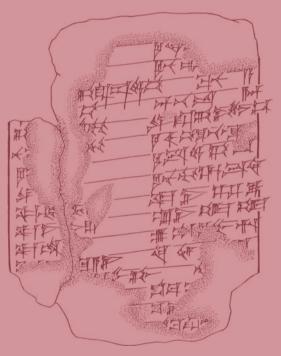
Studies in Sumerian civilization

Selected writings of Miguel Civil

Edited by Lluís Feliu







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Foreword

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

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

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

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

Acta Sumerologica (I.16).

American Oriental Society (II.8; II.14; II.19).

American Schools of Oriental Research (I.1; I.2; I.3; I.15; I.17; II.7; .II.11).

Archiv für Orientforschung (II.13).

Brill Academic Publishers (I.18; II.25).

CDL Press (II.22).

CNRS Editions (II.18; III.1).

De Gruyter (I.8).

Dietrich Reimer Verlag (I.14).

Editorial Ausa (I.12; I.21; II.15; II.20; II.23; II.24; II.26; II.29; III.3).

Eisenbrauns (I.20; I.22; II.28).

Harrassowitz (II.27).

Pontificium Institutum Biblicum (I.4; I.9; I.10; II.17).

Presses Universitaires de France (II.2; II.3).

The British Institute for the Study of Iraq (II.1).

The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (II.21).

Ugarit Verlag (II.12).

University of Chicago Press (I.5; I.19; II.4; II.5; II.6; II.9; II.10; II.16; III.2).

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

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

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

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

Lluís Feliu Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic Universitat de Barcelona

Miguel Civil, a point of reference

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MIGUEL CIVIL, A POINT OF REFERENCE

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

So the present volume is the latest token of the affection and gratitude that his friends and disciples at the IPOA feel for Professor Civil, and an opportunity to pass on his wisdom which we in some way have made our own and which we now, with his permission, offer to the rest of the scholarly community. Many thanks, Miguel, for your tireless work. To finish, let us recall the Sumerian thought: mu 2 *šu-ši* mu.meš nam-lú-u₁₈-lu níg-gig-bi hi-a, "one hundred and twenty years of life for humanity, this is its destiny" (Emar VI.4:368 / 771:23-24); in it, the Hebrew Bible probably found its inspiration to declare in its turn: ${}^2\bar{a}d\bar{a}m...~h\hat{u}^{\rho}~b\bar{a}s\bar{a}r~w^{\rho}h\bar{a}y\hat{u}~y\bar{a}m\bar{a}yw~m\bar{e}^{\rho}\bar{a}h~w^{\rho}s\bar{a}r\bar{a}m\bar{a}m$ (Gen 6:3-4). We promise to prepare another homage volume then!

Gregorio del Olmo Lete Em. Professor of Barcelona University

Notes on Sumerian Lexicography I*1

1. d u m - d a m — z a

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

The lexical data are:

- [1.1] ÍB.DAM = i-ta-zu-mu Igituh. I 131
- [1.2] ÍB.DAM = na-wa-a-ru šá LÚ Nabnitu XXII 254
- [1.3] ÍB.DAM- m a = ra-ma-mu Nabnitu B 225

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

```
[1.4]

ÍB.DAM' = ha-ša-šu

ÍB.DAM' - a = ha-ša-šu

p i - e l = ha-ša-šu
```

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

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

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

^{2.} Both *CAD* 6 138b *ḫašāšu* A v. and *AHw* I 333b *ḫašāšu*(*m*) I read í b - ḫ ú l — (z a) in lines 45-46. The signs do not look like a normal ḫ ú l; examination of the photo in *BRM* 4 pl. v and a recent collation by E. Reiner are inconclusive. Even if the second signs were effectively ḤÚL on the t

See specially [2.4] in the text.

because of $ib - (ba) = ag\bar{a}gu$, nor can such a translation be based on Akk. $naz\bar{a}mu$, which means "to complain (loudly)" (cf. Landsberger ZDMG 69 514 f.). As for the reading of the sign iB, there can be no doubt that it must be dum (attested in A VII/2: 151) since the verb clearly belongs to formations of the type $C_1u(C_2)-C_1a(C_2)$ —z a which express the making of different types of noises and will be discussed later in this note.

The literary references are:

[2.1]

za-pa-ág-dugud-da-ni-šè dingir-kalam-ma-ke4 ní àm-ur4-ru-ne

ur₅-ša₄-a-ni ^da-nun-na gi-dili-dù-a-gin_x sag mu-da-ab-sìg-sìg-ge-ne

dum-dam-za-ni-šè kilib₃-ba-bi á-úr mu-un-dab-bé-e-ne

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

In-nin-šà-gur₄-ra 9-11⁴

[2.2]

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

"He yelps like a dog beaten with a stick"

Prov. 5.93 (Gordon *JCS* 12 62)

[2.2a]

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

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

Anam Hymn 3 (Falkenstein Bagh. Mitt. 280)

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

[2.3]

u₄-gin_x an-úr-ra dum-dam mu-ni-íb-za

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

"He rumbles like a storm on the horizon"

Angin 74 (= II 15) CAD 7 236a

[2.4]

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

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

"All-knowing lord, he ... rejoices in his heart"

STT 2 151: 23' = 3N-T 150: 26

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^{3.} \acute{a} - \acute{u} r — \acute{u} a \acute{b} is to be compared with Akk. $puzra~ah\bar{a}zu$ "to hide" CAD A/I 179a; cf. [\acute{a}]- \acute{u} r = puzur, puzurtu, $d\bar{u}tu$ (Lú excerpt II 97).

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

[2.5]

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

[é]r

 \acute{u} -t[a-za-am ...]

[ì-š]eš₄-šeš₄

"Shout at a child, and he will cry"

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

E. I. Gordon still quotes Prov. 3.40: d u m - d a m a n - [d a - a b] - z a, without context, in JCS 12 62.

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

b u - u d - b a - a d — z a: in *SLTN* 82 a 3 as a var. of [3.2]

bù1-ba1—za:

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

d u b - d a b — z a:

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

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

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

du-bu-ul-da-ba-al—za:

[3.3] dugš à - g u b duglam - s á - r e du - bu - u l da - ba - a l mu - u n - da - a b - z a SRT 1 v 1

g u m - g a - à m — z a:

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

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

[3.5] $\sin a + \sin a + k e_4 g u + m g a - m i^6 - n i - i b - z a$ Keš Hymn 115⁷ (to be published by G. Gragg).

KUN- g a - a n — z a:

 $[3.6] \cdot \hat{u} - 1 \cdot u_5 - \hat{s}i$ e $a - p \cdot a_4 - BU - g \cdot i \cdot n_x$ KUN (= *g \, u \, n_x)^8 - g \, a - a - d \, a \, Gud \, cyl \, B \, vii \, 2 \, f.

hu - um - ha - (am) - za:

[3.7] \dot{s} \dot{e} \dot{s} - \dot{a} - \dot{n} \dot{e} - \dot{n} \dot{e} \dot{u} - \dot{u} \dot{e} - \dot{e} - \dot{e} - \dot{e} \dot{e} - $\dot{e$

- 5. To be read perhaps \S u n_x * \S a n; a value \S u n for $SU \times A$ is assured by the var. $BÚR/SU \times A$ in Bird-Fish Contest 60.
- 6. For g u m g a m m i-.
- 7. The texts available to me for collation all have g u m g a, not MI- g a. If MI turned out to be attested somewhere, one would have to read $g u_x$ (cf. $k u_{10}$)- g a.
 - 8. For k u n = *g u n, cf. g u k k a l < *g u n = g a 1 <k u n g a l. See also Å. Sjöberg's remarks on the passage in AS 16 63.
 - 9. For hum ham mu-

```
m u 1 - m a - a 1 — z a:
```

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

```
[3.9] ní-dúb-ba é-za hu-mu-húl-la
```

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

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

```
pu-ud-pa-ad—za:
```

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

```
pu-ug-pa-ag—za:
[3.11a] úḥ túl-lá tar-re pu-ug-pa-ag mu-un-da-ab-za CT 17 40: 4
sùḥ-saḥ<sub>4</sub>—za:<sup>10</sup>
```

 $[3.12]^{gis}$ al-gar-sur₉-ra sùh-sah₄ mi-ni-ib-za Keš·Hymn 116

[3.13] $n a_4$ -tur-tur-bur-sag-gá- $k e_4$ (var. - ka) sù b-sa b_4 mu-un-da-ab-za Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 351

```
*z u r - z a - a r — z a:
```

Attested only in fragmentary context:

```
[3.14] [... zu]r-za-ar hé-mi-íb-za SLTN 53 r. 4'
```

```
w u - w a — z a:
```

```
[3.15] [ù z - m á]š - g u r_5- g i n_x w u - w a_x(BA) m u - š i - i b - z a 6N-T450: 2^{11}
```

```
[3.16] gišasal i-ni-ná wu-wa mu-ši-ib-za giššinig i-ni-ná ù-a mu-un-ši-ib-zal CT 15 27: 18 f.
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The duplicate CT 15 30: 20 f. has z al in both lines. There are indications that the forms $C_1u(C_2)-C_1a(C_2)-z$ a, which are an ancient feature of the language (cf. [3.1] and [3.15]), were not well understood in later periods. Practically all late references show peculiarities which do not agree with the forms and their use in the Isin-Larsa period: [2.5] inserts an u which probably belongs before z a (the parallel lines have u-verbal forms); cf. also the var. - s u- and m u- u n in the Surpu passage quoted above; and the

^{10.} The presence of the two values s ù h and $s a h_4$, one alongside the other, shows how cautious we must be in the interpretation of the syllabary sources. Since the publication of Proto-ea, the value s ù h (attested only in Group Voc. D 76) has tended to be replaced by the "better" OB value $s a h_4$, but our passages show that both are equally "good". It must be stressed that Proto-ea and all its derivatives represent only the backbone of the phonetism of the signs. As a didactic tool the syllabaries were always accompanied by an extended oral commentary whose contents can be only painstakingly, and fragmentarily, inferred from scribal practices and general linguistic considerations.

^{11.} Cf. u₈ s i l a₄-g u r₅-a - g i n_x SIG₄ m u - d a - g i₄-g i₄ Lugalzaggesi Vase ii 44-45 (*BE* 1/2).

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

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

ù-a lum-e hé-me-lum-lum-e

ù-a lam-e hé-me-lam-lam-e

UM 29-16-85: 48 f.

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

Lahar-Ašnan 81

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

Lambert BWL 271: 16

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

2. The Reading of ANŠE.KUR.RA

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

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

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ANŠE.ZI.ZI is found in a repetition of the same topos in SRT 13: 52 and in the Šulgi fragment SRT 37: 4'. Falkenstein (ZA 50 77⁴) proposed to take ANŠE in this case as an "abbreviation" of ANŠE.KUR.RA, and translated zi-zi as "eilend". The same point of view can be found in Römer SKH 63¹⁶², who tries to justify such a translation with the equation zi-zi = $teb\hat{u}$. Since Sum. uses consistently k a s₄ (Ḥḫ 13: 281 etc.) for "eilend", and the Ur III evidence quoted below shows that ZI.ZI designates rather a specific type of equid, a better solution seems to be to read ^{anše}s \hat{i} -s \hat{i} and consider it a synonym of ANŠE.KUR.RA and possibly the reading of this logogram, at least in some contexts. ¹³

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

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

[a]nše-kur-da ki-ná ak-zu-dè

"When you (Inanna) sleep with horses" UM 55-21-308 ii 7'

za-e [kù]-dinanna-an-na-gin_x

[anše]-kur-ra ki im-a-ág

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

You love the horses" Lahar and Ašnan 144 f.

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

anše-kur-hur-sag-gá umbin-hu-rí-in mušen-na-ka

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

3. ${}^{u}KI. {}^{d}NANNA = *{}^{u}m u n z u r$

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In the Ur-Nammu hymn UET 6 76 r. 14' we read<sup>14</sup>: gú-gú-bi * <sup>ú</sup>KI. <sup>d</sup>NANNA lú-a ù-làl-e kú-e while the duplicate UET 6 77: 8' has:
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^{13.} The only indication of a reading a n \S e - k u r - r a, aside from the indirect evidence of its absence in Diri, is a NB source of \S in \S

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

[g]ú-gú mu-su-ur lú-ú¹⁵ ú-làl ˈkú[!] -e

"on its banks (i.e., of the canal) (there grows) the ...-plant, (and) one can eat sweet herbs," showing that the reading of the logogram ${}^{\acute{u}}KI.{}^{\acute{u}}NANNA$ is m u s u r.

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

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\acute{a} b - {}^{\acute{u}}KI^{mu-un-z\grave{e}r} {}^{d}NA[NNA^{!}] = ["] in \ Hh \ XIII 337.
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We have thus the syllabic writings:

mun-zú mu-un-zèr mu-su-ur

and we can assume an original m u n z u r, $m u n z e r^{16}$, or the like. One of these forms must be restored in Diri IV 23-24:

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[ ] [^{\text{ú}}KI.^{\text{d}}NANNA] = su-pa-lu
= a-su-si-im-tum
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4. ki-še-er/ki-šer_x (GìR.BAR)—tuku, Akk. kišda išû / rašû

A number of lexical passages:

[4.1]

 \widehat{G} ir. $BAR = ki-i\check{s}-dum$

GÌR.BAR nu-tuku = $\check{s}a$ ki- $i\check{s}$ - $^{\dagger}da$ † la i- $\check{s}u$ - $<\acute{u}>$

Kagal I 320 f.

[4.2]

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

OB Lu A 131

[4.3]

ka GÌR.BAR nu-tuku = pu-um ša ki-is-dam la i-s[u-u]

Kagal D 3: 12

give us an idiom already known in Sumerian [5.1 and 5.2], but not attested in Akkadian contexts except for the passage [5.3] with the similar form *kišda rašû*. All the occurrences of ki-GìR.BAR—tuku (as well as those of ki-še-er—tuku, see later) can be satisfactorily explained starting from the literal

^{15.} ú is an unusual writing for - $\dot{u} > (-e)$; the - a of 76 is thus a mistake for - e.

^{16.} The ending - nzer is typical of a certain number of words: pi-en-zé-er, ga-an-zé-er, ba-ma-an-zé-er, ba-ma-an-zé-er