one should expect that the line represents a dative, "to (or: for) a certain deity," and that it therefore would begin with *a-na*, "to," "for." However, it is quite possible that the author of the text intended an absolute case to be more precisely defined as a dative (or as some other case) in a later part of the text. According to Boissier's copy the preserved signs would read [. . .] . . . TA ZU DINGIR A MÀ E BE [. . .]. But whether after TA ZU one can read (with Boissier) ^dA-mà e-tel [. . .] or whether an ^dA?-MÀ?- . . . be-[li-šu] (or: be-[el-ti-šu]) was intended, remains quite uncertain. Note furthermore that if we read ^dA-mà, the god would be mentioned not at the beginning, as one should expect, but in the middle of the line. Would it be possible that on the original the wedge group before DINGIR represents the sign DAM, "wife"?

2. Reading uncertain. Perhaps *mu-ša-pi*, "who glorified"? However, one would rather expect a religious title indicating a more concrete relation to the deity similar to that expressed by *pašišu*, *šakanakku*, and *iššakku* in the immediately following lines.

3. Is this the correct reading? Or should one read *ra-bi-iš*, "guard," "guardian"?

4. I.e., (the lands) of the fountainheads, etc. This explanation depends, of course, on the meaning of *ra-BI-IS*.

5. The *Nâr Ir-ni-na* (l. 7), which according to our passage must be an important

²¹ Such sentences are found especially in the royal inscriptions, which are the product of much and constantly continued stylistic deliberation on the part of the royal scribes. Bound by tradition to the scheme of the old one-sentence inscription they were, of course, forced to make ample use of the "Schachtelsatz" device when they wished to give a more detailed report than was customary in the older standard inscriptions.

river outside of Babylonia, has nothing to do, of course, with the *Nār NI-NI-na*,^a which is mentioned in the kudurru, King, Boundary Stones, pp. 9 ff., col. 3, l. 42 (and col. 4, l. 2), and which, according to this passage, flowed through or along the *piḫāt Nippur*^{ki}. Evidently, however, another name of the river is I₇ (d) - a - g i - g a l - g a l - l a , "the river of the great floods," which in 2 R 50 (see Weissbach in ZDMG LIII [1899] 655), col. 3, l. 15, is rendered with *Nār Ir-ni-na*.

6. Or: "who let go out . . . to (or: against?) . . ."

7. Note the syntactical expression of "not only—but also" by means of two coordinated sentences with identical predicates (namely, *iš-ti-ni-iš ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni* in ll. 11 and 15). For the same usage in Sumerian see, e.g., the passage Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 14, ll. 7-27, transliterated and translated on pp. 64 f., and the annotations 3 and 15 (on pp. 72 f. and 76).

8. Since *Narām-Sîn*, according to the king lists, is the son of *Maništušu*, *abi*, "my father," should be used here in the sense of "my grandfather (ancestor, predecessor)," etc. On the other hand, if the statement of the neo-Babylonian inscriptions, chronicles, and omen texts that *Narām-Sîn* was the son of *Šarru-kîn* is followed, the *abu* of our text would have its regular meaning "father."

9. In CT XII 45 (= 5 R 26, No. 1) the Sumerian [g i š]-*URI*^{ki}, which according to the glosses is to be read either [.] or [g i - i š - . . . (written [g i] - i š - u)]—i.e., with *g i š* either pronounced or not pronounced—is equated with Akkadian *ap-pa-tan*, *šir-ra-tan*, and *ši-in-ni-tan* (all dual forms). Accordingly, *appatum* must be a synonym of *širratum*. In RA XII 144 ff., double-line 12, the latter word translates Sumerian *z í r*, which evidently is the prototype of Akkadian *širratum*. The signs ÉŠ-KA, with which this *z í r* is written, represent either é š - k a (-k), "mouth cord," "mouth thong," or é š - k i r (i)₄ (-k), "nose cord," "nose thong." For the explanation of these expressions one will recall the relief on the Aššûr-aḫa-iddina stela from Sin-ḡirli (von Luschan and Schrader, Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, Vol. I, Pl. 1), in which the king is represented as holding in his hand two cords, the ends of which are fastened to the lips (or noses?) of two prisoners. Similarly, on the rock relief of Anubanini of Lullubum, the goddess *Ištar* holds a cord, one end of which is fastened to the nose(?) of a bound prisoner. It is therefore quite possible that *appatu* derives from *appu* (< *anpu*), "nose," the feminine form probably expressing the idea that the object was linked with the nose. Similarly formed seems to be *asāti*, *ašāti*, "reins," which probably is the plural of the feminine form of *asû*, *esû* (also *essû*), "jaw," "jawbone." Note, moreover, Arabic *fakkun*, "jaw," "jawbone," but also "bridle bit" and "rein," "bridle." As shown by ^{si}URI^{ki} (= ^{si}u r i^{ki}, ^{si}a r i, or ^{si}tilla) and *giš-URI*^{ki} (= *giš-ur*^{ki}, *giš-a*^{ri}^{ki}, or *giš-tilla*^{ki}), the *appatu* was not necessarily a cord, but may have designated also a staff that was linked to the nose of an animal; the Sumerian *giš-uri* (*giš-a*^{ri}, *giš-tilla*),

^a Probably I₇ (d) - Ī - d i g - n a , "the Tigris."

“the Urian (Amurrean or Ur(ar)ṭean) staff,” probably indicates that this contrivance was taken over by the Sumerians from the Urians (Amurreans, Urarṭeans).

Unfortunately, the verb *ú-GA*¹ . . . - . . .₁(- . . . ?), which might throw some light on the specific meaning of *appāti* in our passage, cannot be restored with certainty. *Ú-qá-lal-lí*¹, “he burnt (them),” although quite possible, does not seem to be sufficiently motivated; one would expect rather a verb meaning “he cut.”

10. Note the plural-frequentative meaning of the pi^cel of the transitive verb *ḥapû* (*ḥepû*), “to break (something).” Here it evidently expresses the idea “all,” which may refer to the plural object *kursê* (“all their foot fetters [foot bars, etc.]”) or to the plural suffix *-šunu* (“the fetters of them all”). The same idea will be expressed by the pi^cel *ú-GA* . . . - . . . after *appātišunu*.

11. The grammatical relations between the various groups of words in lines 21–23 are obscure and probably will remain so as long as the signs at the end of line 23 remain illegible. My translation is intended merely to indicate the general sense of the passage.

12. In my translation I connect lines 24–26 not with the following *Kiš^{ki} ipḥur*, etc., but with the preceding reference to the oath of the *Kiššites*. My reasons for this combination are the following: It might be expected that at least under ordinary circumstances the revolt of the *Kiššites* started not somewhere outside the city, but in *Kiš* itself. Moreover, one could hardly imagine a readily understandable motive for *Narâm-Sîn* to describe with such accuracy the place where the revolt against him started; on the other hand, it would seem essential or at least very natural for *Narâm-Sîn* to indicate expressly the place where the treaty in which the *Kiššites* pledged eternal loyalty to the kings of Akkad was made. In other words, just as we speak of “the treaty of Versailles,” of “der Frankfurter Friedensvertrag,” etc., the author evidently intended to refer to the “treaty of *É-sa-BAD*” as the basis of Akkad’s claim over *Kiš*. Moreover, the fact that the treaty was made in a place outside *Kiš* would excellently fit the situation at that time, since quite naturally *Šarru-kîn* would have demanded that the liberated *Kiššites* pledge themselves to loyalty before they were definitely allowed to return to *Kiš* and resettle the city.

13. According to *Nabû-kudurri-ušur* II (Langdon, *NbKī*, *Nebukadnezer* No. 15, col. 4, ll. 38–43, and parallels), one of the two *Gula* temples in Babylon bore the name *É-sa-BAD*, while (according to col. 4, ll. 52–56) one of the three *Gula* temples of Borsippa was called *É-gu-la*, “the Great House.” These two temples, Boissier believed, are meant by the *É-sa-BAD* of our *Narâm-Sîn* text and the *É⁴GU-LA*, which there immediately follows *É-sa-BAD*. But it would be strange if a locality between the cities of Babylon and Borsippa should be described as lying between one of the *Gula* temples of Babylon and one of the *Gula* temples of Borsippa instead of simply as lying between the cities of Babylon and Borsippa. Moreover, according to the express statement of our *Narâm-Sîn* text the *É-sa-BAD* mentioned in it was

situated between TI-PI and Urumu, at that time evidently cities of importance, since in lines 12-15 they are expressly mentioned among the Babylonian cities that revolted against Narâm-Sîn. If one can draw a conclusion from the enumeration of the first of these cities in the order Kiš, Kutû, TI-PI, Urumu, and Kašallu, the cities TI-PI and Urumu—and consequently also the Ê-sa-BAD of our text—would seem to have been situated rather in an eastern or southeastern direction from Kiš.

The fact that the Ê-sa-BAD in Babylon was a temple of the goddess Gula proves, of course, that the Ê-sa-BAD of our text was likewise a Gula sanctuary. For while there is found no instance in which the temples of two different gods bore the same name, we know of a sufficient number of cases in which two sanctuaries of the same deity bore the same name. Thus, e.g., the Šamaš temple in Sippar as well as that in Larsa bore the name Ê-babbar; the temple of Nabû in Borsippa and his *papâhu* in the Marduk temple of Babylon were both called Ê-zi-da; the temple of Sîn at Ur and his temple in Babylon were named Ê-giš-šir-gal; and the temples of Ištar in Akkad and in Sippar-Annunitum were both known as Ê-ul-maš. As for Ê^dGU-LA, which Boissier equated with the Gula temple Ê-gu-la at Borsippa, it may be noted that our text has not Ê-g u - l a, "the Great House," but Ê^dGU-LA, i.e., *bît^dGu-la*, "the house of Gula" (properly, D i n g i r - g u - l a, "the Great Goddess"). If on the strength of the *birît*, "between," before Ê-sa-BAD one should assume that the passage actually referred to two temples, it would probably be best to assume that Ê^dGU-LA is an incorrect writing for Ê-gu-la, since it would be rather strange if a Gula temple in the vicinity of the Gula temple Ê-sa-BAD were designated merely as "the temple of Gula." But since the text actually has *bît^dGu-la* it must seem likely that this in reality is an apposition to Ê-sa-BAD; in this case the *birît* before Ê-sa-BAD could, of course, not mean "between," but would express the idea "in the midst of," "within," or "in," which is observed, e.g., in (*ina*) *birît nâri*, "in the midst of the river," i.e., "on an island" (Bezold, BAGl, p. 92), instead of which elsewhere we find, e.g., *ina MURU nâri Puratti*,^b (*ina*) *qa-bal tam-tim*,^c or *in nârim*^d In this connection it may be noted that also Sumerian *m u r u* (b) - . . . - a k - a expresses both the idea "in the midst of" and the idea "between," as is shown by the equation of *m u r u* (b) both with Akkadian *qablu* and with Akkadian *birîtu*.^e Nevertheless, the use of *birît* in the meaning "in" almost immediately

^b Cf. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II*, ll. 66, 68-69, etc.

^c *Sîn-aḥḥê-eriba*, Taylor Prism, col. 3, l. 57.

^d See the quotation from the Rimuš inscription on p. 40.

^e CT XII 6 f., col. 4, ll. 29 f.:

$$\Upsilon \text{ m u - r u } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[M'UR]U} \\ \text{[M'UR]U} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{i-tu-gu-nu-u} \\ \text{qab-lum} \\ \text{bi-ri-tum} \end{array} \right.$$

Cf. also the equation of *m u r u* (b) - . . . - a with Akkadian *ina bi-ri*, "between," "among," in ASKT II, No. 10, rev., ll. 21 f.: *m u r u - b i - a á m a - g a l - g i m á - b i m i - n i - i n - í l - í l i* = *ina bi-ri-šú-nu ki-ma ri-i-me ra-bi-e qar-na-a-šú il-la-na-aš-ši*.

after it has been used in the meaning "between" would be quite remarkable; but it could be assumed that the original text had an (*ina*) *libbi Ê-sa-BAD*, while the present (*ina*) *birît Ê-sa-BAD* probably is owing merely to a momentary aberration of the scribe to the preceding *birît* (TI-PI^{ki} *Urumum*^{ki}).^f

14. It will be noted that in my translation of lines 24–26 of the Akkadian text the three items making up the reference to the locality where the Kiššites took their oath on the treaty with Šarru-kin are enumerated in reverse order. In English, German, French, etc., it is a firmly established custom, based, of course, on the manner of thinking in these languages, to mention—at least under ordinary circumstances—first the town, etc., where the event in question took place, and only then to describe the geographical position of the town, etc. In English one will therefore say: "He died at Düren, about halfway between Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle," or: "He was born at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania," etc. Our Narâm-Sîn text, however, in stating that the treaty between Šarru-kin and the Kiššites was made "between the cities of TI-PI and Urumum, in the district Ugar-Sîn, in the Gula temple Ê-sa-BAD," puts the most general item at the head of the local complex, next proceeds to a more specific statement, and only then arrives at the reference to the exact place where the event occurred. The same principle is followed in the Rimuš inscriptions transliterated and translated on page 197 of my Historical Texts, where in lines 19–24 the place of the capture of Sidga'u, šakanakku of Parâši'um, as well as that of another šakanakku, is described with ¹⁹*in ba-ri-ti* ²⁰*A-ua-an*^{ki} ²¹*ù* ²²*Šu-ši-im*^{ki} ²³*in nârim šumê_i(?)-li-tim*, "in (= on an island of) the left(? or *qab-li-tim*, middle?) river between Aḡân and Susa."^g Now the Semitic languages, including Akkadian, usually agree with the

^f An even better explanation of the *birît* before the *Ê-sa-BAD* would be that the error already occurred in the Sumerian inscription which probably formed the basis of our Narâm-Sîn text or which is simply translated by the latter. For in this case it would probably have been the stonecutter who committed the error. As is well known, the stonecutter was much more liable to err from one line to another than was the scribe and, moreover, since corrections were difficult to make on stone, he was more inclined to leave the error uncorrected if the sense of the passage was not too seriously disturbed or if the error could readily be emended by the reader.

^g According to this passage the city of Aḡân, which had once been the seat of a dynasty ruling over Babylonia, must have been situated at no great distance from Susa. Moreover, the passage shows that the two cities were situated on different sides of a river or, if this river was actually referred to as the left (or the middle) river, on different sides of two (possibly even three) rivers. Could it be possible that the extensive ruins of Kala-i-Aiwan (also Aiwan-i-Kerkha, Tag-i-Aiwan, and Kut-Qapu), which are situated on the west bank of the Kerkha about 11 miles northwest of Susa, mark the site of ancient Aḡân? Note that on the Map of Eastern Turkey in Asia published in 1910 by the Royal Geographical Society the place name is given (on what grounds?) as Kala-i-Awan, in which, if correct, the principal element would be practically identical with the name of the ancient city. According to Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de Perse* V, p. 79, and De Mecquenem, *Fouilles de Suse 1933–1939* (*Mémoires XXIX*), p. 141, the large Sassanid fortress was built on an ancient tumulus or *tépé*, in which painted archaic pottery has been found. For about 5 miles above and 5 miles below Kala-i-Aiwan the present Kerkha is divided into several branches, one of which, if they existed at that time, could represent the left (or middle) river of Rimuš. On the other hand

Indo-European languages in the principle governing the enumeration of co-ordinate expressions, but I have frequently pointed out that Sumerian in such instances is ruled by a tendency to approach the line of enumeration at its other end as compared with the usage in the Semitic and the Indo-European languages. It may be assumed therefore that the deviating enumeration just observed in the Rimuš inscription and in our Narâm-Sîn text is not genuine Akkadian, but of Sumerian origin. In our Narâm-Sîn text it might be due simply to the fact that the text represents the translation of a Sumerian Narâm-Sîn inscription, while in the case of the Rimuš inscription it probably must be ascribed to the fact that the Akkadian scribes who composed it had gone forth from Sumerian schools.

15. The usual Akkadian equivalent of Sumerian *lú - Kišiki* (-k), "the Kišsite," literally "a man of Kiški," is *Kiššá* (in Old Akkadian *Kiššum* [*< Kišši-šum*]), which (or its accusative *Kiššá[m]*) probably must be read also in line 27 of our text. Whether an Akkadian *awíl Kiški* in the meaning of "Kišsite" was likewise in use is still to be proved.

16. Although Boissier's copy indicates an *i* at the beginning of line 28, the only way to bring sense into the broken line seems to be to read *már* instead of *i*. In my transliteration and translation the signs following *már* have been taken as a female proper name. Or should the original have *már ku²-ul-ma-ši²-i²* *Ištar*, "son of a prostitute^b of Ištar"?

17. The sign *MÁŠ* in the name of the king of the land of Namar seems strange, since it does not represent a common phonetic value in the Akkadian systems of writing. Does the original perhaps have *In-gi*? Or is the name intended to be read *In-šiptu*, in which *šiptu* represents simply a two-syllable value comparable to *amat* or *amtu* (= GEME) in *Ti-amat* or *Ti-amtu*?

18. So the name will probably have to be read (instead of Boissier's *Mar-da-ba-an^{ki}*) in conformity with De Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, No. 5500, column 3,

it would seem quite possible that in that period a branch or even the main branch of the Kerkha took its course through the present Shahur along the line of ancient tells north of Susa and along the western fringes of this city, with perhaps a third branch flowing between the present Kerkha and the Shahur. At the present time Susa is about 2½ miles distant from the Kerkha, but it can hardly be doubted that the city owed its former significance to its then position on a large watercourse. Possibly therefore one of those assumed ancient Kerkha courses was the left or the middle river of Rimuš. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I wish to state expressly that the above is meant merely as a suggestion, which excavations at the site of Kala-i-Aiwan might either corroborate or disprove. The similarity of the names Aiwan and Aqân, of course, does not constitute any conclusive proof. As matters stand at present the ancient Aqân may well have been situated at some other spot not too distant from Susa.

^b *Kulmašitu*, usually read *zir-mašitu*, is a loan word from Sumerian *kul - ma - ši*, "seed upon me," this imperative (uttered by the prostitute) being used as a designation for the prostitute. For the use of Sumerian verbal forms as substantives cf. GSG, § 123.

compartment 1: N a - a g - d a - m a - r i , - l ú - M a r - d a - m a - a n ^{ki}, "Nag-damari, the Mardamanean."

19. *Ma-nu-um* (= *Mannûm*) is evidently the contracted form of *Ma-ni-[um]*, as the name of the king of Makkan appears in the statue inscription of Narâm-Sîn, Scheil, Textes élamites-sémitiques, Series III, Pl. I, No. 1, col. 2, ll. 4 ff.: ⁴*Ma-ni-u[m]* ⁵*bél* (= EN) ⁶*Makkan*^{ki} (= MÁ-KAN^{ki}). If, according to the writing of the name in the chronicle of early kings, King, CCEBK II 3 ff., rev., l. 4: *Man-nu* (*da-an-nu*)ⁱ *šar Makkan*^{ki} (= MÁ-KAN^{ki}), the *n* of the name should represent double *n*, we should, of course, have to pronounce the name *Mannûum*.

20. *Makkan*^{ki} is written here MÁ-KAN-NA^{ki}, which represents the Sumerian genitive complex M a k k a n - a (k), "of Makkan." Similarly it is written ^{kur}MÁ-KAN-NA^{ki} in the collection of Šarru-kîn and Narâm-Sîn omens, King, CCEBK II, pp. 25 ff. (K 2130), § XIII, l. 17, where it occurs once as genitive and once as accusative. The same graphical feature, namely, use of the Sumerian genitive form as the standard form of the Akkadian "ideograph," can be observed in the writing of *Elamtu* as ^{kur}ELAM-MA^{ki} (cf. King, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff., § I, l. 2), and of *mâtum* as KALAM-MA^{ki} (cf. HGT, No. 34, col. 2, ll. 9 and 52; col. 4, ll. 3' and 32'; col. 7, l. 23').

¹ The strange *da-an-nu* after *Man-nu*, generally taken as the second component of the name (which thus seemed to mean "Who is mighty?"), evidently originated from a variant writing *Ma-an-nu* for *Man-nu*. Originally written above the line, this *Ma-an-nu* apparently got into the text line by the mistake of a copyist while a later copyist by a new misunderstanding erroneously read *Man-nu da-an-nu* instead of *Man-nu (Ma-an-nu)*. This mistake probably occurred in a comparatively late Babylonian period in which the sign *da* graphically could seem to represent a combination of the signs *ma* and *liš*. It will be noted that the broken writing of the syllable *man* represents the older usage as compared with the rendering of the syllable by means of the sign MAN, MIN, which—by the way—since *m i n* (*m a n*) is the Sumerian word for "two," basically consists not of two corner wedges (= 20), but of two slanting wedges, each representing one unit. The forms, *Ma-an-nu* and *Man-nu*, contain a further mistake, since the correct late forms should be *Man-nu-ú* or *Ma-an-nu-ú* because they originated from the Old Akkadian *Ma-ni-u[m]*. Apparently the scribe who was responsible for the new name forms had found, in the text from which he copied, the Old Babylonian writings *Ma-nu-um* or *Ma-an-nu-um*, which both represented *Mannûm*, but which he took as representing *Mannum* (written like *ma-an-nu-um*, "who?").

There is, of course, no telling whether the Akkadian scribes combined the wrong *da-an-nu* with the immediately preceding *Man-nu* to form the supposed name *Mannu-dannu*; at least those who knew that in duplicate texts or in other sources the king's name appeared as *Mannum*, etc. (cf. King's remarks on the preserved perpendicular final wedge of the name in the Assyrian version [*op. cit.*, p. 39]), may quite well have taken it as belonging to the immediately following *šar Makkan*^{ki} in spite of the fact that it is against the custom of the chronicles to use the ornamental title *dannu šar X*^{ki} (= the more usual *šarru dannu ša X*^{ki}) of a non-Babylonian king. For this very reason, however, some of the scribes may actually have combined the *dannu* with the preceding *Mannu*, probably considering *Mannu* as abbreviated from *Mannu-dannu*.

STUDY III

MURNISQU AND NISQU IN CYLINDER A OF GUDEA

In Gudea, Cylinder A, col. 5, l. 10, the iššakku concludes the recital of his famous first dream with the statement:

¹⁰d u₁₉¹ - á - z i - d a - l u g a l - m à - g é k i m a - ĤAR-ĤAR - e

“The d u₁₉ (r) - á - z i - d a of my lord continuously pounds (or paws?) the ground for (=around?) me.”

Later on, in col. 6, ll. 12 f., this part of his dream is interpreted by the goddess Nanše with the words:

¹² anšed u₁₇² - á - z i - d a - l u g a l - z à - g é k i m a - r a - ĤAR-ĤAR - a - š è ¹³z e - m e Ê - n i n n ũ m u r - n i - i s ₁ - k u - g i m k i i m - š i - ĤAR - e

“As for (= - š è) (the fact) that (= - a) the d u₁₇(r) - á - z i - d a of thy lord continuously pounded (or pawed) the ground for (= around?) thee, thou like a murnisku shalt pound (or paw?) the ground for (Ningirsu’s temple) Ê-ninnũ.”

The lower portions of the first three characters of the sign group m u r - n i - i s - k u in col. 6, l. 13, are broken or damaged; but a glance at Thureau-Dangin’s copy of Cylinder A³ shows that the signs n i and i s are quite certain, while the remaining traces of the first sign may well represent remnants of the heads of the two upper surrounding wedges of the sign ĤAR (= m u r) . The final sign k u is well preserved, even though part of the unscribed surface immediately above the inner horizontal wedge is chipped off.⁴ M u r - n i - i s - k u is, of course, the well known Akkadian *murnisqu*, which we find in the inscriptions of late Assyrian kings and which Delitzsch translates with “(edles) Pferd,” i.e.,

¹ D u₁₉ = d ũ r = ANŠE-ARAD. I use the transliteration a r a d exclusively for the second (sixth and seventh) sign or sign form of Thureau-Dangin, ROEC, No. 26, middle column, which corresponds to the neo-Babylonian and Late Assyrian signs for Akkadian *ardu*, “slave,” as well as Sumerian a r a d, u r u (d), etc., “slave.” The sign ARAD with inserted KUR (=ROEC, No. 26, third sign of the middle column), which is commonly used for Akkadian *yardum* and Sumerian a r a d, u r u (d), etc., in the Old Babylonian period, I render with á r a d. Thureau-Dangin does not list a r a d (etc.) and á r a d (etc.) as homophones in *Les homophones sumériens*, p. 2, but note CT XII 30: 38744, ll. 8 f., where each of the two signs with the Sumerian value a r a d is equated with Akkadian *ardu*.

² D u₁₇ = sign DUN. If d u n was the original value of DUN—this, however, is very dubious—the value d u₁₇ would have resulted as a consequence of the dropping of the amissible n.

³ *Les cylindres de Goudéa* (Musée du Louvre—Département des antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes VIII).

⁴ In SAKi, p. 44, Thureau-Dangin transliterates the last two signs as ¹³ku, i.e., as representing Sumerian ¹³tukul, “weapon.” No transliteration of the remnants of the first two signs and no translation of the whole expression before - g i m is given. Cf. also the remarks on Thureau-Dangin’s rendering of n i - i s - k u, col. 14, l. 25.

“(thoroughbred) horse.” Here, however, it must denote the “thoroughbred donkey” or rather the “thoroughbred donkey-colt,” since it obviously refers to the young donkey (= *du r*) or donkey-colt which Gudea in the first of the quoted passages tells us he saw in his dream. With this observation the context of the passage containing the sign group *mur-ni-is-ku* becomes quite clear: Like the *du r* of his dream Gudea shall pound (or paw?) the ground for Ningirsu’s temple.

As indicated in my translation, however, a relation still closer than that between *murnisku* and the simple *du r* must exist between *murnisku* and *du r-á-zi-da*. Since the first named is a loan word from a Semitic idiom, the latter should be the genuinely Sumerian designation for the animal designated by *murnisqu*. In order to prove this, it should first be noted that the meanings of the first parts of the two compounds *mur-nisqu* and *du r-azida*, namely, *mur* and *du (r)*, are identical, as may be seen, e.g., from the syllabary equation CT XII 31 : 38177, right column, l. 8:

∇ *du-ur* | ANŠE + ARAD | *mu-ú-[rum]*,

from the vocabulary equation JNES IV (1945) 154 f., col. 4, l. 30:

ANŠE^d ^u-^uARAD | *mu-u-ri*,

and from the bilingual text passage, 4 R 18*, No. 6 (= S 1708), rev., ll. 1-2:

¹*du₁₉-ùr⁵-ga-NAG ga nu-. . .* [. . .]

²*mu-ur ni-qi ši-iz-bi ši-iz-ba ul ú*-.]

“The milk-sucking (donkey-)foal he pro[hibits from drinking] milk.”⁶

Akkadian *mûru* to all appearances is etymologically identical with Arabic *muhrun*, “colt of the horse,” “Fohlen,” feminine *muhratun*, “filly of the horse.” The last of the passages just quoted shows that Sumerian *du r* as well as its Akkadian equivalent *mûru* can designate even a very young colt, since it is described as *ga-NAG*, “drinking (sucking) milk,” i.e., of course, the milk of its mother. Note also that in 4 R 18*, No. 6, ll. 10-17, from which the third of the above quotations has

⁶ I.e., *DÛR-ùr* (= ANŠE.ARAD-ùr).

⁶ Since *ga-NAG* in the Sumerian line evidently represents the participle *NAG*, “drinking,” with accusative object *ga*, “milk”—which according to Sumerian grammar must precede the active-transitive participle *NAG*—one should expect that the Akkadian line would begin with *mu-ru e-ni-ig ši-iz-bi*, “the milk-drinking (donkey-)foal.” The usual emendation of *ni-qi* to *(e-)ni-qi* does not, of course, sufficiently turn the text into Akkadian of the usual type, since to achieve this it would be necessary to change also the *ur* of *mu-ur* to *ru* and perhaps even the *qi* of *(e-)ni-qi* to *ig*; but it would seem a little hazardous to make two or three emendations in two words. No less hazardous would be an attempt to explain *mur niqi šiizbi* as a double genitive combination, “a foal of milk drinking,” corresponding to a Sumerian *du r-ga-NAG(-a)-(k)*, not only because as far as we know such a combination would be very unusual, but also because an infinitival substantive *nigu* of the primae *enêqu* is not likely. Is it possible that the text, an incantation against sickness of the donkeys, took the expression for “sucking foal” from a very advanced shepherds’ (?) dialect, in which the nominative ending *-u* was generally dropped and in which the primae *î* verb *enêqu* had been changed into a tertiae *î neqû*?

been taken, the donkeys that suffer from the doings of the bad demon are enumerated, according to a well established pattern (male, female, young one), as a n š e = *imêrê*, "donkey(s)," e m e₄ = *atândti*, "she-donkey(s)," and our d u₁₉-ù r = *mûru*, "donkey-colt." It need not be expressly stated that in the Gudea passages here discussed d u r, "colt," and the *mûru*, "colt," which is contained in m u r - n i - i s - k u, cannot refer to a very young colt or a colt just born; it must there, of course, mean a "young donkey," or even "a donkey in the prime of its life, strength, and vigorousness."⁷

From the foregoing observations it will have become evident that the ARAD sign of the combination ANŠE + ARAD in col. 6, l. 10, of Cylinder A cannot be conceived simply as n i t a (h), "male," even though this might seem to be suggested by the equation [ÿ n i] - t a | ARAD | *zi-ka-ru*, CT XII 30 : 38744, col. a, l. 4, and by the similar equation, n i - t a ARAD | " (= *zi-ka-rù*), CT XII 34, col. 3, l. 6. For "he-ass" and "young donkey" represent two very different ideas. Moreover, in all those instances in which the Sumerian actually wished to express the idea "male," it is represented in writing by means of the sign uš (= n i t a, "male"). However, it will be observed that the ARAD sign and the uš sign are very similar. Since, moreover, as just mentioned, both are assigned the phonetic value n i t a and under this value are equated with Akkadian *zikaru*, it seems quite evident that the meanings of both signs must include the idea "male." To all appearances the difference between the meanings of the two signs is this: The sign ARAD stands for "the young male," the sign uš for "the fully grown male." For instance, when applied to human beings ARAD denotes "the boy" and "the young man" (in German "Jüngling," in Greek *neanis*), while uš denotes "the man." On the one hand, this will explain why the ARAD sign is used for Akkadian *ardu*, "slave," "servant"; it basically means "the boy (of someone)," just as the German "Knappe" meant "the boy (= "Knabe") (of a knight)." Note also that under the influence of this conception the feminine *ardatu* assumed the meaning "girl," "young woman." On the other hand, it will explain why the kings of Ur bear the title n i t a (written uš) k a l - g a, "mighty man"; a king, of course, would not care to call himself "mighty young man," "mighty boy."

It is interesting to note that in his renderings of the word d u r, "colt," the scribe of the cylinder went through a whole scala of writings, namely, in the order of their occurrence:

ANŠE-ARAD	= d ù r	(col. 5, l. 10)
ANŠE-DU ₁₇	= (a n š e -) d u ₁₇ (r)	(col. 6, l. 12)
ANŠE-DU ₁₇ -ÛR	= (a n š e -) d u ₁₇ - ù r	(col. 6, l. 18)
DU ₁₇ -ÛR	= d u ₁₇ - ù r	(col. 7, l. 20)

⁷ It will be recalled that the English terms "foal" and "colt" are used of young horses up to five years.

These writings show a certain progress which evidently corresponds to their historical development. In the oldest system, i.e., the system represented by ANŠE-ARAD, the writing is entirely ideographic inasmuch as it describes the colt as a "donkey which is a young male." As for the pronunciation of ANŠE-ARAD, it must be recalled that in the inscriptional language of the Old Sumerian period the final consonants of amissible character were dropped and that therefore the pronunciation of ANŠE-ARAD in that period was not *d ù r* but, as still attested by the phonetic writing in col. 6, l. 12, with dropping of the final *r*, *d u₁₉*. As I have frequently pointed out, the dropped consonants to a large extent reappear in the school Sumerian of the post-Sumerian period; but as shown by the general reappearance of the dropped dative *-r* in the inscriptions of the kings of the third dynasty of Ur since the last years of the reign of Šulgi,⁸ the tendency toward a restitution of dropped consonants already begins to appear in the inscriptions of the neo-Sumerian period.⁹ But as shown by the phonetic writings (*a n š e -*) *d u₁₇* -

⁸ See my paper *Zum Schwund des auslautenden Dativ-r's in den Tellohinschriften* (Sumerische Studien I [MVaG XXVI (1921), Heft 1], pp. 28 ff.).

⁹ This term I use for the period comprising—up to date—the reigns of Gudea, Utu-ḫegal, and the kings of the third dynasty of Ur. As regards the periods preceding the neo-Sumerian period, I propose to use the term "archaic Sumerian period" for the oldest period down to (and including) the inscriptions of Zur-Nanše of Lagaš, while the Stela of Vultures inscription of É-anna-tum I may be regarded as forming a transition to the inscriptions of the next period. This, the Old Sumerian or the classical period, extends from É-anna-tum I down to Lugal-zaggi-si of Umma and Šarru-kin of Akkad, while the period comprising the reigns of Šarru-kin's successors and the dynasties of Uruk and the Guteans may be designated as the Middle Sumerian period. After the neo-Sumerian period, with the kings of Isin begins the post-Sumerian school period, within which must be distinguished many stages ranging from the Sumerian of the Isin dynasty, over that of the first dynasty of Babylon, the Kassite Sumerian, etc., down to the Sumerian of the transmitted texts recopied in the Seleucid period and the artificial Sumerian of new compositions such as, e.g., the Šamaš-šuma-ukin bilingual. The boundary lines between the Sumerian periods just distinguished are, of course, not really sharply drawn and some older inscriptions of these periods might well be reckoned to the preceding period, depending on the quality of the Sumerian of these inscriptions. A rather perplexing problem is offered, of course, by the Sumerian of the frequently recopied texts, which still contain features of the older language, but in many points have given way to the Sumerian taught in late scribal schools. Here only certain features can be assigned to certain periods.

The term "restitution of dropped consonants" likewise needs some explanation. It is entirely correct if only the development of the inscriptional language as such, i.e., as it outwardly presents itself in the inscriptions, is taken into consideration; but it does not indicate the historical facts that led to the restitution. If these are taken into consideration, the development will present itself about as follows: The inscriptional language of the Old Sumerian period was created by scribes who spoke that Sumerian idiom which, because of its general preponderance in the inscriptions, we are accustomed to designate as the main dialect. More precisely, they adopted as standard form the main dialect as it was spoken by the then ruling class, an important feature of which was the dropping, almost without exception, of the amissible consonants (or of practically all consonants) at the end of closed syllables. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the common people spoke a more archaic form of the main dialect in which, as in some other dialects, the amissible consonants were not generally dropped. In the older periods this form of the main dialect did not show

ù r in col. 6, l. 18, and d u₁₇-ù r in col. 7, l. 20, the restoration of final consonants is already in progress in the time of Gudea, and for this reason Gudea's ANŠE-ARAD may be read not only d u₁₇ but also d ù r. On the basis of the writing (a n š e-) d u₁₇-ù r we could even expect that Gudea's scribes might have indicated the reading d u r of ANŠE-ARAD by writing the word as ANŠE-ARAD - ù r. This writing is not found in the cylinder inscription; it is found, however, in the passage quoted above from 4 R 18*, No. 6, rev., l. 1. Although in other respects this text shows very late features, the writing of the phonetic "complement" - u r not with one of the later-used u r-signs but with the sign ù r as in the words (a n š e-) d u₁₇-ù r and d u₁₇-ù r of the cylinder must trace at least to the time of Gudea.

As shown in the foregoing, both signs of the two-sign combination ANŠE-ARAD are necessary for the proper expression of the idea d u r, "colt," "foal," inasmuch as the first component ANŠE expresses the idea "donkey," while ARAD adds the modifying idea "young male." In view, however, of the fact that in the writings (a n š e-) d u₁₇ and (a n š e-) d u₁₇-ù r of Cylinder A the phonetically written d u₁₇(r) and d u₁₇-ù r, "young male donkey," is preceded by the determinative ANŠE (that might be pronounced or be left unpronounced), it can be assumed with certainty that there existed a tendency or inclination on the part of the scribes to consider the ANŠE of ANŠE-ARAD also as a determinative. Such a conception, of course, would result in the assumption that the sign ARAD of ANŠE-ARAD represented the real vehicle of the idea d u r, "young male donkey." In order to avoid any misunderstanding it may be expressly stated that this conclusion does not imply that the real meaning of the combination ANŠE-ARAD was ever forgotten by the Sumerian scholars. But since it is in the nature of the human mind to strive toward uniformity of logical conceptions, it would actually be strange if the existence of words customarily written with the prefixed determinative ANŠE had not unconsciously led to the conception also of an initial a n š e that was an essential component of the a n š e combination, as a determinative. If one wishes to have a direct proof of this or a similar tendency, one need only think of the fact that in the Assyrian so-called "horse texts" the old a n š e - k u r - r a ,

in the inscriptions, but with the weakening of the old ruling classes as a consequence of wholesale deportations by the kings of Akkad and, presumably, by the Guteans, the language spoken by the common man was bound to come to the foreground and even to impress some of its features on the inscriptional language. It is evidently owing to this historical development that in the neo-Sumerian inscriptions and especially toward the end of the period the final consonants were no longer dropped to the same extent as in the Old Sumerian period. Finally, in the post-Sumerian Isin, Larsa, and Babylon periods, in which Sumerian had to be studied in scribal schools, the restitution process was carried much farther evidently because the grammatical study of Sumerian could not well be prosecuted without at least a mental restoration of lost consonants which were the vehicles of grammatical ideas or which were of importance for the determination of the word root, etc.

"horse," literally—possibly—"the donkey of the foreign countries" (in German "Esel des Auslandes"), "the foreign donkey," to a great extent or almost universally has been replaced by the simple *ku r* (usually in the plural *ku r - m e - e š*), although this correctly (or originally) meant "foreign country."¹⁰ Correspondingly, under the above conception the ANŠE-ARAD-ù r of 4 R 18*, No. 6, would represent an (*a n š e -*) *d u₂₀ - ù r*, in which the word *du r* is represented by the sign combination ARAD-ù r, while ANŠE again would be merely a determinative.

If we now turn to the second, the third, and the fourth of the renderings of *du r* in Cylinder A, namely, (*a n š e -*) *d u₁₇*, (*a n š e -*) *d u₁₇ - ù r*, and *d u₁₇ - ù r*, we find that, in contradistinction to the ideographic writing of *du r* as ANŠE-ARAD, they all render this word entirely phonetically, namely, as *d u₁₇(r)* or *d u₁₇ - ù r*. For, since neither the sign *DU₁₇* (= sign *DUN*) nor the sign *ÛR* stands in any logical relation with the word and the idea *du r*, "colt," these signs can be used here, of course, only to denote a syllable of purely phonetic character. This fact is very interesting since it indicates the existence in the Gudea period of a Sumerian system of phonetic writing which for the rendering of certain syllables employed signs greatly differing from those commonly used in later periods for the rendering of Akkadian. In addition to the use of *DU₁₇* and *ÛR* as common phonetic values note, e.g., the use of the sign *LUL* as *l u₅* in the phonetic rendering of the Sumerian word *u l u š i (n)* (= Akkadian *ulušinnu*, "emmer beer") as *u - l u₅ - š i* in Cyl. B, col. 7, l. 2.¹¹ This system doubtless was not invented in the Gudea period; it is, evidently, quite old. Note, for instance, that the city name *B á d - t i b i r a^k*, which in the transmitted Greek quotations from Berossus appears as *Pautibibla* (genitive *Pautibiblōn*), etc., in an unpublished Entemena inscription on a stone brick now in the Oriental Institute is phonetically written *P a₅¹² -*

¹⁰ It will be observed that in this case even the genitive ending *-ak* of *a n š e - k u (r) r - a (k)* is no obstacle to the conception of *a n š e* as a dispensable determinative. On the other hand, it can be observed that the scribes of the royal inscriptions never write *KUR-ME-EŠ* instead of ANŠE-KUR-RA-ME-EŠ, evidently considering that writing as an incorrect, though practical, usage of the scribes of military authorities, horse dealers, etc., but not permitted in inscriptions with a claim to a good form of their language. Cf. also in English the use of "horse" for "horsemen"; of "china" for "China-ware" (= "ware from China"); of "a Farahan" for "a rug from Farahan"; of "a Van Dyck" for "a picture painted by Van Dyck," etc. For the rather doubtful meaning of *ku r* in *a n š e - k u r - r a* see p. 69, n. 50.

¹¹ See my *Sumerische Untersuchungen IV* (ZA N.F. V) 154 ff. For an express indication of the phonetic value *l u₅* of the sign *LUL* see—in addition to the passage referred to by Thureau-Dangin in HS 21 (CT XII 31 : 38885, ll. 7 f., according to Pinches, JRAS [1908] 582)—also the glossed *LUL^{1a} - LUL^{1a}* in Ebeling, KARL, No. 9. obv.(?), l. 8.

¹² Sign *E + PA₄* (ROEC, No. 110). *P* as initial consonant on the strength of the (corrupted!) Greek renderings of the city name and on the strength of the glossing of *PA₄E* with *pa - a* in the syllabaries.

ti-bi₈-ra^{ki} or, perhaps better, Ba₁₁¹³-ti-bi₈-ra^{ki}, (or even Ba₁₁-di-bi₈-ra^{ki}?¹⁴), in which the signs E + PA₄ and NAM are used for the writing of the syllables pa (or ba) and bi, although the use of the former sign perhaps was restricted to instances in which pa (or ba) was followed by a t or d,¹⁵ and the use of the latter sign to instances in which bi was followed by an r, or, in other words, in which it represented bi₈(r).¹⁶ It is a very plausible assumption that the old phonetic system just traced was used primarily in Eme-sal and other dialectal texts for the purpose of unequivocally rendering those words that deviated in form and pronunciation from the main dialect.¹⁷ If, on the other hand, the scribe of Cylinder A, which is written in the main dialect, in such a spectacular manner changes from the ideographic writing of dur to a purely phonetic writing, although no deviation from the usual word form is involved, he must, of course, have had some other and evidently important reason for writing dur phonetically. Probably he felt uneasy about the conception of ANŠE-ARAD as (a n š e -) d u₂₀ or (a n š e -) d u r₆—which, as we have seen, must have become prevalent in the schools of the Gudea period—and therefore resorted to the quite clear phonetic writings (a n š e -) d u₁₇(r) and (a n š e -) d u₁₇-ù r.

The three phonetic writings (a n š e -) d u₁₇, (a n š e -) d u₁₇-ù r, and d u₁₇-ù r again reflect the historical development of the Sumerian language and its

¹³ So on the strength of the writing B á d - t i b i r a^{ki}. The pronunciation of the sign as pa (d) may be due to a reaction of the Akkadian loan word *pattu* on the Sumerian prototype, or more likely to a development within Sumerian, which presumably was the basis of the replacement of Sumerian b by p in Akkadian.

¹⁴ Under the assumption of a development of d to t similar to the development of b to p referred to in the preceding note.

¹⁵ Since Akkadian *pattu*, "water ditch," "canal" (pl. *pattáti*)—which in CT XII 16 : 93038, col. 1, l. 30, renders the Sumerian pa₈ (= PAB.E), "water ditch," etc., and *ibid.*, l. 35, the Sumerian pa₆ (= PAB.IŠ), "water ditch," etc.—has no etymology in the Semitic languages and therefore evidently is a loan word from Sumerian, the root of the Sumerian word pa₄, pa₈, or pa₆ (= *palgu*, etc.), "water ditch," "canal," obviously is pa (d), ba (d). It is evidently for this reason that in the Entemena inscription the first component B á d of Bád-tibira^{ki} is rendered with PA₄ + E.

¹⁶ The value bir₆ of NAM is attested for Sumerian in the syllabary extract RA IX (1912) 76 f., col. 1, l. 35 (see my restoration of the lines for NAM in HGT, p. 182, l. 1). That the sign NAM with the value bir₆ was not merely occasionally used is shown by the fact that in the Akkadian Nippur inscriptions of Šarru-kin of Akkad, HGT, No. 34, col. 9, l. 20; col. 10, l. 29; and col. 11, l. 6, it is used in the writing of the verbal form *li-iš-bir₆*, "may he break (his weapon)." In phonetic writing there was originally, of course, no fundamental difference between the Akkadian and the Sumerian systems of writing. Of other sign values in the Old Akkadian inscriptions of Šarru-kin and Rimuš, evidently adopted from the Old Sumerian system of phonetic writing but later discarded, note ÉRIM = *rim* in *st-gar-rim*, HGT, No. 34, col. 2, l. 29; 𒂗.ŠÚ = *hir* in *li-a-hir*, *ibid.*, col. 9, l. 18; col. 10, l. 29; and col. 11, l. 4; LÚ = *lu* in *u-ka-lu*, Legrain, UPUM XV, No. 41, col. 4, l. 10; and KUM (later QU) = *kun* in *iš-kun*, HGT, No. 34, col. 17, l. 27 (Rimuš).

¹⁷ This feature is still found in the Eme-sal texts of the late periods.

inscriptional rendering. (A n š e -) d u₁₇, the first of the phonetic writings, represents the pronunciation of d u r in the Old Sumerian period, while the second writing, (a n š e -) d u₁₇ - ù r, gives the pronunciation that had become prevalent in the spoken language of the neo-Sumerian period. The fact that the scribe first thinks of the Old Sumerian form indicates that in his time the Old Sumerian language must at least to some extent still have been regarded as setting a standard for the inscriptional language. But his changing to the common pronunciation of the neo-Sumerian period clearly shows that the old language was on the verge of losing its sway over the inscriptions, as indeed in the second half of the dynasty of Ur and in the immediately following period the neo-Sumerian form of the language succeeded in displacing it in many additional points.

The second and third writings listed above still show a feature of the later conception of the first writing as (a n š e -) d ù r in that they still retain the determinative a n š e. Under ordinary circumstances the determinative is not pronounced; that it was not read, especially in the case of (a n š e -) d ù r and in the phonetic writings of d u r just under discussion, may be concluded not only from the fact that in the syllabaries and in the vocabularies the gloss d u - u r is given for the whole combination ANŠE-ARAD, but also from the fact that it is missing in the fourth writing of d u r in the Gudea cylinder. Not being pronounced, the determinative a n š e still represents a kind of ideographic writing. In his last rendering of d u r as d u₁₇ - ù r, however, the scribe omits even this last trace of ideographic writing. This is a clear indication that at the time of Gudea, and doubtless long before him, a system of writing was envisaged by the Sumerian scribes that was built on a purely phonetic basis, even though owing to conservative and other opposing tendencies this purely phonetic system then and later was not adopted in any kind of official or public writing.

We now turn to the second components of *murnisqu* and d u r - a z i d a. Devoting our attention first to the second part of the Akkadian word, we again recall that this has been explained by Delitzsch as having originally been a genitive combination *már nisqi*, "young animal of splendor." More specifically, Delitzsch thought that this expression at first was used only of the young horse, the great beauty of which it was to describe, but later became "ein gewählteres Wort" for "horse" in general. This conception was based on the fact that elsewhere in Akkadian *nisqu* appears in the meaning "splendor" and that a similar use of the genitive of a noun meaning "splendor" seemed to be found in the well known *aban nisiqti*, "precious stones," literally "stones of splendor." Now, the use of the genitive of an abstract noun in the force of a descriptive adjective is a phenomenon frequently observed in Akkadian as it is, probably, in every other language. As for Akkadian one need only recall that this language, since it had no adjective corresponding to the English adjective "royal," expressed the idea "royal" by means of

the genitive of the abstract noun *šarrātu*, "kingship," as, for instance, in *ál šarrātišu*, "his royal city"; *šubat šarrātišu*, "his royal dwelling place," etc. Although, therefore, no really cogent reason against Delitzsch's explanation of *murnisqu* and of *aban nisiqti* can be adduced, one can, nevertheless, not avoid a feeling that in both cases the use of the adjective instead of the genitive of the abstract noun would seem much more natural, and this the more so, since we actually find the idea "precious stones" expressed in Akkadian by means of *abnum uqartum* and in Hebrew by means of *ʾāben ʾiqārā*. It may be noted also that in *aban nisiqti* the modifying *nisiqti* is a feminine, while the second part of *murnisqu* shows the masculine formation, evidently because the modified noun in the first expression is the feminine *abnu*, but in the second expression is the masculine *māru*. But naturally there is no reason whatever for a congruence of the gender of a genitive with that of its regens, since the addition of a genitive to some other noun does not convey the idea of an identity between the persons or the things designated by the two nouns. An identity between a noun and its modification exists, however, if the modifying word is an adjective, which therefore must show the same gender as the noun modified by it. For these reasons it must seem a very plausible assumption that *aban nisiqti*, "precious stones," originally represented a combination not of noun and genitive, but of noun and adjective; in other words, the later *aban nisiqti* probably originated from a former *abnu nisiqu* or, with dropping of the case vowels, *ab(a)n nisiqu*. These forms, of course, did not belong to the Akkadian language known to us from the inscriptions, for in this idiom they would appear as *abnum nasiqum*; they probably were inherited from a pre-Akkadian Semitic idiom, which in its development had progressed much farther than Old Akkadian, its successor in Babylonia. That older idiom had evidently dropped the light case endings (i.e., those of the masculine and feminine singular and the feminine plural), thus, in a time which for us is still prehistoric, already having reached the same stage as that at which Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, and modern Arabic arrived only in much later periods. Also the inner vowels of that early idiom must have undergone a considerable change, the result usually being a weakening of these vowels. For instance, in *nisiqu* from *nasiqum* the unstressed first base vowel *a* has turned into the weaker *i*; in the *nisqu* of *murnisqu*—which we shall see represents **násiqu*, the masculine form of the passive-intransitive *faʿilum* participle—even the stressed first base vowel *a* has been changed to *i*. Moreover, *nisqu* like the Akkadian *nasqu* (< *násiqu*) has dropped its unstressed second base vowel *i*. According to the same rule and again in conformity with Akkadian, which builds the feminine form of the intransitive participle *nasqu* as *nasiqum* (< *nasiqum*), the prehistoric idiom in its *nisiqu* (< *nasiqum*) has dropped also the unstressed *a* of the feminine element *-at-*. As one sees from these observations, the strict and practically exceptionless elision of unstressed vowels of open syllables after a preceding open syllable with

short vowel, which forms such a characteristic feature of Akkadian in contradistinction to Arabic and more or less also to the other Semitic languages, evidently traces to that old idiom which preceded Akkadian in Babylonia.

The question may be asked, of course, why it was that while elsewhere in Akkadian the intransitive participle of the root *nsq* appears as *nasqu* (fem. *nasigtum*), Akkadian should have taken over from the older idiom the intransitive participle *nisq* (fem. *nisiqt*) in the case of *aban nisiqt*. But this question can readily be answered. The working-up of precious stones and the trade in jewels apparently was not, and could not be, taken over at once by the conquerors and immigrants from the Arabian deserts and therefore evidently continued to remain in the hands of men belonging to the older population of Babylonian cities. These clung to the designation *aban nisiqt*, which for this reason was adopted also by the Akkadians. But since in the Akkadian language *nisqum* and *nisiqtum* occurred only as genuine *qitl* forms and therefore had the force of abstract nouns, the Akkadians erroneously understood *aban nisiqt* as meaning "stones of preciousness," a conception that could seem unobjectionable and acceptable even to those who knew better, because the meaning of the expression so conceived remained practically the same as that of the original.¹⁸

On the basis of our findings concerning *aban nisiqt* it would seem that the genitive combination *mûr nisqi*, "a (horse or donkey) colt of splendor," to which Delitzsch traces the form *murnisqu*, could likewise be explained as originating from an older *mûr(u) nisq(u)* (< *mûrum nas(i)qum*), "a noble colt" (in the sense of German "ein edles Fohlen"). In point of fact, such an origin would seem to be indicated by the fact that after its *nisk* Gudea's *murnisku* has the nominative ending *-u*, and that also the plural form *murnisqê* of the Late Assyrian period presupposes a singular *murnisqu*. Actually this would even make Delitzsch's tracing of the form *murnisqu* to an original *mûr nisqi* altogether unnecessary. As will be shown more in detail later on, however, the second part of Gudea's *murn-*

¹⁸ In some respects the change of *aban nisiqt* (< *abnum nisiqtum*) to *aban nisiqt* is paralleled by the change of the old *kibrâtum arba^{um}*, "the four rims," "the four rim-regions," to the genitival combination *kibrât arbaⁱ* and even *kibrât irbillim*, "the regions of the Four." This change must likewise have taken place via the endingless form, namely, *kibrât arba²*, which could be conceived both as *kibrât(um) arba²(um)* and as *kibrât arba²(im)*. The seemingly very strange change of the numeral *arbaⁱ*, which connects with feminine nouns, to *irbilli*, which connects with masculine nouns, was probably due to the opinion that the numeral referred not to the four regions, but to four male deities believed to rule over the four regions. This explanation seems suggested by the fact that in the usual writing of the Sumerian equivalent of *kibrâtum arba^{um}*, namely *4u b - d a (-k) li m m u - b i*, literally "of the u b 's and the d a 's, their four (= the four of them)," the u b 's (= *tubqu, tubqu^{tu}*) and the d a 's (= *šahâtu*) appear as deities. In the course of time, however, these divine regions, according to a law of evolution well established in the history of religion, would develop into deities ruling over those regions. Note, for instance, the development of the divine cosmic element *an*, "the heaven," into *An* (= *Anum*), the god of heaven.

ni-is-ku, namely ni-is-ku, appears in Cyl. A, col. 14, l. 25, not as an adjective modifying a preceding substantive, but as an independent substantive denoting a breed of donkey more valued than the ordinary kind, or the "Edelesel," as one might say in German. In view of this fact it seems quite likely that mur-ni-is-ku actually represented a genitive combination *mûr nisqu*, meaning, however, not "colt of splendor," as Delitzsch assumed, but "colt of the nisqu (donkey)." *Nisqu* (Gudea: *nisku*) itself, of course, would originally have been **imêr(u) nisqu(u)* (< *himâru nasiqu*), "a choice donkey," with **imêr(u)* later omitted. For similar omissions of *imêru*, etc., note, e.g., the equations in JNES IV 154 f., col. 6: a n š e - g ù - d é  na-qi-gu, l. 25b; a n š e - g ù - d é 
šá-qi-gu, l. 26a; a n š e - g u₄ - u d  ra-qi-du, l. 26b; d ù r - g ù - d é | na-
gi-gu, l. 31; d ù r₁ - g ù - d é | šá-qi-gu, l. 32; [d ù r]- g ù₄ - u d - g u₄ - u d |
raq-qi-du, l. 33.

For the explanation of Gudea's mur-ni-is-ku it seems rather irrelevant whether this word was conceived by the author of Cylinder A as representing an older *mûr nisqu*, "colt of the nisqu donkey," or an older *mâru nisqu*, "a highbred donkey-colt," since there would be hardly any material difference between the meanings of the two expressions in our passage. Since from column 14 it seems to be quite evident that the nisqu's represent a definite breed of donkeys, it might—at least from the viewpoint of the breeder—seem more correct to speak of "a colt of the nisqu breed," but in ordinary and especially in poetical language such a colt could well be called "a highbred colt," "ein edles Fohlen." Gudea's form mur-ni-is-ku, moreover, shows that in Akkadian doubtless long before his time the original combination *mûr* plus modification had been contracted into a single word, which probably combined the meanings of both *mâru nisqu* and *mûr nisqu*.

An explanation of *murnisqu* has been attempted also by Haupt in AJSL XXX (1916/17) 45 ff. Like Delitzsch he derived it from an original genitival combination *mûr nisqu*, to which, however, he ascribed the meaning "battle colt," i.e., "war horse," "charger." He arrived at this meaning by equating the *nisqu* of *mûr nisqu* with Hebrew *nāšeq* (*nēšeq*) in Ps. 140:8, which the ancient translators render with *polemos* (LXX), *bellum* (Itala) and *q'rabā* (Syr. and Talmud). The meaning "battle" he again explained as deriving from a more original meaning "string," "line," "battle line," assumed by him on the basis of Arabic *nasāqa*, "to place in order," "to string (e.g., pearls)." There are, however, too many uncertainties in these combinations. For instance, the Hebrew *nāšeq* which goes with the *nāšeq* translated *polemos*, etc., elsewhere denotes concrete objects; in II Kings 10:2 the LXX translates it with *hopla*, "weapons," while in Job 39:21 (22) *liqra*(?) *nāšeq*

apparently corresponds to *synantōn belei*, "facing the weapon(s)."¹⁹ Note, furthermore, that in this passage *nāšeq* (= *belos*), "missile," stands in parallelism with *hāreb*, "sword" (= *sidēros*, "iron," "steel," "weapon," "sword"). The question might therefore be asked whether in Psalm 140:8, in spite of the LXX, etc., *nāšeq* could likewise mean "weapons." The question can be answered in the affirmative. For in the language of a poetical composition such as Ps. 140:8 the phrase "on the day of the weapons" could readily be understood as conveying the idea "on the day of battle." The *en hēmerā(ι) tū polemū* of the LXX will therefore already be an interpretation of the phrase "on the day of the weapons." This recognized, there no longer exists any sound basis for the assumption of a Hebrew *nāšeq*, "battle," nor consequently for the assumption of an Akkadian (or pre-Akkadian) *nisqu*, "battle." In addition it should be noted that the assumed correspondence of Akkadian *s* with Hebrew *š* and Arabic *s* would be abnormal. Only under the supposition that *murnisqu* was taken from another Semitic idiom, which treated its *s*-sounds in about the same manner as Arabic, could the *s* possibly be regarded as a regular correspondence of Hebrew *š*. To be sure, there are unusual correspondences observable in Akkadian, as, e.g., *sebī*, "seven" = Hebrew *šēba*^c = Arabic *sab'un*, and *samāni*, "eight" = Hebrew *šmōnē* = Arabic *ṭamānin*; but it need not be stated that assumption of irregularities does not prove anything. That which in Haupt's argumentation, at least in his time, appeared to carry real weight was undeniably the fact that "battle horse" seemed to be an eminently fitting meaning for *murnisqu* in the Late Assyrian inscriptions. Correspondingly, "battle donkey" could likewise seem a very suitable meaning for the *m u r - n i - i s - k u* now found in the Gudea Cylinder inscription, except perhaps for the fact that *mūru* is an exact equivalent neither of "horse," nor of "donkey." But that advantage of Haupt's explanation is largely undone by the observation already referred to that in column 14 of Cylinder A the simplex *n i - i s - k u* occurs as the designation for a special kind of donkey. For under Haupt's assumption this donkey would have been called "battle," "war," or "attack," a designation that does not seem very likely, even though theoretically it might be explained as an abbreviation of "battle horse." This, however, would represent merely a new unproved assumption, which in conjunction with the other objections could have only the effect of strengthening the impression of the dubiousness of Haupt's theory.

Since, as we have seen, the *m u r* of *m u r n i s k u* in Nanše's interpretation of Gudea's dream corresponds to the *d u (r)* of the sign group *d u₁₉* (and ^{ans^ed} *u₁₇*) - *á - z i - d a - l u g a l - m à - g é* (and *- l u g a l - z à - g é*) in Gudea's narration of his dream and Nanše's recapitulation of the dream, it would seem a very plausible conclusion that *d u (r) - á - z i - d a* is the Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *murnisqu* (< **mūr(u) nisqu*). But before we attempt to find out whether the

¹⁹ The reading *basilei*, usually adopted instead of *belei*, is evidently a corruption.

meanings of Sumerian á - z i - d a lend themselves to a comparison with that of *nisqu* (< *nasiqu*), it is imperative to clear up the context in which á - z i - d a occurs and on which the conception of this expression depends. It will be observed that my rendering of the passages containing á - z i - d a differs considerably from the hitherto current translations and it will, of course, be necessary to show on what grounds the new rendering rests.

In SAKi Thureau-Dangin translates the passage, col. 5, l. 10, as follows: "Ein Esel war gelagert auf der Erde zur Rechten meines Königs." As one sees, he separates du (r) (= ANŠE-ARAD) from the immediately following -á - z i - d a - l u g a l - m à - g é, which he believes to be an adverbial phrase meaning "at the right side (*lit.*: arm) of my lord." Á - z i - d a in the meaning "right side" is well attested,²⁰ but in an earlier part of Gudea's recital of his dream, where he describes the apparition of Ningirsu (col. 4, l. 19), we read: z i - d a - g u b u - n a p i r i g i - n á - n á, "at his right and (at his) left lions were lying."²¹ Since Gudea in this passage uses the simple z i d a and g u b u for "the right and the left side" and since he combines them with the postposition - a²² in order to express the idea "at the right and at the left (of someone)," it does not seem very likely that he would use á - z i - d a (instead of z i - d a) and the postposition - e (instead of - a) in our passage. Moreover, the supposed statement that the donkey was lying at the right side of Ningirsu would to a certain extent contradict the previous statement that a lion lay both on the right- and on the left-hand side of the being which, according to Nanše's interpretation, represented Ningirsu. Furthermore, if Gudea actually were stating that in his dream he saw the donkey lying at the right side of his lord Ningirsu, he would have known that the central figure of the first vision of his dream was Ningirsu. But according to the story told in Cylinder A it is Nanše who informed him of this fact when she interpreted his dream, and obviously the intended implication is that until then Gudea was quite unaware of that identity. It will be observed also that the report on the dream is very concise and that in all other respects it does not refer to any feature which is of no importance for its interpretation and which later on is not actually interpreted by Nanše as relating to Gudea and the construction of É-ninnû by him. But the supposed fact that the donkey is lying at the right-hand side of Ningirsu is not interpreted. Another point is that Thureau-Dangin's translation of the verbal phrases k i ĤAR-ĤAR and k i ĤAR with "to lie on the ground" is evidently based on the equation, CT XII 21 : 93040, rev., col. 2, l. 33: [(Ĥ u r) | (ĤAR)] | iš-du :

²⁰ Cf. á - z i - d a - m u = *ina im-ni-ia*, CT XVI 1 ff., ll. 91 and 93; á - z i - d a - n a = *ina im-ni-šu*, 4 R 18, No. 3, ll. 20 ff.; á - z i - d a - a - n i - š è = *ina im-ni-šu*, ASKT II, No. 11, col. 2, l. 45.

²¹ Note the expression of the plural of the subject of the intransitive verb by the reduplication of the verb root! The actual meaning is that there was one lion at each side.

²² Z i - d a - g u b u - n a is to be analyzed as z i d - a, - g u b - u, - (a)n(i), - a.

ra-ba-šu; but in view of the immediately following equation: [(u r) | (ḪAR)] | *na-ša-ru*, “to protect” (= “to look after someone”), it is rather doubtful whether the verb in the Akkadian column of line 33 is *rabāšu*, “to lie down,” which corresponds to Arabic *rabaḏa*, and not the *rabāšu* from which derives *rābišu*, “the overseer,” “guardian,” “Aufpasser,” and which etymologically is identical with Arabic *rabaša*, “to wait for someone” (*lit.*: “to look out for someone”). But if one actually assumes that our *ki ḪAR* means “to lie on the ground,” only further difficulties will arise. In the first place, lying on the ground is by no means a characteristic feature of the donkey, as it ought to be if Gudea’s lying on the ground is to be likened to that of a donkey; for donkeys, like horses, are mostly seen not lying on the ground, but standing or walking or galloping around. But especially out of place would be the comparison in Nanše’s interpretation of Gudea’s lying on the ground with the lying on the ground of the *murnisqu*, for according to what we have seen the *murnisqu* should be a spirited animal and for this reason it would hardly be a fit object of a comparison illustrating Gudea’s lying on the ground. What, moreover, could Gudea’s lying on the ground, which Nanše according to Thureau-Dangin’s translation suggests to him, have to do with the building of the temple *Ē-ninnū*, with which he is charged by Ningirsu? Instead, one should expect that the action demanded of Gudea more or less correspond to the demand expressed in the interpretation of the immediately preceding feature of the dream, namely, that in order to build the temple Gudea shall renounce sleep and rest. Furthermore, if in our passage a meaning, “to be stretched out on the ground,” actually were intended, it might be expected that “on the ground” be expressed by *ki-a* and not by the accusative *ki* or some postpositional combination like *ki(-e)*, *ki(-š)*, etc. The most important objection, however, is a grammatical one, namely, that *ki im-ši-ḪAR-e*, which is to be analyzed as *ki im-ši-ḪAR-e(n)*, is an active-transitive expression. The statement is addressed to Gudea and therefore must be in the second person singular of a present-future theme. Were the verb, as assumed by Thureau-Dangin, an intransitive, its present-future form should be *im-ši-ḪAR-ed-e(n)*. Because of the absence of the *-ed-* in *im-ši-ḪAR-e(n)* this form, of course, must be the present-future of the active-transitive theme, the simple form of which is *im-lal-en*. It is evident from this observation that *ki*, “earth,” “ground,” “place,” represents the accusative object of the transitive verb *ḪAR*, since the sentence contains no other noun that might represent the necessary accusative object. Especially important, however, is the fact that the active subject of a transitive verb must be characterized as such by the subject element *-e*. Since the sentence contains only one postpositional *-e*, namely, the *-e* at the end of *lugal-mà-gé* (= *lugal-m(u)-ak-e*), and since according to the whole context the material subject must be the *dùr*, “donkey,” at the beginning of the line, it is evi-

dent that the words which Thureau-Dangin took as the passive-intransitive subject $d\ddot{u}r$, "donkey-colt," plus the adverbial phrase $\dot{a}-zi-da-lu-gal-m\dot{a}-g\acute{e}$, "at the right side of my lord," are to be taken as one grammatical unit, namely, the active subject complex $du(r)-\acute{a}-zi-da-lu-gal-m\dot{a}-g\acute{e}$, "the dur-azida of my lord," or, possibly, "the dur, the azida of my lord."

If we now try to imagine an activity which could be described by the expression $ki\ \dot{H}AR$, and which, in accordance with our former observations, should represent an activity quite natural for or even characteristic of a donkey, this action, since its object is "the earth," "the ground," must obviously be one performed by the donkey with its hoofs. If we take ki in the sense of "ground," the most obvious or even the only natural performances of this kind will be the forceful striking of the ground by the hoofs of the donkey when it is running, and the pawing of the ground when it is standing still. Now, a meaning "to paw" for $\dot{H}AR$ and $\dot{H}AR-\dot{H}AR$ could perhaps be assumed on the basis of the fact that the syllabaries and vocabularies attribute to $\dot{H}AR-\dot{H}AR$ with the pronunciations ara and $kin-kin$ the meaning of Akkadian $t\acute{e}nu$,²³ "to mill," "to grind (grain, etc.)," and to the same signs with the pronunciation ara also the meaning of Akkadian $ha\acute{s}\acute{a}lu$,²⁴ "zermalmen," "zerstampfen," "zerreiben" (e.g., grain, emmer, barley-groats, sorts of earth, bones, etc.). To be sure, "pawing or stamping the ground" does not seem to describe any possible action of Gudea during his building operations. But it could be assumed that the author had in mind the digging up and moving of a mass of earth preparatory to and during the construction of the temple and that, not wishing to depart too much from the given features of the dream, he used for Gudea's future activity the same expression by which Gudea described the activity of the donkey. Nevertheless, in one of its pronunciations $\dot{H}AR$ may have had a meaning like "to stir up," "to rake up" (in German "aufw\u00fchlen"), etc., that might be used of both the donkey and Gudea,²⁵ but at least to date the known equations of $\dot{H}AR$ do not indicate such a meaning. There is, however, perhaps the further possibility that $ki\ \dot{H}AR$, "to pound the ground," or even "to pulverize the ground," is a strong expression for "to run," "to rush," etc.²⁶ In the case of the

²³ Cf. CT XII 32-35, col. 3, l. 65: $\dot{H}AR^{a-r-a}\dot{H}AR$ | $te-e-nu$, "to grind"; Assur 2559, col. 1, ll. 59 f. (according to Delitzsch, SGI, p. 9): $\dot{H}AR-\dot{H}AR = a-r-a = te-e-nu$ and $te-i-nu$, "miller," and *ibid.*, l. 67 (according to Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 121): $\dot{H}AR-\dot{H}AR (= ki-in-ki-in) = t\acute{e}nu$. Note that in CT XII 21 : 93040, end of the first column of the reverse, the value $a-r-a$ is given also to the simple sign $\dot{H}AR$, and that Syll. A (CT XI 1 ff.), col. 1, l. 6, attributes to the simple sign also the value $ki-ik-ki-in (< kin-kin)$. (For $t\acute{e}nu$ cf. Arabic $\dot{t}\acute{a}hana$, "to grind," Hebrew $\dot{t}\acute{a}han$, "to grind," etc.)

²⁴ Cf. Assur 2559, col. 1, l. 66 (according to Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 9): $\dot{H}AR-\dot{H}AR$ with gloss $a-r-a = ha\acute{s}\acute{a}lu$.

²⁵ Cf., e.g., the use of $ha\acute{s}ar$, "to dig," to describe the pawing of the ground by the horse in Job 39:21: $\dot{t}\acute{a}hp\ddot{o}r$ (text: $\dot{t}\acute{a}hp^{\ast}r\acute{a}$) $b\acute{a}^{\ast}\acute{e}meq$ (LXX: $anor\acute{y}ss\ddot{o}n$ en $pedi\ddot{o}(i)$).

²⁶ For a somewhat similar expression one may perhaps compare the $\dot{t}\acute{a}gamm\ddot{x}(\ddot{c})\ \acute{a}res$, "it (= the horse) laps (or gulps) the earth," of Job 39:24, which usually is interpreted as meaning "den Weg

donkey a statement that it was running to and fro or running continuously about would seem very natural, and Nanše's interpretation of this feature could well envisage Gudea, too, as running about, in the sense of being constantly on the move in the interest of the construction of the temple. As a matter of fact, such a statement would fit the situation much better than one relating to excavation, etc. Already in col. 4, l. 20, and in col. 5, l. 18, i.e., at the very beginning of the description of the dream, the figure which in the interpretation of the dream turns out to be Ningirsu has given Gudea the comprehensive command to build his house. Then in col. 6, l. 11, i.e., almost at the end of her interpretation of the dream, Nanše interprets a certain feature of the dream as demanding of Gudea that he renounce sleep and rest in order to carry out the construction of the temple as soon as possible. After this reference to the general behavior of Gudea during the construction period it would actually seem strange if the immediately following last feature of the dream should exhort Gudea to dig, since that more or less represents only a preparatory work for the building of the temple. One would rather expect the dream to conclude with an exhortation of a general character paralleling that immediately preceding, and this could well be the exhortation "to be continuously on the move." Finally, one might even consider the possibility that *ki ħAR* in our passage has the meaning "to circle the place" or rather "to run in circles about the place," a meaning that perhaps might stand in some relation to the substantives *ĦAR* = *šewiru*, *šemiru*, "ring," and *ĦAR* (= *ara*), "millstone," as well as to the verb *ĦAR-ĦAR* (= *ara* and *kin-kin*), "to mill," which denotes a revolving action, etc. Applied to Gudea's activity during the construction of the temple, a verb of that meaning might likewise indicate that Gudea is expected to be incessantly active.

Somewhat disturbing is the fact that the expected activity of Gudea is denoted by the simple verb *ĦAR*, while that of the donkey is designated with the reduplicated *ĦAR-ĦAR*. To be sure, according to the syllabaries both the double and the single *ĦAR* have the value *ara*,²⁷ but it seems not very likely that in the same sentence the author of the inscription should have written the same verb *ara* first with the double and then with the single sign. Among other ideas, the double root expresses plurality of the grammatical subject, with certainty at least plurality of the subject of a passive-intransitive verb form. Although here the subject belongs to an active-transitive form, could it be that the doubling of the root likewise expresses plurality of the subject, i.e., that Gudea in his dream saw not one, but several donkeys of Ningirsu paw the ground, etc.? As matters stand at present, no sure answer can be given on this question.

schnell zurücklegen." (However, as shown by the LXX, the Masoretic text, like the text used by the LXX, is not very reliable.)

²⁷ See p. 57, n. 23.

The verbal complexes *ki ma-ḫAR-ḫAR-e* and *ki ma-ra-ḫAR-ḫAR-a*, the grammatical subject of which, as we have seen, is the donkey, contain the dative infixes *-(?-)a-*, usually meaning "to (*or*: for) me," and *-(e-)ra-*, "to (*or*: for) thee," both of which must refer to Gudea. Since it would be very difficult to imagine any natural action of the donkey in Gudea's dream to which Gudea would stand in the dative relation, no matter whether this dative is to be expressed with English "to" or "for," it seems quite obvious that the infix here expresses a local relation, as, e.g., that expressed by the English prepositions "before," "by," "past," "about," or "around." That is, the passage probably is intended to state that the donkey was constantly kicking the earth, or galloping about, etc., either before or around or by or past Gudea. Since Gudea could directly see that with his eyes, it is quite natural that he mentions it in his report on the dream before the dream is interpreted by Nanše. On the other hand, in her explanation to Gudea that he is to "stamp the ground" or to "run about," etc., like a *murnisku*, the goddess uses the verb form *ki im-ši-ḫAR-e* with the infix *-m-ši-* (*<-b-ši-*), which doubtless refers to *É-ninnû*, mentioned by Nanše immediately before *mur-ni-is-ku-gim ki im-ši-ḫAR-e* as part of the same sentence. The relation expressed by this infix, which usually means "to it," "toward it," is likewise to be conceived as "about it," "around it," "all over it," etc., so that the whole phrase means: "Like the *murnisku* thou shalt stamp the ground or run about (*or*: around, etc.) *É-ninnû*." The use of the postposition *-šè*, "to," instead of the postposition *-ra*, "to," is quite natural, since the postposition here refers to a temple, while *-ra* can be used only of persons.

It has already been pointed out above that the *lugal-mu*, "my lord," in *dùr-á-zid a-lugal-m(u)-a-k-e*, as well as the *lugal-zu*, "thy lord," in *dùr-á-zid a-lugal-z(u)-a-k-e* cannot be meant by Gudea to refer to the apparition of the god Ningirsu in his dream, for Gudea does not know that the figure he saw in his dream was Ningirsu. But since Gudea recognizes the donkey as the *dùr-á-zid a* of his lord Ningirsu, he must have known it as such before his dream. It would not be impossible that this donkey was a mythological animal, which Gudea might have known from pictorial representations in the temples of Lagaš, as he knew, evidently from such pictorial representations (or from descriptions in poems, etc.), what the mythological *IM-GI₆^{mušen}* and the mythological *Amaru(k)* looked like. But it is equally possible and probably more likely that Gudea in his dream saw one of the real donkeys belonging to the temple of Ningirsu and therefore to Ningirsu himself; particularly, he might have seen the donkey that was reserved for the special task of drawing the god's chariot during processions, etc. Most likely such a donkey was distinguished by certain features that made it readily recognizable, as, e.g., its height, color, markings, swiftness,

bearing, etc. Some indication concerning such qualities is perhaps contained in the *p i r i g - k a š₄ - e - p à - d a* of col. 7, l. 20, which apparently is an apposition to *d u₁₇ - ù r - b i*, "its donkey-colt," i.e., the donkey-colt of the chariot of Ningirsu which Gudea built on the advice of Nanše. Unfortunately the meaning of the expression just referred to is not quite clear, but to all appearances it designates the donkey-colt as a "lion," i.e., perhaps, as a "king" among animals. Moreover, its second sign, if it is to be read *k a š₄*, would refer to the donkey's ability to run swiftly. As indicated above in several places, these and similar qualities of the *nisqu* donkey apparently were the reason for its being designated as *n i - i s - k u* or *m u r - n i - i s - k u*.

The modified substantive *á - z i - d a* means literally²⁸ "the right arm"²⁹ but, as we have seen, in an extended meaning it can be used for "the right side." It is evident, however, that a donkey-colt cannot well be called "the right arm" or "the right side," nor "the right arm of Ningirsu" or "the right side of Ningirsu," if the expression is taken in its literal sense. But even if it is assumed that *á*, "arm," is used in a figurative sense, it is difficult to imagine any fitting meaning. Theoretically it would be quite possible that in Sumerian the phrase "to be the right arm of somebody" had the meaning of our "to be the right hand of someone," but such a position could hardly be ascribed to the chariot donkey of Ningirsu. The problem of finding a meaning suitable for *á - z i - d a* in all passages in which it seems to occur in a figurative sense becomes especially difficult in view of the fact that in the seal inscription, CT XXI 9 : 89131 (time of Šulgi of Ur), l. 2, the god Nerigal, in Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 11, ll. 1 ff., the temple É-ninnú, and *ibid.*, col. 15, l. 23, the *šár - ù r*, which is the *abubu* weapon of Ningirsu, are each designated as the *á - z i - d a* of Lagaš, while in Cyl. A, col. 3, ll. 16 f., a *s a - g a* (perhaps *s a - g u r₁₁*?) is called the *s a - g a - á - z i - d a* of the sublime hand of the goddess Gá-tum-du. In all these passages a meaning "protector" or "protecting" of *á - z i - d a*, "the right arm," would make good sense, inasmuch as Nerigal and the *šár - ù r* might well be designated as protectors of Lagaš, while the net (if it is a net) of the sublime hand of Gatumdu, which Gudea asks this goddess to throw(?) upon him, might well be called a "protecting" net. Such a meaning of *á - z i - d a* could have arisen from the fact that the right arm holds and uses the defending weapon, while the left arm is laid around the defended person. But how could Ningirsu's chariot donkey be called the protector of Ningirsu? Probably, however,

²⁸ For *z i - d a* see the following note, however.

²⁹ For Sumerian *á* (= Akkadian *idu*), "arm," cf. the sign for *á*, which is the picture of an arm (upper arm in horizontal, forearm plus hand in upright position) with *šeššig* lines marking the forearm.

Z i d - a, "right," shows the form of a passive-intransitive participle, the original meaning of which perhaps was similar to that of Latin *rectus*, the etymological equivalent of German "recht" and English "right."

a solution of our problem can be found in the fact that in the vocabulary, CT XIX 33 : 79-7-9, 20 and 37, l. 11, á-zí-da is listed as an equivalent of Akkadian *ašarēdu*, "first," "of the first rank." This meaning would excellently suit our passage, inasmuch as d ù r - á - z i - d a might denote a donkey-colt of prime or superior quality and thus at least materially could express the same idea as that conveyed by Akkadian or rather pre-Akkadian *murnisqu*, "magnificent or splendid (and therefore valuable and precious) donkey-colt" or, as the German has it, a "noble (= German 'edel') donkey-colt." It is evident, however, that the meanings "first," "noble," cannot correspond immediately to á-zí-da, "right arm"; but a good correspondence will result when á-zí-da, "first," "noble," etc., is conceived as á-zí-d-a (-a)k, "(he) of the right side," i.e., as Delitzsch paraphrases á-zí-da in his SGI, p. 225, "der den Platz zur Rechten (jemandes) einnimmt."³⁰ The place at the right-hand side of the king or of the host, etc., was and still is the place of honor, given to a guest, etc., in order to distinguish him from less important persons. (L ú -) á - z i d - a (-k) would therefore mean "(the) most honored (man)." This meaning of á-zí-da may still have been intended in the ^dN i n - g í r - s u - á - z i - d a - ^dN a n š e of CT I 2 f., col. 2, l. 17, inasmuch as it may refer to Ningirsu as the deity "most honored by (his sister) Nanše" (in her city Niná).³¹ Similarly, in the seal inscription mentioned above, in which the god Meslamtaea is called the l u g a l - á - z i - d a - L a g a s a ^ki, this predicate may have been intended to mean "the most honored lord (or king) of Lagaš."³² But since in the social order of yore the honor of being seated (etc.) at the right-hand side of the king was generally accorded only to men of the highest rank, it was quite natural that l ú - á - z i d - a (-k) would become a word for "a person of nobility," "a nobleman," or even "a person of princely standing," while the modifying genitive á-zí-d-a (-k) would become a substantive or adjective of the meaning "noble," which like the German "edel" (in "ein edles Pferd") could

³⁰ The original expression, of course, must have been a complete genitival combination l ú - á - z i d a (-k), "the man of the right-hand side," the regens l ú of which was dropped in the course of time. It is of interest to note that also the Akkadian equivalent of á-zí-da, namely, *ašarēdu* (< *ašru*, "place," and *ēdu*, "one"), "the first," logically derived from a quite similar genitive combination, "the man of the first place."

³¹ The name occurs in the designation of a field as a - š à - ^dN i n - g í r - s u - á - z i - d a - ^dN a n š e.

³² If in this inscription Meslamtaea should be designated as the "king" of Lagaš, this would mean merely that he was regarded as the highest god of Lagaš after Ningirsu. Note, e.g., the name of the goddess ^dN i n - N i b r u ^ki, "Queen of Nippur," who according to CT XXIV 4 ff., col. 3, l. 12, is the wife of Ninurta, this god accordingly being the l u g a l, "king," of Nippur. But he is only the e n s i (g) - g a l - ^dE n l i l - l á, "the great iššakku of Enlil" (date formula of Šulgi of Ur, Hilprecht, OBI, No. 125, case 17), a position in which, however, he is the highest Nippur god after Enlil, whose title l u g a l - k u r - k u r - r a, "king of all the lands," shows him to be a god much greater than Ninurta.

be used even of an "aristocratic" animal like the (mur-)nisku donkey. As one sees, the material correspondence of Sumerian *dùr-á-zì-da* to Akkadian *murnisqu* is, to say the least, quite probable, even though the historical genesis of the two expressions was not the same in the two languages. However, complete proof for the material identity of the two words will, of course, be obtained only by a vocabulary equation, by bilingual texts, or by an additional mentioning of *dùr-á-zì-da* and *mur-ni-is-ku* showing that the two words parallel each other in the same manner as in the Gudea passage.

Whether the original genitive character of *á-zì-da*, "noble," "aristocratic," was still recalled at the time of Gudea, or rather whether in the Sumerian of the time of Gudea the genitive element *-(a)k* was still regarded as a necessary component of the word *á-zì-da*, "noble," is difficult or even impossible to determine with absolute certainty on the basis of our present material. In favor of a complete dropping of the genitive element *-(a)k*, however, one may perhaps adduce the fact that in Akkadian *ašarêdu*, "first," with which *á-zì-da* is equated and which originally must have been a genitive combination meaning "a man of place one," "a man of the first place," the original genitive endings are completely wiped out, the remaining *ašar-êd* now appearing as an adjectival or substantival stem *ašarêd*, which for this reason assumes its own case endings and even creates a feminine form *ašarêdtu* or *ašarettu* (< *ašarêd-at-u*). Replacement of an original noun-plus-genitive combination by the substantive of the genitive may be observed also in English and German. A well known example is, for instance, English "privy seal" which, although meaning "the private seal (of the king)," was used also as designation for the "keeper of the privy seal" (and so still is used today in the title "Lord Privy Seal"). Similarly in German the abstract noun "der geheime Rat," meaning "secret or private counsel," came to be used as a collective designation of the private advisers of the king, and as "Geheimrat" became the title of a single person actually or fictitiously a private adviser of the king or prince.³³

It will be noted that the *mur-ni-is-ku* of Gudea is written with the *ku* sign, whereas the inscriptions of the Late Assyrian period write *murnisqê* in a few instances with the *qi* sign, but more frequently with the *ki* sign, this writing being found even in duplicates of those inscriptions that write the word with *qi*. For the determination of the character of the *k* sound, however, neither the Gudea writing with *ku* nor the late Assyrian writings with *ki* are of any conclusive force. For in the Gudea period and still later the syllables *qu*, *qi*, and *qa* were not written with special signs differing from those used for *ku* or *gu*, *ki* or *gi*, etc., and even in the latest periods the syllable *qi* might be written with the signs *ki* and *gi*. Nevertheless, the writings of *nisku* and *murnisku* with *k* will at least

³³ Cf. also the examples given on p. 48, n. 10.

be apt to remind us of the Akkadian substantive *nasīku*, "chieftain," "sheikh (of a Bedouin tribe)," "prince," "regent," which appears also in Hebrew as *nāsīk*, "chieftain," "prince." However, any attempt to connect the *niskū* of Gudea with this *nasīku* must seem hopeless from the very beginning. For the existence of a Semitic form *nisku* in addition to a form *nasīku* would mean that there was a genuinely Semitic root *nsk* on which *nisku* with elided second base vowel as well as *nasīku* with lengthened second base vowel could have been built, and which, moreover, should have had such a meaning that its *fa^cil* form could designate a noble person, etc., and its *fa^cil* form the leader of a Bedouin tribe, etc. But Hebrew *nāsīk* and Akkadian *nasīku* have no etymology in any of the Semitic languages; to derive it, e.g., from the root *nsk*, "to pour (something)," "to found or cast (metal)," etc., seems quite impossible; nor can Hebrew **nāsak*, "to plait," "to weave," instead of which Arabic has *nasaġa*, lead to a word of the meaning "leader," "regent," etc. To all appearances Hebrew *nāsīk*, "chieftain," "leader," "prince," in German "Fürst," must therefore be a loan word from a non-Semitic language. In my opinion it seems a very plausible assumption that in the last analysis it derives from Sumerian *e n s i (g)*, "prince." Its appearance in Hebrew as *nāsīk* instead of *ʿinsīk* is due to the fact that the Arabian and other western Semites conceived *insīk* as *ʿnsīk*, i.e., they regarded it as an advanced development of *nasīk* (by way of *n^asīku*, *nsīku*);³⁴ in their literary language they would therefore use the form *nasīk* which has the appearance of the well known passive-intransitive participle form *fa^cil*. The word must, of course, have been taken over directly from Sumerian, i.e., not via the Akkadian language, in which it appears as *iššakku* (< *inšakku* < Sumerian **i n s a g*, evidently a dialectical form of *e n s i (g)*). As in the case of other words or names taken over directly from Sumerian,³⁵ so also in the case of the word for "leader," "prince," the borrowing must have taken place at the latest in the time of the third dynasty of Ur. This assumption, moreover, is suggested by the fact that with the downfall of the dynasty of Ur the political organization of the empire under *iššakku*'s (and *šakanakku*'s) came to an end. Since Ur, the capital of the Ur empire, was situated on the edge of the Arabian desert, it is obvious that the *iššakku* organization of that empire stretched far into Arabia or even over the whole of northern Arabia. The Assyrian *nasīku* will, of course, have been adopted from the languages of the Semitic tribes whose chieftains bore the title *nasīk*.

It has been mentioned already that the second element of *m u r - n i - i s - k u*, i.e., the sign complex *n i - i s - k u*, is found in Cyl. A, col. 14, l. 25. For a better understanding of the content and the structure of the passage, I give the whole

³⁴For this development cf., e.g., Akkadian *ikribu*, "prayer" < **karibu*; *iptūru*, "redemption price," literally "that with which (something) is redeemed," < **paṭūru*; *išdīhu*, *išdīḫū*, "way," "path" < **šadīhu*; *išpīku*, *išpīkku*, "Aufschüttung" < **šapīku*, etc.; in Palestinian Arabic, *iktīr*, "much" < *kaṭīrun*.

³⁵See AJSL XLVIII 25f.

section, col. 14, ll. 7-27, in which *ni-is-ku* occurs, in the following arrangement:

- A a) ⁷u₄-ba ensi-gé
 kalam-ma-na
 zi-ga ba-ni-gar
- b) ⁸ma-da-gú-sag-šár-šár-ra-na
⁹Gú-edin-na-^dNin-gír-su-ka-ka
¹⁰zi-ga ba-ni-gar
- c) ¹¹uru-dù-a-á-dam-gar-ra-na
¹²Gú-giš-bar-ra-^dNanše-ka
¹³zi-ga ba-ni-gar
- B a) ¹⁴g_{u4}-ḥuš-zi-ga-gaba-gi₄-nu-tuku
¹⁵^{si}er_in-UD-UD-ra-lugal-bi-ir-URUDU-ba
¹⁶IM-RU-a-^dNin-gír-su-ka-ka
¹⁷zi-ga mu-na-gál
¹⁸š_u-nir-maḥ-bi Lugal-kur-dúb
 sag-bi-a mu-gin
- b) ¹⁹KI-A-gál-DU₈-gál-a-ta-è-a
²⁰I₇-maḥ-a-^diri-ḥe-gál-bi-DAG-DAG
²¹IM-RU-a-^dNanše-ka
²²zi-ga mu-na-gál
²³U₅-kù-š_u-nir-^dNanše-ka m
 sag-bi-a mu-gin
- c) ²⁴u-MÁŠ-ANŠE-edin-na-LÁ-a
²⁵ni-is-ku-érin-mu-tuku-érin-^dUtu-ki-ága
²⁶IM-RU-a-^dInnana-ka
 zi-ga mu-na-gál
²⁷AŠ-ME-š_u-nír-^dInnana-ka m
 sag-bi-a mu-gin²⁸

“At that time the iššakku (= Gudea), in his own right,¹ imposed a *ziga*² not only³ on his own land,⁴ but also on the *gú-sa*⁵ territory turned by him⁶ into luxuriant fields⁷ in the *Gú-edinna*⁸ of Ningirsu, as well as on the towns built by him⁹ and on the settlers settled by him⁹ in the *Gú-giš-bar-ra*¹⁰ of Nanše, while¹¹ (voluntary¹²) *ziga*’s were made(?)¹³ for him¹⁴ not only¹⁵ by¹³ the fierce¹⁶ oxen, that are prone to attack and that cannot be driven back, and the “white cedars” planted(?)¹⁷ for their lord, in the *IM-RU-a*¹⁸ of Ningirsu—at the head of this *ziga* (*lit.*: at its head) marched their¹⁹ high *šurinnu* *Lugal-kur-dúb*—but also¹⁵ by the existing(?) river banks and the various(?) growths(?) that rise out of the water,²⁰ and by the (river) *I(d)-maḥ*²¹ and (other?) huge waters, that again and again²² . . .²³ their abundance, (all) in the *IM-RU-a* of Nanše—at the head of this *ziga* marched *U₅-kù(g)*, the *šurinnu* of Nanše, itself²⁴—(and finally) by the plants and the small and the big game, that fill²⁵ the open fields, and by the *ni-ku*’s,

²⁸ The annotations 1-27 to the following translation of this section will be found on pp. 71 ff.

the famous²⁶ warriors, the warriors, loved by Utu, in the IM-RU - a of Innana— at the head of this (third) z i g a (literally: at its head) marched the (Venus-) disk,²⁷ the šurinnu of Innana, itself.”

It will be noted that in lines 25 f. of this passage n i - i s - k u stands in parallelism with “(the plants and) the small and the large animals which fill the plain,” and that in a certain sense it stands in parallelism also with “the terrible oxen (and the white cedars)” of lines 14 f. It is quite possible, therefore, that the n i - i s - k u 's are likewise animals. Since, moreover, they are given the epithets, “famous warriors,” and “warriors, loved by Šamaš,” epithets which can make sense only when they refer to living beings, the assumption that they are animals becomes quite certain. But if n i - i s - k u in our passage denotes an animal, then obviously it is identical with the second component of m u r - n i - i s - k u which, as we have seen, must denote a strong and active and therefore especially valuable kind or breed of donkey. While m u r - n i - i s - k u (< *mûr nisqi*) means “colt of the nisku donkey,” the passage just transliterated and translated quite fittingly uses the simplex n i - i s - k u because the author wants to refer to the whole breed of nisku donkeys or rather refers to the fully grown nisku donkey as the representative of his whole species. In our passage the murnisku's are associated with the game animals of the e d i n , i.e., of the steppe or desert, but there must, of course, be a difference between the latter and the nisku's, since otherwise these would not be mentioned separately from the game animals. Unlike the game animals, the nisku donkeys were, of course, not wild or fully wild animals, but were raised and guarded by breeders and their men. Their association with the game animals in our passage, however, is natural because donkeys are animals of the steppes and deserts and evidently therefore were raised on at least semi-steppe ground. In the construction work at the Ningirsu temple the nisku donkeys (as well as the common donkeys which, of course, were raised by the Sumerians in addition to the nisku's) probably were used as beasts of burden, while the game animals primarily furnished food for the laborers.

As for the designation of the nisku donkey as “warrior, loved by Šamaš” it may be noted that in the neo-Babylonian and certainly also in the immediately preceding periods it was the belief of the Babylonians that Šamaš rides over the skies in a chariot drawn by mules. This is indicated by the statement in Nabû-na'id's cylinder inscription, 5 R 65, col. 2, l. 33, that Šamaš's chariot driver, Bunene, harnesses to the chariot of Šamaš *pa-re-e qar-du-tu ša la in-na-ĥu bir-ka-šu-un*, i.e., “heroic and untiring mules.” It is especially important that in this passage the chariot mules are given the epithet *qardātu* (plural of *qardu*), “valiant,” “heroic”; for this denotes a quality associated especially with the warrior, as shown by the fact that *qardu* and *qarrādu* are Akkadian equivalents of Sumerian u r - s a g , “the leading fighter,” “the hero,” and especially by the fact that in the inscriptions of

Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I and later kings the related *qurādê* is used directly in the sense of "warriors" and in this meaning is applied even to the enemy soldiers. On the other hand, it will be recalled that in the Maltese rock reliefs³⁷ the sun-god is standing on a horse, which therefore must have been regarded by the author of the sculptures as the special animal of Šamaš. Since it is harnessed, it will be the horse—or the representant of the horses—that drew the god's chariot. If we combine with these observations the fact that according to the Gudea cylinder the *nisku* donkey likewise stands in a special relation to Šamaš in that it is a "warrior, loved by Šamaš," it seems quite evident that the *nisku* donkey of the Gudea cylinder is given this predicate for the same reason for which doubtless the mules of Nabû-na'id's inscription are given the predicate "heroic," namely, because they draw Šamaš's chariot over the skies. In point of fact, there can exist no doubt that in the periods previous to Gudea (and still in his time), when the horse was as yet unknown or at least practically unknown in Babylonia, the chariot animals were donkeys. In that time, consequently, it must have been the belief of the Babylonians that also the chariot in which Šamaš traveled over the skies was drawn by donkeys—of course, by the best of them, namely, by *nisku* donkeys. That the chariot of Ningirsu was drawn by a donkey is directly attested by the statement of Cylinder A, cols. 6-7, that upon the advice of the goddess Nanše he built a chariot for Ningirsu and harnessed to it a *d u₇ - û r* (col. 7, l. 20; = *a n š e - d u₁₁ - û r*, col. 6, l. 18). The conception manifested by the artist of the Maltese sculptures that the chariot was drawn by horses, and the conception found in Nabû-na'id's inscription, that the animals were mules, i.e., a cross between horse and donkey, evidently were concessions to the customs and practices of the later periods, in which donkeys as chariot animals were superseded by the much better adapted horses or mules. Merely for the sake of completeness it may be pointed out that the donkey-drawn chariot itself was doubtless a rather late achievement of human civilization and that therefore the belief that Šamaš rode over the skies in a chariot must have been preceded by the belief that he made his daily journey on foot. A corroboration of this may be found in the fact that the extant hymns to Šamaš or rather the hymnlike introductory portions of prayers to Šamaš, etc., the single elements of which apparently date from the very oldest periods, contain no hint that the sun-god traveled in an animal-drawn chariot. Note, for instance, that Šamaš's passing through the great door of heaven is alluded to in 4 R 17, ll. 1 ff., with the words: "When thou comest out from the interior of the heaven, when thou liftest the key peg in the lock of the shining heaven, (then) loosenest the door bar of the shining heaven, (then) openest the great door of the shining heaven." Similarly in lines 45 f. it is merely stated: *z a - e a l - d u - u n - n a - a š s a g - g i₆ - g a b a - n i - i b -*

³⁷ Cf. the photographs in Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien: Bavian, Maltese und Gundük* (WVDOG LII), Pls. 26-28, 30-31.

s i - s á - e = *at-ta ina a-la-ki-ka šal-mat qaq-qa-di tuš-te-šir*, "whilst thou walk-est (thy road) thou directest the black-headed." All these allusions must give us the impression that Šamaš travels on foot, himself opens the door of heaven, etc. His traveling on foot would follow also from pictorial representations on seal cylinders,³⁸ in which two deities hold open the two leaves of a door³⁹ for a god with rays who is standing between two mountains or ascending (whither?) from between two mountains, provided, of course, that this deity really is Šamaš.

In connection with the designation of the mules of Šamaš as "heroic," it will be recalled that Šamaš himself in the hymnal introductions more than once⁴⁰ is addressed as *ur-sa-g-šul-Utu = qar-ra-du et-lum Šamaš*, "warrior, hero, Šamaš." Since in one of the texts⁴¹ these words are followed by *an-šà-kù-ga-ta è-zu-dè = iš-tu ki-riḫ šame-e ina a-ši-ka*, "when thou steppest out from the interior of the (shining) heaven," while in another text⁴² the wish, *ur-sa-g-šul-Utu me-teš ḫe-i-i = qar-ra-du et-lum Šamaš li-it-ta-i-du-ka*, "oh, Šamaš, warrior, hero, may they again and again praise thee," is addressed to Šamaš immediately before sundown,⁴³ i.e., after Šamaš has completed his journey over the skies, it seems a very plausible assumption that the predicate "warrior," "hero," is given to the sun-god because of his daily journey over the skies, which apparently was not only exacting, but also dangerous, inasmuch as frequently it could be achieved probably only by a strenuous fight against furiously attacking demons, etc.⁴⁴ It is no more than natural that when the assumption that Šamaš traveled over the sky on foot was replaced by the belief that he rode in a donkey-, nisku-, horse- or mule-drawn chariot, some of the credit for the successful achievement of the journey went to the valiant animals that drew the god's chariot.

In the Gudea cylinder passage, however, the nisku donkey is given not only the epithet "hero loved by Šamaš"—this, as we just have seen, is given him as the representant of the chariot nisku's of Šamaš—but before it also the more general

³⁸ Cf. Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Nos. 170–71.

³⁹ Or do the two gods and the two door leaves represent just one god and one door leaf, repeated for the sake of symmetry?

⁴⁰ Cf. Schollmeyer, *SBHGŠ*, No. 2, ll. 3 f.; No. 7, ll. 17 f.; No. 8, ll. 3 f.; No. 34, l. 3; Haupt, *ASKt II*, No. 19, rev., ll. 3–6. Note also the refrain *ur-sa-g-gal, -lù-nam-tar-tar-re-e-dè = qar-ra-du ra-bu-ú be-lum mu-šim ši-ma-a-tum*, Reisner, *SBH*, No. 24, obv., ll. 13 ff. (in l. 15 after *ur-sa-g-šul-Utu*).

⁴¹ *SBHGŠ*, No. 2.

⁴² Cf. *op. cit.*, No. 7.

⁴³ Cf. ll. 1 f.: *Utu an-šà-šè tu(?)-tu(?) -da-zu-dè = a-na ki-riḫ šame-e ina e-re-bi-ka*, and ll. 25 f.: *INIM-INIM - ma - . . . -Utu - ka m = Šiptu ša erēb Šamši*.

⁴⁴ As is well known, the sun as hero appears also in Ps. 19:5c–7: "For the sun he established a tent (one would expect: 'a course' [= ḫrah]), and he (= the sun) . . . rejoices like a hero (= gibbôr) to run the course (= ḫrah); from one (*lit.*: the) end of the heaven is his going forth and his turning is at its (other) end(!)."

epithet *érin-mu-tuku*, "the famous hero," literally "the hero who has (acquired for himself) a name." This indicates, of course, that the *nisku* donkey had proved itself a "warrior," "hero," not only in the special case of its participation in Šamaš's daily journey over the skies, but also on other and more general occasions. In point of fact, donkeys and *nisku* donkeys drew not only the chariot of Šamaš, but also the chariot in which a warring prince of that time rode when he led his battle forces into the fight. The courage which the *nisku* donkeys showed when their lords, ahead of their foot soldiers, charged into the enemy ranks,⁴⁵ and the effect which such a charge naturally had on the enemy's infantrymen, must have made a great impression on those who participated in the battle. Probably the fame of the charging leader and his battle *nisku* was still further enhanced by the glowing descriptions which the poets were accustomed to give of the courage and the deeds of the princely leader, of the splendor of his battle array and of his chariot and, last but not least, of the prowess of the animal that drew his chariot.⁴⁶ Such a glorification of the merits of the battle *nisku* might even have led to a popular story in which a certain *nisku* donkey no less than its master displayed wonders of strength and fierceness in battles⁴⁷ and thus became the "famous warrior" of the Gudea cylinder.

It is a well known fact that in the late Assyrian periods *murnisqê* appears as a designation for horses. Note, e.g., the sequence in the enumeration of animals in the Aššûr-aḫa-iddina inscription, 1 R 45-47, col. 6, ll. 45 ff., where the king wishes that he may long be able to hold, every New Year's Day, on the enlarged grounds of his new palace in Nineveh, a review of the *murnisqê*, *parê*, *imêrê*, *gamallê*, *belê*, *unût taḫâzi*, *gimir šabê*, *šallat nakîrê*,⁴⁸ i.e., of the "horses, mules, donkeys, camels, weapons, (and other) implements of warfare, as well as of all (royal) soldiers (and) the booty (and captives) taken from the enemies (*lit.*: the booty of the enemies)." A similar enumeration is found in the Sîn-aḫḫê-erība prism inscription, 1 R 37-42, col. 6, ll. 55 ff., where the king states that he greatly enlarged the palace grounds for reviews of the *murnisqê*, *parê*, *agalê*, *i-bi-le*, *narkabâti*, etc., i.e., the "horses, mules, *agalê*, *ibîlê*, chariots," etc., of his army. Since, according to the continuation of the passage, the new square was to be used also for the purpose of breaking to the yoke *našmadê sîsê*⁴⁸ (= ANŠE-KUR-RA-ME-EŠ) *parê ša e-mu-ge ra-ba-a-te i-šu-ú*, i.e., "teams of horses and mules that have great strength," it is evident that in contradistinction to *sîsê*, the general term for horses, *murnisqê* designated horses which were especially swift and of a spirited temper, and which therefore

⁴⁵ Cf. the pictorial representation of Eannatum on the Stela of Vultures.

⁴⁶ Cf., in a much later period, the description of the courage of the horse, etc., in Job 39:19-25.

⁴⁷ For such a possible background one may perhaps compare the role played by the horse Bayard in the story of the four Haimonskinder.

⁴⁸ Length and stressing of the *i* likely, but not conclusively proved to date.

were particularly fit for use in battles, for pursuit of the enemy, etc. In other words, *murnisqu* in the late Assyrian periods denotes a horse of nobler qualities than the ordinary horse, just as in the old periods it denoted a donkey of nobler qualities than the ordinary donkey. As one sees, the word has kept its old function of denoting an animal of nobler qualities; only its application to a specific animal has changed, inasmuch as it no longer denotes a specific kind of donkey, but a specific kind of horse.

This change in the application of the word can readily be understood. The horse by nature had the good qualities of the *nisku* donkey, which the Babylonians considered as making this donkey an aristocrat among ordinary donkeys, to a much higher degree than the best of the donkeys ever attained to. The introduction of the horse in western Asia, therefore, meant that the donkey hitherto called *nisku* had to concede its leading role to the horse, and that it was this animal that from then on was considered the "noblest" among the class of "donkey"-animals, to which, as is well known, the Babylonians reckoned also the horse,⁴⁹ the *anše-kur-ra* of Sumerian (late or post-Sumerian?).⁵⁰ There was at first, of course,

⁴⁹ From the viewpoint of natural science this designation is entirely justified, since horse (*equus*) and donkey (*asinus*) are only subdivisions of the order (species or family) horse (*equus, equidae*). The difference between this modern scientific designation of the order and what we may call the Babylonian scientific system consists only in the name, inasmuch as in the modern system this name is taken from the subspecies horse, but in the Babylonian system from the subspecies donkey. If, on the other hand, the camel, which zoologically belongs to the totally different order of the *paridigitates* (*artiodactyls*) and more specifically to the suborder of the ruminants and the family of the tylopods, is likewise designated as an *anše-animal*, this designation is based, of course, merely on the fact that in certain neighboring countries the camel was used for the same purposes for which the Babylonians used the donkey (and the horse), namely, as a beast of burden, as an animal for riding, etc.

⁵⁰ To date no reference to the horse has been found in the Babylonian literature before the first dynasty of Babylon. Neither do we possess pictorial representations that would prove the use of the horse in Babylonia in that early period. At all events, in view of the extreme shortcomings of the artist in his drawings of animals and men, none of the features observable in the representation of the four chariot animals on the archaic plaques found at Ur and *Ḫafāḡe* (cf. the composite picture in the *Illustrated London News*, 1932 [October 8], p. 529) can with any safety be adduced as proof that these animals were intended to represent not donkeys, but horses. For instance, the shortness of the ears, which actually resemble those of the horse much more than those of the donkey, can readily be explained as owing to the lack of space sufficient for drawing them in their natural proportion to the bodies of the animals. In such a case the artist simply reduces the dimensional proportions of the limb, etc., concerned. A good illustration of this principle is furnished by the wheel of the chariot on the Ur plaque: Because of the lack of sufficient space for its correct height the wheel, which should be perfectly circular, is drawn in such a manner that its vertical diameter is less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of its horizontal width, the wheel thus appearing as a kind of hopping wheel. Seen with our eyes the four(!) long tails are neither exactly those of horses nor of donkeys. If horses were intended, the whole tail of the fully visible animal should be drawn much broader than those of the other animals, while in case donkeys were meant, the same could be said at least of the lower part of the tail. Apparently the artist first drew the short-haired upper part of the donkey's tail, matching it by the equally short-haired tails of the other three animals; but then he found it too

no necessity to adopt, on the basis of this development, the word *murnisqu* for the horse, since the name *a n š e - k u r - r a = s i s ū* itself conveyed all the ideas of a "noble" animal of the donkey class of animals. But when it was discovered that the horse, too, could be improved by breeding and when as a consequence there came into existence a class of horses of larger size and greater beauty, and even more spirited than the original horse, it naturally became desirable to have a name for this kind of horse. Evidently it was at that time that the old word *murnisqu* was applied to the horse. This application was greatly facilitated and even invited by the fact that the word contained no special reference to the donkey for which formerly it was used exclusively.

great a problem for him to represent the long-haired lower part of the first donkey's tail in its natural width and therefore simply continued the tails in the width of their upper parts. This assumption would even become a certainty if the transverse incision passing through the four tails should be not an accidental break, but made purposely by the artist in order to indicate that the long-haired parts of the four tails begin there. How little such an imperfect pictorial representation disturbed the artist is strikingly shown by the fact that he draws the three right hind legs of the three other animals as standing between the two hind legs of the first fully visible animal and in a similar manner the three right forelegs of the three companion animals as standing between the two forelegs of the first animal.

It may also be pointed out here that the Sumerian name of the horse, *a n š e - k u r - r a*, could mean either "the donkey of the 'Ausland,'" "the foreign donkey," or, since this designation may be too general, perhaps "donkey of the East." Especially would the latter assumption agree with the common belief that the original habitat of the horse was central Asia. A meaning "mountain donkey" in the sense of "a donkey living in the mountains" obviously is out of the question, since the equidae, although found not only in steppes but also in treeless mountains, preferentially live in steppes, so that a designation of the horse as "mountain donkey" would be altogether unwarranted. Theoretically there is even a possibility that *k u r - r a*—which, by the way, was pronounced or could be pronounced not only *k u r r a*, but also *k ū r a* or even *k ū r a* (cf. CT XIV 11:93080, last(?) column, l. 17: [a n š e - k] u - ū - r a | s i - s u - [ū] , with *k u - ū - r a* instead of the *k u r - r a* in the duplicate lists)—originally may have been a more specific geographical or ethnological term, i.e., the name of a foreign country, region, city, or people in the east. In this connection it may be recalled that Jensen in ZA XV 230 believed that possibly Hebrew *pārāš*, Arabic *farasun*, Ethiopic *faras*, Sabean *frs*, "horse," is connected with Old Persian *Pārsa* (New Persian *Pārs* and *Fārs*), Babylonian *Pārsu*, Hebrew *Pāras*, Egyptian Aramaic *Prs*, "Persia," and that similarly Babylonian *sīsū*, Aramaic *sās^eiā*, Hebrew *sās* (secondarily derived from the plural *sāsīm* [*< sās^eiīm*] and the feminine **sāsā* [*< *sās^eiā*]), "horse," is perhaps to be connected with Elamite *Šāšun* (absolute and before *-ka*), *Šūšen* (before *-ki*, *pi*, etc.), *Šāšin* (in Elamite *Inšušinak*, originally Sumerian *N i n - Š u š i n - a k*) and Akkadian *Šušinak*, *Šāšn* (in Elamite *Inšušinak* < *N i n - Š u š n - a k*), Assyrian *Šāšan* (Aššūr-bāni-apli), Hebrew *Šāšan*, Old Akkadian *Šāšum* (genitive *Šāšim*), in late copies of incantations *Šāšu* (genitive *Šāši*), "Susa." However, these combinations are quite impossible because of the difference in the sibilants and in the case of *sīsū* (etc.) also because its fourth radical is *š*, while the fourth (or third) consonant of *Šāšun*, *Šāšan*, etc., is an *n*. Note, however, that in Old Akkadian the final *un* of Elamite *Šāšun* appears as the mimated nominative ending *-um*. Does this indicate that the Elamite name *Šāšun* has been taken over from a pre-Akkadian Semitic population of Susa in whose nunating language the name of the city actually is to be analyzed as *Šāš-u-n* (= stem *Šāš* + nominative ending *u* + nunation)? Concerning the assumed *š* of *sīsū* see p. 68, n. 48.

ANNOTATIONS TO CYLINDER A XIV 7-27

1. The translation "in his own right" tries to render the meaning of the prefix *ba-* of *ba-ni-gar*. Or should the *ba-* here correspond to the Akkadian syntactical *t*? But it does not seem likely that the author would describe Gudea's own action by the subordinating statement "after he had placed."

2. The exact meaning of *zi-ga* in our passage is rather difficult to establish, but as far as one can judge, it must mean approximately "levy." Thureau-Dangin in SAKi hesitatingly translated it with "Stiftungen" which, however, is warranted neither by the context nor by any syllabary or vocabulary statement. The basic meaning of the root *zig* is "to lift (something from something)," in German "(etwas) abheben," "(etwas) herausziehen," "(etwas) herausreißen." In the passive-intransitive forms it correspondingly means "to rise up (against someone, etc.)," "sich (gegen jemanden, etc.) erheben"; "to march out," or "to set out," in German "ausziehen (zum Kampf, etc.)." The abstract noun *zi-ga* (< *zig-a*) therefore means "Aushebung," "levy," as well as "uprising," "Erhebung," "Aufstand." For its meaning in our passage it must be taken into consideration that the passage is part of the section in which Gudea relates his execution of the commands previously given him by Ningirsu, namely, in the section, col. 11, l. 24, to col. 12, l. 11. To all appearances the report on the various levies corresponds to Ningirsu's command, col. 11, l. 24: *kalam-e zi-šà-gál ù-ma-sì*, "May the land furnish the living beings!"^a The passage, col. 14, ll. 7-27, should therefore report that the "land" furnished those living beings.^b Chief among them, of course,

^a For *zi-šà-gál* = *šikin napišti*, *šiknat* or *šiknât napišti*, "living being(s)," cf. CT XIX 6: K 5973, l. 12: *zi-šà-gál | šik-nat napiš*, (= *zi*)-(l*im*); K 3251 (BA X 105), obv., ll. 6-8: ^a*Nidaba*, -*nin-zi-šà-gál-la-gé* = „(=^a*Nidaba*) *bêlit šik-nat na-pišt-ti*; Hrozný, Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag, Pls. 2 f. (K 8531), rev., case 21 f.: *zi-šà-gál-É-kur-ra* = *šik-na-at na-pišt-ti É-kur*; *ibid.*, Pls. 7 f. (K 4829), obv., ll. 20 f.: *zi-šà-gál-^aInnana-me-en* = *ši-kin na-pišt-ti* ^a*Iš-tar ana-ku*, and the duplicate, *ibid.*, Pls. 9 f. (79-7-8, 290), obv., ll. 5 f.: *zi-šà-gál-^aIn[nana-me-en]* = *šik-na-at napiš-tim* ^a*I[štar ana-ku]*. The literal meaning of (*nig-*)*zi-šà-gál* is "(something) in whose interior life breath has been created." It is evident, therefore, that *zi-šà-gál* developed from a more original **nig-zi-šag-a-gál-a* with the locative *šag-a*, "in the heart," instead of the simple *šà(g)*, and with the passive-intransitive participle (actually the infinitive) *gál-a* instead of the simple *gál*. The change from *gál-a* to *gál* is quite frequently observed, while the neglect of the dimensional idea in *šà(g)-gál(a)* probably is due to the fact that this combination was felt to be a compound of the same kind as, e.g., English "city-born" = "born in a city." There is, however, the possibility that the sign ŠÀ(G) originally had also the larger values *šaga and *šage.

^b It is rather difficult to establish the exact meaning in which *kalam* is used here. From our Cylinder A passage we can gather with certainty only that the territories of Lagaš and Niná and that of a certain Innana city (perhaps Uruk?) were reckoned as belonging to it. It therefore seems likely that *kalam* is used here as a geographical term, namely, as the designation of the southern (southeastern) part of southern (southeastern) Babylonia or Sumer. In other words it is probably that part of Babylonia in which Sumerians had maintained themselves during the

should be the laborers for the construction of the temple. It would seem natural that they came chiefly or even exclusively from the land ruled by Gudea, the builder of the temple, and it may therefore be regarded as a safe assumption that the ziga's which Gudea himself imposed on "his land," on a certain part of the Guedinna of Ningirsu, and on certain towns and settlements in the Gú-giš-bar-ra of Nanše, consisted primarily of those laborers. For, on the whole, it was mostly or exclusively forced labor, by which Gudea could hope to construct the temple. Referring to these laborers *z i - g a* must, of course, be rendered with "levy," in German "Aushebung." Doubtless, however, these ziga's included also the furnishing of food for the workmen and laborers, of tools and materials needed for the construction work, of animals needed for transport, etc. All this can again be designated by the term "levy." The supply of food sufficient to nourish the workmen and animals must have been an important problem. It is reflected in Ningirsu's prediction in Gudea's second dream that at the very beginning of the work at the temple there would be plenty of rain and later on a flood higher than ever, both procuring great abundance (col. 11, ll. 4 ff.). With the easy production of food it would, of course, be easy for Gudea to feed the workmen.

Clearly the ziga's of the territories of "the land" that are not under the dominion of Gudea (col. 14, ll. 14-27) likewise have some relation to "living beings." Here, too, it is not stated directly of what the respective ziga's consisted, but the statement, e.g., that the oxen of the *IM-RU-a* of Ningirsu and the game animals and the *nisku's* of the *IM-RU-a* of Innana sent a ziga to Gudea, indicates that these animals formed a large and probably the principal part of the ziga's concerned. In addition, the *IM-RU-a* of Ningirsu according to the same principle of interpretation sends also *e r i n - b a₁₀ - b a₁₀ - r a*, "white cedars," and the *IM-RU-a* of Innana also *g u*, "plants," some of them perhaps as food for the workmen and some as fodder for the animals. In all these cases a rendering of ziga with "levy" will likewise fit the situation.

3. English "not only—but also" is here as elsewhere in Sumerian expressed by the use of identical verbs at the end of the various sentences, but of course only in those cases in which "not only—but also" refers to some part of the sentence other than the verbal predicate (i.e., for instance, to the subject, indirect object, etc., of the sentence). Compare the same expression of the phrase in the Akkadian *Narâm-Sîn* text, discussed in chapter ii (p. 37 under 7). While in the passage of this latter

time of its domination by the Guteans. It is a most notable fact that in the Gudea period none of the great cities of the northwestern part of Sumer or those of northern Babylonia seem to have been of any importance, that the liberation of Babylonia from the yoke of the Guteans was achieved by *Utu-ḫegal* of Uruk, and that the rebuilding of the great temples in the northwestern parts of Sumer and Akkad started only with *Zur-Nammu* and *Šulgi*.

text the idea "not only—but also" refers to the subject of the sentence, it here relates to the remote object construed with - a .

4. "His (i.e., the iššakku's) (own) land" evidently designates the territory over which Gudea ruled by virtue of his position as iššakku of Lagaš; it is here distinguished from the Gú-edin-na of Ningirsu and the Gú-giš-bar-ra of Nanše, which are the property of the deities Ningirsu and Nanše and normally therefore were, or should have been, under the administration of the high priests of these deities. From the fact, however, that Gudea is able to impose a ziga on the gú-sag which is a part of the Gú-edinna, as well as on towns and settlements in the Gú-giš-bar-ra of the goddess Nanše, which he states he himself built or founded, and especially from the fact that he designates these localities likewise as "his," it is evident that in addition to his position as iššakku of Lagaš he held also that of a kind of administrator of the two deities, at least for the portions of the Gú-edinna and the Gú-gišbarra just mentioned. Apparently the administration of these territories represented a kind of feudal tenure bestowed on the iššakku of Lagaš by the two deities.

5. The first component of g ú - s a g in line 8—as well as those of the proper names G ú - e d i n - n a - ^dN i n - g í r - s u - k a (l. 9) and G ú - g i š - b a r - r a - ^dN a n š e (l. 12)—is evidently g ú = *kišádu*, "bank (of a river)." In contradistinction to κI-A (l. 19)—which, as we shall see, denotes the swampy grounds directly adjoining the open watercourse of a river and likely to be completely flooded by a slight rise of the latter's water level—g ú , literally "neck(?) (of what?)," denotes the grounds along a river course that are above the latter's water level and therefore fit for cultivation. These g ú 's can naturally be irrigated only by means of canals or water ditches diverted from the river. In this connection it is quite interesting to note that in col. 11, ll. 4-17, Ningirsu declares: "On the day on which the true shepherd Gudea will start the work on my royal house Ē-ninnū, I shall call to heaven for rain clouds, that an abundance (of water) may come down from heaven and that in thy reign the land may receive three times its (usual) share of water; at the very moment the foundation of my house will be laid, the h e g a l (= the fertilizing flood) shall come! It will lift its hand(s) over all the wide fields and it will cause the water ditches to rise over their banks; (even) to all the ridges (of the fields), to which water has never risen, for thy sake the water will rise. In Kengi(r) (= Sumer) in thy reign abundant oil will be poured and abundant wool will be weighed." Of special interest for us just now is the statement that the flood or the river water will rise to places to which it did not rise before, the implication of this statement being, of course, that then it will be possible to cultivate much more land and thus to procure more food than before. This statement is important because it can give us a clue for the explanation of g ú - s a g in col. 14, l. 8. Combining it with the fact that s a g means "head," "high,"

"highest," etc., it is evident that *g ú-s a g* denotes the higher or highest-lying part of a tract along a river course ordinarily not inundated and therefore not swampy. Because of the difficulty of irrigating such a high-lying terrain it was presumably not cultivated before Gudea became *iššakku* of Lagaš, but according to line 8 of our passage Gudea must have succeeded in turning this land into luxuriant fields, either by building a new canal derived from the river at a more distant and higher point, or as a consequence of an increased rise of the yearly floods, more rain, etc.

6. The pronominal active subject of the passive participle (= *nomen actionis*) is expressed by means of the possessive or rather genitive pronoun - (a) *n i*, "his" (GSG, § 714).

7. Literally only: "made luxuriant." For *š á r* = *duḫbudu*, "to make luxuriant," *duššá*, "to make fat," and *naḫášu*, "to become rich, luxuriant," see Brünnow, Nos. 8217 f. and 8227.

8. The territory called *G ú-e d i n-a (k)*, "the river banks of the steppe," evidently is so named because it consists of cultivable tracts along a large water-course turning, on the side away from the river, into uncultivated steppe land. The name evidently indicates that there were *g ú's*, the "hinterland" of which was of a different character (e.g., swamps, or *g ú's* of another river or canal).

9. The possessive pronoun - (a) *n i*, "his," which expresses the English "by him," is placed only once after the additive chain "towns built and settlers settled."

10. While the first element of *G ú-g i š-b a r-r a* doubtless is again *g ú*, "river bank," the exact meaning of *g i š-b a r-r a* cannot yet be established with any certainty. If the name in its formation parallels *G ú-e d i n-a (k)*, *g i š-b a r* might be a place designation of the same general character as *e d i n*. Or is *g i š-b a r-r a* (< *g i š-b a r-a*) an adjective meaning "treeless," literally "from which trees have been removed (or are missing)"?

11. The antithesis is indicated merely by the change of the verbal phrase *z i-g a b a-n i-g a r* to *z i-g a m u-n a-g á l*.

12. The *ziga's* of lines 14-27 may be designated as voluntary inasmuch as they were not and probably could not be ordered directly by Gudea.

13. In the text the statements following the "while" of my translation are given in the active construction with "the terrible oxen," "the white cedars," etc., as their active subject. It is only for a practical purpose—namely, to facilitate the contraction of the various statements into one comprehensive statement—that in my translation the active construction has been turned into the corresponding passive construction. It will, of course, be recalled that in Sumerian—as well as in Akkadian—the passive form is used only when the active subject either is unknown or intentionally is not mentioned, while our passive construction with "by" before the

active (so called logical) subject is as a rule expressed in Sumerian by an active statement.

On the surface a statement that the "terrible ox(en)," the "white cedar(s)," etc., made a ziga for Gudea, may seem very strange. A levy in the domains of the three deities must of course have been ordered by the high priests of those deities or in certain instances, as we saw, by feudal lords who held property of the deities in fee. It may, however, be taken into consideration that the cylinder inscriptions of Gudea are poetical or semipoetical compositions, and that therefore statements of the kind we find in Cylinder A, col. 14, ll. 14 ff., must be regarded as permissible. Moreover, it must be realized that the composition—it is a kind of epic relating the construction of the Ningirsu temple Ê-ninnû by Gudea—is composed in praise of Gudea and that evidently for this reason the poem intentionally does not mention the name of any other person who likewise might have had some merit by his services or his interest in the great undertaking. The above mode of expression may therefore be the direct result of the desire on the part of the author of the poem to avoid mentioning any other man than Gudea.

According to my translation the simple form of *m u - n a - g á l* would be *m u (b) - g á l* with the meaning "they established," "they made"; compare the examples given for *g á l = šakánu*, "to make," in Brünnow, No. 2253. *M u - n a - g á l* cannot be meant here, of course, as "they laid (a tax, etc., for him [= Gudea]) on something (namely, the *IM-RU-a* of Ningirsu, etc.)," since this would require an infix *- n i -*, "upon it," exactly as in the *b a - n i - g a r* of the preceding paragraphs. Nor is it—in spite of the vocabulary equation, *GÁL | na-šu-ú*, CT XVIII 32 ff., col. 1, l. 30—possible to assume that *m u - n a - g á l* was intended as "they brought to him" or "they were brought to him," even though such a meaning would very well fit the context; for the objects of the ziga's actually were brought to Gudea to Lagaš, as may be concluded from the statements that the šurinnu's of the deities concerned marched at the head of the respective ziga's. The idea "to carry (something)" seems to be attached to the root *g á l*, at least in the Sumerian of the old periods, only in phrases such as, e.g., *X - d a a - n - d a - g á l*, "something is on one's person," in which the basic form is the passive-intransitive perfect theme *l - g á l*, "it has been established," "it exists," "it is (somewhere)."

14. The infix *- n a -*, "to him," of *m u - n a - g á l*, according to grammar and context, can refer only to Gudea, who for this very reason, of course, cannot be the grammatical subject of the verb form *m u - n a - g á l*. According to Thureau-Dangin's and Witzel's translations, the *- n a -* would take up again the preceding *IM-RU - a - ^dN i n - g í r - s u - k a - k a* (*- ^dN a n š e - k a*, *- ^dI n n a n a - k a*), which Witzel renders with "die Verwaltung (des Tempelgutes) Ningirsu's."

But this is, of course, impossible since the infix - n a - corresponds only to a preceding dative X - r a , the regens of which is always a person, while IM.RU. a - ^dN i n - G i r s u - (a) k - a k - a is a place designation modified by the locative postposition - a .

15. The logical antithesis brought out by the "not only—but also" of my translation is based on the fact that Ningirsu, the owner of the first IM-RU - a , was naturally more immediately interested in the construction of his temple than the deities Nanše and Innana. If this antithesis actually was intended, it doubtless was indicated in speaking or reading by a pause and probably by a vocal modulation of the opening words of the statement referring to the IM-RU-a of Nanše, different from that of the statement referring to the IM-RU-a of Ningirsu.

16. Judging from the fact that Sumerian 𒄠 - a , "yellow," appears as loan word in Akkadian in the two forms *ḥuššû* and *ruššû*, and that also the verbs *ḥašāšu* and *rašāšu*, "to become yellow"—evidently derived from a Sumerian 𒄠, "to become yellow"—show the same difference in the initial consonants, the sign 𒄠 (ROEC, No. 161) probably had two pronunciations in Sumerian, namely, ḥ u š and r u š . It would be quite possible that the difference in the initial consonant resulted from a different shortening of an originally longer value containing each of the two differing consonants; that is, the original root might have been, for instance, ḥ (u) r u š . For the contraction of this supposed ḥ u r u š to ḥ u š one may compare the similar shortening of the Sumerian word k u r u š (d) , longer form k u r u š d a , to k u š (d) , all three values being attributed in Chic. Syll. 174-76 (Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary*, etc., p. 21) to the sign *ušnutillû* in the meaning of Akkadian *marû*, "fat." The value r u š , on the other hand, may easily have developed from ḥ u r u š by first dropping the initial ḥ, a process which we note also in the development of ḥ u , "ten," to u , "ten," and subsequently dropping also the now exposed first u. In a similar manner the values ḥ u m and l u m of 𒄠 = *ši-i-bu*, *ši-ib-bu-u* (= *še-bu-u?*), *un-nu-bu*, *še-e-ḥu* (= *ši-i-ḥu?*) and *lu-um-mu* (see Hallock, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff., col. 1, ll. 1-23 and ll. 47-58), might likewise be basically identical, inasmuch as both may have developed from an original ḥ (u) l u m . The different shortenings, of course, could belong to different Sumerian dialects. On the other hand, since 𒄠 (or the passive-intransitive participle 𒄠 - a) is used for the writing of the two words *ezzu*, "mighty," "fierce," "terrible," and *ruššû* (*ḥuššû*), "yellow," "reddish-yellow," which do not seem to be related to each other, it might quite well be that ḥ u š and r u š originally represented two roots of different meanings, which (together, perhaps, with the signs with which they were written) were confounded with each other only in the course of time. The fact that Thureau-Dangin in Sumerian always transliterates the sign 𒄠 with ḥ u š seems to indicate his belief that ḥ u š rep-

resented the Sumerian pronunciation, while the value *ruš* derived from *ruššú*, which he apparently took as a genuine Akkadian word.

17. Entirely uncertain meaning!

18. From our passage it is quite evident that the IM-RU-a's of Ningirsu, Nanše, and Innana denote some kind of territory. It will be noted that the IM-RU-a of Nanše seems to consist mainly of swampy tracts lining the watercourses and it could therefore seem enticing to identify IM-RU-a with IM-RI-a = *rušumtu*, "swamp." But note that the IM-RU-a of Innana produces *nisku* donkeys, which could not be raised in swampland, since donkeys do not like to go into the water and especially since they show little resistance to humidity which, of course, is ever present in swampy regions. Moreover, since the passage refers to "the plants and the small and the big game that fill the *edin*," and since donkeys by nature are steppe and desert animals, it is evident that the IM-RU-a of Innana consists mainly of *edin*, that is, open land with seasonal vegetation, but not cultivated because of the lack of irrigation. Again of a different type seems to be the IM-RU-a of Ningirsu, which produces "white cedars" and which is the abode of "the terrible ox(en)," i.e., in less poetical speech, of cattle herds. This IM-RU-a may therefore have consisted primarily of pastures and woods or bushland. If IM-RU-a actually described a kind of land, it would therefore be a common name for all tracts of land not used for farming and gardening, including swamps, pastures, woods, and steppe land. It has already been mentioned that Witzel renders IM-RU-a with "die Verwaltung (des Tempelgutes) [Ningirsu's, (der Nanše, and der Innana)]." Although materially the territories designated as IM-RU-a, as has been shown above, actually are administered directly by the temples concerned, yet a reference to the (whole!) territory under temple administration, which, of course, would include among other possessions the large tracts used for farming purposes, must seem unwarranted. Unfortunately an etymological analysis of the term IM-RU-a does not yet lead to any unambiguous result.

19. Since the *ziga*'s of the IM-RU-a's of Nanše and Innana are headed by the *šurinnu*'s of these deities, one might naturally expect that the *šurinnu* heading the *ziga* from the IM-RU-a of Ningirsu be designated as "his (i.e., Ningirsu's) high *šurinnu*." Since *-bi* means "its" or "theirs" and not "his," the best solution of the difficulty is perhaps to assume that *šu-nir-maḥ-bi*, "their high *šurinnu*," was intended to designate the god Lugal-kur-dúb as the high *šurinnu* of Ningirsu and his wife Bau, provided, of course, that the *-bi* is not simply a mistake for *-(a)ni*, "his." It may be noted that while the *šurinnu* of Nanše and that of Innana are referred to simply as *šurinnu*'s, the one heading the *ziga* of the IM-RU-a of Ningirsu is a "high (or prime) *šurinnu*." This implies, of course, that there were other *šurinnu*'s of lesser rank and probably the subordinates of

the "high šurinnu." With this, one may compare the fact that in Cylinder B, col. 7, l. 22, Lugal-kur-dúb is designated as GÌR-ARAD - n i, "his (= Ningirsu's) šakanakku," while in the immediately following paragraph (in col. 8, l. 7) the god Kur-šu-na...^oĜU-A-AN is designated as e n - n a GÌR-ARAD - m i n - k a m - n i, "the lord's (= Ningirsu's) second šakanakku." From Lugal-kur-dúb's title šakanakku as well as from the statement that this god is to direct or to lead the battle of the divine weapons, it is obvious that he, and therefore also the šurinnu, which usually is translated "emblem," are in reality weapon-demons.^d

The šurinnu that is leading the ziga apparently represents the absent god or goddess; i.e., the presence of the šurinnu signifies the personal presence of the deity itself, even though the latter stays in a different place. The fact that the šurinnu's of Nanše and Innana march at the head of the ziga's sent to Lagaš therefore means that these goddesses quasi-personally deliver their ziga's to Gudea—of course, not simply in honor of the iššakku but, since the ziga's are destined for the temple of Ningirsu, primarily in honor of this god. Since Gudea has been charged by Ningirsu with the construction of the temple, this god, too, represented by Lugal-kur-dúb, delivers the ziga of his territory to Gudea. The delivery of the ziga's by the šurinnu's of the three deities indicates, of course, that it took place in a most solemn manner.

20. Thureau-Dangin renders the sign complex KI-A - g á l with "Quellen" and takes the rest of the signs in case 19 as an apposition meaning: "welche entspringen (= - è - a) aus (= - t a) den Öffnungen (des Bodens) (= d u s - g á l - a)." But springs or fountainheads do not exist in southern Babylonia! Witzel, on the other hand, explains KI-A - g á l as "Ort, wo Wasser ist"; nach dem Zusammenhang entweder 'Meer' oder (wohl besser) 'Kanal,'" while d u s - g á l, according to him, is a formation like ħ e - g á l, meaning "Hülle und Fülle," the whole, according to Witzel, therefore meaning: "die Kanäle, welche 'Hülle und Fülle' bringen," eigentlich: "mit (= - t a) Hülle und Fülle (= d u s - g á l) kommen (= - è - a)," oder auch: "welche 'Hülle und Fülle' auf dem Wasser (= a - t a) bringen."^e Almost all these suggestions are rather forced. Note, for instance, the rendering of - t a with "mit" in one of Witzel's explanations and with "auf" in the variant explanation; the rendering of è with "kommen," instead of "herauskommen," etc. Furthermore, would even a poet speak of a canal or of the sea as "a place where there is water"? To be sure, k i - a - g á l could well mean "a

^o ROEC, No. 41.

^d The actual or literal meaning of š u - n i r = šurinnu has not yet been established with conclusive certainty. Does it mean "the strong(?) hand (of a deity)"? Note that also the š u - m a ħ, "the sublime hand" of a deity, is conceived as a divine being, acting as a weapon of the deity and for the deity.

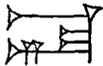
^e The Sumerian correspondences have been added by me.

place where there is water," but if this expression were to be understood as referring to such bodies of water as the sea or a canal, would it not include in its meaning the "Great River" or the "Great Canal" of the immediately following case and thus make the separate mentioning of this river or canal superfluous? All these difficulties will be avoided if we take the first two signs of KI-A - g á l, i.e., KI-A, as the well known Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *kibru*, "rim, bank (of a river)," "side (of a canal)," etc. Since in this and the next compartment also an I₇ (d) - m a ḥ, "Sublime River," and a - d i r i (g), "huge waters," as well as something "coming or rising out of the water," are mentioned, a reference to river banks or river rims will fit very well into the context. Since KI-A at least graphically seems to represent k i - a (-k), "place of water," or "ground of water," "watery ground," it cannot, of course, denote a high bank (of a river)—this is designated by g ú (= *kišádu*)—but it can indicate the low swampy tracts which usually stretch on both sides of a Babylonian river and which may be regarded as forming its wider bed. This evidently explains why the inscriptions always state that a city or town is situated not on the KI-A or *kibru* of a river, but on the g ú or *kišádu* of a river, for naturally a town will be built on dry ground and not on swampy soil. A rather difficult question is what the meaning of the appositional g á l (< g á l (-a)) after KI-A and DU₃ is. Since the passive-intransitive theme of g á l has the meaning "to come into existence" and in its preterit the meaning of our "to be in existence," "to exist" (< "to have come into existence"), KI-A - g á l (a) could well mean "the extant KI-A's," in the sense of "the KI-A's, as many as there are," "all extant KI-A's," etc. Such an expression would be quite understandable, since any change of a river's water level would change also the extent of its low swampy banks. Similarly the extent of the DU₃'s that rise out of the water would greatly depend on the height of the river water, and here again one could translate "the extant DU₃'s." As in 4 R 20, No. 1, ll. 21 f., where a n - k i - b i - t a d u₃ - d u₃ - b i - e - n e is rendered in Akkadian with *ša-mu-u ḥe-en-gál-la-šu-nu, ir-ši-tum ḥi-sib-šá*, DU₃ in our passage could likewise mean "produce," i.e., anything that grows in very shallow waters, as, e.g., the various kinds of rushes, the common and the giant reed, which were important building materials, etc. But since DU₃ is associated with KI-A, "the swampy river banks," it would perhaps be more likely that in our passage it designates some kind of a place, as, e.g., a very low river island, etc., to which "rising out of the water" would likewise form a good apposition. As far as I can see, however, there is no evidence, at least to date, for such a meaning of DU₃.

Whatever the specific meaning of DU₃ in our passage, there is a certain progress in the enumeration of the places that furnished the ziga of the IM-RU-a of Nanše, namely, from the river banks which, though swampy, might still be classified as land, to the islands or shallow places in rivers and other waters, and finally to the

lable *par* appears in the form , which corresponds to the Gudea sign  for *kisal* = *kisallu*, "platform,"² and since, moreover, in Syll. A (CT XI 1 ff.), col. 4, l. 63, to col. 5, l. 1:

𒀭 bu-ur	KISAL	<i>ki-sal-lu</i>
𒀭 li-el	KISAL	<i>ki-sal-lu</i> ¹
𒀭 ki-sal	KIS]AL	<i>ki-sal-lu</i>

one of the values of KISAL (= ) is listed as *bur*, it seems quite likely, as Thureau-Dangin points out in SA under Nos. 132-33, that the value *par* of DAG was due to a comparatively early confusion of the sign DAG and the sign PAR (= KISAL), comparable to the similar confusion, in Assyrian writing, of the sign  (= *na₄*, *i₂a₄*, *z₃á*, etc., "stone") with the sign DAG (under its more original Assyrian form ). Under the assumption that at the time of Gudea this confusion had not yet taken place, the signs at the end of case 20 should, of course, be read not *pàr-pàr* but *dag-dag*. However, although the facts just referred to prove that in the Hammu-rapi period the old sign KISAL (or a similar sign) appears with the phonetic value *par* and that with this value it forms a regular feature of an Akkadian system of writing of that time, they do not yet prove, unfortunately, with absolute conclusiveness that in the neo-Sumerian period the sign DAG had only the value *dag* and not also the value *bàra*.¹ This un-

² Note also that in the First Dynasty lists of phonetic values, RA IX 80 (cf. col. 3, ll. 13 ff.) and UPUM XII 1, No. 20 (cf. col. 4, ll. 16-19)—which list the then commonly used Akkadian signs or values in groups of three that agree in their consonants but vary their vowels in the sequence *u-a-i*—the sign group *pur*, *par*, *pir* appears as *pur*, , *pir*. The sign given in cuneiform writing has, of course, developed from the sign quoted above from UPUM V, No. 102.

¹ The sign *le₁* = KISAL (in the passage of Syll. A = , which in the meaning *kisal* appears as  in Gudea, Cylinder B, col. 6, l. 20) is doubtless basically identical with the sign *l₁l*, *l₁é₁* = *kir* (Syll. A, col. 4, l. 56: 𒀭 li-el |  | *ki-i-tum*), which, as Thureau-Dangin points out in ROEC, No. 423, is written , i.e., with the same sign as *é*, "house," in the inscriptions of Eannatum I, and with the various sign forms used for *é* (and *g₂é*) in the Gudea cylinders. Note that the Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian sign  (Assyrian also ) for *kisallu* likewise presupposes a sign like *é*!

¹ This theoretical possibility might perhaps be supported with the argument that, since both the Sumerian word *dag* (written with our sign DAG) and the Sumerian word *bàra* (written with the *parakku* sign) are equated with Akkadian *šubtu*, "dwelling place," the sign DAG, when

certainty is the more regrettable since in our Gudea passage none of the known meanings of the sign DAG in the late periods—i.e., as representing both *d a g* and *b à r (a)*^k—seems readily to fit the context except *b à r a = šuparruru*, “to spread out (something).” For *ḫ e - g á l - b i - b à r - b à r* (or *b à r - b à r a , b a b r a*), “which again and again, or continuously, spread out their *ḫ e - g á l*,” would to all appearances be quite an appropriate epithet to “the *I₇ (d) - m a ḫ* and the (other) huge waters.” It may be noted that it evidently was this seeming appropriateness of the epithet that induced Thureau-Dangin to conceive it in the manner just described. However, the weight carried by this seeming appropriateness is by no means such that it would make that conception reasonably certain. The question depends to a great extent on the specific meaning in our passage of the word *ḫ e - g á l*, “abundance,” i.e., on whether it designates the abundance-procuring waters of the river, etc.—this meaning is presupposed in the concept just mentioned—or whether it denotes the rich produce of the river, etc. There is even a possibility that the “their” after *ḫ e - g á l* refers not to “the *I₇ (d) - m a ḫ* and the (other huge waters),” but, as frequently does the Akkadian *-šina*, to a not expressly mentioned *nišē*, “the people,” i.e., in our case, to the inhabitants of that region. For the present, therefore, the reading and the meaning of DAG-DAG in our Gudea passage must be left in doubt.

24. The idea “itself” is expressed by the enclitic *- a m*, added to the complex *š u n i r - d N a n š e - k*, literally “it was (the *šurinnu* of *Nanše*), that . . .”

25. For this meaning of *l á*, compare *l á = šakānu*, “to lay (something) on something” (construed with infix *- n i -*); = *tarāšu* “to stretch out (a net, etc.) over something” (construed with *- a* [as in our passage], *- e*, *- š è* and *- t a*, “over”); = *šapāku*, “to pour (something) on something”; = *malû* (transitive), *mullû*, and *šumlû*, “to fill,” doubtless construed in the same manner as *si = malû, mullû, šumlû*, i.e., as properly meaning “to ‘fill’ (= pour, put) something into something,”¹ in German “(eine Flüssigkeit) in etwas einfüllen”; also com-

denoting the dwelling place of a deity, might likewise have had the pronunciation *bara*. In this case, of course, it would be necessary to distinguish in transliteration between *b à r a* (= DAG) and *b a r a n* (= KISAL).

^k In addition to *dag = naqāru* and *bara = šuparruru*, cf. DAG-*g . . = uzuzzu* (*é - a - d a g - g a = bitu ša ina mē izza(z)zu*, SBH, No. 60, ll. 3 f.); DAG-DAG = *nagāšu ša amēli* (CT XVIII 36, col. 3, l. 13); DAG-DAG = *tarāšu*(?) (SBH, No. 14, obv., ll. 8 f.); DAG-DAG = ? (SAKI 188i, col. 2, l. 12).

Compare also *š u d a g = rapādu*; *g á - l a* (*var.*: *g à - l a*) DAG-*g . . = naparkû*; *g á l - l a* DAG = *egû*; [. . .] *p à r* (or only *p à r?*) = *napalû*; BAR (*or*: MAŠ?) DAG = *ta-a-[pu]*! and BAR (*or*: MAŠ?) DAG-DAG = *tu-u-ṭpu!* (CT XVIII, 43-46, col. 3, ll. 48 f.).

¹ Note that the finite forms of *si* show either the dimensional prefixes *b i -* or *b a -*, “upon it,” “into it,” or the dimensional infix *- n i -*, “upon it,” “into it.” The grammatical text 2 R 11, col. 4, l. 63, however, correctly gives [i n] - *si - si* | *ú - ma - al - le*, “he fills,” since *b i - i n - si - si* would mean “he ‘fills’ (something) into it.”

pare Akkadian *ana qatēšu mullá*. Our *ed in - na - lá - a* therefore means literally "which have been 'filled' into the open fields" = "which fill the open fields."

26. Literally: "having a name."

27. For *AŠ-ME*, "disk," note the inscriptions on the small lapis lazuli disks, OBI, Nos. 58-59 and 61, in which Nazi-Maruttaš and his successor Kadašman-Turgu state that they dedicated to Nusku and (in one instance) to Ninurta, "*AŠ-ME* ^{aban}*uknî . . .*" (No. 58) or "*AŠ-ME* ^{aban}*uknî ib-bi*" (Nos. 59 and 61), i.e., "an *AŠ-ME* of (polished) lapis lazuli." There can exist no doubt, of course, that this expression refers to the lapis lazuli disk on which the inscription is engraved. Note, furthermore, the statement of the bilingual date formula of Samsu-ditana, Berlin 1200 (Messerschmidt, OLZ VIII [1905]), 270, ll. 4 ff. and 14 ff., that the king dedicated to Utu (Šamaš) "various *AŠ-ME*'s (= [*AŠ-M*]^m - *dil-dil-a*; in Akkadian *ša-am-ša-a-tim*, 'suns,' 'solar disks') of *dušû* stone, emblems (= *š u - n i r - r a*,ⁿ in Akkadian *šu-ri-ni*) which shone like the day,^o which were splendidly adorned^p with (designs of) lapis lazuli, yellow (i.e., pure) gold and *k ù (g) - ME(?) - a*.^q It will be observed that *AŠ-ME* is here a specifying designation for the emblem of Šamaš exactly as in the Gudea text it is such a designation for the emblem of Innana. In this respect it is quite significant that on the kudurru's, seals, etc., both the emblem of Šamaš and that of Ištar usually appear as a disk.

^o So restored by me in BE VI 2 (1909), p. 106, on the basis of the Kassite disk inscriptions and because of its translation in Akkadian with *šamšátum*, "sun disks."

ⁿ Note the form *š u - n i r - r a* instead of Gudea's *š u - n i r*. The word consists of the substantive *š u* and the adjective (participle) modification *n i r - r a*. The intransitive participle, which in the older period is written *LAL* (cf., e.g., *d u₁₀(g)*, "good"), since Samsu-iluna frequently appears as *LAL-a* (cf. *d u₁₀-g a*, "good"). Note the same development in the above *-dil-dil-a* for older *dil-dili* (> *didli*).

^o *Ša . . . nam-ru* (= pl. *namrú*) refers to the masculine plural *šu-ri-ni*. The expression is probably intended to indicate that the *dušû* stone, of which the disk was made, was polished.

^p Since the traces of the verb indicate a *šu-uk-lu-la* (i.e., the feminine plural *šuklulá*), the expression must refer to the *šamšátum*. The apparent stylistic unevenness of the text is doubtless due to the fact that the formula is abbreviated from a much longer and more detailed text, namely the royal annals.

^q The questioned sign is damaged in both Sumerian versions of the date formula and unfortunately also the Akkadian equivalent of *kù- . . . -a* in the Akkadian version is damaged. In Messerschmidt's copy the traces in the Akkadian text look like *kù-BABBAR mi-si*. Taking *mi-si* as a form of *mesú*, "to wash," "to clean," "to purify," Ungnad in RIA I 191a emends Messerschmidt's *k ù (g) - ME - a* to *k ù (g) - lu ḥ(?) - a*. However, according to Messerschmidt's copy there is not enough space for the sign *lu ḥ* and instead of *mi-si* one would of course expect *mi-si[-i]* or *me-si-i* (*me-se-e*, etc.). It is unfortunate that the broken passage, CT XV, 141, obv., l. 29: ²⁹[. . . -]DI? - a - ni k ù - b á b b a r m e - a g u š k i n = *lam-si-is-sa me-su kas-pa* [. . .], in which Sumerian *m e - a* is the equivalent of Akkadian *me-su*, likewise does not permit a clear philological explanation.

However, as pointed out by Thureau-Dangin in RT XXXII (1910) 42 ff., the vocabulary passage CT XIX, 32 f.: Rm 604 + duplicate AO 4489, col. 2, ll. 1-4:

še-ir	ša-[ru-ru]
še-ir-zi	"(= ša-ru-ru) NIM[-GÍR?]
AŠ-ME	"(= ša-ru-ru) šá [. . .]
4AŠ-ME-ME	bir-bi[r-ru]

equates AŠ-ME with *šarūru*, "bright light," "brilliance," "refulgence," "radiance," "lustre," "rays," and to all appearances this, and not "disk," was the original meaning of AŠ-ME. As a designation for the emblems of Šamaš and Ištar AŠ-ME, meaning "radiance," originally referred not to the whole šurinnu disk but to the pictorial representation on it, which on the kudurru's etc. shows a small disk in the center of the emblem disk, from which emanate usually eight pointed rays, as in the case of the Ištar emblem, or four pointed rays and four bands of undulating rays, as in the case of the sun emblem. It is, of course, this inner disk that represents the celestial body, i.e., the sun or the Venus star, while the outer disk is only the object on which the emblem is drawn. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that while the pictorial representations on the disk are outlined by raised lines (each formed by two parallel grooves), the emblem rim usually is not so marked. Especially note, however, that in DP I, p. 168, Fig. 379, No. 1 (Kassite dynasty); II, p. 93 f. (Kaštiljašu); VI, Pls. 9 f. (Marduk-apla-iddina); VII, p. 142, Figs. 139 and 451 (Kassite period); Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I from Nipur, Fig. 47 (Nabū-kudurri-ušur I); and VS I, Beiheft, Pl. 7 (Aššūr-aḥa-iddina), the Ištar star and its rays are represented not as drawn on a disk, but as standing free in space. However, it can readily be understood that it became the popular conception that the whole emblem disk represented the image of the celestial body, especially in the case of the sun which to the eye presents itself as a comparatively large disk.^r Since the emblem continued to be designated as AŠ-ME, this word would

^r On the kudurru's, VS I, Beiheft, Pl. 2 (Marduk-zâkir-šumi I) and Hinke, *op. cit.*, Fig. 47 (Nabū-kudurri-ušur I), this conception is expressly attested by the marking of the rim of the whole emblem disk by a raised line such as described above.

Like the emblems of Šamaš and Ištar also the crescent emblem of Šin on the kudurru's is usually represented on a disk, but in such a manner that it represents the outer portion of the disk. As a rule the outlines of the crescent are not marked by raised lines, this fact clearly indicating that the whole emblem originally consisted of the crescent only. If nevertheless in a few instances (cf. the kudurru of Marduk-zâkir-šumi I, just referred to, and King, BBSt, Pl. XCII [Marduk-balâṭsu-iqbi]) the crescent is likewise found with raised outlines, this is, of course, due to the same principle according to which, as just indicated, the outlines of the drawings on the disks of the Šamaš and Ištar emblems were thus marked. Note that on the kudurru of Marduk-zâkir-šumi I the crescent of Šin and the emblem disks of Šamaš and Ištar all appear with raised outlines. If finally, in the late periods, even the disk of the moon emblem has raised outlines, this indicates, of course, that the disk then was considered an integral part of the emblem, i.e., the emblem was conceived as the image of the moon in its first quarter with the rest of the moon lighted by the reflected light of the earth. On the Marduk-zâkir-šumi kudurru just referred to the crescent forms the lower part not of a disk but of a horizontally placed half-moon. The reason for this deviation, however, was merely the lack of sufficient space for a full moon.

thus naturally acquire first the meanings "the solar disk" and "the Venus disk," and in the course of time also the general meaning "sunlike object," "disk" (in Akkadian *šamšu*, "sun").

As has been indicated above, the Šamaš emblem ordinarily shows two kinds of rays emanating from the sun in the center of the emblem disk, namely, four pointed rays which with their broad bases rest on the rim of the central sun and which together form a cross standing on one of its shafts, and secondly, four bands of parallel wavy rays, each of these bands between two adjoining pointed rays. It is evident that the pointed rays represent the bright light that pierces the darkness, while the wavy rays are meant to indicate the hotness of the sunrays, which warm or scorch the object on which they alight. Since the Venus star sends no heat to the earth, but is noticeable for the brilliancy of its light, it shows, in the usual form of the Ištār emblem, only pointed rays which indicate brilliant light.^a Of these the star has eight, this number corresponding to the eight rays of the sun (four pointed and four undulating).^b It is interesting to note that on two kudurru's of the time of Meli-Šiḫu II, namely, DP X, Pl. XIII, No. 1, and King, BBSt, Pls. V-XXII, also the emblem of Šamaš shows only one kind of rays, namely, eight bands of wavy, i.e., hot and fiery, rays.^c

The emblem of Sin, the crescent, on the other hand, does not show any ray design evidently because its form does not favor such a design, but probably also for

^a Note, however, that on the Stela of Aššūr-aḫa-iddin, VS I, Beiheft, Tafel 7, in addition to its eight straight and pointed single rays the Ištār emblem shows also eight wavy and pointed single rays. To all appearances the damaged Ištār emblem on the Narām-Sin stela, DP I, Pl. X— it is the middle one of the original emblem group—showed the same design. These pointed wavy rays, of course, have not the same meaning as the groups of wavy parallel rays of the sun emblem (on the Narām-Sin stela to the right of the Ištār emblem); they probably indicate merely the flickering of the light of Venus.

^b The octad of the rays on the emblems referred to above—it is observed also in the eight beams of the DINGIR sign—is purely conventional and evidently was adopted merely for artistic and space reasons. Note, e.g., that the more elaborate Ištār emblems on the two stelae referred to in the preceding note as well as the sun emblem on the Narām-Sin stela show sixteen rays or ray groups, namely, eight straight rays and eight wavy rays or bands of rays. Moreover, on the kudurru of Nabū-šuma-iškun, VS I, Beiheft, Tafel 1 (and perhaps on the uninscribed kudurru, DP VII, Pls. 27 f.), the Ištār star shows only seven pointed rays, while on the kudurru of the time of Nabū-kudurri-ušur I from Nippur, Hinke, NBStN I, Fig. 47, it appears with no more than five rays. Since on the rock sculpture of Anubanini of Lullubum, de Morgan, MSP IV, Pl. IX, the Ištār star likewise shows only five rays, the design on the Nippur kudurru may have been due to eastern (perhaps Kassite?) influence.

^c In reality, of course, the bright and the hot rays of the sun are identical, their differentiation in the Šamaš emblem being only an attempt of the artist to indicate the double character of these rays as being both bright and hot. Obviously the author of the design on the kudurru of Meli-Šiḫu felt obliged to indicate the oneness of the rays. His choice of the wavy rays instead of the pointed for the representation of the sunrays evidently was owing to the fact that the hotness of the sunrays was the distinctive feature of the latter as compared with the rays of the other celestial bodies.

the material reason that the light of the moon impressed the human eye as being soft and of a steady and tranquil character, i.e., not like the bright and flickering light of the sun and the Ištar star.

On the Sumerian pronunciation of AŠ-ME not much of a definite character can be said to date. The fact that in CT XIX 32: Rm 604 + duplicate AO 4489 our AŠ-ME = *šarûru ša* . . . is paralleled by the reduplicating AŠ-ME-ME = *birbirru*,^v which is a synonym of AŠ-ME = *šarûru*, to all appearances indicates that AŠ-ME designates not just one single Sumerian word, but a grammatical chain consisting—if it is a substantival chain—of a substantive AŠ and a modifying adjective, participle, or substantive (in the genitive), ME, or—if it should be a verbal chain—of a participle ME with preceding substantival object AŠ. For the latter possibility one may perhaps compare the Ištar name ^dDele(= AŠ) - ba d, “the brightly shining or flaming one,” etc., and the name of the Venus star, m u l u - d e l e - b a d, “the bright(est) shining star,”^w in which d e l e - b a d represents the participle of the compound verb d e l e b a d, “to shine brightly,” literally probably “to let . . . rays, light, or radiance.”^x Especially, however, compare the reduplicating d e l e b a d - b a d, which in CT XIX 40 : Rm II, 414, l. 4, is rendered with „(= *napáhu*, more correctly *itanpuhu*) ša .[. . .], “to blaze or flare up (said) of the s[tars],” and which parallels the above AŠ-ME-ME = *birbirru*. Could one conclude from this that also the AŠ of AŠ-ME is to be read d e l e? Is this perhaps also the reading of the initial AŠ of the name of Šin as crescent, ^dAŠ - í m - b a b r a⁷ = *Namrasit* (= ^d*Šin šá ši-su nam-rat*, CT XXIV 20 ff., col. 11, l. 28)? In this case the compound(?) AŠ - í m, which seems to correspond to *šitu*, “the coming forth,” literally perhaps “das Hervorstrahlen,” might be a formation similar to AŠ-ME and d e l e - b a d (= AŠ - b a d). Could it be assumed, furthermore, that the sign AŠ, which consists of a simple horizontal line—originally, of course, perpendicular—was here meant to represent a ray? On the other hand, if ME was an adjective or participle of appositional force, AŠ-ME originally might have meant something like “bright or flaming rays,” “bright radiancy,” etc. For a meaning “radiant,” “bright,” etc., of ME one could compare the first component of the well known compound substantive m e - l á m = *melammu, milammu*, “radiancy,”

^v Note that also *birbirru* is a reduplicating word evidently deriving from *baráru*, “to shine,” “to give light,” etc.

^w In 5 R 46, 1, rev., l. 4, it seems to be conceived as m u l u (-e) - d e l e - b a d (= *na-ba-at kak-ka-bu*), “which surpasses in brightness all (*lit.*: the) stars.”

^x Or could the name have a meaning similar to that of Greek *φωσφόρος* and Latin *Lucifer*, “the bringer or giver of light,” which are designations for the planet Venus as the morning star? But note that also Diana is given the predicate *lucifera* and similarly the horses of the sun-god the predicate *luciferi*.

⁷ Written *BABBAR* and *BABBA₂-ra*. Note also the form *babri*, written *BABBA₂-ri*, UET I, No. 300, l. 11.

“splendor,” “majesty,” literally “hot or fiery rays” or “fiery radiancy.”^a If this combination of the ME of AŠ-ME with the me of me-lám is correct, the pronunciation of AŠ-ME would perhaps be de-le-me. It will be noted, however, that the me of me-lám functions as a substantive and that therefore at least theoretically the possibility that also the ME of AŠ-ME is a substantive cannot be altogether excluded. In this case the ME would probably represent the genitive me (-k), “of radiancy, brilliancy (etc.)”

^aCf. lám - ma = *em-mu*, “hot,” “glowing,” 4 R 24, No. 1, l. 12; = *em-ma*, BAV 640, l. 5. Note here the passive form LAL - a of the participle of the intransitive verb, which in Eme-sal and in the Sumerian of the post-Sumerian period is frequently preferred to the active form LAL used in the main dialect of the Sumerian periods.

STUDY IV

THE FORMULA OF THE 16TH YEAR OF SAMSU-DITANA

The Chicago Oriental Institute tablet A 7754 is inscribed with the formulas of the first 26 regnal years of Samsu-ditana, last king of the first dynasty of Babylon.¹ In this new date list the formula of the 16th year is given in the much abbreviated form: m u ^dUraš-en-gir-ra, "(First) year after (Samsu-ditana, the king, for) Uraš, the powerful lord, (. . .)." Two formulas of the same year—although, of course, not identified as belonging to the 16th year—have been known for many years from two business documents of Samsu-ditana's reign. One of these, the British Museum tablet Bu.88-5-12, 642, was published by Pinches in CT VI (1898) 23 c, while the other, a tablet of the then Relph² collection, was published, again by Pinches, in PSBA XXXIX (May 1917), Pl. XII, and transliterated, translated, and discussed by him on pages 96 ff. of that volume.

On the tablet CT VI 23 c the formula appears as m u Sa-a-m-s-u-d-i-t-a-n-a-l-u-g-a-l-e ²⁰dUraš-en-gir-ra, "(First) year after Samsu-ditana, the king, (for) Uraš, the powerful lord, (. . .)." It differs from the formula in the Chicago date list merely by offering after the initial m u, "year," the additional words Samsu-ditana, -lugal, -e, grammatically—as shown by the subject element -e after lugal—the subject of the whole formula statement. It may be noted, however, that the Chicago date list, although commencing every other year-formula simply with m u, begins the formula of the first year with m u Samsu-ditana, -lugal, -e. This fact means that according to the intentions of the author or copyist of the list the reader is to supply those words after the initial m u of each of the subsequent year-formulas.³ We therefore could quite correctly state that the date list and CT VI 23 c give an identical text of the formula.

A little more extended is the formula of the Relph tablet. Pinches copied it as ²⁵m u Sa-a-m-s-u-d-i-t-a-n-a lugal-e ²⁶dUraš-en-gir-ra ²⁷ŠA-KUR-KU-DA-na ²⁸DI-a-n-na-ra-a-b-bi-e-LÁL, which he transliterated

¹ The character of the tablet was recognized by Dr. Feigin, when the tablet collection of the Oriental Institute was catalogued by the various members of the Institute. The publication of the list has been assigned to him.

² Dr. Arthur E. Relph, then lecturer upon Dental Surgery at the University College Hospital Medical School, London.

³ The omission of the words is only another example of the general endeavor of the Babylonian scribes to condense their writings to the utmost limit by omitting all that the reader, by some thinking, could himself supply. On this point see my remarks in JNES I 271 f., 280 (top of page), 283 f. (+ nn. 88-89).

and translated on pages 96 f. of the PSBA volume as follows: ²⁵*šattu*⁴ Sa-a-m-su-ṭi-ta-na lu-gal-e ²⁶*Uraš en-gir-ra* ²⁷*šab*⁵ *kura*⁶-š⁷ *á*⁸-na ²⁸*silim an-na-ra-ab-bi-e-lal*,⁹ "year Samsu-ṭitana, the king, for Uraš, the powerful lord, in the heart of the land his power (and) the peace of Anu spread."¹⁰ Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II (1938), p. 191, under 275, again transliterated and translated the formula (for a practical purpose with omission of *mu Samsu-ditana, -lugal, -e*) as follows: ²⁶*Uraš en-gir-ra šà kur-ma*¹¹-*da-na silim an-na-ra-ab-bi*¹²-*e-a* (!),¹³ "für Uraš, den starken Herrn, der inmitten des Gebiets(?) seines Landes das Heil des Himmels¹⁴ verkündet."

In reality, however, the formula reads: ²⁵*mu Sa-a-m-su-di-ta-na, -lugal, -e* ²⁶*Uraš, -en-gir-ra* ²⁷*šà-kur-ku-da-na* ²⁸*šá an-na-ra-ab-bé-e-a*¹-*aš* (?), " (First) year after Samsu-ditana, the king, for Uraš, the powerful lord, who makes him attain the desire of his heart,¹⁵ (. . .)."

In order to prove the reading and the translation just given, we may first note the passage of the Sumerian Samsu-iluna inscription, King, LIH, Nos. 98-99, ll. 94 ff.: ⁹⁴*šà-kur-ku-da-mu* ⁹⁵*dingir-gim sá-sá-da* . . . ⁹⁹*sa-g-e-éš ḥu-mu* -¹⁰⁰*ri-g-eš*, and its rendering in the Akkadian version, Winckler, *AbKt*, No. 74, col. 4, ll. 15 ff., with ¹⁵*ni-is-ma-at* ¹⁶*li-ib-bi-ja* ¹⁷*ki-ma ilim ka-ša-dam* . . . ²²*a-na še-ri-ik-tim* ²³*lu iš-ru-ku-nim*, "to attain, like a god, the desire

⁴ Akkadian rendering of the Sumerian word *mu*, "year"!

⁶ Eme-sal value instead of main dialect *šà* (g).

⁶ The *a* of Pinches' transliteration *kura* (instead of the attested value *kur*) of the sign *KUR* evidently was added by Pinches in accordance with the theory of the so-called "overhanging vowel" believed in by Assyriologists of that time. As shown by Pinches' translation of *kura* as "of the land," the reason for the addition of the *a* was to have a form corresponding to the usual *kur-ra*, "of the land."

⁷ Sign *ku* of the copy (= Thureau-Dangin, ROEC, No. 409), taken by Pinches as sign *šè* (= ROEC, No. 403), formerly read *šù*.

⁸ Sign *da* of the copy taken by Pinches as sign *á* (= *m*).

⁹ According to Pinches' translation the line must have been intended by him as *silim an-na-ra-ab-bi-e-lál* or *silim an-na-ra-ab-bi-e-lál*. The sign transliterated by him as *lal* is the doubled *lal* (= *lál*), Brünnow, No. 10124.

¹⁰ Note that Pinches remarks on p. 98: "The translation of the date is uncertain."

¹¹ Sign *ku* of Pinches' copy read *ma* by Ungnad.

¹² The hyphen between the signs *bi* and *e*, which probably has been omitted by an oversight of the printer, has been inserted by me.

¹³ Ungnad's emendation of the *lál* of Pinches' copy.

¹⁴ The presumed dative postposition *-ra* evidently believed by Ungnad to have here the force of a genitive element.

¹⁵ *Lit.*: "who attains for him the desire of his heart."

of my heart they (= the great gods) gave to me as a present." Likewise note the unilingual Akkadian passages, Code of Hammu-rapi, col. 2, ll. 69 ff.: ⁶⁹*ša Īr-ra ru-šu* ⁷⁰*u-ša-ak-ši-du ni-is-ma-sú*, "(Hammu-rapi,) whom (the god) Irra, his friend, made attain his desire," and Nabû-apla-ušur, ZA II, p. 172, ll. 12 ff.: ¹²*qar-rad qar-ra-d[i-e]* ¹³*ša Īr-ra ra-šu-u[b?-bu]* ¹⁴*u-ša-ak-ši-du-šu ni-is-ma-su*, "the hero of heroes, whom Irra, the formidable, made attain his desire." The inscription, LIH, No. 99, which is inscribed in very clear characters on a limestone tablet, leaves no doubt whatever that the first four signs of the third line of the Samsu-ditana date formula, in accordance with Pinches' copy of the Relph tablet, are š à - KUR-KU - d a . Note especially that in the Samsu-iluna inscription the second sign, KU, is given exactly as in Pinches' copy in the characteristic Old Babylonian form, ROEC, No. 409, i.e., as LAGAB with one single horizontal wedge inserted in it. Equally clear, both in No. 98 and No. 99, is the last sign d a , which Pinches copied as such but which he read á . Both inscriptions finally corroborate Pinches' reading of the first sign as š à , the middle slanting wedge and the middle vertical wedge of which, according to Pinches' copy, must have been obliterated on the Relph tablet.

Unfortunately we have no authentic statement on the reading of the signs KUR and KU of š à - KUR-KU - d a . It is quite possible that both signs are to be read phonetically and with their most common values, i.e., as k u r - k u , but quite as well the rather unusual looking combination KUR-KU may have had a special phonetic value which, because of the following d a , might have ended with the amissible consonant *d*, unless—and theoretically this is equally possible—the *d* is part of the present-future element -e d.¹⁶ Even the fact that according to the Samsu-iluna inscriptions the Akkadian equivalent of š à - KUR-KU - d a is *ni-is-mat lib-bi*, gives us to date no clue to the reading and the explanation of KUR-KU - d a since the etymology and even the form of *nismat* likewise cannot be established with certainty. This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that this word is listed in Bezold's *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* in two different places, namely, on page 201 as *nismatu*, "Wille (o.ä.);" (from a root *nsm*), and on page 21 as (*nēzemu*?), construct state *nēzmat*, "dringendes Verlangen," from a verb *ezēmu*(?), for the permansive(?) of which Bezold gives the meaning "dringendes Verlangen haben(?)." Under the same verb he lists also *ezemtu*, "Wehklage," and *tāzemtu*, "dringendes Verlangen(?)," although on page 195 the last of these substantives, in the forms *tāzemtu* and *tāzemtu* and in the meaning "Klage," is listed also as a derivative of (*nāzāmu*) II 2, "sich beklagen," "Klage führen." It is not quite clear whether

¹⁶ In this case k u r - k u - d a might perhaps be analyzed as k u r (u) k - u d - a , consisting of a verbal root k u r (u) k + present-future element - u d (< - e d) + the element - a of the nomen actionis. On the other hand, since in the late inscriptions k u r appears as the ideogram for *kašādu*, k u r KU might possibly be a compound expression meaning "to wish or to strive to attain."

Bezold believed that there is some logical connection between the meanings "to wail" and "to desire (earnestly),"¹⁷ or whether he was of the opinion that the root expressive of these meanings fluctuated between *ʔzm* and *nzm*. However, it is obvious that Delitzsch's explanation of *ta-zi-im-tu*, etc., as a defective writing of *tazzimtu* (< *tanzimtu*), is more satisfactory than Bezold's reading *tâzimtu*, while the *tâzemtu* which Bezold on page 21 lists with the meaning "dringendes Verlangen(?)" may be entirely eliminated, since in all passages where it occurs a translation "wailing" will fit the context. Bezold's *ezemtu*, "Wehklage," which if proved would furnish the only plausible evidence for a confusion of the roots *ʔzm* and *nzm*,¹⁸ to all appearances is based on nothing else but Delitzsch's remark in AHwb, p. 37, that the word *i-zi-im-tum*, 5 R 48 f., col. 7, l. 21, means "wohl dasselbe wie (the substantive) *fazzimtu*," for which he subsequently gives the meaning "Wehklage." In reality, however, the phrase *i-zi-im-tum ka-ša-du*, by which in 5 R 48 f.—the text is a hemerology—the 19th day of Tašritu is characterized, offers no reason whatever for ascribing to *izimtu* a meaning "lamentation" or "wailing." In point of fact, a phrase "to attain a lamentation" would be quite unintelligible. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the 27th day of Tašritu and the 22nd day of Tebêtu have the remark *ù - m a s á - s á - a b*, "(favorable for) the attainment¹⁹ of a triumph (victory)," which in Akkadian would be *irnîta kašâdu*, it would seem quite probable that the remark *i-zi-im-tum ka-ša-du* means something similar to *nîsmat-su kašâdu*, namely, "attainment of (one's) desires," this remark perhaps denoting the 19th of Tašritu as a good day to attain one's wishes. Now if this could be conclusively proved (presupposing, of course, that 5 R 48 f. has correctly reproduced the original), one might actually believe it likely that our *ni-is(z/š)-ma-at* is the construct form of a substantive *nêzemtum* (< *maʔzamatum*). This assumption might even be regarded as strengthened by the fact that Arabic *ʿasama*, "to wish," "to desire," and "to strive," "to acquire," seems to offer a suitable root *ʿsm*, provided, of course, that the second radical of this verb is a samekh. But this samekh would disagree with the *z* of *izimtu*, unless one assumes either that the *i-zî-im-tum* of 5 R 48 f. is an old writing with *zî* in the meaning of *sî*, or that the Akkadian and the Arabic roots actually differed in their middle radical. The *a* of *nîs(z/š)mat* would be no unsurmountable obstacle to a derivation from a primæ root, since in the supposed original **nêzimat* it would be far enough removed from

¹⁷ Note in this connection the meanings given by Bezold under *šâhu*.

¹⁸ One wonders why Bezold, since he believed in a confusion of the roots *nzm* and *ʔzm*, did not explain *nîs(z/š)mat* as the construct of a *nîzimtu* from the root *nzm*. It seems almost certain that such a conception of *nîs(z/š)mat* originally was one of the reasons for Bezold's combination of this word with *tazzimtu*, etc.

¹⁹ In correct Sumerian the ending *- a b* denotes the 2nd pers. sing. of the imperative, but in the late post-Sumerian periods it is used as an infinitive ending (GSG, § 709).

the ϵ so as not to succumb to its influence. Nor would the elision of the short e after the long vowel \hat{e} in the preceding syllable be an obstacle, since it can be paralleled by other cases, as, e.g., the development of *bēlatum* (< *ba^clatum*), "lady," to *bēltu*. More troublesome, however, is the writing *ni-is-ma-at* for *nēsmat*, since at least in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon this would be written *ne-es-ma-at*.²⁰ It would, of course, be rather precarious to argue that while the noun in its absolute state remained *nēsematum*—the \hat{e} there stands in an open syllable—its construct *nēsmat* developed first to *nesmat* with shortened e , because here the \hat{e} stands in a closed syllable, and then to *nismat* with i instead of e . As far as I can see, the Akkadian of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon offers no other example for such a development.²¹

From the numerous conditions added to the statements in the foregoing it is quite obvious that an explanation of *ni-is-ma-at* from a root ϵzm or ϵsm cannot be regarded as proved and that therefore Delitzsch's conception of the root as a primæ n must be reckoned with in the same manner as before. Its great advantage over any derivation considering the initial *ni-* as the prefix *ma-* (or any other prefix) is that while such a derivation could explain the vowel of *ni-* only by devious and unprovable assumptions,²² no special explanation is required if the initial n is the first

²⁰ For the writing of the word *nismat* with *ni-* in that period cf. CH, col. 3, l. 1: *ni-is-ma-sú*. For *ne*, on the other hand, cf. *ne-me-qá-am*, *ibid.*, rev., col. 27, l. 3; *ne-me-lam*, *ibid.*, rev., col. 1, l. 9; *ne-er-lam*, *ibid.*, col. 5, l. 28.

²¹ The only parallel would be offered by the plural accusative *ni-ip-la-tim* of CH, col. 12, l. 54 (there dependent on *iddin*, "he gave") and l. 60 (there dependent on *itabbal*, "he shall take along"), if the assumption of Ungnad (HG II, pp. 121a and 155a) and of Bezold (Glossar, p. 25a) that this word derives from *apálu* were correct. While Bezold assumes the singular as *nēpeltu* and the plural as *nēplāti*, Ungnad reads the singular *nēpiltum* (p. 155a), and the plural *niplátim* (p. 25b). But neither *nēpiltum* nor *nēpeltum* can derive from *apálu*, since in this case, of course, it should be **nōpallum*. Moreover, while *apálu* in the code of Hammu-rapi has the meaning "to satisfy, pay (*lit.*: turn off) (a person, acc.)," and "to satisfy (a claim, acc.)," *ni-ip-la-tim* evidently has the meaning "excess," "surplus amount," "balance," "difference," such a difference arising, e.g., when two objects of unequal value are exchanged, or when a creditor seizes an object exceeding the value of the debt. Especially, however, note the existence of the verb *napulum*, "to pay the difference" (Bezold, Glossar, 202b: "als Zuschlagszahlung geben") and of the substantive *tappiltum*, pl. *tappilátum* of the same meaning as Hammu-rapi's *niplátum*, both the verb and the substantive occurring as early as in the Cappadocian texts. Like these words, of course, also *niplátum* is of the root *npl*, its singular consequently being *nipiltum*, i.e., a form like *bitigtum*, *libittum* (< *libintum*), *nidittum*, *ištum*, etc. Since the other Semitic languages show that the basic meaning of the root is "to fall," "to make (something) fall," the original meaning of *nipiltu* was perhaps "that which falls [off] (e.g., from an object made out of some material)," "off," "Abfall."

²² This fact likewise makes it impossible to conceive *ni-is-ma-at* as *nišmát* and to derive it from ϵm , "to become thirsty," even though "that for which one is thirsting" would excellently express the idea "desire," "craving," "longing." Note that Arabic *zamā'a*, "to become thirsty," as well as Arabic *ʿaṭīša*, "to become thirsty," is used in the meaning "to desire vehemently," "to long for"; that Hebrew *šāmʿā nafšī lēlōhīm*, "my soul thirsteth for God," Ps. 42:2, exhibits the same meaning, and that similarly Akkadian *hīšīhtu*, "demand," "desire," and *hušāḫhu*, "hunger," are derived from the same verb *hašāḫu*.

radical of the root of *nis(z/š)mat*. As far as I can see, however, unfortunately no known root *nsm*, *nzm*, or *nšm* seems to lead to the meaning required for our *nis(z/š)mat*. From this it will readily be understood that if in the following we transliterate—with Delitzsch, Ungnad, and Bezold (BAGI 201 b)—*ni-is-ma-at* and *nismat*, this does not indicate any decision as to the actual reading and the etymology of *nis(z/š)mat*.

The lack of a settled etymology for *nis(z/š)mat* unfortunately deprives us of a most effective means of determining its exact meaning. In order to come as near as possible to this goal we are therefore thrown back on the following general deliberations. The combination of *nismat* with the genitive *libbi*, "of the heart," on the one hand, and with the verb *kašádu*, "to attain," on the other hand, indicates that *nismat* must have a meaning similar or comparable to that of *šu(m)mertu* in the phrases *šummerát libbišu kašádu*, "to attain what his heart instigates (him) to"; or to *bīblu* in the phrases *bībil* (or *bīblat*) *libbišu kašádu*, "to attain what his heart carries (him) to," or to *mal(a)* in the phrase *mala* (or *mal*) *libbišu mašú*, "to attain what fills one's heart." All these expressions—and so also *nismat libbi* and its further synonym *nīš libbi*, "that to which the heart carries (someone)"—may be rendered with "the desire(s) (or, the wish[es]) of the heart." However, since the literal meaning of *babálu* and *našú*, the verbs of *bīblu* and *nīšu*, is "to carry," meant in the sense of "to carry along or to impel (someone to do something)," while that of *šummuru*, from which *šummertu* derives, is "to instigate," literally "to make someone apply himself studiously to something," "to make someone strive to do something,"²³ it will readily be understood that the *nismat* of *nismat libbi* need not necessarily have the basic meaning "that which is desired," "desire," etc., but possibly has some more primitive meaning somehow comparable to that of *babálu* and *našú*, "to carry," or that of *šummuru*, "to instigate," which produce the idea "desire," etc., only when combined with *libbu*, "heart." On the other hand, the fact that instead of *nismat libbišu* quite frequently the simple *nismatsu* is used,²⁴ might well indicate that *nismat* basically means "desire," "wish," or "plan," etc., but it would seem equally possible that the *libbi* was only secondarily omitted. Since Akkadian expressions to a very large extent imitate Sumerian expressions, it would correspondingly be possible, though by no means certain, that the meaning "desire" of Sumerian *kur-ku-dá*, too, developed from a more concrete basic meaning; but concerning this question our evidence is actually nil.

In the Samsu-iluna inscription the Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *kašádu*,

²³ Note the equations *s a g-DÚB* | ⁴⁴*šu-um-mu-ru* and ⁴⁵*s a g-DÚB-DÚB* | *i-te-ik-lim-mu-ú*, 5 R 16, col. 2.

²⁴ Cf. also the simple *izimtum* discussed above.

“to attain,” is *sá*,²⁵ the present-future forms of which seem to be built on the reduplicated root *sá-sá*.²⁶ It will be noted that *sá-sá-da* (< *sá-sá-ed-a*), as shown by the present-future element *-ed*, is a present-future infinitive, and it is probably for this reason that the author of the Samsu-iluna inscription uses for it the reduplicated *sá-sá*. It might seem very enticing to assume that the reduplicated root here as usual expresses the idea of a plurality or constant repetition of the action or a plurality or plural comprehensiveness of the object, since both “constantly to obtain the desire of one’s heart” and “to obtain the desires, or every desire, of one’s heart” would make good sense. But if it were so intended, one would expect that the idea of plurality be expressed also in the Akkadian version which, however, renders *sá-sá-da* with the infinitive *ka-ša-dam* of I 1. Similarly also in Reisner, SBH, No. 12, rev. 26: *ù-ma-sá-sá-a(i i a) - na = ka-šid ir-nit-te a-bi-šú*, the reduplicating active participle *sá-sá* is rendered with the simple I 1 participle *kāšid(u)*. If, finally, in the vocabulary CT XIX 17-19, col. 3, l. 8,²⁷ the reduplicated root *sá-sá* is likewise rendered with the I 1 infinitive *ka-ša-du*, it must seem quite certain that *sá-sá* does not express plurality, but simply represents the present-future stem of *sá*.

Although in the syllabary published by Dossin in RA XXI (1924) 178,²⁸ DI =

²⁵ For DI = *kašadu* (and its pronunciation *sá*) cf. the syllabary published by Dossin in RA XXI (1924), p. 178, col. 2, ll. 21 ff.:

Υ di-i	DI	<i>dí-nu-um</i>	lawsuit, etc.
²² Υ di-i	DI	<i>qá-bu-u-um</i>	to speak
Υ di-i	DI	<i>a-la-kum</i>	to go
²⁴ Υ si-li-im	DI	<i>ša-la-mu-um</i>	to be well, etc.
Υ si-li-im	DI	<i>ša-...-tum</i>	
²⁶ Υ [sa]-a	DI	<i>ka-ša-du-um</i>	to catch, etc.
[Υ] a-a	DI	<i>ša-na-nu-um</i>	to rival, etc.;

CT XI 44 : K 14938, obv., ll. 1' ff.:

[Υ]	DI	[.....]
^{1'} [Υ]	DI ₁	[.....]
[Υ]	DI	<i>šá-[na-nu]</i>
^{3'} [Υ]	DI	<i>ka-šá-[du]</i>
[Υ]	DI	<i>re-du-[ú]</i>
^{6'} [Υ]	DI	<i>ka-[u-ú]</i>
[Υ]	DI	<i>šu-u[l-mu]</i>
^{7'} [Υ]	DI	<i>šá-[a-mu]</i> , etc.;

and 4 R 30, No. 1, obv., l. 13: *ta nu-mu-da-sá = mi-na-a šá la tak-šu-da*.

²⁶ Note that in CT XIX 17-19, col. 3, ll. 6 ff.:

⁶ KA mu-un-da-a-b-e	<i>uq-qú-bu</i>	“to be at one’s heels(?),” “to be near”
LAL	<i>sa-na-gu</i>	“to draw near,” “to seize,” etc.
⁸ sá-sá	<i>ka-šá-du</i>	“to arrive,” “to attain,” “to catch”

the finite present-future form KA mu(-i)-n-da-b-e(-e) in l. 6 instead of the customary infinitive or root (= KA e) is given evidently in order to make it clear that the verb KA e is used only in the present-future tense. This makes it likely that also LAL and *sá-sá* of the next lines are meant to be taken as stems of the present-future themes. For the doubling of the root in present-future forms see GSG, § 446 c-e.

²⁷ See preceding note.

²⁸ See n. 25.

kašádu and $DI = \text{šanánu}$ are listed with the phonetic value $sá$ ($\Upsilon sa-a$), Chic. Syll. 89 attributes this pronunciation only to $DI = \text{milku}$, while it lists $DI = \text{šanánu}$ in line 91 with the pronunciation si_8 ($\Upsilon 'si-i$).²⁹ Since $DI = \text{kašádu}$ belongs to the $DI = \text{šanánu}$ group of the meanings of the sign DI , obviously the pronunciation $si-i$ of DI attributed to *šanánu* in the Chicago Syllabary applies also to $DI = \text{kašádu}$. The fact that this syllabary in its present form lists the value $sá$ only for $DI = \text{milku}$ and the value si_8 only for *šanánu*, of course, does not indicate that according to the syllabary the value $sá$ should be used *only* for $DI = \text{milku}$ and correspondingly the value si_8 *only* for *šanánu* (and *kašádu*). It must be recalled that the syllabaries as we have them now have been condensed according to certain principles. As shown by a combination of the statements of the Chicago Syllabary and the syllabary RA XXI 178, the original unabridged syllabaries actually contained the equations: $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{milku}$, $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{šanánu}$, and $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{kašádu}$. From these, however, the abbreviated syllabaries would select only one, i.e., either the equation $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{milku}$, or $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{šanánu}$, or $\Upsilon sa-a | DI | \text{kašádu}$, etc. Certain larger syllabaries, however, would register also the various variant pronunciations, as, e.g., the pronunciation si_8 instead of $sá$, and the most precise or, if one prefers, the most pedantic among them would do this by adding to the series of $\Upsilon sa-a | DI$ equations the corresponding $\Upsilon si-i | DI$ equations, namely, $\Upsilon si-i | DI | \text{milku}$, *kašádu*, etc. However, in order to avoid such a duplication of equations, a less pedantic editor of syllabaries would content himself with giving only the $\Upsilon si-i | DI$ equation that corresponded to the first $\Upsilon sa-a | DI$ equation, trusting, of course, that the reader himself would be able to supply the omitted equations. But in the Chicago Syllabary, which as a rule lists just one of the equations with the same pronunciation of the Sumerian sign, we notice in some instances the principle of equating the variant value not with the Akkadian word given in the preceding main equation, but with one of the Akkadian meanings omitted in that main equation. Note, e.g., in line 198 the equation $\Upsilon ul-ul | KIB | \text{kir-bé-ti}$ and in line 199 the equation $\Upsilon al-al | KIB | \text{me-riš-tú}$. Since $ul-ul$ and $al-al$, of course, are only different pronunciations of the same word—the list CT XLI 47 f. in line 2 gives only $al-al$, which evidently represents the pronunciation in the dialect transmitted by the scribal school in which the list originated—and since *kirbēti*, “fields,” and *mērištu*, “cultivated land,” are synonyms

²⁹ Chic. Syll., ll. 87-91:

⁸⁷ $\Upsilon d[i-'e_1]$	DI	$sa-al-gu-ul-tu$	$qa[-b]u-u$
$\Upsilon di-'i'$	DI	"	$d\bar{i}-i-nu$
⁸⁹ $\Upsilon sa-a$	DI	"	$m\bar{i}l-'ku'$
$\Upsilon_{[s_1]i-li m}$	DI	"	$\check{s}ul-mu$
⁹¹ $\Upsilon si-i$	DI	"	$\check{s}á-na-nu$

and in many cases logically identical expressions, the two equations actually stand for:

Υ ul-ul	KIB	kir-bé-ti
Υ ul-ul	KIB	me-riš-tú
Υ al-al	KIB	kir-bé-ti
Υ al-al	KIB	me-riš-tú

Compare also my remarks in JAOS LVII 35-72 on the relation between the Υ se-e | sî, Υ si-i | sî, and Υ su-u m | sî equations in Chic. Syll., ll. 120-23. The principle is well illustrated, moreover, by the different equations of the Akkadian words *zû* and *tezû* (both of the same doubly weak root) with the phonetic values be(d) and še(d) of the sign *ku* in Yale Syll., ll. 129-31, and in the parallel syllabary, CT XXXV 1 ff., col. 2, ll. 29-33, namely, be-e and še-e = *zû*, and bé-ed and še!-ed = *tezû* in the former syllabary, but bé-e and bé-ed = *tezû* and še-e and še-ed = *zû* in the latter. At least to a certain degree also the equations DI = de-e and DI = di-i (Chic. Syll., ll. 87 f.), sî = se-e and sî = si-i (*ibid.*, ll. 120 f.), etc., come under this principle, although some of them may reflect—though probably not in a very reliable manner—a different pronunciation of the vowels of some Sumerian words in the Old Sumerian period.³⁰

³⁰ It will be noted that with the reduction of the values de, di, sa, and si to di (or de) and sá, the Chicago Syllabary, like RA XXI 178 ff., offers only three phonetic values of DI. Syll. B : K 110 (CT XI 14 ff.), col. 3, ll. 51 f.:

⁵¹ Υ di-i	DI	di-e-nu
⁵² Υ si-li-im	DI	šul-mu

even lists only two values, but the fact that these equations are followed by equations with the sign sa suggests that the prototypes of Syllabary B had a third equation with DI = sá which, however, was discarded when the syllabary was condensed into a compendium to be used in elementary classes of the scribal schools. Syllabary A again offers three values, but with strange changes of the last two values. For the Assyrian specimen K 7622 (CT XI 6 f.), rev., ll. 14 f., offers:

¹⁴ Υ di-i	DI	sa-ra-r[u-u]
Υ sa-a	DI	sa si sa[ra-ru-u],

while the Babylonian tablet 40801 (CT XI 12), obv., col. 1, ll. 1 ff., has:

Υ di-i	DI	sa-al-gu-uf-ŋu
Υ sa-al	DI	"
Υ si-im	DI	"

Although broken at the decisive places the other Babylonian tablets, namely, 41216 (CT XI 11), col. 1, ll. 12 ff.:

Υ di-i	[DI	sa-a]l-gu-uf-ŋu
Υ sa-al	[DI	"]
[Υ	DI	"]

and 46287 (CT XI 13), end of col. 2(?):

[Υ di-i]'	DI	sa]-al-gu-ud-da
Υ[. . . .	DI	"]
[Υ	DI	"]

[Footnote continued on following page]

Instead of the simple verb *sá* (or *sá-sá*) = *kašádu*, our Samsu-ditana formula uses a so-called "compound" verb *sá du₁₁(g)* = *kašádu*.³¹ This statement will need an explanation, since the verb of the form *sá a-n-n-a-r-a-a-b-b-é-e* (to be analyzed as *sá a-n-n-a-r-a-b-b-e-e*), clearly is not

probably had the same text. A tabulation of the readings of *DI* in the various syllabaries yields the following picture:

Ass. S ^a	Bab. S ^a	S ^b	Chic. Syll.
di-i	di-i	di-i	de-e, di-i
{s a - a si	{s a - a l si - i m	{(s a - a) si - li - i m	{s a - a si - li m si - i

It would, of course, be very strange if the variations in the group of phonetic values with initial *s* were all due to scribal mistakes. As pointed out above the values *sá* (Assyr. Syll. A and Chic. Syll.) and *si₃* (Chic. Syll. and Assyr. Syll. A) are merely phonetic variants. While in Assyr. Syll. A the value *si* immediately follows the value *sá*, in the Chicago Syllabary the two values are separated by the value *silm*, a fact that can well indicate that *silm* is likewise basically identical with *sá* and *si₃*. Note that the *si-im* of Bab. Syll. A seems to be a middle form between *si₃* and *silm*, since it shows the final *m* of the latter, but not its middle consonant *l*. On the other hand, the *sal* of Bab. Syll. A adds to *sá* the middle *l* of *silm* without, however, adding its final *m*. It therefore seems quite probable that the original values of *DI* were only *di* (or *de*) and *sá* (or *si₃*). The value *sim*, if conceived as *si(l)m*—i.e., *silm* with dropped amissible *l*—could well be identical with *silm* (= *silm* with inserted *i* between the vowelless consonants *l* and *m*) and at the same time it would be identical with *si₃*, inasmuch as, e.g., the reading of the sign combination *DI-ma* as *sim-ma* can very well be conceived as a late reading of old *si₃-ma* (= *si₃(l)-ma*, grammatically *silm-a*) in the same manner as, e.g., *ti-la* could be conceived as *til₂-la* and *si-ma* as *sim-ma*. Correspondingly the value *sal* (Bab. Syll. A) can well represent the first part of *sal(a)m* conceived as a variant form of *sil(i)m*, namely, in the combination *sal-ma* instead of older *sá-ma* (= *sá(l)-ma*, grammatically *salm-a*). Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the actual cause for the change of *sa-a* to *sa-al* in Bab. Syll. A was the intention of a scribe to change the then antiquated *si-im* to *si-li-im*. Instead of inserting a *l(i)* between *si* and *im*, however, the scribe changed the *sa-a* in the preceding line to *sa-al*, possibly under the influence of the fact that the sign name of *DI*, *sa-al-gu-ut-tu*, began with *sa-al*. Nevertheless, this sign name should not be taken as an attestation of the phonetic value *sal* of *DI*, since the Sumerian prototype of *salgu₁₁tu* evidently is *sa-lugud*, "the short (or low) *sa* (or net?)," in contradistinction to the other *sa* which is called *sa-gid* (in Akkadian *sagitu* or abbreviated *gitu*), "the tall (or high) *sa* (or net?)." These names refer to the low form of the sign *sá* =  and the tall form of *sa* = , both signs, of course, seen in their original position.

It seems remarkable that the Assyr. Syll. A, K 7622, uses for *DI* a different name, namely, *sarar₄*, the Sumerian form of which very likely was *sa-ra-ra*, probably meaning "the clap-net," "Schlagnetz." This name, of course, does not prove the existence of an additional value *sa r* of *DI*. The phonetic value *sir*, given by Brünnow under No. 9521, is to be deleted, since the republication of K 7622 in CT XI 6 makes it clear that the sign immediately after *si* in the second half of line 7 is not *ir*, as read by Rawlinson in 2 R 4, l. 619, but *sa*, which represents the first syllable of the sign name *sa-ra-ru-u*.

³¹ For *sá du₁₁* = *kašádu* see Brünnow, No. 9542; Meissner, SAI, No. 7246; Poebel, BE VI 2, p. 15 (No. 39, l. 15); p. 16, n. 1; OLZ XVI (1913), col. 391; GT, p. 61 (HGT, No. 150, cols. 3-4).

sá d u₁₁ (g), but sá e. But the facts underlying the above statement are these: Both e = *qibû* and d u (g) = *qibû* are defective verbs, but customarily so combined that together they form a complete verb similar in this respect to Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre*. On the whole, the distribution of the two verbs in the active-transitive theme is this: The preterit, the ù - optative, which is built on the preterit form, the imperative, the g a - precativ, and the infinitive (nomen actionis) are taken from d u₁₁ (g), while the present-future and the ð a - precativ, which is built on the present form, are taken from the verb e. Note, e.g., in Brünnow, Nos. 531-32, the forms b a - a n - n a - d u₁₁, ù - b í - i n - d u₁₁, g a - a n - n a - a b - d u₁₁, d u₁₁ - g a - a b, d u₁₁ - g a - m u, etc., but in No. 5120 the forms m u - u n - n a - a b - b é, n a m - b a - a b - b é - e n, ð u - m u - r a - a b - b é, ð u - m u - r a - a b - b é - n e, etc., and similarly in RA XI 144 ff., double-line 32, the form ð e - r i - i n - e - š³² = *liq-bu-ki*. The same distribution of the roots can be observed in the "compound" verbs, the actual verbal part of which is d u₁₁ (g) or e. Note, e.g., in Brünnow, No. 355, and SAI, No. 7059 f., the preterit u₆ b í - i n - d u₁₁ - g a, the precativ u₆ g a - e - d u₁₁, and the verb noun u₆ - d u₁₁ - g a, to be contrasted with the ð e - precativ form u₆ ð e - r i - i n - e - š³³ = *lib-ra-ki*, "may they (= *nišé*, 'the people') admire thee," RA XI 144 ff., double-line 36; or in Brünnow, No. 533, and SAI, No. 8381, the forms (m f) i m - m a - r a - n i - i n - d u₁₁ and m í - d u₁₁ - g a, to be contrasted with m í z i - d è - e š ð u - m u - r i - i n - è = *ki-niš li-kan-ni-ki*, RA XI 144 ff., double-line 46; RA XII 74 f., double-line 28. Especially significant is the grammatical text, HGT, No. 150, the reverse of which contains a kind of paradigm of the Sumerian verb corresponding to Akkadian *kašádu*. It lists in col. 3, ll. 2'-5', the preterit forms (of the b a - theme, which in this grammatical text always follows the corresponding sections of the simple e - or b i - theme), s á b a [- a - d u₁₁], s á l a - b a - a - d [u₁₁], s á b a - e - d [u₁₁], s á l a - b a - e - d [u₁₁],³⁴ and in the immediately following lines the present-future forms, s á a b - b é - e - n e and n u - u b - b é - e - n e.³⁵ Only in texts composed in a more or less doubtful Sumerian will be found occasionally a preterit form exhibiting the verb

³² The -(e)š e of ð e - (i - e) - r i - n - e - (e)š e = *liqbáki* and of IGI.É ð e - (i - e) - r i - n - e - (e)š e = *libráki* evidently is a dialectical form of the main dialect 3rd pers. plur. ending - e - n e of the present-future theme. One will recall that a change of main dialect *n* to *š* in Eme-sal or in some Eme-sal dialect is found in *šermal* < *nirgal*, ⁴Šentur < ⁴Nintu (r), *ašer* < *anir*, *šemur* < *nimur*, etc. (GSG, § 83). Since one of the phonetic values of the sign NE is š e₆, the plural ending, even when it is written - e - NE, might well have to be read - e - š e₆ in Eme-sal or at least in certain Eme-sal dialects.

³³ See preceding note.

³⁴ The corresponding Akkadian forms, *ak-ta-ša-ad* and *ú-ul ak-ta-ša-ad*, *ta-ak-ta-ša-ad* and *ú-ul ta-ak-ta-ša-ad*, are broken off.

³⁵ Their Akkadian equivalents are *i-ka-aš[-ša-du]* and *ú-ul i-k[a-š-ša-du]*.

sá e, as, e.g., the form b í-i-n-e-e š (< b í-i-n-e-e š), "they declared," BE VI 2, No. 10, l. 10; "they decreed," *ibid.*, l. 19.³⁶

The verb root e of the compound verb sá e is represented not by the sign e at the end of a n-n a-r a-a b-b é-e—this sign represents the formative element of the 3rd person singular of the present-future—but by the e of the preceding syllable b é, the b of which, together with the b of the preceding syllable a b, represents the infixed accusative element -b-, "it."³⁷ While in the case of other roots beginning with a vowel coalescence of this root with a preceding consonant of a formative element is extremely rare, in the case of e, "to speak," it almost has become the rule. In point of fact the pure e, as far as I can see at this moment, is found only in Syll. B, col. 4, l. 45: ̄ e | E | q a-bu-u, and in the verb forms ̄ e-r i-i n-e-š e = *liqbúki*, u₆ ̄ e-r i-i n-e-š e = *libráki*, m í z i-d è-e š ̄ u-m u-r i-i n-è = *ki-niš li-kan-ni-ki* (all quoted above), and in KA m u-u n-d a-a b-e = *uq-qú-bu*.³⁸ For the combination of the verb root e with the preceding formative element -b- note, in addition to the forms quoted above, especially the syllabary statement, CT XII 21 : 93058, col. 3, l. 6: ̄ b i-i³⁹ | B I | q a-bu-u and the n a-b é-a (= *umma*) of the introductory phrase of Sumerian letters, as, e.g., in the letter of Lugal-ušum-gal, Thureau-Dangin, ITT I, No. 1058, compartment 5 (time of Narâm-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarri), instead of which the older letter published by Thureau-Dangin in RA VI 139 still has n a-e-a (< n a b² e a). For the combination of e with preceding -n- compare the forms b í-i-n-e-e š, s á b a-a n-n e-e š, and s á n u-n-e-e š, mentioned above. Coalescence with m finally may be observed in i m-m e (< i m-e (-e) < i m m i-e (-e)) = *i-qab-bi*, RA XI 144 ff., double-line 4;⁴⁰ g ù i m-

³⁶ The passive preterits, s á b a-a n-n e-e š = *ik-ka-aš[du]*, HGT, No. 150, col. 3, l. 6, and s á n u-n-e-e š = *ú-ul ik[-ka-aš-du]*, *ibid.*, l. 7, seem very doubtful, not only because they make use of the verb e, but chiefly because logically not the persons who are caught, but the nomen actionis "the catching," which in the active formation is the direct object of the verb d u₁₁ (g) or e "to do," "to perform," should be the subject of the passive form of e; in other words, one would expect a statement "their catching was performed" and not a statement—if we try to imitate it in English—"they were performed a catching." Apparently the student who practiced Sumerian on the tablet, or even his teacher or the school of teachers, thought that they could form the passive of s á d u₁₁ (g) in the same manner as the passive of the Akkadian simple verb *kašádu*.

³⁷ The doubling of this element is a purely phonetic phenomenon.

³⁸ See p. 94, n. 26.

³⁹ It will be noted that this b i-i is of comparatively late origin, since in the Old Sumerian period the sign B I designates b é, while b i is represented by b í (= sign nē). Cf. Kramer, The Prefix Forms Bé and Bí in the Time of the Earlier Princes of Lagaš.

⁴⁰ The context is as follows: "O Anu, thy sublime command supersedes (everything); could anyone say 'No!' against it (= u l-l a m u-l u i m-m e)?" The idea "against (concerning) it" (cf. in German: "etwas dazu sagen") is expressed by means of the prefix i m m i-, "on it." The Akkadian version has simply: *ul-la man-nu i-qab-bi*, "who could say 'No?'" It may be noted

m e = *i-šá-as-si*, 4 R 27, No. 3, l. 9; and g ù i m - m e = *i-na-ga-ag*, 4 R 26, No. 8, l. 9.⁴¹

The use of d u₁₁ (g) and e in "compound" verbs like s á d u₁₁ (g) = *kašádu*, "to attain," "to reach," etc.; š u - t a g d u₁₁ (g) = *zu(?)unu*, "to adorn"; u₆ d u₁₁ (g) = *amâru*, *naplusum*, etc., "to admire"; m í d u₁₁ (g) = *kunná*, "to take care of," etc., is still very difficult to explain. In view of the fact that the essential meaning of the compound verbs just referred to is conveyed by their first component,⁴² which evidently is a nomen actionis and syntactically represents the object of d u₁₁ (g), the best solution of the problem has seemed to be to ascribe to d u₁₁ (g) the rather indifferent and general meaning of "to make," "to do," "to perform." Delitzsch (SGI 146), even went so far as to combine this d u₁₁ (g)—which he distinguishes as d u₁₁ (g) I from d u₁₁ (g) II, "to speak" (p. 147)—with the well known verb d ù = *epêšu*, *banû*. This is, of course, quite inadmissible not only because d u₁₁ (g) (infinitive d u₁₁ - g a) and d ù (infinitive d ù - a) are different roots, the one ending with the consonant g and the other with the vowel u, but also because d ù = *epêšu* means not "to do," "to perform"—the Sumerians used for this meaning the verbs a k = *epêšu* and g a r = *epêšu*—but "to make (by hand)," "to build" (cf. also the synonym d i m, "to make [by hand]," "to manufacture").

To be sure, for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, it certainly is convenient to assume that the d u₁₁ (g) and the e of the compound verbs express the idea "to make," "to perform," "to execute," "to enact," etc., but at the present state of our knowledge it would seem rather rash to make a definite statement as to the actual or the original meaning of the two verbs. It may be pointed out, however, that if d u₁₁ (g) originally had a meaning "to make," the meaning "to speak" might quite well have developed from it.⁴³ But it would by no means

that the verb form i m - m e shows the same treatment of the prefix i (m) m i - as in the inscriptions of Gudea, for which it is a rule that i (m) m i -LAL (with no consonant of formative character after i m m i -) becomes i m -LAL, while i m m i - n -LAL in which i m m i - is followed by an n, merely drops the amissible n. This rule, by the way, is a most effective means to ascertain where, e.g., the active preterit i m m i - n -LAL or the passive preterit i m m i -LAL and the active present-future i m m i -LAL - e, etc., are meant by Gudea. The different treatment of the final i of i m m i is due mainly to the different stressing: i m m i LAL becomes í m LAL but i m m í n LAL changes only to i m m í n LAL, since elision of the i is prohibited by its being stressed.

⁴¹ For the context see the quotations on p. 107. The compound verb g ù e will, of course, belong together with a preterit verb g ù d u₁₁ (g), which is not yet attested. The usual Sumerian word for *šasá*, "to cry," and *nagágu*, "to cry," "to low," is g ù d é.

⁴² Delitzsch (*loc. cit.*) for this reason refers to the d u₁₁ (g) of compound verbs as their "entbehrlicher zweiter Bestandteil."

⁴³ Cf. the colloquial German phrases: "Er machte nur 'hm!'" and "Wie macht der Hund?" (= "Wie sagt der Hund?" = "What does the dog say?").

be impossible that an original meaning "to speak," "to command," was involved in some complicated developments, the outcome of which could very well have been the use of $d u_{11} (g)$ in the approximate sense of "to perform."⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, it must be regarded as likely that the root $e = qibû$, "to speak," in spite of its different writing, is identical with the root $è$; i.e., e.g., $a - b - e - e$, "he speaks," may originally have meant "he lets (a word) go forth," namely, "from his mouth." It will be recalled that this idea without any alteration is still fully preserved in the well known $[k a -] t a - è =$ Akkadian *ši-it pi-i*, "word," "uttering," literally "that which goes (or went) out from the (= one's) mouth," CT XII 38, col. 1, ll. 1 and 12.⁴⁵

Unfortunately Samsu-iluna's $š à - k u r - k u - d a - m u s á - s á - d è$ can give us no hint concerning the constructional relation between the verb $s á$, "to attain," and its preceding object. For not only does the object complex $š à - . . . - m u$ end with a vowel—a fact which must leave us in doubt whether this complex is conceived as an accusative or whether the final $- m u$ of the complex actually represents $- m u (- e)$, i.e., $- m u$ and the postposition $- e$, which, however, is contracted with the u of $- m u$ —but, in addition, the verb $s á (- s á)$ is in the infinitive, which does not combine with any prefix or infix that might shed light on the grammatical construction of the verb. It may, however, be recalled that $s á = šanānu$, "to rival (someone)," "to become the equal (of someone)," is an intransitive construed with the postposition $- d a$; i.e., the whole phrase "to rival someone" is $X - d a s á$. Similarly $s á = kašādu$, "to arrive (at something)," "(wohin) gelangen," must have been an intransitive, for the logical relation between $s á = šanānu$ and $s á = kašādu$ evidently corresponds to that between German "jemandem gleichkommen" and "an etwas (or: an jemanden) herankommen." In both significations the verb $s á$ basically—but very generally speaking—expresses the idea "to come or go or move to or toward something," while the distinguishing element of the two meanings of $s á$ is the construction of the verb, namely, in the case of $s á = šanānu$ with $- d a$, "with," corresponding to the Akkadian *itti X šanānu*, but in the case of $s á = kašādu$ with $- e$, "to," "at," corresponding to the Akkadian *ana X kašādu*. On the basis of these deliberations we could very well assume that the scribes of Samsu-ditana construed the phrase here discussed as $š à - k u r - k u - d a - m u (- e) s á - s á - d è$. A measure of doubt, however, is brought in by the fact that in conformity with a general tendency of the Semitic languages to replace the prepositional construc-

⁴⁴ Note, e.g., the relation of Latin *spondere* to *respondere* and *correspondere* and the relation between German "sprechen" and "entsprechen."

⁴⁵ The same idea underlies English "to utter," "to exclaim," German "(eine Ansicht) äussern," "(Schreie) ausstossen," "ausrufen," "aussagen." Especially note the German familiar language expression, "Er hätte dergleichen nicht aus seinem Munde sollen gehen lassen."

tion of much used intransitives by the construction with the accusative,⁴⁶ Akkadian *kašádu*, though in its meaning "to arrive at" still construed with *ana*, in its meaning "to attain" (< "to arrive at") is construed with the accusative.⁴⁷ This construction with the accusative could easily have been applied also to the Sumerian verb *s á* = *kašádu* by the Akkadian scribes. Since, however, this deviation from the correct construction of *s á* cannot be proved, it is, of course, methodically much better to assume that they did know the correct construction and that it is used in the Samsu-iluna inscription.

For the explanation of the Samsu-ditana date formula the question just discussed is in reality of no immediate importance. For since our date formula instead of the simple verb *s á* = *kašádu* uses the compound verb *s á d u₁₁ (g)*, *s á e*, it must, as I have pointed out on various occasions, take its logical object not in the case required by the simple verb, but in the locative case, which is expressed by the postposition *- e*, "at," or by the postposition *- a*, "in," "on." The construction with *- a*, which seems to be a peculiarity of the Sumerian of the second half of the Hammu-rapi dynasty, is illustrated by the *š à - KUR-KU - d a - n a s á a n - n a - r a - a b - b é - e* of our formula, the first part of which is to be analyzed as *š à - KUR-KU - d a*, "desire of the heart," + *- (a) n (i)*, "his," + *- a* "on." As I likewise have pointed out on several occasions, the reason for the construction with the locative is that compound verbs of the type of our *s á d u₁₁ (g)*, *s á e*, express the idea "to perform an action on something." Furthermore, I have pointed out that the locative in such a case virtually expresses the idea of a genitive, so that the phrase here discussed may be translated "he achieves the attainment of his heart's desire."

As a rule the locative, at least when it forms an integral part of a verbal phrase, is taken up again in the verb form by an infix or prefix expressing the idea "on it." It is for this reason that, e.g., in the well known date formula of Hammu-rapi's 31st year, the verb form of the statement *š u - n i s á b í - i n - d u₁₁*, "his hand captured (King Rám-Sin)," is construed with the prefix *b í -*, which, in addition to the verbal function expressed by the simple prefix *i - (e -)*, conveys the idea "upon it." As a matter of fact, if the author of our Samsu-ditana date formula had intended to state no more than "he attains the desire of his heart," he would similarly have said (*š à - KUR-KU - d a - n a*) *s á b í - i b - e* = "he performs (= *i - b - e - e*) the attaining (= *s á*) upon it (= *b i -*)," namely, on the desire of his heart. According to GSG, § 588, however, the prefix *b i -* does not combine with any dimensional infix and therefore is replaced by the simple prefixes *i - (a -)* or *m u -*, whenever it is necessary to insert such a dimensional

⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion of this tendency see my forthcoming publication, *The Prel in the Historical Development of the Semitic Verb System*.

⁴⁷ Note that also *šanánu* appears in this construction.

infix. It is for this reason that our *a n - n a - r a - a b - b é - e*, which inserts the infixes *- n a -* and *- r a -*, has the simple verb form *a - b - e - e* instead of *b í - b - e - e*.

Although the translation of the relative clause *š à - k u r - k u - d a - n a s á a n - n a - r a - a b - b é - e - a* with "who (= the god Uraš) attains for him (= dative infix *- n a -*, referring to King Samsu-ditana) his (= Samsu-ditana's) heart's desire" makes perfectly good sense, it nevertheless needs some comment in view of the fact that all Akkadian parallel passages offer as its equivalent not the phrase **ša nismat libbišu ikšudušum*, but in all instances a causative phrase such as, e.g., *ša Īr-ra . . . ú-ša-ak-ši-du ni-is-ma-sú*, CH, col. 2, ll. 69 f. plus col. 3, l. 1; *ša Īr-ra . . . ú-ša-ak-ši-du-šu ni-is-ma-su*, Nabû-apla-ušur, ZA II 172, ll. 13 f., "whom Irra . . . made attain his desire"; *ša bi-ib-lat⁴⁸ lib-bi-šu⁴⁹ 4Enlil⁵⁰ ú-še-ik⁵¹-ši-du-šu*, "whom Enlil let attain the wish of his heart," Aššûr-nâšir-apli III, 1 R 17 ff., col. 1, l. 39; and *a-di . . . u-šak-ša-du ſu(-um)-me-rat lib-bi-ka*, "until . . . I let (thee) attain the wishes of thy heart," Aššûr-bâni-apli, George Smith, History of Assurbanipal, p. 125, ll. 67 f. Note also such passages containing the participle of *kašâdu* III as, e.g., *4Šamaš . . . mu-šak-šid ir-nit-ti-za*, "Šamaš, who makes (me) attain my victory," Cylinder Inscription of Šarru-kîn II, Lyon, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, pp. 1 ff., l. 43, and *ù - m a - n a s [á - . . .] = mu-šak-šid ir-ni[-it-ti-šu]*, "who made (him) attain his victory," 4 R 12, obv., ll. 5 ff. For this reason we could well expect that the Sumerian phrase of the Samsu-ditana date formula was considered by the Akkadian scribe somehow to represent the equivalent of Akkadian *ušakšid*. But there is nothing in the form *s á a n - n a - r a - a b - b é - e* that could give the basic form *s á a b - b é - e*, which means "he attains" and therefore corresponds to Akkadian *ikaššad*, a causative meaning. For neither the insertion of the infix *- n a -*, "to him," nor the insertion of the infix *- r a -*, which will be discussed below, could in any manner produce such a change in the meaning of the verbal form. As a matter of fact, the Sumerian verb system does not have any special form expressive of the causative idea that could be compared with the causative formations of the Semitic verb systems. To be sure, each active-transitive form (as, e.g., the active-transitive preterit *i - n - LAL*) can be conceived as expressing the causative idea of the passive-intransitive theme *i - LAL*, especially in those cases in which the root might seem to have a basically intransitive meaning. For instance, if the root *è*, as customary, is believed to express basically the idea "to go out" as in the passive-intransitive form *b a - r a - è*, "he went out," the active-transitive form *i - b - t a - n - è*, "he brought or led or forced (him) out (of something)," can be regarded as the causative of *b a - r a - è*. But such a conception is highly subjective; in reality the verb root in Sumerian is,

⁴⁸ Var. *bi-bil*.

⁵⁰ d  .

⁴⁹ Var. *libbi-šu*.

⁵¹ Var. *-šak-*.

at least basically or originally, quite indifferent to any voice conception, this conception actually being conveyed exclusively by the active-transitive or the passive-intransitive form of the verb chain. But whatever conception of the verb root for this or that reason may be preferred, it has no significance whatever for the problem of a possible causative of *s á d u₁₁ (g)*, *s á e*, "to attain"; for the actual verb *d u₁₁ (g)* or *e*, "to achieve," of this compound verb is itself transitive or causative, since it governs the accusative object *s á*, "the attaining," and especially since the verb *e* (= *qibû*, etc.) to all appearances, as we have seen, is itself the transitive-causative of *è*, "to go out," meaning "to utter (something)." If our *s á a n - a n - r a - a b - b é - e* were to be conceived as the direct equivalent of Akkadian *uškšad*, "he makes (someone) attain (something)," it would therefore be necessary to prove that it could be understood as doubly causative, i.e., as a causative of the causative of the intransitive form *b a - r a - è*.

As shown by the final stages of Latin, Greek, English, German, etc., a language can do very well without a special causative form as an integral part of its verb system. Latin in many cases simply neglects to express the causative idea, using, e.g., *interfecit* both for "he killed (him)" and for "he had him killed." But where it is necessary to express the causative idea, Latin can do it by some circumlocution as, e.g., by the phrase "he ordered someone to do something." Similarly, German uses for that purpose the verb "lassen" as in "er liess ihn den Schaden wiedergutmachen." Where possible, Sumerian likewise leaves the causative idea unexpressed but, like Latin, Greek, etc., it is not destitute of means to express it where necessary, quite apart from the fact mentioned above that the active-transitive form provides a suitable form of expressing the causative idea of the intransitive. It can readily be imagined that a post-Sumerian scribe who had to translate into Sumerian an Akkadian text containing the causative form of an Akkadian active-transitive verb might have wished to do so without deviating too much from the Akkadian original. In such a situation evidently was the author of the Sumerian version of the date formula of Samsu-ditana's 16th year. For considering that Sumerian at Samsu-ditana's time had ceased to be a spoken language in Babylonia for several centuries, it must be taken for granted that our Samsu-ditana date formula—as well as Samsu-ditana's religious title "whom Uraš lets attain his heart's desire," to which the date formula statement doubtless alludes—was first conceived in Akkadian and therefore actually had to be translated into Sumerian. The translator found a solution of the problem of rendering the causative form *uškšad* by the following simple deliberation. The statement that Uraš makes or lets Samsu-ditana attain the object of his wishes implies, of course, that the success of Samsu-ditana basically was the work of the god and that therefore in the last analysis the god attained for the king what the latter desired. This is exactly what the date formula states.

Like our date formula passage also the passage in the Samsu-iluna inscription, LIH, Nos. 98-99, ll. 94 ff., which we have discussed as a parallel to our Samsu-ditana date formula, must be regarded from the viewpoint of the problem of rendering in Sumerian the causative form of an Akkadian active-transitive verb. In this passage Samsu-iluna tells us that as a reward⁵² for his having rebuilt six cities belonging to certain deities, the great gods "forsooth, gave me, as a present, the attaining of the desire(s) of my heart like a god": ⁹⁴š à - KUR-KU - d a - m à ⁹⁵dingir-gim s á - s á - d a ⁹⁹s a g - e - é š ħ u - m u - r i g ₅ - e š . The phraseology of this statement must impress us as rather tortuous, and the many Akkadian passages quoted in the foregoing clearly show that under ordinary circumstances the Akkadian inhabitants of Babylonia would express the same thought in much simpler language by *nismat libbiā kima ilim lu ušakšidūninni*. We shall, however, readily understand the tortuousness of the expression "he gave to me as a present the attaining" when we realize that this phrase represents another attempt to express with the available means of the Sumerian language the idea conveyed by the Akkadian causative *šukšudu*, "to let (someone) attain (something)." It will be observed that the verb "to let (or to make)," which English uses as the vehicle of the causative idea, is here expressed by means of the verbal phrase "to give as a present." It may be noted also that the build of the phrase s á - s á - (e) d - a s a g - e - é š m u (- i - ² - e - n) - r i g ₅ closely corresponds to that of the phrase s á a - n n - a - r a - b (b) - e - e . Most interesting, however, is the fact that the Akkadian version of the Samsu-iluna inscription faithfully follows the Sumerian version with its ¹⁵*ni-is-ma-at* ¹⁶*li-ib-bi-ia* ¹⁷*ki-ma ilim ka-ša-dam* ²²*a-na še-ri-ik-tim* ²³*lu iš-ru-ku-nim* instead of the shorter *ni-is-ma-at li-ib-bi-ia u-ša-ak-ši-du-nin-ni*. This is entirely in accord with the axiom that in the case of bilingual inscriptions the Sumerian version represents the theoretical original while the Akkadian version represents only a more or less literal translation.⁵³ At the same time it serves as a further illustration of the observation, which can be made almost everywhere, namely, that the language of the Akkadian inscriptions in almost all particulars copies the phraseology of the Sumerian inscriptions.

⁵² Cf. l. 84: *ħur-šè-am*, "because of that."

⁵³ This axiom is illustrated in a very obvious manner by the fact that the Akkadian version is always placed below the Sumerian version. This principle is well known from tablets of relatively late periods containing a Sumerian text with interlinear Akkadian translation. But the same principle can be observed in the arrangement of the columns containing the Sumerian and the Akkadian version. In the later vertical arrangement the Akkadian column is always to the right of the Sumerian, this meaning, of course, that in the older horizontal arrangement of the columns (or rather bands of writing) the Akkadian column had its place underneath the Sumerian column. Note, furthermore, that on the tablet OLZ VIII (1905) 269 f., which gives the Sumerian and the Akkadian text of the date formula of the 7th year of Samsu-ditana, the Akkadian version, introduced by *ak-ka-du-ša*, "its (= the Sumerian version's) Akkadian (version)," follows the Sumerian version.

It will not be amiss here to cast a glance at the passage *ir-ni-ti* ^d*Marduk e-li-iš* *ù ša-ap-li-iš ik-šu-ud*, "he (= Hammu-rapi) attained Marduk's triumph above and below," in the Code of Hammu-rapi, rev., col. 25, ll. 28-31. This phrase resembles the phrase "he (= Uraš) attained for him (= Samsu-ditana) the desires of his heart" of our Samsu-ditana date formula, the difference consisting merely in the omission of the dative "for him (= for Marduk)," which seems unnecessary since the *irnittu* which Hammu-rapi obtained is defined as the triumph of the god. In a logically more direct manner the idea conveyed in this phrase could have been expressed by the statement that "Hammu-rapi made or let Marduk triumph above and below," but the king, although he writes in Akkadian, prefers to use the Sumerian equivalent of the Akkadian causative expression. This could well be explained by the fact that the author of the epilogue of the Code inscription tries to give its language an archaic coloring. It will be noted, however, that the phrase "he obtained Marduk's triumph" sounded considerably more respectful than would the statement "The king made or let the god gain the victory,"⁵⁴ and doubtless it was, in the main, for this reason that Hammu-rapi used the Sumerian phrase.

In § 497 of my Sumerian grammar I suggested for the infix *-ra-* a meaning "away (from something)," "out (of something)," on the strength of the observation that this prefix is found almost exclusively in verb forms the roots of which either by themselves or in combination with the infix *-ra-* denote some kind of separation (as, e.g., the roots *è*, "to go out," *dal*, "to fly (away)," *dib*, "to take (away)," "to take (out)"). Apparently this infix originally represented a chain *-b-ra-* which, judging from the meaning of the postposition *-ra* in the historical periods, may originally have meant "toward it," but later was used as an ossified infix of the meaning of the German adverb "hin." Its final meaning "away," "out," etc., would then have been due merely to its customary combination with certain verbs of separation and probably developed over an intermediate meaning corresponding to the German "hinweg," "hinaus," etc. For such an origin of *-ra-* note, e.g., the similar development of the meaning of German "dahin" and "hin" in the verbal compounds "dahinscheiden," "dahinschwinden," "dahinsiechen," "dahinwelken," "hinschmachten" (= "to pine or waste away"), "hinschwinden" (= "to pass or dwindle or fade away"), etc. As may be seen from the passages quoted in § 497 of my grammar, the inserted *-ra-* in the late inscriptions actually functions as an infix taking up again a dimensional *-ta-* chain, as, e.g., in *é-ta ba-ra-è*, "er ist aus dem Hause (= der Familie) ausgeschieden." If, as suggested above, the verb *e*, "to speak," is basically identical with the verb *è*, "to put forth or out" (which is the transitive of *è*, "to go forth

⁵⁴ The above will become quite obvious by the following paraphrase of ll. 25-31: "(Reverently) bowing (= in reverent obedience) to the word of Marduk, he obtained Marduk's triumph above and below."

or out”), its combination with the infix - r a -, “out (of it),” in our a n - n a - r a - a b - b é - e hardly needs further explanation and may even be taken as corroboration of the basic identity of e = *qibû* and è = *ašû*. In its combination with this e, è, the “out of it” will, of course, originally have taken up again the dimensional expression k a - t a, “out of the (= his) mouth,” of the original phrase k a - t a è, “to let go out of one’s mouth,” from which the verb e, “to utter,” “to say,” etc. developed.

In this connection I wish to call attention to the passage 4 R 27, No. 3, ll. 3 ff., which contains the only other extant verb form—as far as I can recall at this moment—with the infix combination - (n) n a - r a - :

³d i n g i r - n í - b a - g é - a r ḫ u š - s ù á b - g i m g ù i m - m e ⁵⁵
 a - n i r - ⁴g e₁₇ - g a m u - u n - n a - r a - a b - g á - g á
⁵a - n a i l i - š ú r e - m e - n i - i k i - m a l i t - t i i - š á - a s - s i
⁶mar - ši - i š u š - t a n - n a - a ḫ

and to its parallel passage, 4 R 26, No. 8, ll. 9 ff.:

⁹d i n g i r - n í - b a - g é - a r ḫ u š - s ù á b - g i m g ù i m - m e ⁵⁵
¹⁰a - n a i l i - š u r e - m i - n i - i k i - m a l i t - t i i - n a - g a - a g
¹¹a - n i r g e₁₇ - g a - b i b a - d a - r a - a b - g á - g á
¹²t a - n i - ḫ a m a r - š a - a m i š - t a - n a - k a - a n
 “To his god, the merciful, like a cow he shouts (lows),
 a painful groaning he utters toward him (again and again)
 (var.: painfully he groans to him).”

In these texts the verbal phrases a n i r m u n n a r a b g a g a and a n i r b a d a r a b g a g a are translated into Akkadian with *uštannaḫ*, “he groans,” and with *tāniḫa ištanakan*, “he continuously emits a groaning.”⁵⁶ The verb g a r,

⁵⁵ Grammatically analyzed i m m (i -) e (-e) (= prefix i m m i + root e, “to shout” + personal element of the 3rd pers. sing. of the active present-future theme, -e). Concerning the contraction to i m m e see p. 99, n. 40.

⁵⁶ It is interesting to observe that the Akkadian *ta-ni-ḫa mar-ša-am iš-ta-na-ka-an* of 4 R 26, No. 8, is decidedly a better translation of the a - n i r - g e₁₇ - g a m u - u n - n a - r a - a b - g á - g á of 4 R 27, No. 3, than of the a - n i r g e₁₇ - g a - b i b a - d a - r a - a b - g á - g á of 4 R 26, No. 8. Vice versa the *mar-ši-iš uš-tan-na-aḫ* of 4 R 27, No. 3, better fits the a - n i r g e₁₇ - g a - b i b a - d a - r a - a b - g á - g á of 4 R 26, No. 8, than the a - n i r - g e₁₇ - g a m u - u n - n a - r a - a b - g á - g á of 4 R 27, No. 3. Note in the first proposed equation the correspondence of the adjectives *marṣu* and *ge₁₇-ga* and in the second equation the correspondence of the adverbs *maršiš* and *ge₁₇-ga-bi*. Moreover, as a *t* form the Akkadian *uštannaḫ* corresponds to the Sumerian *ba-* form a - n i r b a - d a - r a - a b - g á - g á, while *iš-ta-na-ka-an*, which is a *t-n* form, whose meaning apart from the idea of plurality is identical with that of the simple I 1 form, may be regarded as quite properly corresponding to the Sumerian simple theme m u - u n - n a - r a - a b - g á - g á. There exists even the possibility that the translator believed—erroneously, of course, and probably only in consequence of a momentary inadvertency—that the reduplicated g á - g á was intended to express the frequentative idea. These observations clearly indicate that originally it was the custom of the Akkadian scribes to write the translations of Sumerian re-

and its reduplicated present-future form $g\acute{a}(r) - g\acute{a}(r)$, literally means "to put," "to place," etc., but its combination with the infix $-ra-$, "out," "forth," etc., will naturally yield the idea "to put out or forth," "to issue," "to utter," "to emit." It will be noted that it is a verb of exactly this meaning that one could expect to be used in connection with an accusative object "groaning," "groans." Compare in English "to utter a groan" and in German "einen Seufzer ausstossen." In this instance, too, the $-ra-$, "out," refers to a suppressed $ka-ta$, "out of the (= his, one's) mouth."⁵⁷

Concerning my reading $-a-a\check{s}$ (for Pinches' $L\acute{A}L$, which Ungnad subsequently emended to $-a$) it may be noted that the three wedges of the sign A correspond only to the first three wedges of $L\acute{A}L$, i.e., to its two perpendiculars and the upper horizontal. The additional fourth wedge of $L\acute{A}L$, i.e., its lower horizontal, evidently represents the sign $a\check{s}$. While the a of this $a\check{s}$ (together with the preceding sign a) is the relative $-a$, the \check{s} represents the postposition $-\check{s}$, shortened from $-\check{s}\acute{e}$ (more original form $-e\check{s}e$), "to," "toward," "for." In accordance with the rule given in GSG, § 98, the postposition is added at the end of the substantive + apposition (= substantive + adjective + relative clause) chain ${}^dUra\check{s}, -en-g\grave{i}r-ra, -\check{s}\grave{a}-kur-ku-da-na-s\acute{a}-an-na-ra-ab-b\acute{e}-e-a$, the whole phrase meaning "to (or for) (= $-\check{s}$) Uraš, the mighty lord, who attains for him

religious texts, etc., on separate tablets and that it was from such purely Akkadian tablets that the later interlinear translations were collected.

In the $ba-da-ra-ab-g\acute{a}-g\acute{a}$ of 4 R 26, No. 8, the dative infix $-na-$, "to him," of the $mu-un-na-ra-ab-g\acute{a}-g\acute{a}$ of 4 R 27, No. 3, is replaced by the infix $-(n-)da$, "with him," here probably to be understood as "to with him" (= Akkadian $a-na$). Or is the $-da-$ simply misread by an ancient copyist instead of $-na-$?

⁵⁷ As shown by the variant form $mu-un-na-ra-ab-g\acute{a}-g\acute{a}$, the form $ba-da-ra-ab-g\acute{a}-g\acute{a}$ offers no example of an infix $-dara-$. Nor is such an infix proved by the $ma(-ra-da)-ra-ta-\grave{e}$ of Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 5, l. 20. As shown by the $ma-ra-ta-\grave{e}-a$ of l. 19, the form actually intended by the author and clearly required by the context was $ma-ra-ta-\grave{e}$, but by mistake the scribe wrote da instead of the correct ta . Noticing this mistake, when he had finished the da , he corrected it by adding the correct $-ra-ta-$ after the incorrect $-ra-da-$. It is entirely possible that the scribe originally intended to erase the wrong da and to replace it by the correct ta , but by some new inadvertency, he repeated the ra , which he had written already, and then continued with the correct ta . On the other hand, it is not improbable that, either in order to save himself the trouble of erasing the wrong sign or in order not to mar the good appearance of the inscription, he intentionally did not erase the wrong da but, repeating the last correct character, simply added the correct ta , trusting that the reader would be able to see that the $-ra-da-$ before $-ra-ta-$ was to be omitted. In this case he probably followed a well established custom of the stonemasons, for whom it was considerably more difficult to erase a wrong sign than it was for the writers on clay objects. For this method cf. Eannatum, Feldstein A, where in col. 3, after the words ${}^1dumu-A-kur-gal-{}^2ensi-Lagasa^{k1}$, the stonemason by mistake omitted a whole row of words; but at the end of the inscription in col. 8, with repetition of the words just quoted, he added them as ${}^1dumu-A-kur-gal-{}^2ensi-{}^3Lagasa^{k1}-g\acute{e}-{}^4pa-gi\check{s}-bil-ga-ni-{}^5Zur\acute{e}-{}^6Nan\check{s}e-ensi-Lagasa^{k1}-kam$.

(= s á a - n n - a - r a - b b - e (- e) - a) his heart's desire (= š à (g) - KUR-KU - (e) d - a - (a) n (i) - a)." It should be kept in mind, however, that the above interpretation of Pinches' LÁL as - a - a š rests on the assumption that the Relph tablet actually shows the fourth wedge copied by Pinches, a fact that should be verified from the tablet itself, before it can be assumed as absolutely certain.

It need hardly be pointed out that the Relph tablet does not give the complete date formula of the 16th year of Samsu-ditana, which like any other date formula must have contained a reference to some historical event or several events that occurred in the previous year. What it actually gives is no more than (a) the grammatical subject (= Samsu-ditana, -lugal, -e) of the sentence or the sentences forming the statement concerning those events, and (b) the dimensional chain "to (or for) Uraš." The whole formula may have reported that Samsu-ditana built or dedicated something, perhaps a temple, statue, etc., for the god, or that he performed some similar deed, by which he showed his gratitude to Uraš for helping him to attain the desires of his heart. Perhaps it may have given also some hint concerning the specific objects of the desires which Uraš helped him to attain.

For an illustration of the probable use of the postposition -š in our formula compare, e.g., the Samsu-iluna inscription, LIH, Nos. 98-99, where in the section ll. 56 ff., the king reports the rebuilding of two city walls or fortresses "for Nerigal, who defeated my foes" = ⁵⁸dN e₇-iri₁₀-gal, -⁵⁹tun-lú-erim-mu-um-⁶⁰bí-in-ak-a-aš (= No. 97, ll. 55 f. + Winckler, AbKt, No. 74, col. 3, compartments 4 f.: ⁵⁸a-na ^dNe₇-iri₁₀-gal ⁵⁶ha-ti ašša-b[i]-ša), and the Samsu-ditana date formula OLZ VIII (1905), cols. 269 f., where the king reports the dedication of disks of lapis lazuli "to Šamaš, the high lord, who made great his kingship" = ^dUtu, -en-an-ta-gál-la⁵⁸ -nam-lugal-a-ni-bí-b-gu-la-aš (= a-na ^dŠamaš be-lim ša-ki-i mu-šar-bi šar-ru-ti-šu).

⁵⁸ The text erroneously adds an -aš. Obviously the scribe here inadvertently strayed into the abbreviated formula, ll. 24 ff., which shortened the phrase quoted above to ²⁷[^d]Utu-en-an-ta-gál-la-aš, "to Utu, the high lord."

STUDY V

THE USE OF MATHEMATICAL MEAN VALUES IN BABYLONIAN
KING LIST B

Before the First Dynasty date lists were discovered, the only source of information on the length of the reigns of the eleven kings of Babylon was the tablet known as Babylonian King List B,¹ the larger King List A² unfortunately being uninformative on these reigns because the top of its first column, which contained the section on the First Dynasty kings, is wanting.³ With no evidence against King List B in existence its statements naturally could seem to be entirely authentic. This belief, however, was rudely shattered by the publication of the First Dynasty date lists, which enumerated each year of the various reigns by its official name and which, moreover, at the end of each reign gave the total of the regnal years of the king concerned. The numbers given in these date lists agreed with those of King List B only in two out of nine controllable instances. Since the date lists were written in the First Dynasty period and therefore represent contemporary sources, not the slightest doubt can prevail that their statements give us absolutely authentic information and that therefore the deviating statements of King List B, which dates from a much later period, must be regarded as wrong.

However, the historically incorrect numbers of King List B show a most interesting peculiarity. In order to demonstrate this I give in the following a transliteration of the obverse of King List B with its historically incorrect numbers printed in bold-face type and with the date list numbers added in parentheses.

	𒍪S u - m u - a - b i l u g a l		m u - 15	(14)
	𒍪S u - m u - l a - i l		m u - 35	(36)
3	𒍪Š a - b u - ú	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 14	(14)
	𒍪A - p i l - 𒍪S i n	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 18	(18)
	𒍪S i n - m u - b a l - l i t	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 30	(20)
6	𒍪H a - a m - m u - r a - p i	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 55	(43)
	𒍪S a - a m - s u - i - l u - n a	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 35	(38)
	𒍪E - b é - š u m	d u m u - 𒍪k i . m i n	m u - 25	(28)

¹ Br. Mus., No. 38122 (formerly 80-11-12, 3), first published in transliteration in PSBA III (1880) 21 f.; photographs published by Schrader in Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1887, Pl. XI; cuneiform copies given in Winckler, Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte (1889), p. 145, and by Rost in MVaG II (1897) 240.

² Br. Mus., No. 33332, first published by Pinches in PSBA VI (1884) 193 ff., Pls. I-II. Republished by Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 f.; Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott I (1893) 60; Rost, MVaG II (1897) 241 f.; Lehmann(-Haupt), Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie (1898), Tafel 2 (here only part of the list); and Gadd in CT LXXXVI (1921) 24 f.

³ Only part of the summary and the vertical wedges before the names of the last two kings are preserved.

9	^m A m - m i - d i - t a - n a	d u m u - ^m k i . m i n	m u - 25	(37)
	^m A m - m i - s a - d u ₁₁ - g a	d u m u - ^m k i . m i n	m u - 21	(16[+5])
	^m S a - a m - s u - d i - t a - n a ¹	d u m u - ^m k i . m i n	m u - 31	(26[+x])
12 11	l u g a l - e - n e b a l a T i n - t i r ^{ki} ⁴			

It will be observed that in the six numbers in lines 1, 2, and 6-9, the units of which are shown by the date list numbers to be incorrect, the unit is unvariably a 5, while in the three numbers of lines 3-5, the units of which are identical with those of the date list numbers and which therefore are historically correct, the unit appears in one case as 4, in another as 8, and in a third as 0. Note also the unit 1 of the 21 years attributed in King List B to Ammi-šaduqa, for although to date no date list covering this king's reign beyond the 16th year has been recovered, the numerous tablets dated with Ammi-šaduqa formulas different from those of the king's first 16 years attest 5 additional years, the combination of which with the 16 years enumerated in the date lists will raise the reign of Ammi-šaduqa to 21 years, i.e., exactly the number of years given to the king in King List B. The unit 1 of this number thus represents another case in which a unit number of King List B, other than 5, is historically correct.

It is, of course, entirely out of the question that all six deviating units were given as 5 by pure coincidence. But if there was a reason for the exceptionless choice of just that number, this reason, since numbers or even a row of numbers are involved, must necessarily have been of a mathematical nature. A glance at the position of the deviating numbers of King List B will make it quite obvious that the list must have been copied from an older king list tablet the right edge of which was damaged in such a manner that the units of the regnal year numbers at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 6-9 were destroyed. Although in such a case it was the universal custom of the Babylonian scribes to copy only the signs preserved on the damaged tablet and to indicate the fact that one or several signs were destroyed by the scribal remark *hi-pi*, "broken," "break," or *hi-pi eš-šú*, "new break," our particular scribe deviated from that recognized custom and supplied for each destroyed unit a unit of his own choice. Being mathematically-minded, and evidently prompted to that procedure by his mathematical knowledge, he chose not arbitrarily any of the units 1-9 but the number 5, because it represents the mean value of the units 1-9. In doing this he figured, of course, that with this middle value inserted, the difference between it and the correct number could in no case go beyond +4 or -4, while

⁴ The king list was intended as a Sumerian composition, as is shown by the plural *l u g a l - e - n e*, "kings," in the summary after each of the two dynasties of the list; by position of the number in *m u - 15*, *m u - 35*, etc.; and by the fact that the author erroneously replaces the second component of the name *A m - m i - š a - d u - q á* (written *-ZA-DU-GA*) by the genitive (or locative) of the Sumerian word *s á - d u₁₁ (g)* (here written *s a - d u₁₁ (g)*) = *satukku*. Excepting the Semitic names no word in the text of the list is written in such a manner that its Akkadian character would be proved by it.

if he had chosen, for instance, 1 or 9, the difference could possibly amount to +8 in the first case and to -8 in the second. Moreover, the scribe evidently figured that since it was not likely that the actually correct numbers would in all instances be the extreme numbers 1 or 9, the difference in all likelihood would be even below +4 or above -4. In point of fact, a comparison with the correct date list numbers shows that in the six instances in which King List B uses the mean value 5, the deviation actually is only +1, -1, +2, -3, -3, and -2, which all are below +4 (actually even below +3) and above -4. Finally, the scribe probably calculated that in all likelihood the historically correct units would not be exclusively below 5 or exclusively above 5, but some would be below and some above 5. In other words, he expected that most probably the difference in some instances would be negative and in others positive. This meant, of course, that when summed up the negative differences would neutralize just as many positive differences or, vice versa, the positive differences would neutralize just as many negative differences, and that as a consequence the difference between the total of his mean value numbers and the total of the historically authentic numbers would be comparatively small. In point of fact, the total of the negative and positive differences +1, -1, +2, -3, -3, and -2, enumerated above, amounts to only -6 years. For a further illustration of the balancing effect of the minus and plus differences, it may be mentioned already here that the total deviation in the 10's of the King List B numbers amounts only to +10 (= +10 +10 -10) units, and that with the addition of these +10 units to the negative difference -6 of the unit numbers the total of the differences in all restored numbers of King List B shrinks to +4 years. Since altogether seven numbers had to be restored, the average deviation for each restored number amounts to only $4/7$ of a year. Finally, considering the fact that the eleven reigns of the first dynasty of Babylon, according to the date lists, add up to 300 years, the 304 years arrived at by the author of King List B by using a mathematical mean value for the restoration of the destroyed numbers of the prototype of King List B must be regarded as a remarkably good result, even if we make allowance for the fact that this gratifying result, like any calculation on the basis of the theory of probabilities, to some extent depended on lucky circumstances.

Up to this point we have—for practical purposes—contented ourselves with stating that the 5 with which the scribe of King List B replaced a destroyed unit number represented the mean value of the units 1-9. However, the decimal system which the Babylonians used within the limits of their sexagesimal system operates, of course—mathematically speaking—not with 9, but with 10 units, inasmuch as also the zero of 10, 20, 30, etc., must be regarded as of unit rank (the unit "0"). The real divisions of the 10-system—at least as far as the system of writing the numbers is concerned—therefore are 0-9, 10-19, 20-29, etc. From this mathematical point of view the mean value of the unit row (i.e., 0-9) would therefore be

not 5, but only $4\frac{1}{2}$, or, since the Babylonian system of reckoning the reigns of their kings operates only with full years, the numbers 4 and 5 regularly alternating. Since the scribe of King List B uses only 5 as mean value, it would therefore seem that in spite of his using a distinctly mathematical method he was, after all, not a good mathematician. However, this reasoning disregards the following facts. In the Babylonian system of number writing, the unit 0 is indicated not with a cuneiform sign but simply, at least in the higher orders of compound numbers, by a blank space. Compare, e.g. the number $\ll \lll \uparrow = 20 (+ 0) 60\text{'s} + 31$ units = 1231. But the unit blank will be quite conspicuous also in numbers below 60, when these are arranged in column form as actually was done since the time of Hammu-rapi in the king lists in the case of the numbers indicating the reigns of the various kings. For an illustration we may choose the reigns of the 3rd-7th kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, the correct numbers for which, according to the date lists, are as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \ll \text{FF} &= 10 + 4 \\ \ll \text{FFFF} &= 10 + 8 \\ \ll\ll &= 20 + 0 \\ \ll\ll \text{III} &= 40 + 3 \\ \ll\ll\ll \text{FFFF} &= 30 + 8 \end{aligned}$$

It will be noticed at once that in this arrangement the zero blank space after 20 is quite conspicuous. Now, from the reconstruction of the right edge of the tablet on which the author of our King List B based his list, it will be seen that the unit blank after the 20 indicating the years of Sin-muballiṭ's reign, although downwards followed by the broken spaces of the number 43 for Hammu-rapi and the number 38 for Samsu-iluna, upwards joins the preserved numbers 18 for Apil-Sin and 14 for Šabú. From this and the fact that King List B correctly gives no unit after its number for Sin-muballiṭ we must assume, of course, that on the prototype of King List B the blank space was likewise preserved or that at least enough of it was preserved so that it permitted the author of King List B clearly to recognize that there was only a zero blank after the 10-number for Sin-muballiṭ. On the other hand, it is quite obvious that where King List B supplies the mean value 5 and where therefore the original number was destroyed to such an extent that one could not see which of the numbers from 1 to 9 had stood there, it nevertheless must have been possible to recognize that such a number and not a zero had been written there. To understand this, it will be helpful to recall that perpendicular breaks of a tablet or on the surface of the tablet show a tendency to follow the deeply incised perpen-

dicular wedges, and since the deepest incised wedge of a unit number is usually its first single, or its first upper, perpendicular wedge, a perpendicular break like that assumed by us near the right edge of the original tablet must have had every chance to reach that first (single or upper) vertical of the unit number. Furthermore, since the first lower vertical of a unit number, which is much less deeply impressed than the first upper vertical, as a rule is placed a little to the right of the incision made by the first upper vertical, the stylus impression still clearly visible on the edge of the break, although showing that a unit number had been standing there, would not indicate whether this unit was a simple one-row unit like 1-3, or a double-staged unit like 4-9.⁵ This, of course, gave the restorer the theoretical possibility of supplying any of the units from 1 to 9. On the other hand, where the tablet instead of a unit number had a zero space with no incision in that place, the natural consequence would be that the break would not touch that space. From all of this, it is quite obvious that the task of the scribe who intended to put definite numbers in the place of the destroyed numbers was not to supply a mean value of the ten units from 0 to 9, but to supply a mean value of the nine units from 1 to 9.

If we now turn to the 10's of the King List B numbers, a deviation from the date list numbers is observed only in three instances, namely, in lines 5, 6, and 9, the wrong 10's therefore amounting to just half the number of the wrong units. But this is quite natural, for if, as indicated above, the original tablet was damaged along its right edge, the 10's, which stood farther away from the edge than the units, would for this reason be less exposed to being involved in the break than the units. Moreover, two of the three wrong 10's, namely, those in lines 6 and 9, occur in numbers the units of which are likewise incorrect. This is quite natural, too, if according to our explanation the right edge of the original tablet was damaged; for under ordinary circumstances the 10's would be reached by the break only via the units.

A rather exceptional case, however, is presented by the number for *Sîn-muballit* in line 5, which shows a wrong 10-number in spite of the fact that its unit 0 is correct. Evidently the break which damaged the 10-number came up from the broken unit number in line 7.⁶ Probably following a crack that traversed the tablet in an oblique direction, it cut through the 10-number of line 5 in such a manner that it destroyed the second 10 of the original 20, while it left the blank zero space of the same line untouched, or destroyed only its lower portion. On the other hand, however, the breakage of the surface caused by the crack just referred to destroyed not only the lower beam of the first 10 of the original 20, but also the surface imme-

⁵ As a rule the three-stage units 7-9 of later periods are not used in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon.

⁶ See drawing on p. 122.

diately under the head of this 10. The copyist, therefore, might have been in doubt as to whether the damaged number was a one-row or a two-row 10-number, and therefore chose for his restoration the mean value 30 of the 10's from 10 to 50, the only ones in the Babylonian sexagesimal system written exclusively with the sign for 10 or a higher number of the 10-signs.

A crack extending into the tablet in a diagonal direction offers the best explanation also for the fact that the author of King List B gives the 10's of the number of regnal years for Ammi-ditana as 20 instead of 30. This crack evidently had destroyed the last two 10's of the number 30 of the original. But, in contradistinction to the case previously considered, the breakage of the surface kept within the two beams of the first 10, so that there could be no doubt about the one-row character of the number. As a consequence the author of King List B used the mean value 20 for the one-row 10's from 10 to 30.

The explanation of the fact, finally, that in line 6 the author of King List B gives the 10's of the number of regnal years for Hammu-rapi as 50 instead of 40 must, of course, be quite different from the explanation of the deviating 10's in the two cases just discussed. For 50 cannot be a mean value; on the contrary, it represents the upper extreme value of the 10-numbers, which the author certainly would not have chosen if the number on the king-list original from which he reconstructed his King List B had been destroyed in part or even nearly completely. It is quite certain, therefore, that the original actually had preserved the whole correct 40 or at least clear traces of it, and equally certain is it that the addition of a further 10 by the scribe could have had only an accidental cause, perhaps a small corner-wedgelike indentation in the edge of the break to the right of the second upper corner-wedge of the 40, or possibly an impression made there by a small straw or wood particle, which the scribe could mistake for a fifth corner-wedge.⁷

⁷ In the above statements it is, of course, assumed that the 40 of the contemporary king list appeared in its then usual original form . For this form cf., e.g., the 40 in Thureau-Dangin, TC VII, No. 21, l. 12: *45 šatammī*; *ibid.*, l. 27: *101 šatammī*; No. 73, l. 7: *m u - 40 - k a m*; and in the date list copy, CCEBK II 185 ff. (originally written in the time of Ammi-šaduqa), col. 2, l. 5: *43 m u [Ḫ a - a m - m u - r a - p i]*. The form of 50 corresponding to this 40 was originally ; but note the more artistic arrangement of the wedges as , e.g., in Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 1, ll. 11, 20, etc., and in CH, col. 3, l. 46, etc. Under the influence of this form the number 40 probably assumed the form . The artistically rather advanced form —which parallels the writing of the unit 4 as  instead of the older —is characteristic of the late periods; cf. the syllabary, CT XII 1 ff. (copied, from an older text, in the 10th year of *Ār-tak-šat-su* LUGAL KUR-KUR), col. 4, ll. 5 ff. Note also the even more advanced form  in the date list copy,

As mentioned before, the deviations of the 10's of the King List B numbers from those of the date list are +10 (Sîn-muballiṭ), +10 (Ḫammu-rapi), and -10 (Ammitana), these numbers summing up to just one ten (= +10). However, as we have just seen, the additional 10 years of the reign of Ḫammu-rapi are not a result of the application of a mean value, and if for this reason they are disregarded, the remaining +10 for Sîn-muballiṭ and the -10 for Ammitana will actually neutralize each other. Considering only the result which the use of mean values enabled the author of King List B to achieve, the total of all deviations from the correct numbers of the date lists both in the units and the 10-numbers would therefore be not +4, but -6. The purely erroneous reading of the 10's of the number for Ḫammu-rapi as 50 instead of 40, by which the final difference is reduced by two units from -6 to +4, must therefore be valued merely as one of those lucky circumstances referred to on p. 112, this fact, of course, in no manner detracting from the general efficiency of the method employed by the author of King List B.

For a moment we may here turn to the reverse of our King List B tablet which enumerates the rulers of the first Sealand dynasty without indicating the length of their reigns. This fact too will now find a ready explanation. For if, as pointed out in the foregoing, the incorrectness of the numbers on the obverse of the tablet can be plausibly explained as due to the fact that the right edge of the original from which the list was copied had been damaged, the complete omission of the regnal years of the kings of the Sealand will most likely be due to the same reason. That is to say, the damage done to the right edge of the original list most probably extended also to the section on the Sealand kings, no matter whether this section continued on the obverse of the original or—as on the King List B tablet—on its reverse. But the damage done there must have been so extensive that no trace of the numbers indicating the length of the reigns was left. Since the scribe of our King List B tablet therefore had no basis for a restoration of the numbers, the only thing he could do, of course, was to enumerate the kings without numbers indicating the length of their reigns.

One will probably be inclined to think that if the author of King List B was as scientifically-minded as we have concluded in the foregoing, he would in some manner have indicated the character of the numbers, not found by him on the old tablet, as restorations. According to the published copies the replaced numbers are not indicated as such in King List B. There can exist no doubt, however, that the present King List B tablet is only a late and probably rather distant copy of the

King, LIH, No. 102, col. 6, l. 5'. If however, in spite of the early period, the king list from which the author of King List B took his text showed one of the advanced forms of 40 with three 10's in the upper row, the indentation or impression referred to above, of course, must be assumed after or before the solitary 10 of the lower row.

original tablet of the scribe who conceived the idea of using a mean value for the destroyed numbers of the king list copied by him. It is, of course, quite possible that that scientifically-inclined scribe had actually marked the numbers gained by that process in some probably not very conspicuous manner, e.g., by the use of smaller or somewhat slanting wedges. In this case, of course, a later copyist who did not realize the meaning of the difference in the writing of the numbers must erroneously have copied the numbers so marked in the same manner as those unmarked,⁸ the list therefore now appearing to contain only numbers transmitted in the usual manner from the very period in which the kings concerned had lived.⁹

Our observations on the use of mean values in King List B are of some impor-

⁸ Modern copyists are sometimes likewise apt to overlook or disregard certain marks, signs in small writing, etc. Note, e.g., the omission, in Winckler's (Abel's) copy of King List A, of the single horizontal wedge placed between ll. 5-6 and ll. 9-10 of col. 1 before the vertical double-line dividing cols. 1 and 2 (they are now indicated in Gadd's copy, CT XXXVI 24 f.); or the omission, both in Winckler's and Gadd's copies of King List A, of the small sign LFL written in col. 2, l. 15—as my collation of the list in 1935 showed—underneath the sign line to the right of the sign combination ^dEN of the name of the last Kassite king. Evidently the scribe of King List A actually found on the king list specimen from which his list was copied only ^dEN-MU-ŠEŠ-MEŠ, which is wrong, since the king's name is not BÉl-nádin-aḥḥé, but Enlil-nádin-aḥḥé. Not daring, however, to change the text of the original, the scribe merely placed the missing sign in small writing underneath the line, this evidently indicating that the added sign was his own correction and not taken from a duplicate list, since in this case, in conformity with the universal custom, the omitted sign (plus the signs ^dE n -, preceding it) would have been written above the line.

⁹ It is also quite certain that the mistake in the addition of the kings of the Sealand dynasty—10 instead of 11—must be ascribed to the carelessness of a late copyist. It is of such a simple nature that it would be preposterous to ascribe it to a mathematician. Most probably the mistake was owing to the fact that the copyist counted only the kings in ll. 2-11, because only in these lines does the vertical wedge that marks the name of each king stand at the beginning of the line, while in l. 1 the name of the king (likewise marked with the vertical) is preceded by the words ŠEŠ-KÙ^ki, "in ŠEŠ-KÙ^ki." As we can see from this, the scribe actually counted not the names but the vertical wedges before the names. This, however, is quite in accordance with the purpose for which originally the so-called "personal wedge" or "determinative for male persons" was used. Actually this wedge represented the numeral 1, "one," this numeral being placed before each name whenever a number of persons later to be added up as a group were enumerated. Its very purpose, of course, was to facilitate the adding by reducing this process to a mere counting of the various 1's placed before the names. For this it was naturally essential that the numeral stood at a conspicuous place, namely at the beginning of the line. As a matter of fact, this was unvariably the case in the Old Sumerian and the Old Akkadian inscriptions with their very narrow columns, the short lines of which would contain only one small grammatical unit (cf., e.g., the various enumerations of persons on the Maništūšu obelisk). But in the later inscriptions with their broad columns and consequently long lines the wedge before the name would frequently not stand at the beginning of the line, namely, in all those instances in which the statement began with a very short grammatical unit, to which the scribe did not wish to devote a whole line—as, e.g., the "in ŠEŠ-KÙ^ki," of our King List B before the name of the first Sealand king. The removal of the perpendicular wedge from its conspicuous place at the beginning of the line, however, meant a partial frustration of its original purpose, as is strikingly illustrated by the fact that when adding up the eleven kings of the Sealand dynasty the late copyist overlooked the first king.

tance also for the chronology of the first dynasty of Babylon. It has been mentioned above that the length of the reign of Ammi-šaduqa has been computed as 21 years by a combination of the date formulas enumerated for the first 16 years of Ammi-šaduqa in the date list, Ungnad, BA VI 3, pp. 43 ff., with the five additional date formulas found on business documents, etc.¹⁰ A corroboration of this computation was seen in the fact that our King List B attributes the same number of regnal years to Ammi-šaduqa. Nevertheless, this argumentation was still somewhat unsatisfactory, since it seemed doubtful whether one could rely on any number of the list not corroborated by other evidence. In point of fact, the observation of 21 Ammi-šaduqa date formulas on business documents, etc., functioned rather as a proof for the correctness of the 21 years of King List B than, vice versa, did the statement of King List B as a proof for the computation of Ammi-šaduqa's reign from the number of date formulas. With the discovery of the principle underlying the numbers in King List B the situation is changed. The correctness of the number 21 in this list can now be assumed on the ground that it shows as its unit not the mean value 5, but the extreme unit 1. For this fact means that the scribe of King List B found this unit on the broken contemporary or almost contemporary original from which he copied and that for this reason it is a correct number.

For the same reason we can now be quite sure that the unit 1 of the 31 years attributed in King List B to the reign of Samsu-ditana is historically correct. As for the 10's preceding the unit, however, one could theoretically consider it doubtful whether the 30 we read on the tablet was found by the scribe on the damaged original from which he copied—in this case it would have to be considered as contemporary or almost contemporary evidence—or whether the 30 is the mean value of the 10's from 10 to 50 and as such was chosen by the scribe because the 10's of the number were so completely destroyed that he could not even recognize whether the number belonged to the single wedge-row group 10-30 or to the double wedge-row group 40-50. However, a complete destruction of the 10-number on the original tablet is at least not very likely, since the preserved number 21 of the preceding line, as well as the preserved unit 1 to the right of the 30, apparently cuts off entirely the latter from the break involving all demonstrably destroyed numbers. It may be noted, moreover, that at least 26 years of reign are attested for Samsu-ditana by the Chicago date list and that, therefore, since the unit 1 is certain, the lowest number of years that could have been attributed to Samsu-ditana's reign is 31, i.e., exactly the number given in King List B. It is therefore very likely that 31 was actually the number given for the regnal years of Samsu-ditana in the contemporary

¹⁰ The king list, CCEBK II 181 ff. : 80037, sums up the years of Ammi-šaduqa (see p. 191) as 17. It was, of course, written in the 17th year. But only portions of the date formulas of the first seven years are preserved in that list (cf. p. 189).

prototype of King List B. Unfortunately it is not yet possible to verify this supposition conclusively from the number of different date formulas occurring on business documents and in the Chicago date list. As far as I can see at present, only 18 of the date formulas published thus far in copies or transliterations can readily be identified with formulas in the list. This leaves about 8–10 of the latter unidentified with published formulas from tablets, while about 9 formulas found on documents cannot be identified with any of the date list formulas. It should be stated, however, that most of the 8–10 unidentifiable date list formulas are so broken or squeezed that they cannot be read without help from well preserved tablet dates, while 6 of the 9 unidentifiable dates from business tablets have been published only in transliterations (and translations) that cannot be verified.¹¹ Since about 6 of the uncertain formulas from documents might well be identical with as many of the date list formulas too much damaged to be read and, moreover, since some of the transliterated formulas that do not seem to make any sense probably have to be discarded, it seems even on this imperfect evidence quite likely that Samsu-ditana actually ruled 31 years, as stated on the King List B tablet.¹²

The fact that the scribe of King List B resorts to a mathematical mean value in order to gain only approximately correct numbers for the reigns of some of the First Dynasty kings, as well as the fact that he does not indicate any regnal years of the kings of the Sealand dynasty, clearly shows that at his time no king list, date list, or chronicle, from which the correct numbers could be ascertained, was known to exist. If our scribe had known such lists, he would have made use of their numbers instead of trying to gain approximate numbers by the use of a mean value. Most likely the original author of King List B lived in a comparatively early period, probably before the middle of the Kassite period, when—although this was long after the destruction of Babylon by the Hittites and, as we have good reason to assume, after the destruction of other Babylonian cities at the time when the Kassites and the Sealand kings took possession of Babylonia—scholars still had to reconstruct the previous history of Babylonia from records accidentally unearthed from city and temple ruins, or from chronicles preserved in rather out-of-the-way places. It is interesting to observe that, in contradistinction to King List B, King List A enumerates the rulers of the first Sealand dynasty with added regnal years. Obviously the compiler of the Sealand dynasty section of King List A had at his

¹¹ See Johns, *A List of the Year Names . . . of the First Dynasty*, pp. 24 f.

¹² The above statements are based on a preliminary examination of the Chicago date list. Since the text is to be published by Dr. Feigin after a thorough investigation of all possibilities, it can be presumed that his publication will present a more definite result concerning the identification of the formulas from business documents with the damaged or effaced formulas of his date list.

disposal some chronologically usable material which the scribe of King List B did not have. For this reason the section of King List A dealing with the Sealand dynasty should be later than King List B. As for the nature of that new material, however, it is significant that King List A attributes to four of the eleven Sealand kings reigns as high as 60(?), 56, 55, and 50 years; especially remarkable is the fact that the king credited with 56 years is the immediate successor of the king to whom 60 years are ascribed, while the king credited with 50 years is the immediate successor and even the son of the king ruling 55 years. Any of these long reigns considered by itself would in no respect be impossible, yet in view of that veritable accumulation of long reigns, it must seem more than likely that some of the high figures are not historical, but are in some manner computed, probably from synchronisms between the kings of the Sealand and those of Babylon found in chronicles, with possibly a wrong conception of the chronological relations between the first dynasty of Babylon, the Sealand dynasty, and the Kassite dynasty, as a contributing factor. Although an attempt to substantiate this conclusion is made difficult by the scarcity or even total absence of historically authentic evidence, it could perhaps in one instance seem possible to arrive at a more definite result, but only under the presupposition that King List A actually, as is the general belief, attributes a reign of 60 years to Ilumailu, the first king of the Sealand dynasty. According to the chronicle published by King in CCEBK II, pp. 121-27 (and pp. 15-24), Ilumailu was the adversary of King Samsu-iluna of Babylon and of his son and successor Abi-êšû³ in a series of combats. Now in King List B the reign of Samsu-iluna is given as 35 and that of Ebêšum as 25 years. These two reigns add up to 60 years. It would therefore seem a very plausible assumption that a scholar trying to devise some chronological frame for the reign of Ilumailu, did so by assigning Ilumailu to that period of 60 years, i.e., to the combined reigns of Samsu-iluna and Abi-êšû³, whose contemporary he knew Ilumailu to be. He would not, of course, have stated that these 60 years represented the length of Ilumailu's reign; but later chronologists may have taken the 60-year frame of the older scholar as representing the real reign of that king. However, the number 60 for Ilumailu is by no means beyond doubt. Under ordinary circumstances a 60, when not followed by a ten or a unit number, would be written not merely with a perpendicular wedge, as would be the case here according to the usual assumption but, in order to avoid its being misread as 1, with the signs 1 - u š, i.e., 1 š u₃ - u š, "one šuš." Of even greater weight is the fact that the perpendicular wedge of the supposed 60 stands not at the beginning of the line—as one should expect from the analogy of all other numbers in the king list—but directly over the first unit wedge of the 56 of the following line. Since, moreover, there seem to be faint traces of four or five 10's before the deeply impressed vertical wedge, it would be quite possible that the number is actually not

60 but 41 or 51, etc., a fact that naturally would make the above suggestion impossible.¹³

In case the number for Ilumailu is actually 60, it could furthermore seem possible to draw the general conclusion that the author of King List A had no more authentic knowledge concerning the reigns of Samsu-iluna and Abi-êšû⁷ than the author of King List B, and that therefore he probably attributed to the various kings of the first dynasty of Babylon the same regnal numbers as King List B. For only from the latter list with its 35 years for Samsu-iluna and its 25 years for Abi-êšû⁷ could the supposed 60 years for Ilumailu have been derived, while according to the date lists the reign of Samsu-iluna lasted 38 years and that of Abi-êšû⁷ 28 years, the sum of both being not 60, but 66 years. In reality, however, such a conclusion has no cogent force, since it would be thinkable that the numbers for Ilumailu and other kings of the Sealand dynasty—arrived at in the manner described above—were left unaltered even after the real reigns of the first dynasty kings had become known, because the late copyist, redactor, or new editor, of King List A no longer knew of the relation between the numbers for the Sealand kings and those for the First Dynasty kings. In connection with this question it may be recalled that all editors of King List A have been of the opinion that what in this list is left of the total of all regnal years of the kings of the first dynasty of Babylon doubtless shows that the unit number of the total was a 1, represented by just one vertical wedge. The total was therefore generally restored as [5 š u š] + 1 (= 301), which seemingly agreed with the number of years computed at that time for the duration of the first dynasty by a combination of the 248 years authentically attested for the first nine kings of the dynasty by the date lists, with the 22 years for Ammi-šaduqa and the 31 years for Samsu-ditana, believed at that time to be attested by King List B. But the argument that for this reason the first section of King List A must have had not the numbers of King List B, but the historically correct numbers, had to be abandoned when King's re-examination of King List B¹⁴ showed that it ascribed to Ammi-šaduqa not 22 but 21 years, and that therefore the above computation would yield not 301 but only 300 years as the total of the historical reigns of the eleven First Dynasty rulers. During my collation of King List A in London I noticed, however, that of the supposed single vertical, which in the published copies is drawn as going to the bottom of the line, actually only its upper half is visible, while its lower half is effaced by the impression of what may have been a lower-

¹³ It may be noted that if the number for Ilumailu ended with a 1, the sum of all units in the second section of King List A would be 48. This would agree with the fact that the unit number of the total 368 is an 8, but it would, of course, make it necessary to increase one of the ten-numbers read by Gadd (perhaps that in the line for the third or the fourth king?) by one or two 10's.

¹⁴ See CCEBK II, p. 84, n. 2.

