

19, 25: "UR₄"; VIII 1: [x-d]a-gi, 21: Lu-<a->tum^{ki}, 23: Ĥa-da-g[u]; IX 4: A-bù-du; X 4: [x] "KIN_x" ge₆, 5: 'x'-AN-MI-AN-'ĤU"; X 1: [-]'dar¹, 2: šu-nigin 3 mi 46 ...

Appendix: Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ = UR

ARET VIII 539 (see MEE V 19) VI 6-14 concerns 30 Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ of bronze weighing 1 mina (470 gr) each: 1 ma-na 52 an-na šub si-in 30 lá 2 ma-na 10 a-gar₅-gar₅ 30 Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ 1 ma-na šu-ra túl-túl si-in Kur^{ki} Ru₁₂-zi-i šu-ba₄-ti "... (for) inspecting(?)²³ the wells (/ cisterns) for the mountain region PN has received."

TM.75.G.10176 obv. I 1-5 is a parallel passage, where UR appears instead of Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂: 1 UR urudu šu-ra 1 túl é ⁴ŠÁRA¹(BARA₁₀)-ra "1 UR of copper (for) inspecting(?) 1 well (of) the temple of Išhara."

Ten Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ of bronze, of two minas each (940 gr) are given for the goddess Išhara in TM.75.G.2546 obv. I 1-3: 10 Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ 2 ma-na zabar lú ⁴ŠÁRA¹-ra Zu-ra-mu^{ki}. The next section, obv. II 1-rev. I 3, has 6 UR of 2 minas of zabar for inspecting (?) several wells: 6 UR 2 ma-na zabar lú é en šu-ra túl-túl { .KI } si-in 'Bù¹-zu-ga^{ki}. The following section registers some axes of bronze: 2 tún gal zabar.

²³ šu-ra is quite often connected with túl, see TM.75.G.1860 obv. XVIII 3-6: 10 gín DILMUN babbar:kù gur₈ šu-ra túl; 2462 obv. XIX 5-10: šú+ša babbar:kù gur₈ šu-ra túl Ĥi-zi šu-ba₄-ti; 10088 rev. XI 27-32: 1 ma-na babbar:kù gur₈ šu-ra túl Ĥi-zi šu-ba₄-ti. For the gloss wa-²à-um for šu-ra in the Lexical Lists, see P. Fronzaroli, *QdS* 16 (1989) (= *Misc. Eb.* 2) 9. For šu-ra, the passages quoted in ARET IX, 407, are particularly meaningful.

In the following passages several UR are listed together with two kinds of axes (Ĥa-zi, tún) and some hammers (dub-nagar): TM.75.G.1494 obv. I 1: 1 UR 1 tún tur 2 dub-nagar sal zabar; 1566 obv. I 1: 40 UR [x] Ĥa-zi; 2226 (a list of UR weighing 2.5 or 2 minas each) obv. IV 3: 3 UR 1 Ĥa-zi 2 ma-na. UR seems to be the logogram for Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂, however one wishes to explain this writing. The connection with axes makes probable a meaning like "pick, pickaxe". The lexical lists have GIŠ-níg-gul = ma-za/zi-gi-núm, mar-gi-nu,²⁴ terms which do not appear in the economic documents. In TM.75.G.1730 obv. XX 16-rev. I 2, six "big" Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ of bronze (weighing 2 minas each) are given in dotation (?) for a battering ram, together with six pegs, GIŠ-kak, for covering the point of the "tongue", eme, of the battering ram: 1 ma-na šú+ša 4 gín DILMUN an-na šub si-in 11 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ UNKEN-ag 6 Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ maḥ lú gud-si-I 10 gín DILMUN an-na šub si-in 10 lá-2 ma-na a-gar₅-gar₅ UNKEN-ag 6 GIŠ-kak-GIŠ-kak eme gud-si-I.²⁵

UR is connected with túl also in the following passages, TM.75.G.1918 (MEE X 29) rev. VII 16-22: 1 ma-na an-na šub si-in ni-zi-mu 2 UR 5 ma-na šu-ra túl Gi-za-an^{ki}; 10201 rev. XXI 9-15: 37 gín DILMUN an-na šub si-in 5 ma-na šú+ša 3 a-gar₅-gar₅ 2 UR 1 túl Gi-¹di¹-⁴Aš-dar(?).

Ĥar-²à-ru₁₂ could be a reduplication from *ĤR², see Oakk. Ĥar²um, later Ĥerū(m) "to dig", said also of wells.

²⁴ G. Conti, *QdS* 17 (1990) (= *Misc. Eb.* 3) 142.

²⁵ For gud-si-I "battering ram" at Ebla, see P. Steinkeller, NABU 1987/27.

The Sur₉-Priest, the Instrument ^{si}Al-gar-sur₉, and the Forms and Uses of a Rare Sign*

By Niek C. Veldhuis (Groningen)

The sign SUR₉ is one of the very rarely used graphemes of the cuneiform repertoire. The purpose of this paper is, first of all, to trace the palaeographic history of SUR₉, from its earliest attestations until the period of the late lexical texts from Uruk. The main reason for this article is to clear up the confusion in the present descriptions of the sign. We will also take the opportunity to say a few words about the meanings and phonological shape of the words sur₉ and ^{si}al-gar-sur₉. Finally we will discuss some general aspects of the function and transmission of rare signs.

In MSL 6, p. 122 Landsberger described the sign SUR₉ as BALAG×UZ₃ or UZ₃×BALAG. This description was accepted by CAD (s. v. *algarsurrú*). The Old Babylonian form of the sign was studied by Al-Fouadi (1969, p. 131), who listed the following variants: UZ₃BALAG; UZ₃×BALAG; BALAG.UZ₃; and BALAG×UZ₃. In Borger's ABZ the sign is described as "MA₂-KASKAL-SIG₇ und ähnliches" (SUR₉) or "MA₂-SIG₇ und ähnliches" (SUR₁₀)¹. Borger's description is derived from S^b (MSL 3, p. 147; see below § 6) and is presumably meant to apply to first millennium writing only. The present consensus² seems to be that the first millennium form is MA₂.KASKAL.SIG₇ (with variants), the older form BALAG×UZ₃.

Curse of Agade⁵ 35:

Keš Hymn⁶ 116:

Enki's Journey to Nippur⁷ 62:

Išme-Dagan V⁸ 14:

Hymn to the Hoe⁹ 70-71:

Hymn to the Moon-god¹⁰ 17:

Nippur forerunner ur₃-ra 3-7b¹¹ 602:

^{si}al-gar-sur₉-da e-ne im-di-ne

^{si}al-gar-sur₉-(ra) suh₃-sah₄ mi-ni-ib-za

^{si}za₃-mi₂ ^{si}al-gar balag ^{si}al-gar-sur₉-da

^{si}al-gar-sur₉ ^{si}sa-eš ^{si}sa-bi₂-tum

e₂ ^dgeštin-an-na-ka ^{si}al-gar-sur₉-ra-am₃

ama ^dgeštin-an-na-ka ^{si}al-gar-sur₉ gu₃-du₁₀-ga-ka

^{si}al-gar-su[r₉]-ra mu-na-tag-tag-ge

^{si}al-gar-sur₉

their support.

⁴) References were collected by Krispijn in his discussion of the instruments ^{si}al-gar and ^{si}al-gar-sur₉ (Krispijn 1990, pp. 9-10).

⁵) Edition in Cooper 1983.

⁶) Edition in Gragg 1969.

⁷) Edition in Al-Fouadi 1969. For the interpretation of line 62 and its variants see below.

⁸) Edition in Ludwig 1990.

⁹) According to the unpublished edition by C. van Aalderen. Translation in Farber-Flügge 1997.

¹⁰) UET 6 68; edited by Hall 1986. The duplicate CBS 11363 has dug-šakir, (churn) instead of sur₉. The line is quoted by Krispijn 1990 (p. 10), but with the wrong number (A 30230 = 3N-T386, which is Išme-Dagan V).

¹¹) Line number according to the edition in Veldhuis 1997. See MSL 6, p. 157: 219. Note that the spelling ^{si}al-gar-sur-ra appears in the Sippar text Sch.5 (ZA X, p. 24), but not in SLT 182 (collated).

*) It is a pleasure to acknowledge the suggestions and corrections by David Brown, Herman Vanstiphout, and Jeremy Black. Eleanor Robson collated a text in the Ashmolean for me, and recopied the relevant line. Jerry Cooper collated a text in the Walter's Art Gallery and allowed me to use his copy of the sign in question. To both I should like to express my sincere thanks.

¹) For reasons which will become clear in § 6, I will not follow Borger's distinction between SUR₉ and SUR₁₀. All sign forms are taken to be variants of a single sign SUR₉.

²) See for instance Krispijn 1990, p. 24 note 62; and Civil in MSL 14, p. 512, note to line 151ff.

³) I should like to thank Dr. C. B. F. Walker, Deputy Keeper of the Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, and the professors Åke Sjöberg, Erle Leichty, and Steve Tinney, curators of the Babylonian Collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia, for their permission to use the resources under their care. My stay in London was made possible financially by a fellowship at the Warburg Institute of London University. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge

The word ^{al}gar-sur₉ further appears in SEM 90 ii 11. Unfortunately, the sign SUR₉ is not preserved in Proto-Ea or Proto-Aa. It was probably treated in the section UZ₃, but this passage is almost completely lost in both compositions (see MSL 14, p. 62: 875ff. and MSL 14, p. 103: 875ff.).

In Old Babylonian writing the sign SUR₉ has at least three variants: UZ₃+ERIN₂; UZ₃+UD; and UZ₃+LIŠ. No example involving the sign BALAG has been identified. In Nippur only the first two variants

are attested. Of the fourteen examples collected in table 1, six have the form UZ₃+ERIN₂ (2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 13), and five have UZ₃+UD (1, 8, 9, 11, and 14). The remaining three are damaged at the end of the sign (6: most probably UZ₃+UD, 10, and 12). An additional example is found in photograph in Ludwig 1990 Tafel 6 (3 N-T 925, 506 line 5, last sign; not collated), which most probably has the form UZ₃+ERIN₂.

1	CBS 14002 (SEM 90)		8	UM 29-16-747 Keš Hymn CC	
2	3N-T298+ Curse of Agade Y2		9	CBS 14067 (PBS I/2, 105) Enki's Journey to Nippur J	
3	3N-T901,44 Curse of Agade Z3		10	CBS 2216 Enki's Journey to Nippur FF	
4	3N-T386 (cast) Išmedagan V A		11	N 3515 Enki's Journey to Nippur NN	
5	CBS 11876 (HAY 448) Keš Hymn E		12	CBS 3825 (SLT 75) + CBS 4847 (SLT 139) OB ur ₅ -ra giš	
6	CBS 7802 (SEM 108) Keš Hymn G		13	N 5589 OB ur ₅ -ra giš	
7	3N-T478 (cast) Keš Hymn M		14	CBS 8164 (SLT 175) OB ur ₅ -ra giš	

Table 1: Texts from Nippur.

Outside Nippur the most common form appears to be UZ₃+LIŠ (table 2). Illustrative examples are no. 1 and no. 2, both of unknown origin. Additional examples of the sign SUR₉ which seem to end in LIŠ are found in TCL 16 Plate CXIV obv. line 20 and Plate CLXVII line 60 (both Enki's Journey to Nippur; not collated). The sign forms found in Ur (nos 4-7) are rather confusing. The two examples in UET 6, 26A

(nos 5 and 6) both end in LIŠ, but the signs differ in their first part. No. 4 may be UZ₃+LIŠ, but the final part of the sign is not entirely clear. No. 7 is damaged as well, but clearly does not represent UZ₃+LIŠ, nor any of the other variants discussed above. A possible reading is UZ₃+TAR (see § 4 below), but this must remain uncertain.

1	BM 115798 Keš Hymn (Geller 1996)	
2	Walters Art Gallery 48.1802 Keš Hymn A (OECT I, Plate 45) ¹	
3	Ashmolean 1922.161 ii 28 Enki's Journey to Nippur A (OECT I, plate 2) ²	
4	UET 6 119 Enki's Journey to Nippur B	
5	UET 6 26A ³ Hymn to the Hoe line 70	
6	UET 6 26A Hymn to the Hoe line 71	
7	UET 6 68 Hymn to the Moon (Hall 1986; with photograph on p.165)	

Table 2: Texts from Ur and Unknown Places.

Notes to table 2:

¹) Copied by Jerry Cooper, who informs me that the text reads ^{al}al-SUR-sur₉-ra, as copied in OECT I (*pace* Gragg 1969, p. 174 note to line 116). SUR may be understood as an error for GAR (^{al}al-gar^l-sur₉-ra) or as a gloss, in which the GAR is omitted: ^{al}al-<gar>-sur₉-ra.

²) Copied by Eleanor Robson.

³) UET 6, 26 is a composite copy of a large tablet and an extract. The large tablet is now numbered UET 6, 26A; the extract UET 6, 26B. See the catalogue in UET 6/1.

2 The Word Sur₉

In first-millennium lu₂ = ša IV 160f. (MSL 12, p. 133; see below § 6) we find the equations sur₉ = *surrû* and sur₉ = *kalû*¹². Both Akkadian words are loans from Sumerian. According to CAD *surrû* is not attested outside the lexical corpus. The related word *surmahhu* is attested once in an inscription of Sargon II. The king claims to have installed various learned priests, including a *surmahhu* (see Fuchs 1994, p. 236, line 157)¹³. The equation sur₉ = *kalû* in lu₂ = ša is an

¹²) The same entries are found in other first millennium lexical texts as well. See CAD *s. v. kalû* and *surrû* for references.

¹³) The same list of priests may be restored in Sargon's Annals line 428 (Fuchs 1994, p. 182).

explanatory entry indicating that the sur₉-priest had a function comparable to the *kalû* or lamentation priest^{13a}.

The sur₉-priest is not a late invention. He appears in some versions of Enki's Journey to Nippur. In his edition of this composition Al-Fouadi (1969) reconstructed line 62 as: ^{al}za₃-mi₂ ^{al}al-gar-balag-sur₉-za, which he translated as "zami-lyres, *algarsurrû*-musical instruments" (in an enumeration of musical instruments which continues in the next line). Ignoring the final -za Al-Fouadi took ^{al}al-gar-balag-sur₉ as a single word, a variant spelling for ^{al}al-gar-sur₉. This is improbable, since this spelling is unknown elsewhere. The line in question has three main variants:

- 1 ^{al}za₃-mi₂ ^{al}al-gar balag sur₉-za
- 1a ^{al}za₃-mi₂ ^{al}al-gar balag sur₉-da
- 2 ^{al}za₃-mi₂ ^{al}al-gar (^{al}al)balag ^{al}al-gar-sur₉-da
- 3a [^{al}za₃-mi₂] ^{al}al-gar-zu balag ^{al}al-gar-sur-ra-ta (BIN 2, 23; allograph SUR for SUR₉)
- 3b ^{al}za₃-mi₂ ^{al}al-gar-zu balag ^{al}sur₉-am₃ (UET 6, 119)

Variant 1 is represented by one Nippur manuscript (FF: variant 1a) and by all but two of the non-Nippur texts. Variant 2 is the majority recension in Nippur, found in three manuscripts (C, J¹⁴, and NN). The remaining two manuscripts agree in having ^{al}al-gar-zu, but differ in their representation of the final word. Variant 1 is to be translated: "the lyre, the algar and the balag of your sur₉-priest". The person addressed is the temple of Enki, as in earlier sections of this composition. Variant 2, the majority variant in Nippur, is simply an enumeration of musical instruments which continues in the next line. In variant 3 the second-person pronoun is attached to the word ^{al}al-gar. We may translate the line in BIN 2, 23 (variant 3a) as: "your lyre and algar, the balag with the algarsur". This is almost equivalent to version 2. The final -ta (not collated; but see the photograph in BIN 2, plate LXIII) may simply be an allograph for -da. The text from Ur (variant 3b) has: "your lyre and algar, the balag and (even) the sur₉". In this case sur₉ cannot be the priest, since it is preceded by the ^{al}al determinative. It may be an abbreviated or erroneous writing for ^{al}al-gar-sur₉, or we have here the word ^{al}sur₉ = plectrum. The existence of this latter word, however, is open to doubt. It was suggested by Krispijn 1990, p. 24 note 62. The suggestion is attractive, in particular because of the association in mur-gud between ^{al}sur₉ and *šulpu*, a word for stalk (see below § 6). The evidence in mur-gud, however, is rather confused. First, ^{al}sur₉ is equated with *zannaru* (another musical instrument) and only ^{al}sur₉-gal is explained as *šulpu*. Second, the lexical

^{13a}) See also Henshaw 1994, pp. 102-103.

¹⁴) The line in text J is transcribed twice in Al-Fouadi 1969. The transcription on p. 95 is correct, the one on p. 131 is incorrect.

tradition knows *šulpu* also as a kind of flute. The interpretation of the variant from Ur remains uncertain.

The unexpected number of variants in a single line is probably due to the presence of an unusual word. The existence of a *sur*₉-priest was completely or almost completely forgotten, and the line was reinterpreted to include the somewhat better known word ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉.

a) comitative -da:

balag ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-da "Balag with algarsur" (Enki's Journey 62 variant 2)

b) genitive -da:

balag sur₉-da "The balag of the sur₉-priest" (*ibidem*, variant 1a)

c) ablative or locative -da:

⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-da e-ne im-di-ne "They play (music) with the algarsur" (Curse of Agade 35)

d) copula -ra-am₃:

e₂ ^dgeštin-an-na-ka ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-ra-am₃ "In the house of G it is the algarsur" (Hymn of the Hoe 70)

e) absolute -Ø or -ra:

⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-(ra) suh₃-sah₄ mi-ni-ib-za "They make the algarsur sound suhsah" (Keš Hymn)

⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-ra mu-na-tag-tag-ge "They strike the algarsur for him" (Hymn to the Moon UET 6, 68)

The evidence may best be explained by a historical change of /d/ ⇒ /t/. The comitative in example (a) is inconclusive, since we expect -da under all circumstances. The genitive -da in example (b) indicates a reading /sud/, as does the locative -da in example (c). The verb e-ne - du₁/e/di is attested with several postpositions (see Attinger 1993, pp. 472-474). The -da in this example may be interpreted as locative or ablative. The allomorph -da for the ablative does exist but is rare, and the -da is found in all extant sources of this line. A simpler explanation, therefore, is to understand sur₉-da as the locative /sud-a/. The Curse of Agade is known from Ur III sources, so the presence of earlier orthographies is understandable. The Hymn to the Hoe (example d) represents the later form with final /t/.¹⁵ The Keš Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Unfortunately, the ED copies of the Keš hymn¹⁶ do not include the line in question. We expect -Ø, rather than -ra, and this variant does indeed appear in BM 115798 (Geller 1996).

Our interpretation of the phonemic shape of the word sur₉ concurs with the arguments put forward by Black (1990) against the postulation of a phoneme /d/ or /t/. According to Black the data may better be explained by a gradual change of intervocalic /d/ to /t/.

¹⁵) Farber-Flügge 1997, p. 511 argued for a post-Ur III origin of the composition.

¹⁶) See Biggs 1971.

3 Sur₉ = /sud/

Attinger (RA 78, p. 109) has argued that sur₉ ends with the /d/ (or rather /t/) phoneme, because the spellings ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-(ra) and ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉-da alternate. However, in any particular context we find either -ra or -da, and the only alternation that is attested is between -Ø and -ra. The suffixes that appear with ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉ or sur₉ can be summarized as follows:

In our case, explaining the data above by positing a final /t/ for sur₉ implies metathesis in the examples b and c /sut'a/ > /surta/. Metathesis of this type has been proposed by Boisson (1989) to explain the writing uz₃-da (/ut'a/ > /usta/). If, however, we follow Steinkeller in interpreting UZ₃ as /uzud/ (Steinkeller 1992, p. 47) Boisson's hypothesis, which explains only this single phenomenon, becomes superfluous. The absence of metathesis in example d, moreover, remains unexplained in this alternative interpretation.

4 The Early History of the Sur₉-Priest

Several centuries earlier than the literary texts discussed above the sur₉-priest appears in the pre-Sargonic Lagaš text VS 14, 75 (not collated). Col. i 1-6 reads¹⁷:

- 1 2 sa₂-du₁₁ kas sig₁₅
- 2 ziz₂-an-bi 0.0.4
- 3 še-bi 0.1.3 2 sila₃
- 4 kas-bi
- 5 UZ₃+TAR-NE
- 6 e-nag

¹⁷) The text is edited in Bauer 1972 no. 62. A modernised transliteration by Bram Jagersma is found in his collection of Sumerian texts on the World Wide Web (http://oasis.leidenuniv.nl/ub/sta/os/vs_14.txt).

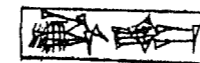


Fig. 1: VS 14, 75 i 5 as copied by Förtsch.

The text is the account of the brewer Enbešaga over one month. In the same text an amount of beer is accounted for as balag ru-a ša₃ uru-ka-ke, e-nag: "its beer was drunk by (those in charge of) the balag erected in the city centre" (ii 4-6; see Selz 1995, p. 104). This provides a plausible context for reading sur₉-de₃ in line 5: the beer was drunk by the sur₉-priest. The spelling sur₉-de₃ is consistent with our interpretation of the older phonemic form of the word sur₉ as /sud/ in section 3.

The sur₉ priest does not appear in third millennium lists of professions. We do find, however, the entries GAL:ŠUD₃, šud₃, and ama-šud₃. In the archaic version of ED Lu A we find the following sequence (ATU 3, p. 83f. 105-107):

GAL:NAR
GAL:BALAG
GAL:ŠUD₃

The same passage is found in the third millennium versions of ED Lu A (MSL 12, p. 11: 77-79; Arcari 1982, p. 24f.). The sequence "chief of the singers/musicians", "chief of the balag-players", "chief of the šud₃" suggests that the šud₃ had a function in music. The contextual proximity of balag and šud₃ parallels the connection between balag and sur₉ in the Lagash text quoted above, and in variant 1 of Enki's Journey to Nippur, 62. In the list "Early Dynastic Lu E" we find the professions šud₃ and ama-šud₃ (MSL 12, p. 18, line 110f. and MEE 3, p. 40, line 110). If šud₃ and sur₉ are etymologically related the initial sibilants of the two words are in need of explanation. Sumerian sibilants are notoriously difficult. Their varying representations in glosses and in loanwords in Akkadian show that the Sumerian set was asymmetrical to the Akkadian one, and that both were subject to change over time¹⁸. It is well known that Old Sumerian /š/ (or /s/) under circumstances changed to /s/ in later Sumerian. It is possible, therefore, that the word sur₉ originally had a /š/ or /s/ initial. Our primary evidence for the reading /sur/ derives from glosses in first-millennium lexical texts (discussed in § 6 of the present paper). The variant -sur- (in ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur-ra) in Old Babylonian literary texts is indecisive, since it may as well be read -šur-. The only unequivocal evidence for /s/ in Old Babylonian is the entry lu₂-al-gar-su-ra = mu-ki-il [] (MSL 12, p. 165: 248; Old Babylonian bilingual Lu, recension A). The only syllabic spelling

¹⁸) The literature on Sumerian sibilants has been reviewed by Schretter 1990, pp. 54-62, with a list of relevant forms.

of the Akkadian loan *algarsurrû* is found in a Middle Babylonian lexical text from Emar reading: a₂-la₂-ga₂-ur₃ = al-gu-šu-ru-u¹⁹.

Unfortunately, as long as we have no alternate spellings in comparable contexts the relation between sur₉ and šud₃ must remain speculative.

5 The Meaning of the Word ⁸¹⁵Al-gar-sur₉

In older studies *algarsur* has been translated "drumstick" or "plectrum" (CAD s. v. *algarsurrû*; Gragg 1969, p. 175: 116). In more recent contributions it is assumed that both *algar* and *algarsur* refer to a kind of harp. The identification of ⁸¹⁵al-gar as a horizontal (Elamite) harp was proposed by Duchesne-Guillemin (1969) on the basis of a combination of pictorial and textual evidence. An important argument in her discussion was the item ur₅-ra 7b, 61: ⁸¹⁵MIN(=al-gar)-NIM-ma^{ki} = MIN e-[la-mu-u₂] (MSL 6, p. 122)²⁰. Because of the special place of Elam in the history of the harp, this line contributed to her conclusion that the *algar* must be a kind of harp. However, the interpretation of this line is open to doubt. In MSL 6 the passage runs as follows:

57	[⁸¹⁵ al-gar]	[ŠU]
58	[]	[]
59	⁸¹⁵ al-gar-sur ₉	ŠU-u
60	[⁸¹⁵ al-gar x x K]I	[]
61	⁸¹⁵ MIN-NIM-ma ^{ki}	MIN e-[la-mu-u ₂]

Unfortunately, line 59 does not exist. It is reconstructed from an entry in the commentary on ur₅-ra (mur-gud line 165; MSL 6, p. 142). The line in question more probably comments on ur₅-ra 7b, 68, which happens to be spelled ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur-ra (with SUR rather than SUR₉) in the only source extant. Line 57 is inferred from line 59 (see footnote in MSL 6, p. 121). Since line 60 is all but lost, and line 58 completely so, the interpretation of MIN in line 61 as al-gar is solely based on the doubtful reconstruction of line 59 from mur-gud. The word ⁸¹⁵al-gar, in fact, is treated a few lines further on (line 63). A more probable interpretation of line 61 is MIN = tigidlu (ŠA₃.MIN.TAR), because of the entry ⁸¹⁵tigidlu-NIM-ma in the Old

¹⁹) Arnaud: *Emar* VI/4, p. 75: 386'. The line is found in a list of wooden objects (forerunner ur₅-ra 5-7) among musical instruments and must represent the word ⁸¹⁵al-gar-sur₉. In the Emar text our line is preceded by a₂-la₂ and a₂-la₂-ga₂. The latter is a conflation of ⁸¹⁵al-gar and ⁸¹⁵a₂-la₂. In PSD A/2 a₂-la₂-ga₂ and a₂-la₂-ga₂-ur₃ were entered under a₂-la₂-GANA₂. This entry is to be deleted.

²⁰) The other place where Duchesne-Guillemin had found the expression ⁸¹⁵al-gar-NIM.MA^{ki} is in BIN 2, 23 "line 30". This is line 62 of Enki's Journey to Nippur variant 3b, discussed above (§ 2). The NIM-like sign must be read BALAG.

Babylonian version of this same list from Nippur (line 616)²¹. [#]Tigidlu is a stringed instrument²² and may therefore qualify as the instrument discussed by Duchesne-Guillemin.

A reappraisal of the word *algarsur* should involve a consideration of all Sumerian terms for musical instruments, which goes beyond the confines of the present paper. The following is not more than a suggestion. In assessing the meaning of *algarsur*, the word *balag* plays an important role, because of the frequent contextual association of the two words. In the past, two translations of *balag* have been advocated with some regularity²³. The translation “harp”, “lyre”, or similar is proposed, for instance, by PSD (*s. v. balag*) and by Krispijn 1990, p. 6-7 (“Oberbegriff für ‘Saiteninstrument’”). Cohen (1974, p. 31) and Black (1991, p. 29 n. 39) among others argue for the identification of *balag* with a kind of drum²⁴. The first interpretation is supported by the Ebla Vocabulary line 572 (MEE p. 264) *balag* = *gi-na-ru₁₂-um* (with orthographic variants). The Akkadian represents the common Semitic word *kinnārum* = zither (see Kreberek 1983, p. 21). In later texts, however, the translation zither or harp presents difficulties. Gelb (1976, p. 57) has pointed out that among the specialized terms for musicians in Ur III we find *nar-sa-me* and *nar-balag-me*. Since the *nar-sa-me* are “musicians playing stringed instruments” the *nar-balag-me* must be something else, presumably “musicians playing a percussion instrument”. The awe-inspiring names of Gudea-period *balags*, *ušumgal-kalam-ma* (Dragon of the Land) and *lugal-igi-huš-am₃* (Fierce-looking King) are hardly suitable for instruments producing soft, melodious sounds, but may well be imagined for the giant drums that are known from pictorial evidence. In literary texts from the Old Babylonian period, now conveniently brought together in PSD B, p. 76f., the *balag* is repeatedly found in parallel with the *lilis-drum* or with the *meze-drum*. We may further cite a passage in the Old Babylonian list of trees and wooden objects. The [#]*a₂-la₂* (a wooden drum) is preceded by a short section [#]*balag* and followed by [#]*al-gar* and [#]*al-gar-sur₉*. These items are followed in turn by stringed instruments ([#]*sa-bi₂-lum*; etc.). If *balag* were a stringed instrument, this would be an odd arrangement. The passage may be understood as treating (wooden) drums and related words,

including [#]*balag*, [#]*a₂-la₂*, and [#]*al-gar-sur₉*, followed by stringed instruments. A similar passage is found in the list of leather objects (MSL 7, p. 221f.).

If we accept the interpretation of *balag* as a drum, variant 2 of Enki’s Journey to Nippur line 62 becomes most suggestive: the drum with the drumsticks (*balag* [#]*al-gar-sur₉-da*). The translation “drumstick(s)” is not contradicted by any of the occurrences discussed above. The *mur-gud* entry [#]*al-gar-sur₉* = *ŠU-u* = [*šu*]*l-pu ša₂* BUR.UR (MSL 6, p. 142, 165) remains elusive because of the unidentified BUR.UR. *Šulpu* (stalk), however, is more likely to be a drumstick than a harp²⁵.

The translation “drumstick” is further supported by the use of the verb *suh₃-sah₄ za* to describe the sound of the *algarsur* (Keš Hymn 116; see above § 1 and § 3). Verbs of the class C₁uC₂-C₁aC₂ *za* were discussed by Civil 1960, who concluded that all these forms mean “to make noise”, in particular a repeated, monotonous kind of noise. In addition to the sound of the *algarsur* the verb *suh₃-sah₄ za* is also used to describe the sound of little stones set in motion by the feet of Enmerkar’s messenger rushing over the mountains (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 351). Moreover, the word *suh₃-sah₄* is rendered *raqqidu* (“dancer”) in Akkadian (Lu₂ IV 237; MSL 12, p. 136). The occurrences suggest a meaning “rattling” or “beating” (the beating of the feet of the dancers on the ground) and support Gragg’s translation of the Keš Hymn line 116: “the drumsticks (= [#]*al-gar-sur₉*) kept beating”²⁶.

6 First Millennium

In first millennium texts the use of the sign SUR₉ is almost exclusively restricted to lexical texts. The only exception known to me is in a late Babylonian copy of a bilingual *Balag-text*²⁷:

ad-gi₄-gi₄-mu su[r₉]-gal-mu d[e₃-ba-a]b-gi₄-gi₄
ma-li-ku gal-ma-hi l[i-ter-ra]-am

He should return my advisor, my chief lamentation priest.

SUR₉ is probably written UZ₃-SIG₇, but the sign is damaged and of little value for our present purposes.

The following lexical entries are known to me:

1) S^b II (MSL 3, p. 147) 284-287:
284 uz UZ₃ en-zu

²⁵ It should be noticed, however, that all *mur-gud* entries in this passage are reconstructed. It is not certain that column 3 matches the columns 1 and 2 as presented in MSL 6 (see the note to 161-170 in MSL 6, p. 142).

²⁶ Gragg 1969, p. 174; evidence for *suh₃-sah₄ za* on p. 187.

²⁷ Volk 1989, Plate II Rs. iii 13'; edited in Volk 1995, p. 196. Not collated.

285	sur-ru	SUR ₉	sur-ru-u
286	MIN	SUR ₉	ka-lu-u
287	gu-a-na	GU ³ ANA	qab-lum

The sign GU³ANA (line 287) is derived from SUR₉ and has forms such as UZ₃.SIG₇/SIG₇ (see below).

2) Ea VIII: almost completely reconstructed (MSL 14, p. 483: 247-252).

3) Aa VIII/4 = 42: almost completely reconstructed (MSL 14, p. 512f.: 156-163).

4) Middle Assyrian excerpt from Ea from Assur (MSL 14, p. 485, 17)²⁸.

5) Ur₂-ra 7b, 67-70 (MSL 6, p. 122f.):

67	[#] sur ₉ -gal	[]
68	[#] al-gar-sur-ra	ŠU-[u]
69	[#] sur ₉	ŠU-u
70	[#] sur ₉ -gal	ŠU-lum

6) *Mur-gud* to ur₂-ra 7b, 165-167 (MSL 6, p. 142)²⁹:

165	[#] al-gar-sur ₉	ŠU-u	[<i>šu</i>] <i>l-pu ša₂</i> BUR.UR
166	[#] sur ₉ -ra	ŠU-u	[<i>za</i>]-na-ru
167	[#] sur ₉ -gal	ŠU-lum	[<i>šu</i>] <i>l-pu</i>

7) Lu₂ = *ša* IV 160-161 (MSL 12, p. 133):

160	^{su-ru} sur ₉	su-ur-ru-u ₂ (variant ^{su-ru} sur ₉ ; see below fig. 6)
161	sur ₉	ka-lu-u ₂

8) Nabnitu X 242 and 247-248 (MSL 16, p. 122):

242	^{zu-ur} sur ₉	MIN (= ka-lu-u) EME.SAL
243	lagar	MIN EME.SAL
244	la-bar	MIN EME.SAL
245	GIN ₂ -ga ₂	MIN
246	bad ₃ -AN	MIN
247	sur ₉ -ra	MIN
248	sur ₉ -gal	MIN

The texts display a wide variety of forms for SUR₉. We may begin our discussion of these signs with the Babylonian examples. Most informative is BM 35586 + BM 93030 (S^b II source S₅), which includes an additional column with ancient sign names. The forms of the signs under discussion are:



Fig. 2: BM 35586 + 93030.

²⁸ The line was reconstructed [*sur*(?)*-r*]a MA₂.LIŠ [] by Civil. However, MA₂.LIŠ is used as variant for *gir₄* in a MB Alalakh lexical tablet (MSL 7, p. 119-120, vi 9-12). An alternative reconstruction, therefore, would be [*gi-r*]a or similar.

²⁹ For column 3 see above, note 25.

The first of these two signs is SUR₉, the second is a related sign, glossed *gu-a-na* in S^b II (line 287). In MSL 3 the first sign was described as UZ₃+GAŠAN (lines 285-286); the second as UZ₃+KASKAL (line 287). The ancient sign names as given in column 3 of the present tablet are UZ₃(*u₂-su-u₂*)-*gunû* and UZ₃-*kaskallaku* respectively. The latter sign has a comparable form in BM 34720 (CT 51, 82 rev. column iv, 1; S^b source ZL1; copied here including the initial vertical):



Fig. 3: BM 34720.

In an early Neo Babylonian copy of S^b II from Nippur (Cole 1996 no. 114; signs only) the relevant lines appear as follows (copy by Steve Cole, not collated. S^b II 284-287):

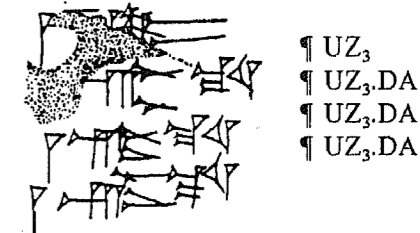


Fig. 4: Cole 1996 text 114 rev. ix 4-7 as copied by Cole.

The scribe of this tablet (or his source) probably adapted the unusual signs SUR₉ and GU³ANA to something familiar.

More Babylonian examples are found in BM 34129 (*mur-gud*), which contains two slightly variant forms³⁰:

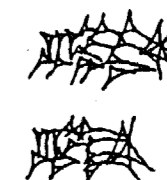


Fig. 5: BM 34129.

These forms are close to the ones in BM 35586+ (fig. 2) which the Babylonian scribe indicated as UZ₃-*gunû*.

BM 70871 + BM 82921 + BM 101366 is an unpublished duplicate of Lu₂ = *ša* IV. Here we find ^{su-ru}SUR₉, as follows:

²¹ See Veldhuis 1997, p. 249. For the word *tigidlu* see Civil 1987 and below § 7.

²² Line 615 of the same list has [#]*tigidlu-sa-eš*. See also Arnaud *Emar* 6/4, p. 76: 407: *tigidlu-sa-uš*.

²³ Some of the older literature is cited in Gelb 1976, p. 57f.

²⁴ Kilmer tried to harmonize the two opinions, by assuming that *balag* is a stringed instrument with a resonator that can be used for percussion (Kilmer 1995, p. 465).

³⁰ MSL 6, p. 108 source L₂. The number given there (BM 34127) is incorrect. For line 165 (MSL 6, p. 142) it has the variant: [#]*al-GAR-ga-sur₉*, suggesting a reading [#]*al-nig₂-ga-sur₉*. The variant (not noted in MSL) is almost certainly a scribal mistake.

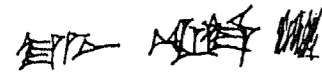


Fig. 6: BM 70871 + BM 82921 + BM 101366.

The sign SUR₉ may be described as UZ₃.LIŠ, or, perhaps, as MA₂.SIG₇.

In a late Babylonian copy of S^b II from Uruk (SBTU 4, 216) still other sign forms appear (copy by von Weiher, not collated):

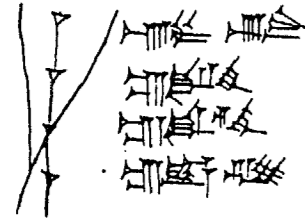


Fig. 7: SBTU 4, 216 rev. iii 10-13 as copied by von Weiher.

This text gives each sign twice: in an Assyrian (or assyrianized) and a Babylonian variant. The first line reproduced here reads UZ₃ (Ass.) UZ₃ (Bab.). Unfortunately, for the signs which interest us here, only the Assyrian form is given. They may be read:

- ¶ MA₂.SIG₇.GE
- ¶ MA₂.SIG₇.GE
- ¶ MA₂.SIG₇/SIG₇.GE/GE

The writing MA₂.SIG₇ for SUR₉ is a known Assyrian form (see below), but the final GE is odd, and may indicate that the interpretation of the sign was lost by that time.

In CT 11, 14-18 (K 110), an Assyrian copy of S^b II, SUR₉ is written MA₂.SIG₇. This sign form is reproduced in MSL 3, p. 147, lines 285-286. Unfortunately K 110 was not available for collation.

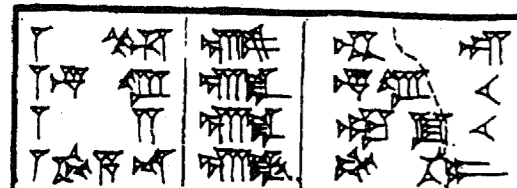


Fig. 8: K 110 as copied by Thompson in CT 11.

Three other Assyrian examples were examined³¹. K 39 (= CT 12, 40-41) is Nabnitu IX. SUR₉ appears there as UZ₃(= MA₂.KASKAL).SIG₇:

³¹ K 2028 (ur₃-ra 7b, source C₂) was collated as well, but the writing is too much eroded to be of any use for the present purpose.

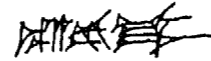


Fig. 9: K 39.

The same form is found in K 14125 (mur-gud; see MSL 6, p. 139):

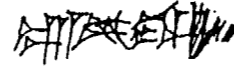


Fig. 10: K 14125.

The final example is from K 4399 (mur-gud A₅; MSL 6, p. 139):

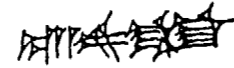


Fig. 11: K 4399.

This sign may be interpreted as UZ₃.BALAG. It is this aberrant sign form that has led to the erroneous description of SUR₉ as UZ₃×BALAG, etc. It is probable that this form is influenced by the more frequent sign SANGA₂. In first millennium lexical and bilingual texts sanga₂ is rendered *mullillu* (a cultic cleaner; see CAD s. v.). Sumerian sanga₂-mah is rendered *šangammāhu*, a kind of exorcist (frequently used as an epithet of the god Kusu). According to CAD Š/1, p. 376 the sign SANGA₂ has the following variants:

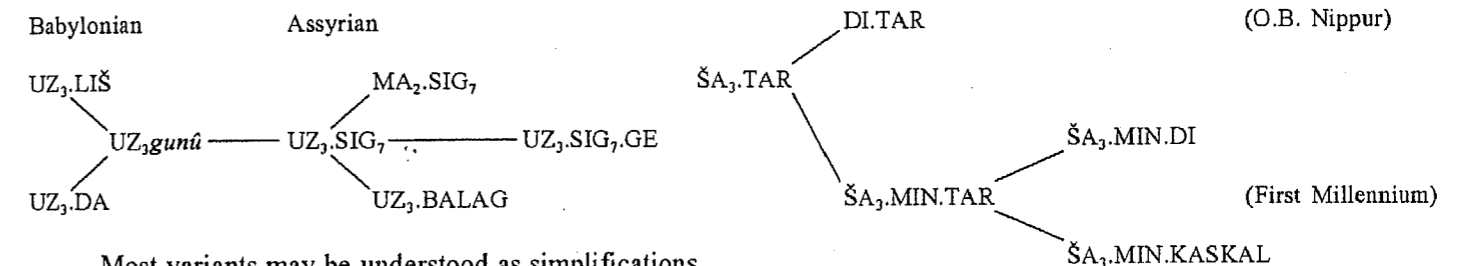
IL ₂ .MA ₂ .DUB ₂	GA.MA ₂ .DUB ₂
IL ₂ .MA ₂ .SIG ₇	GA.MA ₂ .SIG ₇
IL ₂ .DUB ₂	GA.DUB ₂
	GA.UZ ₃

Since DUB₂ in the late period is identical with BALAG the series of variants of SUR₉ and SANGA₂ are related, and may have interfered with each other.

7 Rarely Used Signs

Widely used compounds, such as pad₃ (IGI+RU) or diri (SI+A) may over the centuries change considerably in their appearance, but the elements of the compound usually remain constant. Their palaeographic development can be explained for the larger part by the development of their constituent signs. We have seen that this is not the case for the rare sign SUR₉. Even in Neo Assyrian, one of the most standardized phases of cuneiform, the sign has three recognized variants: MA₂.SIG₇, UZ₃.SIG₇, and UZ₃.BALAG. Over the centuries the first element, UZ₃, remained constant, but even that is occasionally replaced by MA₂. A compound that is less frequently used may have been subject to rationalisations of various sorts. It is

not taken as an arbitrary conventional symbol, but rather as an icon in which form and meaning, or form and sound value, have some non-arbitrary relation. The Old Sumerian form UZ₃+TAR may indicate an original function of the sur₉-priest. One of his responsibilities may have been related to the killing of a sacrificial goat. This interpretation, however, may be no more than a modern rationalisation of the sign combination. The Old Babylonian form UZ₃+LIŠ does not seem to include any indication of its reading or meaning. ERIN₂ in the Nippur spelling UZ₃+ERIN₂ may be understood as a phonemic indicator. Steinkeller (1990) has demonstrated that ERIN₂ has a value /sur/ in third-millennium texts. UZ₃+ERIN₂ may therefore be understood as UZ₃^{sur}, using a learned, archaic sign value³². The variants of SUR₉ in the first millennium occasionally show the use of secondary sign interpretations. The variants found may be grouped around two central forms: a Babylonian and an Assyrian one.



Most variants may be understood as simplifications of the central forms UZ₃gunū and UZ₃.SIG₇. The Assyrian form MA₂.SIG₇, for instance, can be derived from the central form, because Assyrian UZ₃ = MA₂.KASKAL. The writing UZ₃.DA in the Neo-Babylonian copy of S^b II from Nippur is no doubt erroneous, replacing the rare sign by something familiar. The Assyrian form UZ₃.BALAG represents a secondary interpretation. The Assyrian sign BALAG is approximately equivalent to a reduplicated SIG₇. The writing is probably inspired by the common association of balag and ^{#18}al-gar-sur₉. The variant UZ₃.SIG₇.GE, an Assyrian form found in a Babylonian text, demonstrates that in scribal practice the sign was actually analyzed and named "uz-sig" or something similar; otherwise the ending -GE after a sign pronounced /sur/ is difficult to explain. The form UZ₃.LIŠ may be related to the Old Babylonian form, but that is far from certain.

Another rare compound, in many respects comparable to SUR₉, is TIGIDLU. The Old Babylonian form of this sign is ŠA₃.TAR or DI.TAR. The word and its

³² ERIN₂ and UD are not always clearly distinguished in Old Babylonian writing, so that the form UZ₃+UD might be equivalent to UZ₃+ERIN₂. However, whether ERIN₂ may be written UD in the particular group of texts discussed here (Nippur literary and lexical tablets) is doubtful and cannot be investigated in the present context.

orthography were discussed by Civil (1987). In the Old Babylonian list of trees and wooden objects from Nippur the section ^{#18}tigidlu appears among the musical instruments, not far from the line ^{#18}al-gar-sur₉ (see Veldhuis 1997, p. 249: 613-616)³³. Of the four sources extant for this passage of the list, two use the spelling DI.TAR, one ŠA₃.TAR, and one is broken at the beginning of each line. The spelling DI.TAR is found only here and in a literary text, also from Nippur (Roth 1983, p. 276: 24; see Civil 1987). Spellings with ŠA₃ are found in the Isin craft archive (see below), and in later lexical texts. Middle Babylonian lexical texts from Emar and Ugarit write ^{#18}ŠA₃.TAR (Arnaud *Emar* 6/4, p. 76: 405'ff. with gloss ti-ki-id-la; PRU 3, Planche X RS 13.53; see Veldhuis 1996). First millennium lexical texts write ^{#18}ŠA₃.MIN.DI, with variants ^{#18}ŠA₃.MIN.TAR and ^{#18}ŠA₃.MIN.KASKAL (see Civil 1987). From this evidence we may once again construe a *stemma* of spellings:

In the Nippur spelling DI may be understood as a phonemic complement: ^{#18}TAR = tigidlu. This is most probably a secondary development, furthered by the fact that ŠA₃ and DI are similar in shape in Old Babylonian writing. The writing with ŠA₃ is more wide-spread and is found in the Isin craft archive which is older than the Nippur lexical texts. The first-millennium variant with KASKAL is probably produced by confusion with the word ^{#18}tigidlu-kaskal-la in the list of trees and wooden objects (see Veldhuis 1997, p. 249 line 614 and Arnaud *Emar* 6/4, p. 76: 406', where it is rendered *har-ha-du-tu*). A similar confusion may account for the inclusion of MIN in these late spellings. Post-Old Babylonian versions of lexical lists occasionally use MIN to repeat a gloss. By this way MIN may have entered the orthography of the main word³⁴. Since the word was not used outside the lexical corpus this kind of confusion is understandable. The late writing ŠA₃.MIN.DI again includes a phonemic indicator.

³³ See also above § 5.

³⁴ In Hittite the logogram is spelled ŠA₃.A.TAR (de Martino 1997, p. 485), which may provide an alternative explanation for the writing with MIN (A > MIN). However, the development MIN > A is more likely, because ŠA₃.A is more like Sumerian than ŠA₃.MIN (*lectio difficilior*).

The palaeographic history of rare compounds such as TIGIDLU and SUR₉ may thus be explained partly by reinterpretation, partly by erratic transmission, and partly by simplification. Still, the more fundamental question remains: why did the scribes introduce signs of such limited application? There is no obstacle whatsoever to writing ⁸⁵al-gar-sur, with SUR rather than SUR₉, and so to avoid the rare sign (e.g. BIN 2, 23; see above § 2). In the Old Babylonian period SUR₉ appears exclusively in lexical and literary texts. These texts were used in the education of scribes. Once graduated, a scribe would never use the sign again. For what reason were they forced to spend their time on such seemingly useless rarities of the cuneiform system?

To answer this question we must realize, first, that our documentation is incomplete. The word ⁸⁴tigidlu (ŠA₃.TAR) does appear in administrative texts. It is found in early Old Babylonian administrative texts from the so-called Isin craft archive³⁵. In this particular archive, in a small group of texts concerning the production of musical instruments, the rare word ⁸⁴tigidlu appears three times. If we had not recovered this group of texts we would have concluded that TIGIDLU was invented exclusively for literary and lexical texts used in the classroom. In fact, the compound TIGIDLU demonstrates that a rare sign or compound may be at home in a specialized sector of the bureaucracy. Perhaps we may describe ŠA₃.TAR as a technical writing, a writing used within a small circle of specialist craftsmen. The absence of the sign SUR₉ in administrative texts (apart from the one Old Sumerian example) may be due to chance.

In the second place, the Old Babylonian schools tended to include everything. The instruction in writing in the Old Babylonian period was much more than the transmission of a technique. Writing itself was considered to be something worthy of study. This appears, first, from the structure of the curriculum in Old Babylonian Nippur. As I have argued elsewhere³⁶, it can be demonstrated that in Nippur the sign lists Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri were introduced to the students after the thematic lists of words (the forerunners to ur₅-ra). Proto-Ea deals with polyvalent signs. Each sign is provided with glosses to explain the different values it may have in Sumerian. Proto-Diri is similar in format, but deals with compound signs and adds Akkadian translations. In studying ur₅-ra the pupils had already encountered many polyvalent and compound signs. They had, for instance, used the values

kur₄, nigin₂, lugud₂, and lagab long before they started to study the sign values of LAGAB in Proto-Ea. Similarly, that SI+A was to be read diri was hardly news when they were finally confronted with Proto-Diri. Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri systematized aspects of the cuneiform system that were already familiar to the pupils who copied them. After approaching the writing system from the perspective of semantics, the same system was then treated from another point of view to teach the aspects of polyvalency and compounds on an abstract level.

Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri demonstrate that education in writing at the Old Babylonian schools was not simply aimed at the mastering of a skill, but rather at the understanding of the mechanics of the cuneiform system. This 'scholarly' interest in writing was directed primarily at the contemporaneous Old Babylonian possibilities of the system, but included as well the history of cuneiform. Palaeographic concern is well known from the first millennium. In particular the sign list S^a was repeatedly copied in a palaeographic fashion imitating archaic sign forms. Recently Irving Finkel identified a historical inscription written this way (Finkel 1997). Attempts to imitate earlier phases of writing are known as well from the Old Babylonian period³⁷. The interest in historical orthography is demonstrable in many entries in Old Babylonian lexical lists. The Nippur forerunner to ur₅-ra 3-7 line 515 has ⁸⁸lid₂-ga (a measure)³⁸. The use of the value lid₂ (NI) is restricted to this one word which had been out of use since the Sargonic period (see Civil 1975, p. 132). This interest in ancient sign values is also apparent from one of the Nippur spellings of SUR₉ discussed above. The reading SUR₉ = UZ₃.ERIN₂ = UZ₃^{90c} demonstrates that the value ERIN₂ = /sur/ was still known. An eloquent witness to the study of ancient cuneiform in the Old Babylonian period is the small but important corpus of Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic lexical and literary texts. Some of these copies include glosses. In Appendix 1 a new example of this text type, a copy of the Early Dynastic Fish list with glosses, is published and edited. These glossed examples demonstrate the awareness of the Old Babylonian scribes that third millennium Sumerian and third millennium orthography differed from their own practice. The urge to be complete, to include the likely, the unlikely, and even the impossible developed over time into a characteristic element of first-millennium library texts and first-millennium scribal education. S^b

³⁷) A well-known example is the stela on which is inscribed the Code of Hammurapi, where the vertical reading direction is probably intended to enhance the impression of venerable antiquity. See also YOS 1, 12, with the colophon in a common O. B. hand.

³⁸) Veldhuis 1997, p. 244.

³⁵) For the provenance of these texts, all of which are from illicit excavations, see Van de Mieroop 1987, pp. 5-7. For the word ⁸⁴tigidlu in the Isin craft archive see *ibidem* p. 151 under ⁸⁴ŠA.TAR.

³⁶) Veldhuis 1997, pp. 80-83.

belonged to the elementary exercises. The would-be scribe was there confronted with signs such as SUR₉ and GU³ANA; signs which he would only encounter in other scholastic texts. The learned level of the writing system had a degree of circularity, of self-reference, in which writing explained writing, and derived its relevance only from writing. The typical first-millennium style of exegesis and eisegesis, as found in such texts as TIN.TIR, in commentary texts, and in some Sumerian-Akkadian bilinguals³⁹ depended upon an intricate knowledge of the flexibility of the cuneiform

system. The use of the learned possibilities of the writing system in its extreme form is a post-Old Babylonian phenomenon. In itself, however, this approach to the writing system was not new. Knowledge of the sign repertoire, its system and its possibilities, extending far beyond what may be used in the practice of day-to-day writing, belonged to the goals of the Old Babylonian Eduba. This knowledge, rather than the technique of writing as such, is how a true scribe distinguished himself.

Appendix: An Old Babylonian copy of ED Fish (BM 82905)

BM 82905 (= 83-1-21, 68) is an example of an Old Babylonian copy of an Early Dynastic lexical text with glosses, probably from Sippar. It duplicates some lines of ED Fish. No Old Babylonian copy of this particular list was known so far.

Old Babylonian copies of Early Dynastic lexical and literary texts:

a) without glosses:

CBS 8237	Nippur	Sumerian Words C	SLT 42 (MEE 3, p. 158ff.)
CBS 6142	Nippur	ED Lu A	SLT 112 (MSL 12, p. 9)
CBS 7845	Nippur	ED Lu A	SLT 113 (MSL 12, p. 9)
YBC 2125	Nippur? ⁴⁰	ED Lu A	YOS 1, 12 (MSL 12, p. 9)
Ni 1600+	Nippur	ED Lu A	MSL 12, p. 9
	Kisurra	ED Lu A	FAOS 2/1 Plate 92, F20
BM 30041 + BM 90906	Unknown	ED Lu A	unpublished

b) with glosses:

CBS 7094	Nippur	ED list of plants	Civil and Biggs 1966, pp. 8-11
CBS 14130	Nippur	ED list of vessels	SLT 11 (Civil and Biggs 1966, p. 8 n2)
UM 29-15-174	Nippur	ED proverbs	Civil and Biggs 1966, pp. 5-7
CBS 13493	Nippur (Ur III?)	ED Lu A	SLT 24 (Green 1984) ⁴¹
	Ur	ED Lu A	UET 7, 86 (Civil 1983, p. 1 n2)
U 30497	Ur	ED Lu A	Civil 1983, p. 1 n1
BM 58680	Sippar? ⁴²	ED Lu A	unpublished
BM 82905	Sippar? ⁴³	ED Fish	published below

CBS 6142 (SLT 112; see above) is a list of names, followed by ED Lu A.

After the publication of MSL 12 the following additional fragments of this tablet have been identified: UM 29-16-211; UM 29-16-224; and UM 29-16-252. None of the fragments can be joined physically.

N 5651 (+) N 5655 are two small fragments of another copy of ED Lu A from Nippur (without glosses).

³⁹) Instructive examples of this use of the cuneiform system may be found in Maul 1997.

⁴⁰) YOS 1, p. 11.

⁴¹) The format of this text differs from the other ones in that the glosses are found in a separate column. According to Green the text is from the Ur III period.

⁴²) The tablet belongs to the 82-7-14 collection; see J. E.

N 5867 is an OB copy of the ED Fish list from Nippur without glosses (courtesy M. Civil).

The prominent position of ED Lu A in this corpus is not surprising. From the earliest period in archaic Uruk this had been the most frequently copied composition. Most of the pieces without glosses are prisms, with the exception of SLT 112. BM 30041 + BM 90906 is a cylinder in a rather bad state of preservation.

Reade in *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* Vol. VI, p. xxxiii. When I examined the piece in spring 1997 it was unbaked and uncleaned and could be read only partially.

⁴³) The piece belongs to the 83-1-21 collection. See C. B. F. Walker in *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* VIII, p. xiii.

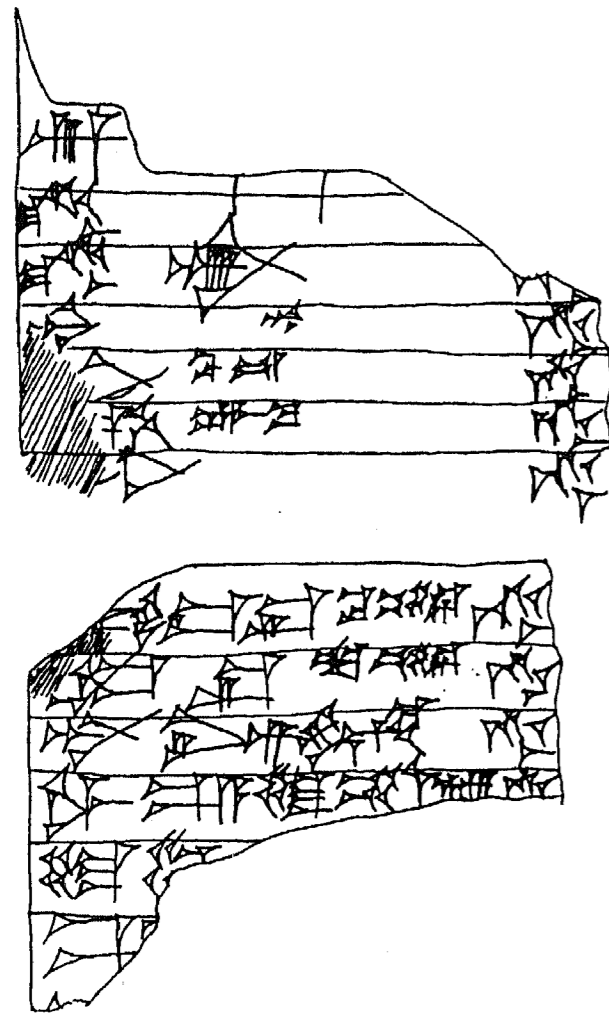


Fig. 12: BM 82905.

BM 82905

Obyverse:		Corresponding line number in ED Fish ⁴⁵ :
1'	nun-[26
2'	peš-[27
3'	peš-GIR ₂ gunû-k[u ₆]	28?
4'	[g]ir ₂ ^{gir} -ku ₆	29
5'	[šu]m ^{ku-ša} -ku ₆	30
6'	[em]e-kud ^{e-me-ku} -ku ₆	31
7'	[]-DU ₃ [?] -ku ₆	32?

Reverse:		
1	[G]I ₄ -pisan-ga ₂ ^{ku-bi-še-gá} -ku ₆	94 (Archaic 97)
2	ne-pisan ^{ne-bi-še-gá} -ku ₆	95
3	gir-ni-gi-en-ku ₆	96
4	LUKUR ^{g^{is}asar₂^{e-ri}} -k[u ₆]	99
5	tu-[u-	98
6	GIŠ-x-[100
7	traces	

BM 82905 is the lower left corner of a tablet measuring 2.9 by 3.9 cms. The curvature of the fragment is consistent with a two column format. It is written in a formal Old Babylonian hand. Because of the nature of the text palaeography is of no help in determining its date more precisely. We may reconstruct its contents as follows:

- Col. 1: [1]-32
 Col. 2: [33-±62]
 Col. 3: [±63-93]
 Col. 4: 94-[end]

In Pettinato's reconstruction (MEE 3, p. 95ff.) ED Fish has 101 lines. It is possible that our text had a few lines more. Anyway, as so often in lexical compositions, the last section is the least standardised. The BM fragment skips line 97 and has 99 before 98. A new edition of ED Fish, including the present fragment and a number of unpublished duplicates from Ur-III Nippur⁴⁴ is being prepared by M. Civil. For that reason the BM text is edited here on its own, and the commentary is restricted to the aspect that is of most interest in the present context: the glosses.

⁴⁴) See ATU 3, p. 22 note 42.

⁴⁵) MEE 3, p. 95ff. and ATU 3, p. 93ff.

Many of the glosses contain the element /ku/ indicating that ku₆ was part of the word. The gloss ku-ša⁴⁶ in obv. 5' may be interpreted as an inverted reading of the line [šu]m-ku₆. The next line, [em]e-kud^{e-me-ku}-ku₆ is paralleled in earlier sources by me-du-ku₆. Apparently the correct reading order is me-ku₆-du. In reverse 1 the Old Babylonian source reads GI₄-pisan-ga₂^{ku-bi-še-gá}-ku₆. The element /ku/ of the gloss probably represents the initial GI₄, thus confirming Klein's suggestion of a reading GI₄ = ku_x (Klein 1981, p. 117f.). In origin the /ku/ is of course ku₆, as demonstrated by the ED entry pisan-ku₆ (with variant PISAN×X-ku₆), corresponding to GA₂×KU₆ in the Archaic text. The gloss bi-še-ga₂ for PISAN, which returns in the next entry, is interesting. Civil (1975, p. 149) discussed the two main variants of this word, pisan and mezem, and the various alternative representations in glosses. Initial b and final ġ are both well attested, but middle /š/ is not. The word was reconstructed by Civil as /bišağ/ or /bišeğ/, where the ś accounts for the alternation of s and z in the glosses. That this sibilant was sometimes understood as š (as in the gloss in our line) is demonstrated by the two forms of the Akkadian loanword: pisanu and pišannu. The gloss in obverse 4' is at first sight rather uninformative: [g]ir₂^{gir}-ku₆. In contrast with the glosses discussed above it does not include an element /ku/. It may thus indicate that here KU₆ is a true determinative. I do not fully understand the gloss e-ri (if read correctly) in reverse 4: LUKUR^{g^{is}asar₂^{e-ri}}-ku₆. The ED text (preserved in only one copy) was read PI.ASAR-ku₆ in MEE 3.

Bibliography

- A.-H. A. Al-Fouadi
 1969 *Enki's Journey to Nippur: The Journeys of the Gods*. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- E. Arcari
 1982 *La Lista di professioni "Early Dynastic LU A". Esempio di metodo di analisi dei rapporti tra le scuole scribali del III millennio a. C.* Annali Supplement 32. Naples.
- P. Attinger
 1993 *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du₁₁/eldi «dire»*. OBO Sonderband. Göttingen.
- J. Bauer
 1972 *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch*. Studia Pohl 9. Rome.
- R. D. Biggs
 1971 "An Archaic Sumerian Version of the Kesh Temple Hymn from Tell Abū Šalābīkh." in: ZA 61, pp. 193-207.
- J. A. Black
 1990 "The Alleged 'Extra' Phonemes of Sumerian." in: RA 84, pp. 107-118.
 1991 "Eme-sal Cult Songs and Prayers." in: AuOr 9 (Civil AV), pp. 23-36.
- C. P. Boisson
 1989 "Contraintes typologiques sur le système phonologique du Sumérien." in: Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris 84, pp. 201-233.
- M. Civil
 1960 "Notes on Sumerian Lexicography." in: JCS 20, pp. 119-124.
 1975 "Lexicography." in: AS 20 (Jacobsen AV), pp. 123-157.
 1983 "Early Dynastic Spellings." in: OrAn 22, pp. 1-5.
 1987 "The Tigidlu Bird and a Musical Instrument." in: NABU 1987/48.
- M. Civil and R. D. Biggs
 1966 "Notes sur des textes sumériennes archaïques." in: RA 60, pp. 1-16.
- M. E. Cohen
 1974 *Balag-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B. C.* SANE 1/2. Malibu.
- S. Cole
 1996 *Nippur IV. The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*. OIP 114. Chicago.
- J. S. Cooper
 1983 *The Curse of Agade*. Baltimore.
- M. Duchesne-Guillemin
 1969 "La harpe à plectre Iranienne: son origine et sa diffusion." in: JNES 28, pp. 109-115.
- G. Farber-Flügge
 1997 "The Song of the Hoe." in: W. W. Hallo (ed.): *The Context of Scripture. Volume I. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*. Leiden, pp. 511-513.
- I. L. Finkel
 1997 "Practical Political Paleography." in: NABU 1997/1.
- A. Fuchs
 1994 *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*. Göttingen.
- I. J. Gelb
 1976 "Homo Ludens in Early Mesopotamia." in: StOr 46 (A. Salonen AV), pp. 43-76.
- M. Geller
 1996 "Jacobsen's 'Harps' and the Keš Temple Hymn." in: ZA 86, pp. 68-79.
- G. B. Gragg
 1969 "The Keš Temple Hymn." in: Å. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*. TCS 3. Locust Valley, New York, pp. 155-188.
- M. W. Green
 1984 "Early Sumerian Tax Collectors." in: JCS 36, pp. 93-95.
- M. G. Hall
 1986 "A Hymn to the Moon-God, Nanna." in: JCS 38, pp. 152-166.
- R. A. Henshaw
 1994 *Male and Female. The Cultic Personnel. The Bible*

⁴⁶) Whether the Old Babylonian scribe intended to identify šum-ku₆ with kušu₂-ku₆ is difficult to say. Originally šum-ku₆ and kušu₂-ku₆ were distinguished; both appear in Archaic and ED Fish lists (MEE 3, p. 99, 47a paralleled by ATU 3, p. 97, 51). Its omission in the Ebla version may indicate that by this time the two were considered equivalent. Further discussion has to await Civil's new edition of the composition.

and the Rest of the Ancient Near East. Allison Park, Pennsylvania.

A. D. Kilmer

1995 "Musik. A.I. In Mesopotamien." in: *RIA* Band 8, pp. 463-482.

J. Klein

1981 *Three Šulgi Hymns. Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur.* Ramat-Gan.

M. Krebernik

1983 "Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2 (Glossar)." in: *ZA* 73, pp. 1-47.

T. J. H. Krispijn

1990 "Beiträge zur altorientalischen Musikforschung. 1. Šulgi und die Musik." in: *Akkadica* 70, pp. 1-27.

M.-C. Ludwig

1990 *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin.* SANTAG 2. Wiesbaden.

S. de Martino

1997 "Musik. A.III. Bei den Hethitern." in: *RIA* Band 8, pp. 483-488.

S. M. Maul

1997 "Küchensumerisch oder hohe Kunst der Exegese? Überlegungen zur Bewertung akkadischer Interlinearübersetzungen von Emesal-Texten." in: Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Hartmut Kühne, and Paolo Xella (eds.), *Ana šadī Labnānti lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig.* AOAT 247. Kevelaer und Neukirchen-Vluyn, pp. 253-267.

M. van de Mierop

1987 *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: A Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šu-ilišu.* OLA 24. Louvain.

M. T. Roth

1983 "The Slave and the Scoundrel. CBS 10467, a Sumerian Morality Tale?" in: *JAOS* 103, pp. 275-282.

G. Selz

1995 *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš.* Philadelphia.

M. K. Schretter

1990 *Emesal-Studien. Sprach- und Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Frauensprache des Sumerischen.* Innsbruck.

P. Steinkeller

1990 "The Value sur_x of ÉREN in Third Millennium Sources." in: *NABU* 1990/12.

P. Steinkeller and J. N. Postgate

1992 *Third Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.* MC 4. Winona Lake, Indiana.

N. C. Veldhuis

1996 "The Ugarit Lexical Text RS 13.53 (PRU III, Planche X)." in: *WO* 27, pp. 25-29.

1997 *Elementary Education at Nippur. The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Groningen.

K. Volk

1989 *Die Balaḡ-Komposition úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi. Rekonstruktion und Bearbeitung der Tafeln 18 (19'ff.), 19, 20 und 21 der späten, kanonischen Version.* FAOS 18. Stuttgart.

1995 *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes.* SANTAG 3. Wiesbaden.

Addendum:

Line 256 in OB Proto-Lu₂, provisionally read GIŠ.BU-ud in MSL 12 42, is to be read sur_9 . According to the commentary (MSL 12 70) the reading of the line was "very uncertain". In the meantime CBS 14108 (source C') has been baked and cleaned and now shows a very clear sur_9 (UZ₃,UD). Source D (3N-T351+) has X-BU. The X in D "could be šu" according to MSL 12 70. The line, however, is undamaged. The traces may be interpreted as an erasure, plus the tail of the ŠITA in the preceding line. In other words, source D simply has BU, probably to be read sir_3 . Finally, source V" (N 6013) joins indirectly with N 5129+N 5382, as reported in MSL 13 13 (J) and 14 (R). This source was kindly brought to my attention by M. Civil. In the new piece line 256 reads UZ₃, apparently deficient for sur_9 .

Näpfe: ein Ur III-Text aus einer Wiener Privatsammlung

Von Michael Jursa und Michaela Weszeli (Wien)

Der folgende Text wurde bei Bonhams, Knightsbridge, bei der Versteigerung am 22. 10. 1996, in der er als No. 210 angeboten wurde, erworben. Wir publizieren die Tafel hier mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Besitzers.

- Vs.
1. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 sila ha-la
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 sila lugal-zag-^rge¹-<si>
 5. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 sila nimgir-di-ne
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 sila é-ki
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
 10. 4 dug 1 bán 5 sila ur-^dšará¹
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 sila ir₁₁-mu
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 á-na-na
 15. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-g[a]l
4 dug 1 bán 5 ur-mes
<2> dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 ^{si}dúr-gar-ni
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
 20. 4 dug 1 bán 5 na-ga-^rlul¹
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 ur-ab-ba-/sig₅
<2> dug 3 bán 4 dug-gal
5 dug 1 bán 5 na-di
 25. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 dug 1 bán 5 lugal-gú-en-/e
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal
4 ^rdug 1 bán 5 lugal-^runken-né¹
2 ^rdug¹ 3 bán 5 dug-gal
 30. 4 dug 1 bán 5 šeš-kal-la
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-^rgal¹
4 dug 1 bán 5 šeš-a-ni
1 dug 3 bán 10 dug-gal
8 dug 1 bán 5 lugal¹-^dnin-/ur₄-ra/
ù ur-^dr^dumu-zi¹
 35. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal dingir-ba-zi
4 dug 1 bán 5
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal 4 dug 1 bán 5 ^rx¹
á-nin-gá-ta
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal lugal-é-sig₅/
4 <dug> 1 bán 5
 40. 2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal 4 dug 1 bán 5 /5/
ur-^dšul-pa-è
2 dug 3 bán 5 dug-gal 4 ^rdug¹ [x x]
lugal-ú-šim-e
4 dug-gal ur-^rlugal¹ [0²]
 - l. Rd.
 45. šu-nigin¹ 43 dug 3 bán
šu-nigin¹ 1;58 dug-gal
šu-nigin¹ 1;33 dug 1 bán 5 sila
ša-uri₅^{ki}-ma-a-ta (?)
lú² ^rx x x x¹

