

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE SUMERIAN CURRICULAR AND  
LAMENTATIONAL TEXTS FROM THE OLD BABYLONIAN CITY OF KISH

by  
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## Abstract

The collections of Sumerian and Akkadian tablets that have been excavated at various Old Babylonian sites have been surveyed and subjected to corpus-based analysis, including the tablets from prominent cities such as Nippur, Ur, Sippar, Isin, and Uruk. However, until very recently, attention has not focused on the important northern city of Kiš. Although many of the literary and liturgical duplicates from Kiš have been translated and discussed, neither the curricular nor the lamentational corpora have been treated as a whole. The goal of my dissertation, therefore, is to survey and analyze the entirety of the Old Babylonian (ca. 2000-1600 BCE) curricular and lamentational textual material from Kiš in order to identify local features or traditions that were unique to these genres.

The survey of the curricular textual material will seek to accomplish two goals. First, it will identify the curricular compositions that were used in scribal education at Kiš during the OB period. Second, it will determine the ways in which the Kiš scribal curriculum deviated from the curricula that are known from other OB sites, such as Nippur, Ur, and Sippar. The latter investigation will reveal two patterns at Kiš. First, it will demonstrate that, although several curricular duplicates varied from manuscripts found at the major scribal center, Nippur, there is evidence to suggest that there were lines of textual transmission that connected the OB Kiš lexical tradition to those that were found in the MB and the first millennium. This evidence suggests that, although many of the Kiš curricular texts duplicate manuscripts that were found at Nippur, those that do not sometimes correspond with duplicates found in later periods, which appear to follow a more northern lexical tradition.

Secondly, relative to the number of similar exercises found at the other OB cities, the Kiš curriculum included significantly higher numbers of Akkadian exercises (approximately two to four times as many), and appear in the elementary, intermediate, and advanced stages of the curriculum. It appears that students were required to copy Akkadian texts throughout their scribal training, beginning in the early stages of the curriculum. This relative abundance and broad application of Akkadian exercises in the whole of the curriculum speaks to the practical importance that Akkadian had in the day-to-day life of the scribes.

The survey of the lamentational liturgies will seek to identify local features or traditions that were made to the Kiš laments in order to make them more appropriate for use in ritual performance. Many of these local features included city-specific modifications, such as deletions, additions, and replacements of proper nouns. Further investigation will reveal other local features, such as variant litanies, complete with unique incipits, unduplicated Kirugus, and modified refrains. Thematically, both the duplicated and unduplicated Kiš laments concerned themselves most often with the lamenting goddess. In short, I will conclude that the **gala**-priests were able to modify their liturgies to fit local consumption, and these traditions, in part, were incorporated into the standardized corpus of lamentational liturgies of the first millennium.

Finally, the dissertation will investigate one final local feature that, while not unique to Kiš, was disproportionately used at the city: phonetic writings. The goals will be to identify the patterns or rules that were used to compose a text phonetically and to determine the most likely purpose for composing in this phonetic style in both lamentational and literary texts.

The results of this dissertation will show that, although the OB Kiš corpus is poorly preserved and has lacked corpus-based investigation, both the curricular and lamentational texts are able to fill significant gaps in the study of scribal education and lamentational performance. The volume of curricular duplicates, though fragmentary and under published, reveals an active scribal educational system, complete with local characteristics and practical emphases. And although the evidence for lamentational performance in the OB period is scant compared to the myriad of texts composed in the first millennium, by revealing the content of many of the unduplicated liturgies at Kiš, and demonstrating local variants that appear in the laments, it will illuminate further aspects of OB lamentational performance. In the end, we see that the curricular and lamentational texts speak to the day-to-day activities that took place at OB Kiš, both in the curriculum, and in the cult. It will be seen that these Kiš traditions informed and influenced the standardized lexical and liturgical traditions of the first millennium, traditions that affected and shaped, to varying degrees, educational and theological concepts throughout Mesopotamian society.

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*For Megan, Paige, and Piper*

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### *Previous Assyriological Treatments of the Kiš Curricular and Liturgical Texts*

Assyriologists have surveyed and performed corpus-based analysis on collections of Sumerian and Akkadian tablets that have been excavated at various Mesopotamian cities, including (but not limited to) Nippur, Ur, Sippar, Isin, Uruk, and Larsa.<sup>1</sup> A striking exception is the city of Kiš, as was noted by Steve Tinney in 2011: “The Kiš texts, fragmentary and poorly published though they are, are perhaps the collection in most urgent need of proper scholarly treatment.”<sup>2</sup> Among the Kiš tablets are Sumerian curricular and liturgical texts that were composed during the Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 2000-1600 BCE). Until a systematic survey of these tablets is completed, scholars will continue to have an incomplete understanding of which curricular and liturgical compositions were copied at Kiš, which liturgies were used in ritual performance, and – as demonstrated in Tinney’s 2011 study – how this information can affect our understanding of the local (textual) traditions that were present at Kiš during the OB

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent overview of the cities whose tablets have been surveyed, including information on the numbers and genres of texts found at each site, and secondary literature on the individual sites and corpora, see Tinney 2011: 577-96. As recently discussed and developed by Delnero (Delnero 2015: 89-91), the curricular compositions were routinely copied and maintained a high level of standardization across many manuscripts, while the non-curricular compositions were often not duplicated (or in far fewer copies) and were less standardized. These studies allow for the following useful way of classifying the OB Sumerian corpus: 1) elementary compositions were more conservative, even with their wide geographical distribution, 2) advanced curricular and non-curricular compositions were less conservative and able to be modified to fit local needs, and 3) texts that exhibit local traditions that existed in only one copy. This classification system fits well, with some modification, with the preserved corpus of curricular and non-curricular compositions from OB Kiš.

<sup>2</sup> Tinney 2011: 579.

period.<sup>3</sup> It is the primary goal of this dissertation, therefore, to present a preliminary study of the Sumerian curricular and liturgical texts that were excavated at the OB city of Kiš, with a particular focus on the lamentational liturgies.

This dissertation will seek to address three issues related to the Kiš corpus: 1) the lack of a systematic presentation and introductory analysis of the Sumerian curricular and liturgical texts, 2) the gap in our understanding of local textual traditions and practices (both curricular and liturgical) during the OB period, and 3) the lack of thorough investigation into the complex and poorly understood phonetic writing system that was often used to compose the texts. By analyzing the curricular duplicates, we can identify the local features and emphasized practices that were idiosyncratic to the curricular context at Kiš during the OB period. By systematically surveying the lamentational liturgies, we can identify the local liturgical traditions and textual modifications that existed in the corpus, and how these local traditions were transmitted into the first millennium. Finally, by identifying and categorizing the phonetic (or “unorthographic”) writings that permeate the lamentational liturgies, we can determine not only the phonetic patterns that appear in the texts, but also the purpose behind the phonetic spellings in their ritual contexts.

This project will produce several practical resources for Assyriologists who work with the OB Kiš material, or any phonetically written Sumerian text from the OB period. First, Appendix D contains a general catalogue of the known OB curricular and liturgical tablets that were excavated at Kiš. Each of the 600+ tablets in the study is assigned a “Preliminary Study of Kiš” (PSK) number in Appendix D in order to assist the reader in identifying the individual tablets. Because the primary focus of the dissertation is on the

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<sup>3</sup> Tinney 2011: 591-592.

liturgical material, the catalogue in Appendix D will be more exhaustive with respect to the lamentational liturgies. Secondly, many editions of unedited laments with fresh reanalysis of previously edited liturgies are presented in Appendix A, along with an edition of a larger, multi-column lamentational liturgy in Appendix B. Finally, analysis of the patterns or rules generated from the study of the phonetic writings will be provided in Chapter Five, creating a useful set of phonetic patterns to look for when approaching unduplicated, syllabically written texts.

The introduction that follows consists of six parts. First, I will introduce the Kiš Sumerian curricular and liturgical texts, discuss the reasons why the corpus has not been systematically surveyed, and establish the goals for this project. Second, as curricular and liturgical texts will be evaluated in this study, I will provide a brief overview of scribal education and lamentational liturgies, and what role the Kiš texts will play in developing our understanding of these areas of study. The third and fourth sections will give a chapter-by-chapter overview of the dissertation, as well as a description of its four appendices. Finally, I will present the limitations of this preliminary study of the Kiš curricular and liturgical corpora.

### *Introduction to the Kiš Corpus*

Archaeological excavations were carried out by Henri de Genouillac at Kiš in 1912, when he discovered approximately 1,400 tablets at the western mound of Uhaimir.<sup>4</sup> Excavations were later continued by Stephen Langdon beginning in 1923, which produced more cuneiform sources.<sup>5</sup> Among these textual finds were many copies of duplicated and unduplicated Sumerian curricular and liturgical compositions. Although

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<sup>4</sup> See also Gibson 1972b: 69.

<sup>5</sup> A more detailed description of the excavation can be found in Chapter Two of this dissertation.



many of these duplicates have been studied individually, often as part of a single text edition,<sup>6</sup> the Kiš corpus as a whole has yet to be systematically surveyed and analyzed.

To date, scholars have been generally reluctant to do systematic work on this corpus for several reasons. Many of the extant tablets are broken and fragmentary, at times preserving only portions of a few lines on a tablet. Furthermore, the language of the texts is uncommonly challenging to interpret. As is often the case in lamentational liturgies, many of the laments that were found at Kiš were composed in Emesal, a difficult dialect of Sumerian generally restricted to the lamentational genre and to the speech of women in literary texts.<sup>7</sup> Adding to this dialectical complexity, the standard orthographic conventions found in normal Sumerian were replaced in many of the texts from Kiš with an uncommon and highly complex phonetic or “unorthographic” system, where words were spelled phonetically.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in addition to the interpretive difficulties created by fragmentary tablets and complex syllabic orthography, scholars have often regarded the material found in the lamentational liturgies as uninteresting, or even boring, given the repetitive nature found in liturgical litanies.<sup>9</sup>

Because the Kiš textual material has not been treated as a whole, it is not yet possible to know how the written sources can further our understanding of two key textual and practical aspects of at the site. First, it is unclear how the curriculum that was

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<sup>6</sup> Examples include Cooper 1983 [Source A = *TCL* 16, 64 (PSK 457); Source B = *TCL* 16, 66 (PSK 458)]; Samet 2014 [Source K<sub>1</sub> = *OECT* 5, 12 (PSK 453); Source K<sub>3</sub> = *OECT* 5, 13 + 15 (PSK 454); Source K<sub>2</sub> = *OECT* 5, 14 (PSK 455)]; Löhnert 2009 [Utugin Souce Ki1 = *PRAK* B 298 (PSK 499); Zibum Zibum Source Ki2 = *PRAK* B 357 (PSK 505); Source Ki4 = *PRAK* C 122 (PSK 531)].

<sup>7</sup> For a short discussion of the use of Emesal in Sumerian texts, see Löhnert 2009: 3-5. She divides Emesal laments into two categories: personal laments, and those that benefit the community. In addition to these lamentational liturgies, Emesal also appears in two other contexts: the direct speech of women in literary compositions, and in the city laments.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Five for a discussion of the term “unorthographic.”

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Cooper 2006: 43: “These phrases [the litanies] may occur in *CA* or the city laments, but, with the exception, perhaps, of *LU*, they are not endlessly repeated, which is why we tend to think of *CA* and the city laments as real literature, but consider most ritual laments just plain boring.”

used in scribal education differed from the curricula that appeared at the other OB cities, including the presence of local traditions and educational emphases. Second, we do not yet know if the multitude of lamentational liturgies from Kiš contained local characteristics, or followed local traditions, and how these traditions affected liturgies that were later standardized in the first millennium. Furthermore, the lack of comprehensive analysis of the phonetic writing system has left us with insufficient resources for approaching unduplicated, syllabically written texts. Finally, the purpose of these phonetic writings remains unclear in both the lamentational and literary texts.

This study will begin to address these issues in the following way. First, it will survey the curricular texts to identify the compositions from the OB scribal curriculum that were copied at the site. In doing so, it will reveal not only the ways in which the Kiš educational process varied from cities like Nippur, Ur, and Sippar, but which local textual traditions were transmitted into later periods, what types of compositions the students were required to master during their education, and how these compositions reflect aspects of their daily life. A similar survey of the lamentational corpus will follow, complete with partial editions of unedited and unduplicated laments appearing in Appendix A. This analysis will also seek to determine local textual and liturgical traditions, and the effect they had on later laments, particularly in the first millennium. Finally, by thoroughly examining the phonetic writings that appear in lamentational liturgies (and even in some literary texts), we can further our understanding of the patterns that the scribes followed in composition, as well as the overall purpose for the phonetic writings.

### *The Kiš Curricular Texts and Scribal Education*

As scribal students advanced in scribal competency, they copied texts that increased in difficulty and complexity. These elementary and advanced exercises were part of a group of compositions that formed a scribal curriculum.<sup>10</sup> The content of this curriculum, which has been found in numerous Mesopotamian cities during the OB period, appears to have had a number of similarities from site to site.<sup>11</sup> However, upon closer inspection, there are aspects of the curriculum from Kiš that show local influence or traditions. This study will begin by surveying the Sumerian curricular duplicates in order to identify these local features.

Apprentice scribes copied texts that progressed from basic sign lists to advanced literary compositions.<sup>12</sup> Early in the student's education, he was required to copy simple cuneiform signs in order to develop his skill with the stylus. Following this, the student was to memorize lengthy lists of various words in order to develop the extensive vocabulary that would be necessary in his scribal duties. The curriculum then progressed to the copying of model contracts and short proverbial sayings, increasing the ability of the student to produce syntactically and grammatically correct sentences. Finally, during the advanced stages of training, the student memorized and copied out literary compositions, memorizing each text section by section.<sup>13</sup> The student would ultimately produce the entire literary composition from memory on a multi-column tablet before progressing to the next text in the curricular sequence.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Veldhuis 2004: 62-63.

<sup>11</sup> Veldhuis 2004: 60-61.

<sup>12</sup> Veldhuis 1997: 41.

<sup>13</sup> Delnero 2010a: 63.

<sup>14</sup> It is understood that the Sumerian literary texts copied during the OB period were, almost exclusively, the products of scribal students, who copied these texts as part of their education. See Delnero 2012c: 10.

By comprehensively surveying the curricular texts that were found at Kiš, it will be possible to ascertain the amount of overlap that existed between the compositions copied at Kiš and the other OB sites. Although there are many similarities between the compositions copied at the Mesopotamian sites, there are local features that are present among the curricular texts, particularly with respect to the percentage of Akkadian exercises that were copied at Kiš. These local characteristics will help develop our understanding of the educational process and daily life in this northern site.

The evaluation of the Kiš curricular corpus in this study will be limited to the presence or absence of the curricular compositions, as well as their content, as there is not enough information available to determine if the actual *sequence* was the same. This would require information concerning the physical types of tablets upon which the texts were copied.<sup>15</sup> Such data is not available, as the Kiš fragments are either unavailable or too fragmentary to determine a secure tablet typology.

### *Kiš Laments and their OB Context*

The most common type of lamentational liturgy that appears in the Kiš corpus is the lament of a goddess, whose city and possessions have been destroyed by an angry god.<sup>16</sup> Almost exclusively, the god who brings this destruction is Enlil. These laments describe the destruction that would be brought upon the city and its inhabitants should the wrath of Enlil not subside. In situations in which Enlil's anger could be aroused against

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<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the curricular sequence and its relationship to tablet typology, see Chapter Three of this dissertation.

<sup>16</sup> For a recent and useful introduction to Emesal liturgical laments, see Löhnert 2011b: 402-17. She divides the lamentational corpus into two categories: private and public laments. Private laments consist of Šu-ila "hand-raising" prayers (in Akkadian from the 2<sup>nd</sup> mill. forward, and in Sumerian in the 1<sup>st</sup> mill.) and Eršaḫūgas (appearing as early as the OB period). Public laments are the Balaḡ, Eršemma, and the literary City Laments. Löhnert also notes that the majority of the information that we have for the social context of the lamentational corpus is found in the material from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium, but the Mari festival provides insight into OB practices.

the city and its people,<sup>17</sup> the **gala**-priest (Akkadian *kalû*) was charged with assuaging his angry heart through the performance of a lamentational liturgy.<sup>18</sup>

The data gathered from a survey of the lamentational material will seek to identify the laments that were composed for use in ritual performance at OB Kiš. Recent work on lamentational liturgies has revealed that various Mesopotamian sites contain site-specific references in their liturgies, suggesting that these texts were created and locally modified for use in ritual performances.<sup>19</sup> Systematic analysis of the Kiš laments will reveal local modifications and features seen in the OB laments, the theological implications of such features, and which local features were later transmitted into the first millennium corpus.

### *Overview and Methodology of the Dissertation*

This dissertation will be presented in six chapters; the content and methodology of each chapter is described below. Chapter One, “Introduction,” is designed to lead the reader through the project, including its necessity, content, methodology, and limitations. Chapter Two, “Archaeological Overview of the Old Babylonian City of Kiš,” will present a general overview of the archaeology of the site, including excavation history (particularly as it pertains to the OB tablets) and what is known of the general provenance of the textual finds. Finally, the tablets that can be used for dating will be presented, allowing for a general date of the corpus to be determined.

Chapter Three, “Descriptive Survey of the Curricular Duplicates from Kiš,” surveys the more than 450 OB curricular texts that were found at Kiš. For convenience

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<sup>17</sup> For a recent discussion on cultic uses of lamentational laments with respect to the danger of divine wrath, with previous literature, see Delnero 2016a: 147-166.

<sup>18</sup> A recent and thorough treatment of the **gala**-priest (Akk. *kalû*), including etymology, cultic functions, and social organization can be found in Gabbay 2014b: 63-79.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Gabbay 2014b: 208-209, where he cites several examples of local variation among the texts from Kiš, Sippar, Larsa, Ur, Uruk, and Lagaš.

only, the survey is organized around the curricular sequence that was reconstructed based on the multitude of curricular tablets discovered at House F, Nippur.<sup>20</sup> Although de Genouillac did not publish a significant portion of the curricular texts in hand copy, he provided several lengthy catalogues that list and briefly describe all of the tablets and tablet fragments that were found during his excavations.<sup>21</sup> This information can be used to identify duplicates of elementary exercises that were used in the OB Kiš curriculum. Wherever possible, information that is taken from de Genouillac's catalogues to identify a particular composition will be presented in the chapter alongside the portion of the elementary composition that the fragment is thought to duplicate. In the conclusion of the chapter, I will identify the local features and educational emphases exhibited by the Kiš material, and seek to demonstrate the transmission of some of the local features into later curricular texts.

As with the curricular survey, in order to determine the types of local modifications that appear in the Kiš liturgical corpus, Chapter Four, "Local Features and Traditions in the Kiš Lamentational Corpus," looks at the ways in which the scribes modified laments in order to meet the needs of local ritual performance. I will isolate portions of liturgical duplicates that overlap with one another, and with one or more other OB (or first millennium) duplicates, in order to see if the Kiš manuscripts agree with one another against the other duplicates. I will also identify instances of the deletion or modification of local proper nouns, variant line order, and idiosyncratic features of local litanies. In the end, we will see how the **gala**-priest followed or created local practices or

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<sup>20</sup> See Robson 2001: 39-66 for the House F curriculum.

<sup>21</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 31-43 (Series B) and 1925: 34-58 (Series C, D, and A). However, most of the elementary exercises are found in the "Series A" catalogue.

textual traditions, and how these traditions were transmitted into the standardized first millennium corpus of lamenational liturgies.

Finally, in Chapter Five, “Phonetic Patterns at Kiš,” the phonetic or unorthographic writing system that appears in the texts from Kiš will be examined. The primary goals of this chapter will be 1) to determine the patterns or rules that may have governed the use of this phonetic system, and 2) to identify the purpose of the phonetic writings in both the literary and liturgical corpora. The phonetic patterns will be determined by evaluating how syllabically written forms appear in cases where the meaning of the syllabic form is (relatively) certain.<sup>22</sup> Given enough of these types of examples, the patterns used in this syllabic writing system can be demonstrated. Once this data has been gathered, we will analyze the phonetic methods utilized by the scribe to determine the most likely purpose for phonetic writings, both in the laments and in select literary duplicates.

### *Appendices*

Four appendices appear at the end of this dissertation. Appendix A, “Descriptive Survey of the Lamentational Texts from Kiš,” will survey the liturgical laments, and include partial editions (transliterations, translations, and commentaries) of many of the unedited laments. There are primarily three types of lamentational liturgies that appear at Kiš during the OB period: laments of a goddess (usually Inana), laments focusing on the destructive power of a male deity (usually Enlil), and a smaller group of texts that center on other deities. The liturgies that focus on Inana are by far the most common, and will

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<sup>22</sup> For example, if a Kiš text duplicates a known composition, and the text appears in phonetic form, we can know precisely what forms are being represented syllabically. For instance, if the Sumerian form /lugal/ is the expected form in the known composition, and the phonetic duplicate preserves the form /lu-ga-la/ in a clearly duplicated line, this form can be used as a secure example of a phonetic spelling.

thus be presented first in the survey, followed by the Enlil laments, and finally those to other deities.

Appendix B provides an edition of the multi-column lament preserved on *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 490). This text is a diagnostic example of a lamentational liturgy from Kiš, in that it contains a combination of unorthographic writings, partially duplicated sections, and the idiosyncratic features or modifications that are found in certain Kiš liturgies.

Appendix C is designed to move large amounts of data out of the body of the dissertation, while still keeping these data available to the reader for reference and evaluation. It contains the phonetic data used in Chapter Five, which are categorized and presented based on the type of syllabic writing method that was employed in any given form. The data are presented in written form, followed by a summary table for ease of reference.

Finally, Appendix D contains a catalogue of all known curricular and liturgical texts that were discovered at Kiš that date to the OB period. As in the curricular survey, the catalogue generally follows the order of the scribal curriculum found at House F, Nippur, with the liturgical laments following the curricular texts at the end of the catalogue. Whenever possible, information is provided concerning the tablet in question, including: PSK #, tablet #, genre, compositional title, lines preserved, a brief description, and bibliographic information, including editions and secondary literature. As the liturgical texts are the primary focus of the dissertation, more detailed information is often provided for these lamentational liturgies.



### *Limits of the Study*

Unfortunately, the tablets that are extant from Kiš are often quite fragmentary. In addition, the majority of the tablets that contain elementary exercises from the curriculum are housed in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and are not currently available for direct analysis. However, lengthy catalogues were created by de Genouillac in his 1924 and 1925 publications.<sup>23</sup> In these catalogues, he provides enough descriptive information for these exercise tablets to make reasonable determinations about their content. Nevertheless, as we can directly evaluate neither the content of the tablet nor the specific tablet types for each exercise, we cannot determine the actual sequence in which these exercises were copied, or personally verify the compositions appearing on the individual tablets. While the situation with the liturgical tablets is much better, it is not ideal. Several of the tablets in this study are housed in the Louvre, and are also unavailable for study or collation. I must rely on the work of scholars who have collated and published these tablets in hand copy, or have worked directly with the cuneiform sources.<sup>24</sup> In spite of these limitations, given the stated goals of this dissertation, and the work that has been done on many of the essential tablets under investigation in this study, the preliminary results of this project will hopefully remain sound and reliable. Nevertheless, further study and collation will be required for more in depth analysis of the Kiš curricular and liturgical tablets.

In the end, this project will begin to fill the “urgent need of proper scholarly treatment” identified by Steve Tinney by providing a preliminary survey and introductory analysis of the 600+ curricular and liturgical texts that were excavated at the OB city of

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<sup>23</sup> De Genouillac 1924 and 1925.

<sup>24</sup> For example, an excellent resource from which much information was drawn is Cavigneaux 1987: 45-66, where he publishes new hand copies and brief commentary on several of the Kiš tablets.

Kiš. When we have identified the compositions that were copied at Kiš during the OB period, both curricular and liturgical (Chapters Three and Four), the presence of local features or traditions that are present in the corpora will illuminate what was emphasized at the city, and what was transmitted into later periods. Finally, the extent to which the Kiš laments were phonetically composed, and the patterns that governed their compositions are more precisely understood (Chapter Five), unduplicated laments composed in syllabic style may be properly interpreted, both at Kiš, and the other OB sites, and the likely purpose of the phonetic writing practices will be identified. To this end, this study will not only make a significant portion of the Kiš material available for more in-depth analysis, but also will elucidate scribal and priestly practices at the site, and provide scholars with additional tools for approaching the vast and critical OB Kiš corpus, and the complicated writing system found in the texts.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN CITY OF KIŠ

Before surveying the curricular and liturgical texts that were excavated at Kiš, I will provide a survey of the excavation history of the areas of the site where the majority of the OB tablets were found. I will then attempt to determine the general time to which we should date these tablets.

#### *Excavation History of Kiš*

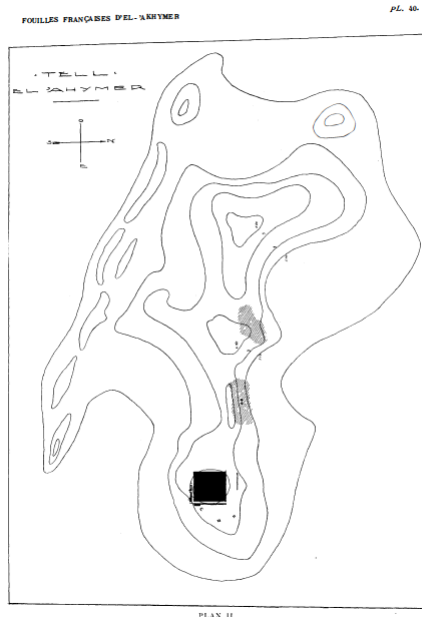
The excavation history of the various mounds of Kiš began in the early 1800s; many of the early investigations involved little more than visiting and describing the site. These visits may have been motivated by the assumption that Kiš was associated with, or even a part of the ancient city of Babylon. During his visit to Babylon in 1811, Claudius J. Rich examined the site of Uhaimir (five or six miles to the east of Hillah), describing both the overall site and its ziggurat.<sup>25</sup> Kiš was visited again in 1818 by Robert Ker Porter and Karl Bellino, followed by Robert Mignan in 1827, who also provided a description of the Uhaimir ziggurat. Three years later, Lieutenant Ormsby visited Uhaimir.<sup>26</sup> James Baillie Fraser made a similar trip in 1834. Uhaimir was finally sounded in 1852 by Jules Oppert and Fulgence Fresnel, and Daoud Thoma also performed excavations, both at Uhaimir and Ingharra, in 1879-80.

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<sup>25</sup> Langdon 1924: 47. See also Rich 1839.

<sup>26</sup> Gibson 1972: 67.

By the end of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, significant excavations had been performed on the two primary mounds of the site, Uhaimir and Ingharra. Perhaps the first substantial excavations were made by Henri de Genouillac in one season of fieldwork beginning in January 1912.<sup>27</sup> His interest in the site stemmed, in part, from tablets that had been acquired through clandestine excavations, including letters, contracts, exercise tablets, and hymns.<sup>28</sup> Although de Genouillac excavated in several areas, including Ingharra, his work at Uhaimir produced the most significant finds, particularly with respect to the textual remains. To the west of the ziggurat on Uhaimir, de Genouillac excavated and described an area that consisted of hills, none taller than six meters, which he labeled “la ville d’Hammourapi” (see shaded area of map below).<sup>29</sup>



**Figure 2.1. Excavations at Uhaimir at “la ville d’Hammourapi”**

<sup>27</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 15

<sup>28</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 10.

<sup>29</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 19 and Plate 40.

This was the area – dotted with holes created by illegal excavations – from which de Genouillac thought the tablets acquired prior to 1912 had come. Following a series of soundings performed, he removed approximately 1,400 tablets, dividing the excavated materials between the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the Louvre. The tablets were divided based on their state of preservation and relative value to de Genouillac (religious and liturgical texts were valued more than school exercises, for example).<sup>30</sup>

In 1924-1925, when de Genouillac published many hand copies of the tablets in a two-volume series entitled *Premières Recherches Archéologiques a Kich (PRAK)*,<sup>31</sup> he divided the tablets excavated at Kiš into four series: A, B, C, and D. Series A was considered to be so fragmentary and uninteresting that he simply provided a catalogue of the vast majority of these ca. 590 tablets and fragments.<sup>32</sup> Most of the ca. 470 tablets in Series B, which contained the less-fragmentary tablets found among the Istanbul collection, were copied in *PRAK I*, where de Genouillac also included a catalogue entry for each of the tablets. The tablets housed in the Louvre were published in *PRAK II* as Series C and D, and comprised the bulk of the religious and liturgical texts found at Uhaimir.<sup>33</sup>

For our purposes, one of the more important pieces of information that de Genouillac provided in his rather short excavation report concerns the provenance of a group of tablets that were excavated at Uhaimir. In his discussion concerning “la ville d’Hammourapi,” he notes “un groupe de chambres, assez voisin de la *ziggourat*, particulièrement fertile en tablettes scolaires (textes religieux, exercices d’écriture,

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<sup>30</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 34.

<sup>31</sup> De Genouillac 1924 & 1925.

<sup>32</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 45.

<sup>33</sup> De Genouillac 1925.

syllabaires, tables de calcul) et que je propose d'identifier avec l'École des scribes du temple, d'après la mention lue sur divers fragments: «tablette du temple d'Ilbaba».<sup>34</sup> The majority of these school tablets were not published in hand copies by de Genouillac, due to their fragmentary condition and his general lack of interest in school texts, but were only catalogued in Series A.<sup>35</sup>

Although de Genouillac planned a second excavation season in 1913, the work was prevented because of the threat of war, and he was never able to excavate at Kiš again. In 1923, Stephen Langdon began work at Kiš as director of the Field Museum-Oxford University Expedition to Kish.<sup>36</sup> Although Langdon was director of the expedition, he was rarely in the field; Ernest Mackay led the excavations at Kiš from 1923-1926, followed by Louis Charles Watelin from 1926-1933, completing 11 seasons of fieldwork in all.

In 1923-24, Uhaimir (Mound Z) was excavated. The focus of the investigation was the ziggurat and its courtyard, along with the residential area to the west of the ziggurat.<sup>37</sup> As many as 80 tablets can be reasonably determined to have come from these two areas.<sup>38</sup> During the 1929-32 excavations, which were under the direction of Louis Watelin, Ingharra (ancient Ḫursaġkalama) was investigated. The four mounds that comprise Ingharra were labeled D, E, F, and G.<sup>39</sup> On Mound E, Watelin dug a series of

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<sup>34</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 23.

<sup>35</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 45-58.

<sup>36</sup> A detailed description of the excavation can be found in Gibson 1972: 70-81. A more recent treatment of some of the data gleaned from these field seasons is documented in Ohgama and Robson 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Moorey 1978: 28-29.

<sup>38</sup> Ohgama and Robson 2010: 210-16.

<sup>39</sup> Moorey 1978: 81.

trenches to the northwest of the Neo-Babylonian temple using less-than-ideal methods.<sup>40</sup> These trenches revealed a variety of OB tablets, of which, at least 62 were school, literary, or liturgical texts.<sup>41</sup> It is worth mentioning the somewhat sporadic excavations that took place on Mound W, an area between Uhaimir and Ingharra, which revealed two tablets (1 liturgical and 1 literary).<sup>42</sup>

Excavations that uncovered a significant portion of the OB tablets from Ingharra were carried out by the Field Museum-Oxford University Expeditions under the direction of Watelin from 1927-32. On Mound E, the team dug several trenches to the northwest of a NB temple from 1929-32; these trenches were labeled C-1 to C-15 (see below).<sup>43</sup>

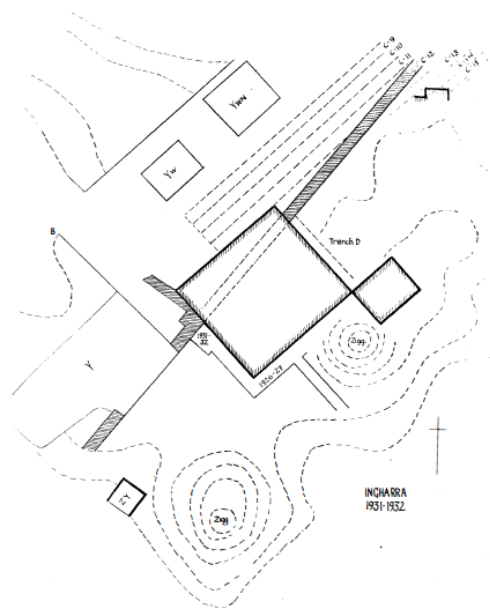


Fig. 60. Ingharra, Watelin trenches, 1931-32.

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## Figure 2.2. Excavations at Tell Ingharra, trenches C-1 to C-15

<sup>40</sup> Moorey 1978: 89. “The wide area of the tell immediately to the west of the standing Neo-Babylonian temple was cleared down to about plain level in a series of trenches. Although the accumulation of debris here varied greatly in height . . . nothing can justify the ruthless methods used to clear it.”

<sup>41</sup> Ohgama and Robson 2010: 216-24.

<sup>42</sup> Ohgama and Robson 2010: 224.

<sup>43</sup> Gibson 1972b: 81 and 307, Fig. 60; Moorey 1978: 89-91; Ohgama and Robson 2010: 216.

Gibson describes the methods employed in the excavation of these trenches as “a simple matter of treating the mound as something to be sliced in blocks that were five meters wide, five meters high or deep, and as long as the mound was wide.”<sup>44</sup> It is, therefore, difficult to speak with any specificity about the provenance of tablets excavated at these trenches. However, Ohgama and Robson have been able to piece together the available information from the tablets in the Ashmolean Museum, utilizing the extensive work done by Oliver Gurney, McGuire Gibson, and Roger Moorey, in order to provide some general conclusions concerning the provenances of the various tablets.<sup>45</sup> We can say, therefore, that a large group of curricular and non-curricular tablets were excavated at an area west of the ziggurat on Uhaimir, and another group of tablets, fewer in number, were found at Ingharra.

#### *The Date of the Tablets from Kiš*

A number of dated administrative or legal texts were found at both Uhaimir and Ingharra during the excavations of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many of these tablets were published in both volumes of *PRAK* as well as *OECT* 13. It is possible to date the *PRAK* tablets more precisely based on the presence of dated administrative and economic texts found among the curricular and liturgical texts. Though we cannot be certain which dated texts were found with which tablets, we can make plausible assumptions about the date of

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<sup>44</sup> Gibson 1976-80: 615.

<sup>45</sup> Ohgama and Robson 2010: 216. “Tablets were assigned trench numbers, which give us a vague idea of which tablets might have been excavated together. Further find spot information may be cautiously be inferred from museum numbering practices: it may be reasonable to assume that tablets sharing the same museum number, distinguished only by additional letters, may have been found together.”



the corpus as a whole based on the distribution of dates found among the tablets. Listed below are all dated tablets that were found among the *PRAK* tablets.<sup>46</sup>

**Table 2.1. Dated texts found among the *PRAK* tablets**

Tablet	Year	Tablet	Year
<i>PRAK</i> D 49	Šulgi 39	<i>PRAK</i> D 14	Hammurabi 14
<i>PRAK</i> D 6	Sumuditan	<i>PRAK</i> B 436	Hammurabi 14
<i>PRAK</i> B 203	Sumula'el 5	<i>PRAK</i> B 363	Hammurabi 14
<i>PRAK</i> C 76	Sumula'el 27	<i>PRAK</i> C 123	Hammurabi 15
<i>PRAK</i> B 223	Sumula'el 32	<i>PRAK</i> C 29	Hammurabi 15
<i>PRAK</i> B 262	Sumula'el 33	<i>PRAK</i> B 301	Hammurabi 15
<i>PRAK</i> D 35	Sabium 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 280	Hammurabi 16
<i>PRAK</i> B 300	Apilsin 8	<i>PRAK</i> C 85	Hammurabi 25
<i>PRAK</i> C 37	Apilsin 8	<i>PRAK</i> D 42	Hammurabi 26
<i>PRAK</i> C 67	Sinmuballiṭ 1	<i>PRAK</i> C 75	Hammurabi 38
<i>PRAK</i> B 72	Sinmuballiṭ 1	<i>PRAK</i> B 84	Samsu'iluna
<i>PRAK</i> D 27	Sinmuballiṭ 8	<i>PRAK</i> B 433	Samsu'iluna 1?
<i>PRAK</i> B 445	Sinmuballiṭ 8	<i>PRAK</i> A 78	Samsu'iluna 3 or 4
<i>PRAK</i> B 142	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> C 88	Samsu'iluna 5
<i>PRAK</i> B 377	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 56	Samsu'iluna 5
<i>PRAK</i> B 401	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 37	Samsu'iluna 5
<i>PRAK</i> B 407	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 180	Samsu'iluna 6
<i>PRAK</i> B 408	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> C 84	Samsu'iluna 7
<i>PRAK</i> B 419	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 200	Samsu'iluna 7
<i>PRAK</i> B 428	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 67	Samsu'iluna 11?
<i>PRAK</i> B 432	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> D 13	Samsu'iluna 18
<i>PRAK</i> B 449	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 130	Samsu'iluna 18
<i>PRAK</i> B 450	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> D 25	Samsu'iluna 38
<i>PRAK</i> C 40	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> C 73	Abi'ešuh "m"
<i>PRAK</i> C 43	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 71	Abi'ešuh "y"
<i>PRAK</i> C 44	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> B 85	destroyed
<i>PRAK</i> C 104	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> C 78	incomplete
<i>PRAK</i> D 26	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> C 87	incomplete
<i>PRAK</i> D 36	Sinmuballiṭ 11	<i>PRAK</i> D 44	incomplete
		<i>PRAK</i> B 140	incomplete

Except for *PRAK* D 49 and *PRAK* D 6, the dated tablets come from the 1<sup>st</sup>

Dynasty of Babylon, predominately from the reigns of Sin-muballiṭ, Hammurabi, and

<sup>46</sup> The data was derived primarily from Donbaz and Yoffee 1986: 24-25.

Samsu'iluna. This grouping of tablets to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> Babylonian Dynasty is likely why de Genouillac labeled the low hills to the west of the ziggurat at Uhairir (the area from which many of these texts were derived) as "le ville de Hammourapi."<sup>47</sup> Subsequent work performed by Donbaz and Yoffee on the tablets in both Istanbul and the Louvre have verified de Genouillac's conclusion. They write, "In sum it may be stated that the area dug in 1912 was not inappropriately called by de Genouillac the 'ville d'Hammourapi': the texts in Istanbul (and Paris) date in a cluster in the middle part of the Old Babylonian period."<sup>48</sup>

These dated legal and administrative tablets excavated during the Oxford-Field Museum expeditions were also written during the reigns of Sin-muballit and Hammurabi. The table below provides a list of dated tablets along with their find spots and respective years of composition.<sup>49</sup>

**Table 2.2. Dated texts found during the Oxford-Field Museum expeditions**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Findspot</b>
<i>OECT</i> 13, 197	Sumu-la'el 27?	C-9, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 171	Sin-muballit 2	Ingharra
<i>OECT</i> 13, 189	Sin-muballit 7	1930-31 expedition
<i>OECT</i> 13, 202	Sin-muballit 9	Ingharra
<i>OECT</i> 13, 169	Sin-muballit 10	C-8, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 156	Hammurabi 10	C-8, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 173	Hammurabi 17	C-6, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 174	Hammurabi 17	C-6, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 172	Hammurabi 20	C-6, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 183	Hammurabi 37	1930-31 expedition
<i>OECT</i> 13, 184	Hammurabi 38	1930-31 expedition
<i>OECT</i> 13, 182	Hammurabi 39	1930-31 expedition
<i>OECT</i> 13, 146	Hammurabi 40?	C-2, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 196	Hammurabi 42?	C-9, 2m

<sup>47</sup> De Genouillac 1924: 19.

<sup>48</sup> Donbaz and Yoffee 1986: 16.

<sup>49</sup> This data is taken directly from Ohgama and Robson 2010: 219, Table 8.

<i>OECT</i> 13, 181	Samsu'iluna 7	1930-31 expedition
<i>OECT</i> 13, 151	Ammi-ditana 'F'	C-3, 4m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 147	Ammi-ditana 14	C-2, 2m
<i>OECT</i> 13, 145	Ammi-šaduqa 10	From a 'monument' at the top of C-4

As with the dated *PRAK* texts, the majority of these tablets date to the reigns of Sin-muballiṭ and Hammurabi. Using the dated texts and the data provided by their find spots, Ohgama and Robson were able to conclude that the tablets they investigated should be dated to no later than the reign of Hammurabi.<sup>50</sup> Thus, it appears that the tablets from both Uhaimir and Ingharra that are the subject of this dissertation should be dated to the middle of the OB period.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a general survey of the archaeological work that was performed at Kiš with respect to the OB tablets that were discovered there. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the work performed at Kiš was minimal, and many visits to the tells were simply for the purpose of viewing and describing the site. Substantial excavations were not carried out until 1912, when Henri de Genouillac uncovered nearly 1,400 tablets from the mound of Uhaimir. More than a decade later, Stephen Langdon followed de Genouillac's work, excavating again at Uhaimir; later, he extended excavations to Ingharra in the east. This work revealed a smaller group of curricular and liturgical tablets that had a generally similar distribution to those found at Uhaimir.

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<sup>50</sup> Ohgama and Robson 2010: 220: "In short, all the provenanced Emesal and syllabically written Sumerian literature from the Oxford-Chicago Kish excavations appears to come from a restricted area of Trenches C-6, C-7, and perhaps C-8 of Ingharra, associated with legal documents from the reign of Sin-muballit and early in Hammurabi's rule" and 228: "The few dated economic and legal documents found at Uhaimir, and those from nearby trenches at Ingharra, suggest a date for the school tablets no later than the reign of Hammurabi."

Among these excavations, the curricular and liturgical tablets that are the focus of this dissertation were shown to likely date to the middle of the OB period. This date is based on the majority of the dated tablets that were discovered at the site, particularly those that were excavated at Uhaimir and Ingharra.

CHAPTER THREE  
DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY OF THE  
CURRICULAR DUPLICATES FROM KIŠ

*Introduction*

The overall process of scribal education during the OB period has become clearer through the study of the tablets that contain the exercises of scribal students. These school texts were part of a scribal curriculum, and are referred to as curricular texts. Through the analysis of these curricular texts, we now know that novice scribes were trained by copying a relatively stable group of texts that formed the curriculum used in their scribal education.

However, to date, no systematic study has been conducted on the curricular texts that were found at Kiš. Because of this, it is unclear if the scribal students from this northern site followed a curriculum similar to that found at other OB cities (e.g., House F at Nippur), or if the texts that were copied formed a local version of the curriculum. In this chapter, I will provide a descriptive survey of the curricular texts from Kiš in order to determine if the preserved texts align with the duplicates of curricular compositions that have been found at the other OB sites, and what local features are characteristic to these texts. In the following section, I provide an overview of the history of research into the OB scribal curriculum.

### *The OB Scribal Curriculum*

In 1979, when Mesopotamian scribal education in the OB period again piqued the interest of scholars, Herman Vanstiphout sought to validate the usefulness of such a study: “It follows that the question of how Sumerian was taught and learned is legitimate, quite apart from the intrinsic value of the question – and its solution – may have for the light it could possibly shed on ancient principles of language teaching and, indeed, contrastive linguistics.”<sup>51</sup> Nearly four decades later, the importance of understanding ‘how they learned Sumerian’ has been clearly demonstrated, as one of the richest sources of information concerning “the religion, culture, and history of ancient Mesopotamia from the third to the second millennium”<sup>52</sup> – the corpus of OB Sumerian literature – was the product of scribal students in training. Apprentice scribes memorized and reproduced thousands of duplicates of compositions, which now form the majority of our sources in the reconstruction of the corpus of OB literature.

We now know that students learned the scribal craft by repeatedly copying a variety of texts and compositions, each designed to train the student in one or more of the scribal competencies. This process involved reproducing compositions in phases, based on the level of textual complexity (elementary, intermediate, and advanced), ultimately culminating in the copying of a series of Sumerian literary compositions. These phases of learning formed a type of “curriculum,” the contents of which appear at many sites during the OB period. Although early studies argued for a rather fixed sequence for the compositions in the curriculum, it has become clear that there was flexibility and

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<sup>51</sup> Vanstiphout 1979: 119.

<sup>52</sup> Delnero 2012: 1.

variation in the selection of compositions that were copied at the various cities and schoolhouses across Mesopotamia.

In 1979, Herman Vanstiphout returned to the study of scribal education in his article, “How Did They Learn Sumerian?” (the second in a two-article series concerning the composition Lipit-Ištar B).<sup>53</sup> He argued that the features of Lipit-Ištar B were characteristic of an intermediate-level scribal exercise, appropriate for students who had learned signs and vocabulary, yet lacked the knowledge of grammar and syntax. He emphasized the variation among the grammatical structures seen in the text (e.g., no two verbal forms are the same), while many of the duplicates were found on poorly written Type II and IV tablets, which also contained lexical exercises (see discussion of tablet typology below). Finally, he noted that approximately one third of the content of Lipit-Ištar B deals with issues that were related to scribal schooling. This article was an initial turning point in the recent study of scribal education, as it brought to light the use of literary compositions to teach students the grammatical and syntactical structures of the Sumerian language.<sup>54</sup>

Another lynchpin in the study of the OB curriculum came in the introduction to *MSL* 14, where Miguel Civil described the physical types of tablets on which lexical texts appeared:

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<sup>53</sup> Vanstiphout 1978: 33-66 and 1979: 118-26.

<sup>54</sup> Vanstiphout would later argue (with little supporting evidence) for an identical curriculum that was utilized throughout Mesopotamia (Vanstiphout 1995: 13. “Although there are small individual discrepancies, the shape, outline and articulation of the system is on the whole identical in all major cities: the curriculum is about the same in Ur, Nippur, Sippar, Kish, Babylon etc. This may mean that the teachers or the faculties of the diverse schools had regular meetings, or that they travelled between these scholarly cities, much as scholars still do, *mutatis mutandis*. In any case it means that one curriculum was accepted in the whole country as being necessary and sufficient.”

Type I. Large tablets, cylinders, or prisms, with long sections of the series and no extraneous material . . .

Type II. The obverse contains a two-column calligraphic exercise; the left column is the instructor's model, the right, rarely preserved, the student's copy (=type II/1). The excerpt from the series is about ten to twenty lines long. The reverse contains an excerpt from OB Ea or another series in four or five columns (occasionally more) running from right to left (=type II/2).

Type III. Small one-column tablets with an excerpt from the series.

Type IV. Small lentil-shaped tablets.<sup>55</sup>

This tablet typology was absolutely critical, as it would later be applied by Niek Veldhuis to the OB exercise tablets at Nippur, producing a sequence in which the exercises were learned, and forming a Nippur curriculum.

In his 1997 dissertation concerning the lexical lists from Nippur, Veldhuis argued for two phases of scribal training;<sup>56</sup> phase one was comprised of lexical lists, model contracts, and proverbs,<sup>57</sup> while phase two contained the literary texts.<sup>58</sup> He noticed that the Type II and Type IV tablets, which contained a teacher's model of writing, did not generally appear with the literary exercises. Furthermore, on the obverse of Type II tablets, the teacher would write a portion of text to be learned, while the reverse contained a portion that had already been learned by the student. By gathering the Type II tablets and comparing the data on the obverse and reverse, Veldhuis was able to reconstruct the sequence in which the elementary exercises were learned in the Nippur curriculum. This was a pivotal moment, as it not only arranged the elementary exercises into a sequence, but it generally assigned literary texts to more advanced phases of the curriculum. His conclusions, however, were derived only from data from the city of Nippur, and did not take into account Type II tablets from other Mesopotamian cities.

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<sup>55</sup> Civil 1979: 5.

<sup>56</sup> Veldhuis 1997: 40-67.

<sup>57</sup> Other scholars developed particular aspects of the elementary stages of the curriculum. Examples include: Robson 2002: 325-65 (mathematics; metrology) and Veldhuis 2000b: 383-99 (proverbs).

<sup>58</sup> Veldhuis 1997: 40.



In 1999, Steve Tinney argued that two groups of texts formed the intermediate and advanced stages of the curriculum.<sup>59</sup> He followed up on Vanstiphout's assertion that Lipit-Ištar B was an intermediate scribal exercise, concluding that three additional compositions should be added to it, forming a series of compositions that he named the Tetrad: Iddin-Dagan B, Enlil-Bani A, and Nisaba A. He then identified a group of ten compositions that followed the Tetrad in the curriculum, naming this group the Decad: Šulgi A, Lipit-Ištar A, The Song of the Hoe, Inana B, Enlil A, The Keš Temple Hymn, Enki's Journey to Nippur, Inana and Ebiḫ, Nungal A, Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A. This identification was made based, primarily, on the sequential appearance of the Decad in two tablets that contained lists of literary compositions (the Nippur and Louvre catalogues), as well as the sequence of Decad texts found on collective tablets. Tinney's work was important for the study of the OB curriculum, as it identified two groups of compositions that were copied in the more advanced stages of scribal training.

Eleanor Robson built upon Tinney's conclusions by identifying a group of fourteen additional compositions that were copied at House F, Nippur.<sup>60</sup> In her 2001 article, she argued that, because these fourteen compositions (the "House F Fourteen") appeared in the Nippur and Louvre catalogues following the Decad, and were well represented at House F, they formed a more advanced stage in the scribal curriculum.<sup>61</sup> This was significant, as it further developed the idea of a relatively set curriculum, at least at House F in Nippur (the sole object of her investigation). However, she observed,

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<sup>59</sup> Tinney 1999: 159-72. For his discussion of the elementary stages of the curriculum, see Tinney 1998: 40-50.

<sup>60</sup> Robson 2001: 52-57.

<sup>61</sup> For another example of a composition determined to be in the advanced stages of the curriculum based on its place in the catalogues (among advanced literary compositions), see Nanše and the Birds in Veldhuis 2004: 62-66.

“This comparison between Nippur in general and House F in particular strongly suggests that the order of the curriculum varied from school to school, even within Nippur, although the actual contents of the curriculum were substantially the same.”<sup>62</sup> This observation was later developed by Delnero and others, who emphasized that the *contents* of the scribal curriculum could generally stay intact without following a rigid *sequence*.

Tanret placed the exercise tablets that were discovered at the OB city of Sippar-Amnānum within the elementary phase of the scribal curriculum in 2002.<sup>63</sup> Many of these tablets were Type II and IV, and contained such exercises as Syllable Alphabet A, lexical lists, and mathematical texts. There were, however, no literary compositions found among the curricular texts. Tanret’s study was important, as it not only showed consistency between the contents of the elementary phase of the curriculum, but provided curricular evidence from another OB Mesopotamian site.

As noted above, the conclusion that the Tetrad, Decad, and “House F Fourteen” were distinct groups of compositions that were learned in a fixed sequence in the curriculum was based in large part upon their sequential appearance in what had been deemed “curricular catalogues” (the Nippur and Louvre Catalogues). Delnero challenged this idea, arguing that the Nippur and Louvre Catalogues were not curricular lists, but instead inventories of tablets created for archival purposes.<sup>64</sup> Noting differences between the two lists, including the content and order of the incipits following the first ten entries (the ten texts of the Decad), along with evidence that these lists were for archival purposes (direct statements in the lists themselves, tablet size and shape, grouping methods), he argued that, while the Decad was indeed a distinct group, it does not follow

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<sup>62</sup> Robson 2001: 48.

<sup>63</sup> Tanret 2002: 157-161.

<sup>64</sup> Delnero 2010b: 32-55.

that the two lists indicate their *sequence* in the scribal curriculum. This is important, as it indicated that the “curriculum” may have been more fluid than was once thought.

Further substantiating the flexibility of the curriculum, in 2011, Delnero showed that the scribal curriculum at Ur differed from what was seen in Nippur.<sup>65</sup> He analyzed several Type III extract tablets that were copied by the scribal student Damiq-ilīšu, three of which were written within a two-week period. Because the dates on the tablets overlap (14<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> day of the month for Ewe and Wheat and the 21<sup>st</sup> day of the same month for The Lament over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur), it is certain that Damiq-ilīšu learned two separate compositions at the same time. This indicates that, contra the notion that a student learned an entire composition before moving on to another (e.g., all ten compositions of the Decad), there was variability in the curricular process.

In the same year, Alexandra Kleinerman studied a group of short, literary letters, the Sumerian Epistolary Miscellany (SEpM), which were used as part of the scribal curriculum.<sup>66</sup> These texts often appeared on compilation tablets and on tablets with catch lines, showing them to be part of a distinct group at Nippur. However, the order in which they appeared sometimes varied, and there was a certain amount of sequential variation in other cities (e.g., Ur), and even in the city of Nippur itself. This led Kleinerman to conclude that there was great variability in which compositions could be emphasized or selected by teachers in different curricular settings.<sup>67</sup> This is important, as it shows that, although the compilation tablets and catch lines seem to maintain a relatively standard sequence at Nippur, it is not fixed, even at Nippur, and certainly not at other sites.

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<sup>65</sup> Delnero 2011: 123-50.

<sup>66</sup> Kleinerman 2011.

<sup>67</sup> Kleinerman 2011: 92-94.

More recently, Veldhuis revisited the elementary phase of the curriculum, and acknowledged that the teachers may not have adhered to a standard curriculum, even at Nippur.<sup>68</sup> He cited regional variation in two cities: Uruk and Sippar-Amnānum. The Uruk example shows, among other things, the addition of a god list in the most elementary phase of the curriculum, which does not appear in the Nippur curriculum. At Sippar, the order of the elementary phase of the curriculum differs from Nippur, but is much closer to the standard Middle Babylonian sequence.<sup>69</sup> Based on this information, he concludes, “Education at Old Babylonian scribal schools followed more or less set patterns . . . Within those boundaries, there was plenty of space for experimentation and variation.”<sup>70</sup>

In a 2016 article, Delnero focused on the differences between the training of scribes in Nippur and Ur, including the content of the curriculum.<sup>71</sup> While the training at Nippur produced scribes with a fine mastery over the Sumerian language and the writing system, the education at Ur produced scribes who *appeared* to be skilled in the scribal craft, but were actually not trained to the standards of Nippur. Much of the variation that appears at Ur is found in texts that were copied as part of the scribal curriculum.<sup>72</sup> For example, at Ur, the scribes copied far more Akkadian than at Nippur. Many of the compositions in the Ur curriculum focused on Ur and its local cult, featuring Nanna in particular. Finally, there are compositions that appear in the Ur curriculum that do not appear at Nippur. In short, the idea of a rigid, standardized curriculum (in sequence or content) is not substantiated at Ur.

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<sup>68</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 212.

<sup>69</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 214-215.

<sup>70</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 215.

<sup>71</sup> Delnero 2016b: 19-50.

<sup>72</sup> Charpin 1986: 439-447 (for catalogue of texts from #1 Broad St.) and 35-41 (for catalogue of texts from #7 Quiet St.).

It now seems clear that, while the scribal curriculum can be broken down into distinct phases, the order in which the individual compositions were copied can vary from site to site, even from schoolhouse to schoolhouse. However, there remains a relatively stable group of literary compositions from which the teacher could choose as part of the intermediate and advanced stages of scribal training. To determine which compositions were regularly part of the scribal curriculum, in 2011, Steve Tinney devised a classification system to distinguish these curricular literary compositions.<sup>73</sup> Compositions were curricular when they had a high number of duplicates (particularly when they came from Nippur), and a high duplicate to composition ratio. Delnero added to Tinney's classification system, identifying four additional criteria for distinguishing these two groups: 1) found in House F, Nippur; 2) found in inventories that only contain other curricular texts; 3) an absence of any performative rubrics and subscripts; 4) end with *za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>74</sup> These two studies were essential, in that they provided criteria for identifying what Delnero named "core curricular texts," which formed a body of compositions that scribal students copied as part of their training.

Although many of the Mesopotamian sites that preserve remnants of scribal education have been examined to determine the sequence and content of the OB scribal curriculum, no systematic investigation has been undertaken at Kiš. Although the archaeological data from Kiš cannot provide a great deal of information concerning tablet type (and even specific content),<sup>75</sup> and the tablets are not available to identify their individual tablet types, we can assess if the general content of the curricular compositions

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<sup>73</sup> Tinney 2011: 577-598.

<sup>74</sup> Delnero 2015: 89-90.

<sup>75</sup> For recent treatments of the archaeological context of Kiš, see Goddeeris 2002: 251-252, Delnero 2006: 51-53, and Ohgama and Robson 2010: 207-36.

overlaps with what was found at another OB schoolhouse. With the Kiš corpus elucidated, it will allow for comprehensive analysis of all of the curricular texts from the major OB cities, making it possible to ascertain the similarities and differences between the various corpora. This study will identify the compositions that were copied as part of the scribal curriculum, and compare that data to the curricular texts found other OB sites, revealing the local character and emphases of the Kiš curricular corpus.

### *Distribution of Curricular Compositions*

Of the 600+ curricular and liturgical texts that were excavated at Kiš, there are at least 494 examples of curricular compositions that can be reasonably identified as products of scribal education, primarily from published hand copies or from de Genouillac's description in his catalogues found in *PRAK* I and II.<sup>76</sup> In the following section, I will present these curricular texts, using (for convenience only) the curricular sequence reconstructed from the tablets found in House F, Nippur, to organize their presentation.<sup>77</sup> The compositions will be arranged, when possible, in the following order: sign elements, Syllable Alphabet A/B (SA A/B), Tu-ta-ti, Personal Name (PN) lists, OB Ura, metrological and mathematical texts, other elementary exercises, and Sumerian and Akkadian literary compositions.<sup>78</sup> Several tables will be provided below showing the types of curricular compositions that have been identified at Kiš, along with their distribution. When an asterisk (\*) appears next to a tablet or PSK number, this indicates

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<sup>76</sup> It is possible, of course, that some of the fragments may be part of the same tablet, decreasing the number of actual duplicates. For a full list of these texts, see Appendix D.

<sup>77</sup> See Ohgama and Robson 2010: 213 for a recent example of this type of curricular ordering for convenience sake.

<sup>78</sup> Veldhuis 1997: 63.

that the tablet does not exist in hand copy. In the table below, I provide the distribution of curricular tablets that appear at Kiš.

**Table 3.1. Distribution of curricular duplicates at Kiš**

Sign Element Exercises	?
Syllable Alphabet A (SA A)	21
Tu-ta-ti	1?
PN Lists	56
OB Ura	48
Metrological	11
OB Ea	9
Mathematical	60
DN Lists	11
Grammatical	10
Proverbs	21
Akkadian Letter Exercises	8
Other Exercises	169
Decad	14
Other Sumerian Literary Texts	23
Akkadian Literary Texts	15
Incantations	7

The most basic exercises copied by introductory students were sign element writing exercises, in which the student became familiar with simple sign formations and the handling of the stylus by impressing basic wedges and wedge combinations on the tablet.<sup>79</sup> Because the majority of the early scribal exercises found at Kiš were not copied by de Genouillac, there are no clearly identifiable exercises of this type in the *PRAK* volumes.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Veldhuis 1997: 41.

<sup>80</sup> See Ohgama and Robson 2010: 228, where this was also concluded during their investigation of the tablets primarily from Ingharra: “Basic sign-writing exercises are entirely absent, or unrecorded, at Kish.” There is a significant number of the sign list exercise identifications that appear in de Genouillac’s Series A catalog, many of which he labels as “sign lists” (De Genouillac 1925: 45-58). In addition, many of the tablets in de Genouillac’s catalogue are referred to as either “exercises,” “attempts at writing,” “writing models,” or “lentils.” Other tablets are described as “list of signs,” “signs in columns,” or “repeated signs.” It is impossible to determine if a particular tablet contained a sign element writing exercise or a sign list

The first clearly identifiable duplicate of an elementary composition among the Kiš curricular texts is Syllable Alphabet A (SA A). This exercise was used to provide the student with practice in forming commonly used signs, copying out sequences of 1-3 signs (see composite text below). Though much shorter than its counterpart, Syllable Alphabet B (SA B), which was used almost exclusively at Nippur, the distribution of SA A was geographically broader and appears at many OB sites.<sup>81</sup> Although the composite text of SA A shown on the following page is based on DCCLT's edition of the composition,<sup>82</sup> a score of several OB manuscripts is provided for the individual Kiš duplicates in the discussion below.

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(e.g., OB Ea) without examining the tablet, but the elementary nature of these exercises may suggest this type of identification. The difficulty with identifying sign exercises from de Genouillac's descriptions can be seen in the following two tablets, which may contain initial sign element exercises: *PRAK A 219* (PSK 26)\* contains the signs /ni/, /in/, and /ti/, which may indicate repetition of somewhat simple sign forms. Additionally, *PRAK A 345* (PSK 39)\* (a trapezoid) is said to consist of "simples 'bâtons,'" which may indicate the early practice of sign forms. This group of tablets is listed in Appendix D under "Other exercises."

<sup>81</sup> Syllable Alphabet A does appear in some manuscripts that were found at Nippur, but these are relatively few in number compared to SA B (Veldhuis 2014: 146, fn. 303 lists the duplicates: CBS 5957, 14150, and UM 20-15-460).

<sup>82</sup> Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts (DCCLT), composite text Q000058.



1	me-me pap-pap a-a a-a-a		i <sub>3</sub> -ba-ba a-ba	85	ug <sub>4</sub> -ug <sub>4</sub> -ga an-gar <sub>3</sub>
		45	a-ba-ba ba-ba		gar <sub>3</sub> -an an-aš <sub>2</sub>
5	ku-ku lu-lu maš maš-maš maš-du <sub>3</sub>		ba-ba-a ba-za ba-za-za	90	aš <sub>2</sub> -an an-ba an-ba-ni
		50	ni-a a-ni		an-ni an-ni-zu
10	maš-ni si-du <sub>3</sub> si-ni si-a u-bar		tab-ni kaš-ni ni-ur-ba	95	du <sub>10</sub> -ga du <sub>10</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> -ga me-du <sub>10</sub>
		55	<i>be-li<sub>2</sub></i> <i>be-li<sub>2</sub>-tab<sub>x</sub></i>		me-du <sub>10</sub> -ga ši-ba-ni
15	bar-bar la <sub>2</sub> -la <sub>2</sub> ši-bar bar-ši ši-ši		ġeš-be nu-nu a-nu-nu	100	ši-ba-ur ħu-ħu ħu-ba ħu-ur
		60	saġ-ku <sub>3</sub> saġ-ku <sub>3</sub> -da-a		ħu-ru
20	ši-ši-ši a-ši a-ši-ši me-a me-ni		saġ-an saġ-an-tuk saġ-ġu <sub>10</sub>	105	an-u <sub>2</sub> u <sub>2</sub> -a u <sub>2</sub> -da
		65	saġ-kur saġ-kur-ta		pa-pa pa-ġa <sub>2</sub> pa-ġa <sub>2</sub> -ġa <sub>2</sub>
25	aš-ni aš-ur nun-ni nun-ur a-ku		ku <sub>3</sub> -da ku <sub>3</sub> -da-a	110	a-a-ur an-ur
		70	gab-gab nin-gab nin-ezen		ni-ni ni-ni-a
30	lagab-a a-pap pap-a a-an an-a		nin-sukkal nin-sukkal-an-ka	115	ni-ni-ni ni-ni-ni-a
		75	pu <sub>2</sub> -ta sila-ta e <sub>2</sub> -ta		ab-ba ab-ba-ġu <sub>10</sub> ab-ba-ni
35	kur-ba kur-u-ta me-zu me-wa-zu		e <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>4</sub> an-dul <sub>3</sub> an-an-dul <sub>3</sub>	120	ab-ba-a ab-ba-iri igi-su <sub>4</sub> igi-su <sub>4</sub> -su <sub>4</sub>
		80	an-ġa <sub>2</sub> an-kal		su <sub>4</sub> su <sub>4</sub> -su <sub>4</sub> -a
40	i <sub>3</sub> -zu a-zu zu-zu i <sub>3</sub> -ba		tam-ma tam-tam-ma ug <sub>4</sub> -ga		

There are 21 possible duplicates of SA A that were found at Kiš (see table below).

**Table 3.2. Duplicates of SA A**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Lines</b>
<i>PRAK A 3 (PSK 1)*</i>	Lines 42-44 <sup>83</sup>
<i>PRAK A 116 (PSK 2)*</i>	Lines 4-5 <sup>84</sup>
<i>PRAK A 119 (PSK 3)*</i>	Lines 2, 4-5 <sup>85</sup>
<i>PRAK A 136 (PSK 4)*</i>	Line 3? <sup>86</sup>
<i>PRAK A 166 (PSK 5)*</i>	Line 97 <sup>87</sup>
<i>PRAK A 198 (PSK 6)*</i>	Line 6?
<i>PRAK A 204 (PSK 7)*</i>	Line 3?
<i>PRAK A 299 (PSK 8)*</i>	Lines 21-23 <sup>88</sup>
<i>PRAK A 493 (PSK 9)*</i>	Line 116?
<i>PRAK D 59 (PSK 10)<sup>89</sup></i>	Lines ]5-11(?)[; ]18-23[; ]35-39[; unclear <sup>90</sup>
Ashm. 1932.182 (PSK 11)	Obv. = lines 1-5; rev. = lines 1-5 <sup>91</sup>
<i>OECT 13, 103 (PSK 12)</i>	Uncertain; six fragmentary signs on obverse
<i>OECT 15, 179 (PSK 13)</i>	Uncertain <sup>92</sup>
<i>OECT 15, 181 (PSK 14)</i>	Lines 6-10 on obverse; reverse unclear.
<i>OECT 15, 182 (PSK 15)</i>	Obv. unidentified; rev. Akkadian column? <sup>93</sup>
<i>OECT 15, 184 (PSK 16)</i>	Initial lines of SA A, slightly modified <sup>94</sup>

<sup>83</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 45. In the catalogue entry, de Genouillac notes that the fragment contains “*ni-ba, ni-ba-ba, a-ba,*” which maps onto SA A, lines 42-44.

<sup>84</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 48. The catalogue reads *a-a-u, ku-ku*, which corresponds to lines 4-5 of SA A.

<sup>85</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 48. The catalogue entry reads *pap-pap, a-a-a, ku...*, which closely corresponds to lines 2, 4 and 5 of SA A.

<sup>86</sup> *PRAK A 136 (PSK 4)\**, *PRAK A 198 (PSK 6)\**, and *PRAK A 204 (PSK 7)\**, whose catalogue entries contain the forms /a-a/, /a-a/, and /lu-lu/, which may correspond to early lines in SA A (see below). De Genouillac 1925: 48, 50.

<sup>87</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 49. *PRAK A 166 (PSK 5)\** is said to read “*me-du(g)-ga,*” which may represent SA A, line 97.

<sup>88</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 52. The catalogue entry of *PRAK A 299 (PSK 8)\** reads *a-ši, a-ši-ši, ši-a*, which roughly corresponds to SA A, 21-23.

<sup>89</sup> It appears that de Genouillac may have mislabeled the obverse and reverse of the tablet.

<sup>90</sup> Farber 1999: 123, source K.

<sup>91</sup> Handcopy and catalogue entry appears in Ohgama and Robson 2010: 231.

<sup>92</sup> It appears that obv. 3' reads /a-a a-a-[x]/, which would align with SA A, line 2, although obv. 5ff may loosely correspond to 31ff.

<sup>93</sup> The right edge appears to have /pap-pap/, which may have led Ohgama and Robson to identify this as a duplicate of SA A (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221). However, rev. 1 contains /zum/, while rev. 3 has /tum/; this may indicate that these signs represent the ends of Akkadian forms that were erased from the left side of the reverse.

<sup>94</sup> *OECT 15, 184 (PSK 16)* appears to be a Type II tablet; the left side of the obverse contains a portion of SA A that was completed by the instructor, but the text was not copied by the student, as both the right-hand column and reverse were left blank; the left-hand column appears to preserve a slightly modified form of the first section of SA A. Although Ohgama and Robson classify this as a possible Type I tablet (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221), it seems more likely that the blank right column and reverse indicates that the tablet was prepared by the instructor but was not completed by the student. It is possible, given that

<i>MSL</i> SS1, 110 (PSK 17)	Lines 1-4[; ]18-22
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 111 (PSK 18)	Lines 43-48[; rev. blank
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 112 (PSK 19)	Obv. iii = lines 1-6; iv = lines ]27-35; v = lines ]54-62?
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 114 (PSK 20)	Lines rev. ]54-58
<i>OECT</i> 15, 183a (PSK 21)	Lines ]4-5; 1-3[

Of the ten examples of SA A found in the *PRAK* volumes, only one (*PRAK* D 59 = PSK 10) was copied by de Genouillac; the remaining nine examples appear only in the Series A catalogue. However, the *PRAK* catalogue entries allow us, in several cases, not only to identify that the fragment as a portion of SA A, but also to determine the relevant portion of the composition that was copied on the tablet.<sup>95</sup> Most of the identifications made below were already noted by Landsberger in 1933.<sup>96</sup> Below is a score of the portions of SA A that are duplicated in the manuscripts from Kiš.

### **Kiš Sources**

- K<sub>1</sub>:** *PRAK* A 3 (PSK 1)\*  
**K<sub>2</sub>:** *PRAK* A 116 (PSK 2)\*  
**K<sub>3</sub>:** *PRAK* A 119 (PSK 3)\*  
**K<sub>4</sub>:** *PRAK* A 136 (PSK 4)\*  
**K<sub>5</sub>:** *PRAK* A 166 (PSK 5)\*  
**K<sub>6</sub>:** *PRAK* A 198 (PSK 6)\*  
**K<sub>7</sub>:** *PRAK* A 204 (PSK 7)\*  
**K<sub>8</sub>:** *PRAK* A 299 (PSK 8)\*  
**K<sub>9</sub>:** *OECT* 15, 181 (PSK 14)  
**K<sub>10</sub>:** *MSL* SS1, 110 (PSK 17)  
**K<sub>11</sub>:** *MSL* SS1, 111 (PSK 18)  
**K<sub>12</sub>:** *MSL* SS1, 112 (PSK 19)  
**K<sub>13</sub>:** *OECT* 15, 183a (PSK 21)  
**K<sub>14</sub>:** *OECT* 15, 184 (PSK 16)

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the opening lines appear to vary from other Kiš duplicates of the initial portion of SA A, that the instructor incorrectly inscribed the initial lines and thus discarded the tablet.

<sup>95</sup> For the “Série A” catalogue, see de Genouillac 1925: 45-58.

<sup>96</sup> Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1a. Farber, however, argues that the Series A *PRAK* texts more closely resemble SA B; see Farber 1999: 123, fn. 24.

## Non-Kiš Sources

**N<sub>1</sub>:** UM 29-15-460  
**N<sub>2</sub>:** CBS 14150  
**N<sub>3</sub>:** TIM 10/1, 168 (2 N-T-263)  
**S<sub>1</sub>:** Scheil, RT 17, 34  
**Su<sub>1</sub>:** MDP 18, 1  
**X<sub>1</sub>:** BM 78262

### **1. me-me**

S<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 1: ʾme<sup>21</sup>-ʾme<sup>21</sup>  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 1: me-me  
X<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 1: me-me  
K<sub>10</sub>, obv. 1: [x]-me  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. iii 3': me-[x]  
K<sub>13</sub>, rev. i 1: me-me

### **2. [pap]-pap**

S<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 2: ʾpap<sup>21</sup>-pap<sup>1</sup>  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 2: pap-pap  
X<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 2: pap<sup>1</sup>-pap  
K<sub>3</sub>, 1: pap-pap  
K<sub>10</sub>, obv. 2: [x]-pap  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. iii 4': pap-ʾpap<sup>1</sup>  
K<sub>13</sub>, rev. i 2: ʾpap<sup>1</sup>-ʾpap<sup>1</sup>

### **3. a-a**

S<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 3: a-a  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 3: a-a  
X<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 3: a-a  
K<sub>4</sub>, 1: a-a  
K<sub>7</sub>, 1: a-a  
K<sub>10</sub>, obv. 3: a-a  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. iii 5': a-ʾa<sup>1</sup>  
K<sub>13</sub>, rev. ii 1: a-a

#### 4. a-a-a

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 4:	a-a-a
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 4:	a-a-a
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 4:	a-a-a
K <sub>2</sub> , 1:	a-a-u <sup>97</sup>
K <sub>3</sub> , 2:	a-a-a
K <sub>10</sub> , obv. 4:	[x]-r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -a
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iii 6:	a-a-r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>
K <sub>13</sub> , obv. i 1'&ii 1':	r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> / r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -r <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[x]

#### 5. ku-ku

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 5:	ku-ku
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 5:	r <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup> -r <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup>
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 5:	ku-ku
K <sub>2</sub> , 2:	ku-ku
K <sub>3</sub> , 3:	ku-ku
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iii 7:	r <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup> -[x]
K <sub>13</sub> , obv. i 2'&ii 2':	ku-ku / ku-r <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup>

#### 6. lu-lu

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 6:	lu-lu
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 6:	r <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> -lu
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 6:	lu-lu
K <sub>6</sub> , 1:	lu-lu
K <sub>9</sub> , obv. 1':	[x]-lu
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iii 8:	r <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> -[x]

#### 7. maš

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 7:	maš
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 7:	maš
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 7:	maš
K <sub>9</sub> , obv. 2':	maš

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<sup>97</sup> The tablet may read /a-a-a/ when collated.

**8. maš-maš**

N <sub>3</sub> , obv. 1&3:	maš-maš
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 8:	maš-maš
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 8:	maš-maš
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 8:	maš-maš
K <sub>9</sub> , obv. 3':	maš-maš

**9. maš-du<sub>3</sub>**

N <sub>3</sub> , obv. 2&4:	maš-du <sub>3</sub>
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 9:	maš-du <sub>3</sub>
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 9:	maš-du <sub>3</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 9:	maš-du <sub>3</sub>
K <sub>9</sub> , obv. 4':	maš- <sup>r</sup> du <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup>

**10. maš-ni**

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 10:	[...]
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 10:	maš- <sup>r</sup> ni <sup>1</sup>
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 10:	maš-ni
K <sub>9</sub> , obv. 5':	maš-[x]

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**18. bar-ši**

Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 18:	bar-ši
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 2:	bar-ši
K <sub>10</sub> , rev. 1':	[x]- <sup>r</sup> ši <sup>1</sup>

**19. ši-ši**

S <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 11:	ši-ši
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 19:	ši-ši
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 5:	ši-ši
K <sub>10</sub> , rev. 2':	[x]- <sup>r</sup> ši <sup>1</sup>

**20.            ši-ši-ši**

S<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 12:      ši-ši-ši  
 Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 12:     ši-ši-ši  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 6:      ši-ši-ši  
 K<sub>10</sub>, rev. 3:       [x x]-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>

**21.            [a]-ši**

Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 21:     a-ši  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 7:      a-ši  
 K<sub>8</sub>, 1:              a-ši  
 K<sub>10</sub>, rev. 4:       [x]-ši

**22.            [a]-ši-ši**

Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. i 22:     <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ši-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 8:      a-ši-ši  
 K<sub>8</sub>, 2:              a-ši-ši  
 K<sub>10</sub>, rev. 5:       [x x]-<sup>r</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>

**23.            me-a**

N<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 4:         
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 9:      me-a  
 K<sub>8</sub>, 3:              ši-a<sup>98</sup>

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**27.            nun-ni**

N<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 5:        nun-ni  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 13:     nun-ni  
 K<sub>12</sub>, obv. iv 1:     <sup>r</sup>nun<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> It is easy to understand confusing /ši/ with /me/, either by the ancient scribe (addition of a single *Winkelhacken*), or by de Genouillac in his inspection of the tablet fragment.

**28.           nun-ur**

N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 6':	nun-ur
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 1':	ʀnun <sup>1</sup> -[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 14':	nun-ur
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 2':	ʀnun <sup>1</sup> -ur

**29.           a-ku**

N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 7':	a-ku
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 1':	a-ku <sup>?</sup>
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 2':	a-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 15':	a-ku
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 3':	a-ku

**30.           lagab-a**

N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 8':	lagab-a
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 3':	lagab-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 16':	lagab-a
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 4':	lagab-a

**31.           a-pap**

N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 9':	a-pap
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 3':	a-pap <sup>!</sup>
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 4':	a-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 17':	a-pap
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 5':	a-pap

**32.           pap-a**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 1':	[x]-ʀa <sup>1</sup>
N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 10':	pap-a
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 2':	pap <sup>!</sup> -a
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 5':	pap-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 18':	pap <sup>!</sup> -a
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 6':	pap-a



**33. a-an**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 2':	[x]-an
N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 11':	[x]- <sup>ʀ</sup> an <sup>ʀ</sup>
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 5':	a-an
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 6':	a-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. iii 1':	a-an
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 7':	<sup>ʀ</sup> a <sup>ʀ</sup> -an

**34. an-a**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 3':	<sup>ʀ</sup> an <sup>ʀ</sup> -a
N <sub>2</sub> , obv. i 12':	[x]- <sup>ʀ</sup> a <sup>ʀ</sup>
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 4':	an-a
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 7':	<sup>ʀ</sup> an <sup>ʀ</sup> -[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. iii 2':	an-a
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 8':	<sup>ʀ</sup> an <sup>ʀ</sup> -a

**35. kur-ba**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 4':	[x]-ba
S <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 6':	kur-ba
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 8':	kur-[x]
X <sub>1</sub> , obv. iii 3':	kur-ba
K <sub>12</sub> , obv. iv 9':	kur- <sup>ʀ</sup> ba <sup>ʀ</sup>

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**42. i<sub>3</sub>-ba**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 11':	<sup>ʀ</sup> i <sub>3</sub> <sup>ʀ</sup> -ba
S <sub>1</sub> , rev. 2':	i <sub>3</sub> -ba
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 14':	<sup>ʀ</sup> i <sub>3</sub> ? <sup>ʀ</sup> -[x]
K <sub>1</sub> , 1':	i <sub>3</sub> -ba

**43. i<sub>3</sub>-ba-ba**

N <sub>1</sub> , obv. i 12':	<sup>ʀ</sup> i <sub>3</sub> <sup>ʀ</sup> -ba- <sup>ʀ</sup> ba <sup>ʀ</sup>
S <sub>1</sub> , rev. 3':	i <sub>3</sub> -ba-ba
Su <sub>1</sub> , obv. ii 15':	i <sub>3</sub> -ba-[x]
K <sub>1</sub> , 2':	i <sub>3</sub> -ba-ba
K <sub>11</sub> , obv. 1':	[x]- <sup>ʀ</sup> ba <sup>ʀ</sup> -ba

**44. [a-ba]-ba**

S<sub>1</sub>, rev. 4: a-ba  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 16: a-[x]  
K<sub>1</sub>, 3: a-ba  
K<sub>11</sub>, obv. 2: [x]-ba

**45. a-ba-ba**

S<sub>1</sub>, rev. 5: a-ba-ba  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 17: <sup>r</sup>a?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ba?<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
K<sub>11</sub>, obv. 3: [x]-ba-ba

**46. ba-ba**

S<sub>1</sub>, rev. 6: ba-ba  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 18: <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
K<sub>11</sub>, obv. 4: [x]-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>

**47. ba-ba-a**

S<sub>1</sub>, rev. 7: ba-ba-a  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 19: ba-[x]  
K<sub>11</sub>, obv. 5: [x]-ba-a

**48. ba-za**

S<sub>1</sub>, rev. 8: ba-za  
Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 20: ba-[x]  
K<sub>11</sub>, obv. 6: [x]-za

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**54. ni-ur-ba**

Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 26: ni-[x x]  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 1: <sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-[x]

**55.** *be-li<sub>2</sub>*

Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 27': *be-[x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 2': *be-li<sub>2</sub>*

**56.** *be-li<sub>2</sub>-tab<sub>x</sub>*

Su<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 28': *ᵀbe<sup>1</sup>-[x x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 3': *be-li<sub>2</sub>-tab<sub>x</sub>*

**57.** *ġiš-be*

N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 1': *ġiš-[x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 4': *ġiš-be*

**58.** *nu-nu*

N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 2': *nu-[x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 5': *nu-nu*

**59.** *a-nu-nu*

N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 3': *a-[x x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 6': *a-nu-<nu>*

**60.** *saġ-ku<sub>3</sub>*

N<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 1': *ᵀsaġ<sup>1</sup>-[x]*  
N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 4': *ᵀsaġ<sup>1</sup>-[x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 7': *saġ-ku<sub>3</sub>*

**61.** *saġ-ku<sub>3</sub>-da-a*

N<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 2': *ᵀsaġ<sup>1</sup>-[x x]*  
N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 5': *ᵀsaġ<sup>1</sup>-[x]*  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 8': *saġ-ku<sub>3</sub>-da*

**62. saĝ-an**

N<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 3': saĝ-[x]  
N<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 6': ʳsaĝ<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
K<sub>12</sub>, obv. v 9': saĝ-ʳan<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of *OECT* 15, 184 (PSK 16), the duplicates of SA A that were found at Kiš appear to be rather consistent with the copies found at other OB sites. While the tablets from Kiš contain no preserved groups of lines from the latter half of the composition, the portions of lines 1-62 that are duplicated in the Kiš texts appear to fit the standard compositional sequence.

Another elementary exercise that is seen at Kiš is Tu-ta-ti. In this composition, the student copied signs that formed a sequence of syllables that contained the vowel sounds /u/, /a/, and /i/, in that order. This pattern of writing allowed the student to memorize a set of common syllables that incorporated all consonants and vowels in the Sumerian writing system. The initial section (lines 1-16) of the Nippur version of the composition is shown below to demonstrate the pattern of the composition.<sup>99</sup>

1	tu	5	nu	bu	zu	
	ta		na	10	ba	za
	ti		ni	bi	15	zi
	tu-ta-ti		nu-na-ni	bu-ba-bi		zu-za-zi

Unfortunately, we have no verified duplicates of Tu-ta-ti from Kiš. However, the catalogue entry for tablet fragment *PRAK* A 371 (PSK 22)\* reads, “*a-i*, etc,” which may correspond to the line 48 of the composition, according to the line numbering found in Landsberger’s edition of the text (see below):

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<sup>99</sup> Çiğ, Kizilyay, and Landsberger 1959: 59-61, as well as DCCLT composite text Q00060.

Tu-ta-ti

PSK 22

48. u<sub>2</sub>-a-i

u-a-i

We now turn to the 56 Personal Name (PN) lists that were found at Kiš. As scribes were often tasked with copying a variety of legal and administrative documents, as well as letters, writing lists of personal names would have proven extremely valuable.<sup>100</sup> Both Sumerian and Akkadian PN lists are represented in the Kiš corpus. However, a relatively high number of Akkadian PN lists were copied as scribal exercises at Kiš during the OB.

Among the Kiš sources, only 12 of the 56 tablets are represented in hand copy. The remaining 44 possible PN lists only appear in the Series A and B catalogues that are found in *PRAK* I and II. However, the descriptions that appear in de Genouillac's catalogue entries often make it difficult to distinguish between PN list exercises and lists of names that might appear in a contract, witness list, or other administrative documents. For several of the tablets, he describes a particular text as being or containing a "(Liste des) noms propres," often with no other specific information.<sup>101</sup> However, as de Genouillac very frequently identifies individual tablets as contracts or other administrative documents, it may be reasonable to assume that, for many of the fragments identified as PN lists in the catalogue, his catalogue entries likely refer to scribal exercises. Furthermore, in many of the cases where de Genouillac's catalogue entries indicate the presence of proper names, the tablet is described in one of the following

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<sup>100</sup> For a recent discussion of PN lists from Nippur, see Peterson 2011: 246-273. In the article, he identified at least eight individual PN lists that were copied at Nippur, identified by their incipits: nin-nin, <sup>d</sup>inana-teš, ba- [...], a-a-kal-la, lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>, ur-ki, Theophoric name lists, and "Diverse Initial Element" lists (pp. 259-271 of Peterson's article lists all lists and their duplicates).

<sup>101</sup> For example, *PRAK* A 45 (PSK 25)\*, *PRAK* A 349 (PSK 37)\*, *PRAK* A 350 (PSK 38)\*, *PRAK* A 494 (PSK 50)\*, *PRAK* A 498 (PSK 51)\* [notes that the names are described in the catalogue as "sémitiques"], and *PRAK* A 589 (PSK 53)\*. See de Genouillac 1925: 46, 53, 57, 58.

ways: 1) an exercise or school tablet, 2) a lentil, 3) a writing model,<sup>102</sup> 4) a text containing a repeated first element of a PN, or 5) a tablet containing what appears to be another scribal list or exercise on another portion of the tablet. This increases the possibility that these were scribal exercises.<sup>103</sup>

The table below contains those tablets that preserve PN lists that appear to be scribal exercises.

**Table 3.3. Duplicates of personal name lists**

Text	Content	Description
<i>PRAK A 36 (PSK 23)*</i>		Writing model
<i>PRAK A 40 (PSK 24)*</i>	PNs beginning with /ur-/	Large handwriting
<i>PRAK A 45 (PSK 25)*</i>		2-column tablet
<i>PRAK A 68 (PSK 26)*</i>		
<i>PRAK A 69 (PSK 27)*</i>	2 columns: 1) PN list, 2) “repeated signs”	Exercise
<i>PRAK A 71 (PSK 28)*</i>		Exercise
<i>PRAK A 100 (PSK 29)*</i>	Akkadian PN list	Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK A 102 (PSK 30)*</i>		Exercise
<i>PRAK A 103 (PSK 31)*</i>	PNs beginning with /nin-/	Exercise; large handwriting
<i>PRAK A 121 (PSK 32)*</i>	Akkadian PNs beginning with /a-mur- <sup>d</sup> /	Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 163 (PSK 33)*</i>		Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 192 (PSK 34)*</i>		Exercise
<i>PRAK A 218 (PSK 35)*</i>		Writing model
<i>PRAK A 282 (PSK 36)*</i>	PN list on obverse; numbers on reverse	Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK A 349 (PSK 37)*</i>		

<sup>102</sup> Though we cannot be certain about what de Genouillac specifically meant by the use of the term “model,” the contexts in which he uses the word seem to indicate to me that it should be understood as a text (often a portion of a composition) that was copied out by a teacher and given to the student to use as a model text with which to practice. While it might seem like this should be a Type II tablet, de Genouillac labels several lentils as “writing models” (e.g., *PRAK A 409 (PSK 43)\**, *PRAK A 432 (PSK 46)\**, *PRAK A 434 (PSK 47)\** and *PRAK A 532 (PSK 52)\**).

<sup>103</sup> In the catalogue in Appendix D, the possible PN lists that can only be identified by de Genouillac’s catalogue entry will be marked with a question mark, as we cannot be certain about their identifications until the individual tablets are collated.

<i>PRAK A 350 (PSK 38)*</i>		2-column tablet
<i>PRAK A 382* (PSK 39)</i>	Akkadian PNs	Fragment of large tablet
<i>PRAK A 388 (PSK 40)*</i>		Writing exercise; lentil
<i>PRAK A 391 (PSK 41)*</i>		Writing exercise; lentil
<i>PRAK A 404 (PSK 42)*</i>		Exercise; 2-column tablet
<i>PRAK A 409 (PSK 43)*</i>		Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 418 (PSK 44)*</i>		Exercise
<i>PRAK A 431 (PSK 45)*</i>	Signs on obverse; PN list on reverse	Exercise
<i>PRAK A 432 (PSK 46)*</i>	Akkadian? <sup>104</sup>	Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 434 (PSK 47)*</i>		Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 470 (PSK 48)*</i>		2-column tablet
<i>PRAK A 473 (PSK 49)*</i>		Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK A 494 (PSK 50)*</i>		
<i>PRAK A 498 (PSK 51)*</i>	Akkadian PNs	Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK A 532 (PSK 52)*</i>		Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK A 589 (PSK 53)*</i>		Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK B 29 (PSK 54)*</i>	Akkadian PNs	
<i>PRAK B 30 (PSK 55)*</i>	Akkadian PNs <sup>105</sup>	4-column tablet
<i>PRAK B 33 (PSK 56)</i>	Akkadian PNs beginning with / <sup>p</sup> š <sub>u</sub> -mu-um-/	Exercise
<i>PRAK B 35 (PSK 57)*</i>	Sumerian PNs	Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK B 178 (PSK 58)*</i>	PNs beginning with /lu <sub>2</sub> -/	Writing model
<i>PRAK B 202 (PSK 59)*</i>	Akkadian PNs	Fragment of a large tablet
<i>PRAK B 219 (PSK 60)*</i>	PNs beginning with /ur-/	
<i>PRAK B 294 (PSK 61)*</i>	PN list on obverse, (grammatical?) exercise on reverse	Exercise
<i>PRAK B 297 (PSK 62)*</i>	Akkadian PNs	2-column tablet
<i>PRAK B 311 (PSK 63)</i>	Akkadian PNs <sup>106</sup>	
<i>PRAK B 419 bis (PSK 64)*</i>		
<i>PRAK B 429 bis (PSK 65)*</i>	Akkadian PNs <sup>107</sup>	
<i>PRAK B 431 (PSK 66)*</i>		Fragment of a large

<sup>104</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 55 notes that the tablet contains the forms *a-nu-uš* and *a-na-šu*.

<sup>105</sup> E.g., *Sin-iqīšam* and *Ušur-awāssu*.

<sup>106</sup> E.g., *Iddin-<sup>d</sup>Amurri*, *Ḫummurum*, and *<sup>d</sup>Sin-gamil*.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., *Ali-waqrūm*, *Etel*, and *Šamaš-abi*.

		tablet
<i>PRAK D 20</i> (PSK 67)	PNs beginning with /ur-/	Writing model; lentil
Ashm. 1924.580 (PSK 68)		Lentil
<i>OECT 5, 52</i> (PSK 69)	PNs beginning with /ur-/	Lentil
<i>OECT 5, 53</i> (PSK 70)		Lentil
<i>OECT 13, 32</i> (PSK 71)	Akkadian PNs <sup>108</sup>	Exercise
<i>OECT 13, 66</i> (PSK 72)	Akkadian PNs <sup>109</sup>	Exercise
<i>OECT 13, 68</i> (PSK 73)	Akkadian PNs <sup>110</sup>	
<i>OECT 15, 173</i> (PSK 74)	PNs beginning with /ur-/	Lentil
Ashm. 1930.363g (PSK 75)	PNs beginning with /nin-/	Lentil
Ashm. 1931.149 (PSK 76)	PNs beginning with /ur-/	Lentil

We will investigate this phenomenon later in this chapter, but a cursory glance at the table above reveals that Akkadian PN lists were a critical part of scribal education at Kiš. At least 14 of the 54 tablets (26%) that contain PN lists were used to copy Akkadian names. Of these 54, only 26 have been identified, which leaves an additional 28 tablets that may also preserve Akkadian PNs. Thus, at least 26% of the PN lists from Kiš contain Akkadian names, and appear to have been used in scribal education.

Next in the sequence of elementary exercises was the copying of sections of OB versions of the lexical series known as  $Ur_5$ -ra = *hubullu* in the MB period and in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium; I follow Veldhuis and refer to the version of this series in the OB as OB Ura.<sup>111</sup> The entire OB composition that has been reconstructed from duplicates found at Nippur existed in six tablets, and included (but was not limited to) the Sumerian and Akkadian words for things such as wood, crafts, animals and meat, objects in nature,

<sup>108</sup> E.g., *Uppulti-Ištar*, *Awīl-Ištar*, *Mīnam-ēpuš-ilam*, and *Aplum*.

<sup>109</sup> E.g., *Aḫūni*, *Šu-ilišu*, and *Ili-abi*.

<sup>110</sup> Including names beginning with *Upāq-*, *Ili-*, and *Arad-*.

<sup>111</sup> I adopt the nomenclature “OB Ura” used by Veldhuis (Veldhuis 2014: 149). He writes, “The name ‘Ura’ . . . derives from Middle Babylonian and first millennium versions that begin with a section on business expressions (ur<sub>5</sub>-ra = loan). This section was not originally part of the series . . . and was not included in Nippur – and so ‘Old Babylonian Ura’ is strictly speaking a misnomer . . . The label is retained here in order to emphasize the strong continuity with later versions of the series.”



geographical names, and foodstuffs.<sup>112</sup> At least 44 tablets have been identified at Kiš as possible duplicates of OB Ura. Many of these tablets were identified as exercises by de Genouillac, whose content suggests that they were part of OB Ura based on his catalogue entries.<sup>113</sup>

**Table 3.4. Duplicates of OB Ura**

Text	Lines
<i>PRAK</i> A 5 (PSK 77)*	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, 192-195
<i>PRAK</i> A 11 (PSK 78)*	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, 422, 455-457
<i>PRAK</i> B 39 (PSK 99)	OB Ura; duplicates Tablet 1 of 1 <sup>st</sup> mill. Ura, ]103?-111] <sup>114</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 47 (PSK 100)	Duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 (52-63), MB Emar and NB wood lists (see discussion below)
<i>PRAK</i> B 49 (PSK 101)	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, 198, 142-143[
<i>PRAK</i> B 51 (PSK 102)	Bilingual portion (Akkadian in obv. columns i and iii) of OB Ura, Tablet 1 that is found in several periods (OB, MB, NB) <sup>115</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 96 (PSK 103)	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, ]455-457[; ]475-479[
<i>PRAK</i> B 173 (PSK 105)	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, ]178-90[
<i>PRAK</i> B 397 (PSK 107)	Type II; obv. wood list; rev. food list (beer) <sup>116</sup>
Ashm. 1924.519 (PSK 108)	OB Ura <sup>117</sup>

<sup>112</sup> See Veldhuis 2014: 149-157. OB Ura is represented well enough at Nippur to reconstruct the series as it existed there; this is labeled as OB Nippur Ura. However, Veldhuis notes that there are not enough duplicates of OB Ura at other OB cities to reconstruct the entire series at each site. However, certain portions have been pieced together at various cities, and when local variation between duplicated portions of the individual tablets warrants, local designations are used (e.g., OB Kiš Ura, OB Sippar Ura, etc.).

<sup>113</sup> Veldhuis notes that *OECT* 15, 175 (PSK 418), a lentilicular tablet, may contain a portion of the OB Sippar Phrasebook, a list of business expressions that later became OB Sippar Ura, Tablets 1-2 (Veldhuis 2014: 193, fn. 412); however, this identification is not certain.

<sup>114</sup> Partially duplicates the Sumerian column of CBS 1862 [OB Sippar Ura 1-2], obv. ii 13'-19'. The same line order is seen in the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. duplicate Ashm. 1924.818, obv. i 4-12.

<sup>115</sup> Examples of sources with this section of text include: CBS 1862 (OB Sippar Ura 1-2), obv. i 36'-41', ii 1'-6'; HS 1613+HS 1642 (OB Nippur), rev. ii 15-21; OB Nippur ki-ulutin-bi-še<sub>3</sub>, obv. iv 3'-9'; CBS 6456 (MB Nippur Ura), obv. i 1-7; Msk 731046 (MB Emar), obv. ii 11-18; Msk 731059a+ (MB Emar), obv. ii 3-6, 25-33.

<sup>116</sup> A portion of the obverse roughly duplicates lines found in a few other manuscripts; obv. i 5-8 (<sup>ĝi</sup>ma-nu; <sup>ĝi</sup>ma-nu kur-ra; <sup>ĝi</sup>ma-nu šu ak-a; <sup>ĝi</sup>mur-an-na) is partially duplicated, for example, in Msk 731030 (MB Emar), obv. ii 25-32; RSO 5/1, p. 281 fig. 34c [MB Ura], obv. ii 21-26. However, there are several lines added to or deleted from the sequence seen in *PRAK* B 397 (PSK 107).

<sup>117</sup> Similar lines appear in Msk 731059a+ (MB Emar), obv. i 22-36'; Ashm 1924.1643, obv. i' 9'-11' and ii' 1'-4'.

Ashm. 1924.2017 (PSK 109)	OB Ura (food list?)
Ashm. 1924.2090 (PSK 110)	OB Ura (very fragmentary)
Ashm. 1924.2098 (PSK 111)	OB Ura (very fragmentary)
Ashm. 1932.176 (PSK 112)	OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 17-33
Ashm. 1924.1405 (PSK 113)	obv. OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 30-33 <sup>118</sup>
Ashm. 1924.563 (PSK 114)	obv. OB Ura (very fragmentary)
Ashm. 1924.576 (PSK 115)	obv. OB Ura (3 fragmentary lines of a wood list preserved)
Ashm. 1924.587 (PSK 116)	OB Ura <sup>119</sup>
Ashm. 1932.177 (PSK 117)	OB Ura (aromatics? and copper list) <sup>120</sup>
Ashm. 1930.177o (PSK 118)	Portions of OB Nippur Ura (see below)
Ashm. 1932.156c (PSK 119)	OB Ura; similar to OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4 (fragmentary). Obverse: plants and fish; reverse: fish and birds.
<i>OECT</i> 4, 157 (PSK 120)	OB Ura; obv. list of fields; rev. clothing <sup>121</sup>
<i>OECT</i> 4, 158 (PSK 121)	OB Ura; similar to OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 6. list of foods (e.g., bread, oil, grain, apples) <sup>122</sup>
<i>OECT</i> 15, 164 (PSK 122)	Duplicates OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, lines ]167-70[ (list of lambs)
<i>OECT</i> 15, 174 (PSK 123)	Lentil; partially duplicates SC 1, 22 (OB Ura, Tablet 1), rev. ii 17-19 (list of wood)
Ashm. 1931.150 (PSK 124)	Lentil; OB Ura (list of stones) <sup>123</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> A 31 (PSK 79)*	OB Ura (list of stones)
<i>PRAK</i> A 33 (PSK 80)*	OB Ura (list of stones)
<i>PRAK</i> A 44 (PSK 81)*	OB Ura (list of reeds)
<i>PRAK</i> A 61 (PSK 82)*	OB Ura (list of wood, including <sup>ĝi</sup> š kinkin and <sup>ĝi</sup> š ad <sub>2</sub> ). Writing model
<i>PRAK</i> A 131 (PSK 83)*	OB Ura (list of clothing). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 132 (PSK 84)*	OB Ura (list of vessels on reverse). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 134 (PSK 85)*	Duplicates OB Sippar Ura, Tablets 1-2, lines obv. ii 19ff?
<i>PRAK</i> A 161 (PSK 86)*	OB Ura (list of GNs). Writing model
<i>PRAK</i> A 173 (PSK 87)*	OB Ura (list of reeds). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 217 (PSK 88)*	OB Ura. Writing model

<sup>118</sup> Obverse reads: <sup>r</sup>ĝi<sup>š</sup>ur<sup>š</sup>ennur<sup>1</sup> [...]; <sup>r</sup>ĝi<sup>š</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>lam-<sup>r</sup>gal<sup>1</sup>; <sup>r</sup>ĝi<sup>š</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>lam-tur; [<sup>ĝi</sup>š]al-[la-nu-um]. Reverse fragmentary.

<sup>119</sup> Text may duplicate CBS 29-16-13, rev. ii 1-7.

<sup>120</sup> The copper list in obv. ii is relatively clear: [... ]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ra; <sup>r</sup>urud<sup>1</sup>za-ri<sub>2</sub>-in; <sup>urud</sup>lu<sup>h</sup>-<sup>h</sup>a; <sup>r</sup>urud<sup>1</sup>ur<sup>š</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>; <sup>r</sup>urud<sup>1</sup>ur<sup>š</sup>en<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>; <sup>urud</sup>ni<sup>ĝ</sup><sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-su<sub>3</sub>-da; <sup>urud</sup>ni<sup>ĝ</sup><sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>de<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...]; <sup>urud</sup>ni<sup>ĝ</sup><sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>; <sup>urud</sup>ni<sup>ĝ</sup><sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...]; <sup>r</sup>urud<sup>1</sup>[...].

<sup>121</sup> For example, obv. i 9-16 read: a-ša<sub>3</sub> ambar; a-ša<sub>3</sub> ambar tur; a-ša<sub>3</sub> ambar gu-la; a-ša<sub>3</sub> ambar ban<sub>3</sub>-da; a-ša<sub>3</sub> ambar <sup>d</sup>En-ki; a-ša<sub>3</sub> a-gar<sub>3</sub>; a-ša<sub>3</sub> a-gar<sub>3</sub> tur; a-ša<sub>3</sub> a-gar<sub>3</sub> gu-la.

<sup>122</sup> Examples include obv. ii 1-9: <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a a; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a DU; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-ĝi<sup>š</sup>; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-nun; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-lam?; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a nim-ab-[x]; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>ki [...]; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>ki an-na; <sup>ninda</sup><sub>1</sub>ki gu-la (cf. SLT 15 [OB Nippur Ura], b ii 17-21).

<sup>123</sup> Transliterated in Ohgama and Robson 2010: 231 (<sup>r</sup>na<sup>4</sup><sub>1</sub>ni-kar<sub>2</sub>, <sup>r</sup>na<sup>4</sup><sub>1</sub>ki-a<sup>ĝ</sup><sub>2</sub>, [<sup>na</sup><sup>4</sup>]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>h</sup>i-li-a).

<i>PRAK</i> A 279 (PSK 89)*	OB Ura (list of wood). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 281 (PSK 90)*	OB Ura (list of birds). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 312 (PSK 91)*	OB Ura (list of birds). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 330 (PSK 92)*	OB Ura (list of wood, including <sup>giš</sup> tukul). Writing exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 393 (PSK 93)*	OB Ura (list of food). Writing exercise; lentil
<i>PRAK</i> A 395 (PSK 94)*	OB Ura (list of GNs). Writing exercise; lentil
<i>PRAK</i> A 396 (PSK 95)*	OB Ura (list of stones). Writing exercise; lentil
<i>PRAK</i> A 417 (PSK 96)*	OB Ura (list of GNs). Lentil
<i>PRAK</i> A 420 (PSK 97)*	OB Ura (list of GNs). Lentil
<i>PRAK</i> A 463 <i>bis</i> (PSK 98)*	OB Ura (list of plants). Writing model; lentil
<i>PRAK</i> B 122 (PSK 104)*	OB Ura (list of wood). Exercise
<i>PRAK</i> B 268 (PSK 106)*	OB Ura (list of TNs)

Provided below are transliterations and some analysis of several duplicates of OB Ura. I begin with *PRAK* B 47 (PSK 100), which contains a wood list that duplicates (to varying degrees) portions of OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, as well as MB and NB Ura duplicates.<sup>124</sup>

- K** = *PRAK* B 47 (PSK 100)  
**OBN** = OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 Composite Text:<sup>125</sup>  
**OBN<sub>1</sub>** = CBS 4801+  
**OBN<sub>2</sub>** = CBS 8063  
**OBN<sub>3</sub>** = N 5140+  
**OBN<sub>4</sub>** = N 5589  
**OBN<sub>5</sub>** = CBS 14156  
**OBN<sub>6</sub>** = CBS 14157  
**OBN<sub>7</sub>** = UM 29-15-314+  
**OBN<sub>8</sub>** = UM 29-15-977+  
**OBN<sub>9</sub>** = UM 29-16-402  
**OBN<sub>10</sub>** = CBS 6098  
**OBN<sub>11</sub>** = HS 1823+  
**MBE<sub>1</sub>** = Msk 74163b (from Emar)  
**MBE<sub>2</sub>** = Msk 731030 (from Emar)

<sup>124</sup> For NB fragment, see *MSL* SS 1, 18 (Ashm. 1924.1866+), though the tablet is fragmentary.

<sup>125</sup> For the composite text of OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, see DCCLT, composite text Q000039. For thoroughness, I have isolated several representative manuscripts of OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 and presented them in the score.

K, obv. 1:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}r\text{mes}^?^1\text{-}[\dots]$  (=OBN 51b)  
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 5':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes-TU}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 5':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes-TU}$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 3:  $[\hat{g}i\check{s}]_{\text{mes-TU}}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 59:  $[\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes}]\text{-TU}$

K, obv. 2:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}r\text{mes}^1[\dots]$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 4:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes babbar}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 1:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes}[\text{babbar}]$

K, obv. 3:  $r\hat{g}i\check{s}^1r\text{mes}^?^1[\dots]$  (=OBN 51e)  
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 9':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes giggi}$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 5:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes giggi}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 2:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{mes giggi}$

K, obv. 4:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}r\text{eren}^?^1[\dots]$  (=OBN 52)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 5':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 10':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$   
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii 24:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$   
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 6':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$   
 OBN<sub>7</sub>, rev. iii 7:  $r\hat{g}i\check{s}^1\text{eren}$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 6:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 3:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren}$

K, obv. 5:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}[\dots]$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren babbar}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 4:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{eren babbar}^!$

K, obv. 6:  $r\hat{g}i\check{s}^1\check{s}u\text{-}r^x^1[\dots]$  (=OBN 53)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 10':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}r\check{s}u^1$   
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 3':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\check{s}u\text{-}r^1\text{ur}_2^1\text{-}[\dots]$   
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 7':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\check{s}u\text{-ur}_2\text{-}r^1\text{min}_3^1$   
 OBN<sub>7</sub>, rev. iii 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}r\check{s}u^1\text{-}r^1\text{ur}_2^1\text{-}[\dots]$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\check{s}u\text{-ur}_2\text{-min}_3$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 5:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\check{s}u\text{-ur}_2\text{-}[\text{mi}]\text{-nu-um}$

K, obv. 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-lum}[\dots]$  (=OBN 54)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 11':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-}[\dots]$   
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 4':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-}r^1\text{ba}^1\text{-}[\dots]$   
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 8':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-lum}$   
 OBN<sub>7</sub>, rev. iii 9:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-}[\dots]$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 9:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-lum}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 6:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}\text{za-ba-lum}$

K, obv. 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ [e]-lam?-ma- $\check{r}$ kum? $\check{r}$  (=OBN 55)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 12':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-lam-ma- $\check{r}$ kum $\check{r}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-lam-ma-kum  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 5':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e- $\check{r}$ lam $\check{r}$ -[...]  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 2:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-la-ma-kum  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 9':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-lam-ma-kum  
 OBN<sub>7</sub>, rev. iii 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-[...]  
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-lam-ma-kum  
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ e-lam-ma-kum

K, obv. 9:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$  $\check{r}$ gi $\check{r}$ -ri- $\check{r}$ x $\check{r}$  [...] (=OBN 56)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 13':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-ri<sub>2</sub>- $\check{r}$ num<sub>2</sub> $\check{r}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 11:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-ri<sub>2</sub>-num<sub>2</sub>  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 6':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-[...]  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 3:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-ri<sub>2</sub>-num<sub>2</sub>  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 10':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-<ri<sub>2</sub>?>- $\check{r}$ num<sub>2</sub> $\check{r}$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 11:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$  $\check{r}$ gi $\check{r}$ -ri<sub>2</sub>-num<sub>2</sub>  
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-ri<sub>2</sub>-num<sub>2</sub>

K, obv. 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi [...] (=OBN 57)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 14':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi- $\check{r}$ rim $\check{r}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 12:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rim  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 7':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$  $\check{r}$ gi $\check{r}$ -[...]  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 4:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rim  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 11':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rim  
 MBE<sub>1</sub> obv. iii 12:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rim $\check{r}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub> obv. iii 9:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rim $\check{r}$

K, obv. 11:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi [...]

MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 13:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rin<sub>5</sub> $\check{r}$  <<um>>  
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ gi-rin<sub>5</sub> $\check{r}$

K, obv. 12:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zi-ir-[...] (=OBN 58)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 15':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$  $\check{r}$ zi $\check{r}$ -ir- $\check{r}$ dum $\check{r}$   
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, obv. ii 8':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$  $\check{r}$ zi $\check{r}$ -[...]  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 5:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zi-ir-dum  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 12':  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zi-ir- $\check{r}$ dum $\check{r}$   
 MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 14:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zi-ir-du  
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 11:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zi-ir-du-um

K, obv. 13:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ mi-ri-[...]

MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 15:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ mi-ri<sub>2</sub>-iš-ma-<nu>- $\check{r}$ um? $\check{r}$   
 MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 12:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ mi-ri-iš-ma-nu

- K, obv. 14:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ mi-[...]
- K, obv. 15:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ rur?<sup>1</sup>-[...] (=OBN 59)
- OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 17: [ $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ]ur-nu-um
- OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 6:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ur-nu-um
- OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. iii 16:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ur-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-nu-um
- MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 16:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ur-lu<sup>?</sup>-um
- MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 13:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ur-nu-um
- K, rev. 1:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ti-ia-<sup>r</sup>lum?<sup>1</sup> [...] (=OBN 60)
- OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 18: [ $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ]ti-a-ru-um
- OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. iii 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ti-a-ru-um
- MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 18: <sup>r</sup> $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ia-lum
- MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 15:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ ti-ia-lum
- K, rev. 2:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ i-li-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- MBE<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 19: [ $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ i-li-ia]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>1</sup>
- MBE<sub>2</sub>, obv. iii 16:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ i-li-ia-nu-um
- K, rev. 3:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ a-li-a-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- K, rev. 4:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ sa<sub>3</sub> [...]
- K, rev. 5:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si-iq-[...] (=OBN 122)
- OBN<sub>7</sub>, obv. i 15: [ $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si]-iq-dum
- OBN<sub>8</sub>, rev. ii 1<sup>?</sup>:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si-<sup>r</sup>iq<sup>1</sup>-dum
- OBN<sub>9</sub>, rev. i 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si-iq-dum
- OBN<sub>10</sub>, rev. i 33:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si-iq-du
- OBN<sub>11</sub>, obv. iv 3<sup>?</sup>:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ si-iq-dum
- K, rev. 6:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zar-[...] (=OBN 123)
- OBN<sub>7</sub>, obv. i 16: [ $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zar]-si
- OBN<sub>8</sub>, rev. ii 1<sup>?</sup>:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ r<sup>r</sup>zar<sup>1</sup>-si
- OBN<sub>9</sub>, rev. i 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zar-si
- OBN<sub>11</sub>, obv. iv 4<sup>?</sup>:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ zar-si
- K, rev. 7:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ rzi<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup>-[...] (=OBN 124a)
- OBN<sub>10</sub>, rev. i 34<sup>?</sup>: <sup>r</sup> $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ <sup>r</sup>zi<sub>2</sub>-ir-dum
- K, rev. 8:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ sinig kur-[ra?]
- K, rev. 9:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ sinig <sup>r</sup>dili<sup>1</sup> [...]
- K, rev. 10:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ r<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-nu? [...]
- K, rev. 11:  $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ r<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-a-ak? [...]

K, rev. 12:	$\hat{g}i\check{s}r_x^1 r_x^1 a-r_x^1 [...]$
K, rev. 13:	$\hat{g}i\check{s}r_x^1 [...]$
K, rev. 14:	$r^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}r_x^1 [...]$
K, rev. 15:	$[^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}]a- [...]$
K, rev. 16:	$[^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}]r_x^1 [...]$
K, rev. 17:	$\hat{g}i\check{s} [...]$

There are subtle differences between *PRAK B 47* (PSK 100) and the other manuscripts. While the lines found in OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 contain the same list of wooden objects as seen in the Kiš duplicate, the order is inconsistent with that which appears in the OB Kiš manuscript:

K:	6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15 – r1 – 2
OBN:	53 – 54 – 55 – 56 – 57 – ___ – <b>58</b> – ___ – ___ – <b>59</b> – <b>60</b>
MBE <sub>1</sub> :	8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – 13 – 14 – 15 – ___ – <b>16</b> – <b>18</b> – 19
MBE <sub>2</sub> :	5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – 11 – 12 – ___ – <b>13</b> – <b>15</b> – 16

Although both MB manuscripts skip manuscript K, obv. 14, and add an additional lexeme between K, obv. 15 and rev. 1, the OB Nippur version omits four lexemes in the sequence. In addition, OBN shows a nearly 60-line gap between two sections of Tablet 1, as OBN, lines 122-124a duplicate *PRAK B 47* (PSK 100), rev. 5-7 (not shown in the chart above). While these differences are perhaps not substantial, there may be a greater consistency between the Kiš source and those from MB Emar. The similarity, as discussed below, may be part of a larger phenomenon, which connects the lexical tradition at Kiš with that which is later found during the MB period.

The next manuscript under analysis is *MSL SS1, 91* (PSK 112):

**K** = *MSL* SS1, 91 (PSK 112)  
**OBN** = OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1<sup>126</sup>  
**OBN<sub>1</sub>** = CBS 14156  
**OBN<sub>2</sub>** = CBS 4866  
**OBN<sub>3</sub>** = N 5229

K, obv. 1:            $\text{r}^{\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{r}^{\text{x}} [\dots]$            (=OBN 17)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 17:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{-}\hat{\text{e}}\text{-}\hat{\text{e}}\text{e}$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. i 17:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{-}\hat{\text{e}}\text{e}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. ii 3':    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e}\text{-}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{e}^{\text{x}}$

K, obv. 2:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig kur-}[\text{ra}]$            (=OBN 20)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 20:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig kur-ra}$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. i 20:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig kur-ra}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. ii 6':    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig kur-ra}$

K, obv. 3:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig }[\text{x}]$            (=OBN 18)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 18:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig}$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. i 18:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig}$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. ii 4':    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\hat{\text{s}}\text{i}\text{nig}$

K, obv. 4:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$            (=OBN 25)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 25:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{u}_3\text{-}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{suh}_5^{\text{x}}$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 2:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. ii 11':  $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{u}_3\text{-}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{suh}_5^{\text{x}}$

K, obv. 5:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$            (=OBN 26)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 26:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 3:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e u}_3\text{-suh}_5$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. i 3:     $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{e u}_3\text{-suh}_5$

K, obv. 6:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{an }^{\text{x}}\text{u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$            (=OBN 27a)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. i 5:     $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{an u}_3\text{-suh}_5$

K, obv. 7:            $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{pa }[\text{u}_3]\text{-suh}_5$            (=OBN 27)  
 OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 27:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{pa u}_3\text{-}[\text{suh}_5]$   
 OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. ii 4:    $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{pa u}_3\text{-suh}_5$   
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. i 4:     $\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}\text{y}\text{pa u}_3\text{-suh}_5$

K, obv. 8:            $\text{r}^{\hat{\text{g}}\text{i}\hat{\text{s}}}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{numun?}^{\text{x}}\text{r}^{\text{x}}\text{u}_3\text{-suh}_5$ <sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> As above, representative duplicates from OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 have been selected and scored below.

<sup>127</sup> The lexeme /<sup>g</sup>i<sup>s</sup>numun u<sub>3</sub>-suh<sub>5</sub>/ appears in similar lists of lexemes in SC 1, 22 (OB Ura), iii 20-23, MVAG 18/2, 65-71 (MA), obv. ii 5-10, MSK 731030 (MB Emar), obv. ii 1-13, and AO 17194+ (MB Ugarit), obv. i 1'-14'.



K, obv. 9:	ṛḡiš <sup>1</sup> šim-ṛgig <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 29)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. i 29:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> ṛšim <sup>1</sup> -[gig]	
OBN <sub>2</sub> , rev. ii 6:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> šim-gig	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 7:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> šim-gig	
K, obv. 10:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> šennur	(=OBN 30)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , rev. ii 7:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> šennur	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 8:	ṛḡiš <sup>1</sup> šennur	
K, obv. 11:	ṛḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam-gal	(=OBN 31)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , rev. ii 8:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam-gal	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 10:	[ḡiš <sup>1</sup> ]ṛlam <sup>1</sup> -gal	
K, rev. 1:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam-tur	(=OBN 32)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. ii 2:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam-tur-ra	
OBN <sub>2</sub> , rev. ii 9:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam-tur	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 11:	[ḡiš <sup>1</sup> lam]-tur	
K, rev. 2:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> al-la-nu-um	(=OBN 33)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. ii 3:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> al-la-nu-um	
OBN <sub>2</sub> , rev. ii 10:	ḡiš <sup>1</sup> al-la-nu-um	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. ii 12:	[ḡiš <sup>1</sup> al-la]-nu-um	

Remainder uninscribed

Again, much of the Kiš manuscript duplicates the OB Nippur version; however, the order varies slightly in the initial lines, and the Kiš duplicate adds a line in obv. 8.

The next manuscript, *MSL* SS1, 100 (PSK 118), differs more substantially from OB Nippur Ura.

**K** = *MSL* SS1, 100 (PSK 118)  
**OBN** = OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4  
**OBN<sub>1</sub>** = CBS 13935  
**OBN<sub>2</sub>** = BM 92611  
**OBN<sub>3</sub>** = VAT 12446  
**OBN<sub>4</sub>** = CBS 2175+

K<sub>obv. i 1</sub>: [ḡ<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>]ṛx<sup>1</sup>-KU

K<sub>obv. i 2</sub>: [ḡ<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>]ṛZA<sup>1</sup>.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>-a

K<sub>obv. i 3</sub>: [<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ZA].<sup>1</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> a<sub>2</sub> zi-da (=OBN 69)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. ii 26</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba a<sub>2</sub> zi-da  
 OBN<sub>2, a ii 11</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba a<sub>2</sub> zi-da  
 OBN<sub>3, a ii 6</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba a<sub>2</sub> zi-da

K<sub>obv. i 4</sub>: [<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba] <sup>1</sup>a<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> gab<sub>2</sub>-ba (=OBN 70)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. ii 27</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub> gab<sub>2</sub>-bu  
 OBN<sub>2, a ii 12</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub> gab<sub>2</sub>-bu  
 OBN<sub>3, a ii 7</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>šuba a<sub>2</sub> gab<sub>2</sub>

K<sub>obv. i 5</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> (=OBN 20)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. i 20</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub>  
 OBN<sub>2, a i 20</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub>  
 OBN<sub>4, obv. i 8</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-<sup>1</sup>gin<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>

K<sub>obv. i 6</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> duru<sub>5</sub> (=OBN 21)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. i 21</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> duru<sub>5</sub>  
 OBN<sub>2, a i 21</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> duru<sub>5</sub>  
 OBN<sub>4, obv. i 9</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> duru<sub>5</sub>

K<sub>obv. i 7</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> dili (=OBN 22)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. i 22</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> dili  
 OBN<sub>4, obv. i 10</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> dili

K<sub>obv. i 8</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub> tum<sub>12</sub>-ma (=OBN 24)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. i 24</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub> tum<sub>12</sub><sup>mušen</sup>  
 OBN<sub>2, a i 24</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub> tum<sub>12</sub><sup>mušen</sup>  
 OBN<sub>4, obv. i 12</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub> tum<sub>12</sub><sup>mušen</sup>

K<sub>obv. i 9</sub>: [<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za]-<sup>1</sup>gin<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ĝeštin?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>na?<sup>1</sup>128

Broken

(obv. ii and rev. iii preserve only the determinative /<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>/ in each line)

Broken

K<sub>rev. iv 1</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>su kur  
 K<sub>rev. iv 2</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ĝiri<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-gal (=OBN 152)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. iv 25</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ĝiri<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>gal<sup>1</sup>  
 OBN<sub>2, b ii 11</sub>: <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ĝiri<sub>2</sub>-zu<sub>2</sub>-[gal]

<sup>128</sup> <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> ĝeštin(-na) appears in similar lists (e.g., *BBVOT* 3, 1 (OB Larsa Ura), obv. 37: /<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> ĝeštin-na/; *TCL* 6, 36 (Ura 16, 1<sup>st</sup> mill. bilingual), rev. i 4a: /<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>za-gin<sub>3</sub> ĝeštin : ka-ra-nu-<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/)

K <sub>rev. iv 3</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin	(=OBN 103)
OBN <sub>1, rev. iii 17</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin	
OBN <sub>2, a ii 48</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> [kinkin] <sup>129</sup>	
K <sub>rev. iv 4</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin šu	
K <sub>rev. iv 5</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> kinkin zi-bi	(=OBN 104)
OBN <sub>1, rev. iii 18</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin zi-bi	
K <sub>rev. iv 6</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> kinkin ad-bar <sup>!</sup>	(=OBN 106)
OBN <sub>1, rev. iii 20</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin ad-bar	
K <sub>rev. iv 7</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> kinkin šu <sup>r</sup> sig <sub>10</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ga	(=OBN 111)
OBN <sub>1, rev. iii 25</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin šu sig <sub>10</sub> -ga	
K <sub>rev. iv 8</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> kinkin zid <sub>2</sub> -gu	(=OBN 109)
OBN <sub>1, rev. iii 23</sub> :	<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> kinkin zid <sub>2</sub> -gu	
K <sub>rev. iv 9</sub> :	[ <sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub> ] <sup>r</sup> kinkin <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> zid <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> kum? <sup>130</sup>	

Broken

Clearly, there is a much higher degree of variation among the line order of the Kiš duplicate compared to OB Nippur Ura (see chart of obv. i and rev. iv below).

K<sub>i</sub>: 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9  
 OBN: \_\_\_ – \_\_\_ – 69 – 70 – 20 – 21 – 22 – 24 – \_\_\_

K<sub>iv</sub>: 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9  
 OBN: \_\_\_ – 152 – 103 – \_\_\_ – 104 – 106 – 111 – 109 – \_\_\_

Finally, a small portion of OB Ura, Tablet 1, appears on *OECT* 15, 174 (PSK 123), and the line order is consistent with another duplicate of OB Ura (SC 1, 22).

<sup>129</sup> OBN<sub>2, a ii 49-61</sub> contains a long section of lines that begin with /<sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>kinkin/, but what follows in the second half of each line is not preserved. It is, therefore, possible to determine neither the specific lines that appear in the duplicate, nor the order in which they were written.

<sup>130</sup> While /zid<sub>2</sub>-gu/ and /zid<sub>2</sub>-kum/ are forms of the same lexeme /zidgu/ “flour,” both forms appear in at least one other lexical list next to one another: AIT 447 (MB Ura), iii 48-49.

**K** = *OECT 15, 174 (PSK 123)*  
**OBU** = *SC 1, 22 (OB Ura)*

$K_{\text{obv. 1:}}$              $r^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}nu_2-nu_2$   
 $OBU_{\text{rev. iii 17:}}$      $\hat{g}i\check{s}nu_2^!$

$K_{\text{obv. 2:}}$              $[r^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}]nu_2-A\check{S} nu_2$   
 $OBU_{\text{rev. iii 18:}}$      $\hat{g}i\check{s}nu_2-A\check{S}$

$K_{\text{obv. 3:}}$              $[r^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}]r^!nu_2-ki-nu_2$   
 $OBU_{\text{rev. iii 19:}}$      $\hat{g}i\check{s}nu_2-ki-nu_2$

$K_{\text{rev. 1:}}$              $[r^{\hat{g}i\check{s}}nu_2-X]-r^!nu_2^!$   
 Remainder uninscribed

It can be seen above that, although there may be some general consistency with respect to the order of some individual sequences of lines found in the Kiš duplicates of OB Ura, there is also a high level of fluidity. While there are many manuscripts from Kiš that duplicate OB Nippur Ura, there are several that partially duplicate OB Sippar Ura, MB Emar, the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. composition, or none of these. This evidence supports the conclusion that OB Ura was not a standardized composition in the OB, and that later traditions may have followed a northern, or perhaps even a Kiš tradition.<sup>131</sup>

In the next category of elementary exercises, there are 11 tablets that appear to be metrological texts. As the ability to know and write various lengths, areas, volumes, weights, and capacities would also be required for the scribal craft, metrological lists were incorporated into the curriculum. Two of the tablets cited below have been

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<sup>131</sup> This was argued recently in Veldhuis 2014: 215. Comparing the curricula used across the various OB cities, and at Sippar and Nippur in particular, he writes, “This curriculum [at Sippar] is particularly interesting because it is so close to what becomes the standard in the Middle Babylonian period and later, where all that is added to this program is the Weidner God List (after Syllabary A). The Sippar-Amnanum texts come from the late Old Babylonian period . . . and it is likely that there is a historical continuity from this late Old Babylonian northern education to the Middle Babylonian period . . . It is likely, therefore, that in northern Babylonia in the late Old Babylonian period the elementary phase of the curriculum was more or less standardized, consisting of largely standardized text books, which were then transmitted to Kassite Babylonia and to peripheral sites.”

identified as exercises by Robson (*OECT* 13, 35 = PSK 133, and *OECT* 15, 157 = PSK 134),<sup>132</sup> while seven can be reasonably categorized as metrological scribal exercises, either because of their lenticular shape, or because de Genouillac labeled them as such (see table below). The remaining tablets may be metrological, according to de Genouillac's catalogue descriptions.

**Table 3.5. Metrological duplicates**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK</i> A 285 (PSK 125)*	List of weights (10, 20, 30, and 50 minas)
<i>PRAK</i> A 303 (PSK 159)*	Metrological list; table of inverse squares
<i>PRAK</i> A 358 (PSK 126)*	Field measurements
<i>PRAK</i> A 504 (PSK 127)*	List of weights (5-60); exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 505 (PSK 128)*	List of measures (sila <sub>3</sub> ); exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 568 (PSK 129)*	Obv. list of weights (shekel); rev. Akkadian school exercise
<i>PRAK</i> B 26 (PSK 130)*	List of field measurements (5-24 gana <sub>2</sub> )
<i>PRAK</i> B 171 (PSK 131)*	List of distances
<i>PRAK</i> B 234 (PSK 132)*	List of grain measurements
<i>OECT</i> 13, 35 (PSK 133)	List of weights (grain and shekel); exercise
<i>OECT</i> 15, 157 (PSK 134)	List of weights (grain and shekel); exercise

There are several duplicates of the lexical series OB Ea (known more commonly as Proto-Ea/Aa and Secondary Branches), a sign list that provides the correct reading for Sumerian signs.<sup>133</sup> As there are often numerous values for any given Sumerian sign (e.g., /KA/ can be read /inim/, /du<sub>11</sub>/, /gu<sub>3</sub>/, /zu<sub>2</sub>/, etc.), a single sign may be repeated in the list with several different readings. The lists in this composition contain at least two (usually three) columns; the first column contains the phonetic value of the lexeme that is represented in the second column, often followed by a third Akkadian entry, translating

<sup>132</sup> Robson 2004: nos. 23 and 26.

<sup>133</sup> As with OB Ura, OB Ea takes its name from the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium lexical series Ea.

the value presented in the first two columns (see example below, taken from OB Nippur Ea).<sup>134</sup>

**OB Nippur Ea, lines 303-309:**

303. ka-a KA  
 304. zu-u<sub>2</sub> KA  
 305. gi-ri KA  
 306. e-nim KA  
 307. gu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> KA  
 308. du-u<sub>2</sub> KA  
 309. pi-i KA

As can be seen in the lines above, the first column provides a phonetic writing of the reading for the sign in the right column. In this sequence, we see /ka-a/ for /ka/, /zu-u<sub>2</sub>/ for /zu<sub>2</sub>/, /gi-ri/ for /giri<sub>17</sub>/, and so forth. In the table below, I list the seven duplicates of OB Ea that have been identified at Kiš.

**Table 3.6. Duplicates of OB Ea**

Text	Description
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 112 (PSK 19)	Obv. i 1 - iii 3 = OB Ea <sup>135</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> A 22 (PSK 135)*	Duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ea <sup>136</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> A 117 (PSK 136)*	Duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ea <sup>137</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> A 118 (PSK 137)*	Duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ea <sup>138</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> C 38 (PSK 138)	Bilingual fragment that duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ea ([609, 693-695])
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 92 (PSK 113)	Obv. OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 30-33[; rev. OB Ea
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 93 (PSK 114)	Obv. OB Ura; rev. OB Ea
<i>MSL</i> SS1, 115 (PSK 139)	OB Ea? <sup>139</sup>

<sup>134</sup> See Veldhuis 2014: 178-182.

<sup>135</sup> Obv. i = lines 670-673, 399-400; obv. ii = 151ff [UD], 86ff [KAK], 90ff [NI], and 551 [RA].

<sup>136</sup> Type I tablet; obv. column i = lines 309-306-305-307; column ii = lines 791-792-705, and then lines 209-208; column iii = lines 597-598-599, and rev. column i = lines 670-674-672.

<sup>137</sup> Obverse 2-9 = OB Nippur Ea, lines 486-485-184-185-188-189-187-552.

<sup>138</sup> Obverse 1-10 = OB Nippur Ea, lines 347-348-349-752-753-914-660-661-662.

<sup>139</sup> Both *MSL* SS1, 115 (PSK 139) and *MSL* SS1, 116 (PSK 140) are Type I tablets, preserving two columns on both obverse and reverse. Each line begins with a vertical wedge, (usually) followed by a single sign (one-column format) (see Veldhuis 2014b: 179).

When we view the individual manuscripts, and the lines that they duplicate, the order of the individual groupings are somewhat consistent, but their placement in the composition is quite different. The entries in *MSL* SS1, 112 (PSK 19), for example, duplicate lines from several portions of OB Nippur Ea, but in a very different sequence (obv. i = lines 670-673, 399-400; obv. ii = 151ff [UD], 86ff [KAK], 90ff [NI], and 551 [RA]). In *PRAK* A 22 (PSK 135)\*, the tablet contains a number of lines duplicated in OB Nippur Ea, but these are also in a different sequence. The series of KA sign values appear in obv. column i (line sequence 309-306-305-307), followed in column ii by lines 791-792-705, and then lines 209-208. In column iii, we see lines 597-598-599, and in rev. column i, 670-674-672. The same can be said concerning the line order of *PRAK* A 117 (PSK 136)\* (lines 486-485-184-185-188-189-187-552) and *PRAK* A 118 (PSK 137)\* (347-348-349-752-753-914-660-661-662). In short, although the individual groupings remain relatively consistent within themselves (exactly what we would expect in a composition that groups sign values of the same sign), the ordering of the groups themselves were not standardized.

We now turn to mathematical texts that were copied by apprentice scribes. There are at least 60 mathematical tablets of various kinds that were found at Kiš, most of which have been specifically identified (see table below).<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Most of the identifications and descriptions in the table are taken from Robson 2004: 3-65, esp. Tablet 6: “*Mathematical tablets from Kish published in PRAK and MKT*,” pp. 42-43. Other descriptions come from the Series A catalogue in de Genouillac 1925.

**Table 3.7. Mathematical duplicates**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK A 9 (PSK 141)*</i>	Table of powers (3 45 to the 10 <sup>th</sup> power)
<i>PRAK A 17 (PSK 142)*</i>	Writing exercise; obv. contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 19 (PSK 143)*</i>	Table of powers (9 to the 10 <sup>th</sup> power and 1 40 from the 6 <sup>th</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup> powers)
<i>PRAK A 26 + 41 (PSK 144)*</i>	Reciprocals to $\times 15$
<i>PRAK A 55 (PSK 145)*</i>	Table of powers (3 45 to the 10 <sup>th</sup> power)
<i>PRAK A 58 (PSK 146)*</i>	School exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 93 (PSK 147)*</i>	Lentil; writing exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 99 (PSK 148)*</i>	Lentil; writing exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 104 (PSK 149)*</i>	School exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 112 (PSK 150)*</i>	School exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 122 (PSK 151)*</i>	Lentil; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 124 (PSK 152)*</i>	Type I tablet; list of numbers
<i>PRAK A 126 (PSK 153)*</i>	Arithmetical; $\times 16; 40, \times 15$
<i>PRAK A 133 (PSK 154)*</i>	Writing exercise; multiplication table
<i>PRAK A 138 (PSK 155)*</i>	Multiplication table
<i>PRAK A 172 (PSK 156)*</i>	Multiplication table
<i>PRAK A 193 (PSK 157)*</i>	School exercise; numbers 30 and 10
<i>PRAK A 246 (PSK 158)*</i>	School exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 277 (PSK 159)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 2; 30$ )
<i>PRAK A 288 (PSK 160)*</i>	Lentil; exercise; tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK A 303 (PSK 161)*</i>	Metrological list; table of inverse squares from 1 to 1 00; table of inverse cubes from 1 to 1 00
<i>PRAK A 307 (PSK 162)*</i>	Multiplication table?
<i>PRAK A 329 (PSK 163)*</i>	Table of squares from 31 to 1 00?
<i>PRAK A 339 (PSK 164)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 7$ )
<i>PRAK A 365 (PSK 165)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 36$ )
<i>PRAK A 485 + B 273 (PSK 166)*</i>	Arithmetical ( $\times 8, \times 7; 12$ )
<i>PRAK A 507 (PSK 167)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 24$ )
<i>PRAK A 567 (PSK 168)*</i>	16 mathematical problems
<i>PRAK A 584 (PSK 169)*</i>	Tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK B 25 (PSK 170)*</i>	Tablet contains numbers
<i>PRAK B 54 + 58 (PSK 171)</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 24$ )
<i>PRAK B 57 (PSK 172)</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 18$ )
<i>PRAK B 59 (PSK 173)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 8$ )
<i>PRAK B 66 (PSK 174)*</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 2; 30$ )
<i>PRAK B 149 (PSK 175)</i>	Multiplication table ( $\times 4; 30$ )
<i>PRAK B 168 (PSK 176)*</i>	At least 8 mathematical problems



<i>PRAK B 172</i> (PSK 177)	Inverse cubes from 1 to 1 00
<i>PRAK B 177</i> (PSK 178)*	Multiplication table (×12)
<i>PRAK B 199</i> (PSK 179)	Table of powers (3 45 to the 10 <sup>th</sup> power)
<i>PRAK B 372</i> (PSK 180)*	Multiplication table (×40)
<i>PRAK B 422</i> (PSK 181)	Multiplication table (×6;40)
<i>PRAK B 422 bis</i> (PSK 182)	Reciprocals
<i>PRAK B 453</i> (PSK 183)*	Arithmetical series
<i>PRAK B 458</i> (PSK 184)	Arithmetical series; reciprocals to ×24
<i>PRAK C 16 + PRAK B 452</i> (PSK 185)	Table of squares (1-20, 30, 40, 50)
<i>PRAK C 22</i> (PSK 186)	Problems about triangles
<i>PRAK C 127</i> (PSK 187)	Arithmetical series (×25, ×20)
<i>PRAK D 3</i> (PSK 188)	Multiplication table (×30)
<i>PRAK D 9</i> (PSK 189)	Multiplication table (×6)
<i>PRAK D 63</i> (PSK 190)	Problems concerning brick walls, canals, and work rates
<i>OECT 13, 64</i> (PSK 191)	Tabular calculation
<i>OECT 15, 149</i> (PSK 192)	Lentil; tablet contains numbers
<i>OECT 15, 170</i> (PSK 193)	Tabular calculations
Ashm. 1924.833 (PSK 194)	Erased calculations
Ashm. 1924.590 (PSK 195)	Reciprocals
Ashm. 1929.833 (PSK 196)	Multiplication table (×2;24)
Ashm. 1924.1214 (PSK 197)	Table of squares
Ashm. 1924.573 (PSK 198)	Multiplication table (×4;30)
Ashm. 1931.91 (PSK 199)	Geometrical diagram of a triangle
Ashm. 1932.180 (PSK 200)	Multiplication table (×12;30)

Next in the sequence of elementary exercises, there are eleven tablets that contain lists of divine names; these were used in the scribal curriculum to familiarize the student with divine names and their correct spellings.<sup>141</sup>

**Table 3.8. Divine name list duplicates**

<i>PRAK A 167</i> (PSK 201)*	Writing model; lentil ( <sup>d</sup> Nin-)
<i>PRAK A 199</i> (PSK 202)*	Writing exercise
<i>PRAK A 216</i> (PSK 203)*	Writing model on obverse; DN list on reverse
<i>PRAK A 232</i> (PSK 204)*	

<sup>141</sup> See Veldhuis 2014: 199-201.

<i>PRAK A 273 (PSK 205)*</i>	
<i>PRAK A 289 (PSK 206)*</i>	Writing model; DN list
<i>PRAK A 353 (PSK 207)*</i>	Obverse: 2-column Akkadian text; reverse: DN list
<i>PRAK A 373 (PSK 208)*</i>	Writing exercise; obv. DN list
<i>PRAK A 435 (PSK 209)*</i>	
<i>PRAK B 69 (PSK 210)*</i>	Weidner God List, lines 88-91. Writing exercise (see discussion below)
<i>PRAK B 276 (PSK 211)</i>	Duplicates several DN lists (see discussion below)

Among the many DN lists that were copied during the OB period, three were quite significant: the Weidner God list, the OB Nippur God List, and *TCL 15, 10* (AO 5376), which is an early form of the god list An = *Anum*.<sup>142</sup> *PRAK B 69 (PSK 210)\** is described in de Genouillac's catalogue as containing the DNs *Irra*, *Mama*, and *Mami*.<sup>143</sup> These entries are duplicated closely in the Weidner God List, 88, 90, 91 (<sup>d</sup>er<sub>3</sub>-ra, <sup>d</sup>ma-mi, <sup>d</sup>ma-ma).<sup>144</sup>

In addition, *PRAK B 276 (PSK 211)*, shown below, duplicates lines from both the Weidner God List and *TCL 15:10*.<sup>145</sup>

***PRAK B 276***  
**(PSK 211)** = **K**  
**Weidner God List** = **W**  
**OB Nippur God List**<sup>146</sup> = **N**  
***TCL 15:10 (AO 5376)*** = **X**

*Break*

K<sub>,obv.1'</sub>: [...] me? ta?

<sup>142</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 199. See DCCLT: Weidner God List (Q000263); OB Nippur God List (Q000261); *TCL 15, 10* (Q003908).

<sup>143</sup> De Genouillac 1924:32.

<sup>144</sup> These DNs also appear in the OB Nippur God List: 266 (er<sub>3</sub>-ra), 79 (<sup>d</sup>ma-mi), and 15 (<sup>d</sup>ma-ma). However, they are isolated from one another in the list.

<sup>145</sup> For recent citations of this section of *TCL 15:10*, see Richter 1999: 120.

<sup>146</sup> For a recent edition of the OB Nippur God List, see Peterson 2009b: 14-77. Line numbers for Source N will follow Peterson's edition. Peterson also comments on Nippur fragments of the Weidner God List (pp. 81-82) and *TCL 15, 10* (pp. 79-80), but the fragments do not overlap with the Kiš fragments.

K<sub>,obv.2</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
W<sub>,221</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
N<sub>,8</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
X<sub>,iii 15</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-ḥur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>

K<sub>,obv.3</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>]a-ru-ru  
W<sub>,218</sub>: <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru  
N<sub>,13</sub>: <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru  
X<sub>,iii 18</sub>: <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru

K<sub>,obv.4</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>]suen  
W<sub>,11</sub>: <sup>d</sup>suen  
N<sub>,18</sub>: <sup>d</sup>suen  
X<sub>,iv 5</sub>: <sup>d</sup>suen

K<sub>,obv.5</sub>: <sup>r<sup>d</sup></sup>nanna  
W<sub>,10</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nanna  
N<sub>,17</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nanna  
X<sub>,iv 6</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nanna

K<sub>,obv.6</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>]nin-gal  
W<sub>,12</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gal  
N<sub>,20</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gal  
X<sub>,iv 12</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gal

K<sub>,obv.7</sub>: <sup>d</sup>alamuš  
W<sub>,13</sub>: <sup>d</sup>alamuš  
N<sub>,197</sub>: <sup>d</sup>alamuš?  
X<sub>,iv 21</sub>: <sup>d</sup>alamuš

K<sub>,obv.8</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>]ṛnin?<sup>1</sup>-gublaga?  
W<sub>,14</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gublaga  
N<sub>,21</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gublaga  
X<sub>,iv 13</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nin-gublaga

K<sub>,obv.9</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>]inana?  
W<sub>,18</sub>: <sup>d</sup>inana  
N<sub>,54</sub>: <sup>d</sup>inana  
X<sub>,v 5</sub>: <sup>d</sup>inana

*Broken*

While all three DN lists preserve the names listed in *PRAK B 276* (PSK 211), they do so in varying order and placement. Below is a chart showing the order in which the names appear in the various compositions:

K:	2	–	3	–	4	–	5	–	6	–	7	–	8	–	9
W:	221	–	218	–	11	–	10	–	12	–	13	–	14	–	18
N:	8	–	13	–	18	–	17	–	20	–	197	–	21	–	54
X:	iii15	–	18	–	iv5	–	6	–	12	–	21	–	13	–	v5

While no composition arranges the DNs exactly as it appears in *PRAK B 276* (PSK 211), it seems that the Weidner God List may more closely approximate the order found in the majority of the Kiš duplicate. Aside from the first two entries, which appear in the latter portion of the composition (lines 221 and 218), the majority of the duplicate appears between lines 10 and 18. The OB Nippur God List spans from line 8 to 21, with two outliers (lines 54 and 197), and *TCL 15, 10* (AO 5376) spreads out the duplicated lines over much more of the composition. These two DN lists, and their similarity to the Weidner God List, support Veldhuis' assertion that the Weidner God List was used over a broader geographical area, particularly in the north of Babylonia.<sup>147</sup>

There are ten tablets that appear to be grammatical texts, which fall into two categories: verbal paradigms and grammatical vocabularies.<sup>148</sup> Although only two tablets are available in hand copy, it is clear that both Sumerian and Akkadian grammatical texts are represented at Kiš. From the table below, it is interesting to see that at least four of the ten grammatical exercises are either Akkadian or bilingual.

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<sup>147</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 200.

<sup>148</sup> See Veldhuis 2005: 227-247 (esp. 235-237).

**Table 3.9. Grammatical exercises**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK</i> A 171 (PSK 212)*	Grammatical vocabulary (list of adjectives)
<i>PRAK</i> A 304 (PSK 213)*	Exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 305 (PSK 214)*	Exercise
<i>PRAK</i> A 412 (PSK 215)*	Sumerian verbal paradigm
<i>PRAK</i> A 415 (PSK 216)*	Verbal paradigm
<i>PRAK</i> A 558 (PSK 217)*	Verbal paradigm
<i>PRAK</i> A 565 (PSK 218)*	School exercise; Akkadian verbal paradigm
<i>PRAK</i> B 34 (PSK 219)	Bilingual duplicate of an OB Grammatical Text. Duplicates portions of CBS 19791 <sup>149</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 36 (PSK 220)*	Bilingual grammatical exercises
<i>OECT</i> 15, 155 (PSK 221)	Bilingual verbal paradigms (ġar)

We now turn to the proverbs, which served in the scribal curriculum as a transition between the elementary and advanced literary texts. These terse lines, which were mostly self-contained, required the student to copy full sentences, along with their accompanying grammatical structures, in order to bridge the gap between the lists they had copied and the advanced literary compositions.<sup>150</sup> There are likely 21 examples of proverbs in the Kiš corpus, but because most of the duplicates are unpublished or fragmentary, it is difficult to say more about them at present.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *PRAK* B 34 (PSK 219), obv. 5, 9-11 = CBS 19791 (PBS 5, 152), vi 5, xi 2<sup>2</sup>-4<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> For a fuller discussion of the proverbs and their relation to the scribal curriculum, see Veldhuis 2000b: 383-99.

<sup>151</sup> In 1960, Edmund Gordon evaluated the proverbial evidence from de Genouillac's excavations (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33). In his discussion of unilingual Sumerian proverbs, he cites 21 tablets that are proverbs, or are likely to be proverbs. Gordon's conclusions concerning the unpublished tablets were drawn from examining the catalogues in *PRAK* I and II, not from examining the tablets themselves. Bendt Alster re-examined Gordon's observations, coming to apparently relatively similar conclusions (Alster 1997: 338). Gordon concluded that some of de Genouillac's descriptions were consistent with proverbial texts. Tablets *PRAK* A 37 (PSK 222)\*, *PRAK* A 64 (PSK 223)\*, *PRAK* A 72 (PSK 224)\*, *PRAK* A 155 (PSK 226)\*, *PRAK* A 301 (PSK 229)\*, and *PRAK* A 304 (PSK 213)\* are labeled "grammatical" exercises by de Genouillac, which Gordon believes actually marks them as proverbs. Similarly, de Genouillac labels tablets as containing Sumerian or Sumerian "phrases," which Gordon speculates are also proverbs.

**Table 3.10. Duplicates of proverbs**

<i>PRAK A 37 (PSK 222)*</i>	<i>PRAK A 401 (PSK 233)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 64 (PSK 223)*</i>	<i>PRAK A 402 (PSK 234)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 72 (PSK 224)*</i>	<i>PRAK A 425 (PSK 235)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 120 (PSK 225)*</i>	<i>PRAK A 456 (PSK 236)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 155 (PSK 226)*</i>	<i>PRAK B 55 (PSK 237)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 188 (PSK 227)*</i>	<i>PRAK B 104 (PSK 238)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 200 (PSK 228)*</i>	<i>PRAK B 106 (PSK 239)*</i>
<i>PRAK A 301 (PSK 229)*</i>	<i>PRAK B 145 (PSK 240)<sup>152</sup></i>
<i>PRAK A 398 (PSK 230)*</i>	<i>PRAK C 110 (PSK 241)<sup>153</sup></i>
<i>PRAK A 399 (PSK 231)*</i>	<i>OECT 11, 9 (PSK 242)<sup>154</sup></i>
<i>PRAK A 400 (PSK 232)*</i>	

There are also at least eight examples of Akkadian letter writing exercises, which allowed the student the opportunity to formulate Akkadian letters in the style common to the period.<sup>155</sup> As demonstrated by Kraus as early as 1964, while there are relatively few of these letter exercises, those found at various localities contain duplicate content and phraseology within the body of the individual manuscripts, indicating that these were a partially standardized type of exercise in the OB.<sup>156</sup>

**Table 3.11. Akkadian letter exercise duplicates among the Kiš duplicates**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK B 8 (PSK 243)*</i>	Letter exercise concerning the release of distresses.
<i>PRAK B 14 (PSK 244)*</i>	Letter exercise from ... <i>gāmil</i> , concerning the release of distresses.
<i>OECT 13, 40 (1924.559) (PSK 245)</i>	<i>AbB 10:84</i> ; tablet containing two letter exercises. <sup>157</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Fragment; obverse preserves several two-line couplets with double rulings.

<sup>153</sup> The obverse contains two columns of Akkadian text (exercise?), but the reverse is quite damaged.

<sup>154</sup> Duplicates lines from Proverb Collections 9, 19, and 24. See Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225.

<sup>155</sup> For a full discussion, see Kraus 1959: 16-39. Kiš: see table; Sippar: Si. 200, 296, 353, 358, and BM 80448; Adab: Ad. 636, 642, 652, 652c, and A 576; Larsa: YBC 4537 and *TCL* 17, 74 (AO 6886); Ur: UET 5, 9 (U 16814b); Nippur: Ni. 683; unknown: Ni. 136040+13651.

<sup>156</sup> Kraus 1964: 37. Note, for example, the repeated phrase *ni-pa-ti-ka i-na ši-bi-tim šu-ši<sub>2</sub>-i* (or variation thereof) in texts from both Kiš and Sippar: Kiš (*OECT* 13, 47 (PSK 248), *PRAK B 8 (PSK 243)\**, and *PRAK B 14 (PSK 244)\**); Sippar (Si. 353, Si. 296, and BM 80448).

<sup>157</sup> The first letter, on the obverse, is from ...*gāmil* and speaks of a meeting in Babylon. The second, on the reverse, is from *Rīš-Šamaš* to *Marduk-Nāšir*.

<i>OECT</i> 13, 40 (1924.571) (PSK 246)	<i>AbB</i> 10:85; school tablet. Fragmentary letter from <i>Marduk-mušallim</i> .
<i>OECT</i> 13, 41 (1924.572) (PSK 247)	<i>AbB</i> 10:86 (duplicate of <i>AbB</i> 108 [PSK 250]). Letter concerning the use of a field. Speaks of the judges at the Gate of Šamaš.
<i>OECT</i> 13, 47 (1924.593) (PSK 248)	<i>AbB</i> 10:89. School tablet; duplicates lines from <i>PRAK B</i> 8 (PSK 243) and perhaps <i>PRAK B</i> 14 (PSK 244). <sup>158</sup>
<i>OECT</i> 13, 48 (1924.595) (PSK 249)	<i>AbB</i> 10:90. School tablet containing a letter about fields.
<i>OECT</i> 13, 143 (1929.810) (PSK 250)	<i>AbB</i> 10:108 (duplicate of <i>AbB</i> 86 [PSK 247]). Letter concerning the use of a field. Speaks of the judges at the Gate of Šamaš.

Kraus identified 23 Akkadian letter exercises from the OB; eight from Kiš, five from Sippar, five from Adab, two from Larsa, one from Ur, one from Nippur, and one of unknown provenance.<sup>159</sup> In total, therefore, 35% of the Akkadian letter exercises stem from Kiš.

There is a large group of other exercises, many of which have not yet been identified. Those that are identifiable are presented in the table below; the remainder can be found in Appendix D.

**Table 3.12. Other exercises**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK A</i> 106 (PSK 273)*	Akkadian exercise
<i>PRAK A</i> 107 (PSK 274)*	Akkadian school exercise <sup>160</sup>
<i>PRAK A</i> 148 (PSK 280)*	Lentil; writing model (bilingual?)
<i>PRAK A</i> 274 (PSK 301)*	Akkadian exercise in two columns
<i>PRAK A</i> 286 (PSK 302)*	List of fractions of minas of silver (1/2, 2/3); lentil
<i>PRAK A</i> 436 (PSK 436)*	Akkadian exercise

<sup>158</sup> Obv. 1-3 corresponds to *PRAK B* 8 (PSK 245)\*, rev. 4-6 and possibly *PRAK B* 14 (PSK 246)\*, rev. 1-3.

<sup>159</sup> Kraus 1964: 19-32.

<sup>160</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 48, tablet contains the signs */ba-ni an-na-ad-ni/*.

321)*	
<i>PRAK A 568 (PSK 129)*</i>	Obv. list of weights; rev. Akkadian school exercise
<i>PRAK B 16 (PSK 356)</i>	Unclear Akkadian list <sup>161</sup>
<i>PRAK B 227 (PSK 369)</i>	Obverse appears to be a section of OB Ka <sub>2</sub> -gal, which contains Akkadian glosses. The reverse is bilingual, and may be a portion of OB Diri <sup>162</sup>
<i>PRAK B 228 (PSK 370)</i>	Unclear Akkadian fragment
<i>PRAK B 366 (PSK 377)</i>	Akkadian text that mentions the Ḫursaġkalama
<i>PRAK C 126 (PSK 385)</i>	Fragment of an Akkadian text (exercise?)
<i>PRAK C 139 (PSK 386)</i>	Akkadian date list; exercise?
<i>PRAK D 22 (PSK 387)</i>	Unilingual Sumerian section of OB Ka <sub>2</sub> -gal (series of /KA-/lexemes)
<i>MSL SS1, 117 (PSK 399)</i>	Duplicates a portion of OB Nippur Izi (Tablet 1, lines ]316, 325a, 320, 320c, 320-321, 324, 323[; see below)
<i>MSL SS1, 107 (PSK 396)</i>	Type II tablet; obverse contains six lines of an OB Saġ tablet. Reverse duplicates section of OB Nippur Izi, Tablet 1 (lines ]143-147[; ]217-251[; ]301-321[; ]357-365[; ]405-414[), but with consistent variation in line order. <sup>163</sup> See transliteration below.
<i>MSL SS1, 108 (PSK 397)</i>	Duplicates sections of OB Nippur Lu (lines ]147-153[; ]211-230[; ]319ff[; ]613-616[; ]648-654[), with varying line order. <sup>164</sup> See transliteration below.
<i>MSL SS1, 109 (PSK 398)</i>	Fragmentary obverse of a Type I tablet that duplicates several lines from OB Nippur Lu <sup>165</sup>
Ashm. 1931.184 (PSK 390)*	Type I duplicate of Syllabary A (S <sup>a</sup> ), lines ]15-19[; ]57-86[; ]106-124[; ]137-166[; ]310-315, 342[, but with variation in the line order (based on 1st millennium reconstruction) <sup>166</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The fragment contains the PN *Ipiq-Araġtim*, along with other fragmentary Akkadian lines.

<sup>162</sup> A full transliteration can be found on DCCLT (P333165).

<sup>163</sup> The line order on the tablet is as follows: 143, 145, 147; 217-218, 232-239, 241, 247, 250-251; 302, 301, 305, 308-310, 315-316, 320-321; 357-358, 360, 362-365; 408-409, 406, 411, 404-405, 412-414.

<sup>164</sup> The line order on the tablet is as follows: 147, 154, 153, 152; 211-214, 217-220, 224, 226-228, 230; 319ff; 613-616.

<sup>165</sup> For example, obv. i 1-3 appears to duplicate OB Nippur Lu, 89, 94-95, while obv. ii 3 duplicates 215, and 5 duplicates 189.

<sup>166</sup> See Ohgama and Robson 2010: 231-233. The line order on the tablet is as follows: 115-119; 57, 59, 61-64, 67, 69-70, 72-75, 78-79, 81-85; 106-124; 137-144, 146-147, 149, 151-153, 177, 157, 162-166; 310-315, 342. As there are too few OB duplicates of Syllabary A to reconstruct the composition, we must rely on the reconstruction of primarily 1<sup>st</sup> millennium duplicates in *MSL* 3, 1-45. However, the duplicates available from Sippar, Nippur, and Kiš allow us to say that the composition was apparently standardized in this period (see Veldhuis 2014: 178); the majority of the overlap can be seen between the Kiš and Sippar



*MSL* SS1, 117 (PSK 399) duplicates a portion of OB Nippur Izi, Tablet 1;

however, the line order in the section is only partially consistent (see below).

**K** = *MSL* SS1, 117 (PSK 399)  
**OBN** = OB Nippur Izi, Tablet 1<sup>167</sup>  
**OBN<sub>1</sub>** = CBS 11007  
**OBN<sub>2</sub>** = CBS 2259+  
**OBN<sub>3</sub>** = CBS 9871+  
**OBN<sub>4</sub>** = A 30200

Broken

**K<sub>obv. i 1:</sub>** [saḥar] ḡar  
**OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 10:</sub>** saḥar ḡar (=OBN 316)  
**OBN<sub>2, obv. v 42:</sub>** saḥar ḡar  
**OBN<sub>3, obv. v 32:</sub>** saḥar ḡar  
**OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 11:</sub>** saḥar ḡar

**K<sub>obv. i 2:</sub>** [saḥar] [ĜAR].<sup>1</sup>LAGAB<sup>1</sup>  
**OBN<sub>2, rev. i 2:</sub>** saḥar kibšur (=OBN 325a)

**K<sub>obv. i 3:</sub>** [saḥar] šuš<sub>2</sub>  
**OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 12:</sub>** saḥar šuš<sub>2</sub> (=OBN 320)  
**OBN<sub>3, obv. v 34:</sub>** <sup>1</sup>saḥar<sup>1</sup> šuš<sub>2</sub>  
**OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 15:</sub>** saḥar šuš<sub>2</sub>

**K<sub>obv. i 4:</sub>** [saḥar] burud<sub>x</sub>  
**OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 17:</sub>** saḥar burud<sub>x</sub>-da (=OBN 320c)

**K<sub>obv. i 5:</sub>** [saḥar] <sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>  
**OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 13:</sub>** saḥar uš (=OBN 321)  
**OBN<sub>2, obv. v 45:</sub>** saḥar <sup>1</sup>uš?<sup>1</sup>  
**OBN<sub>3, obv. v 35:</sub>** saḥar uš

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duplicates. Di 117 (Tanret 2002: 52, No. 11), obv. ii 1-6 = Ashm. 1931.184 (PSK 390), ii 8-11. Di 94 (Tanret 2002: 53, No. 16) duplicates three sections of Ashm. 1931.184 (PSK 390): obv. i 1-4 = PSK 390, i 2-6; Di 94, obv. ii 1-11 = PSK 390, ii 9-16; and Di 94, rev. i 1 = PSK 390, iii 20. Di 124 (Tanret 2002: 55, No. 18), obv. 1-2 = PSK 390, i 3-5. Finally, Di 132 (Tanret 2002: 56, No. 19), obv. ii 1-12 = PSK 390, iii 10-20. Two Nippur lentils (Ni 771 and 172) also duplicate small portions of the Sippar manuscripts (Ni 172 = Di 124, rev. 1-4, and Ni 771 = Di 124, rev. 5). While the line order is very consistent between the Sippar and Kiš duplicates, there are five lines that are found in the Sippar and 1<sup>st</sup> mill. compositions that are omitted from the Kiš duplicates (1<sup>st</sup> mill. lines 68, 71, 76, 77, and 122). In addition, lines 117 and 118 are reversed in PSK 390 (iii 14-15), but not in the Sippar duplicate (Di 132, obv. ii 5-6).

<sup>167</sup> DCCLT, composite text Q000050.

K<sub>obv. i 6</sub>: [saḫar] ka-tab-ba  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 14</sub>: saḫar ka-tab (=OBN 322)  
 OBN<sub>2, rev i 1</sub>: saḫar ka-tab  
 OBN<sub>3, obv. v 36</sub>: saḫar ka-tab  
 OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 18</sub>: saḫar ka-tab

K<sub>obv. i 7</sub>: [saḫar] ṛniḡin<sup>1</sup>  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 16</sub>: saḫar niḡin (=OBN 324)  
 OBN<sub>3, obv. v 38</sub>: saḫar niḡin  
 OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 20</sub>: saḫar niḡin

K<sub>obv. i 8</sub>: [saḫar] ṛpeš<sup>1</sup>-ṛpeš<sup>1</sup>  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. iii 15</sub>: saḫar peš-peš (=OBN 323)  
 OBN<sub>2, obv. v 46</sub>: ṛsaḫar<sup>1</sup> peš-ṛpeš<sup>1</sup>  
 OBN<sub>3, obv. v 37</sub>: saḫar peš-peš  
 OBN<sub>4, rev. ii 19</sub>: saḫar peš-peš  
 Broken

*MSL* SS1, 107 (PSK 396), another duplicate of OB Nippur Izi, is similarly consistent with the Nippur composition. Although the individual sections are not entirely consistent, the general order of Kiš duplicate follows the order of OB Nippur Izi (see below).

**K = *MSL* SS1, 107 (PSK 396)**  
**OBN = OB Nippur Izi**  
**OBN<sub>1</sub> = CBS 15419**  
**OBN<sub>2</sub> = CBS 2143+**  
**OBN<sub>3</sub> = A 30200**  
**OBN<sub>4</sub> = HS 1802**  
**OBN<sub>5</sub> = CBS 14144**  
**OBN<sub>6</sub> = CBS 2146**

K<sub>, rev. i 1</sub>: bara<sub>2</sub> [...] (=OBN 143)  
 OBN<sub>1, rev. i 1</sub>: ṛbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 OBN<sub>2, rev. iv 14</sub>: bara<sub>2</sub>  
 OBN<sub>3, obv. iii 30</sub>: bara<sub>2</sub>  
 OBN<sub>4, a iii 10</sub>: ṛbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>

K, rev. i 2:       bara<sub>2</sub> ri-[a]               (=OBN 145)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 3:   bara<sub>2</sub> ri-a

OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. iv 16': bara<sub>2</sub> ʀri<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>168</sup>

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iii' 32: bara<sub>2</sub> ri-a<sup>169</sup>

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iii 13:   ʀbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> ri-a

K, rev. i 3:       bara<sub>2</sub> dur<sub>2</sub>-[ĝar-ra]       (=OBN 147)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, rev. i 4:   bara<sub>2</sub> dur<sub>2</sub>-ĝar-ra

OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. 18': ʀbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> dur<sub>2</sub>-ĝar-ra

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iii' 34: bara<sub>2</sub> dur<sub>2</sub>-ĝar-ra<sup>170</sup>

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iii 14:   ʀbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> dur<sub>2</sub>-ĝar-ra

K, rev. i 4-6:     [...]

Broken

Broken

K, rev. ii 1:      [...]

K, rev. ii 2:       e<sub>2</sub>-me-eš               (=OBN 217)

OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. v 36': e<sub>2</sub>-me-eš

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 7:  e<sub>2</sub>-me-eš

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 14:   e<sub>2</sub>-me-eš

OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. i' 20: e<sub>2</sub>-me-[eš]

K, rev. ii 3:       ʀen<sup>1</sup>-te-en               (=OBN 218)

OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. v 37': en-te-en

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 8:  en-te-en

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 15:   ʀen<sup>1</sup>-ʀte<sup>1</sup>-en

OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. i' 21: en-te-[en]

K, rev. ii 4:       ʀunkin<sup>1</sup>               (=OBN 232)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 22: unkin

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 24:   unkin

OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 9:  unkin x

K, rev. ii 5:       mu-ru-ub               (=OBN 233)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 23: mu-ru-ub

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 26:   mu-ru-ub

OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 10: ʀmu<sup>1</sup>-ru-ub

K, rev. ii 6:       ʀkisal<sup>1</sup>               (=OBN 234)

OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 25:   kisal

OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 12: kisal

<sup>168</sup> OBN<sub>2</sub>, rev. iv 16' & 17' both read /bara<sub>2</sub> ʀri<sup>1</sup>-a/, and rev. iv 18' & 19' read /ʀbara<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> dur<sub>2</sub>-ĝar-ra/.

<sup>169</sup> OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iii' 32 & 33 both read /bara<sub>2</sub> ri-a/.

<sup>170</sup> OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iii' 35 reads /bara<sub>2</sub> bara<sub>2</sub> dur<sub>2</sub> ĝar-ra/.

K, rev. ii 7: pu-uh<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-[um] (=OBN 235)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 24: pu<sup>1</sup>-uh<sub>2</sub>-ru-um  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 27: pu-uh<sub>2</sub>-rum  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 11: [pu]-uh<sub>2</sub>-ru-um

K, rev. ii 8: kur (=OBN 236)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 25: <sup>ma-a-tum</sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 28: <sup>ma-a-tum</sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 13: kur

K, rev. ii 9: kur (=OBN 237)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 26: <sup>ša-du-u<sub>2</sub></sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 29: <sup>ša-du-um</sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 14: kur

K, rev. ii 10: kur (=OBN 238)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 27: <sup>er-še-tum</sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 30: <sup>er-še-tum</sup>kur  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 15: kur

K, rev. ii 11: kur <sup>r</sup>kur<sup>1</sup> (=OBN 239)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 28: kur-kur  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 31: kur-kur  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 16: kur-kur

K, rev. ii 12: <sup>r</sup>kalam<sup>1</sup> (=OBN 241)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 30: kalam  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 32: kalam  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 18: kalam

K, rev. ii 13: <sup>r</sup>ma<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup> (=OBN 247)  
 OBN<sub>5</sub>, rev. ii' 24: ma-dam  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. i' 9': ma-da

K, rev. ii 14: [ḥar<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>?</sup>-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>] (=OBN 250)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 36: ḥar-ra-an  
 OBN<sub>4</sub>, a iv 38: ḥar-ra-an  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. i' 12': ḥar-ra-an

K, rev. ii 15: [ḥar<sup>?</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-[an<sup>?</sup>] (=OBN 251)  
 OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v' 37: ḥar-ra-an  
 OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. i' 13': ḥar-ra-an  
 Broken

Broken

K, rev. iii 1: ʾĠİŠ<sup>1</sup>. [MI daġal?-la?] (=OBN 302)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. i 44: ġissu daġal-la

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 18: ġissu daġal-la

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 3': ġissu ʾdaġal<sup>1</sup>-[...]

K, rev. iii 2: ġissu du<sub>10</sub>-ga (=OBN 301)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. i 43: ġissu du<sub>10</sub>-ga

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 17: ġissu du<sub>10</sub>-ga

K, rev. iii 3: an-dul<sub>3</sub> (=OBN 305)

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 21: an-dul<sub>3</sub>

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 4': an-dul<sub>3</sub>

K, rev. iii 4: an-ta-dul (=OBN 308)

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 24: an-ta-dul

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 7': an-ta-dul

K, rev. iii 5: saḥar (=OBN 309)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 4: *ba-ṣu<sub>2</sub>-[u<sub>2</sub>ʔ]* saḥar

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 25: *ba-ṣu<sub>2</sub>* saḥar

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 8': saḥar

K, rev. iii 6: saḥar (=OBN 310)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 5: *e-pe-ru-[u<sub>2</sub>ʔ]* saḥar

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 26: *e-pe-rum* saḥar

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 9': saḥar

K, rev. iii 7: saḥar

K, rev. iii 8: saḥar saḥar (=OBN 315)

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 30: saḥar saḥar

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 14': saḥar-[saḥar]

K, rev. iii 9: ʾsaḥar<sup>1</sup> ġar (=OBN 316)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 11: saḥar ġar

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 31: saḥar-ġar

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 15': saḥar-[...]

K, rev. iii 10: saḥar-dub-[ba?] (=OBN 319)

OBN<sub>3</sub>, rev. ii 14: ʾsaḥar<sup>1</sup>-ʾdub<sup>1</sup>-ba

OBN<sub>4</sub>, b i 34: saḥar-dub-ba

OBN<sub>6</sub>, rev. ii' 16': ʾsaḥar<sup>1</sup>-[...]

K, rev. iii 11:	saḥar [...]	(=OBN 320)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. ii 15:	ṛsaḥar <sup>1</sup> šuš <sub>2</sub>	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b i 35:	saḥar šuš <sub>2</sub>	
K, rev. iii 12:	ṛsaḥar <sup>1</sup> [...]	(=OBN 321)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. ii 16:	saḥar si sa <sub>2</sub>	
Broken		
Broken		
K, rev. iv 1:	ṛe <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[...]	(=OBN 357)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. ii 48:	e <sub>2</sub> -duru <sub>5</sub>	
K, rev. iv 2:	e <sub>2</sub> ?-ṛx <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 358)
K, rev. iv 3:	ḥi?-en-DU	(=OBN 358a)
K, rev. iv 4:	a-ab-<ba>	(=OBN 360)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 4:	a-ṛab <sup>1</sup> -ba	
K, rev. iv 5:	a-ab-ba ḥu-ṛluḥ <sup>1</sup> -ṛḥa <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 362)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 3:	[a]-ṛab <sup>1</sup> -ṛba <sup>1</sup> ṛḥu <sup>1</sup> -[luḥ]-ṛḥa <sup>1</sup>	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 6:	a-ab-ba ḥu-luḥ-ḥa	
K, rev. iv 6:	a-ab-ba sig-ga	(=OBN 363)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 4:	ṛa <sup>1</sup> -ab-ba ṛsig <sup>1</sup> -ga	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 8:	a-ab-ba sig-ga	
K, rev. iv 7:	a-ab-ba ṛigi <sup>1</sup> ṛnim <sup>1</sup> -ṛma <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 364)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 5:	[a]-ṛab <sup>1</sup> -ba igi-ṛnim <sup>1</sup> -ma	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 7:	a-ab-ba igi-nim-ma	
K, rev. iv 8:	ambar	(=OBN 365)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 6:	ambar	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 10:	<i>ap-pa-rum</i> ambar	
K, rev. iv 9:	ṛambar <sup>1</sup> maḥ	(=OBN 365a)
K, rev. iv 10:	[ambar ban <sub>3</sub> ]-da	(=OBN 365b)
K, rev. iv 11:	[...] ṛx <sup>1</sup>	
Broken		
Broken		
K, rev. v 1:	[mar?]-ṛru <sub>2</sub> ? <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 408)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 48:	mar-ru <sub>10</sub>	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 47:	mar-ru <sub>10</sub>	

K, rev. v 2:	ʾmar <sup>1</sup> -ru <sub>2</sub>	(=OBN 409)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 49:	mar-ru <sub>10</sub>	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 48:	mar-ru <sub>10</sub>	
K, rev. v 3:	a-ma-ru	(=OBN 406)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 46:	a-ma-ru	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 49:	a-ma-ru	
K, rev. v 4:	a-ma-ru-kam	(=OBN 411)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 47:	a-ma-ru	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 50:	a-ma-ru-kam	
K, rev. v 5:	ʾaga <sup>1</sup> -ʾkar <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 404)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 44:	aga-kar <sub>2</sub>	
K, rev. v 6:	ʾaga <sup>1</sup> -ʾkar <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> ʾsi <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ge	(=OBN 405)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 45:	aga-kar <sub>2</sub> si <sub>3</sub> -ke	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 52:	ʾaga <sup>1</sup> -kar <sub>2</sub> si <sub>3</sub> -ke	
K, rev. v 7:	ʾgar <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -dar	(=OBN 412)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 50:	gar <sub>3</sub> -dar	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 51:	gar <sub>3</sub> -dar	
K, rev. v 8:	ʾgar <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -še <sub>3</sub> ʾak <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 413)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 52:	gar <sub>3</sub> -še <sub>3</sub> ak	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , b ii 55:	gar <sub>3</sub> -še <sub>3</sub> ak	
K, rev. v 9:	[gar <sub>3</sub> ]-UŠ	(=OBN 414)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. iii 51:	gar <sub>3</sub> -UŠ	
K, rev. v 10:	[...]-ʾUŠ? <sup>1</sup>	
Broken		

Finally, we turn to *MSL* SS1, 108 (PSK 397), a duplicate of OB Nippur Lu. This manuscript follows the same relative pattern as seen in the previous two duplicates; the general order is consistent, but the individual sections vary with one another to some degree in line order.

**K** = *MSL SS1, 108 (PSK 397)*  
**OBN** = *OB Nippur Lu*<sup>171</sup>  
**OBN<sub>1</sub>** = *CBS 2241+*  
**OBN<sub>2</sub>** = *CBS 6693*  
**OBN<sub>3</sub>** = *UM 55-21-313+*  
**OBN<sub>4</sub>** = *N 5169*  
**OBN<sub>5</sub>** = *UM 29-15-451*

Broken

K, obv. i 1: [...]

K, obv. i 2: [...]-ga

K, obv. i 3: [...]-al

K, obv. i 4: [...] e<sub>2</sub> (=OBN 147)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 19: ugula-<sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>172</sup>

OBN<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 6': [ugula]-e<sub>2</sub>

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iv 23: [ugula]-e<sub>2</sub>

K, obv. i 5: [...] -gurušda (=OBN 154)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 26: ugula-<sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub>>?-<sup>r</sup>gurušda<sup>173</sup>

OBN<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 11': [...] -<sup>r</sup>gurušda<sup>1</sup>

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iv 2': ugula-e<sub>2</sub>-gurušda<sup>173</sup>

K, obv. i 6: [...] -bar (=OBN 153)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 24: ugula-<sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>bar<sup>1</sup>

OBN<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 10': [...] -<sup>r</sup>bar<sup>1</sup>

K, obv. i 7: [...] -uzu (=OBN 152)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 23: ugula-e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>uzu<sup>1</sup>

OBN<sub>2</sub>, obv. i 9': [...] -<sup>r</sup>uzu<sup>1</sup>

K, obv. i 8: [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>

Broken

Broken

K, obv. ii 1: gudu<sub>4</sub>-zi-<sup>r</sup>ni?<sup>1</sup>-[x] (=OBN 211)

OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iv 10: gudu<sub>4</sub>-zi-ni-še<sub>3</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra

OBN<sub>2</sub>, obv. ii 9': <sup>r</sup>gudu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-x-<sup>r</sup>ku<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>

OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. v 40: gudu<sub>4</sub>-zi-ni-še-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra

<sup>171</sup> DCCLT, composite text Q000047.

<sup>172</sup> OBN<sub>1</sub>, obv. iii 20 also reads /ugula-<sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> OBN<sub>3</sub>, obv. iv 3' also reads /ugula-e<sub>2</sub>-gurušda/.



K, obv. ii 2:	gudu <sub>4</sub> -bala-[x]	(=OBN 212)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , obv. iv 11:	gudu <sub>4</sub> -bala- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. ii 10 <sup>*</sup> :	gudu <sub>4</sub> -bala-a	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , obv. v 41:	gudu <sub>4</sub> -bala- <sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	
K, obv. ii 3:	<sup>r</sup> gudu <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> [...]	(=OBN 213?)
K, obv. ii 4:	[...]	
K, obv. ii 5:	išib ki- <sup>r</sup> gal <sup>1</sup> -[la]	(=OBN 214)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , obv. iv 14:	<sup>r</sup> išib <sup>1</sup> -ki-gal- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup>	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , obv. v 46:	išib-ki-gal- <sup>r</sup> la <sup>1</sup>	
K, obv. ii 6:	<sup>r</sup> MUŠ <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> [BU]	(=OBN 217)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , obv. iv 15:	<sup>r</sup> susbu <sup>1</sup>	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , obv. v 49:	susbu	
K, obv. ii 7:	šita eš <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a <sup>1</sup> ?	(=OBN 218)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 16:	<sup>r</sup> šita <sup>1</sup> -[eš <sub>3</sub> -a]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , obv. v 50:	šita-eš <sub>3</sub> -[a]	
K, obv. ii 8:	lu <sub>2</sub> -maḥ	(=OBN 219)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 17:	<sup>r</sup> lu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[maḥ]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 1:	<sup>r</sup> lu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> maḥ <sup>1</sup>	
K, obv. ii 9:	bar-šu-ḡal <sub>2</sub>	(=OBN 220)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 18:	<sup>r</sup> bar <sup>1</sup> -[šu-ḡal <sub>2</sub> ]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 2:	bar-šu- <sup>r</sup> ḡal <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>	
K, obv. ii 10:	ereš <sup>d</sup> Nin-urta	(=OBN 224)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 19:	<sup>r</sup> ereš <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> -[...]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 7:	ereš-diḡir- <sup>d</sup> Nin-urta	
K, obv. ii 11:	[a]-tu	(=OBN 226)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 20:	<sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[tu]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 8:	a-tu	
K, obv. ii 12:	[a]-tu	(=OBN 227)
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 9:	<sup>r</sup> a <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> tu <sup>1</sup>	
K, obv. ii 13:	[lal <sub>3</sub> -e-ša <sub>3</sub> ]-ga	(=OBN 228)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 22:	<sup>r</sup> lal <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> e <sup>1</sup> -[...]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 10:	lal <sub>3</sub> - <sup>r</sup> e <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> ša <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>r</sup> ga <sup>1</sup>	

K, obv. ii 14:	[egi <sub>2</sub> ]- <sup>1</sup> zi	(=OBN 230)
OBN <sub>2</sub> , obv. iv 23:	<sup>1</sup> egi <sub>2</sub> -[zi]	
OBN <sub>3</sub> , rev. i 12:	egi <sub>2</sub> -zi	
Broken		
Broken		
K, obv. iii 1:	<sup>1</sup> ama [...]	(=OBN 319ff) <sup>174</sup>
K, obv. iii 2:	<sup>1</sup> ama [...]	
K, obv. iii 3:	<sup>1</sup> ama [...]	
Broken		
Broken		
K, rev. i 1:	BAD-[...]	(=OBN 613?)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. i 6':	BAD?-ga?	
K, rev. i 2:	BAD-[...]	(=OBN 614)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. i 7':	BAD te <sup>?</sup> -el-im DU	
K, rev. i 3:	ma-al <sup>1?</sup> -[...]	(=OBN 615)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. i 8':	ma-al-ga-tum	
K, rev. i 4:	a-ra-[...]	(=OBN 616)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. i 9':	a- <sup>1</sup> ra <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -hi	
K, rev. i 5:	<sup>1</sup> x [...]	
Broken		
Broken		
K, rev. iii 1:	[...]- <sup>1</sup> gu <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> du <sub>10</sub> - <sup>1</sup> ga	(=OBN 648b)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. ii 5':	[ <sup>1</sup> gar]- <sup>1</sup> gu <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -du <sub>10</sub> -ga	
K, rev. iii 2:	[...]- <sup>1</sup> gu <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> nu-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	(=OBN 648c)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. ii 6':	[nar]- <sup>1</sup> gu <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> nu <sup>1</sup> -[du <sub>10</sub> ]- <sup>1</sup> ga	
K, rev. iii 3:	[...]- <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -a	
K, rev. iii 4:	[...] <sup>1</sup> ša <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> e <sub>2</sub>	(=OBN 432a?)
OBN <sub>5</sub> , obv. iv 6':	šakkan <sub>6</sub> - <sup>1</sup> ša <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> e <sub>2</sub> ? <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	
K, rev. iii 5:	[...] e <sub>2</sub> -<gal>?	(=OBN 433?)
OBN <sub>5</sub> , obv. iv 7':	šakkan <sub>6</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> -gal	

<sup>174</sup> As entries 319-341 all begin with /ama/, it is impossible to know to which lines we should attribute K, obv. iii 1-3.

K, rev. iii 6:	ᵐgab <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -zu-ᵐzu <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 698)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. iv 5':	ᵐgab <sup>1</sup> -zu-zu	
K, rev. iii 7:	[...]ᵐpad <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ᵐda <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 649b)
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. ii 9':	[nar]ᵐpad <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -da	
K, rev. iii 8:	[...]ᵐlah <sub>5</sub> <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 651)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. iii 34:	ᵐmuš <sup>1</sup> -lah <sub>5</sub>	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. iii 11':	ᵐmuš <sup>1</sup> -lah <sub>5</sub>	
K, rev. iii 9:	[...]KU	(=OBN 653)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. iii 36:	gala	
OBN <sub>4</sub> , rev. iii 12':	ᵐgala <sup>1</sup>	
K, rev. iii 10:	[...]ᵐmah <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>	(=OBN 654)
OBN <sub>1</sub> , rev. iii 37:	gala-ᵐmah <sup>1</sup>	
K, rev. iii 11:	[...]ᵐx <sup>1</sup> ᵐx <sup>1</sup>	
Broken		

This brings us to the literary duplicates, which formed the advanced stages of the curriculum. There are no known duplicates of the group of four Sumerian literary compositions that Steve Tinney has labeled the Tetrad.<sup>175</sup> However, seven of the ten Sumerian compositions known as the Decad are duplicated at Kiš, as shown in the table below. The line numbers are based on Delnero's scores in his 2006 dissertation.<sup>176</sup>

**Table 3.13. Sources of the Decad**

Text	Composition
<i>PRAK C 77</i> (PSK 422)	Šulgi A, lines ]2-12[; ]25-33[
<i>PRAK B 9</i> (PSK 423)	Lipit-Ištar A, lines ]9-20[; ]52-56
<i>PRAK B 175</i> (PSK 424)	Lipit-Ištar A, lines ]33-35; 36-39[
<i>TCL 16, 65</i> (PSK 425)	Lipit-Ištar A, lines 1-19; 20-31
<i>TCL 16, 67</i> (PSK 426)	Lipit-Ištar A, lines 31-52; 53-68
<i>PRAK C 13</i> (PSK 427)	Inana B, lines ]118-122[; ]126, 131-34[
<i>OECT 11, 7</i> (PSK 428)	Inana B, lines 140-147[
<i>PRAK C 53</i> (PSK 429)	Enlil A, lines 1-7[

<sup>175</sup> Tinney 2011: 162-168. Lipit-Ištar B, Iddin-Dagan B, Enlil-Bani A, Nisaba A.

<sup>176</sup> Delnero 2006: 1858-2474.

<i>OECT</i> 11, 31 (PSK 430)	Enlil A, lines 115-117; rev. ?
<i>PRAK</i> B 150 (PSK 431)	The Keš Temple Hymn, lines ]51-58[; ]76-79[
<i>PRAK</i> B 272 (PSK 432)	Inanna and Ebiḫ, lines ]141-49[
<i>PRAK</i> B 167 (PSK 433)	Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A, lines ]38?-43[; ]60-63?[
<i>PRAK</i> B 174 (PSK 434)	Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A, lines ]145-50[
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435)	Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A, lines ]26-44; ]71-97; 98-121[; 149-73a[

The Decad refers to the ten literary compositions that were copied in the advanced stages of scribal education: Šulgi A, Lipit-Ištar A, The Song of the Hoe, Inana B, Enlil A, The Keš Temple Hymn, Enki's Journey to Nippur, Inana and Ebiḫ, Nungal A, and Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A.

Other literary compositions were also discovered at Kiš. In addition to the Decad, many of these literary compositions were often copied and appear at other sites with relative frequency.

**Table 3.14. Other literary sources**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Composition</b>
<i>PRAK</i> B 11 (PSK 436)	Hammurabi D+E (D: lines ]30-37[; E: lines ]43-46[)
<i>PRAK</i> B 20 (PSK 437)	Instructions of Šuruppak, lines 136-143[; ]198-208
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438)	Instructions of Šuruppak, lines ]49-70; ]123-145; 151, 154-68[; and 218-240[.
<i>PRAK</i> B 46 + C 94 (PSK 439)	Dumuzi-Inana I, lines ]26-38[
<i>PRAK</i> B 76 (PSK 440)	Eduba B, lines ]75?-81?[; ]87ff?[
<i>PRAK</i> B 88 (PSK 441)	SEpM 8, "Lugal-nesaḡe to a King", lines ]13-17; 18-21[
<i>PRAK</i> B 464 (PSK 442)	Letter from Sîn-Iddinam to Ninisina: obv. 12'-18' = lines 1-7[
<i>PRAK</i> C 10 (PSK 445)	CKU #24
<i>PRAK</i> D 60 (PSK 446)	CKU #13
<i>PRAK</i> C 45 + D 53 (PSK 447)	Dumuzi's Dream: obv. 1-28; rev. 29-55
<i>PRAK</i> C 109 (PSK 448)	Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird: obv. ]261-67[; rev. ]292-98[
<i>PRAK</i> C 112 (PSK 449)	Sumerian King List: rev. vi = lines ]232-37[; vii = lines ]309-16[
<i>OECT</i> 5, 1 (PSK 450)	Ninurta's Exploits: obv. 159-173[; rev. ]228-237

<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451)	Išbi-Erra E: obv. i ]14-36; ii ]48-73; rev. iii ]74?-88[; iv 108-118[
<i>OECT</i> 5, 8 (PSK 452)	Iddin-Dagan D, lines 1-39; 40-80 <sup>177</sup>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 12 (PSK 453)	Lament over Ur: obv. ]272-283; rev. 284-294[
<i>OECT</i> 5, 13 + 15 (PSK 454)	Lament over Ur: obv. ]375-398; rev. 400-436
<i>OECT</i> 5, 14 (PSK 455)	Lament over Ur: obv. ]339-344; rev. 345-358[
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456)	Ninġišzida's Journey to the Netherworld: obv. ]28-34; rev. 35-39[
<i>TCL</i> 16, 64 (PSK 457)	Curse of Agade: obv. 1-29; rev. 30-60
<i>TCL</i> 16, 66 (PSK 458)	Curse of Agade: obv. 1-8, 27[; rev. ]35-72

We now come to the 15 literary duplicates that appear in Akkadian; most are quite fragmentary.

**Table 3.15. Akkadian literary duplicates**

Text	Description
<i>PRAK</i> B 82 (PSK 480)	Akkadian love poem <sup>178</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 87 (PSK 481)	1st person Akkadian hymn to Ištar/Innin, with a Sumerian litany between double rulings <sup>179</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 128 (PSK 482)	OB Akkadian letter prayer to Marduk from <i>Iddin-Amurru</i> ; lentil
<i>PRAK</i> B 185 (PSK 483)	Akkadian fragment mentioning Nana and Dagan
<i>PRAK</i> B 472 (PSK 484)	Akkadian love poem, in which a woman calls out to her man, imploring him to make love to her <sup>180</sup>

<sup>177</sup> The manuscript was mislabeled as Išme-Dagan D in Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223. Iddin-Dagan D is a praise hymn to Ninisina, a goddess that receives a significant amount of attention among the liturgical texts at Kiš. She is called the /dumu an-na/ “child of An” (obv. 2), as well as /an-ne<sub>2</sub> tu-[da]/ “whom An bore” (obv. 19). These images are repeated in the unassigned liturgy to Ninisina *PRAK* B 331 (PSK 559); in obv. ii 7’, she is called the /dumu An-na/, and in obv. ii 5’, she is /egi<sub>2</sub> gu-la an ba-tu-<sup>r</sup>da/ “the great lady, born of An.”

<sup>178</sup> Obverse and reverse contain three-line sections demarcated by double rulings. Reverse is quite fragmentary. Refers to a reed in obv. 3’ and “his fruit” *in-bu-šu* (obv. 5’), which may indicate a love poem.

<sup>179</sup> The text is clearly Akkadian (e.g., obv. i 10’ and 12’: *ap-ta-ti-iq nu-ur<sub>2</sub> li-bi-ni* “I created the light of our heart”), but a section demarcated by double rulings (obv. 13-16) appears to be a Sumerian refrain (a lugal-ġu<sub>10</sub> // [<sup>d</sup>]in-nin-ġu<sub>10</sub> // [<sup>d</sup>]inana <sup>r</sup>nin?<sup>1</sup>-ġu<sub>10</sub> // [<sup>d</sup>]iškur lugal-ġu<sub>10</sub> “Oh! My king! My Inin! Inana, my lady<sup>?</sup>! Iškur, my king!”).

<sup>180</sup> See Westenholz 1987: 415-425 for edition. Concerning the text, Westenholz writes, “The question of authorship and Sitz im Leben must be raised in connection with this composition. There are many possibilities: the author could be a scribal apprentice who copied this poem as a traditional literary composition or who composed this work as an exercise in school, or he could be a scribe who committed to writing a known oral composition that he liked or who composed this poem for a special occasion or for a

<i>PRAK C 3</i> (PSK 485)	Akkadian love poem; perhaps part of <i>PRAK B 472</i> <sup>181</sup>
<i>PRAK C 30</i> (PSK 486)	Akkadian love poem; mentions Ištar and perhaps Šu-Sîn <sup>182</sup>
<i>PRAK C 37</i> (PSK 487)	OB Akkadian letter prayer to Ištar of Īursaġkalama of Kiš <sup>183</sup>
<i>PRAK C 41</i> (PSK 488)	Akkadian love poem; refers to Ištar <sup>184</sup>
<i>PRAK C 114 + C 136</i> (PSK 489)	Akkadian literary text <sup>185</sup>
<i>PRAK C 125</i> (PSK 490)	Akkadian love poem <sup>186</sup>
<i>PRAK C 132</i> (PSK 491)	Fragment of an Akkadian love poem <sup>187</sup>
<i>PRAK C 134</i> (PSK 492)	Akkadian love poem; may also mention Šu-Sîn <sup>188</sup>
<i>PRAK C 135</i> (PSK 493)	Akkadian love poem <sup>189</sup>
<i>PRAK D 55</i> (PSK 494)	Excerpt from an Akkadian (literary?) text <sup>190</sup>

Finally, there are seven tablets that contain Sumerian, Akkadian, and bilingual incantations. It appears that at least three of the incantations, one of which is in Akkadian, were either found with or identified as scribal exercises.

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special person. Like the Arabic poetry of Palestine, it could have been composed on the occasion of a marriage or for general entertainment.” Given the educational context in which these texts were found at Kiš, its association with scribal education is perhaps more likely.

<sup>181</sup> Westenholz 1987: 416, fn. 6; Groneberg 2003: 57. The text appears to contain the non-deified PN Šu-Sîn (written Šu-30 in obv. 8), as well as references to Ningal (obv. 20) and Enlil (rev. 3).

<sup>182</sup> As in *PRAK C 3* (PSK 485), obv. 7 begins šu-30, while both obv. 6 and 10 refer to Ištar.

<sup>183</sup> Incipit and colophon essentially preserved:  $\text{r}^{\text{a}^1}\text{-na}^{\text{d}}\text{ištar}^{\text{d}}\text{Īur-saġ-kalam-ma} // [\dots]\text{-na}^{\text{ki}}$ ; colophon:  $[\text{iii}]\text{r}^{\text{APIN}^1}\text{.DU}_8\text{.A U}_4\text{.8.KAM} // [\text{MU A}].\text{r}^{\text{ENGUR}^1}\text{a-pil-EN.ZU-ĪE}_2\text{.ĠAL}_2 [\text{MU.UN.BA.AL}]$

<sup>184</sup> Obv. 3 and 7 read *iš<sub>8</sub>-tar<sub>2</sub>*.

<sup>185</sup> Wasserman 2003: 204, no. 128 labels this as a possible epic.

<sup>186</sup> Wasserman 2003: 204, no. 129.

<sup>187</sup> Wasserman 2003: 204, no. 130.

<sup>188</sup> Wasserman 2003: 204, no. 131. The same form Šu-30 appears in obv. i 5 as it does in *PRAK C 3* (PSK 485) and *PRAK C 30* (PSK 486) (see above).

<sup>189</sup> Wasserman 2003: 204, no. 132.

<sup>190</sup> Reverse 1-3 reads  $\text{r}^{\text{i}^1}\text{-na tar-ba-ši-im} // \text{in-na-am-ru-ma} // \text{iš-ša-ab-tu}$  “They have been seen and seized in the cattlepen!” (see CAD S, 34). The excerpt appears with a large space before and after. The text is dated  $[\text{iii}]\text{r}^{\text{NE}^1}\text{.NE.ĠAR}^{\text{r}}\text{UD}^1\text{.5.[KAM]}$ .

**Table 3.16. Incantation duplicates**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>PRAK A 258 (PSK 299)*</i>	Writing exercise; incantations <sup>191</sup>
<i>PRAK A 309 (PSK 306)*</i>	Writing exercise; incantations <sup>192</sup>
<i>PRAK B 86 (PSK 361)</i>	Sumerian incantation (against snakes?) <sup>193</sup>
<i>PRAK C 1 (PSK 384)</i>	Bilingual incantation against a noisy goat
<i>OECT 11, 11 (PSK 405)</i>	Akkadian incantation; found with OB school exercises
<i>OECT 11, 12 (PSK 406)</i>	Sumerian incantation; reverse uninscribed
<i>OECT 11, 13 (PSK 407)</i>	Akkadian incantation

### *Conclusion*

When we review the curricular duplicates surveyed in this chapter, two patterns emerge that point to local textual characteristics in the OB city of Kiš: 1) the similarities between the Kiš lexical lists and later lexical traditions, and 2) the substantial use of Akkadian in scribal education.

As noted in several places in this chapter, Kiš duplicates of lexical texts often disagree with the standard compositions found at Nippur, but agree with later lexical traditions (MB and 1<sup>st</sup> millennium). Examples of OB Ura, such as *PRAK B 47 (PSK 100)* (where the content and line order more closely follow the MB manuscripts than OB Nippur Ura) and *MSL SS1, 100 (PSK 118)* (where the individual groupings of lines vary greatly with OB Nippur Ura), along with the duplicates of the Weidner God List, seem to suggest that the lexical tradition at Kiš was part of the northern tradition that Veldhuis argues was seen at Sippar-Amnānum and was passed down into the MB period.<sup>194</sup>

More informative, however, is the existence of a high number of Akkadian exercises that were found at Kiš. In a recent article, Delnero compared the curricular texts

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<sup>191</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 51.

<sup>192</sup> De Genouillac 1925: 52.

<sup>193</sup> Cunningham 1985: 136, no. 140.

<sup>194</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 215.

and scribal practices that were found at Nippur and Ur, paying particular attention to the number of Akkadian texts that were copied at each site.<sup>195</sup> He demonstrated that the scribes at Ur were required to copy compositions that were either Akkadian or bilingual (Sumerian and Akkadian), while the Nippur scribes – particularly those at House F – copied very little Akkadian texts (only ca. 3% of the Nippur literary corpus was copied in Akkadian). The Akkadian texts at Ur, however, comprise ca. 15% of the total literary compositions that were copied by the students.

While the number of Akkadian or bilingual texts copied at Ur is striking compared to Nippur, it is little more than half the number of curricular Akkadian texts that were copied at OB Kiš. Compared to the other OB sites, including Nippur and Ur, the Akkadian texts found in the scribal curriculum at Kiš are substantially higher, around 16% of the total corpus, demonstrating the local significance of Akkadian in scribal education, and perhaps illuminating the anomalous evidence from Nippur, a possible reflection of the educational superiority of OB scribal training at Nippur.

When I identify an Akkadian text as being “curricular,” I refer to its apparent use as a scribal exercise at some point during scribal training. There are several indications that Akkadian texts were copied as a part of scribal training, particularly at OB Kiš. First, there are a number of Akkadian compositions that were copied on Type IV (lenticular-shaped) tablets - tablets that are known to be used in scribal training.<sup>196</sup> Second, many Akkadian texts are either known scribal exercises (e.g., lexical lists, grammatical paradigms, PN lists), or appear on tablets that also contain these well-known Sumerian

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<sup>195</sup> Delnero 2016b: 36-41.

<sup>196</sup> See above for the use of Type IV tablets in the OB scribal curriculum. Akkadian texts appear on lenticular-shaped tablets at various OB sites; a few examples include: Ur (Charpin 1986: 37, #7763); Sippar-Amnānum (Di 279 and 430); Kiš (*PRAK* A 121 (PSK 32)\* and A 148 (PSK 280)\*).



curricular texts.<sup>197</sup> Finally, with respect to the Kiš tablets, because physical access to many of the scribal exercises is not possible at present, we must rely (to a degree) on the information provided by those who have handled the tablets (e.g., de Genouillac's catalogue identifications). By using these criteria, I have labeled (when possible) Akkadian tablets as curricular, indicating that they were copied by students as part of their scribal training.

With these criteria in mind, I compared the amount of Akkadian that was used in the Kiš scribal curriculum to the other Akkadian curricular texts found at Nippur, Ur, Isin, Sippar-Amnānum, and Uruk.<sup>198</sup> Among the multitude of curricular texts that were found at Nippur, Delnero recently identified ten Akkadian or bilingual texts, only one of which was found in House F.<sup>199</sup> When he compared this paucity of Akkadian texts to only the vast number of Sumerian literary texts used in scribal training at Nippur, the Akkadian texts accounted for merely 3% of the literature at Nippur.<sup>200</sup> If we were to extend the comparison to *all* of the curricular corpus at Nippur, including both elementary and advanced curricular duplicates, the percentage of Akkadian texts represented at Nippur would be infinitesimal.

When we extend this type of comparison to other OB sites, we see that each city under investigation preserves a higher percentage of Akkadian texts than at Nippur, but far less than that which was found at Kiš. Specifically, by comparing the number of

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<sup>197</sup> Some examples include: Ur (bilingual paradigm; *UET* 7, 101 [U 7791]); Isin (Akkadian PN list; *IB* 1548); Sippar-Amnānum (OB Diri with Akkadian column; Di 87); Uruk (Akkadian DN list with OB Ea; *AUWE* 23, 151 (W 16743 ar); Kiš (Akkadian exercise with metrological text; *PRAK* A 568 (PSK 129)\*).

<sup>198</sup> For the Akkadian texts found at Nippur, I have used the recent work of Delnero (Delnero 2016b: 36-37).

<sup>199</sup> Delnero 2016b: 36-37. From House F: an OB extract of the Epic of Gilgameš (3 N-T 376). From elsewhere at Nippur: 2 duplicates of the Epic of Gilgameš (CBS 7771 and UM 29-13-570), Sargon the Lion (UM 29-13-570), a bilingual hymn to Hammurabi (N 3701), a bilingual Šulgi composition (Ni 11341), a hymn to Mama (HS 1880), an Ištar love song (HS 1879), and two other Akkadian texts (Ni 13088 and N 4026). There appears to be an Akkadian letter exercise from Nippur as well (Ni 683); see Kraus 1964: 19.

<sup>200</sup> Delnero 2016b: 37.

Akkadian texts found in the scribal curriculum to *all* of the curricular texts at the cities of Uruk, Sippar-Amnānum, Ur, Isin, and Kiš, the results demonstrate the importance of Akkadian in the Kiš curriculum, and raise further questions about its relative absence at Nippur. The chart below shows the number of curricular texts at each site, the number of Akkadian curricular texts, and the percentage of Akkadian texts in the curriculum.

**Table 3.17. Distribution of curricular texts from various OB cities**

	Curricular Texts	Akkadian Texts	% of Akkadian
<b>Uruk</b> <sup>201</sup>	166	14	8%
<b>Sippar</b> <sup>202</sup>	80	6	8%
<b>Ur</b> <sup>203</sup>	286	27	9%
<b>Isin</b> <sup>204</sup>	194	9	4%
<b>Kiš</b>	<b>492</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>15%</b>

<sup>201</sup> See Cavigneaux 1996: 51-115. Akkadian texts include: divine hymn with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 106 [VAT 21609]), divine letter to Nanna with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 113 (W 17259), SEpM 6 with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 115 (VAT 21575), Akkadian dialogue between a man and woman (*AUWE* 23, 150 [VAT 21547]), Akkadian DN list (*AUWE* 23, 151 (W 16743 ar), OB Aa with Akkadian column (*AUWE* 23, 162 [VAT 21596]), lexical list with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 163 (W 16743 er), bilingual list (*AUWE* 23, 179 (W 16603 bb), four Akkadian PN lists (*AUWE* 23, 194 (W 16603?), 196 (W 16743 bu), 197 (W 16743 ch), and 198 (W 16743 gc)), Sumerian text with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 296 (W 16603 aa), and Enmerkar and En-suhkeš-ana with Akkadian glosses (*AUWE* 23, 96 (VAT 21579).

<sup>202</sup> The scribal schoolhouse at Sippar-Amnānum; see Tanret 2002: 26-130. Akkadian texts include: OB Diri with Akkadian column (Di 87), 3 Akkadian PN lists (Di 430, 745, and 2234), Akkadian DN list (Di 140), and Akkadian lentil (Di 279).

<sup>203</sup> Charpin 1986: 439-447 (for catalogue of texts from #1 Broad St.) and 35-41 (for catalogue of texts from #7 Quiet St.). See Delnero 2016b: 37, fn 59-67 for the Akkadian texts from #1 Broad St., #7 Quiet St., and unknown provenances. #1 Broad St.: Myth about the underworld (UET 6/2, 395), myth about Ea (UET 6/2, 396), legal plea to Nana (UET 6/2, 402), lament to a goddess (UET 6/2, 403), Akkadian incantation (UET 6/2, 399), two bilingual vocabularies (UET 6/2, 390 and UET 7, 94), and five bilingual proverbs (UET 6/2, 380-381, 385-387). #7 Quiet St.: At the Cleaners (UET 6/2, 414), Bilingual TN list (UET 6/1, 117), two bilingual grammatical paradigms (UET 7, 100 and 101), four Akkadian PN lists (UET 5, 466, 706, 707, and 719), and three copies of Old Akkadian royal inscriptions (UET 1, 274-276). From unknown provenances: bilingual Nisaba A (UET 6/2, 388+), bilingual Iddin-Dagan B (UET 6/1, 84), Hymn to Nannaya (UET 6/2, 404), and a lamentation? (UET 6/2, 397).

<sup>204</sup> For the Isin texts, see Wilcke: 1983, Edzard and Wilcke 1977: 83-91; Walker and Wilcke 1981: 91-102; Wilcke 1987: 83-120; Krebernik 1992: 102-144; and Sommerfeld 1992: 144-164. OB curricular Akkadian texts from Isin include: four Akkadian PN lists (*IB* 1493, 1512, 1548, and 1555), an Akkadian prayer? (*IB* 500), a bilingual school text (*IB* 1132), a bilingual love incantation (*IB* 1554), and a portion of an Akkadian royal inscription (*IB* 1537), and a bilingual paradigm (*IB* 1697).

As the table above reveals, while the cities of Uruk, Sippar-Amnānum, Ur, and Isin all preserve a substantially higher number of Akkadian texts than Nippur, none of these compare to the amount of Akkadian curricular texts found at Kiš.

Among the Kiš corpus are Akkadian texts that appear to be consistent with the levels of scribal competency found in both the elementary and advanced stages of the curriculum. There are many examples of Akkadian PN lists, bilingual grammatical exercises, and other bilingual lexical lists (see tables above), the presence of which indicates that the Kiš scribal students were required to begin copying Akkadian exercises early in their education. Other examples of elementary-level Akkadian exercises can be seen in tablets like *PRAK B 128* (PSK 482), a lenticular tablet with the beginning of a divine letter prayer to Marduk from *Iddin-Amurru*.<sup>205</sup> Another significant type of Akkadian scribal exercise that was found at Kiš is the Akkadian letter exercise. At least 35% of all identified OB Akkadian letter exercises come from Kiš (see discussion above); the Kiš duplicates deal with various aspects of field cultivation and acquisition, and can be repetitive, as would be expected from scribal exercises.<sup>206</sup> Finally, a number of apparently more advanced Akkadian compositions were found at Kiš, including literary texts, love poems, and perhaps even incantations.<sup>207</sup>

While the percentage of Akkadian curricular texts is substantially higher at Kiš than at the other surveyed OB sites, the curricula at several of these cities contain both

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<sup>205</sup> A similar type of letter prayer, appearing on a single-column tablet (*PRAK C 37* (PSK 487)), was composed to Ištar of Ḫursağkalama of Kiš.

<sup>206</sup> For example, *OECT 13, 41* (PSK 247) and *OECT 13, 143* (PSK 250) are duplicates of the same exercise, and are concerned with the cultivation of a field and the decision of the judges concerning the costs of the field. Additionally, *PRAK B 8* (PSK 243)\*, *PRAK B 14* (PSK 244)\*, and *OECT 13, 48* (PSK 249)\* all deal with the issue of the release of distresses.

<sup>207</sup> Examples include *PRAK C 114+* (PSK 489) (literary), *PRAK B 472* (PSK 484) (love poem), and *PRAK A 258* (PSK 299)\* and *PRAK A 309* (PSK 306).

elementary and advanced types of Akkadian texts.<sup>208</sup> A clear example can be seen in the OB tablets that come from Uruk. Early Akkadian or bilingual exercises include PN lists, DN lists, OB Ea, and other lexical lists.<sup>209</sup> From the advanced stages of scribal training, there are duplicates of Enmerkar and En-suĥkeš-ana, and SEpM 6, both of which contain Akkadian glosses. In addition, we see an Akkadian dialogue between a man and a woman, as well as a divine hymn with Akkadian glosses. When we view the Nippur material, however, there appear to be relatively few Akkadian or bilingual texts that would be considered elementary material, such as lexical lists, PN lists, or grammatical exercises.<sup>210</sup> To the contrary, it seems as though the Akkadian compositions, few though they may be, are of the advanced type, and include duplicates of The Epic of Gilgameš, Sargon the Lion, as well as royal and divine hymns.<sup>211</sup>

Delnero has recently argued that the differences in scribal training that appear in Nippur and Ur demonstrate that there existed an elitism among the Nippur scribes, whose training entailed the absolute mastery of the Sumerian language.<sup>212</sup> This elitism is emphasized by the almost complete absence of written Akkadian at Nippur. This lack of

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<sup>208</sup> Identifying an individual exercise as either elementary or advanced is primarily based on the work that has been done on the Sumerian curricular texts, primarily from Nippur. Thus, if a Sumerian literary text is considered to be part of the advanced stages of scribal training, so also do we assume so of an Akkadian literary composition. This classification, however, is not without difficulties, as Akkadian texts that we would not necessarily consider to be part of the elementary phase are sometimes written on lentils (e.g., the Akkadian letter prayer *PRAK* B 128 (PSK 482)). However, given that this is a very short and formulaic text, it is not unlikely that this was a relatively early exercise, as Akkadian would have been the language with which the scribe was already very familiar.

<sup>209</sup> See discussion above.

<sup>210</sup> A few Sumerian lexical lists contain limited Akkadian glosses (Veldhuis 2014: 151). Another possible exception may be Ni 683, an Akkadian letter exercise, though its place in the educational timeline is uncertain.

<sup>211</sup> See discussion above.

<sup>212</sup> Delnero 2016b: 46-47. This elite standing was based on the unique (and apparently) rigorous Nippur training, which focused (in the advanced stages) on Sumerian literary compositions. This, Delnero shows, provided not only the common cultural heritage (argued for by Veldhuis 2004: 75-80), but also encompassed a divine pluralism (through the wide range of divine hymns and Sumerian mythology), and a strict adherence to proper Sumerian grammar and syntax.

Akkadian does not indicate that the scribes were unskilled in the language; on the contrary, Veldhuis has argued that the absence of Akkadian translations in Sumerian lexical lists in the OB period shows that the Akkadian was so familiar to them that writing the Akkadian out would “not add to the value of the exercise.”<sup>213</sup>

Although the scribes at Nippur were not often tasked with copying Akkadian or bilingual texts, this was not generally the case among the other cities during the OB.<sup>214</sup> The presence of such Akkadian and bilingual exercises at other OB sites, and their relative absence at Nippur, shows that it was assumed that the Nippur scribe would know Akkadian prior to beginning his scribal training. Copying Akkadian texts (on the whole), therefore, would be of little value to the scribal students at Nippur; knowledge of Akkadian was assumed, and a command of proper Sumerian grammar and syntax was required.

This was not the case for the rest of Babylonia, in particular for the northern site of Kiš. As demonstrated by Delnero, the presence of Akkadian in the scribal curriculum at Ur shows that their education “had a direct connection to their present lives.”<sup>215</sup> This was also clearly the case at Kiš. The substantial number of OB Akkadian administrative and economic texts that were found at Kiš demonstrate the practical importance of

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<sup>213</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 151. “Old Babylonian versions of Ura are almost always unilingual Sumerian, but there is good reason to assume that in the class room the text was treated as a bilingual and that the traditional Akkadian translations were committed to memory by the pupils . . . The pupil who copied Ura had only just started his course in Sumerian and without translations such lists of words would make no sense to him. The existence of non-written Akkadian translations is indicated by repeating Sumerian entries . . . Repetitions of the same (Sumerian) entry makes sense only when we assume that the Akkadian translations were indeed part of the text as it was learned by the scribal pupils. The students had to know the Akkadian equivalents in order to understand Sumerian vocabulary – writing the Akkadian down, however, did not add to the value of the exercise.”

<sup>214</sup> While some elementary exercises (such as OB Ura) did not often contain an Akkadian column (Veldhuis 2014: 151), other bilingual exercises were still somewhat common in the curriculum at OB cities outside of Nippur. Examples include: Ur: bilingual proverbs (*UET* 6/2, 380); Uruk: bilingual lexical list (*AUWE* 23, 179 (W 16603 bb); Isin: bilingual paradigm (*IB* 1697); bilingual grammatical paradigms (*PRAK* B 34 (PSK 221).

<sup>215</sup> Delnero 2016b: 47.

Akkadian in the day-to-day life of scribes. Furthermore, as will be discussed in a later chapter, Akkadian appears to have also played an important practical role in the performance of lamentational liturgies. Thus, far from cultivating a form of scribal elitism – as at Nippur – the scribal students at Kiš were instructed to copy a high percentage of Akkadian texts in their early and advanced education to prepare them for the local daily requirements of scribal life.

CHAPTER FOUR  
LOCAL FEATURES AND TRADITIONS IN THE  
KIŠ LAMENATIONAL CORPUS

*Introduction*

The gods of Mesopotamia were believed to be capricious, capable of bringing great calamity against their own people, particularly at liminal periods when the stability of the divine realm was disturbed.<sup>216</sup> When an unstable situation arose in which an action or circumstance might cause a deity to become enraged, it was the job the **gala**-priest (Akk. *kalû*) to appease his heart. One of the most common methods for assuaging an angry deity was through the use of lamentational liturgies, texts that described the destruction and desolation that a vengeful god might bring upon the city if his heart were not calmed.<sup>217</sup>

Two types of lamentational liturgies are commonly attested during the OB period: the Balaĝ and Eršemma.<sup>218</sup> Both lament types took their names from the instruments that accompanied their performance: the Balaĝ, played on an instrument called the balaĝ, was

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<sup>216</sup> See, for example, Gabbay 2014b: 167. “The purpose of the performance of Emesal prayers was to appease the angry hearts of the gods. This purpose is valid in calendrical and non-calendrical texts, even when the specific purpose of the ritual itself is different. Most non-calendrical rituals that contain Emesal prayers are rites of passage or initiation (e.g., the restoration of the statue of a god or a temple) and are therefore of liminal nature. As such, the period in which they take place is liable to be a time of disaster, since the cultic representations of the divine realm (such as the statue or temple) are not in their normal state. The inclusion of Emesal prayers during these liminal rituals may calm the hearts of the gods during these potentially disastrous periods.”

<sup>217</sup> The bulk of our evidence for this type of performative use of lamentational liturgies comes from the first millennium (Gabbay 2014b: 15-20); however, as early as OB Mari, we see a particular liturgical composition, with the title Uruamairabi “That City, which has been Plundered,” used in a performative ritual (Durand and Guichard 1997: 52-58).

<sup>218</sup> There are a few Eršaĝuĝas extant from the OB period, but these are relatively inconsequential compared to the numbers of Balaĝs and Eršemmas. For the OB Eršaĝuĝas, see Michalowski 1987: 37-48.

a longer text that contained several sections known as kirugus,<sup>219</sup> while the Eršemma, /er<sub>2</sub>-šem<sub>5</sub>-ma/ “tears of the Šem drum,” were shorter texts, often more narrative in nature.<sup>220</sup>

In his re-editions of the first millennium Eršemmas, Gabbay briefly notes that some liturgical texts show local variation particular to a given ritual context. He cites examples of OB Kiš manuscripts that show a local tradition in which the priest replaces references to the Eanna temple at Uruk with Ḫursaġkalama of Kiš.<sup>221</sup> Given that Gabbay’s purpose was not to more exhaustively identify local traditions that can be found in the Kiš OB lamentational corpus, it is not surprising that only a few references are made to such local variation. However, a number of local traditions appear to be present in the OB manuscripts from Kiš. In this chapter, I will identify and analyze these local traditions in order to determine their implications among the broader OB and first millennium corpora. In order to understand the context in which these Kiš laments were composed, in the section below, I provide a brief history of research into our current understanding of OB lamentational liturgies.

*History of Research:  
OB Lamentational Liturgies*

In 2011, Anne Löhnert summarized the purpose and importance of lamentational liturgies, both to Mesopotamian society, and to modern scholarship by implication:

“Lamenting was motivated by, and sought to cope with, the primal and perpetual fear of divine abandonment; it was thus one of Mesopotamian society’s most important means of

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<sup>219</sup> For a recent discussion of the Balaġ, including identification, etymology, performative use, and historical development, see Gabbay 2014b: 81-154.

<sup>220</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 7-8.

<sup>221</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 52 with fn. 218.



direct interaction with the divine world.”<sup>222</sup> These laments served a particular cultic function: to pacify the heart of an angry god. They were performed by the **gala**-priests, intermediaries, who acted on behalf of the people to calm an enraged deity, who threatened to abandon and destroy the city.<sup>223</sup> For us today, these liturgies can be used to elucidate the content and performance of cultic rituals, which were an integral part of what some have argued to be the relatively stable religious system that existed from the third until the first millennium BCE.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, as the laments were not yet fixed compositions in the OB period, a greater understanding of their local structure and content can provide insight into both their use in the contemporaneous local cultic rituals for which these performative texts were composed, as well as the transmission of their textual and theological content into the first millennium standardized corpus.<sup>225</sup>

The cultic laments were characterized by a lamenting figure, often a goddess, who mourned the destruction of her city and its inhabitants.<sup>226</sup> The first type of lament, the *Balaĝ*, was a longer composition, composed of a number of sections called *kirugus* (*ki-ru-gu<sub>2</sub>*), while the second type, the *Eršemma*, was a shorter text, consisting of only one section in the OB period, often containing a mythological narrative.<sup>227</sup> While copies of *Balaĝs* and *Eršemmas* are extant from the OB period until the late first millennium, there

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<sup>222</sup> Löhnert 2011b: 402. The use of liturgies to appeal directly to the gods was determined to be one of their diagnostic features by Joachim Krecher as early as 1966; See Krecher 1966: 11. “In einer vierten großen Gruppe wendet sich der Sänger unmittelbar an die Gottheit.” See also Löhnert 2009: 3.

<sup>223</sup> See Gabbay 2014b: 15-20.

<sup>224</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 287-290. He argues that, essentially, the Emesal prayers formed a stable part of the religious system from at least the early second millennium through the end of the first millennium. Large scale changes included the standardization of the Emesal corpus in the first millennium, which was modified in the Late Babylonian period, when local modifications again entered the corpus. New genres of Emesal texts developed in the first millennium, and additional deities were incorporated into new first millennium compositions. Other changes included the types of instruments used in performance of laments and the places in which laments were more commonly performed.

<sup>225</sup> Delnero 2015: 115-116.

<sup>226</sup> For a recent and succinct comparison of the hymnic and lamentational liturgies, see Delnero 2015: 92-93.

<sup>227</sup> Delnero 2015: 95.

is evidence that the ritual occasions for which these texts were performed by the **gala**-priest extend back as early as the third millennium.<sup>228</sup> Thus, these lamentational liturgies have a long and rather complex history, filled with theological concepts that were foundational to the religious practices in ancient Mesopotamian society, and remain significant to the research of scholars today.

Over the past half century, a number of scholars have attempted to delineate the contexts in which these laments were performed during the OB period. They have addressed issues such as the occasions for cultic rituals, the roles and responsibilities of the **gala**-priest who sang the laments, and the musical instruments that accompanied the performance of the lament. Often, however, this has been accomplished by comparing the abundant ritual data from the first millennium BCE to the near paucity of evidence from the OB period. This imbalance of evidence has led scholars to focus more attention on the cultic rituals as they appeared in the first millennium.<sup>229</sup> More recently, however, new analytical methods have led to a more precise understanding of lamentational performance during the OB period, with a greater focus on local traditions that can be identified among the various cities.

Perhaps the most influential work on lamentational liturgies was published in 1966 by Joachim Krecher.<sup>230</sup> In this monumental work on Emesal liturgical texts, Krecher was arguably the first to attempt to systematically examine the laments as an entire corpus. In his study, he evaluated the evidence available from the OB period

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<sup>228</sup> Löhnert 2009: 11-12.

<sup>229</sup> See Löhnert 2008: 422. “Despite the richness of the material of some hundreds<sup>1</sup> texts from the Old Babylonian period, comprehensive studies on these Emesal lamentations have been scarce until now. This is due in large part to the rather poor state of preservation of the tablets, the difficulties in understanding the highly poetic language of the text, unusual orthographies, *and the general lack of sufficient ritual prescriptions and descriptions*” (emphasis mine).

<sup>230</sup> Krecher 1966.

concerning the performance of cultic laments. He categorized the various types of lamentational liturgies, analyzed a ritual text from Mari (a text that includes the recitation of several portions of the well-known Balaĝ **uru<sub>2</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-ma-i-ra-bi** [Uruamairabi]),<sup>231</sup> examined the role and function of the **gala**-priest, and discussed the performative rubrics and notations that are found in the OB liturgies.<sup>232</sup> This publication greatly influenced the study of lamentational liturgies, as it not only gathered and summarized all of the available data on the OB laments, but also established a methodology for approaching the individual lamentational texts and the corpus as a whole.

More than two decades later, in the introduction to his editions of all Balaĝ duplicates known to him at the time, Mark Cohen reanalyzed the evidence for the performance of laments during the OB period.<sup>233</sup> He discussed the ritual text from Mari and the data concerning the **gala**-priest (i.e., administrative documents associating **gala**-priests with temples, his frequent appearance in Emesal compositions, and the connection between the **gala**-priest and the Balaĝ instrument). Cohen also advanced our understanding of a specific phrase that appears in the colophons of several OB Balaĝs, which he read: /šud<sub>3</sub>-bi še-eb TN-a-ta ki na-an-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ra/.<sup>234</sup> Moving beyond Krecher and Black's tentative translations of this line, Cohen understood the phrase to mean "A supplication that the brickwork of the ...-temple should be restored."<sup>235</sup> Based on this interpretation (and comparative evidence from the first millennium), he concluded that the performative context for OB laments might have been the restoration of dilapidated

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<sup>231</sup> See Durand and Guichard 1997: 52-58.

<sup>232</sup> Krecher 1966: 28-33.

<sup>233</sup> Cohen 1988: 11-13. He also deals with these issues to varying degrees in the introduction to his monograph on the Eršemma (Cohen 1981: 1-6).

<sup>234</sup> Krecher 1966: 30; Black 1985: 62-63.

<sup>235</sup> Cohen 1988: 31.

temple structures.<sup>236</sup> Although this interpretation was later challenged, it provided evidence for a possible purpose for the OB liturgies that was derived from the OB liturgical tablets themselves.

In 2009, in the publication of her dissertation – editions of two OB *Balaḡs* – Anne Löhnert evaluated Cohen’s suggestion that laments were only performed in the OB during building reconstruction.<sup>237</sup> In her discussion on the use of *Balaḡs* during the OB period, she reinterpreted the aforementioned phrase found at the end of some OB *Balaḡs* as /šud<sub>3</sub>-bi še-eb (TN)-a-ta ki-na diḡir gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ra/ “Für den, der die Gottheit aus (dem Ziegelwerk des) TN an ihren Ort zurückgebracht.”<sup>238</sup> This new interpretation suggested that the *Balaḡ* was much more versatile in its application during a performance during the OB period, and was utilized in more cultic functions than simply the restoration of a temple.<sup>239</sup>

In 2011, Steve Tinney provided a new method for distinguishing between Sumerian curricular and liturgical texts, identifying the differences between the two groups of compositions based on the distribution of the tablets themselves.<sup>240</sup> He determined that the group of texts that was used in the scribal curriculum consisted of a relatively small group of compositions that were represented by a high number of duplicates. Conversely, the liturgical corpus contained a high number of compositions, but a strikingly low number of duplicates. In light of this contrast, he concluded, “There

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<sup>236</sup> Cohen 1988: 31, “The occurrence in several Old Babylonian *balag*’s of the formulaic closing ‘A supplication that the ...-temple should be restored’ may indicate that, as in the first millennium B.C., the lamentations were recited during the razing of the old temple, a prelude to erecting the new edifice.”

<sup>237</sup> Löhnert 2009: 55-61.

<sup>238</sup> Löhnert 2009: 55.

<sup>239</sup> For another interpretation of the line (“May the prayer cause the heart not to turn (away) from (-ta) the brickwork of TN”), see Gabbay 2014b: 34-35. This reading would still allow for the laments to be performed in more than temple refurbishing rituals.

<sup>240</sup> Tinney 2011: 577-598.

is almost no duplication among the hymnic liturgies because almost all of them represent distinct compositions.”<sup>241</sup> This conclusion was critical, as it demonstrated that the liturgical laments were not part of a fixed group of compositions, but showed great flexibility and variation in their composition. This methodological approach and its conclusions were later developed by Delnero to identify liturgical texts that were composed for oral performance.

In his recent book on the Eršemma, Gabbay (2014) re-examined the available evidence for the performance of laments in cultic rituals, including their use in the OB period. Although primarily focusing on the first millennium lamentational liturgies, he evaluated the use of the Balaġ and Eršemma in the OB Mari ritual,<sup>242</sup> and provided an examination of the activities of the **gala**-priests based on administrative records.<sup>243</sup> Building on the work of Konrad Volk, Gabbay gathered several examples in which the composer of an OB liturgical duplicate from Kiš replaced the expected temple name – the Eanna of Uruk – with the local Kiš temple, ̣ursaġkalama.<sup>244</sup> His analysis further developed the conclusion that lamentational liturgies were not part of a fixed tradition, but were able to be modified with local features.

Finally, in a 2015 article, in a volume dedicated to elucidating social practice, Delnero reanalyzed the OB evidence for the performance of lamentational liturgies in cultic contexts (i.e., the evidence from the Mari ritual, the activities of the **gala**-priests as seen in the administrative records, and the performative notations and rubrics in the

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<sup>241</sup> Tinney 2011: 585.

<sup>242</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 174-175.

<sup>243</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 71-72.

<sup>244</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 52-54; 208. See Volk 1989: 19. “Es ist deutlich sichtbar, daß die beiden Texte aus Kiš . . . alle auf Uruk-Kulaba verweisenden Elemente ersetzen, die auf das Hursaġkalamma, d.h. Kiš verweisen.”

liturgical texts).<sup>245</sup> Developing the work of Steve Tinney in 2011, he established the following three new criteria – from the duplicates themselves – for determining whether liturgical texts were composed for oral performance: the general lack of identical duplicates for lamentational liturgies (and the substantial variation that appears among the liturgical duplicates),<sup>246</sup> the use of common groups of lines that appear in several different laments (*Versatzstücke*), and the large number of phonetically written duplicates of liturgical laments.<sup>247</sup> The general lack of duplication, and the repetition of various *Versatzstücke* in these laments indicates that the texts were not part of a fixed tradition, but were likely composed and modified for the particular ritual in which they were performed. The presence of phonetic writings indicates that the texts were designed to aid in oral performance. This article provided a new methodology for determining if the OB laments were composed and locally modified for oral performance, based on the content and compositional style found in the texts themselves.

The results of the studies described above have certain implications for the Kiš lamentational corpus. Very significant are the new criteria developed by Delnero, which make it possible to determine if the laments composed at Kiš were modified for use in oral performance by means of the texts themselves. Although the majority of the Kiš tablets containing liturgical texts are broken and fragmentary, utilizing Delnero's criteria, it is now possible to determine the number of lamentational duplicates that were likely to have been performed at the OB site with only the limited amount of text preserved on

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<sup>245</sup> Delnero 2015: 87-118.

<sup>246</sup> Delnero 2015: 102: "In contrast to curricular literary compositions, which are frequently preserved in numerous duplicates that are nearly identical in content and contain only minor orthographic and grammatical variants, but only rarely substantial differences in content, the content of the preserved sources for laments almost always diverges to such a significant extent that no two duplicates can really be claimed to contain the same text."

<sup>247</sup> Delnero 2015: 101-102. For a discussion of *Versatzstücke*, see Volk 1989: 46.

each tablet. Even with a limited amount of duplicated text preserved on the tablet, it is now possible to determine both the amount of direct duplication found in a given lament, as well as the amount of phonetic writing that was used in its composition. In this way, it is possible to conclude if the Kiš texts were composed and locally modified for oral performance in cultic rituals. Furthermore, Gabbay and Volk demonstrated that the laments were subject to local variation, the presence of which further demonstrates that the lament was modified to fit the particular ritual performance for which it was composed.

#### *Local Kiš Traditions*

In his recent work on the first-millennium corpus of the Emesal compositions known as Eršemmas, Gabbay sought to incorporate OB materials into his data set whenever possible to elucidate the Emesal liturgical tradition that began at least as early as the OB period. Of interest to him were the types of local traditions that could be identified among the Emesal texts composed at various OB cities, traditions that likely influenced the transmission of these liturgies into the first-millennium. His primary source of evidence for identifying these OB local traditions were the litanies that appear in the OB duplicates. Specifically, he examined nominal additions and replacements that were made to the litanies in order to modify them for local consumption.<sup>248</sup> An example of a local modification that was frequently cited by Gabbay was the replacement of the Urukian TN /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/ with the Kišite TN /ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma/ in a number of Kiš manuscripts.<sup>249</sup> Gabbay noted other local traditions seen in modified litanies from several

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<sup>248</sup> See, for example, Gabbay 2014b: 208-209.

<sup>249</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 52-54 and Table 15. “As seen in Table 15, OB manuscripts from Kiš exhibit a local tradition that replaces the Eana of Uruk with Eḥursaġkalama of Kiš.”

OB sites, again focusing on modifications made to proper nouns that were found in the litanies.

While these types of modifications are clearly present in the litanies, they are by no means the only markers of local traditions that can be found among the Kiš liturgies. Upon closer inspection, there are a number of features that appear to be specific to the Kiš duplicated and unduplicated Emesal texts. It is, therefore, the goal of this chapter to identify and analyze these local features or traditions that can be seen in the Kiš corpus; these features would indicate that these laments were able to be modified by the **gala**-priest based on local usage, designed to fit particular rituals or ritual traditions in which they were performed.<sup>250</sup> Identifying the texts that contain these local characteristics and comparing them to the first-millennium compositions will also further demonstrate the importance of the liturgical tradition that was present at OB Kiš and its influence upon the later liturgical corpus.

I will attempt to determine these Kiš local characteristics through an analysis of both the duplicated and unduplicated laments that were discovered at the site. I begin by examining the internal consistency of the Kiš liturgical duplicates in places where there is overlap among the manuscripts, identifying all variation that appears between the Kiš and other OB manuscripts. I will then analyze the duplicated and unduplicated lamentational texts found at Kiš in order to determine what features are more common or specific to the corpus. Thus, as Gabbay began to observe local traditions in his research, I will identify and analyze the various types of local modifications that appear in the corpus, as well as those themes and patterns that appear in texts that are common or specific to the Kiš corpus.

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<sup>250</sup> Delnero 2015: 115-116.



### *Methodology*

The following method will be used to determine the degree of internal consistency that appears among the liturgical duplicates: I will examine the Kiš lamentational duplicates that preserve overlapping portions of the same composition, comparing what appears at Kiš and what is found in the other OB cities. For example, both *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 18-19 and *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 1-3 duplicate the same portion of the Balaĝ Uruamairabi. By identifying all manuscripts that contain these types of overlapping portions of text, I will be able to identify the variants found among the duplicated lines, both when the Kiš manuscripts differ from one another, and (more importantly) when they agree against the other OB duplicates, revealing local features or traditions that are specific to the Kiš liturgies.

I will then re-examine those Kiš laments that duplicate other OB compositions, paying particular attention to the Kiš-specific modifications (e.g., additions and replacements) that appear in the texts. For example, as discussed above, if an OB composition contains a reference to a temple not found at Kiš, and the Kiš duplicate replaces that TN with one found at Kiš, this would be a Kiš-specific replacement, and would have certain implications for the creation or use of that manuscript.

Following this, I will examine other features found in the Kiš lamentational liturgies, such as variant line order, unique incipits, and divine emphases. I will then present the data from the many unduplicated liturgical texts that appear at Kiš, focusing on the most common proper nouns and motifs that appear in these texts, in order to delineate the local traditions or idiosyncrasies that can be seen in the corpus. Finally, I will briefly examine *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), a fairly well preserved tablet that is

composed of several kirugus that have little duplication among the OB manuscripts, and contains several of the idiosyncratic features that are common to the Kiš lamentational liturgies.

### *Internal Textual Comparison*

As described above, I will begin this examination of the lamentational texts that duplicate a known composition and have at least two Kiš manuscripts that cover the same portion of that particular text. There are at least two examples of this type of overlap found among the many liturgical compositions at Kiš: manuscripts of Uruamairabi, VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+).<sup>251</sup>

An important liturgical source for our investigation is a nearly complete phonetic duplicate of Uruamairabi, *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520). A number of Kiš sources duplicate sections of this *Balaġ* as represented in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520); these include: *PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), and possibly *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506). For example, *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507) duplicates *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), i 1-6, and *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 1-5 may duplicate *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 1-5.<sup>252</sup> *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 1-3 duplicates *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 18-19, and *PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), obv. 1'-6' duplicates *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 22-29. Finally, *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev.

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<sup>251</sup> BE 30/1, 9 (CBS 11151) is also partially duplicated in *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495) and *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519). However, due to the fragmentary nature of the Kiš manuscripts, and the uncertainty of some of the line duplication, it will not be considered in our analysis. There are also small sections of duplicated texts in *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500) (duplicates 2 lines of MBI 5 (CBS 11932), rev. iii 36-38 and *PRAK C 57* (PSK 521), obv. 4-5) and *PRAK B 186* (PSK 546) (duplicates 2 lines of VS 2: 64, obv. ii 12 and 13 and *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), obv. 3'-4'). These will not be included, as they provide so little (and sometimes unsure) evidence.

<sup>252</sup> *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506) clearly duplicates the *Versatzstück* that appears also in *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), rev. 3'ff, *PRAK C 74* (PSK 526), obv. 2ff, and *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 10'ff, but it is unclear if *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 1-2 duplicates lines 1-2 of Uruamairabi.

10'-14' duplicates *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'-12' (see chart below for details on overlap between manuscripts):

<b><i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520)</b>	= A		
<b><i>PRAK B 396+</i> (PSK 507)</b>	= B	(obv. 1-6	= A, obv. i 1-6)
<b><i>PRAK B 389</i> (PSK 506)</b>	= C	(obv. 1-5	= A, obv. i 1-5)
<b><i>PRAK B 417</i> (PSK 508)</b>	= D	(rev. 1-3	= A, obv. i 18-19)
<b><i>PRAK B 348</i> (PSK 504)</b>	= E	(obv. 1'-6'	= A, obv. i 22-29)

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A:	1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29
B:	xxxxxxxxxx
C:	xxxxxxxxxx
D:	xxxx
E:	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

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There are at least 43 variants that appear among these overlapping portions of text; 20 of these are phonetic. Because each of the phonetic variants will be covered in the next chapter, I will simply list them in a footnote; please refer to the Chapter Five and Appendix C of this dissertation for a more detailed description of each phonetic variant.<sup>253</sup> There are a number of examples where the content varies between the Kiš manuscripts. Listed below in the footnotes are those changes that appear among the

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<sup>253</sup> *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 1: /a-am-/ = /am<sub>3</sub>-ma-/; /a/ = /a<sub>2</sub>/; /de<sub>3</sub>-[...]/ = /di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-bi/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 1). Obv. i 2: /nu-gi-a-na/ = /[mu]-gi<sub>17</sub>-ib-an-na/; /nu-gi-a-na/ = /[x]-gig-an-na/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 3); /ga-ša-an-na-na-[x]/ = /[ga]-ša-an-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 3 and *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 3). Obv. i 3: /gul-ul/ = /gul-gul/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 4). Obv. i 4: /tu-pa/ = /dub<sub>2</sub>-ba/ (*PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 4). Obv. i 6: /de<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-la-bi/ = /[...]la<sub>2</sub>-bi/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 6). Obv. i 7: /du-ga/ = /du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 7). Obv. i 18: /mu-lil<sub>2</sub>/ = /<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>/; /be<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-[...]/ = /ba-x-la?/ (*PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 1). Obv. i 26: /ki-iš-ke-el-bi/ = /ki-sikil-bi/ (*PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), obv. 4'). Obv. i 27: /mu-ru-bi/ = /ġuruš-bi/ (*PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), obv. 5'). Obv. i 29: /mi/ = /me/; /sa-ġe<sub>26</sub>/ = /saġ-[x]/ (*PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), obv. 6'). Obv. ii 9: /e-ġu<sub>10</sub>/ = /e<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub>/ (*PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 10'). Obv. ii 11: /ba-gi-be<sub>2</sub>-en/ = ba-gub-be<sub>2</sub>-en/ (*PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 12'). Obv. ii 12: /-ge-en/ = /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ (*PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 14').

duplicates of Uruamairabi, which include:<sup>254</sup> the deletion and variation of expected lines or forms,<sup>255</sup> the addition of entire lines of text,<sup>256</sup> and varying line order.<sup>257</sup>

The other source that contains significant overlap in the Kiš corpus is *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), which preserves a portion of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+). This manuscript, which

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<sup>254</sup> The phonetic writings from Uruamairabi cited in this section were drawn from a manuscript of Uruamairabi compiled by Paul Delnero, which contains complete transliterations of all of the known Old Babylonian sources for the first five sections of the composition, including the sources from Kish in which these writings occur. Since the sources from Kiš were collated by Delnero from the original tablets in the Louvre and contain numerous improved readings of the phonetic writings in these sources, I am particularly grateful to Delnero for making his manuscript of Uruamairabi available to me in advance of its publication so that I could use it to collect the phonetic writings cited in this section.

<sup>255</sup> There are nine examples of content that is deleted from the text that duplicates a section of *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520). The entire line seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 3 is deleted from *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506). In *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 4, the form /ama-gal/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4 is deleted, as is the grammatical postfix /-ke<sub>4</sub>/. The lines appearing in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4-5 are deleted from *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507). In *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 5, only the beginning of the line /lil<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub> ama-sa-[...]/ is written /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub> [BLANK]/, deleting (apparently intentionally) the remainder of the line. The line seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 28 is also deleted from *PRAK B 348* (PSK 504). There are two examples of a line being deleted from all of the Kiš duplicates, including *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520): NCBT 688, obv. 3 and 8; line 3 contains the GN *Kulaba*, and line 8 contains *Uruk*, which explains their deletion from the Kiš manuscripts. Finally, there is one example of the deletion of a divine determinative: in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 5, the determinative is deleted from /lil<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/, intended to represent /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-en-na/.

There are seven examples of variant content. In *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 4, the form in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4 /ama ki-ša-[...]/ appears as /ga-ša-an ġi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>/ in *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 4.<sup>255</sup> In *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 7, the form /[...]bi/ differs from /de-de<sub>3</sub>-el-le/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 7, and in *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 3, the expected /[x]mu-lil<sub>2</sub>-le/ (*PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 19) appears to be written /[x]mu-ul-[...]/. Twice in *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 10'-11', the verbal form /im-me<sub>2</sub>-e/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'-10' is replaced with /di-da/. The text before *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 10' differs from the lines that appear before *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'. Finally, both manuscripts *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) and *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507) differ from NCBT 688, obv. 5; NCBT 688 reads /ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/, while the other two read /ga-ša-an ħur-saġ-kalam-ma/.

<sup>256</sup> There are several examples of a line being added to a particular Kiš manuscript. In *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 2 and *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. 2, the manuscripts duplicate the line appearing in NCBT 688, obv. 2 (/ama mu-gig uru<sub>2</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-i-ra-bi a di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-bi/), while *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) does not preserve the line. Similarly, NCBT 688, obv. 21 (/uru<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-e en li-bi<sub>2</sub>-in-tar-ra-bi/) is duplicated by *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 2, but is not found in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520). Finally, *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 13' preserves a line seen in NCBT 688, rev. 4 (/a ba-tuš-en ki-tuš-ġu<sub>10</sub> im-me [...]/), but not in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520).

<sup>257</sup> There are two examples of the line order varying among the Kiš manuscripts. Manuscript *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508) varies in line order from NCBT 688, obv. 21-23, which appears as *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. **2, 1, and 3**. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 25-31, the line order varies from NCBT 688, obv. 28-36, which appears in the order: **28-34-35-29-30-33-36**. Interestingly, in the other preserved Kiš duplicate, *PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), the line order matches *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), which duplicates obv. i 25-27 with the order obv. **3, 4 and 5**.

duplicates *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), contains only eight variants (two of which are phonetic in nature).<sup>258</sup>

When we examine these Kiš duplicates of the two liturgical compositions Uruamairabi and VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), there are many examples in which the Kiš sources agree against the other OB manuscripts; many of these instances are likely to be indicative of local features that are idiosyncratic to Kiš. Some examples are relatively clear and understandable, while others are more difficult to interpret. I will begin with the relatively clear examples.

There are variants in the Kiš duplicates where the deletion or replacement of a proper noun indicates that the text was being locally modified to fit a particular ritual performance at Kiš. For example, in NCBT 688, obv. 3, the duplicate of Uruamairabi contains the proper noun /kul-aba<sup>ki</sup> uru<sub>2</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-i-ra-bi a di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-bi/. Similarly, in NCBT 688, obv. 8, we see another Urukian epithet /ama unug<sup>ki</sup> gig-ga ga-ša-an-sun<sub>2</sub>-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/, “the mother of Uruk.” Of course, both Kulaba and “the mother of Uruk” would have had special significance to Uruk, but were apparently out of place in the particular lamentational performance in the city of Kiš. Thus, these lines appear to have been intentionally deleted from the known Kiš manuscripts.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> There are two examples of deleted content from *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502). In *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 2 and 3, which duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 9-8,<sup>258</sup> the lines /ama uru<sub>2</sub>-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-tin-lu-ba // sa<sub>12</sub>-du-an-na ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-na<sup>ki</sup>/ are deleted from *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502). However, both *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533) obv. 1 and *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), obv. 1 preserve a line that is not present in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) (/a-ra-li ir<sub>2</sub>-ra ša<sub>3</sub>-bi a-še-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/). Also in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 1 and *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), obv. 1, the spelling of the form /a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ (*PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502)) appears as /a-še-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533). In both *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 4 and *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), obv. 2, the Kiš texts preserve /ur<sub>4</sub>/, while VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), rev. vi 3 contains the homophonous sign /ur<sub>2</sub>/, while VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), rev. vi 13 reads /uri<sub>3</sub>-na/. It also appears that both *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 16 and *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), obv. 14, agree against VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), rev. vi 14, as the form /mu-lu-zi-ra/ in the Kiš duplicates varies from /uš<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>2</sub>-zi-da-ke<sub>4</sub>/ in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+).

<sup>259</sup> For a recent discussion on this type of replacement, see Gabbay 2014b: 52.

Further evidence for intentional deletion of this type can be seen in another duplicate of Uruamairabi, NCBT 688, obv. 5, where the line reads /kur [gul]-gul ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/, “Destroyer of lands, the lady of the *Eanna*.” However, in the Kiš duplicates, we see instead, /kur gul-ul ga-ša-an ħur-saĝ-kalam-[ma]/ (*PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 3) and /[kur] gul-gul ga-ša-an /[ħur]-saĝ-kalam-ma/ (*PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), obv. 4) “Destroyer of lands, lady of *Ĥursaĝkalama*.”<sup>260</sup>

A less certain, but significant example, is *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4. In NCBT 688, obv. 6, along with other duplicates (*PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), obv. i 4 included), the manuscripts preserve the line: /an dub<sub>2</sub>-ba ga-ša-an ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “Who makes the heavens shake, *lady of the Gipar*.” However, *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4 contains /an tu-pa ama gal ama ki-ša-[...]x/ “Who makes the heavens shake, *the great mother, mother of Kiš*...” This same line appears to be duplicated in *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 12’, where we see /an tu-pa ama? gal ama ki-ša-ra mu-ni-ib-ku-le/. Given the highly syllabic nature of *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), and the apparently syllabic writings that appear in *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 12’, it seems likely that /ki-ša/ is meant to indicate /Kiš(-ša)/, “of Kiš.”<sup>261</sup> If /ama ki-ša/ should be interpreted as “the mother of

<sup>260</sup> In *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 11’, we also see /kur gul-ul ga-ša-an ħur-saĝ-<kalam>-ma/, though this is not a duplicate of Uruamairabi, but a *Versatzstück* seen in several texts at Kiš (*PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), rev. 3’ ff; *PRAK C 74* (PSK 526), obv. 2ff; *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 10’ ff). Unfortunately, only *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 11’ preserves the second half of the line, so we cannot be sure if *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595) and *PRAK C 74* (PSK 526) also originally contained the reference to *Ĥursaĝkalama*.

<sup>261</sup> In *OECT 5*, 16 (PSK 613), obv. 5, we see a similar example in the line /<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>ama<sup>1</sup> kiš<sup>ki</sup> ħu-lu-a-<sup>r</sup>be<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-eš/. There are other examples, even in Uruamairabi, of the epithet “mother of X.” In NCBT 688, obv. 8, we see /ama unug<sup>ki</sup>/, and in BM 87518 (CT 42:15), rev. iv 14, we see /<sup>d</sup>nammu ama <sup>r</sup>uru<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ze<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>eb<sup>1</sup>-[ba]/ “Nammu, the mother of Eridu.” See also NBC 1315, obv. i 25, /<sup>d</sup>nammu] <sup>r</sup>ama<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>uru<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba-<sup>r</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [um-ma-du<sub>11</sub>-x]/; VS 2: 11, obv. ii 6 /<sup>d</sup>nammu ama uru<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba-ke<sub>4</sub>/, Additionally, in CT 42:3 (BM 86536), rev. iv 52, appears the line /ga-ša-an eš<sub>3</sub>-gal <sup>r</sup>ama<sup>1</sup> [kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>]/. See also BM 96927, obv. i 53, /[ga]-ša-an-eš<sub>3</sub>-gal-la ama kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>/. In VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 47, iv 48, rev. viii 4, and ix 7, we see /<sup>r</sup>ama<sup>1</sup> uru<sub>2</sub> saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba/. See also BM 15793 (CT 42:7), obv. i 4, /[ama uru<sub>2</sub>] <sup>r</sup>saĝ<sup>1</sup>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba-men<sub>3</sub>/; BM 96940 (CT 36, plates 41-42), obv. 3 /[ama] <sup>r</sup>uru<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba-<sup>r</sup>men<sub>3</sub>/; BE 30/1, plates 3-4 (CBS 3656), rev. 3 /ama uru<sub>2</sub>-saĝ <sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba-men<sub>3</sub>/; CT 36, plates 43-44 (BM 96684),

Kiš,” it would show the replacement of “lady of the Gipar” with “the great mother, the mother of Kiš,” a title locally modified for a performative text from Kiš.<sup>262</sup>

In NCBT 688, obv. 28ff (as noted above), the line order differs from what is found in both *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 25ff and *PRAK B* 348 (PSK 504), obv. 3’ff (see chart below).

PSK 520, obv. i:	... - ... - 24 - 25 - 26 - 27 - 28 - 29 - 30 (broken before 24)
PSK 504, obv.:	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - ... - 6 - ... - ... (broken after 28)
NCBT 688, obv.:	26 - 27 - 28 - <b>34 - 35 - 29 - 30 - 33</b> - 36 (missing 31 & 32)

Notice that not only the line order is substantially different in NCBT 688, but also both lines 31 and 32 are missing in the Kiš sequence. What is of equal (if not greater) interest is the fact that this basic sequence is preserved as a *Versatzstück* in a 1<sup>st</sup> millennium duplicate of the Balaĝ a-še-er ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ta (Ašer Gita), K.11150.<sup>263</sup> When the lines order from this manuscript is added to the others, we see:

PSK 520, obv. i:	... - ... - 24 - 25 - 26 - 27 - 28 - 29 - 30 (broken before 24)
PSK 504, obv.:	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - ... - 6 - ... - ... (broken after 28)
NCBT 688, obv.:	26 - 27 - 28 - <b>34 - 35 - 29 - 30 - 33</b> - 36 (missing 31 & 32)
K.11150, obv. iii:	13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - <b>19 - 18</b> - 20 - ... (single ruling after 20)

The only difference in the line order of K.11150 appears in obv. iii 18-19, where the line order is reversed when compared to the OB Kiš manuscripts. However, this is not altogether surprising, as both lines begin in a similar way: line 18 begins /uru<sub>2</sub> me<sub>3</sub> saĝ-e/,

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rev. iii 3 /ama uru<sub>2</sub>-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba/; CT 42:19 (BM 29617), obv. 3 /ama uru<sub>2</sub>-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub><sup>?</sup>-ba/.

<sup>262</sup> It should be noted here that both *PRAK C* 47+ (PSK 519) and *PRAK B* 48 (PSK 495) follow a similar pattern of TN replacement, though some of the crucial text is broken away (see Appendix A for a full score, translation, and discussion on the duplicates). In short, there are several places where the Kiš manuscripts contain a portion of text that is either deleted or replaced in the Nippur manuscript. Additionally, in lines 6-7 as well as 17-18, both local toponyms are mentioned alongside non-local toponyms (e.g., Ҁursaĝkalama and Eanna).

<sup>263</sup> See Black 1985: 25.

while line 19 begins /uru<sub>2</sub> me<sub>3</sub>-e/. It is possible that, during transmission, these lines could have been reversed due to their similar beginnings. Nevertheless, the line order is clearly representative of the Kiš manuscripts, not that which is seen in NCBT 688. Thus, this line order appears to have been distinct at Kiš, and was ultimately transmitted into the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium.<sup>264</sup>

Other interesting examples of possible Kiš idiosyncrasies are manuscripts *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533) and *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), in which are preserved virtually identical portions of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+). The differences, however, between the two Kiš duplicates and VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) are the incipits of both Kiš texts: /a-ra-li ir<sub>2</sub>-ra ša<sub>3</sub>-bi a-še-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533) and /[...]bi a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ in *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502). Both Kiš manuscripts preserve a lengthy section of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), but also contain an incipit that is absent from VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+).

*PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) breaks off before the end of the tablet, but *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533) ends on the top of the reverse, followed by a single ruling, after which the remainder of the tablet was left blank. This may indicate that this section was a *Versatzstück*, and had *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) been preserved a bit further, the section would have also ended. We do know, however, that the reverse of *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) was uninscribed, which seems to indicate that it stops in roughly (if not exactly) the same place as does *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533). In other words, there appears to be no clear stopping point in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) following this section, either with a kirugu marking or any type of ruling, but both *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) and *PRAK D 45* (PSK

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<sup>264</sup> The transmission of a Kiš tradition into the first millennium is not unprecedented. See Gabbay 2014b: 52-54. “OB manuscripts from Kiš exhibit a local tradition that replaces the Eana of Uruk with Eḫursaġkalama of Kiš. This sequence is maintained in first-millennium canonical Eršemas reflecting the Kiš tradition.”



533) have just such stopping points. Because both Kiš texts preserve an incipit that is absent from VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), and both Kiš duplicates likely begin and end at the same point (where there is no ending in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+)), it is likely that this section represents a *Versatzstück* that was unique to the ritual tradition present in the city of Kiš.

In this final section, in order to show the local importance of the lamenting goddess motif, I will examine the number of duplicates that preserve the Balaĝ Uruamairabi that come from OB Kiš, as well as a particular *Versatzstück* that occurs rather frequently in the Inana laments. When we examine the OB sources for Uruamairabi, we find that three of the nine “main” sources (33%) come from Kiš.<sup>265</sup> More telling is the number of “parallel” sources that contain a litany of divine epithets of Inana (composite example shown below):

mu-gig-an-na<sup>d</sup> ga-ša-an-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 kur gul-gul<sup>d</sup> ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 an dub<sub>2</sub>-ba<sup>d</sup> ga-ša-an ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-en-na ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub> amaš-ke<sub>4</sub>

*Nugig of heaven, Inana!*  
*Destroyer of foreign lands, lady of the Eanna!*  
*One who makes the heavens tremble, lady of the Gipar!*  
*Lilla'enna, lady of the cattle pen and sheepfold!*

Of the twelve OB sources that contain this litany, seven (58%) come from Kiš.<sup>266</sup> The fact that the most frequently attested deities in the unduplicated liturgies are female (with lamenting as the primary theme of the texts in which they are most often found) suggests

<sup>265</sup> NCBT 688 (Larsa?); UET 6/2, 140 (U 16861) and 403 (Ur); Sb 12436 (Susa); AO 6905b (unprovenanced); *PRAK* B 396+ (PSK 507), *PRAK* B 348 (PSK 504), and *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520) (Kiš).

<sup>266</sup> Kiš sources: *PRAK* B 48+ (PSK 495); *PRAK* B 396+ (PSK 507); *PRAK* B 389 (PSK 506); *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520); *PRAK* C 54 (PSK 595); *PRAK* C 74 (PSK 526); *PRAK* C 92 (PSK 527). Non-Kiš sources: NCBT 688; MS 2921; BM 16385; CBS 6890; Ni 2273.

that the motif of the “lamenting goddess” (most often represented by Inana) was the local focus of the Balaĝs found at Kiš.

When we look at this evidence as a whole, it is possible to suggest that certain local characteristics existed in the Kiš lamentational corpus. The deletion of certain lines that contain Uruk-specific references from a known performative text (Uruamairabi), along with the replacement of Uruk-specific proper nouns (“lady of the Eanna” to “lady of Ĥursaĝkalama,” and perhaps “lady of the Eanna” to “mother of Kiš”), suggests that at least some of these liturgies were modified to fit cultic performance at Kiš. The variant line order seen in the Kiš texts, as well as the presence of an incipit foreign to other OB sources, might also indicate that a specific version of the composition was followed at Kiš. Finally, a high number of main and parallel sources for the well known composition Uruamairabi were found at Kiš, which seems to show a particular affinity for this Balaĝ, and the “lamenting goddess” motif, at the city during the OB period.

#### *Common Themes in the Unduplicated Laments*

Further evidence of local variation among the Kiš lamentational corpus can be seen in the high number of partially or completely unduplicated liturgies that appear at the site. As many of these texts show a high degree of variation and were composed phonetically, they were demonstrably used in ritual performance, and were likely composed to fit the needs of local rituals. Because of their local modifications, the thematic emphases that appear in the lamentational texts may provide insight into the contemporary theological concepts. Thus, in this section, I will identify and categorize various aspects of the laments, including the most commonly attested divine names

(DNs) temple names (TNs), lexemes, and themes that appear in the many liturgical texts that appear at Kiš.

Because many of these texts are often phonetic, fragmentary, and unduplicated, it can be difficult to ascertain exactly what a particular syllabically written form or line in a phonetic text means. However, I have selected those passages that are sufficiently preserved and understandable to identify at least portions of their content with relative certainty. I will use these portions of text as a test case to identify common nouns, lexemes, and themes.<sup>267</sup>

*Divine names.* I will begin with an examination of DN<sup>268</sup>. The most frequently occurring type of DN in the unduplicated liturgical texts is a form of /ga-ša-an-[...]/. There are at least 15 occurrences in eight texts where either the Emesal form /ga-ša-an/ or a DN appears with all or a portion of /ga-ša-an/ preserved, but the second portion of the DN is not extant. For example, in *PRAK B 461* (PSK 584), obv. 1'-3', we see (<sup>d</sup>ga-[...] //

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<sup>267</sup> It should be noted that there are small portions of some of these texts that do parallel other known compositions (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), for example, parallels a known Balaḡ); however, enough of the tablet contains unduplicated kirugus for us to include it in our examination. *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495), *PRAK B 184* (PSK 545), *PRAK B 188* (PSK 497), *PRAK B 245* (PSK 551), *PRAK B 255* (PSK 553), *PRAK B 276* (PSK 213), *PRAK B 277* (PSK 555), *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495), *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559) (part of the same tablet as *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597)), *PRAK B 380* (PSK 571), *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), *PRAK B 405* (PSK 576), *PRAK B 447* (PSK 582), *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), *PRAK B 461* (PSK 584), *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), *PRAK B 471 bis* (PSK 586), *PRAK C 5* (PSK 587), *PRAK C 7* (PSK 588), *PRAK C 8+* (PSK 513), *PRAK C 9* (PSK 514), *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515), *PRAK C 34* (PSK 591), *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), *PRAK C 48* (PSK 590), *PRAK C 49* (PSK 592), *PRAK C 50* (PSK 593), *PRAK C 51* (PSK 594), *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), *PRAK C 56* (PSK 596), *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597), *PRAK C 63* (PSK 599), *PRAK C 65* (PSK 600), *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), *PRAK C 113* (PSK 602), *PRAK C 118* (PSK 603), *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), *PRAK D 2* (PSK 608), *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), *OECT 5, 16* (PSK 613), *OECT 5, 39* (PSK 616); *OECT 5, 40* (PSK 617), *OECT 5, 41* (PSK 618), *OECT 5, 42* (PSK 619), *OECT 5, 43* (PSK 620), *OECT 5, 57* (PSK 622).

<sup>268</sup> There are, of course, deities that could be identified based on their common epithets (e.g., /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un kur-kur-ra/ for Enlil). These will not be included in this examination, as they are often repeated in longer litanies, and this repetition could skew the available data.

<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-[...] // <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-[...]).<sup>269</sup> In addition to these broken forms, there are a further 10 examples of (primarily) /ga-ša-an-an-na/ (in this or other forms) occurring in the unduplicated texts; see, for example, *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. 10': (ga-ša-an-an-na ḫul-da ba-kul).<sup>270</sup> Just as frequent is the name of the goddess Aruru, appearing at least 10 times in the unduplicated texts. A good example is *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 14', where we see the line (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru a-ba bi<sub>2</sub>-ak-e mu-un-ši-si-ig-ge<sup>3</sup>), where she appears in a list with four other epithets (/egi<sub>2</sub>/, /munus/, /ab<sub>2</sub>/, and /nin<sub>9</sub> gal mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>/).<sup>271</sup>

Enlil and Damu/Dumuzi appear in the unduplicated texts as well. Enlil occurs at least 9 times, Damu six times, and Dumuzi five times.<sup>272</sup> We see, however, that all certain occurrences of both Damu and Dumuzi come from fragments that are likely to be part of the same tablet - *PRAK C 8+* (PSK 513) - and these references would therefore be restricted to one text or composition. Thus, it appears that the majority of the DNs that appear in the unduplicated Kiš texts under investigation are of female deities, including Inana and Aruru.

<sup>269</sup> *PRAK B 255* (PSK 553), obv. 1'; *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii 9'; *PRAK C 63* (PSK 599), obv. 2'; *PRAK C 118* (PSK 603), rev. iv 5'; *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 4'; *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. i 3', 5'-6'; *OECT 5, 57* (PSK 622), rev. v 7'-10'.

<sup>270</sup> *PRAK B 276* (PSK 213), obv. 9'; *PRAK C 7* (PSK 588), obv. 4'; *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515), obv. 2', 5'; *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), obv. 2'; PSK 513 (*PRAK C 116*), obv. 10'; PSK 513 (*PRAK C 138*), obv. 9'; *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 2; *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 3'; *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. i 10'.

<sup>271</sup> Other occurrences include: *PRAK B 276* (PSK 213), obv. 3'; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 4'; *PRAK C 56* (PSK 596), rev. 2'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 3', 5'; v 3' (2x), 5', 6'.

<sup>272</sup> Enlil: *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii 2'; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 15'-16'; *PRAK B 471 bis* (PSK 586), rev. 19'; *PRAK C 50* (PSK 593), obv. 4'; *PRAK C 56* (PSK 596), rev. 5'; *PRAK C 118* (PSK 603), obv. ii 1'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. v 4'; *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), rev. 3'? Damu: PSK 513 (*PRAK C 8*, obv. 2'; *PRAK C 116*, obv. 11'; *PRAK D 41*, obv. i 27'; ii 8', 30'); *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), obv. 9'? Dumuzi: PSK 513 (*PRAK C 8*, obv. 3'; *PRAK C 138*, obv. 6'; *PRAK D 41*, obv. ii 9', 31'; rev. iv 3').

*Temple names.* We now turn to the TNs that are most frequently mentioned in the unduplicated texts. The Eanna appears most frequently, occurring at least six times.<sup>273</sup> In several of the texts in which this TN occurs, these references appear in contexts that contain epithets to Inana (*PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519)), Ninisina (*PRAK C 59* (PSK 597)), or the general theme of lamenting over a destroyed city (*OECT 5, 16* (PSK 613)). These frequent references to Inana alongside the Eanna should come as no surprise, as Inana is known in the general OB liturgical corpus as the /ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/ “lady of the Eanna.”<sup>274</sup> In fact, in *TCL 16:68* (AO 6905), a duplicate of Uruamairabi, we see in rev. 19-20 the couplet /ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-me-en ġ<sub>a2</sub>-e/ and /ga-ša-an ki-zabalam<sup>ki</sup>/, a pairing that occurs twice in *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), obv. 4-6 (ḥur-saġ-kalam-[ma]; e<sub>2</sub>-an-na; ki zabala<sub>2</sub> [...]) and 16-18 (ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma; e<sub>2</sub>-an-na; ki zabala<sub>2</sub> [...]). The other frequently mentioned temples are, expectedly, Ḥursaġkalama (5x), the Ekur (4x), and the Emaḥ (4x).<sup>275</sup>

Another sanctuary that is frequently mentioned in the Kiš liturgical corpus is the /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ “outdoor shrine.” Though this type of open-air shrine was not apparently unique to Kiš, it appears rather infrequently in OB texts outside of Kiš. The /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ shrine is referred to at least 12 times in three different Kiš texts.<sup>276</sup> In contrast, very few other OB liturgical texts speak of the /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/, and only two OB literary texts make

<sup>273</sup> *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), obv. 7'; *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), obv. 7, 17; *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597), obv. ii 8; *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. i 11'; *OECT 5, 16* (PSK 613), obv. 3.

<sup>274</sup> See, for example, *PBS 10/2, 17* (CBS 6890), obv. i 3.

<sup>275</sup> *Ḥursaġkalama*: *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495), rev. 8; *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), obv. 4, 16; rev. 7, 12. *Ekur*: *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii 5'; *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), rev. 3'; *PRAK C 9* (PSK 514), obv. 8'; *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. ii 12'. *Emaḥ*: *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), rev. iii 1'; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 12'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 3', 11'.

<sup>276</sup> *PRAK C 47+*, obv. 13-14; *PRAK C 59*, obv. ii 2', 4', 6', 8', 10', 12', and 14'; *PRAK B 331*, obv. ii 2', 4', and 6'; *PRAK B 48+*, obv. 16.

reference to it.<sup>277</sup> A number of first millennium texts indicate that many of these shrines were dedicated to Ištar.<sup>278</sup> This connection between Ištar and the /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ is significant given the relative frequency of its appearance at Kiš and the connection between the goddess Inana and the temple of Ḫursaġkalama. This appears to be another local emphasis in the liturgical texts from Kiš.

*Common lexemes and motifs.* As one would expect from Emesal liturgical texts, the most common lexemes are those that frequently occur in laments; I list here the most frequently occurring terms. One of the most common lexemes is /edin/ “the steppe,” though the majority of the occurrences (23) are found in a single text: *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 511) (see edition in Appendix B). Another common lexeme is /ama/ “mother,” appearing at least 35 times in 10 different texts.<sup>279</sup> We also see 25 occurrences of /gul/ “to destroy,” 24 examples of /ġuruš/ “young man” (quite common to the Dumuzi laments), as well as /amaš/ “sheepfold” (17x), /tur<sub>3</sub>/ “cattle pen” (12x), /ir<sub>2</sub>/ “tears” (17x), /a-še-er/ “lament” (13x), and /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ “open-air sanctuary” (12x). Again, these data only show that those lexemes that are most common to lamentational liturgies in the other OB compositions also appear in the unduplicated Kiš corpus; thus, in this area, there is no significant distinction between the Kiš unduplicated laments and those laments found at other OB sites.

<sup>277</sup> Liturgical examples include BM 96927, obv. i 43 (/ [ga]-ša-an-<sup><d></sup> mug ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-lil<sub>2</sub>-e SI.[A]/) and VS 2:25 (VAT 609+), v 20-22 (/ [...] [ga<sup>1</sup>]-[ša]-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in-na [ub<sup>1</sup>]-[lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>] // [...] [ga<sup>1</sup>]-ša-an-tin-u<sub>9</sub>-ba ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> // [...] [mu<sup>27</sup>] gu-nu-ra-x ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/). OB literary texts include UET 6/2, 306 (Sumerian Proverbs Collection 1), obv. 1: (/nin-ġu<sub>10</sub> ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> nam-me-a/ “Oh my sister! If the open-air shrines did not exist!”). See also VS 10: 215 (VAT 5798), rev. 2 (*šu-te-eb-ri-i šu-li-li i-na ib-ra-tim*).

<sup>278</sup> SBH V (VAT 554+) iii 13 and CT 24:33 (K.4349), v 36 (see CAD I, s.v. *ibratu*).

<sup>279</sup> Cf. *PRAK* B 245 (PSK 551), obv. 2'; *PRAK* B 277 (PSK 555), obv. 6'-7'; *PRAK* C 9 (PSK 514), rev. 7'; and many examples in *PRAK* C 118 (PSK 603).

There is one recurring theme in the unduplicated Kiš liturgies: the first person speech of a goddess who laments over things belonging to her. Four very common forms of this are the lament over /e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ “my house,” /uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ “my city,” /dam-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ “my spouse,” and /dumu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ “my child.” We see in *PRAK B 447* (PSK 582), rev. iii 2’-3’ (e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub> uru<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub> // dam-ĝu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub> dumu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub>) “Where is my house? Where is my city? Where is my spouse? Where is my child?” This grouping is also found in *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), rev. 10’-11’, lines that duplicate a portion of Uruamairabi (NCBT 688, rev. 1-2): (e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> di-da uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> di-da // dam-ĝu<sub>10</sub> di-da dumu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> di-da) “Saying, ‘My house!’ Saying, ‘My city!’ Saying, ‘My spouse!’ Saying, ‘My child!’” Thus, while this first-person lament theme is not restricted to the Kiš unduplicated corpus, it focuses on the lamenting goddess, further supporting the conclusion that this motif is a very common feature of the unduplicated lamentational liturgies at Kiš.

As expected, the type of lament that most frequently occurs among the unduplicated liturgies concerns the goddess as she mourns over the loss of her city. Given the locally modified features that are found in many of these unduplicated laments, this suggests that the liturgies locally composed for ritual performance at the site focused on Inana or another lamenting goddess. This is consistent with the evidence seen in the duplicates of known laments from Kiš, as the majority of the tablets preserve manuscripts of Balaĝs focused on Inana.

*PRAK B 471 (PSK 511)*

*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), a fairly well preserved, unduplicated Balaĝ, was selected as a case study in order to identify particular local features seen in the Kiš corpus that

appear in the text itself. The text preserved on the tablet is almost certainly a Balaĝ, with two sets of double rulings extant on the obverse of a four-column tablet; thus, there are at least three kirugus present on the tablet. Line 10 of obverse, column i, appears to have a /20/ mark, which would likely indicate that 10 lines are missing from the top of the tablet.

The first kirugu preserves a temple litany that contains at least nine sacred building names or titles. Of these nine buildings, the names of at least five are unknown outside of this text; these include: e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra (obv. i 2), e<sub>2</sub>-gal-kalam-ma-da (obv. i 3), e<sub>2</sub>-gal-u<sub>3</sub>-tu (obv. i 4), e<sub>2</sub>-ki-us<sub>2</sub>-sa (obv. i 5), and e<sub>2</sub>-ĝarza<sub>2</sub>-ka-na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> (obv. i 8). Additionally, at the end of rev. iv, line 20, we see the TN e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ša<sub>3</sub>-ab-sin<sub>2</sub>-na, which also appears to be unduplicated elsewhere. The appearance of so many temples or sacred buildings in one text that are apparently unknown in other sources may indicate a local modification that is idiosyncratic to this composition, if not to the Kiš liturgical corpus.

In the second kirugu of *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), we see another entire kirugu that appears to have no known duplicate in the OB or later periods. The text is a litany of divine epithets of Aruru, including /egi<sub>2</sub>/ “princess,” /munus/ “woman,” /ab<sub>2</sub>/ “cow,” /<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru/, and /nin<sub>9</sub> gal mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “elder sister of Enlil.” Though we cannot say for certain that these kirugus were unduplicated elsewhere in the OB (we do not have a complete OB lamentational corpus), it is noteworthy that much of the content of the Balaĝ does not appear in other OB or first-millennium liturgies.

Another local feature that can be seen in the Kiš liturgies is the presence of a litany or group of lines that are duplicated in another text, but contain a distinct incipit and perhaps a unique second line. For example, the kirugu incipit in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 18’ is unduplicated elsewhere, as is the following line (obv. i 19’). However,



beginning with obv. i 20', the text clearly duplicates the Balaĝ Diĝir Pae (see commentary in Appendix B).

Just as striking is the variation seen in the second half of many of the duplicated lines in the Balaĝ. Although lines 20ff are apparently meant to duplicate a known *Versatzstück* seen in other Balaĝs (as are lines rev. iv 8'-12', duplicated lines of diĝir pa-e<sub>3</sub> [Diĝir Pae]), the repeated second half of each line is distinct in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) (/edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/). This is also true of the other duplicate of this Balaĝ that was found at Kiš, *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530); lines obv. 2-8 duplicate this section, but the second half of the line varies from the other two manuscripts, and reads (/an-ta [...]/). Additionally, the incipit of *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) is distinct from the other two duplicates (see bolded sections below):

***PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) = A**  
***PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) = B**  
**Diĝir Pae (BM 96568) = C**

### Double Ruling

A, obv. i 18': **edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su /**  
**u<sub>4</sub> a-ba edin-na še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> edin-na 'gu<sub>3</sub>'-ni ul-li-am<sub>3</sub>**

A, obv. i 19': **u<sub>4</sub> a-ba edin-na a-ba-a ba-kal-e e-en gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>**

A, obv. i 20':	<sup>d</sup> mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup> šul-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	<b>edin-na i-ni-ib-su</b>
B, obv. 2':	<sup>d</sup> mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup> šul-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	<b>'an'-ta 'x'</b>
C, obv. 2':	mu-tin <sup>d</sup> šul-pa-e <sub>3</sub>	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a ħur-saĝ-'e'</b>

A, obv. i 21':	egi da-ta ur <sub>3</sub> -ra	<b>edin-na i-ni-ib-'su'</b>
B, obv. 3':	'egi <sub>2</sub> ' da-ta ur <sub>3</sub> -ra'	<b>an-ta [...]</b>
C, obv. 3':	egi <sub>2</sub> dadag ur <sub>3</sub> -ra	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>

A, obv. i 22':	'ušum' maḥ lu <sub>2</sub> edin-na	<b>edin-&lt;na&gt; i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su</b>
B, obv. 4':	ušum maḥ lu <sub>2</sub> ' edin-na	<b>an-ta [...]</b>
C, obv. 4':	ušum maḥ mu-lu u <sub>2</sub> -te-na	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>

A, obv. i 23 <sup>o</sup> :	[lu <sub>2</sub> ] ʿtur <sub>3</sub> ʿin-gul-e	<b>edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su</b>
B, obv. 5:	mu-lu tur <sub>3</sub> in-gul-e	<b>an-ta [...]</b>
C, obv. 5:	mu-lu tur <sub>3</sub> in-gul-e	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>
A, obv. i 24 <sup>o</sup> :	lu <sub>2</sub> amaš in-bu-e	<b>edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su</b>
B, obv. 6:	[lu <sub>2</sub> ] ʿamaš <sup>1</sup> ʿin <sup>1</sup> -ʿbu <sup>1</sup> -e	<b>an-ta [...]</b>
C, obv. 6:	mu-lu amaš <<in>> in-bu-re	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>
A, obv. i 25 <sup>o</sup> :	ʿki <sup>1</sup> -en-gi mu-un-ḥul-ʿla <sup>2</sup>	<b>ʿedin<sup>1</sup>-ʿna<sup>1</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-ʿib<sup>1</sup>-[su]</b>
B, obv. 7:	[ ... ] mu-un-ʿḥul <sup>1</sup> -ʿla <sup>2</sup>	<b>[...]</b>
C, obv. 7:	ki-en-gi mu-un-ḥul-a	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>
A, obv. i 26 <sup>o</sup> :	[GAL].ʿBUR <sub>2</sub> ʿsaḡ-ḡi <sub>6</sub> -ge mu-un-til- [...]	
B, obv. 8:	[...] mu-ʿlu <sup>2</sup> ʿx <sup>1</sup> [...]	
C, obv. 8:	ušumgal saḡ-ḡi <sub>6</sub> mu-lu til-e	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>
A, obv. i 27 <sup>o</sup> :	[...]-ʿeš <sup>1</sup> tur <sub>3</sub> -ra-ri	<b>edin-na [...]</b>
C, obv. 9:	u <sub>4</sub> te-eš tur <sub>3</sub> -ra a ri	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>
A, obv. i 28 <sup>o</sup> :	[...] ʿamaš <sup>1</sup> a ri	<b>edin-na ʿi<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ib-su]</b>
C, obv. 10:	u <sub>4</sub> te-eš amaš a ri	<b>pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a</b>

As demonstrated above by the bolded text, following the double ruling (which indicates the beginning of a new kirugu), there are two lines that are unduplicated in any known lament, and do not appear in the Balaḡ Diḡir Pae. Following these two lines, the litany is duplicated in each manuscript for at least seven lines; however, the second half of each line preserves a different refrain. This phenomenon is also seen in *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), rev. 3-6 (following a double ruling as well). Although there is no variant incipit, the litany is duplicated in the first-millennium duplicate BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879), rev. 25-29 (see Appendix A for score, transliteration, and commentary). However, as above, the second half of each line in the preserved portion of the litany differs from that which is seen in the Kiš source. It would appear, then, that the practice of copying the entirety or a portion of a section of a Balaḡ, but replacing the initial lines (and sometimes portions of the individual lines) with variant text may have been common at Kiš.

In summation, *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) appears to preserve local modifications that are either unique to Kiš, or very common among the corpus. This Aruru Balaĝ follows the motif of the lamenting goddess, and preserves several kirugus that are largely unduplicated among the OB and first millennium sources. Additionally, the practice of inserting 1-2 lines at the beginning of a generally duplicated kirugu is seen in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511). Finally, the pattern of varying the refrain in a given Balaĝ, even among different Kiš sources, can also be seen in the text.

### *Conclusion*

As observed by Gabbay, litanies that are used to construct lamentational liturgies can also be used to identify local traditions and theological emphases from the OB period through the first millennium. The appropriation of local litanies into the process of standardization of the first-millennium compositions and corpus indicates the incorporation of a theological tradition from that particular city.<sup>280</sup> In Gabbay's investigation, the replacement of city-specific proper nouns in a particular litany is evidence for this type of local tradition. In this chapter, I have sought to demonstrate that, while replacements of such nouns are clearly indicative of local traditions, they are not the only means by which one can see these types of city-specific modifications.

As Gabbay observes, there are clear examples of the deletion or replacement of proper nouns with local toponyms. A clear number of examples can be seen in a well preserved OB duplicate of the Balaĝ Uruamairabi, NCBT 688 (see above). When compared to the Kiš sources, we see Urukian nouns such as /kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>/ and /ama unug<sup>ki</sup>/ “mother of Uruk” that are simply deleted from the Kiš texts. There are also clear

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<sup>280</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 193.

replacements, where NCBT 688 contains forms such as /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/ and /ga-ša-an ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “lady of the Gipar,” that are replaced by /ḥur-saĝ-kalam-ma/ and /ama ki-ša/ “mother of Kiš,” respectively.

I also sought to demonstrate that, in at least one instance, the line order found in the Kiš sources agreed with one another against the text preserved in NCBT 688; this line sequence would later appear in a *Versatzstück* found in the first-millennium Balaĝ Ašer Gita (K.11150). Thus, the transmission of this variant northern sequence was maintained to some extent in the first-millennium sources. In addition, it was shown that several Kiš duplicates of known laments preserve litanies that are found in other OB and first-millennium sources, but contain variant features. We saw that several Kiš sources preserve variant kirugu incipits (and sometimes an additional variant second line), such as *PRAK D 45* and *PRAK B 322+*. Furthermore, in the litanies themselves, the initial portion of each line would be duplicated in the available sources, but the refrain found in the second half of the line would vary completely; this was seen in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) and *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523) and their duplicates.

We also saw that the motif of the lamenting goddess is quite common at Kiš in both the duplicated and unduplicated laments. For example, seven of the twelve OB sources that contain a popular Inana sequence come from Kiš. In addition, in the unduplicated liturgies (which are very common at Kiš), the epithet /ga-ša-an/ “lady” appears very frequently. The many references to “my X” (house, city, spouse, child) further support the conclusion that the lamenting goddess as the primary subject of the liturgies found at the site. Finally, there were other features, such as the presence of unknown temple names in laments such as *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) and the frequent use

of the noun /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ “outdoor shrine” (very frequently dedicated to Ištar in the first millennium).

The local textual modifications (deletions, replacements, line-order sequences, etc.) seem to indicate that the priests creating these texts were following or creating local practices, modifying their liturgies to fit the needs of the rituals at the city. These textual and theological traditions were, at least in part, transmitted into the first millennium, and were incorporated into the standardized corpus of lamentational liturgies that permeated the ritual life of all of Mesopotamian society.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PHONETIC WRITINGS AT KIŠ

One of the characteristic features of the numerous lamentational liturgies that appear in the Kiš corpus is the presence of phonetic or unorthographic writings that are preserved in many of the manuscripts. These syllabic spellings deviate from normal orthographic conventions as they attempt to represent the text phonetically; thus, these deviant spellings have been sometimes labeled “unorthographic.” Although the degree to which a particular text is composed with phonetic writings varies from text to text, a large number of these liturgies (and a few of the literary duplicates) contain at least some of these syllabic spellings. The goals of this chapter will be 1) to identify the patterns or rules that were used to compose a text phonetically and 2) to determine the most likely purpose for composing in this phonetic style in both lamentational and literary texts.

#### *History of Research*

Research has been conducted into phonetic writings since the 1960's; however, analysis was often limited to a small number of duplicates and did not take into account phonetic forms from an entire corpus. More recently, a corpus-based approach to phonetic writings has led to new methods for approaching liturgical texts composed in this phonetic style.

In the 1960's, both Eugene Bergmann and Joachim Krecher published editions of phonetically written texts.<sup>281</sup> In 1964-65, Bergmann published two articles, in which he provided editions of four phonetic texts, analyzing the various syllabic writings in his commentary.<sup>282</sup> In similar fashion, Krecher published editions of a handful of texts spanning two articles,<sup>283</sup> including a more detailed discussion of the phonetic writings in a lengthy introductory section. His first article summarized the history of phonetically written texts and provided an extensive list of unorthographic texts that were known to him at the time.<sup>284</sup> It was in this article that Krecher coined the term “unorthographisch” to refer to phonetically written texts, a label that is still in use today. These articles not only provided the field with a list of all known phonetic texts, but also demonstrated an effective methodology for editing phonetically written compositions. However, no systematic study of the phonetic forms was completed, and no overall patterns were identified by either Bergmann or Krecher in the handful of texts that were treated.

A decade later, Ralph Kutscher edited the Balaĝ a-ab-ba ɥu-luɥ-ɥa “Oh Angry Sea;” two of the manuscripts that preserve the Balaĝ were composed phonetically. Using only these duplicates (one manuscript preserved only five lines), Kutscher identified and analyzed several phonetic patterns that appear in the text (e.g., consonantal and vocalic changes, contractions, and Sandhi writings). Analyzing this small amount of data, he drew basic conclusions concerning some of the phonetic changes, and hypothesized that

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<sup>281</sup> In a very brief article, Falkenstein also edited a small, phonetically written Emesal text (Falkenstein 1952-53).

<sup>282</sup> Bergmann 1964: 1-43 and 1965: 31-42.

<sup>283</sup> Krecher 1967a: 16-65 and 1967-68: 252-77.

<sup>284</sup> Krecher 1967a: 25-30.

the syllabic texts were meant to train **gala**-priests in the recitation of the laments.<sup>285</sup>

While no significant conclusions were drawn at the end of the section (primarily because only two manuscripts made up his data set), his study was significant, in that it established a methodology for categorizing phonological changes in phonetic texts.<sup>286</sup>

More recently, Delnero developed a more sophisticated methodology for calculating how much of a particular duplicate was composed in a phonetic writing style.<sup>287</sup> He divided the various portions of the individual Sumerian lines into smaller grammatical units or “elements.” He then determined how many of these elements were written phonetically, and calculated the ratio of phonetic writings to those in normal orthography. Just as significant was his analysis and categorization of the individual phonetic forms. Building on Kutscher’s classification system, he compiled and categorized all phonetic spellings that appeared in a specified group of highly syllabic texts. In the end, he demonstrated that the phonetic duplicates were not erroneous writings,<sup>288</sup> but were “deliberate attempts to make the words and forms in the text easier to pronounce when the compositions were performed.”<sup>289</sup> His article not only provided the means to calculate more accurately the amount of phonetic writing that was used to compose a given manuscript, but also clearly demonstrated that the phonetic forms were

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<sup>285</sup> Kutscher 1975: 22-23. “It is our belief that text B is extra-canonical and served as an aid in the teaching of the composition (to the gala priests?) which had to be recited during services. The partly syllabic lines in text C served a similar purpose.”

<sup>286</sup> A similar style of phonetic data gathering was completed by Anne Löhnert in her 2009 study (Löhnert 2009: 453-457); however, she simply listed the forms that are in normal orthography alongside the phonetic forms with neither discussion nor categorization.

<sup>287</sup> Delnero 2015: 87-118.

<sup>288</sup> Reiner and Civil 1967: 209. Commenting on the syllabic orthography found in a liturgical duplicate, Civil argues, “The expansion of syllabic writing coincides with a period in the transmission of Sumerian literature in which the manuscript tradition branches profusely, shows a great freedom of writing habits *and an increasing lack of understanding of the contents* . . . Comparison of the rest of the tablet with the standard version of the series makes inescapable the conclusion that the Copenhagen tablet (CNMA 10051) *represents the work of some scribe unfamiliar with the rules of Sumerian orthography*, who knew by heart, and not very well at that, the series **am-e bara<sub>2</sub>-na-ra**” [emphasis mine].

<sup>289</sup> Delnero 2015: 115.



not the result of decline in the understanding of Sumerian, but were part of a method to aid in the oral performance of lamentational liturgies.

To date, scholars have studied and categorized some of the changes that appear in phonetic forms, culminating most recently in the work of Delnero on the corpus of highly syllabic compositions. However, the OB liturgical texts from Kiš, which are replete with phonetic writings, have undergone no systematic study with respect to the phonetically written texts. Therefore, this chapter will be dedicated to examining all phonetic writings that appear in the Kiš corpus in order to identify consistently used patterns in their application, and to determine the purpose of these phonetic writings in both the lamentational and literary texts.

### *Methodology*

In order to achieve the objectives stated in the introduction to this chapter, I will first analyze the phonetic writings found in the Kiš corpus; this will allow me to determine any patterns or rules that may have been followed when composing the syllabic portions of these texts. I will begin by dividing the phonetic texts found at Kiš into three distinct categories based on how certain we can be about what the phonetic spellings are intended to represent.<sup>290</sup>

To the Category 1 texts belong those duplicates that preserve phonetic portions of liturgical or literary texts that are duplicated elsewhere, primarily (but not exclusively) in the OB period. Because these texts are duplicated in other compositions or *Versatzstücke*,

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<sup>290</sup> Phonetic forms often vary to such a great extent from normal orthography that the words or grammatical elements that they represent are notoriously difficult to identify when they are unduplicated. See Delnero 2015: 109. “For example, in VAT 1419 (VS 2: 94), a source for an Ershemma to Inana, the scribe writes nearly every word in the text phonetically. The words in this source deviate from their standard forms to such a large extent that it would be impossible in most instances to identify the intended words without the other duplicates containing the same lines written in normal orthography. Examples include the forms **u<sub>3</sub>-ki maš** for **ud<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>** in l. 13 and **a-ya-gu-ra nam-ta-ar** for **a-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra nam-tar** in l. 23.”

we can be more certain that, when the scribes wrote the phonetic forms, they were in fact attempting to syllabically represent an identifiable word or grammatical element. For example, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 5, we see the form /ama-sa/. Because we know that *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) is a duplicate of the well known Balaĝ Uruamairabi, and this line falls in a sequence of a long series of duplicated lines, we can be certain that, in the position in which /ama-sa/ is found, /ama-sa/ is clearly a phonetic spelling of /amaš/. Similarly, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 8, the form /ma<sub>3</sub>-ri-ta/ is a clear syllabic writing of /me-ri-ta/. Therefore, texts that duplicate sections of known compositions (in part or in their entirety) will be included in the group of phonetic writings marked Category 1, and will be the primary basis for determining the phonetic spelling patterns at Kiš.<sup>291</sup>

The texts in Category 2 primarily represent liturgies from Kiš that are not duplicates of other texts, but contain words or forms that I believe are relatively clear. A good example would be *PRAK C 51* (PSK 594), obv. 5', where we see the forms /mu-lu a-še-ra-me<sub>2</sub>-en/. There are no duplicates of this line, but it seems reasonably certain that it should be understood as /mu-lu a-še-er-ra-me-en/. Similarly, in *PRAK C 34* (PSK 591), obv. 4' and 5', the pair /dub<sub>2</sub>/ and /saĝ<sub>3</sub>/ appear phonetically as /an al-dub-a-ni/ in obv. 4' and as /ki in-saĝ-ga/ in obv. 5'. Though there are no exact duplicates known for these lines, the common pairing of these verbs makes this identification reasonably certain.

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<sup>291</sup> It should be noted, however, that there are certain sections in Category 1 texts that appear to deviate from the known composition; this is, of course, common amongst liturgical (and sometimes literary) duplicates. In these instances, we will be far more cautious in our use of these syllabic forms. In addition, there are phonetic forms that appear in texts that are not duplicates of known compositions, but of which we can be almost certain about what they represent, based on the context. A good example of this would be *OECT 5*, 10 (PSK 612), a lament of Aruru; though most of the text is unduplicated in other manuscripts, the content in most cases is almost certain, and can, therefore, be added to Category 1.

Therefore, we will also utilize many of the syllabic spellings from Category 2 texts as we attempt to generate a set of phonetic patterns.<sup>292</sup>

Finally, Category 3 texts are those that may contain phonetic writings, but because there are no duplicates of the passages in which they occur, and the surrounding context does not make the meaning of the line clear, I cannot determine what the scribe intended in these syllabic forms with any reasonable certainty. A good example would be PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), rev. 1'-4', where we see the repeated form /gi-ri-lu-še-en/, which could represent /giri<sub>16</sub>-i-lu<sup>mušen</sup>/. This *girgilu* bird does appear in at least one lamentational liturgy (a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa, YBC 4659, obv. 23), which leads me to believe that this identification may be accurate.<sup>293</sup> However, because the text is not a duplicate of a composition known at present, it is difficult (perhaps currently impossible) to know if /gi-ri-lu<sup>še-en</sup>/ was intended to be the syllabic representation of /giri<sub>16</sub>-i-lu<sup>mušen</sup>/. Because of this uncertainty, Category 3 examples will not be included in our calculations.

Once the phonetic patterns are established, it will be useful to compare them to a phonetic writing system that was already established during the OB period: the lexical series OB Ea. As this system was already in place, and also well known to the scribal class, it is important to determine if there is a connection between the Kiš phonetic writings and orthography of OB Ea. I will attempt, therefore, to develop the same types of patterns or rules that were used to syllabically represent the various lexemes or syllables in OB Ea, using this information to identify similarities and/or differences between OB Ea and the Kiš texts in order to determine if OB Ea was the basis for the Kiš phonetic spellings.

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<sup>292</sup> As in Category 1 texts, there will be forms that are unclear in Category 2 texts, and even more caution will be used in including these in our analysis.

<sup>293</sup> Cf. Veldhuis 2004: 244-246 for a discussion of the *girgilu* bird.

Just as critical to understanding the patterns of the phonetic spellings is the purpose behind the writings themselves. I will seek to identify this purpose by first analyzing the types of lexemes that appear in syllabic form. For example, if the words that are most often phonetically written were those that are particularly common to laments, it may indicate that there is a specific connection between the lamentational liturgies and syllabic writings. However, if the more common phonetic lexemes found in the literary texts seem specific to the literary corpus, it may be that the phonetic writings were tailored to the particular text being composed. I will, therefore, identify the most common lexemes that appear in the liturgical and literary texts from Kiš and provide comparative analysis of the patterns that emerge.

Secondly, I will determine the amount of phonetic spellings that occur in the various phonetically written texts that were found at Kiš. It is difficult to accurately quantify the amount of text preserved on each source, as the majority of the Kiš tablets are preserved only in fragmentary form; simply counting the number of extant lines would not provide an accurate determination of the amount of preserved text, as one duplicate might contain three full lines, while another might preserve only the initial portion of ten lines. Therefore, another method of calculation must be found.

Utilizing a system recently created by Delnero, I will determine the amount of text that is preserved on any given tablet fragment by counting two types of elements: Word Units and Grammatical Elements.<sup>294</sup> A Word Unit (hereafter WU) is defined as a lexical item that forms the base or essential element of a given word, such as a verbal base, an adjective, or a noun. A Grammatical Element (hereafter GE) is anything that can be attached to the WU, such as a case marker, a verbal prefix, or a grammatical postfix.

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<sup>294</sup> Delnero 2015: 111-12.

For example, if we consider the verbal form /ba-ni-in-ġar/, I would identify /ġar/, the verbal base, as a WU, with /ba-/, /-ni-/, and /-in-/ as GE's, as they are attached to the WU. Thus, if this verbal form were the only preserved text on a tablet, that particular manuscript would have one WU and three GE's, a total of four preserved forms. In order to accurately calculate how much of a text is phonetic, I will identify and count the number of WU's and GE's that are written with phonetic spellings. The number of phonetic WU's, GE's, and the combination of these two will be presented both as numbers and percentages.

Following the gathering and analysis of the above-mentioned data, I will attempt to identify the general purpose of these phonetic writings in the lamentational corpus. It will also be important to hypothesize about syllabic spellings that appear in literary texts. To this end, I will analyze the types of syllabic spellings that appear in the literary texts from Kiš, paying special attention to the complexity of both the phonetic spellings and the signs being replaced.

#### *Phonetic Patterns at Kiš*

As described above, the majority of the examples cited to determine the patterns or rules used when writing phonetic texts will come from Category 1 (duplicated) or Category 2 (unduplicated, but relatively certain) texts. I will describe the various types of phonetic writings that appear at Kiš, both in the liturgical and literary texts, beginning with the most frequently attested forms, citing clear examples of each type. In Appendix C, however, I will provide a thorough listing and analysis of all of the phonetic examples from the Kiš texts; see this appendix for detailed analysis of each of the types of replacements seen below. In many instances in Appendix C, a particular syllabic spelling

will appear in a form or a line that is either difficult or questionable with respect to its meaning; in these cases, commentary will be provided for that particular form or line. I begin here with the most frequently attested type of phonetic writing among the liturgical and literary texts: homophonous sign replacement.

*Homophonous Sign Replacement.* The most common form of phonetic change that occurs in the Kiš corpus is the replacement of one sign value with another phonetically homophonous sign value. For example, a scribe might choose to replace the common word /du<sub>11</sub>/ “to speak” with /du/; both signs produce the sound /\*du/. Below are several examples taken from the Kiš corpus where a sign is replaced with another phonetically homophonous sign.

**Table 5.1. Examples of homophonous sign replacement**

Text	Homophonous Sign	Normal Orthography
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), rev. iv 3	mu-un-du <sub>8</sub>	mu-un-du
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 1-2	ga-an-na-ab-du	ga-na-ab-du <sub>11</sub>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK</i> D 41, obv. ii 7')	bi-du <sub>11</sub> -ga	bi <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 14'	bi-zu-zu	bi <sub>2</sub> -zu-zu
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 5	e-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>2</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 45+ (PSK 447), rev. 7 & 8	ba-ni-ib <sub>2</sub> -ti	ba-ni-ib-ti
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. 1'-2'	ḥa-ma-gi-gi	ḥa-ma-gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> B 348 (PSK 504), obv. 6'	me	me <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 5'	nu-a-ni	nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ni
<i>PRAK</i> C 9 (PSK 514), obv. 3'	gu <sub>3</sub>	gu <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 8-10	ku	ku <sub>3</sub>

*One sign replaced with two or more signs.* Very frequent among the phonetic changes appearing at Kiš is the division of a single sign (or *diri*-compound) into two or more signs. A good example might be the form /ḡal<sub>2</sub>/; the scribe will often divide this

phonetic value into two separate syllables, written with the two signs /ġa<sub>2</sub>-la/. The most common method for dividing a single sign (or *diri*-compound) into two or more signs involves the following process. First, the initial consonant and vowel are separated from the final consonant of the form. Because the final consonant of the CVC sign is separated from the remainder of the form, there is no need for the final consonant to be reduplicated in the second syllable; thus, it is deleted. The consonant of the second syllable cannot stand alone, however, so a vowel is added, most frequently appearing in the position following the consonant. If there is a vocalic case marker present in the form, the final vowel will normally appear as said case marker. However, in the absence of a case marker, an /a/ vowel will normally appear appended to the final consonant. Exceptions to this rule are vowels that appear to be colored by the vowel of the first syllable. However, this type of phonetic representation appears to have a distinct exception; when the sign being divided has a multi-syllabic value, the scribe will divide the sign along the existing syllabic divisions, with no change in the syllables themselves (other than consonant or vowel replacement). For example, /šurim/ written /šu-rim/, rather than with the forms /šu-ri-ma/.

Below are several examples of this type of division.

**Table 5.2. Examples of single sign division into two or more signs**

Text	Divided Syllable	Normal Orthography
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 13'	ġa-pa- <i>di</i> -ma	ġa-ma- <i>dim</i> <sub>2</sub> -ma
<i>PRAK C</i> 92 (PSK 527), obv. 12'	tu-pa	dub <sub>2</sub> -ba
<i>PRAK C</i> 122 (PSK 531), rev. 16	gi- <i>gu</i> -na	gi- <i>gun</i> <sub>4</sub> -na
<i>PRAK B</i> 240 (PSK 549), obv. 3'	eš- <i>ba</i> -ra	eš- <i>bar</i> -ra
<i>PRAK C</i> 32 (PSK 517), obv. 6'-7'	i-re	ir <sub>2</sub> -re
<i>PRAK C</i> 66+ (PSK 523), obv. 1'-4'	nu-mu-un- <i>pa</i> -de <sub>3</sub>	nu-mu-un- <i>pad</i> <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. ii 8'	mi-ni-ib <sub>2</sub> - <i>šu</i> -mu	mu-ni-ib- <i>šum</i> <sub>2</sub> -mu

When reading a phonetically written text, it can sometimes be difficult to determine the meaning behind a vocalic ending of a phonetic form that is divided into two syllables. From the examples shown above, it can be reasonably determined that the vocalic grammatical case markers that appear in normal orthography are often represented in the phonetic texts, usually with the same value as seen in normal orthography (e.g., /dim<sub>2</sub>-ma/ represented /di-ma/). We can conclude, at least, that the scribes could have (and most likely) attempted to add vowels to the separated consonant in the second syllable to represent a grammatical element. As we will see below, however, there are a few examples where a vowel is added to the separated consonant, which apparently carries no grammatical meaning.

I will attempt to demonstrate that there are a few cases in which a CVC syllable is represented CV-CV, but with the second vowel ostensibly carrying no grammatical meaning. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 41, the phrase /piš<sub>10</sub> nu-zu-gin<sub>7</sub>/ “like one, who does not know the shore” is phonetically written in the Kiš text as /bi-ša nu-zu-bi/. It seems clear that /piš<sub>10</sub>/, the object of the verb /zu/, should take the absolutive form, similar to the proverbial phrase /lu<sub>2</sub> kaš nu-zu-gin<sub>7</sub>/ “like a man who does not know beer.”<sup>295</sup> However, the phonetic writing contains an /a/ vowel, which appears to have no grammatical meaning. Another possible example of this may be seen in *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11', where the phrase /gu<sub>2</sub>-bar ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-x/ is written /[...] -ba-ru ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ka/ appears to phonetically represent /bar/ with the two syllables /ba-ru/. The /u/ vowel

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<sup>295</sup> Proverbs Collection 26, Segment C, line 12 (CT 58, 69 [BM 80001], rev. vii 18).



appears to link the syllable /ru/ to the following /ur<sub>4</sub>/.<sup>296</sup> Thus, it seems more likely that this /u/ (colored to /u/ by the following vowel) is anaptyctic and carries no grammatical meaning. This line is also duplicated in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 4 (/ [x]-ba?-x-ru ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ri/), and though it is broken, it seems to follow the same pattern as *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11’.

Thus, in this type of phonetic writing, if a final vowel is present in the second syllable, it likely indicates a grammatical morpheme. In the majority of the cases, this vowel mirrors the value of the vowel written in standard orthography. However, as we have seen, in some instances, the final vowel appended to the end of the second syllable is anaptyctic, and carries no grammatical meaning. Thus, it is possible that, given an unduplicated phonetic text, one need not always search for a meaning in the final vowel, particularly if the context does not require the presence of a grammatical morpheme in the phonetic form.

Another method for dividing a single sign (or *diri*-compound) into two syllables involves separating the second consonant from the syllable and placing a vowel *before* the second, separated consonant. For example, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 13’, the form /a-gin<sub>7</sub>/ appears as /e-ge-en/, not \*/e-ge-na/, as might be expected.<sup>297</sup> In *OECT 5*, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 2 and 3, we see both /bur/ (obv. 2) and /bur-ra/ (obv. 3) written with /bu-ur/.<sup>298</sup> In *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), obv. 4’, the form in normal orthography /šu-mar-gi<sub>4</sub>/ is written /šu-ma-ar-gi/.<sup>299</sup> As these examples show, the majority of cases where a

<sup>296</sup> This seems superfluous as a Sandhi writing; we might expect, instead, \*/[...]ba-ru-ra-ka/.

<sup>297</sup> The reading /ge-en/ for /gin<sub>7</sub>/ supports the proposed reading /gen<sub>7</sub>/ in Mittermayer 2006: 28, sign #67.

<sup>298</sup> Notice that the grammatical element in obv. 3 is not represented in the phonetic spelling, as the consonant is no longer fronted in the second syllable.

<sup>299</sup> A slightly more complex example appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 32, where the form /mu-un-gur<sub>11</sub>-ni-ta/ is written /ma-gi-ur/. In *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), obv. 3’ (Category 2), it appears that /sig<sub>3</sub>/ is represented by /si-ig/, though the line is broken. Twice in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 1, the phrase

CVC sign or *diri*-compound is divided into the form CV-VC, the internal vowels remain consistent with the form in normal orthography.<sup>300</sup>

The final form that we will investigate in this section is the division of a multi-syllable sign or *diri*-compound along the lines of the existing syllables, without varying the vowel or consonant order. A good example of this appears in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 14 with the form /<sup>d</sup>en-da-šurim-ma/, which is written phonetically as /<sup>d</sup>en-da-šu-rim-ma/. Also in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), rev. 15, the divine name /<sup>d</sup>ušumgal-an-na/ is similarly divided, written /<sup>d</sup>ušum-gal-an-na/. In both instances, it is clear that both the single sign (šurim) and the *diri*-compound (ušumgal = GAL.BUR<sub>2</sub>) are divided along the existing lines of syllabic division.

*Deletion of phonetically superfluous consonant.* Another type of phonetic spelling involves the deletion of a phonetically superfluous consonant. As I have shown above, one of the most common phonetic spelling methods is the division of a (C)VC sign into two signs, arranged in the form (C)V-CV. In the majority of these cases, a grammatical element is attached to the second consonant in the (C)VC sign; in each case, the Auslaut is deleted, as it is phonetically superfluous. Another example of this type of deletion can be seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 5, where the verbal form /am<sub>3</sub>-mi-in-du<sub>8</sub>/ is written simply /a-mi-du/; the phonetically superfluous /m/ is deleted from the verbal prefix.

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/šud<sub>3</sub>-da/ “in prayer” is written /šu-ud-da/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 2, the verbal form /ba-ab-tag/ appears as /ba-ab-ti-ib/. Finally, there are three occurrences in *PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), obv. 3’-5’ (Category 2), of /til<sub>3</sub>/ being represented by /ti-il/.

<sup>300</sup> In *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), obv. 1’-2’, we see the verbal prefix /nam-/ represented with /na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-/, but this could just as easily (and more likely) the Emesal writing of /nam-/.

*Deletion of consonant.* In addition to the deletion of phonetically superfluous consonants, there is also a general tendency for phonetically written texts to delete or assimilate consonants (and sometimes vowels). Examples of this type of deletion can be seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 3 and ii 6', where /gul-gul/ is written /gul-ul/, deleting the initial /g/ of the second syllable,<sup>301</sup> and in *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), obv. 3, where /dadag/ is shortened to /da-ta/, with a loss of a final /g/. See the chart below for additional examples.

**Table 5.3. Examples of the deletion of a consonant**

Text	Form with Deleted Consonant	Normal Orthography
<i>PRAK C 105</i> (PSK 530), obv. 3	da-ta	dadag
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 17'	nu-du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub> -e	ni-ib-dun <sub>4</sub> -dun <sub>4</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10' & 24'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 9	ḥu-ḥu-te	ḥul-ḥul-lu-de <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), rev. iii 3'	mu-du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub> -e	mu-du <sub>l</sub> -e-en
<i>PRAK C 122</i> (PSK 531), obv. 9	mu	mul
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 1	si-id-li	šen-dilim <sub>2</sub>

It can be said that the deletion of consonants in phonetic writings is almost exclusively the deletion of *final* consonants. In all of the above examples, the deleted consonant was in the ultimate position, save for one form: the reduplicated /gul-gul/, which is written in both *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) and *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527) as /gul-ul/. Outside of this writing, however, all Category 1 and 2 examples of consonant deletion show final consonant loss.

<sup>301</sup> This same writing (/gul-gul/ to /gul-ul/) is found in *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 11'.

*Sandhi writings.* There is a relatively high number of phonetic writings that fall into the category of Sandhi writings, which connect morphemes or lexemes across internal or external word boundaries.<sup>302</sup> An example of this type of phonetic spelling appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 1, where the standard orthographic form is represented /gu<sub>3</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-na/, while the phonetic duplicate reads /gu<sub>2</sub>-ru-na/. The word boundary between /gu<sub>3</sub>/ and /uru<sub>2</sub>/ is crossed, as pronouncing both the /u/ from /gu<sub>3</sub>/ and the initial /u/ from /uru<sub>2</sub>/ would likely have required a glottal stop. Once removed, these two words could be pronounced as one, resulting in a Sandhi writing. See further examples of this phenomenon below.

**Table 5.4. Examples of Sandhi writings (internal and external)**

Text	Sandhi	Normal Orthography
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 1	gu <sub>2</sub> -ru-na	gu <sub>3</sub> uru <sub>2</sub> -na
<i>OECT 5</i> , 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 5'	nu-a-ne <sub>2</sub> -me-si	nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ni eme-sig
<i>OECT 5</i> , 37 (PSK 615), rev. 2'	us <sub>2</sub> -ḥa-ra	<sup>d</sup> u <sub>4</sub> -saḥar-ra
<i>OECT 5</i> , 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 8'	ab-si <sub>2</sub> -na-nam	ab <sub>2</sub> -sin <sub>2</sub> -na na-nam
<i>PRAK D 1+</i> (PSK 607), rev. 8-13	i-ra-na	ir <sub>2</sub> -ra a-na
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 5'	mu-ni-le	mu-un-il <sub>2</sub> -en

*Determinative deletion.* Another common feature among the Kiš phonetic texts is the deletion of determinatives. An example can be seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 18 and 19; the common DN /<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-le/ is written with the truncated form /mu-lil<sub>2</sub>(-le)/, with no determinative. Almost all Category 1 examples of determinative deletion show the loss of the divine determinative (see Appendix C for examples).

<sup>302</sup> For a full discussion of Sandhi, see Allen 1962: 13-19.

*Vocalic changes.* There are a number of vocalic changes that take place in the Kiš texts in the various phonetically written forms. Some of the more common vocalic changes are shown below.

**Table 5.5. Examples of vocalic changes**

Text	Phonetic Form	Normal Orthography	Type of Shift
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 17'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>	/i/ to /e/
<i>PRAK C</i> 32 (PSK 517), obv. 8'	šeš	i-si-iš	/i/ to /e/
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 3'	i-ni-[x]	e-ne-eĝ <sub>3</sub>	/e/ to /i/
<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 1	si-id-li	šen-dilim <sub>2</sub>	/e/ to /i/
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 17'	ši-ki-ra	<sup>duḡ</sup> šakira	/a/ to /i/
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 11'	ba-gi-be <sub>2</sub> -en	ba-gub-be <sub>2</sub> -en	/u/ to /i/
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 8	ma <sub>3</sub> -ri	me-ri	/e/ to /a/

*Consonantal changes.* There are also consonantal changes that appear in phonetic writings. Below are some of the more common examples.

**Table 5.6. Examples of consonantal changes**

Text	Phonetic Form	Normal Orthography	Type of Shift
<i>PRAK C</i> 54 (PSK 595), rev. 4' & 6'	ka-ša-an	ga-ša-an	/g/ to /k/
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>	/g/ to /k/
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 09	te	de <sub>3</sub>	/d/ to /t/
<i>PRAK C</i> 92 (PSK 527), obv. 12'	an tu-pa	an dub <sub>2</sub> -ba	/d/ to /t/
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 11	du-qa	du <sub>11</sub> -ga	/g/ to /q/
<i>PRAK D</i> 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 1	ba-zi-qa	ba-zi-ga	/g/ to /q/
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 24	pad <sub>3</sub> -da-me-eš	ba-da-me-en-na	/b/ to /p/

#### *Decreasing Sign Complexity or Ambiguity*

In general, the signs used in phonetic writings in the liturgical texts show a shift from either more-to-less complex sign formations (i.e., fewer wedges or simpler shape),

or a shift to signs with fewer possible readings. For example, the most common replacement, /bi<sub>2</sub>/ to /bi/, shows both a movement from more-to-less complex sign formation, as well as a shift to a sign with fewer possible readings (from /NE/ to /BI/). The most common examples of this simplification are presented below.

We begin with homophonous sign replacement, where the lamentational texts show a fairly consistent pattern of either replacing a more complex sign with a simpler one, or replacing a sign with more possible readings with one with fewer. The change from /bi<sub>2</sub>/ to /bi/ (occurring 12 times), shows both characteristic features described above. The sign /NE/ is both more complex in shape than /BI/, and has many more possible readings. However, the change from /ib/ to /ib<sub>2</sub>/ (10 times), appears at first to present a strong counter example to this pattern. Not only is /ib<sub>2</sub>/ far more complex than /ib/ in form, but it also has more possible readings. However, all examples come from the *literary corpus*; phonetic writings in literary texts will be discussed in the conclusion.

The third example, /še<sub>3</sub>/ to /še/ (10 occurrences), follows the pattern of more-to-less complex, both in sign formation and in number of readings. The shift from /gi<sub>4</sub>/ to /gi/ (9 occurrences) shows a less complex sign formation, while each sign has the same number of available readings. The change from /la<sub>2</sub>/ to /la/ (9 occurrences), however, requires some attention; /la<sub>2</sub>/ is less complex in form than is /la/. It is possible, however, that /la<sub>2</sub>/ could be mistaken for /me/, /maš/, or /bar/, and /la/ was written to dispel this possible confusion.

The change from /nu<sub>2</sub>/ to /nu/ (9 examples) seems rather clear; /nu<sub>2</sub>/ is quite complex, while /nu/ is very simple and contains only one reading. The shift from /du<sub>11</sub>/ to /du/ is interesting, as it appears that both signs are roughly equal in complexity (KA

perhaps being a bit more complex), and both contain a number of different possible readings. Perhaps the /DU/ sign was instinctively read /du/ first in the mind of the reader, while /KA/ was not. It appears that the next example, /pa<sub>3</sub>/ to /pa/ (5 occurrences), fits the pattern as well; /pa<sub>3</sub>/ is more complex than /pa/. The same can be said for the change from /ku<sub>3</sub>/ to /ku/, although /KU/ has far more possible readings than /ku<sub>3</sub>/. Perhaps, as was suggested with /DU/, the /KU/ sign would have instinctively been first read /ku/, while /ku<sub>3</sub>/ may not have been as familiar to the reader.

There are five examples of the shift from /de<sub>3</sub>/ to /de/, which also seems quite clear, as the /de/ sign is both simpler and has far fewer readings than /NE/. The same is true for /mu<sub>2</sub>/, which is written phonetically as /mu/ (5 occurrences), as well /ne/ being written /ne<sub>2</sub>/. There are two counter examples (/ne<sub>2</sub>/ read as /ne/), but both come from the literary corpus. There are also five examples of /e<sub>2</sub>/ being written with /e/, a less complex sign, which has the same number of possible readings. Finally, the change from /me/ to /me<sub>2</sub>/ (/MI/) poses some difficulty; the /MI/ sign is much more complex, and contains more possible readings. In fact, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'-10', both forms contain what appears to be a phonetic complement /e/, likely to show that the /MI/ sign should be read /me<sub>2</sub>/. It is difficult to explain the use of the /MI/ sign in these cases.

We now turn to the writing of a single sign (or *diri*-compound) with two or more signs. The types of replacements seen in these forms appear to follow the same pattern of replacing complex/less-common forms with simple/more-common forms.

Most often, it appears that less common (or sometimes more complex) signs are replaced with two, far more common signs. A good example of this division is the sign /dub<sub>2</sub>/ written three times with the forms /tu-pa/, two signs that are rather simple and very

common. Another example is /gun<sub>4</sub>/, a sign which has several readings, depending on the context. However, at least twice it appears in the form /gu-na/, two signs which are common and unambiguous. The sign /mud/, an uncommon sign, is replaced with the frequently used /mu-da/. The value /dur<sub>5</sub>/, a reading of the extremely common sign /A/, is written instead with the two common signs /du-ra/. With the reading /gur<sub>11</sub>/, written with the /GA/ sign, we see instead the phonetic spelling /gu-ra/. The sign /gid<sub>2</sub>/ to /gi-de/ or /gi-da/, may have been written with these signs in order to ensure that /\*gid/ was pronounced, rather than any of the other several readings of /BU/. Finally, /bar/ is twice replaced with /ba-ra/ or /ba-ru/, as /bar/ could likely have been mistaken for the signs /me/, /maš/, or /la<sub>2</sub>/.

The three *diri*-compounds that are replaced among the phonetic texts are the TN /adab/ (UD.NUN) [3x], along with the forms /ir<sub>2</sub>/ (A.IGI) [7x] and /piš<sub>10</sub>/ (KI.A) [1x]. These forms were written phonetically as /a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/ or /a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/ (Adab), /i-ra/ (ir<sub>2</sub>), and /bi-ša/ (piš<sub>10</sub>).

Finally, into this category neatly falls the division of multi-syllable signs. Examples such as /<sup>d</sup>ušumgal-an-na/ being written /<sup>d</sup>ušum-gal-an-na/, /bara<sub>2</sub>/ appearing as /pa-ra/, and /gaba/ as /ga-ba/ show division along the lines of the individual syllables with no change in vowel or consonant position. Instead of the reader having to construct the pronunciation by first identifying the *diri*-compound or multi-syllable sign, they could simply read the individual syllables.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> There are some difficulties with this first explanation for these sign divisions. We see examples of apparently common signs, such as /saĝ/, /tar/, /šeš/, and /šum<sub>2</sub>/ that are also syllabically divided into /sa-ĝe<sub>26</sub>/, /ta-re/, /si-sa/, and /šu-mu/. In these cases, the word that is divided appears to be common enough that a reader with the understanding to read signs like /sa/, /ta/, /re/, and /šu/ should be able to read /saĝ/, /tar/, and /šeš/. However, it may well be that the purpose of the syllabic writing of a performative text was simply to divide it into syllables as often as possible; dividing these CVC signs may have simply been standard practice, whether the initial sign was common or not. Furthermore, if these texts were indeed



### *Frequently Used Lexemes*

I now turn to the various parts of speech that are most frequently represented in phonetic form. Identifying the forms that appear most often in syllabic form may indicate the types of words are more likely to appear phonetically, both in liturgical and literary texts (although the vast majority of examples come from the liturgical laments). As above, I will use both Category 1 and 2 examples as my data set, and I will identify and list these items based on their particular part of speech.

I begin with the verbal bases that occur most frequently. There are 200 examples of verbal bases in both Category 1 and 2 texts; I will identify all verbs that appear at least five times among those examples. The verb /gi<sub>4</sub>/ occurs nine times, most often written with the homophonous sign /gi/. Also appearing nine times is /la<sub>2</sub>/, written with a homophonous sign (/la/), and /nu<sub>2</sub>/, written primarily /nu/. The verb /du<sub>3</sub>/ occurs seven times, usually in the form /du/, while /ak/ appears six times, often written with internal Sandhi as part of the sign /na/. Also appearing six times is /gid<sub>2</sub>/, written /gi-di/, although all occurrences appear in *OECT* 5, 10 (PSK 612). The verb /ḫul<sub>2</sub>/, usually written /ḫul/, occurs six times as well, and /du<sub>11</sub>/ (as a verb) is seen five times, usually as /du/. The verb /mar/ occurs five times as well, appearing often as /ma-ar/ or /ma-re/, and both /pad<sub>3</sub>/ (/pa-de<sub>3</sub>/) and /ur<sub>11</sub>/ (/u<sub>3</sub>-ru/) occur five times as well.

There are 214 examples of nouns written phonetically in Category 1 and 2 texts; the most frequent is the noun /ir<sub>2</sub>/, usually appears as /i-ra/. Almost as often, we see the noun /a-še-er/ (11 examples), generally written /a-še-ra/. Seven times we see /e<sub>2</sub>/, usually written with the homophonous sign /e/, and six times the noun /a/ appears, often replaced

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composed in this syllabic style for the benefit of an Akkadian reader, then the division of such Sumerian forms would be appropriate.

by /e<sub>2</sub>/. The noun /a-a/ occurs six times, mostly represented by /a-ia/, and five times we see /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un/, mostly occurring as /u<sub>2</sub>-mu-un/. Five times the noun /bad<sub>3</sub>/ appears, almost always as /ba-de/, as with /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/, written five times with the form /gir-zal/, all occurring in *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528). Finally, we see /gu<sub>3</sub>/ written five times, usually with /gu<sub>4</sub>/, and the noun /i<sub>7</sub>/ appearing five times, mostly in the form /i/.

The remaining parts of speech that occur 5 times or more (adjectives, adverbs, and case markers) will be dealt with here; there are 43 examples of phonetic writings in these categories. The most frequent adjective to appear is /ku<sub>3</sub>/ (six examples), appearing in each case as /ku/. The adverb /na-nam/ is seen five times, but all five examples come from one section of *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) (rev. iii 1-4). The most common syllabically written case markers are /-de<sub>3</sub>/ (10 occurrences), usually written /de/ or /te/, /-še<sub>3</sub>/ (10 occurrences), written /še/, and /gin<sub>7</sub>/ (eight occurrences), written /ke<sub>4</sub>/ (all literary), /ġin/, or /ge-en/.

There are also syllabically written elements in the verbal chain, both in prefix and postfix positions; there are 60 examples of phonetic forms in these categories. The conjugation prefix /bi<sub>2</sub>-/ appears 12 times, normally as /bi-/, and the preverbal marker /ib/ occurs 11 times, written /ib<sub>2</sub>/. The form of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person copula, /me-en/, is seen eight times, with the /me/ form normally written with /me<sub>2</sub>/. The conjugation prefix /am<sub>3</sub>-/ appears seven times, often in the form /a-am-/, and /ba-/ is seen six times, often written /pa-/.

Proper nouns should also be mentioned here, though there are fewer than five examples of each. Of the 27 divine names or epithets, the most frequently occurring is /ga-ša-an-an-na/ (three times), usually appearing as /ga-ša-an-na/. The name /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>(-en-

na)/ is written three times, written /lil<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>(-na)/. Finally, /nu-gig-an-na/ occurs three times, written /nu-gi-a-na/. There are five examples of geographic names that appear; /adab/ is seen three times, written /a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/. Finally, the temple name /gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na/ appears four times (of six occurrences of temple names), written /gi-gu-na/.

From this analysis of the most frequently occurring parts of speech that appear in the Kiš corpus, the following conclusion can be drawn: there is no apparent restriction to which words or grammatical markings can be represented phonetically. It is just as likely, for example, that an Emesal form will be phonetically written as it is for an Emegir form. Additionally, all parts of speech can be represented syllabically, including nouns, verbs, case markers, or portions of the verbal chain.

#### *Percentage of Syllabic Writings*

In this section, I will seek to demonstrate that the Kiš phonetic writings appear essentially in the laments, and only rarely in the literary compositions. This will be accomplished by determining what percentage of a given text is represented phonetically. A methodology for this type of determination was established by Delnero in his recent work on texts and performance. In this article, he evaluated a group of syllabically written texts that he entitled “Highly Phonetic Single Column Tablets” (HPSC).<sup>304</sup> Delnero divided each text into individual units, which he labeled “Word Units” (WU) and “Grammatical Elements” (GE).<sup>305</sup> By determining whether a syntactical unit was written in either normal or syllabic orthography, he was able to identify what percentage of a given text was written phonetically. This methodology will also be applied to the Kiš texts below.

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<sup>304</sup> Delnero 2015: 110-115.

<sup>305</sup> Delnero 2015: 111-112.

The texts that were chosen for this evaluation met the following criteria. First, they contained phonetic spellings that could be identified with reasonable certainty. Second, these phonetic units appear, generally, in a relatively clear context. This is, of course, a subjective criterion; however, if the majority of the text (or at least the section containing the phonetic writings) could be generally understood, these sections were included in the data set. Finally, the tablet (or section of the tablet) that contained the syllabic spellings preserved a minimum of 50 units (either WUs or GEs). Based on these criteria, I formed the following group of 24 texts: *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439) (literary); *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495); *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502); *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511); *PRAK B 471 bis* (PSK 586); *PRAK C 6* (PSK 512); *PRAK C 8+* (PSK 513); *PRAK C 34* (PSK 591); *PRAK C 48* (PSK 590); *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520); *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523); *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524); *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525); *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527); *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528) (literary); *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529); *PRAK C 118* (PSK 580); *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531); *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532); *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533); Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary); *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612); *OECT 5, 45* (PSK 535).

After dividing each text into its respective WUs and GEs, I identified which elements were written in either normal or syllabic orthography. I then tabulated the data, calculating the following information for each tablet: Total WUs and GEs; Total Phonetic WUs and GEs; Total Phonetic Percentage (what percentage of the tablet is written phonetically); Normally Written WU; Phonetic WU; Normally Written GE; Phonetic GE. The chart below shows the breakdown of the 24 tablets.

**Table 5.7. Phonetic data for the unorthographic Kiš texts**

Text	Total Units	Phon. Units	Phon. %	Norm. WU	Phon. WU	Norm. GE	Phon. GE
<i>PRAK B 46+</i> (PSK 439)	102	19	19	41	13	45	3
<i>PRAK B 48+</i> (PSK 495)	90	2	2	41	2	47	0
<i>PRAK B 322+</i> (PSK 502)	69	4	5	41	4	24	0
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511)	396	11	3	204	10	181	1
<i>PRAK B 471 bis</i> (PSK 586)	147	17	12	61	15	69	2
<i>PRAK C 6</i> (PSK 512)	71	16	23	19	12	39	4
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK C 8</i> )	59	6	9	36	6	17	0
<i>PRAK C 34</i> (PSK 591)	86	7	8	46	5	33	2
<i>PRAK C 48</i> (PSK 590)	68	11	16	25	10	32	1
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520)	475	209	44	101	176	165	33
<i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523)	94	18	16	35	15	41	3
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524)	55	8	13	16	6	31	2
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525)	166	16	10	113	11	37	5
<i>PRAK C 92</i> (PSK 527)	69	16	23	13	16	40	0
<i>PRAK C 39+</i> (PSK 528)	109	19	17	30	14	60	5
<i>PRAK C 100</i> (PSK 529)	103	8	8	44	8	51	0
<i>PRAK C 118</i> (PSK 580)	246	6	2	134	4	106	2
<i>PRAK C 122</i> (PSK 531)	80	5	6	52	5	23	0
<i>PRAK D 7+</i> (PSK 532)	119	13	11	50	10	56	3
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D 41</i> )	380	38	10	175	30	169	8
<i>PRAK D 45</i> (PSK 533)	128	8	6	67	8	53	0
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435)	963	40	4	442	19	481	21
<i>OECT 5, 10</i> (PSK 612)	290	32	11	148	29	110	3
<i>OECT 5, 45</i> (PSK 535)	80	2	3	49	2	29	0

When we view the group as a whole, we see that the text with the highest percentage of syllabically written material is *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) (44% total), a duplicate of Uruamairabi. There are several texts that are written with only small amounts of syllabic spellings; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) and *OECT 5, 45* (PSK 535) contain only 3% syllabic material, while *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495) and *PRAK C 118* (PSK 580) have only 2%. When we view the group of 24 tablets, we find that the average percentage of syllabic spellings is 12%, including both WUs and GEs. If we consider only the

lamentational material (excluding *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439), *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528), and Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435)), the average increases to 14%, while in the literary texts, it drops to 7%. As a caveat, Delnero observes that, given the tendency of GEs to be single sign values, it is perhaps less likely that they would be written phonetically.<sup>306</sup> Thus, if we consider only the WUs, we find that 18% of the WUs (both liturgical and literary) are written syllabically; in the lamentational texts, 21% of the WUs are syllabically written, but in the literary texts, only 8% of the WUs appear in phonetic form.

If we expand our investigation to all phonetic texts that are either Category 1 or 2 texts (certain or reasonably certain), we obtain similar results.<sup>307</sup> If we calculate all 71 texts in these two categories, we see that, on average, 10% of the preserved text is written syllabically, with that number increasing to 15% when only considering the WUs. When we divide the liturgical and literary texts into distinct groups, the averages change in a fashion similar to above. On average, the liturgical texts show 15% of their content written syllabically, while the literary texts drop to 4%. If we examine only the WUs, the

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<sup>306</sup> Delnero 2015: 111.

<sup>307</sup> Liturgical: *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495), *PRAK B 123* (PSK 543), *PRAK B 239* (PSK 469), *PRAK B 255* (PSK 553), *PRAK B 264* (PSK 498), *PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), *PRAK B 308* (PSK 501), *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), *PRAK B 348* (PSK 504), *PRAK B 357* (PSK 505), *PRAK B 389* (PSK 506), *PRAK B 391* (PSK 574), *PRAK B 395* (PSK 575), *PRAK B 396+* (PSK 507), *PRAK B 405* (PSK 576), *PRAK B 413* (PSK 577), *PRAK B 415* (PSK 578), *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510), *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), *PRAK B 471 bis* (PSK 586), *PRAK C 6* (PSK 512), *PRAK C 7* (PSK 588), PSK 513 (*PRAK C 8*), *PRAK C 9* (PSK 514), *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515), *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), *PRAK C 34* (PSK 591), *PRAK C 48* (PSK 590), *PRAK C 51* (PSK 594), *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), *PRAK C 57* (PSK 521), *PRAK C 58* (PSK 522), *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528), *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), *PRAK C 118* (PSK 603), *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531), *PRAK C 124* (PSK 604), *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), *PRAK D 2* (PSK 608), *PRAK D 7+* (PSK 532), PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), *OECT 5, 16* (PSK 613), *OECT 5, 40* (PSK 617), *OECT 5, 42* (PSK 619), *OECT 5, 45* (PSK 535), *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), *OECT 5, 57* (PSK 622). Literary: *PRAK C 10* (PSK 445), *PRAK C 109* (PSK 448), Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), *OECT 15, 177* (PSK 456), *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451), *OECT 5, 14* (PSK 455), *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438), *OECT 11, 7* (PSK 428), *TCL 16, 64* (PSK 457), *TCL 16, 65* (PSK 425), *TCL 16, 66* (PSK 458).

liturgical texts show a 21% average, with the literary texts only showing 4%. The following chart summarizes the averages of syllabically written content:

**Table 5.8. Average percentages of phonetic writings**

	<b>24 Texts (50+ Units)</b>	<b>71 Texts (All)</b>
All Units Combined	12%	10%
Word Units Only	18%	15%
All Liturgical Units (WU+GE)	14%	15%
All Literary Units (WU+GE)	7%	4%
Liturgical WU Only	21%	21%
Literary WU Only	8%	4%

It is clear that, even when the sample size is increased to include those texts that preserve fewer WUs and GEs, the percentages remain virtually the same. As expected, the liturgical texts contain substantially higher percentages of phonetic forms than the literary texts.

*OB Ea as a Model?*

We now turn to the evidence for syllabic writings found in the sources for OB Ea and the secondary branches of the series.<sup>308</sup> As OB Ea was part of the curriculum used to train apprentice scribes, each student would have already been equipped with a method for writing words phonetically. I will examine, therefore, if there are enough similarities between the phonetically written forms in OB Ea and the phonetic writings that appear in the Kiš corpus to say if the former significantly influenced the latter.

On the physical tablet, a duplicate of OB Ea generally presents a Sumerian sign alongside many possible pronunciations for that particular sign. For example, in the

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<sup>308</sup> Civil 1979.

center column of the tablet, the sign /IGI/ appears four times in a row, and in the left-hand column, the four different readings /ši-i/ for /ši/, /li-im/ for /lim/, /pa-ad/ for /pad<sub>4</sub>/, and /i-gi<sub>4</sub>/ for /igi/ (lines 429-432). In other words, the /IGI/ sign can be pronounced in each of these four ways, and the scribes learned a particular method for writing these sign values syllabically.

The goal of this section will be to determine if this method, which the scribes used to write these sign values syllabically, was also used to compose the phonetic texts. We will see if there is a corollary between the way lexemes or sign values are spelled in OB Ea and/or the Secondary Branches and the phonetic texts from Kiš. I will focus on both the primary Nippur version of the composition, as well as the four manuscripts that are known to have come from Kiš.<sup>309</sup>

Of the 889 total entries in OB Ea, we see a very clear pattern for how the sign values are phonetically written. There are essentially two ways in which a sign value is represented: the division of one or more CVC values (either as a sign or a *diri*-compound), and the writing of a homophonous sign (and phonetic complement) for a VC or CV sign. For example, as we saw above, the value /lim/ for the /IGI/ sign is written syllabically with two syllables, /li-im/ (/CV-VC/). More than 64% of the entries in OB Ea fit into this category. At least 565 examples of this type of syllable division (/CV-VC/) are present in the composition, while *only seven* CVC (or multi-syllable) signs or *diri*-compounds are represented syllabically with the method /CV-CV/ (e.g., /ĝa<sub>2</sub>/ as /ĝa<sub>2</sub>-la/, not /ĝa<sub>2</sub>-al/). This type of disproportionate representation is also seen in the Secondary

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<sup>309</sup> Kiš sources: *PRAK* A 22 (PSK 137)\*, *PRAK* A 117 (PSK 138)\*, *PRAK* A 118 (PSK 139)\*, and *PRAK* C 38 (PSK 140). Obviously, it would be far better to reconstruct the local form of OB Ea from Kiš, but as we saw in our survey of the curricular material, OB Ea fragments from Kiš align with the Nippur version of the composition in the individual entries and their major groupings. The variation is seen in where these groups of lines are placed. This does not affect how the individual entries are written out syllabically.



Branches manuscripts from Kiš; 13 of the 14 examples are written in the style /CV-VC/, with one appearing as /CV-CV/. This is significant, as the primary method of CVC and multi-syllable sign or *diri*-compound division in the Kiš lamentational and literary duplicates is precisely /CV-CV/, and only a small percentage of these writings appear as /CV-VC/. In other words, when a CVC or multi-syllable sign or *diri*-compound was divided into syllables, the primary method of division is different in both OB Ea and Kiš manuscripts of the Secondary Branches, very different from the phonetic writings found in the Kiš laments and literary texts.

The same type of opposition is seen in the other standard form of CV or VC syllabic representation appearing in OB Ea; the use of a homophonous sign replacement, along with an optional phonetic complement. Of the 151 occurrences of homophonous sign replacement, 92 examples utilize a homophonous sign and a phonetic complement (e.g., /du<sub>1</sub>/ written /du-u/), while 59 use only the homophonous sign. In the remaining 72 examples, we see 55 instances where the *same sign* is used instead of a homophonous sign, along with a phonetic complement, while the remaining 17 examples represent the CV or VC sign with only the same sign (e.g., /ir/ and /ir/ appearing in both columns). However, the use of a phonetic complement along with a homophonous sign (over 41% of the examples of CV or VC syllabic writing) is almost non-existent at Kiš in the lamentational or literary sources. It should be noted that, because many of the entries in the Kiš OB Ea manuscripts are partially broken, it is difficult to ascertain for certain whether this type of writing was prevalent; however, based on the standard CVC division into CV-VC, it stands to reason that the standard form of homophonous sign

replacements seen in the Nippur version of OB Ea was likely followed in the Kiš duplicates of OB Ea.

In order to determine if a similar orthography was used in the Kiš Secondary Branches and OB Ea, I will identify which signs were used to represent lexemes in OB Ea and compare those signs to those used in the Kiš lamentational and literary phonetic sources. For example, when we compare the most common sign that was used in OB Ea to represent /du<sub>11</sub>/, we can determine if it was the same sign used in the Kiš corpus to phonetically represent /du<sub>11</sub>/ or to syllabically represent /du<sub>11</sub>/. If there is significant correspondence between OB Ea and the Kiš texts in this area, it might indicate that a similar methodology was used to write syllabically.

I will not present all of the homophonous sign replacements in OB Ea, but will limit myself to those examples that 1) appear in the Kiš corpus, and 2) provide significant information to this discussion. There are a number of examples of a phonetically written lexeme being spelled with different signs in the Kiš corpus. For example, /ad<sub>6</sub>/ in OB Ea appears as /ad/ (line 64), but as /a-ta/ at Kiš (*PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 33). The form /gu<sub>2</sub>/ is syllabically written /gu-u<sub>2</sub>/ in OB Ea (line 467), but as /gu<sub>3</sub>/ at Kiš (e.g., *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 10). Similarly, /gu<sub>3</sub>/ appears as /gu-u<sub>2</sub>/ in OB Ea (line 467), but with both /gu<sub>4</sub>/ (e.g., Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 23') and /gu<sub>2</sub>/ (*PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 1) at Kiš. The lexeme /ku<sub>7</sub>/ is represented with /ku-u<sub>2</sub>/ (line 729) in OB Ea, but with /ku<sub>4</sub>/ (*OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451), obv. i 22') at Kiš. The sign /ur<sub>3</sub>/ appears as /u<sub>2</sub>-ur/ in OB Ea (line 789), but as /ur<sub>2</sub>/ and /ur<sub>4</sub>/ at Kiš (*PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439), obv. 4'; *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11'). In other words, there are many examples of

syllabic representations that differ between OB Ea and the liturgical and literary phonetic writings at Kiš.

There are also many signs that use the same homophonous values in both OB Ea and the Kiš texts. Some examples include: /e<sub>3</sub>/ as /e/ (line 173 & *PRAK C* 100 (PSK 529), obv. 10'), /en<sub>3</sub>/ as /en/ (line 128 & *PRAK B* 417 (PSK 508), rev. 2), /ib/ as /ib<sub>2</sub>/ (line 645 & e.g., Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 7'), and /u<sub>2</sub>/ as /u<sub>4</sub>/ (line 249 & *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2). There are also examples where some of the sign replacements seen in OB Ea appear sometimes in the Kiš texts, but differ at other times. For example, /e<sub>4</sub>/ (/A/) is written with the /e/ sign in OB Ea (line 1122), but of the ten examples at Kiš, six appear as /e/, while four appear as /e<sub>2</sub>/. The value /mu<sub>4</sub>/ is written /mu-u<sub>2</sub>/ in OB Ea (line 1179), and appears three times as /mu/, but once as /mu<sub>4</sub>/. The sign /me<sub>3</sub>/ is written /me-e/ in OB Ea (line 74), and at Kiš, we see one example of /me/, but two as /me<sub>2</sub>/.

In over 41% of the examples of homophonous sign replacement found in OB Ea we see the use of a phonetic complement, either before or after the syllabically written form. So, even though all nine examples of /nu<sub>2</sub>/ (written phonetically at Kiš as /nu/) match the initial part of the form /nu-u<sub>2</sub>/ in OB Ea (line 483), there is no phonetic complement in the form at Kiš. Furthermore, although many of the examples in OB Ea match those in the Kiš corpus (at least with the non-phonetic complement portion of the writing), just as many do not. Thus, because OB Ea tends to utilize a particular sign value to represent different homophonous signs, it is likely that the overlap seen between OB Ea and the Kiš texts is mere coincidence. For example, /e<sub>4</sub>/, /e<sub>11</sub>/, /e<sub>2</sub>/, and /e<sub>3</sub>/ are all represented in OB Ea with the /e/ sign. Similarly, /du<sub>11</sub>/, /du<sub>3</sub>/, /du<sub>7</sub>/, and /du<sub>10</sub>/ all appear with /du/ in their respective forms. In other words, although there is overlap between OB

Ea and the Kiš liturgical and literary phonetic texts, this seems to be simply a matter of limited sign usage, as some of the more common signs are used in both places to phonetically represent the forms.

One final piece of evidence that is noteworthy is the almost complete absence of consonant replacement in OB Ea. While the Kiš liturgical texts, in particular, are filled with consonantal shifts, there are but a handful of these in OB Ea. There appears to be something completely different going on in the Kiš texts with this type of consonantal replacement than we see in OB Ea.

From the above evidence, we can draw several conclusions. First, it seems clear that the standard and almost universal method of writing CVC and multi-syllable signs or *diri*-compounds in OB Ea is /CV-VC/, a method that is all but absent at Kiš, where these signs are represented almost exclusively with the division /CV-CV/. Secondly, the constant use of phonetic complements in both VC and CV sign values in OB Ea is extremely rare among the Kiš phonetic sources. Although there is some overlap between the signs used to represent VC or CV sign values in OB Ea and those in the Kiš corpus, these seem to be merely a matter of coincidence, and not a purposeful use of a single methodology established for both OB Ea and the Kiš texts. Finally, the lack of consonant shifts in OB Ea is completely distinct from the Kiš syllabic sources. It would seem, therefore, that these differences indicate that the methods used for writing phonetically in OB Ea was in no way connected to the methods used in the Kiš phonetic texts.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Kutscher noted a similar conclusion (Kutscher 1975: 33), stating, “A superficial reading of text B [syllabically written duplicate] reveals that the reading of Emesal and Emegir forms obtained from the syllabic spelling is different from what is conventionally supposed; the spellings of this text do not conform to the ones recorded in vocabularies which contain a ‘pronunciation’ column.”

## *Conclusion*

From the data above, we can draw certain conclusions that may allow us to determine the purpose of the unorthographic writings that appear among the Kiš duplicates. I believe that there are four conclusions that may narrow the possibilities for the use of phonetic writings.

First, as I have attempted to demonstrate above, there were two very common types of phonetic writings: homophonous sign replacements and the division of one sign or *diri*-compound into two or more signs. Signs that were generally more complex were replaced with simpler, more common signs, and the division of multi-syllable words along clear syllabic lines certainly would have made a rare word or *diri*-compound easier to read.<sup>311</sup> Phonetically superfluous consonants and vowels were consistently deleted, along with determinatives in many cases. This type of simplification suggests that the phonetic writings were used to simplify the Sumerian forms, particularly for the purpose of reading. More precisely (and very important), the simplification only applied to how one might *pronounce* the forms; the phonetic writings certainly did not make it easier to *comprehend* what was written.

Secondly, when we analyzed the parts of speech or lexical items that were written phonetically, we saw that there was apparently no restriction upon what could be represented phonetically in a text. Any word or form could be written phonetically; a form in Emesal was just as likely to be written syllabically as one in Emegir, for example.

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<sup>311</sup> See Delnero 2015: 107. “In nearly every instance in which they occur phonetic writings break down words like **ningir** (one of the readings of the cuneiform sign MIR) and **hendur** (written with the PA sign, which has the reading **hendur**, as well as **pa**, **sig<sub>3</sub>**, **ugula**, and **gidru**) into their constituent syllabic units so that the phonological structure of the word is laid bare or make clearer the pronunciation of the word by using a more common sign with the same phonetic reading, and were almost certainly intended to serve as mnemonics to make the words and forms in the text easier to pronounce.”

Thus, it appears that these phonetic writings were not necessarily restricted to a particular type of word or form, allowing for a text in its entirety (if the scribe so chose) to be composed phonetically.<sup>312</sup>

Thirdly, although phonetic writings appear in both lamentational and literary texts, I sought to demonstrate that the percentage of phonetic writings in an average lamentational text is significantly higher than that which is seen in the average literary text. This strongly suggests that the syllabic spellings are closely tied to the lamentational corpus, and their purpose should likely be sought in a liturgical context.

Finally, when the syllabic writing patterns at Kiš were compared to those found in OB Ea and Secondary Branches, it was discovered that the lexical series consistently divides CVC signs into CV-VC, while in the Kiš corpus, they are divided most often CV-CV. In addition, when a sign is replaced with a homophonous sign in OB Ea, it receives a phonetic complement in the overwhelming majority of cases, which is all but unheard of at Kiš. Thus, it seems very unlikely that the purpose of the phonetic writings in the Kiš laments were used to educate students in the use of phonetic writings in a practical setting.

Keeping these four points in mind (simplification of the text for pronunciation, representation of any form or lexeme, high percentage of writings in laments, and non-conformity to OB Ea standards), we can now seek to determine a likely purpose for the phonetic writings at OB Kiš.

The explanation set forth here for the types of phonetic writings that we see in the lamentational corpus might be a **gala**-priest preparing a particular text for reading (either

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<sup>312</sup> An example of just such a duplicate is *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), which was composed with phonetic writings throughout.

aloud or silently) by a participant in the ritual who primarily read and spoke Akkadian. This interpretation would make sense of the simplification of the written text, as an Akkadian reader/speaker might not be able to read the more complicated Emesal Sumerian, but would be accustomed to pronouncing syllabically written texts. Writing the Sumerian forms phonetically might have made it possible to pronounce the text aloud or follow along silently during the performance of a ritual. Again, I emphasize that the reader likely did not understand what he was pronouncing aloud (or reading along with, silently), but would nevertheless be able to participate in the ritual.

Evidence for this may be seen in the idiosyncratic use of the consonant /q/ that shows up so often in the syllabic texts at Kiš (e.g., the writing /du-qa/ for /du<sub>11</sub>-ga/). As the consonant /q/ is not used in Sumerian, but is quite common in Akkadian, its use in a Sumerian syllabic text might indicate that the reader would have been more (or only) familiar with Akkadian.<sup>313</sup>

Further support for this interpretation can be seen in the generally inconsistent use of phonetic representation across the duplicates. As I have demonstrated above (and in Appendix C), while the CV-CV means of division in a CVC sign, and homophonous sign replacement are consistent in the laments, the particular signs that were used to represent such values were often quite different. There is no general consistency in either the internal or external Sandhi writings, and consonantal and vocalic deletions and shifts are just as unpredictable. It seems, therefore, that we are not dealing with a fixed system of

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<sup>313</sup> See Appendix C for a list shifts from /g/ to /q/.

phonetic spellings, but simply a variety of attempts to replicate the phonetic value of a given text (or text portion) to make the text possible to read or follow.<sup>314</sup>

The problem of incomprehensible pronunciation could be leveled against the idea that the phonetic texts were written in order for a non-specialist Akkadian speaker to pronounce a Sumerian liturgy. Because the syllabic texts often mask the actual structure of the lexemes and verbal forms, and there are often no markers for word breaks (particularly in the Sandhi writings) and syllable accentuation, the string of syllables would likely be accented incorrectly, making it difficult for the speaker and the audience to understand the liturgy.<sup>315</sup>

There are, however, examples of ritual performances that incorporate spoken language that need not be understood by either the practitioner or the audience. For example, in a Sinhalese *mantra*, the words spoken by the exorcist are considered to be part of a demonic language, and are a mixture of a number of languages (Sinhalese, Tamil, Pali, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Telegu, Bengali, and Persian).<sup>316</sup> The complexity of the speech makes it difficult (if not impossible) for even the speaker himself to understand all that he is saying. Because the spell is intended to be understood by the demons, however, it is not essential that the human participants understand that which is spoken.<sup>317</sup> As

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<sup>314</sup> A modern example of this might be writing out one's full name for pronunciation at a graduation ceremony. There is no fixed system for such a rendering; the writer simply picks out syllables that make the pronunciation of his or her name possible by the speaker who reads the names aloud.

<sup>315</sup> Obviously, there are no markers in Sumerian or Akkadian texts to indicate accent. The point is that the speaker, reading from a phonetic text, composed with Sandhi writings and odd phonetic replacements, would likely be unaware at times of the actual words he was pronouncing, and would fail to accent correct syllables.

<sup>316</sup> Tambiah 1985: 20.

<sup>317</sup> Tambiah 1985: 20. "The logic of construction must of course be separated from the problem of whether the exorcist actually understands all the words contained in the spell. From his, as well as the audience's, point of view, the spells have power by virtue of their secrecy and their capacity to communicate with demons and thereby influence their actions. However, *mantra* do not fall outside the requirements of language as a system of communication, and their literal intelligibility to humans is not the critical factor in understanding their logic."



liturgical texts were designed to placate or persuade the divine realm, it is possible that they were designed to be understood primarily by the deity, and the problems of syllable accentuation would have been insignificant with respect to human comprehension.

The problem still remains, however, that the text is designed to make the pronunciation more precise, though perhaps not with respect to syllable accentuation. It seems, at least to some degree, that the text was written syllabically to ensure that it would be read or followed correctly.<sup>318</sup> If the ritual analysis above applied to the Sumerian liturgy, we would have to assume that the gods were able to understand the language based on the pronunciation of the words irrespective of which syllables were accented. Of course, it is also possible that the lines themselves were read in a monotone fashion with no perceivable accent differentiation; this would allow for the correct pronunciation of the individual lexemes, without the correct accentuation of the syllables.

If these writings were indeed intended to be read or followed by Akkadian speakers, who might they be? The OB Mari ritual tablet informs us that there were many participants in the festival of Ištar, including lamentation priests, musicians, attendants, and even the king, who stands and sits at the reading of laments during the ritual.<sup>319</sup> It seems plausible that the **gala**-priest, who specialized in these difficult Sumerian Emesal compositions, produced syllabic copies of the laments to be read aloud or to be followed by musicians, singers, or even the king.

This leads us to try to explain the presence of phonetic writings in the literary corpus. As we are not dealing with texts written in the periphery of Mesopotamia, it

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<sup>318</sup> Delnero 2015: 109. “The phonetic writings in these sources reveal a consistent tendency to make clearer the syllabic structure, and with it the pronunciation of words and forms whose syllabic units are not as clearly or unambiguously expressed in their standard orthographic rendering.”

<sup>319</sup> Ziegler 2007: 58-59.

seems very unlikely that these spellings represent a lack of skill or comprehension with respect to Sumerian on the part of the scribe.<sup>320</sup> Because there are no literary duplicates that could be considered highly syllabic, and we have no evidence to suggest that these compositions were performed, we must look for another explanation. In this section, I will argue that the peculiar syllabic writings that appear in the Kiš literary duplicates may suggest that the scribe was writing phonetically simply to show his mastery of the Sumerian sign register.

We saw above that, in the liturgical texts, the scribes appear to have replaced more complex signs (either in form or sign value) with less complex or more common signs. In many cases in the literary texts, however, the opposite replacement occurs. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 5', for example, the expected verbal form /mu-mu<sub>4</sub>-mu<sub>4</sub>-un/ appears as /bi-mu-mu/. While this type of replacement is not at all unexpected, in the following line, in place of /mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>/, the scribe writes two different homophonous signs /mu-mu<sub>4</sub>/. If one would argue that /mu<sub>4</sub>/ was more complex, and should thus be replaced, it is curious that the scribe would then use it in the following line. However, the fact that he uses *two different* values of /mu/ is unprecedented in the Kiš corpus. Another example, found in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 19', shows the verbal prefix chain /ba-an-/ being replaced with /ban<sub>3</sub>-/ (TUR), which appears to be far more complicated than two very well known and simple signs /ba-an-/. In the same text, rev. iii 2, the pronominal suffix /-zu/ is written /-zu<sub>2</sub>/ (KA); it is hard to understand how this writing would be anything other than difficult to understand in the context. In rev. iii 24, the verbal chain /ba-da-/ is written /pad<sub>3</sub>-/, following the same pattern as seen in obv. ii 19. I suggest that examples like these indicate that the scribe was not attempting to simplify the text for the

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<sup>320</sup> For recent discussion of this problem, see Delnero 2015: 108-109.

sake of performance, but was “showing off” his skills in Sumerian, using complex signs to write very common and easy to understand forms.<sup>321</sup>

In conclusion, it would appear that, while there were general patterns that informed the writing of phonetic forms at OB Kiš, there was not an overarching system in place that dictated certain rules with respect to these spellings. There was clearly little to no apparent connection between the Kiš syllabic spelling conventions and the system that was in place in OB Ea; in fact, there are critical differences between them. Thus, we cannot look to OB Ea for the impetus or pattern for these phonetic writings. It is clear, however, that it was primarily the laments that were composed phonetically, which led us to hypothesize that, given the Akkadian nature of some of the writings, and the inconsistent signs that were used to represent various signs, the unorthographic writings were used by the **gala**-priest to aid the Akkadian reader in the use of the laments for ritual performance. Given the abundance of these types of syllabic texts at Kiš, compared to other OB sites, it would appear that there was a local emphasis on lamentational performance that does not appear to such an extent at the other Mesopotamian cities.

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<sup>321</sup> It is interesting to note that two of the more syllabically written literary texts (Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) and *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451)) contain writings that are unique to these two texts. For example, the verb /ḫul<sub>2</sub>/ in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 21'-22' is written /ḫul/. This is also true in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 21' and ii 7', where /ḫul<sub>2</sub>/ is written with the homophonous sign /ḫul/. Similarly, in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 19', the verb /ku<sub>7</sub>/ is written with /ku<sub>4</sub>/; in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 22', the exact same replacement is made, as /ku<sub>7</sub>/ goes again to /ku<sub>4</sub>/. These changes do not appear in any other text at Kiš. Finally, in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 8' and *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 3', the verb /dul/ is replaced with /du/ and /du<sub>7</sub>/, respectively. The deletion of a final consonant is also seen in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 17', where /dun<sub>4</sub>-dun<sub>4</sub>/ is again written with /du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>/. Furthermore, both tablets were found in trench C-15 at Ingharra. It seems plausible, perhaps even likely, that these two tablets were composed by the same scribe.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

Steve Tinney identified a gap in the study of the collections of tablets excavated at OB cities when he wrote, “The Kiš texts, fragmentary and poorly published though they are, are perhaps the collection in most urgent need of proper scholarly treatment.”<sup>322</sup> It has been the goal of this dissertation, therefore, to partially fill this lacuna by presenting a preliminary study of the OB curricular and lamentional tablets that were excavated during the French and British expeditions to the city of Kiš. This type of systematic survey and introductory analysis was necessary for the Kiš corpus, as the interpretive difficulty and poor preservation of the texts made them a less than desirable area of research. With the completion of this project, however, Assyriologists have a more definitive means of accessing this important but challenging group of tablets.

The purpose of this preliminary study was not only to address the lack of a corpus-based study of the Kiš tablets, but also to determine what was unique or distinctive about the curricular and lamentional texts, particularly with respect to their local textual features. In this conclusion, therefore, I will survey the main points of each chapter, followed by a discussion of these local features or traditions, with the hope that, by identifying these local Kiš textual traditions, we will gain a greater understanding of not only the Kiš-specific features and nuances that can be seen when compared to the general

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<sup>322</sup> Tinney 2011: 579.

OB corpora, but also of the transmission of at least some of these northern features in to the MB period as well as the first millennium.

Following the introduction to the research project, in Chapter Two, I overviewed the archaeological work that was performed at Kiš that unearthed the OB curricular and liturgical tablets, and dated these texts to the middle of the OB period.

In Chapter Three, I presented a comprehensive survey of the curricular texts. The stated goal of the curricular survey, apart from identifying the compositions extant from OB Kiš, was to determine the ways in which the Kiš scribal curriculum deviated from that which is known from other OB cities like Nippur, Ur, and Sippar. Two distinct patterns emerged from this survey. First, it became clear that, not only did several curricular duplicates vary from the standard compositions found at Nippur, but also there is evidence that suggests that there were lines of textual transmission between the OB Kiš sources and those seen in the MB period and the first millennium. In other words, Kiš (or perhaps northern) lexical features were sometimes incorporated into later standardized traditions. For example, in a duplicate of the lexical composition OB Ura (*PRAK* B 47 = *PSK* 100), there is greater consistency between the line order and content of the Kiš manuscript (rather than sources from Nippur) and that which appears in other manuscripts of the same composition from the MB period. Thus, the MB text, in this case, followed the OB Kiš tradition rather than the curricular tradition from Nippur. Examples like these demonstrated that, although many of the Kiš curricular texts duplicate manuscripts found at OB Nippur, there are several that do not. Furthermore, some of these manuscripts correspond with duplicates found in later periods, which appear at times to follow a more northern lexical tradition.

Second, in Chapter Three, I determined that, relative to the number of similar exercises found at the other OB cities, the Kiš curriculum included significantly high numbers of Akkadian exercises (nearly twice as many as the other Mesopotamian cities, specifically those cities with significant evidence of scribal education, such as Nippur and Ur). When we examined the OB cities that show evidence of scribal training, the Akkadian and bilingual texts appear as follows: the Isin corpus comprise only 4% Akkadian and bilingual texts among the curricular tablets, at Uruk and Sippar, we see 8%, while at Ur, the percentage is slightly higher: 9%. In contrast, however, is the Kiš corpus, of which 16% of the tablets are Akkadian or bilingual.

Furthermore, these Akkadian texts appear in the elementary, intermediate, and advanced stages of the curriculum at Kiš, including PN lists, bilingual grammatical exercises, lexical lists, mock letter exercises, incantations, literary compositions, and hymns. In other words, students were required to copy Akkadian texts throughout their scribal training, beginning in the early stages of the curriculum. This relative abundance and broad application of Akkadian exercises in the whole of the curriculum speaks to the practical importance that Akkadian had in the day-to-day life of the scribes. The presence of a substantial number of OB Akkadian administrative and economic texts at Kiš appears to support this conclusion. Thus, distinct from scribal education at Nippur, which sought to cultivate a form of scribal elitism, the training at Kiš was more practical in nature, focusing more on preparing the scribes for their daily activities in the city, where they frequently were required to produce texts in Akkadian.

In Chapter Four, based on the data gleaned from an in-depth survey of the OB Kiš lamentational material (presented in Appendix A), and building on the recent work of

Gabbay in his re-evaluation of the Eršemma, I sought to identify the modifications that were made to the Kiš laments that modified them for practical use in local ritual performance. By analyzing portions of both Kiš literary and liturgical texts that duplicate an OB composition *and* another Kiš manuscript, I sought to identify what was distinctive or Kiš-specific among the Kiš duplicates.

Many of these local features included city-specific modifications, such as deletions, additions, and replacements of proper nouns. Clear examples can be seen in the Kiš duplicates of the well known Balaĝ Uruamairabi “That City, which has been Plundered.” For example, in NCBT 688, obv. 5, the text reads /kur [gul]-gul ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “Destroyer of lands, the lady of the *Eanna*.” When we compare this line to the text preserved in the Kiš duplicates, we see that the Uruk TN has been replaced with a TN specific to Kiš. Thus, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 499), obv. i 3, the line reads /kur gul-ul ga-ša-an ħur-saĝ-kalam-[ma] “Destroyer of lands, the lady of *Ĥursaĝkalama*” (see also *PRAK B 396+*, obv. 4 = PSK 486). Another replacement of this kind can be seen in *PRAK C 52+*, obv. 4, which exchanges “lady of the Gipar” in NCBT 688, obv. 6 with “The great mother, mother of Kiš.” Modifications of this type suggest that the laments were being modified to meet the needs of the local ritual.

Further investigation revealed other local features among the Kiš lamentational corpus. In at least two duplicates of the Balaĝ Uruamairabi, *PRAK C 52+* and B 348, the line order appearing in the Kiš sources varied from that which was found in NCBT 688. The Kiš line order was later transmitted into the first millennium (as seen in some of the curricular duplicates), and was appropriated into at least a portion of the standardized lament corpus. Other idiosyncratic features included variant litanies, complete with

unique incipits, unduplicated Kirugus, and modified refrains. Thematically, both the duplicated and unduplicated Kiš laments concerned themselves most often with the lamenting goddess. I concluded the chapter discussing a Balaĝ, *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 511), which preserved kirugus that were unduplicated or unknown from the OB period or the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium; this lack of duplication is consistent with the presence of many other unduplicated liturgies at Kiš. In short, it appears that the **gala**-priests were able to modify their liturgies to fit local consumption, and these traditions, in part, were incorporated into the standardized corpus of lamentational liturgies of the first millennium.

Finally, in Chapter Five, I investigated the phonetic writing patterns that appear in many of the lamentational (and some of the literary) texts from OB Kiš. I made four assertions based on my analysis. First, with respect to the two most common methods for writing phonetically (homophonous sign replacement and the division of one sign or *diri*-compound into two or more signs), it was argued that these types of phonetic replacements (as well as the less frequent types of phonetic writing) all share the common feature of simplifying a text to be read (ostensibly aloud or to oneself). Second, it appeared that any form could be written phonetically in a text; phonetic writings were not limited to particular types of parts of speech or grammatical elements. Third, the laments contain the vast majority of phonetic writings, indicating that the purpose of phonetic spellings should likely be sought in a liturgical and performative context. And fourth, as the standard system for representing a form or line phonetically (seen in the lexical series OB Ea) was not followed in these texts, it is unlikely that the purpose of phonetic writings was to educate students to write phonetically.



With these four assertions in mind, I set forth a possible explanation for the use of phonetic writings at Kiš; the practice may have been used by a **gala**-priest who was preparing a lament for reading (aloud or silently) by a participant in a ritual who primarily (or only) read Akkadian. Given the idiosyncratic use of the consonant /q/ in these texts, and the general inconsistency in the use of homophonous sign replacements, internal and external Sandhi, and consonantal and vocalic shifts and deletions, the evidence appears to suggest an attempt to replicate forms phonetically, irrespective of a particular orthographic system. Finally, addressing the purpose of phonetic writings in literary compositions, it was suggested that these forms, which often show a change *from simple to complex*, were the work of a scribe attempting to display his skill with the Sumerian sign register.

#### *Local Textual Features and their Transmission*

The purpose of this corpus-based approach to the Kiš textual material was to demonstrate that this group of OB tablets shows local features and traditions in both the curricular and lamentational genres. As described above, despite general similarities between the Kiš tablets and those excavated at other OB sites, the Kiš tablets contain a number of idiosyncratic features that distinguish both the individual duplicates as well as the overall corpora from the other OB tablet collections. These local traditions can be seen in both the curricular and in the lamentational textual material.

With respect to the curricular material, in several cases, the educational texts from Kiš differ in both line order and grouping sequence from other OB duplicates. Later MB and first millennium traditions sometimes follow the Kiš tradition, rather than transmitting that which was copied at, for example, the great scribal center, Nippur. In

addition, despite general similarities between the curricula found at Kiš and the other OB cities, the Kiš tablets contain a significantly higher percentage of Akkadian and bilingual texts, averaging nearly two to four times as many in some cases.

Similarly, the lamentational liturgies demonstrate distinct local traditions, replacing a number of the expected proper nouns from other OB cities with those that were Kiš-specific. In addition, the variant line order seen in at least one popular lament, Uruamairabi “That City which has been Plundered,” was not only a sequence found in the OB Kiš duplicates, but was later followed by a first millennium source. More generally, among the high number of unduplicated liturgies found at Kiš, there was a clear emphasis on the motif of the lamenting goddess over against the theme of the destructive god. Finally, it is clear that there was an abundant use of phonetic writings in the Kiš lamentational corpus when compared to the other OB sites.

It seems clear, therefore, that while many of the curricular and lamentational textual materials were in a partially fixed state during the OB period – given the presence of relatively stable duplicates of both well known curricular and lamentational compositions at Kiš – it was typical to modify a given manuscript at Kiš in order for the text to fit local needs. For example, the lexical tradition, and the place and ordering of both the compositions and the content of the individual manuscripts in the scribal curriculum, appears to have been subject to the local instructor. The instructor was free to assign portions of a given lexical composition, and to vary the individual groupings that text as he saw fit.<sup>323</sup> This freedom was also applied to the selection of texts that were

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<sup>323</sup> For a similar conclusion with respect to the OB SEpM corpus of literary letters used in scribal education, see Kleinerman 2011: 92-93. “Indeed, the order of study of compositions, even within more or less standardized corpora, such as SEpM, was not fixed . . . the existence of ANL, a collection of mostly

added to or removed from the curriculum, as was the case for Akkadian and bilingual compositions assigned at Kiš. Thus, both the content and order of many of the curricular texts could be modified to fit local educational needs.

A possible difficulty with understanding the curricular compositions as locally modifiable is the presence of the quite stable group of literary texts that were found at Kiš, as the content of these compositions was not subject to major modification or restructuring. However, while the content of such compositions could not be substantially modified, the choice of which compositions to incorporate into the curriculum was apparently left to the instructor. It is interesting to note, for example, that while the majority of the Decad is duplicated at Kiš (some of the compositions appearing in numerous duplicates), the closely related compositions of the Tetrad do not appear at all. The absence of this popular group of texts, along with the presence of an unorthodox number of Akkadian literary texts at Kiš (and their relative absence at Nippur), it could be argued that the instructor of scribal education was given the freedom to incorporate individual texts into the local curriculum as he saw fit in order to meet the needs of his students.

Finally, I have sought to demonstrate that the needs of local rituals and performances allowed the **gala**-priest to select and modify the liturgical laments to meet local requirements. The consistent replacement of certain proper nouns that were found in several of the Kiš duplicates, as well as the selection and reorganization of *Versatzstücke* in the manuscripts of Kiš laments, speak to a fluidity among the laments that did not appear among the far more conservative literary compositions.

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one-off letters, suggests that such corpora were not closed but that there was room for expansion and extrapolation at the teacher's discretion."

In short, it appears that each type of text was able to be locally modified to fit the needs of the user. Lexical texts could be selected, modified, and reorganized by the instructor, and even compositions from the literary corpus could be chosen to meet local educational needs, while the laments could be greatly modified or created to suit local ritual requirements.

### *Concluding Remarks*

As this dissertation has been a preliminary study of the OB literary and lamentational texts from Kiš, future research will be required to fully present and analyze the corpus. The tablets and fragments that are housed in the Louvre and Istanbul Archaeological Museum will require evaluation and collation, and the collated readings must be compared to the data presented in this study. Although changes will almost certainly be made to particular portions of the texts evaluated in this dissertation, the goals of the project were chosen and achieved in such a way that the overall results will hopefully remain sound and reliable following these collations.<sup>324</sup>

Although the OB Kiš corpus is poorly preserved and has lacked corpus-based investigation, both the curricular and lamentational texts are able to fill significant gaps in the study of scribal education and lamentational performance. The volume of curricular duplicates, though fragmentary and under published, reveals an active scribal educational system, complete with local characteristics and practical emphases. And although our evidence for lamentational performance in the OB period is scant compared to the myriad of texts composed in the first millennium, by revealing the content of many of the unduplicated liturgies and demonstrating local variants that appear in the laments, we

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<sup>324</sup> I look forward to the results of Grégoire Nicolet's future work on the Kiš corpus.

have illuminated another part of the picture that is OB lamentational performance. In the end, we see that the curricular and lamentational texts speak to the day-to-day activities that took place at OB Kiš, both in the curriculum, and in the cult. Indeed, both Kiš curricular and lamentation traditions informed and influenced the standardized lexical and liturgical traditions of the first millennium, traditions that affected and shaped, to varying degrees, theological and educational concepts throughout Mesopotamian society.

## APPENDIX A

### DESCRIPTIVE SURVEY OF THE LAMENTATIONAL TEXTS FROM KIŠ

Appendix A will survey both the duplicated and unduplicated lamentational liturgies that were excavated at the OB city of Kiš. The divine figure most commonly attested among the Kiš laments is a goddess, usually Inana, who laments over the destruction of her house, city, children, or property. Another prominent divine character in the laments is Enlil, whose destructive power has been brought against a city, its inhabitants, and its goddess. Because these two motifs (lamenting goddess and destructive god) are by far the most common in the lamentational liturgies, I have organized this appendix around them. I will first survey the laments of Inana, followed by those concerning Enlil. I will then identify the remaining texts that concern a handful of other deities. Throughout the appendix, I will provide partial editions of previously edited and unedited laments from these groups, often including transliterations, translations, and selected commentary.

An important feature of lamentational liturgies that distinguishes them from literary compositions is the frequent use of groups of similar (or identical) lines that appear in more than one composition. We call these similar portions of text *Versatzstücke*, as they are able to be transferred from one text or composition to another.<sup>325</sup> This type of duplication bears greatly on whether we consider a group of lines that appear

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<sup>325</sup> For a discussion of the meaning and use of *Versatzstücke*, see Volk 1989: 46-47.

in a Kiš manuscript to be an actual duplicate of another composition, or if it is simply a *Versatzstück*, which can appear in numerous lamentational liturgies.

The evidence from Kiš suggests that there were at least two types of lamentational liturgies that were composed during the OB period. First, there are examples of texts that appear to attempt to duplicate a portion of an actual composition. Examples include duplicates of Balaĝs with the titles Uruamairabi (“That City, which has been Plundered”), im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub> (Immal Gudede) “The Lowing Cow,” and zi-bu-um zi-bu-um (Zibum Zibum) “Rise up! Rise up!” A second type of lament is a composition that was apparently composed for local use, and would have been created or substantially modified for a particular ritual performance.<sup>326</sup>

Given the poor state of preservation of many of the Kiš tablets, it is difficult to determine if a particular Kiš text represents a duplicate of a known lamentational composition, or if it was created for use in local performance. This ambiguity makes it difficult to assign the text on a tablet as a real duplicate of a known lament. One way of dealing with this type of ambiguity is to identify a text as either a main source (one that represents a real duplicate of a composition) or a parallel source (one that contains *Versatzstücke*, but is not a real duplicate) for a particular composition. In 2009, Anne Löhnert established criteria for distinguishing between main and parallel sources.<sup>327</sup> With her criteria as a guide, I will identify a main source as one that contains a significant number of lines that duplicate a section of a known lamentational lament (e.g., Uruamairabi, Immal Gudede, or Zibum Zibum). Conversely, I will consider a text to be a

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<sup>326</sup> This type of composition might be analogous to a prayer written for a modern church service, and would contain lines common to other prayers (“Our Father, who art in heaven...”), but might be composed with material that would be modified to fit a particular event or performance.

<sup>327</sup> Löhnert 2009: XII-XIII.

parallel source when only a few duplicating lines appear in a text that is distinct from the known composition. This type of *etic* classification may facilitate the survey that follows, but must be understood as a modern distinction that is placed upon the texts.

In the table below, I list all of the known duplicates of compositions, followed by the unduplicated or unclear texts that appear at Kiš. I will then provide a more precise analysis of the manuscripts of the individual compositions.

**Table Appendix A.1. Duplicates of known lamentational liturgies**

<b>Composition</b>	<b># of duplicates</b>
Uruamairabi “That City, which has been Plundered”	15
Immal Gudede “The Lowing Cow”	6
Ašer Gita “Laments in the Night”	1
ir <sub>2</sub> na-mu-ma-al (Ir Namumal) “I Wept!”	2
e-lum gu <sub>4</sub> -sun <sub>2</sub> (Elum Gusun) “Honored One, Wild Ox”	3
Zibum Zibum “Rise up! Rise up!”	2
am-e bara <sub>2</sub> -an-na-ra (Amebaranara) “For the Bull on his Dais”	1
VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) (Ninisina lament)	4
Diġir Pae “The God, who was Manifest”	2
Multiple compositions	7
Enki	2
Nisaba	1
Unknown Inana texts	25
Unknown Enlil texts	10
Unknown Ninisina	3
Unknown Aruru	3
Unknown Ninġursaġ	1
Unknown Bau	1
Unknown Ninbara	1
Unknown goddess	5
Unclear	3

*Distribution of Lamentational Liturgies*

*Inana.* We begin by describing the liturgical texts that concern Inana, who most often laments over the destruction of her city and its inhabitants. Included among the



Inana texts are those that feature Dumuzi, whose capture or death also causes Inana to lament. The most frequently duplicated liturgical composition at Kiš that concerns Inana is Uruamairabi “That City, which has been Plundered.” The composition focuses on the destruction and desolation that comes to Inana’s possessions and city, and the confusion and sorrow that follows. The most recent work on the OB composition was completed by Mark Cohen in 1988.<sup>328</sup> The line numbering presented in the table and discussion below will follow Cohen’s edition, which is based on a relatively well-preserved duplicate of Uruamairabi, NCBT 688.<sup>329</sup> The following chart shows all possible Kiš duplicates that have been identified to date:

**Table Appendix A.2. Duplicates of Uruamairabi**

<b>Tablet</b>	<b>Composition &amp; Lines</b>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520)	Uruamairabi, lines 1-123, with breaks in line order <sup>330</sup>
<i>PRAK B 396+</i> (PSK 507)	Uruamairabi, lines 1-2, 4-5, 9-10[; rev. ]60-61
<i>PRAK B 389</i> (PSK 506)	Uruamairabi, lines ]2, 3a, 4, 6-7; rev. uninscribed
<i>PRAK B 417</i> (PSK 508)	Uruamairabi, lines 21-22?
<i>PRAK B 348</i> (PSK 504)	Uruamairabi, lines ]26-28, 34-35, 29-30[
<i>OECT 5, 45</i> (PSK 535)	Uruamairabi, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., ]a+181-186[, ]191-196[
<i>PRAK B 110</i> (PSK 496)	Uruamairabi, lines ]106-107
<i>PRAK D 7+</i> (PSK 532)	Uruamairabi, lines 67-71
<i>PRAK C 58</i> (PSK 522)	Uruamairabi, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., ]a+135-138[; ]b+140-146[
<i>PRAK B 264</i> (PSK 498)	Uruamairabi, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., ]c+158-161[
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524) <sup>331</sup>	Uruamairabi, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., Tablet 20, lines ]41-46[
<i>PRAK B 332</i> (PSK 503) <sup>332</sup>	Uruamairabi, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., Tablet 19 (lines unclear)
<i>PRAK C 26</i> (PSK 515)	Uruamairabi?: contains lines similar to <i>TCL 16:68</i> <sup>333</sup>

<sup>328</sup> Cohen 1988: 536-603.

<sup>329</sup> Cohen 1988: 541-545.

<sup>330</sup> The tablet has been recently collated and edited; see Delnero forthcoming, from which this information is drawn. Obverse i: 1, 4, 5a-7, 9-22, 24-26[, ]28-30, 33-41, 46-50; obv. ii: ]59-69, 71-75[, ]83-85, 88-91, 93-94; rev. iii: 98-114; rev. iv: 115-116, 118-119?[, ]122-123[.

<sup>331</sup> As this duplicate is not included in Cohen’s edition, for this manuscript we follow Volk 1989: 140-141 and 169-171.

<sup>332</sup> Volk 1989: 7.

<sup>333</sup> *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515) is a phonetic liturgy that focuses on Inana. In obv. 3’, the line appears to duplicate *TCL 16, 68* (AO 6905b), rev. 16: (u<sub>3</sub>-a-še-er-ra-ma a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>[...] / dam-ma-še-[...] ) may be the phonetic writing of ([uru<sub>2</sub>-a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a-še]-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> dam-a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> dumu-a-še-er-[ra-am<sub>3</sub>]). See Cohen 1988: 555.

<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537)	Uruamairabi, lines c+163-166 (OB recension)
<i>OECT</i> 5, 46 (PSK 536) <sup>334</sup>	Uruamairabi: Tablet 10 (obv. ii 5-8 = lines 2-5)

A Kiš manuscript of Uruamairabi can be seen in *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), which is a syllabically written duplicate that preserves lines c+163-166 (=lines c+304-308 of the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. version).<sup>335</sup> Alongside the Kiš duplicate are two other OB manuscripts, VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339) and CBS 11932.

***OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537)** = K  
**VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339)** = X  
**MBI 5 (CBS 11932)** = N

**c+163.**      **e<sub>4</sub> šen-dilim<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga im-ma-an-tu<sub>5</sub>**  
*She washed with the water of the holy basin.*

K<sub>,obv. 1:</sub>      e    si-id-li            ku<sub>3</sub>-ga            ʾna<sup>1</sup>-ma-tu-tu  
X<sub>,rev. 1:</sub>      e<sub>4</sub>   šen-dilim<sub>2</sub>        ku<sub>3</sub>-ga            im-ma-an-tu<sub>5</sub>  
N<sub>,rev. iv 10:</sub>    [ ... ]-ʾdilim<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>        ku<sub>3</sub>-ga-na        [x]-tu<sub>5</sub>-tu<sub>5</sub>-un

**c+164.**      **naġa bur babbar-ra im-ma-an-su-ub**  
*She scrubbed with the soap of the white Bur bowl.*

K<sub>,obv. 2:</sub>      na-ma bu-ur    babbar-ra        na-ma-ʾsu<sup>1</sup>-ub-be<sub>2</sub>  
X<sub>,rev. 2:</sub>      naġa    bur        babbar-ra        im-ma-an-su-ub  
N<sub>,rev. iv 11:</sub>    [ ... ]        bar<sub>11</sub>-bar<sub>11</sub>-ra    na-an-su-ub-be<sub>2</sub>-en

**c+165.**      **u<sub>5</sub> ze<sub>2</sub>-ba bur-ra im-ma-an-šeš<sub>2</sub>**  
*She anointed herself with the good oil of the Bur bowl.*

K<sub>,obv. 3:</sub>      u<sub>2</sub> ze-ba        bu-ur    na-ʾma<sup>1</sup>-se-ʾse<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>,rev. 3:</sub>      u<sub>5</sub> ze<sub>2</sub>-ba        bur-ra    im-ma-an-šeš<sub>2</sub>  
N<sub>,rev. iv 12:</sub>    [ ... ]-ba        bur-ra    na-an-šeš<sub>3</sub>-šeš<sub>3</sub>-en

<sup>334</sup> For this manuscript, we follow Civil 1983: 47.

<sup>335</sup> See Cohen 1988: 572.

**c+166.**            **tug<sub>2</sub> tan<sub>2</sub>-na-ni im-ma-an-mu<sub>4</sub>**  
*She put on her clean garments.*

K <sub>3</sub> , obv. 4:	tu-u <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub>	ṛda <sup>1</sup> -ni-in-ni	na-al-mu-mu
X <sub>3</sub> , rev. 4:	tug <sub>2</sub>	tan <sub>2</sub> -na-ni	im-ma-an-[x]
N <sub>3</sub> , rev. iv 13:	[x]	tan <sub>2</sub> -na-zu	ṛna <sup>1</sup> -ṛan <sup>1</sup> -mu <sub>4</sub> -mu <sub>4</sub> -un

For extensive commentary on these lines, see Volk’s 1989 work on Uruamairabi.<sup>336</sup> Although Volk understood K, obv. 4 to be read phonetically as /tu-ut-tu/, another possible reading is to understand the signs /TU-UD-KU<sub>4</sub>/ as representing /tu-u<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>/ for /tug<sub>2</sub>/, rather than /tu-ut-tu/, which does not appear to follow any phonetic conventions found in the Kiš corpus.<sup>337</sup> The reading /tu-u<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>/ appears to follow the common Kiš pattern of replacing a CVC sign with CV-CV.<sup>338</sup>

There are other Balaĝs of Inana that appear at Kiš, including Immal Gudede (“The Lowing Cow”), Ašer Gita (“Laments in the Night”), and Ir Namumal (“I wept!”). In total, there are six duplicates of Immal Gudede, at least one manuscript of Ašer Gita, and two manuscripts of Ir Namumal.

We begin with Immal Gudede, a lament of Inana, in which she cries out concerning the destruction that the storm of Enlil has brought upon her. Cohen published the most recent edition of Immal Gudede, which will be used as the basis for the line numbering seen below.<sup>339</sup> The possible duplicates of Ašer Gita will be numbered according to Jeremy Black’s 1985 edition.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Volk 1989: 121-124.

<sup>337</sup> For Volk’s interpretation, see Volk 1989: 124. The /g/ to /k/ shift is common among the Kiš texts; an example might include the common replacement of /ga-ša-an/ with /ka-ša-an/.

<sup>338</sup> See, for example, /ĝal<sub>2</sub>/ written /ĝa<sub>2</sub>-la/ in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. ii 11’. For a full discussion of this pattern at Kiš, see Chapter Five.

<sup>339</sup> Cohen 1988: 604-636.

<sup>340</sup> Black 1985: 11-87.

**Table Appendix A.3. Duplicates of Immal Gudede, Ašer Gita, and Ir Namumal**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Composition and Lines</b>
<i>PRAK B 307</i> (PSK 500)	Immal Gudede, ]c+242-244[
<i>PRAK C 57</i> (PSK 521)	Immal Gudede, ]c+239?-243[
<i>PRAK B 308</i> (PSK 501)	Immal Gudede, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., ]a+89, 91, and 95[
<i>PRAK C 6</i> (PSK 512)	Immal Gudede, 1 <sup>st</sup> mill., ]b+140-146?]; ]149-152?[
<i>PRAK C 42</i> (PSK 518)	Immal Gudede? Ašer Gita?
<i>OECT 5, 18</i> (PSK 534)	Immal Gudede, rev. iv = ]c+218-225
<i>PRAK C 74</i> (PSK 526)	Ašer Gita, 1-20; 21-39[
<i>PRAK C 47+</i> (PSK 519)	Ir Namumal
<i>PRAK B 48+</i> (PSK 495)	Ir Namumal

A newly identified fragment of the Balaĝ Immal Gudede is *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), which preserves at least three lines from the composition (c+242-244). The duplicated lines depict Inana, who speaks in the first person, seeking refuge from the storm of Enlil. Also included in the score is Kiš source *PRAK C 57* (PSK 521), which appears to duplicate lines c+239-243.

**OB Sources**

*PRAK B 307* (PSK 500) = **K<sub>1</sub>**  
*PRAK C 57* (PSK 521) = **K<sub>2</sub>**  
*MBI 5* (CBS 11932) = **N<sub>1</sub>**

**First Mill. Sources**

*SBH 58* (VAT 410+) = **Bab<sub>1</sub>**  
*K.2004* (BA 5 1b) = **Nin<sub>1</sub>**

*Single Ruling*

**c+242.**      **u<sub>4</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga ga-ba-da-zaĥ<sub>3</sub> mu-lu na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-mu-pa<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>**  
*In (that) day, let me flee into the holy house! No man will find me!*

**K<sub>1</sub>**, obv. 2':      u<sub>4</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga      gaba-<sup>r</sup>da?<sup>1</sup>-[...] / mu-lu na-<sup>r</sup>aĝ<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
**K<sub>2</sub>**, obv. 4':      [x]-da e<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga      ga-ba-da-[...]  
**N<sub>1</sub>**, rev.iii 35-36':      u<sub>4</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga      ga-ba-da-zaĥ<sub>3</sub> // mu-lu na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-mu-pa<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>  
*Bab<sub>1</sub>*, rev. 23':      <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x] e<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-ga-aš      ga- : ana U<sub>4</sub>-mi ina E<sub>2</sub> el-[x]  
*Nin<sub>1</sub>*, rev. 28':      [      ...      ]      : ana U<sub>4</sub>-mi ina E<sub>2</sub> el-li



There is an small interpretive crux in line c+242 concerning the meaning of /UD-DA/. I have understood /UD-DA/ as a temporal clause, with /u<sub>4</sub>/ “day(time),” with the /a/ marking the locative. This would be read, “In (that) day...” and fits well with the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Akkadian interpretation *ina* U<sub>4</sub>-*mi* “in (that) day” (Sources Bab<sub>1</sub>, rev. 23 and Nin<sub>1</sub>, rev. 28). This construction also appears to occur in d+253.<sup>342</sup>

*PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519) (along with its duplicate – a join made by the author – *PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495)) is a manuscript of the lamentational liturgy Ir Namumal (“I wept!”). The beginning of *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519) is preserved, along with the incipit /ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu(-un)-ma-al/. The text describes a lament of Inana, spoken in the first person, as she weeps over the destruction of her house and shrines. She describes a number of musical instruments, including the Balaĝ, that appear in an outdoor shrine.

***PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519) = K<sub>III1</sub>**  
***PRAK B 48+* (PSK 495)<sup>343</sup> = K<sub>III2</sub>**  
**BE 30/1, 9 (CBS 11151) = N<sub>I</sub>**  
**CT 58:33 (BM 100111) = X<sub>III</sub>**

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<sup>342</sup> There are other interpretive possibilities if one understands /UD/ to mean “storm.” First, one could interpret the /DA/ as marking /UD/ with its /d/ *Auslaut*, with the /a/ marking the vocative. The line would then read, “*Oh storm!* Let me flee...” However, lines d+254ff contain what is almost certainly the vocative written in the form /u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ in the form /za-e u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ “You, oh storm, ...” Thus, we would likely expect /u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ in c+242, were it to be understood as a vocative. Finally, one could understand the sign /UD/ to represent /u<sub>4</sub>/ (Akk. *ūmu*) “storm;” this would require the /DA/ that follows to represent a phonetic rendering of the ablative /-ta/. If correct, the line would read, “Let me flee *from the storm*...” Contextually, this interpretation would fit well, as the storm, along with the destruction attributed to it are regularly referred to in the Balaĝ Immal Gudede. The obvious difficulties, of course, are the consistent writing of /u<sub>4</sub>-da/ in the Sumerian manuscripts, as well as the Akkadian rendering of the line as *ina* U<sub>4</sub>-*mi*.

<sup>343</sup> PSK 495 is a join made by the author (*PRAK B 48 + PRAK B 296*). The text underlined in the score for this source represents *PRAK B 296*.

- 1.<sup>344</sup>            **ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-ma-al [...]**  
*I wept! (I will no longer live!)*
- K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 1:    ṚA<sup>1</sup>.ṚIGI<sup>1</sup> Ṛna<sup>1</sup>-mu-ma-al [...]  
K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 1:    [A].ṚIGI<sup>1</sup> na-mu-ma-al [...]  
N<sub>I</sub>, obv. ii 18:    ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-un-ma-al / me-e na-mu-un-ti-le  
X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 1:    [A].IGI na-mu-un-ma-al me-e na-mu-un-ti-le
2.                **nu-gig an-na ga-ša-[an-an-na]**  
*The nugig of heaven, Inanna!*
- K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 2:    nu-gig an-na ga-Ṛša<sup>?</sup>Ṛ-[...]  
K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 2:    [nu]-Ṛgig<sup>1</sup> Ṛan<sup>1</sup>-Ṛna<sup>1</sup> ga-Ṛša<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
N<sub>I</sub>, obv. ii 19:    mu-gig-an-na ga-ša-an-an-na-men<sub>3</sub>
3.                **kur gul-gul ga-ša-an [ḥur-saĝ-kalam-ma<sup>?</sup>]**  
*The destroyer of lands, lady of (Ḥursaĝkalama)<sup>?</sup>!*
- K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 3:    kur gul-gul ga-ša-Ṛan<sup>1</sup> [...]  
K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 3:    [kur] Ṛgul<sup>1</sup>-gul ga-Ṛša<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
N<sub>I</sub>, obv. ii 20:    Ṛkur<sup>1</sup> Ṛgul<sup>1</sup>-gul ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-men<sub>3</sub>
4.                **an al-[dub<sub>2</sub>-ba ga-ša-an ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-ra]-ke<sub>4</sub>**  
*Who makes the heavens (shake, lady of the Gipar)!*
- K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 4:    Ṛan<sup>1</sup> Ṛal<sup>1</sup>-[...]Ṛke<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>  
N<sub>I</sub>, obv. ii 21:    [...]Ṛba<sup>1</sup> ga-ša-an ĝi<sub>6</sub>-Ṛpar<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-Ṛra<sup>1</sup>-men<sub>3</sub>
5.                **lil<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub> [(-...)<sup>?</sup> ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub>] amaš-ke<sub>4</sub>**  
*Lilaenna, (lady of the cattle pen) and sheepfold!*
- K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 5:    lil<sub>2</sub>-Ṛe<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [...] Ṛamaš<sup>1</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>  
N<sub>I</sub>, obv. ii 22:    [...]Ṛna<sup>1</sup> Ṛga<sup>1</sup>-ša-Ṛan<sup>1</sup> [...]Ṛa<sup>?</sup>Ṛmen<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>
6.                **ma-e ĝa<sub>2</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> ḥur-saĝ-kalam-[ma ...]**  
*I, for [my] house, the shrine of Ḥursaĝkalama (...)*
- K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 4:    ma-e ĝa<sub>2</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> ḥur-saĝ-Ṛkalam<sup>?</sup>Ṛ-[...]  
K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 6:    ma-e Ṛĝa<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]Ṛx<sup>1</sup>

<sup>344</sup> There is a line extant at the top of the tablet, followed by a single ruling. For this phenomenon, see Gabbay 2014b: 235, fn. 55.

7. **ama<sub>5</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-an-na [...] -ĝu<sub>10</sub>**  
*for my cella, my shrine of the Eanna,*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 5: ama<sub>5</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-an-na [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 7: ama<sub>5</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> <sup>1</sup>eš<sub>3</sub>?<sup>1</sup> [...] -<sup>1</sup>ĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup>?

8. **erim<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> še-eb ki zabala<sub>2</sub> [...] -ĝu<sub>10</sub>**  
*for my storeroom, my brickwork of Zabalam,*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 6: erim<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> še-eb ki zabala<sub>2</sub> [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 8: <sup>1</sup>erim<sub>3</sub>?<sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> še-[ ... ] -<sup>1</sup>ĝu<sub>10</sub>?<sup>1</sup>  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 1: [ ... ] -<sup>1</sup>eb?<sup>1</sup> ki <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]

9. **ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-ma-al edin-na na-mu-ma-al**  
*I wept! I (wept) in the steppe!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 7: ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-ma-al edin-na [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 9: [A].<sup>1</sup>IGI?<sup>1</sup> na-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-[...] <sup>1</sup>edin<sup>1</sup>-<na> na-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ma-al  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 4-5: <sup>1</sup>na?<sup>1</sup>-mu-un-ma-al // <sup>1</sup>edin?<sup>1</sup> na-mu-un-ma-al  
 X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 7: ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-un-ma-al balaĝ na-mu-un-[ma]-al

10. **<sup>kuš</sup>šem<sub>5</sub> na-mu-ma-al šem<sub>5</sub> na-mu-ma-al**  
*I set out the šem drum! I set out the šem drum!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 8: <sup>kuš</sup>šem<sub>5</sub> na-mu-ma-al <sup>1</sup>šem<sub>5</sub>?<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 10: [x] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> na-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ma-al <sup>1</sup>šem<sub>5</sub>?<sup>1</sup> na-mu-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-al  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 6: <sup>kuš</sup>ub<sup>1</sup> na-mu-un-ma-al / šem<sub>5</sub> na-mu-un-ma-al  
 X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 8: <sup>kuš</sup>ub na-mu-un-ma-al me-ze<sub>2</sub> na-mu-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>

11. **<sup>kuš</sup>ub x x li-li-is<sub>3</sub> na-mu-ma-al**  
*I set out the ub and lillis drums!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 9: <sup>kuš</sup>ub<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> li-li-<sup>1</sup>is<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [ ... ]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 11: [ ... ] li-li-is<sub>3</sub> <<x<sup>2</sup>>> na<sup>1</sup>-mu-ma-al



**12. mu-gu<sub>3</sub>-di 7-bi na-mu-ma-al**  
*I set out the seven wooden gudi instruments!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 10: mu-gu<sub>3</sub>-di 7<sup>1</sup>-bi/na<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 12: [ ... ]-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ma-al  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 8: mu-gu<sub>3</sub>-di 7-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> na-mu-un-ma-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 9: mu-gu<sub>3</sub>-di 7-na na-mu-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[ma]-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>

**13. ba-ad-ra e<sub>2</sub>-sar-ra na-mu-ma-al<sup>345</sup>**  
*I set out the badara instrument in the Esara!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 11: ba-ad-ra <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 13: [ ... ]-sar-ra na-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-al<sup>1</sup>  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 7: <sup>1</sup>ba<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ra e<sub>2</sub>-sar-ra na-mu-un-ma-al

**14. šir<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-da šir<sub>3</sub>-ra na-mu-ma-al**  
*I played a holy song with (another) holy song!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 12: <sup>1</sup>šir<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> ku<sub>3</sub>-da <sup>1</sup>šir<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [ ... ]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 14: [ ... ] <sup>1</sup>šir<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-ra na-mu-ma-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 12: šir<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-da šir<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>3</sub> nam-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-du<sub>12</sub>

**15. ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-a [...] balaĝ nam-da-du<sub>12</sub>**  
*I played the balaĝ in the outdoor shrine, away from the ...!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 13: <sup>1</sup>ub<sup>1</sup>-lil<sub>2</sub>-la-a <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 15: [ ... ] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> balaĝ nam-da-<sup>1</sup>du<sub>12</sub><sup>1</sup>  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 10: ub-li-<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ta <sup>1</sup>balaĝ<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup> [ ... ]

**16. balaĝ ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-a nam-da-du<sub>12</sub>**  
*The balaĝ I played in the outdoor shrine!*

K<sub>III1</sub>, obv. 14: balaĝ <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 K<sub>III2</sub>, obv. 16: [ ... ]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-la <sup>1</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[du<sub>12</sub>]  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 10: <sup>1</sup>balaĝ<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ub<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-[...]le [...]

K<sub>III2</sub> breaks off

<sup>345</sup> VS 10: 150 (VAT 3544), obv. 5 reads /pa-ab-ra/, though the second half of the line does not appear to duplicated line 13 of our text.

17. **e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> edin ir<sub>2</sub> ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub> ga-ša-an a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>**  
*To weep in the steppe for my house, the lady is in morning.*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 15: ʽe<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> edin ir<sub>2</sub> [ ... ]  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 14: ʽe<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ʽedin<sup>1</sup> ir<sub>2</sub> ma-al-ʽla<sup>1</sup>-še<sub>3</sub> / ga-ša-an a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>

18. **hur-saĝ-kalam-ma-[ĝu<sub>10</sub> ir<sub>2</sub> ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub>]**  
*[To weep] for my Hursaĝkalama,*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 16: hur-saĝ-kalam-ma- [...]

19. **e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ir<sub>2</sub> ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub>**  
*To weep for my Eanna,*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 17: e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ir<sub>2</sub> [...]  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 15: e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ʽA<sup>1</sup>. [...]-al-la-še<sub>3</sub>

20. **e<sub>2</sub> ki zabala<sub>2</sub>-[ĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>?</sup> ir<sub>2</sub>] ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub> lipiš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>**  
*To weep for my house of Zabalam, my heart is in mourning.*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 18: e<sub>2</sub> ki zabala<sub>2</sub> [...]  
 N<sub>I</sub>, rev. iii 16: e<sub>2</sub> zabala<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ʽx<sup>1</sup> [...] ʽx<sup>1</sup> ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub> / lipiš-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a-ʽše<sup>1</sup>-ʽer<sup>1</sup>-ra-am<sub>3</sub>

21. **ĝi<sub>6</sub>-edin-na [...]**  
*In the dark steppe, (...)*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 19: ʽĝi<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-ʽedin<sup>1</sup>-ʽna<sup>1</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> [...]

Break<sup>346</sup>

Admittedly, there are only a few duplicates to which we can compare this lament. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in several places, the Kiš manuscripts contain a reference to a local toponym that is either deleted from the Nippur manuscript, or is replaced with a Nippur-specific name. In line 3, for example, although both Kiš manuscripts are broken in this crucial portion of the line, it is reasonable to determine that

<sup>346</sup> There are several lines preserved on the reverse of *PRAK* C 47+ (PSK 519), but the section is difficult to align with the duplicates, and is thus not included here.

/ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma/ should be reconstructed (see below). In this line, N<sub>1</sub> replaces /ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma/ with /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-men<sub>3</sub>/. Similarly, in line 6, N<sub>1</sub> simply omits the line that refers to /eš<sub>3</sub> ḥur-saġ-kalam-[ma]/ “the shrine of Ḥursaġkalama,” as it does in line 17, where it omits the line /ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma-ġu<sub>10</sub> ir<sub>2</sub> ma-al-la-še<sub>3</sub>/ “To weep for my Ḥursaġkalama.” Clearly, the Kiš manuscripts are modifying this liturgy to fit the needs of the local ritual. It is also noteworthy that, in lines 6-7 as well as 17-18, both the local toponyms (e.g., Ḥursagkalama) are mentioned alongside the non-local toponyms (e.g., Eanna). This seems to suggest that priest was attempting to keep the content of the liturgy somewhat consistent, while modifying it to fit the local ritual.

PSK 495 represents a new probable join between *PRAK* B 296 and *PRAK* B 48;<sup>347</sup> *PRAK* B 296 preserves the first three lines of our text, and *PRAK* B 48 preserves the lower portion of lines 4 and following. The preserved incipit /ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-(un-)ma-al/ “I wept!” appears in at least three other texts (see score above). Additionally, two Eršemma catalogue entries contain this incipit,<sup>348</sup> and CT 58:33 (BM 100111) contains a colophon identifying a text with this incipit as an Eršemma. That the verb in line 1 should be understood as a first person form seems clear, not only from the second half of the line that is preserved in two other manuscripts, but also from lines 6-8, which appear in the first person as well (see above).

Line 3 in sources K<sub>III-2</sub> is reconstructed to read /ḥur-saġ-kalam-ma/ based on other Kiš manuscripts that possess this same litany.<sup>349</sup> Note the repeated sequence that

<sup>347</sup> See Cavigneaux 1987: 54, where Cavigneaux considers whether these two tablets should be joined.

<sup>348</sup> See Kramer 1975: 141-66; Cohen 1981: 12; Cavigneaux 1987: 54.

<sup>349</sup> *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 3; *PRAK* B 396+ (PSK 507), obv. 4; *PRAK* C 92 (PSK 527), obv. 11'. See also line 6 in this text.

appears in lines 6-8 as well as 18-20: /hur-saĝ-kalam-ma/, /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/, and /ki zabala<sub>2</sub>/, as well as the list of musical instruments that aid in lamentation (lines 15ff).<sup>350</sup>

The meaning of the verb /ĝal<sub>2</sub>/ in lines 10ff, which takes an instrument or a song as its object, is not straightforward. I have understood /ĝal<sub>2</sub>/ in these lines as Akkadian *šakānu* “to set,” or even *bāšu* “to exist,” with the idea of “setting up” or “bringing out” a particular instrument for performance.<sup>351</sup> However, in line 14, manuscript N<sub>I</sub> preserves the verb /šir<sub>3</sub>--du<sub>12</sub>/ “to play a song,” while K<sub>III2</sub> has /šir<sub>3</sub>--ma-al/. It seems just as possible, therefore, to understand /ĝal<sub>2</sub>/ as performing with the instrument, rather than simply preparing it to be played.<sup>352</sup>

I have interpreted the form /ba-ad-ra/ in line 13 as a phonetic writing of /ba-da-ra/, a type of pointed instrument that was used, in certain contexts, in the cult of Inana, likely for lamentation.<sup>353</sup> The use of this instrument would fit reasonably well in this passage, given its association with both Inana and lamenting.

Cavigneaux understood the comitative /-da/ in line 14 as an indication of repetition;<sup>354</sup> the translation “I have played a song *with* (/da/) another song” could logically indicate that several songs had been played, perhaps one right after the other. However, I can find no other examples of the comitative used in precisely this way.

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<sup>350</sup> Gabbay 2014b: 91, fn. 96 and 146, fn. 607.

<sup>351</sup> A parallel idea can be seen in Enki’s Journey to Nippur, line 95: (ub<sub>3</sub> zabar nu-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la ki-bi-še<sub>3</sub> im-mi-in-e<sub>3</sub>) “The bronze Ub drum, which did not exist, he brought out to its place.”

<sup>352</sup> Indeed, we see Inana playing the Balaĝ in lines 15-16. However, a recent discussion on a related phrase that appears in 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Balaĝs and Eršemmas, ir<sub>2</sub>—ĝar (Akk. *takribta šakānu*), is seen in Gabbay 2014b: 157. He argues that the verb *šakānu* “to place” “does not seem to refer to the placing or preparation of the *lilissu* instrument in its cultic setting before it is played, since other verbs, such as *izuzzu* (gub), *kunnu* and *tarāšu* are used for this.”

<sup>353</sup> PSD B, s.v. ba-da-ra: “The **ba-da-ra** was used together with the **giri<sub>2</sub>** by the *kurgarra* performers in the cult of Inana, perhaps for self-laceration.”

<sup>354</sup> Cavigneaux 1987: 54. ““On chante les chants sacrés l’un après l’autre.””

The infrequently used lexeme /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ (Akk. *ibratu*) “outdoor shrine” appears in several texts from Kiš, including lines 15-16 of our text.<sup>355</sup> The phonetic writing of the form /ub-li-le/ in source N<sub>I</sub>, as well as /ub-li-la/ in source K<sub>III2</sub>, substantiates Krecher’s supposition that the writing /ub-li-le/ in VS 10, 150 (VAT 3544), obv. 8 is a syllabic writing of /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/.<sup>356</sup>

While the manuscripts that have been surveyed thus far can often be connected to a known liturgical composition, many of the fragmentary tablets from Kiš cannot. There are at least 25 manuscripts that preserve portions of unknown or unduplicated Balaĝs that seem to focus on Inana. The following chart lists these texts, along with any evidence that supports reading the text as an Inana Balaĝ.

**Table Appendix A.4. Unknown or unduplicated Inana Balaĝs**

Text	Evidence Indicating an Inana Lament
<i>PRAK</i> B 123 (PSK 543)	This text may preserve lines that phonetically duplicate a 1st millennium version of the Balaĝ Udam Ki Amus (rev. 3’ and 5’) <sup>357</sup>
<i>PRAK</i> B 184 (PSK 545)	Rev. 1’-3’ parallels SBH 51 (VAT 265+), rev. 7-8, which is part of a Balaĝ to Gula

<sup>355</sup> See especially *PRAK* B 331 (PSK 559) and *PRAK* C 59 (PSK 597), where /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ repeatedly appears in a litany of epithets to Ninisina.

<sup>356</sup> Krecher 1966: 189, Anm. 541: “Dafür schreibt der altbabylonische Text CT 42, 3 IV 43 (ga-ša-an-mug) ub-li-le si-a; demnach ist vielleicht auch ub-li-li in SK 150:8 eine syllabische Schreibung von ub-lil-lá.”

<sup>357</sup> Although the obverse of the tablet is quite fragmentary, reverse 3-5 appear to represent at least a portion of the lamentational liturgy Udam Kiamus “It Touches the Earth like a Storm,” lines 194 and 195 (see Cohen 1988: 148-149 for line numbering):

rev. 3’: [ ... ] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ka-ša-an-ga-la-ᵀri?<sup>1</sup>  
 194: e<sub>2</sub>-tur<sub>3</sub>-ra gašan-gal-la-ri  
 [The cattlepen] of Ningal (refrain)

rev. 4’: [ ... ] ᵀx<sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>? u<sub>4</sub> kur-ra-ri  
 My ..., the storm of the land (refrain)

rev. 5’: [ ... ] ᵀd<sup>1</sup>nanna-a-ri  
 195: e<sub>2</sub>-ĝiš-nu<sub>11</sub>-gal e<sub>2</sub> ᵀnanna-ri  
 [The Ekišnugal, the house] of Nanna (refrain)

<i>PRAK B 188</i> (PSK 497)	The text is a first person lament (obv. 1: "Alas! My city..."; obv. 6: "My house..."), the language of which fits well with an Inana text
<i>PRAK B 192</i> (PSK 547)	Lamentational liturgy of a female deity <sup>358</sup>
<i>PRAK B 351</i> (PSK 562)	Lament that may focus on Inana and Dumuzi <sup>359</sup>
<i>PRAK B 361</i> (PSK 566)	Lament that may focus on Inana and Dumuzi <sup>360</sup>
<i>PRAK B 379</i> (PSK 570)	Language that appears to coincide with an Inana lament <sup>361</sup>

<sup>358</sup> The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed, and the obverse is poorly preserved. However, the extant text (esp. obv. 1-3) seems to focus on a goddess:

Obv. 1: [...] ᵀe₂ᵀ eš₃ dumu? [an?]-ᵀnaᵀ  
... *the house, the shrine, the child of (An?)*

Obv. 2: [...] ᵀgaᵀ-ša-an ša₃-zu  
... *lady, your heart,*

Obv. 3: [...] ga]-ᵀšaᵀ-an ama gal-e  
... *lady, great mother,*

<sup>359</sup> In obv. 2', the tablet preserves /[...] ᵀxᵀ ᵀbiᵀ [...] ᵀᵀᵀdᵀdumu-[zi?...]/, while in obv. 8', we see the verbal form /[...] ba-gul-ᵀla?ᵀ [...] / ("which is destroyed"), a common motif in laments.

<sup>360</sup> Very fragmentary tablet; obv. 2'-3' appear to contain language indicative of a Dumuzi/Inana composition, including the repeated lexeme /mu-ud-na/ "spouse", and possibly /šeš/ "brother" in obv. 3'. For similar language in a Dumuzi/Inana lament, see for example BM 87518, a duplicate of the Balaḡ Enemani Ilu Ilu, obv. i 27-28 ([mu-ud]-ᵀnaᵀ ga-ša-an-an-ka gam-mu // [šeš] ᵀamaᵀ-mu-tin-na gam-mu); see also BM 15821, the OB Eršemma am mur-ra nu-un-ti, obv. 1-13 (esp. 4, 11, and 13).

<sup>361</sup> Though the tablet is quite fragmentary, obv. 2'-3' appear to end each line with /-ḡu₁₀ im-me/ "my X' she says." Examples of this type of first-person lament language can be seen in texts like NCBT 688, rev. 1-6 (e₂-ḡu₁₀ im-me uru₂-ḡu₁₀ im-[me] // dam-ḡu₁₀ im-me dumu-ḡu₁₀ im-[me] // a ba-gub-be₂-en ki-gub-ḡu₁₀ im-me // a₂ nu-ḡal₂-gin₇ ki di-ḡu₁₀ im-me // a-gin₇ dam-ša₆-ḡu₁₀ im-me), and STVC 39 (CBS 8847), obv. iii 5-10 (each line ends /-ḡu₁₀ im-me/).

<i>PRAK B 413</i> (PSK 577)	The text appears to contain phonetic writings, and mentions language similar to and Inana/Dumuzi text <sup>362</sup>
<i>PRAK B 415</i> (PSK 578)	Mentions Dumuzi and Enlil <sup>363</sup>
<i>PRAK B 425 bis</i> (PSK 581)	Phonetic Emesal <sup>364</sup>

<sup>362</sup> *PRAK B 413* (PSK 577), obv. 10' may contain a reference to "the lady of the house" in phonetic writing ([...] ga-ša-e<sub>2</sub>-r<sub>ke4</sub>?<sup>1</sup> [...]); this could be a Sandhi writing, which assimilates the final /-an/ of /ga-ša-an/. In addition, a portion of the reverse (rev. 2'-4', perhaps 5'-7') may parallel lines from VS 2: 73+ (VAT 1323) (rev. 3-5, perhaps 6-10), but this identification is unclear.

PSK 577, rev. 2': [...] r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup>-ni [...]  
VS 2:73, rev. 3: ur-ru-ra-ni r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]

PSK 577, rev. 3': [...] r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> an-ta-si-ĝar-ĝar r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]  
VS 2:73, rev. 4: nin-a-ni<sup>?</sup> am-ta-si-ĝar-ĝar r<sub>nu</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...]

PSK 577, rev. 4': [...] inim an-ta-r<sub>si</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĝar-ĝar<sup>1</sup>  
VS 2:73, rev. 5: x-ĝu<sub>10</sub> inim am-ta-si-ĝar-ĝar r<sub>nu</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...]

<sup>363</sup> Only the right side of the tablet is preserved, but obv. 1' appears to speak of the "lord, Dumuzi" ([...] r<sub>en</sub><sup>?</sup> dumu-zi r<sub>dumu</sub><sup>?</sup> [x]). Obverse 4' appears to be a phonetic form of /sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>-an-na/, as it reads /... sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>-a-na-r<sub>zu</sub><sup>1</sup>/ "your land recorder of An," an epithet that appears in other Dumuzi/Inana texts (e.g., CBS 3656, obv. 41: /sa<sub>12</sub>-du-an-na ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in<sup>ki</sup>-na-men<sub>3</sub>/). Finally, the phonetic line in obv. 11 ([...] la ma-aḥ mu-lil<sub>2</sub>-r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup>-r<sub>zu</sub><sup>1</sup>) may duplicate a line in an Inana lament found in UET 6/2, 205, obv. ii 21 (ka<sub>2</sub>-gal maḥ<sup>d</sup> mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-r<sub>le</sub><sup>1</sup>).

<sup>364</sup> *PRAK B 425 bis* (PSK 581), obv. 2'-5' may parallel lines from BE 31, pl. 16 (Ni 2327), rev. iii 12-19, but this identification is unclear:

PSK 581, obv. 2': gi-li-bar r<sub>a</sub><sup>?</sup> r<sub>gal</sub><sup>?</sup> r<sub>nu</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...] // šu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> la-ši-r<sub>de</sub><sup>?</sup>  
BE 31:16, rev. iii 12-13: gi-li-bar a-gal-la nu-un-du<sub>3</sub> // igi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> la-ba-ši-tum<sub>3</sub>

PSK 581, obv. 3': r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> arina<sup>{na}</sup> ki-a nu?-[...] // šu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> la-gid<sub>2</sub>-[...]  
BE 31:16, rev. iii 14-15: niĝin<sub>2</sub> i-kiĝ<sub>2</sub> x ki-a nu-un-du<sub>3</sub> // šu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> la-ba-gid<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-en

PSK 581, obv. 4': gi-li-bar a-r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> // gu<sub>2</sub> de<sub>3</sub>-en-r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup>  
BE 31:16, rev. iii 16-17: gi-li-bar a-gal-la du<sub>3</sub>-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> // bi-NE x de<sub>3</sub>-eb<sub>2</sub>-DU

PSK 581, obv. 5': r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup> arina<sup>{na}</sup> ki-a // mu-ma-di  
BE 31:16, rev. iii 18-19: [...]-r<sub>{na}</sub><sup>1</sup> ki-a du<sub>3</sub>-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> // [...] r<sub>x</sub><sup>1</sup>-bi ba-an-BU

<i>PRAK B 471 bis</i> (PSK 586)	Inana epithets <sup>365</sup>
<i>PRAK C 7</i> (PSK 588)	Inana/Dumuzi text (see below)
<i>PRAK C 8+</i> (PSK 513)	Eršemma to Dumuzi?
<i>PRAK C 51</i> (PSK 594)	Dumuzi text; lamentational language and themes <sup>366</sup>
<i>PRAK C 54</i> (PSK 595)	Inana epithets (see below)
<i>PRAK C 63</i> (PSK 599)	Language similar to an Inana/Dumuzi lament <sup>367</sup>
<i>PRAK C 92</i> (PSK 527)	Inana epithets <sup>368</sup>

<sup>365</sup> The reverse of the tablet contains a number of epithets of Inana:

rev. 7': ga-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-<na>-me-en me-lam-me-en me ħu-bur-me-en  
*You, Inana, the Melammu, ...*

rev. 8': ga-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> ħur<sup>1</sup>-saġ-kalam-ma me-lam-me-en  
*You are the lady of Ĥursaġkalama, the Melammu,*

rev. 9': ama mu-<sup>1</sup>gig<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup>-ri-ba ga-da-ġen-na-me-en  
*You are mother nugig, ...*

rev. 10': <sup>1</sup>diġir<sup>1</sup>-re <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-ša-an ta ġen-na-me-en  
*You are the god<sup>1</sup>, ... the lady ...*

rev. 11': <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-gi-men<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>ġu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> ħul-ħul-ba šu ba-la-ġu<sub>10</sub>  
*You are the nugig. My house! My (house) that is changed by its destruction!*

rev. 12': ga-ša-an-ġu<sub>10</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> ħul-ħul-ba šu ba-la-ġu<sub>10</sub>  
*Oh my lady! My city! My (city) that is changed by its destruction!*

<sup>366</sup> Obverse 4': /mu-lu ir-ra-me<sub>2</sub>-en/ “you are the one of tears;” obv. 5': /mu-lu a-še-ra-me<sub>2</sub>-en/ “you are the one of laments.” See Jaques 2009: 494 and 502-503. Damu may also be mentioned in obv. 7': /[x] <sup>1</sup>dumu<sup>1</sup> da-mu/.

<sup>367</sup> Obverse 2'-4' ([...] ga-ša-an [...] // [...] am<sub>3</sub> ib<sub>2</sub> [...] // [...] lu<sub>2</sub> amaš [...] // [...] lu<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>3</sub> [...]). The reverse contains references to brickwork and the palace: rev. 3' & 7' (/še-eb/); rev. 6' (/e<sub>2</sub>-gal/).

<sup>368</sup> Obverse 10'-17' include several phonetic Inana epithets, including: /<sup>1</sup>[mu]-<sup>1</sup>gig<sup>1</sup>-a-na/ “Nugig of heaven” (obv. 10'), /<sup>1</sup>kur<sup>1</sup> gul-ul <sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-ša-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ħur-saġ/ “destroyer of all the lands, lady of the mountain” (obv. 11'), /an tu-pa <sup>1</sup>ama<sup>1</sup>? <sup>1</sup>gal ama <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-ša?/ “one who shakes the heavens, the great mother, the mother of Kiš” (obv. 12'), /<sup>1</sup>lil<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-e<sub>2</sub>-na ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub>-maš<sub>2</sub>-sa/ “Lilaenna, lady of the sheepfold and cattlepen” (obv. 13'), and /e-gi/ “princess” (obv. 17').



<i>PRAK C 124</i> (PSK 604)	Mentions Inana and Ninegalla <sup>369</sup>
<i>PRAK C 130</i> (PSK 606)	Inana lament? Enlil lament? <sup>370</sup>
<i>PRAK D 2</i> (PSK 608)	Female deity departing from her sanctuaries <sup>371</sup>
<i>PRAK D 61</i> (PSK 609)	References to Inana <sup>372</sup>
<i>OECT 5, 16</i> (PSK 613)	1st person lament of Inana <sup>373</sup>

<sup>369</sup> *PRAK C 124* (PSK 604), obv. 4' contains /dam/ "spouse," and obv. 6' may read /<sup>d</sup>inana/. Ninegalla appears in rev. 6' and 8'. In addition, rev. 3', 5'-6' appears to duplicate VS 2:3 (VAT 604+), obv. ii 9, 11-12:

PSK 604, rev. 3': lu<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ra u<sub>3</sub>-bur zi-da-ni / mu-na-la-e  
 VS 2:3, obv. ii 9: [...]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> u<sub>3</sub>-bu-ur<sub>2</sub> zi-da?-na mu-na-la?-e?  
*She extends her left breast to humanity.*

PSK 604, rev. 5': lu<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>4</sub>-ra u<sub>3</sub>-bur ga-bu-na / mu-na-la-e  
 VS 2:3, obv. ii 11: [...]<sup>r</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-bu-ur<sub>2</sub> ga-bu-na mu-na?-la?-e?  
*She extends her left breast to humanity.*

PSK 604, rev. 6': <sup>dr</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>-e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la u<sub>4</sub> gal x-a / gu ba-gid<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>  
 VS 2:3, obv. ii 12: <sup>r</sup>nin<sup>1</sup>-e<sub>2</sub>-gal-<sup>r</sup>la?<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>la?<sup>1</sup> DU<sub>7</sub>-<sup>r</sup>DU<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>gid<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-de  
*Ninegalla, the great storm...*

<sup>370</sup> In obv. 11'-18', we see a relatively set progression of lines preserved in several sources, which appear in the Balaĝ Zibum Zibum, lines 88-91. This is where the kirugu or tablet ends in some manuscripts (e.g., VS 2: 8 (VAT 605+) and YBC 9838), but not in others (e.g., VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339) continues past the end of the kirugu). The text before obv. 11' is not duplicated in other texts, however, and the tablet breaks off following obv. 18'. The line order is inconsistent among some of the sources; for example, VS 2: 8 (VAT 605+) has obv. ii 17, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 21, while VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339) has rev. 5, 6, 7, 13, 8, and 9. See Cavigneaux 1987: 52.

<sup>371</sup> This text contains a number of phonetic writings, and is difficult, therefore, to elucidate. However, in obv. 4'-7', it appears that there is motion away from a series of temples: /<sup>r</sup>eš<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ni-ta/ "from her sanctuary" (obv. 4'), /<sup>r</sup>[e<sub>2</sub>?]-gal-ta/ "from the palace" (obv. 5'), /gi ku<sub>3</sub>-ga-ta/ "from the holy reed (sanctuary?)" (obv. 6'), and /ia-ni-ma-en-ta/ "from the ?" (obv. 7'). In addition, in these lines (perhaps all the way through rev. 3'), the verb /saĝ—dub<sub>2</sub>?/ "to smash" appears to be repeated, taking /kur/ as its oblique object. This type of language seems to indicate lamenational language concerning a goddess.

<sup>372</sup> In *PRAK D 61* (PSK 609), obv. i 3', 5', 6', and 10', the lines contain /ga-ša-an-(an-na)/, and obv. i 13' reads /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-na-ni/ "her lord," and 14' contains /guruš-a-ni/ "her young man." Finally, obv. i 11'-12' appear to partially duplicate lines from CT 42:20 (BM 132096):

PSK 609, obv. i 11': [...]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> nin e<sub>2</sub>-an-na ħul-<sup>r</sup>da?<sup>1</sup>  
 CT 42:20, obv. 11: e<sub>2</sub> zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>

PSK 609, obv. i 12': [...]-ĝu<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> gul-gul-a-ke<sub>4</sub>?  
 CT 42:20, obv. 12: e<sub>2</sub> zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-imin-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>

<sup>373</sup> There are at least two epithets of Inana (obv. 5: /<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ama kiš<sup>ki</sup>/; rev. 7': /ga-ša-an mu-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>/). There are other sanctuary names; for example: /eš<sub>3</sub> <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>na/ (obv. 3) and /ĝi<sub>6</sub> <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-imin/ (obv. 4). See Gabbay 2014b: 208, fn. 113. Finally, obv. 3-6 end with the repeated phonetic phrase /ħu-lu-a-be<sub>2</sub>-eš/.

OECT 5, 40 (PSK 617)	Phonetic lament of Inana <sup>374</sup>
OECT 5, 42 (PSK 619)	Phonetic lament of Inana <sup>375</sup>
OECT 5, 43 (PSK 620)	First person lament; language similar to an Inana text

An example of one such unknown or unduplicated Balaĝ to Inana can be seen in *PRAK* B 184 (PSK 545), where the goddess laments bitterly over the loss of her spouse, child, and various parts of her city. While the content of the text clearly follows the expected pattern of a lamentational liturgy, the lines cannot be connected to any known Balaĝ.

<sup>374</sup> It is very difficult to determine what this unduplicated lament is saying. However, rev.<sup>?</sup> 3, 5, and 7 seem to indicate that this is an Inana lament:

Rev.<sup>?</sup> 3: e-gi ga-ša-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a dili-ni a-ba in-[tu-uš]  
*Oh princess, the lady of the Gagia, who sits alone!*

Rev.<sup>?</sup> 5: ga-ša-ne<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-ni-ib-ru dili-ni ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ʾba<sup>1</sup> [in-tu-uš]  
*Oh lady, lady of Nippur, who sits alone!*

Rev.<sup>?</sup> 7: ama-e mu-ru-ša dili-ni a-ba in-tu-uš  
*Oh mother, the one of the young man, who sits alone!*

For the use of /ĝa<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a/, see Krecher 1966: 152.

<sup>375</sup> The text contains a number of epithets of Inana, and appears to mention Dumuzi (obv. 2') as well.

Obv. 3': bu-ru li-ʾla<sup>1</sup> ki-sikil bu-ru ʾli<sup>1</sup> [...] / ti ba-ʾgi<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*Sparrows... the young woman, sparrows...*

Obv. 4': ʾama<sup>1</sup> mu-ʾti<sup>1</sup>-na-ʾna<sup>1</sup> bu-ru li-ʾla<sup>1</sup> [...] / ti ba-ʾgi<sup>1</sup>? [...]  
*Mother Ĝeštinana, the sparrows...*

Rev. 1: ʾmu<sup>1</sup>-ti-na-na ʾNE<sup>1</sup>-ʾen<sup>1</sup> mu-ud<sup>1</sup>-ʾna<sup>1</sup>? [...] / ʾti<sup>1</sup> ʾba<sup>1</sup>-ʾgi<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*Ĝeštinana... the spouse...*

Rev. 2: sag<sub>9</sub>-ga [...] ga]-ʾša<sup>1</sup>-an ʾx<sup>1</sup> [x] ʾma<sup>1</sup> ʾda<sup>1</sup> ʾx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*The good one? ... the lady ...*

Rev. 3: ga-ša-ʾan<sup>1</sup> ʾdub<sup>1</sup>-ʾsar<sup>1</sup> ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ʾra<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>ʾki</sup> [...]  
*The lady, the scribe of Arali...*

Rev. 4: ga-ša-an dub-sa<sup>1</sup>-ʾra<sup>1</sup> sila<sub>4</sub> za ʾx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*The lady, the scribe...*

**PRAK B 184 (PSK 545):**

Obv. 1: dam-ĝu<sub>10</sub> dumu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a u<sub>4</sub> mu-[-...-zal]  
*Oh, my spouse, my child, alas! I (passed) the day (in bitter tears)!*

Obv. 2: [A?].<sup>1</sup>IGI<sup>?</sup> gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub> mu-[-...-zal]  
*I (passed) the day in bitter tears!*

Obv. 3: [ir<sub>2</sub>] <sup>1</sup>gig<sup>1</sup>-ga-am<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub> [mu-...-zal]  
*I (passed) the day in bitter (tears)!*

*Break*

*Break*

Rev. 1': e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a [u<sub>4</sub> mu-...-zal]  
*Oh, my house, my city, alas! [I passed the day (in bitter tears)!]*

Rev. 2': itima<sup>ma</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> [erim<sub>3</sub>-ma-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a u<sub>4</sub> mu-...-zal]  
*Oh, my shrine, [my storeroom, alas! I passed the day (in bitter tears)!]*

Rev. 3': e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> a u<sub>4</sub> <sup>1?</sup>mu<sup>1?</sup>-[-...-zal]  
*Oh, my house, my city, alas! I (passed) the day (in bitter tears)!*

The verbal form /u<sub>4</sub>--zal/ “to pass the day” has been reconstructed in all of the preserved lines; at least two catalogues contain incipits that are similar to that which is found in our text: (1 ir<sub>2</sub>-ra u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-in-zal).<sup>376</sup> There are other examples of these, or similar phrases, in other laments.<sup>377</sup> In rev. 2', /itima/ appears with a phonetic complement /<sup>ma</sup>/, perhaps to specify /itima/ from among the other /ĜA<sub>2</sub>X/ signs. Finally, PRAK B 184 (PSK 545) appears to duplicate SBH 51 (VAT 265+), rev. 7-8 in lines rev. 1'-2'.<sup>378</sup> However, the Kiš duplicate repeats rev. 1' again in rev. 3', while SBH 51 (VAT 265+) does not.

<sup>376</sup> E.g., BM 23771, obv. ii 2: (1 ir<sub>2</sub>-ra u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-in-zal); see Kramer 1975: 141-66.

<sup>377</sup> AUWE 23: 125 (W 16743 cg), rev. 2-3: ([...] <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-a u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib-zal-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup> // [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-šir<sub>3</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-a u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib-zal-e) “She passes the day in lamentation! She passes the day in tears!”; VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 44-45: (<sup>1</sup>edin<sup>1</sup>-e i-lu-a u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib-zal-e // <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-lu-a <sup>1</sup>edin<sup>1</sup>-<e> i-lu-a u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib-zal-e) “The steppe passes the day in lamentation! In lamentation! The steppe passes the day in lamentation!”

<sup>378</sup> SBH 51 (VAT 265+), rev. 7-8: ([...] e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-[...] // [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> itima-ĝu<sub>10</sub> erim<sub>3</sub>-ma-ĝu<sub>10</sub> [...]). For this transliteration, see Cohen 1988: 253. Unfortunately, the lines are duplicated in section that is not drawn in SBH 51 (VAT 265+), and is not available to the author for inspection. Cohen notes that

Another example of an unduplicated Inana text can be seen in *PRAK B 188* (PSK 497), which is a small fragment that preserves a section of a lament spoken in the first person, which likely contains the incipit /a uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> im-me/. In the text, the goddess laments over the loss of her city and temple. The sequence Uruk and Zabalam in obv. 2-3 can be seen in other liturgical and literary texts.<sup>379</sup>

***PRAK B 188 (PSK 497):***

- Obv. 1: a uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> [...] *Alas! My city ...*
- Obv. 2: ki ṛunug<sup>ki</sup> [...] *The place, Uruk, ...*
- Obv. 3: ki ZA.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ṛUNUG<sup>1</sup> [...] *The place, Zabalam, ...*
- Obv. 4: uru<sub>2</sub>-ba diĝir nu [...] *In that city, the god does not...*
- Obv. 5: uru<sub>2</sub>-ṛba<sup>!?</sup> diĝir [...] *In the city, the god (does not) ...*
- Obv. 6: e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...] *My house ...*
- Obv. 7: [x] ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...]

*Reverse uninscribed*

Note the use of common lamentational language in the text; we see the exclamation /a/ “woe!” (obv. 1), along with the speaker lamenting over her city (obv. 1) and her house (obv. 6), common motifs in the Inana laments.

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these lines are found in “SBH 51 (plus a fragment recently joined since Reisner’s publication).” He lists them as lines a+23-24 (p. 255).

<sup>379</sup> Examples include: RA 8, pp. 161-69, obv. i 4-5; CT 58:16 (BM 23666), rev. 7-8; 47-48; NFT 209 (AO 4334+), rev. iii 6-7; and Inana F, lines 22-23.

Another small, unduplicated fragment of an Inana Balaĝ is found in *PRAK C 7* PSK 588. Inana is described (ostensibly) as lamenting over her spouse, Dumuzi, though the specific circumstances are unclear.

***PRAK C 7 (PSK 588):***

*Break*

Obv. 1': igi mu-<sup>ʿx</sup> [...]

...

Obv. 2': ĝuruš-a-<sup>ʿni</sup> [...]

*Her young man ...*

Obv. 3': e<sub>2</sub>-a-ni šu [...]

*She (VB) her house ...*

Obv. 4': ga-ša-an-na <sup>ʿaĝ<sub>2</sub>?</sup> [...]

*Inana ...*

Obv. 5': ga-ša-an e<sub>2</sub>-[...]

*The lady of the TN ...*

Obv. 6': nin an-ne<sub>2</sub> dam [...]

*Oh lady! An (VB) the spouse ...*

Obv. 7': am<sub>3</sub> mu-ud-na <sup>ʿx</sup> [...]

*Bison, spouse ...*

Obv. 8': <sup>ʿd<sub>1</sub>{u<sub>3</sub>}</sup>ušum-gal-an-[na ...]

*Ušumgalana ...*

Obv. 9': [x] <sup>ʿx</sup>ba-li-<sup>ʿx</sup> [...]

*Reverse uninscribed*

If we read the /MU/ in obv. 1' as the first person possessive suffix /-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ (“my eye”), it creates a first and third person discrepancy in the text. Who the first person speaker would be is unclear, as both Inana and Dumuzi appear to be referred to in the

third person. I have, therefore, understood the /MU/ to be read as the conjugation prefix, completing a compound verb /igi--X/.

It is also unclear how obv. 6' should be read; we would expect /nin an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/ for “lady of An.” Thus, I have interpreted the form /nin/ to be in the vocative, with An acting as the agent.<sup>380</sup> It is interesting to note the phonetic complement /<sup>u</sup>/ that precedes /ušum-gal-an-[na]/ in obv. 8'; its presence is likely due to the uncommon phonetic spelling of /ušumgal/ (GAL.BUR<sub>2</sub>) with /ušum-gal/.

Another, more complex example of an unduplicated liturgy can be seen in the PSK 513, which consists of tablets *PRAK C 8*, 138, 108, 116, and D 41, all of which are fragments from the same original tablet.<sup>381</sup> Some of the fragments appear to duplicate portions of known compositions, but not so much so that they would be considered main sources. For example, *PRAK C 8* contains the incipit of the Balaĝ Ĝuruš Mulu Era (“The Young Man, the One of Tears”), an incipit that only appears in a catalogue entry.<sup>382</sup> In addition, obv. 2'-4' of *PRAK C 8* are duplicated in another manuscript, BM 15795, obv. 4-6, a duplicate of Eršem<sub>ma</sub> #88.<sup>383</sup> In *PRAK C 118*, lines from TUM 3, 26 (HS 1494) (obv. 6-7; 13-16) and CT 58, 2 (BM 61892) (obv. 6-9) are duplicated. Finally, in *PRAK D 41*, we see a relatively well-preserved, four-column tablet, which contains more than an entire kirugu that is found in VS 2: 26 (VAT 611+), rev. vi 8ff, a section also duplicated in the Balaĝ Edena Usagake (“In the Steppe, in the Early Grass”) (lines 136-149).

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<sup>380</sup> However, it is also possible that the /e/ represents the locative-terminative, understood as “to/at heaven.”

<sup>381</sup> For a discussion of these tablets, see Fritz 2003: 179.

<sup>382</sup> Black 1987: 54.

<sup>383</sup> Cohen 1981: 84-87; 166-169.

*PRAK C 54* (PSK 595) preserves a highly syllabic duplicate focusing on the lamentation of Inana; she is described in the third person as one who has wept alone for her spouse, Dumuzi. A portion of the reverse (rev. 3-6) contains a common *Versatzstück* of Inana epithets that appears in several compositions (e.g., Uruamairabi).

***PRAK C 54* (PSK 595):**

- Obv. 1: mu-gi-ib ku dam mu-<sup>ʁ</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[...] / i-ra ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>  
*The holy nugig wept for the spouse ...*
- Obv. 2: ka-ša-na-na dam KU.KU <a>-sa<sub>2</sub> i-<sup>ʁ</sup>ra?<sup>1</sup> ba-<sup>ʁ</sup>ši-<sup>ʁ</sup>še<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>  
*Inana wept alone for the (...) spouse.*
- Obv. 3: mu-lu a-a ḥu-lu a-sa<sub>2</sub> i-ra ba-<sup>ʁ</sup>ši-še<sub>3</sub>  
*Oh one who destroyed the Eanna! She wept alone!*
- Obv. 4: mu-lu ḡi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>4</sub> gul-gul a-sa<sub>2</sub> <sup>ʁ</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʁ</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ši-še<sub>3</sub>  
*Oh one who destroyed the Gipar! She wept alone!*
- Obv. 5: dam zi-i dumu-zi a-sa<sub>2</sub> i-ra / ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>  
*She wept alone for the faithful spouse, Dumuzi!*
- Rev. 1: [x]-ni kuš-a-<sup>ʁ</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʁ</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ra] <sup>ʁ</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>še<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>  
*When her (...) became tired, she wept!*
- Rev. 2: mu-gi-ga a <sup>ʁ</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-a-ni [i-ra ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>]  
*When the nugig ..., she wept!*
- Rev. 3: mu-gi-ib-a-na ka-<sup>ʁ</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-[an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>]  
*The nugig of heaven, Inana, (wept)!*
- Rev. 4: kur <sup>ʁ</sup>gul<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ul<sup>1</sup> <sup>ʁ</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ša-<sup>ʁ</sup>an<sup>1</sup> [ḥur-saḡ-kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>]  
*The destroyer of lands, lady of Ḥursaḡkalama, (wept)!*
- Rev. 5: an <sup>ʁ</sup>dub<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>ʁ</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> ka-ša-[an ḡi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>-ra] / <sup>ʁ</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[ra ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>]  
*Who makes the heavens tremble, lady of the gipar, wept!*
- Rev. 6: <sup>ʁ</sup>il<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-e<sub>2</sub>-na ka-ša-<sup>ʁ</sup>an<sup>1</sup> [tur<sub>3</sub> amaš]/-a-ke<sub>4</sub> i-ra [ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>]  
*Lilaenna, lady of the cattle pen and sheepfold, wept!*

This syllabic lament of Inana has limited duplication with portions of other liturgies. In obv. 3-4, we see lines that may duplicate BE 31, 17 (Ni 2273), obv. 6-7.<sup>384</sup> Additionally, as noted above, rev. 3-6 contains a rather common set of Inana epithets seen in other OB lamentational liturgies.

The refrain /(a-sa<sub>2</sub>) i-ra ba-ši-še<sub>3</sub>/ appears to represent /(aš-am<sub>3</sub>) ir<sub>2</sub> ba-šeš<sub>4</sub>/ “She wept (alone)!”<sup>385</sup> For understanding /a-sa<sub>2</sub>/ as /aš-am<sub>3</sub>/, see *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523) (and duplicate), rev. 3: (a-ša lu me-li-ia a-ša lu me-li-ia) “She is alone! Alas! She is alone! Alas!”<sup>386</sup> Additionally, in CT 58, 16 (BM 23666), rev. 5-8, we see /as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>/ representing AŠ-a(m<sub>3</sub>) wēdu “alone, solitary:”

5. [ga]-ʽša<sup>1</sup>-an-na-me-en as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-me-en
6. [ga-ša]-ʽan<sup>1</sup> e<sub>2</sub>-a-na-me-en as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-me-en
7. [ga]-ʽša<sup>1</sup>-an ki unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga-me-en as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-me-en
8. [ga]-ʽša<sup>1</sup>-an ki zabal<sub>2</sub><sup>ki{la}</sup><sub>2</sub>-me-en as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-me-en

5. *I, Inana, am alone!*
6. *I, the lady of the Eanna, am alone!*
7. *I, the lady of the place, Uruk, am alone!*
8. *I, the lady of the place, Zabalam, am alone!*

Additionally, in VS 2: 30 (VAT 1351+), rev. iv 3, we see a similar syllabic reading in the form /as<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-mi-en/.

The repeated verbal form that is found throughout the refrain of *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595) is difficult to interpret. The verb that is read here as /ši-še<sub>3</sub>/ is the sign /LIBIR/ (IGI.ŠE<sub>3</sub>), or perhaps /U<sub>3</sub>/ (IGI.DIB), with no apparent space between the two portions of the sign. However, with the writing of /i-ra/ as the nominal constituent appearing before the verbal form, the expected verbal base is /šeš<sub>4</sub>/.

The customary way of writing a CVC

<sup>384</sup> BE 31, 17 (Ni 2273), obv. 6-7: (mu-lu e<sub>2</sub>-an-na gul-a-ra // mu-lu ḡi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub> gul-gul-la-a-ra).

<sup>385</sup> A similar writing of /ir<sub>2</sub>/ is found in *PRAK C 130* (PSK 606), rev. 8'ff: /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/ = /ir<sub>2</sub> a-na bi-me-en/.

<sup>386</sup> See partial edition below.



sign in the Kiš phonetic style is dividing it into the form CV-CV. Thus, reading /šeš<sub>4</sub>/ as /ši-še<sub>3</sub>/ is entirely appropriate. A similar writing can be seen in VS 2: 30, fragment VAT 1351, rev. 1-3, where the syllabic refrain /ir im-da-ši-ši/ appears.

I have understood the initial portions of obv. 3-4 as vocatives, “Oh, one who destroyed the Eanna/Gipar!” One might expect the /mu-lu/ to be the agent of the verbal form /ir<sub>2</sub>--šeš<sub>4</sub>/, but Inana is not likely to be responsible for the destruction of her own shrines; thus, the vocative seems more appropriate.<sup>387</sup> The syllabic writing of /a-a/ for /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/ has been discussed at length by Cavigneaux.<sup>388</sup> Finally, though the lines are broken, it may be that both rev. 1-2 preserve forms with pronominal conjugations; in rev. 1, we see /kuš-a-ni/, which I have understood as /kuš<sub>2</sub>(-u<sub>3</sub>)-a-ni/ “when X became tired,” while a similar construction appears in rev. 2.

*Enlil.* The next significant group of Kiš liturgies centers on the destructive power of Enlil. As with the Inana laments, many of the Enlil texts duplicate known Balaĝs; these include Elum Gusun (“Honored One, Wild Ox”), Zibum Zibum (“Rise up! Rise up!”), and several other compositions (see below). The table below lists the duplicated liturgies that feature Enlil:

**Table Appendix A.5. Duplicates of known Enlil laments**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Composition and Lines</b>
<i>PRAK C 9</i> (PSK 514)	Elum Gusun, obv. 2'-8' = lines c+110-116
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525)	Elum Gusun, lines e+161-181; e+182-203
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615)	Elum Gusun, lines ]e+220-25[; Mutin Nunuz Dima, ]302-307[; etc.

<sup>387</sup> It is also possible that the noun phrase should be subordinated to the verb, which would render the line, “Concerning the one who... she wept.”

<sup>388</sup> Cavigneaux 1998a: #75.

<i>PRAK B 357</i> (PSK 505)	Zibum Zibum, lines ]13-18[
<i>PRAK C 122</i> (PSK 531)	Zibum Zibum, obv. 1'-12' = lines 19-33
<i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523)	Join made by author; unassigned; duplicates several texts
<i>PRAK B 186</i> (PSK 546)	Unassigned; duplicates several texts
<i>OECT 5, 41</i> (PSK 618)	Parallel source of <i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523)
<i>PRAK B 239</i> (PSK 469) <sup>389</sup>	Obv. 1'-4' may parallel Utugin, lines 16-19; obv. 5' appears to duplicate the incipit of the 13 <sup>th</sup> Kirugu of Aabba ʒuluḥa
<i>PRAK B 298</i> (PSK 499)	Duplicates text found in Utugin, Udam Ki Amus, etc.
<i>PRAK B 421 bis</i> (PSK 509)	Duplicates Ušumgin Ni Sia, Gudnim Ekura, etc.
<i>OECT 5, 39</i> (PSK 616)	Duplicates Umun Šermal Ankia, Ušumgin Ni Sia, etc.
<i>PRAK B 465</i> (PSK 510) <sup>390</sup>	1st kirugu of Amebaranara

There are three duplicates of the Balaḡ Elum Gusun that were found among the Kiš duplicates; the line numbers presented here will follow Cohen's edition of the Balaḡ.<sup>391</sup> We begin with *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), which preserves lines e+161-203. The text contains an interesting phonetic writing in rev. 6, where the divine name /<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>/ is used to write the TN /e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>/, in place of the customary form /e<sub>2</sub>-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra/, "House of the universe."<sup>392</sup>

<sup>389</sup> This fragment preserves the beginning of five lines; there is a single ruling before the final line on the tablet. This line reads, /am<sub>3</sub> zi-ga [...]/, which may phonetically duplicate the incipit of the 12<sup>th</sup> kirugu of "Oh Angry Sea" /am zi-ga u<sub>6</sub>-di am<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>/ (VAT 7824, rev. 31) OR of the 13<sup>th</sup> kirugu, /am zi-ga-a-ni an-na nam-us<sub>2</sub>/ (rev. 37). The lines prior to the single ruling *may* have some connection with phonetic writings of Utugin, lines 16-19, but this is quite tentative.

<sup>390</sup> Although the first line of *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510) is broken, and no apparent extant duplicate of the initial section of the Balaḡ exists, it appears that *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510), obv. 1 represents the incipit of the Balaḡ Ame Baraanara: (am-e bara<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-na nam-sig<sub>3</sub>-ga), written ([...]-x-ra-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-ni nu? [...]/ u<sub>4</sub>-tu-su? u<sub>4</sub> kur [...]). An additional difficulty with this identification is the fact that, at present, we cannot collate the tablet. The sign before /ra/, in the hand copy, appears to be some form of /tab/, but it is not possible to make a definitive determination.

<sup>391</sup> Cohen 1988: 272-318.

<sup>392</sup> See George 1993: 145.

An example of a manuscript that contains lines from different compositions is *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615); this small fragment, the contents of which are duplicated in different lamentational liturgies (e.g., Mutin Nunuz Dima [c+302-7] and Elum Gusun [e+220-25]), contains a DN litany with several phonetic forms (see score below).<sup>393</sup>

**OECT 5, 37 (PSK 615)** = **K**  
**CT 42:3 (BM 86536)** = **X<sub>1</sub>**  
**BM 96927** = **X<sub>2</sub>**

*Break*

**e+220.**      **<sup>d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-ten-du<sub>10</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> ne-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>**<sup>394</sup>  
*Patendu, the one of the storage room,*

K<sub>, rev?.1</sub>:      [ ... ]      ʾlu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>    me-ʾsaĝ<sup>1</sup>-ʾĝa<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[x]  
X<sub>1, rev. iv 48</sub>:    pa-te-en-du<sub>10</sub>    mu-lu    ne-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
X<sub>2, obv. i 49</sub>:    <sup>d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-ten-du<sub>10</sub>    lu<sub>2</sub>      ne-saĝ-ʾĝa<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>

**e+221.**      **<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-saĥar<sub>2</sub>-ra dumu lu<sub>2</sub>-nu-gi-[ga]**  
*Usaĥar, the child of the midwife,*

K<sub>, rev?.2</sub>:      ʾus<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĥa-ra    du-ʾmu<sup>1</sup>      ʾlu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ʾgi<sup>1</sup>-ʾba<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>1, rev. iv 49</sub>:    <sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-saĥar<sub>2</sub>-ra    dumu      lu<sub>2</sub>-nu-gi-[x]  
X<sub>2, obv. i 50</sub>:    <sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-saĥar-ra    dumu [      ...      ]

**e+222.**      **ga-ša-an babbar<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na**  
*The shining lady, Šuzianna,*

K<sub>, rev?.3</sub>:      ga-ša-an babbar<sub>2</sub>      ʾšu<sup>1</sup>-zi-an-ʾna<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>1, rev. iv 50</sub>:    nin babbar      <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-ʾan<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
X<sub>2, obv. i 51</sub>:    ga-ša-an babbar<sub>2</sub>      <sup>d</sup>šu-zi-[...]

<sup>393</sup> The Balaĝs Mutin Nunuz Dima and Elum Gusun follow the line numbering system found in Cohen 1988: 222-252 and 272-318. For convenience sake, in the score, we will use the line numbers of Elum Gusun in the composite lines. For a full score of the available duplicates for these lines, see Cohen 1988: 287-288.

<sup>394</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of /ne-saĝ/, see Heimpel 1994.

**e+223.**            **um-me-da ša<sub>6</sub>-ga mu-lu e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra**  
*The good wet nurse, the one of the Ekur,*

K <sub>, rev?.4</sub> :	ʽe <sup>1</sup> -me-da	ʽša <sup>6</sup> <sup>1</sup> -ga	lu <sub>2</sub>	e <sub>2</sub> -kur-ra
X <sub>1, rev. iv 51</sub> :	um-me-da	ša <sub>6</sub> -ga	mu-lu	e <sub>2</sub> -[...]
X <sub>2, obv. i 52</sub> :	[x]-me-da	ša <sub>6</sub> -ga	mu-lu	e <sub>2</sub> -[...]

**e+224.**            **ga-ša-an eš<sub>3</sub> gal-la ama kul-aba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>**  
*The lady of the great sanctuary, mother of Kulaba,*

K <sub>, rev?.5</sub> :	ʽga <sup>1</sup> -ša-an uš ga-la	ama	ku-ʽla <sup>1</sup> /-ba-ra
X <sub>1, rev. iv 52</sub> :	ga-ša-an eš <sub>3</sub> gal	ʽama <sup>1</sup> [	... ]
X <sub>2, obv. i 53</sub> :	[x]-ša-an eš <sub>3</sub> gal-la	ama	kul-aba <sup>ki</sup>

**e+225.**            **<sup>d</sup>en-a<sub>2</sub>-nun ama kurku<sub>2</sub><sup>395</sup>**  
*Enanun, the mother of desires,*

K <sub>, rev?.6</sub> :	[...]-ʽnu <sup>1</sup>	ʽama <sup>1</sup> ʽkur <sup>1</sup> -ʽkur <sup>1</sup> -ʽra <sup>1</sup> -[x]
X <sub>2, obv. i 54</sub> :	[...]-nun	ʽama <sup>1</sup> KA.ʽAN <sup>1</sup> .[...]

*Break*

There are several interesting syllabic writings in this manuscript: /me-saĝ/ for /ne-saĝ/, /e-me-da/ for /um-me-da/, /uš/ for /eš<sub>3</sub>/, and /kur-kur/ for /kurku<sub>2</sub>/.

In *PRAK B 357* (PSK 505), there are five partially preserved lines that duplicate Zibum Zibum, lines 13-18, according to Anne Löhnert's line numbering.<sup>396</sup> A second duplicate of Zibum Zibum is found in *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531), which preserves most of lines 16-31 of the composition in obv. 1'-12'.

Tablet PSK 523 (a join of *PRAK B 271* and *PRAK C 66* made by the author) is a duplicate of the unassigned 1<sup>st</sup> mill. Balaĝ found in the bilingual text BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879).<sup>397</sup> The joined tablet is duplicated by the Kiš tablet *PRAK B 186* (PSK 546), obv.

<sup>395</sup> The meaning of /kurku<sub>2</sub>/ is dealt with at length in Jaques 2004: 223-25.

<sup>396</sup> Löhnert 2009: 179-192.

<sup>397</sup> See Black 1987: 77.

1'-t.e.2 (lines 3-6), as well as *OECT* 5, 41 (PSK 618), obv. 5'-6' (lines 1-2). The preserved portion of this Balaĝ describes the destruction of the sanctuaries and residents of the city. The underlined portion of the lines in source K<sub>1</sub> represents *PRAK* B 271, showing where it joins *PRAK* C 66.

**OB Sources**

***PRAK* C 66+ (PSK 523)** = K<sub>1</sub>  
***PRAK* B 186 (PSK 546)** = K<sub>2</sub>  
***OECT* 5, 41 (PSK 618)** = K<sub>3</sub>  
**VS 2: 64 (VAT 610+)** = X<sub>1</sub>  
**BM 29632** = X<sub>2</sub>

**1<sup>st</sup> Mill. Sources (italicized)**

**BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879)** = *Urk*<sub>1</sub>  
**BA 10:26** = *Nin*<sub>1</sub>  
**BL 146 (K 3026)** = *Nin*<sub>2</sub>  
**SBH 18 (VAT 284)** = *Bab*<sub>1</sub>

*Break*

**1. lu<sub>2</sub> dam-da ħu-la nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>**  
*I cannot find the one who rejoices over her spouse!*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 1': lu<sub>2</sub> dam-da ħu-la nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>  
K<sub>3</sub>, obv. 5': [x] ʾdam ʾda ʾħu-la nu-mu-un-pa-de  
*Urk*<sub>1</sub>, rev. 15: mu-lu dam ħul<sub>2</sub> nu-mu-un-da-pa<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> : ša<sub>2</sub> itti mu-tu<sub>2</sub> ħa-du-u<sub>2</sub> a-ma-ru  
ul a-li-e

**2. lu<sub>2</sub> dumu-da ħu-la nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>**  
*I cannot find one who rejoices over her child!*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 2': lu<sub>2</sub> dumu-da ħu-la nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>  
K<sub>3</sub>, obv. 6': ʾx ʾUD-ʾmu ʾta na-am-mu-un-pa-de  
*Urk*<sub>1</sub>, rev. 16: mu-lu dumu ħul<sub>2</sub> nu-mu-un-da-pa<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> : BLANK SPACE

**3. šeš nu-di tur<sub>3</sub>-ta nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>**  
*I cannot find among the cattle pen one that was not taken captive.*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 3': šeš nu-di tur<sub>3</sub>-ta nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>  
K<sub>2</sub>, obv. 1': [...]-ʾun ʾpa ʾde<sub>3</sub>  
*Urk*<sub>1</sub>, rev. 17: mu-lu-bi e<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>3</sub>-ra nu- : u<sub>2</sub>-tul-la-šu ina tar-ba-ša MIN MIN

**4. sipa-da a-ma-sa-na nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>**  
*I cannot find (anything) in the sheepfold of the shepherd!*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 4': sipa-da a-ma-sa-na nu-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-[un]-pa-de<sub>3</sub>  
 K<sub>2</sub>, obv. 2': [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>  
 Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 18: sipa-bi amaš-a-ni nu- : *ri-e-um-šu ina su-bur* MIN MIN *ba*

**5. dam-da nu<sub>2</sub>-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>**  
*He looks at the one lying with his spouse.*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 5': dam-da nu-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
 K<sub>2</sub>, t.e. 1: [...] <sup>1</sup>bi<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup> mu-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 12: dam-ta nu-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
 Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 19: dam-da nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ra i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ma : *ša<sub>2</sub> itti mu-tu<sub>2</sub> šal-lu<sub>4</sub> tap-pa-la*<sup>he-pi<sub>2</sub> eš-šu<sub>2</sub></sup>  
 Nin<sub>1</sub>, rev. 7: [...] <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup> i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ma-ma  
 Nin<sub>2</sub>, obv. 15: [...] i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-ma-ma

**6. dumu-da nu<sub>2</sub>-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-kar-kar**  
*He observes the one lying with his child.*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 6': dumu-da nu-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-kar-<sup>1</sup>TE<sup>1</sup>.[A]  
 K<sub>2</sub>, t.e. 2: [...] <sup>1</sup>bi<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup> mu-kar-kar  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 13: dumu-ta nu-ar i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-kar-kar  
 Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 20: dumu-da nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ra i-bi<sub>2</sub> kar<sub>2</sub>-kar<sub>2</sub> : *ša<sub>2</sub> it-ti ma-ri <šal>-lu ta-bar-ri*  
 Nin<sub>1</sub>, rev. 9: [...] <sup>1</sup>ar<sup>1</sup> i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-kar<sub>2</sub>-[x]  
 Nin<sub>2</sub> obv. 16: [...] i-bi<sub>2</sub> mu-un-kar<sub>2</sub>-kar<sub>2</sub>

**7. e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba mi-ni-ib-dar-dar**  
*He smashes the head sanctuaries in their places!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 1: eš<sub>3</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba<sup>1</sup> mi-in-<sup>1</sup>dar?<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>dar<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 14: e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba mi-ni-ib-dar-dar  
 X<sub>2</sub>, rev. 23: e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba mi-ni-ib-<sup>1</sup>dar<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>dar<sup>1</sup>  
 Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 23: e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-dar-dar : *eš-ret-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu ina šub-ti-šu<sub>2</sub>-nu*  
*tu-par-ri-ir*  
 Nin<sub>1</sub>, rev. 15: [...] ki-tuš-bi mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-dar-[x]  
 Nin<sub>2</sub>, obv. 19: [...] i-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-dar-dar  
 Bab<sub>1</sub>, rev. 9: e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki-tuš-ba me-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-dar-[x]

**8. erim<sub>3</sub>-ma kaskal-la-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ĝar**  
*He set (the contents of) the storehouses to the road!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 2: i-ri-ma kaskal-še mu-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[ma?]  
X<sub>1</sub>, obv. ii 15: iri-ma kaskal-a-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ĝar  
X<sub>2</sub>, rev. 24: erim<sub>3</sub>-ma kaskal-la-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-<sup>1</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 24: erim<sub>3</sub>-ma kaskal-a-še<sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-[x] : *i-šit-ti<sub>3</sub> ana ĥar-ra-nu taš-kun*

Nin<sub>1</sub>, rev. 17: [...] kaskal-la-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ma-[x]  
Nin<sub>2</sub>, obv. 20: [...] -mar  
Bab<sub>1</sub>, rev. 10: erim<sub>3</sub>-ma kaskal-a-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ma-al-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>  
*Double Ruling*

**9. a-ša lu me-li-ia a-ša lu me-li-ia**  
*She is alone! Alas! She is alone! Alas!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 3: a-ša lu me-li-ia <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> lu me-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [...]  
Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 25: AŠ.am<sub>3</sub> mu-lu me-li-[e]-a : *e-diš-ši-šu<sub>2</sub> i-nim-ma*

**10. me-li-ia me aĝ<sub>2</sub> nu-di-de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia**  
*Alas! I no longer desire the MEs! Alas!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 4: me-li-ia me aĝ<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>-de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia  
Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 27: me-li-e-a i<sub>3</sub>-<sup>1</sup>gub<sup>1</sup> : *i-nim-ma az-za-zu*

**11. me-li-ia al nu-di-de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia**  
*Alas! I no longer desire the MEs! Alas!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 5: me-li-ia me al <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-[di?]-<sup>1</sup>de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia  
Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 28: me-li-e-a i<sub>3</sub>-<sup>1</sup>tuš<sup>1</sup> : *i-nim-ma uš-ša<sub>2</sub>-ab*

**12. me-li-ia me aĝ<sub>2</sub> nu-di-de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia**  
*Alas! I no longer desire the MEs! Alas!*

K<sub>1</sub>, rev. 6: [me]-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-ia me aĝ<sub>2</sub> [nu]-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>-de<sub>3</sub>-en me-li-ia  
Urk<sub>1</sub>, rev. 29: me-li-e-a i<sub>3</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub> [...] : *i-nim-ma a-na-lum*

*Break*

It appears that both *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523) (source  $K_1$ ) and the first mill. source BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879) (*Urki*) preserve the same Balaĝ, while the other duplicates only contain portions of the larger composition.<sup>398</sup> The meaning of the initial couplet (lines 1-2) is clear in source *Urki*; however, the other OB sources (both syllabically written) are not straightforward.  $K_1$  preserves what appears to be a /RI-a/ in line 2; I have understood this as a poorly copied /ħu<sup>1</sup>-la<sup>1</sup>/, as /ħul<sub>2</sub>/ is the expected participle. In the beginning of the same line, source  $X_3$  is broken, and preserves what appears to be /ʀx<sup>1</sup>ʀUD<sup>1</sup>-mu-ta/. As this is a syllabic source, the /UD/ sign could be read /tu<sub>2</sub>/, showing a /d/ to /t/ shift, forming /tu<sub>2</sub>-mu/ for /du<sub>5</sub>-mu/.

Another difficulty appears in line 3, where the two preserved sources contain different direct objects. Source *Urki* preserves the form /mu-lu-bi/ = *u<sub>2</sub>-tul-la-šu* “its herdsman,” where  $K_1$  appears to read /šeš nu-di/. Line 3 forms a couplet with line 4; the corresponding forms seen in *Urki* are /mu-lu-bi/ “the one (of the cattle pen)” and /sipa-bi/ “its shepherd,” while source  $K_1$  preserves /sipa-da a-ma-sa-na/, an anticipatory genitive, “in the sheepfold of the shepherd.” It is possible that source  $K_1$  is poorly copied, and collation would reveal /mu-lu-bi/ in line 3; however, some sense can be made out of the phrase /šeš nu-di/ in this context. If we understand /šeš/ as a phonetic form of /še<sub>29</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>/, we see the verb /še<sub>29</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>--du<sub>11</sub>/, and the line would read, “I cannot find among the cattle pen one who was not taken captive.”<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>398</sup> Although a clear kirugu division is not overtly present in BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879) (*Urki*), there does appear to be a thick, single ruling following rev. 10, which corresponds to the double ruling following  $K_1$ , rev. 2. The agreement of both kirugu content and ordering may well indicate that these two duplicates represent a larger composition.

<sup>399</sup> For a full discussion of this verb, see Attinger 1993: 593-597; Tinney 1996: 180-181; Steinkeller 1991: 230-231.



Of note is the consistent writing of /kar/ for /kar<sub>2</sub>/ in all three preserved OB sources of line 6; this homophonous sign replacement for the compound verb /igi--kar<sub>2</sub>/ is exceptionally rare in the OB literary and liturgical corpus, but appears in three duplicates here. The form /aš-am<sub>3</sub>/ is also replaced with a phonetic writing /a-ša/ in line 9, as well as /mu-lu/ appearing as /lu/ (likely a homophonous sign replacement for /lu<sub>2</sub>/).

Finally, the repeated verbal form in lines 10-12 is difficult to determine, as the break in the tablet appears in the middle of the verbal form in all three lines. Source *Urk<sub>1</sub>* has a series of different verbal forms: /i<sub>3</sub>-gub/ *az-za-zu* “I stand,” /i<sub>3</sub>-tuš/ *uš-ša<sub>2</sub>-ab* “I sit,” and /i<sub>3</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>/ *a-na-lum* “I lie down.” However, source *K<sub>1</sub>* appears to maintain the same verbal form throughout: /me al nu-di-de<sub>3</sub>-en/ “I no longer desire the MEs!”<sup>400</sup> In no line is the /di/ clear, and lines 10 and 12 read /aĝ<sub>2</sub>/ for /al/. However, this phenomenon of a *Kiš* source replacing the second half of a line in a given litany with a different phrase is relatively common.

In *PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), we see another example of three lines that appear to be duplicated in several compositions. The lines preserved in obv. 4’-6’ are duplicated in Utugin (“Come out like the Sun!”) (lines 25-26 – Anne Löhnert’s line numbering),<sup>401</sup> VS 10: 102 (VAT 3421+), rev. iv 3-4 (Udam Ki Amus [“It, the Storm, Touches the Earth”], d+189-191)<sup>402</sup> and CBS 497+, obv. ii 20-22.

Similarly, in *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), we find that obv. 2’-4’ contains lines that appear to be duplicated in a number of 1<sup>st</sup> mill. compositions, including Enzu

<sup>400</sup> Cf. CT 42:8 (BM 88288), rev. iii 6-8: (me lu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> me ʿal<sup>1</sup> [...] // <sup>d</sup>en-ki-me-en me lu-ʿlu<sup>1</sup>-[ĝu<sub>10</sub>] me al [...] // al nu-ʿum<sup>1</sup>-me me-ĝu<sub>10</sub> al nu-ʿum<sup>1</sup>-[me]) “No one (should) desire my numerous MEs! I am Enki! (No one) (should) desire my numerous MEs! No one (should) desire! No one (should) desire my MEs!” Our text seems to indicate that, the MEs, the thing that Inana sought after so diligently, she no longer desires. Her state of lament has made her lose the desire for even that which she loves a great deal.

<sup>401</sup> Löhnert 2009: 138.

<sup>402</sup> Cohen 1988: 133.



<b>K</b> , obv?. 2:	[...] - <sup>1</sup> saĝ gal	a-ba e-di-ri	a-ba e- <sup>1</sup> da <sup>1</sup> -[...]
S, obv. 12:	ur-saĝ gal-la	a-ba-a- <sup>1</sup> diri	a-ba-a-da-[x]
X <sub>I</sub> , obv. 3:	ur-<saĝ> gal	a-ba [	... ]
Nin <sub>I</sub> , obv. 35:	ur-saĝ gal	<sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[	... ]
Bab <sub>I</sub> , obv. 8:	ur-saĝ gal	a-ba e- <sup>1</sup> diri	a-ba
Bab <sub>II</sub> , obv. 21:	[	... ] <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> diri	a- <sup>1</sup> ba <sup>1</sup> [ ... ]
Nin <sub>II</sub> , rev. 2:	[	... ]	<sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> -da-sa <sub>2</sub>

*Great hero, who surpasses (you)? Who is equal to (you)?*

<b>K</b> , obv?. 3:	<sup>1</sup> i? <sup>1</sup> bi-i-la-zu	a-ba-a-a	ba- <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -[...]
S, obv. 15:	i-bi <sub>2</sub> il <sub>2</sub> -la-zu	a-ba-a	ba-ra-e <sub>3</sub>
X <sub>I</sub> , obv. 4:	i-bi <sub>2</sub> il-la-[...]		
N <sub>i</sub> , obv. 20:	i-bi <sub>2</sub> il-la-zu	a-ba-a	ba-ra-e <sub>3</sub>
X <sub>II</sub> , obv. 15:	[...] <sup>1</sup> il <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -la-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	a-ba- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	[...]
X <sub>III</sub> , r. 6:	i-bi <sub>2</sub> il <sub>2</sub> -la-zu	a-ba-[...]	
Nin <sub>II</sub> , rev. 4:	[...]	a-ba	ba-ra-e <sub>3</sub>
Bab <sub>I</sub> , obv. 10:	i-bi <sub>2</sub> il <sub>2</sub> -la-zu	a-ba	ba-ra-e <sub>3</sub>

*Who can go out of your sight?*

<b>K</b> , edge 1:	du-pa-ta-zu	a-ba-a-a	ba- <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> -[...]/-ba
S, rev. 1:	du <sub>10</sub> bad-ra <sub>2</sub> -a-zu	a-ba-a	ba-ra-šub-ba
X <sub>I</sub> , obv. 5:	du <sub>10</sub> bad-ra <sub>2</sub> -zu	a-[	... ]
N <sub>i</sub> , obv. 21:	du <sub>10</sub> bad-ra <sub>2</sub> -zu	a-ba-a	ba-ra-šub-bu
X <sub>II</sub> , obv. 16:	[...] - <sup>1</sup> ra <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	a-ba-a [	... ]
X <sub>III</sub> , r. 7:	du <sub>10</sub> bad-ra <sub>2</sub> -zu	a-ba-a [	... ]
Nin <sub>II</sub> , rev. 5:	[	... ]	a-ba
Bab <sub>I</sub> , obv. 11:	du <sub>10</sub> bad-ra <sub>2</sub> -zu	a-ba	ba-ra- <sup>1</sup> šub <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> bu <sup>1</sup>

*Who can get away from your pursuit?*

### *Break*

As with the Inana group, there are a number of apparently unduplicated liturgies that focus on Enlil and his destructive power. Below is a list of 11 texts that are likely to be associated with Enlil; the evidence supporting such a connection is included in the table.

**Table Appendix A.6. Unknown or unduplicated Enlil laments**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Evidence Indicating an Enlil Lament</b>
<i>PRAK B 240</i> (PSK 549)	May duplicate a portion of the Balaĝ Elum Gusun <sup>405</sup>
<i>PRAK B 362</i> (PSK 567)	Fragmentary text that may contain destructive lament language <sup>406</sup>
<i>PRAK B 391</i> (PSK 574)	Fragmentary text that mentions Enlil, the Ekur, and perhaps the plundering of the Eanna <sup>407</sup>
<i>PRAK B 395</i> (PSK 575)	Very fragmentary phonetic Emesal text that appears to mention Enlil <sup>408</sup>
<i>PRAK B 405</i> (PSK 576)	Enlil epithets <sup>409</sup>
<i>PRAK C 34</i> (PSK 591)	Describes Enlil's destructive word as a rising flood, which has no opponent <sup>410</sup>

<sup>405</sup> *PRAK B 240* (PSK 549) is a very fragmentary text (ca. 5 lines preserved). However, obv. 3' appears to be a phonetic duplicate of AO 3924, rev. 4, which preserves line 105 of the Enlil Balaĝ Elum Gusun:

PSK 549, obv. 3': [ ... u<sub>3</sub>?]-mu-un eš-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> [...]  
AO 3924, rev. 4: a-lu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un eš-bar-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>

<sup>406</sup> Though only partially preserved, destructive vocabulary appears to be present in obv. 2' (/u<sub>4</sub> ĥul-a/ "the evil storm") and obv. 4' (/ba-gul<sup>2</sup>/ "is destroyed").

<sup>407</sup> Obv. 7': /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na šu gaba-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> [...]/ "Let me plunder the Eanna." Obverse 6 also refers to the /saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ge/ "the black-headed ones." Finally, Enlil and the Ekur may be mentioned in rev. 3' (/ [<sup>d</sup>mu-ul]-lil<sub>2</sub>-la e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra mu-da-<sup>1</sup>x').

<sup>408</sup> Obv. 1' contains /mu-lil<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/.

<sup>409</sup> Obv. 1': [...]<sup>1</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-un kur-kur-ra-<sup>1</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> / še-<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>AN<sup>1</sup> "The lord of all the lands..." Enlil appears to be mentioned directly in obv. 2': /ia<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>/ "Father<sup>2</sup> Enlil."

<sup>410</sup> Broken Emesal text with some phonetic writings:

Obv. 3': [...]<sup>1</sup>ur<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> aĝ<sub>2</sub> gu-la e-ne-<sup>1</sup>eĝ<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]  
... *the great thing, the word...*

Obv. 4': [...]<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub> an-še<sub>3</sub> an al-dub-a-ni  
... *his word, which shakes the heavens above,*

Obv. 5': [...]<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-še<sub>3</sub> ki in-saĝ-ga-[ni?]  
... *(his) word, which makes the earth tremble below,*

Obv. 6': [...]<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>a-<sup>1</sup>nun<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ge<sub>16</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
... *(his) word, which makes the Anuna gods forsake (their place),*

Obv. 7': [...]<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-zu nu-tuku šim-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
... *does not have a diviner, (it does not have) an interpreter,*

Obv. 8': [...]-u<sub>2</sub>-ru<sup>1</sup>-zi-ga<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>gaba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>šu-ĝar <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*It is a rising flood that (has) no opponent.*

PRAK C 50 (PSK 593)	Epithets of Enlil <sup>411</sup>
PRAK C 129 (PSK 605)	Epithets of Enlil <sup>412</sup>
PRAK D 1 + 40 (PSK 607)	Epithets of Enlil <sup>413</sup>
OECT 5, 44 (PSK 621)	Mentions Enlil in Emesal form <sup>414</sup>

*Other Goddesses.* As seen above, the Inana lamentational liturgies are by far the most commonly attested among the Kiš corpus. However, there are a number of other laments that have another goddess as their primary focus. In this section, I include the goddesses who appear less frequently as a single group (see table below).

<sup>411</sup> Obverse 2'-4' contain /<sup>r</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-mu-un lil<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>2</sup>? "lord of the wind," /ur-saĝ/ "hero," and /<sup>r</sup>d<sup>2</sup>?<sup>1</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ "Enlil."

<sup>412</sup> Obv. 2' reads ([...] e-lu-me<sub>2</sub> / [...] -mu-un kur-kur-ra di-e). It is likely that we should understand /[...] u<sub>3</sub>]-mu-un kur-kur-ra/ in the second half of the line, as this is a common epithet for Enlil. This may indicate that the form /e-lu-me<sub>2</sub>/ could be a syllabic writing of /e-lum-e/ "bison, honored one," which would fit well in this context (cf. /e-lum di-da-ra ne-en ga-an-na-tuš/ "Thus, let me sit down for the honored one, who roams about" [VS 2:11+ (VAT 607+), rev. iv 8, *Elum Gusun*]).

<sup>413</sup> Highly phonetic Emesal lament that appears to center of Enlil, particularly on the reverse of the tablet. See, for example, rev. 16-17, which contains common Enlil epithets, and the plea, "Let my father do it!" (which runs from rev. 14-19):

Rev. 16: u<sub>2</sub>-mu-AĜ<sub>2</sub> kur-kur-ra ħu-<sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-na a-ya-ĝu<sub>10</sub> <sup>r</sup>ħu<sup>1</sup>-[mu-na]  
*Let the lord of all the lands do it! Let my father [do it!]*

Rev. 17: u<sub>2</sub>-mu-AĜ<sub>2</sub> du-qa zi-da ħu-mu-na a-ya-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ħu-[mu-na]  
*Let the lord of the just word do it! Let my father do it!*

Inana appears to be the focus of rev. 1-13, however, including the refrain /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/ "What have you to do with tears?" (see Cavigneaux 1987: 55), as well as the highly syllabic (and very uncertain) lines rev. 1-4:

Rev. 1: <sup>r</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-ni gi-ri-lu<sup>{se-en}</sup>-ni ba-zi-qa  
*Her ME, her Giri-ilu bird, which rose up,*

Rev. 2: ki-sikil<sup>{ki-il<sub>2</sub>}</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-na-na <sup>r</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-ri-lu<sup>{se-en}</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[zi-qa]  
*The young maiden, Inana, her Giri-ilu bird, which rose up,*

Rev. 3: dumu-saĝ na-na a-ya gi-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-lu<sup>{se-en}</sup>-ni <sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>?<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>  
*Chief child of Nanna, the father, her Giri-ilu bird, which rose up,*

Rev. 4: gi-ri-lu e-ĝu<sub>10</sub> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>{se-en}</sup>-ni ba-zi-tar<sup>{ar}</sup>  
*The lament<sup>?</sup>, my house, ... she cut?*

<sup>414</sup> Rev. 4': /<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-ra/ "for Enlil."

**Table Appendix A.7. Laments concerning other goddesses**

Text	Goddess	Composition/Evidence
<i>PRAK B 322+</i> (PSK 502)	Ninisina	Duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 48-iii 3
<i>PRAK C 32</i> (PSK 517)	Ninisina	Duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. i 9-23
<i>PRAK C 100</i> (PSK 529)	Ninisina	Duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. iii 6-23
<i>PRAK D 45</i> (PSK 533)	Ninisina	Duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 47, 46, 48-53, 55; vi 9-16
<i>PRAK B 331</i> (PSK 559) (+) <i>PRAK C 59</i> (PSK 597)	Ninisina	Ninisina text that contains similar language to what appears in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) (see below)
<i>PRAK B 464</i> (PSK 442)	Ninisina	Collective tablet with Letter from Sin-Iddinam to Ninisina <sup>415</sup>
<i>OECT 5, 57</i> (PSK 622)	Ninisina	Fragmentary Emesal text that refers several times to Ninisina <sup>416</sup>
<i>PRAK C 31</i> (PSK 516)	Aruru	Duplicates <i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 490), obv. i 3 <sup>7</sup> -7 <sup>7</sup> (an Aruru Balaĝ) (see Appendix B)
<i>PRAK C 56</i> (PSK 596)	Aruru	Reverse appears to be an Aruru lament <sup>417</sup>
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511)	Aruru	2 <sup>nd</sup> kirugu contains a litany to Aruru (see edition in Appendix B)

<sup>415</sup> Following a single ruling, and before a double ruling, obv. 11' reads [...<sup>d</sup>]nin-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in-na-<sup>r</sup>ke<sub>4</sub>?<sup>1</sup> "[Eršemma/Balaĝ?] of Ninisina."

<sup>416</sup> For example, Ninisina is clearly referred to in rev. iv 2' (/ga<sup>1</sup>-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-[...]/), 10' (/ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in-na/), and rev. v 4' (/x<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>-si-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>/). The form /ga-ša-an/ appears in rev. iv 3', v 7', 8', 9', and 10'. Finally, a phonetic form of /a-še-er/ "lament" appears as /a-še-ra/ in rev. iv 11', v 5', 9', and 12'.

<sup>417</sup> Following a double ruling on the reverse, rev. 2<sup>7</sup>-7<sup>7</sup> reads:

Rev. 2<sup>7</sup>: <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru me-e [...]  
*I, Aruru, ...*

Rev. 3<sup>7</sup>: <sup>r</sup>u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ri u<sub>4</sub>-ri ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ri <sup>r</sup>ĝi<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ri ...]  
*(In) those days, those days, (in) those nights, those nights ...*

Rev. 4<sup>7</sup>: [...] <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-me<sub>2</sub>-e mu-un- [...]

Rev. 5<sup>7</sup>: [...] <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-le [...]  
*... Enlil ...*

Rev. 6<sup>7</sup>: [...] im-me uru<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*... she says. The city ...*

Rev. 7<sup>7</sup>: [...] im-me gal? [...]  
*... she says ...*

<i>PRAK C 105</i> (PSK 530)	Aruru	Duplicate of <i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511) and the Balaĝ Diĝir Pae <sup>418</sup>
<i>OECT 5, 10</i> (PSK 612)	Aruru	Aruru lament <sup>419</sup>
<i>PRAK B 277</i> (PSK 555)	Ninĥursaĝ	Very fragmentary Emesal text that mentions Ninĥursaĝ <sup>420</sup>
<i>PRAK C 97 + C 39</i> (PSK 528)	Nisaba	Nisaba B, lines ]9-13[ and ]15-21 (see below)
<i>PRAK B 255</i> (PSK 553)	Bau?	Lament of a goddess that mentions Bau <sup>421</sup>
<i>PRAK C 113</i> (PSK 602)	Ninbara	Lament of a goddess, perhaps Ninbara <sup>422</sup>

*PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) (join made by author) is a Ninisina lament, the majority of which is taken up with a long section that duplicates portions of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), one line of TUM III, 30 (HS 1514), 33 (HS 1541), and one line of IM 12183a (line 14).<sup>423</sup> Another duplicate of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) is found in *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), which duplicates obv. iii 6-23 of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+).<sup>424</sup> An

<sup>418</sup> It is unclear whether *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), in its completed form, focused on Aruru (as *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511)), or Šulpae, as in Diĝir Pae.

<sup>419</sup> See, for example, rev. iv 3' and 5' (/ḏa-ru-ru/). See Black 2005: 56-61 for a recent transliteration and translation of the tablet.

<sup>420</sup> In obv. 2', we see /ḡa<sup>2</sup>1-ša-an-ĥur-ḡsaĝ<sup>1</sup>/ "Ninĥursaĝ," as well as /ama/ "mother" in obv. 6' and 7'. It is possible that An is referred to in obv. 4' (/an erib<sup>2</sup> ḏutu-ḡx<sup>1</sup> [...]/ "An, father-in-law of Utu").

<sup>421</sup> Obverse 1'-3' (ga-ḡša<sup>1</sup>-ḡan<sup>1</sup> [...]/ [...]/ ḏba-u<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> [...]/ ḡa-ša-an-gal [...]).

<sup>422</sup> Obverse 1'-4' (nin-ḡbara<sup>2</sup>1ḡx<sup>1</sup> [...]/ ab<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-ra ḡx<sup>1</sup> [...]/ še de<sub>3</sub>-na-ša<sub>4</sub> še ḡx<sup>1</sup> [...]/ ĥenbur<sub>2</sub> kur-kur-ra [...]) "Oh Ninbara ... // Oh cow! In tears ... // Let her mourn for him! ... // The stalk of the lands ...". Both /ĥenbur<sub>2</sub>/ "stalk" and /ambar/ "marsh" appear throughout the obverse of the tablet.

<sup>423</sup> In Krecher's edition of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), he treats the two fragments of PSK 502 (*PRAK B 322* and *PRAK C 25*) as individual sources; however, upon inspection, it appears that these two tablets should be joined. Beginning in obv. 2, the text appears to be parallel in content to VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. II 48 – III 5, IV 49 – 54, or rev. VI, 3-16, each section being part of a single, duplicated, and nearly identical kirugu. The reverse of *PRAK C 25* is uninscribed (as with *PRAK B 322*), but the left edge contains two fragmentary lines that do not seem to duplicate any part of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+).

<sup>424</sup> It appears to me that *PRAK C 25* and *PRAK B 322* form a join, with *PRAK C 25* obv. 2ff (left position) connecting with *PRAK B 322* obv. 6ff (right position). I have included one of the duplicating sections of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) for comparison in the score below.

**K<sub>I</sub>** = *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502)

**K<sub>II</sub>** = *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533)

**X<sub>I</sub>** = VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+)

K <sub>I,obv. 1</sub> :	[ ... ]- <sup>1</sup> bi <sup>1</sup>	a-še-er-ra-am <sub>3</sub>
K <sub>II, obv. 1</sub> :	a-ra-li ir <sub>2</sub> -ra ša <sub>3</sub> -bi	a-še-ra-am <sub>3</sub>
K <sub>III,obv. 2</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> ur <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ra [x]
K <sub>II, obv. 2</sub> :	a-ra-li	[x]- <sup>1</sup> ba <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -ru ur <sub>4</sub> -ra-ri
X <sub>I, obv. ii 48</sub> :	a-ra-li	gu <sub>2</sub> -bar ur <sub>3</sub> -ra-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 3</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> nun <sup>1</sup> -na [...]
K <sub>II, obv. 3</sub> :	ĝa <sub>2</sub> - <sup>1</sup> balaĝ <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -ĝa <sub>2</sub> [ ... ]	]-nun-na-ri
X <sub>I, obv. ii 49</sub> :	ĝa <sub>2</sub> - <sup>1</sup> balaĝ <sup>1</sup> -ĝa <sub>2</sub>	sa <sup>1(+ĝa<sub>2</sub>)</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ĝar <sup>1</sup> -nun-na-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 4</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -saĝ-tur-ra-[-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 6</sub> :	ĝa <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> - <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[x]	<sup>1</sup> e <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> saĝ <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -tur-ra- <sup>1</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>
X <sub>I, obv. ii 50</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> ĝa <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> gi <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a	<sup>1</sup> e <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> saĝ <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> tur <sup>1</sup> -ra-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 5</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -aĝ <sub>2</sub> da- <sup>1</sup> nun <sup>1</sup> [-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 7</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> PA <sup>1</sup> .HUB <sub>2</sub> .DU	TUR.TUR-[x] <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> -nun <sup>1</sup> -na-ri
X <sub>I, obv. II 51</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> DU <sup>1</sup> . <sup>1</sup> DU <sup>1</sup>	TUR.TUR-na <sup>1</sup> ub <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> nun <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>
K <sub>III,obv. 6</sub> :	ĝa <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> -mu-[-...]	tur-tur-ra [-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 8</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> ma <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -mu- <sup>1</sup> ri <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -bar	<sup>1</sup> tur <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> tur <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -[x]-ri
X <sub>I, obv. II 52</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> mu <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> -in-bar	tur-tur-ra-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 7</sub> :	a-ra-li [ ... ]	]-lul-la A.[-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 9</sub> :	a-ra-li <sup>d</sup> inana	ama-lul-la-a am <sub>3</sub> -nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri
X <sub>I, obv. iv 54</sub> :	[...] <sup>1</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>	<sup>1</sup> ama <sup>1</sup> -[-...]
K <sub>III,obv. 8</sub> :	a-ra- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> egi <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> na <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> aĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[-...]	kur-e al-[-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 10</sub> :	a-ra-li	egi <sub>2</sub> na- <sup>1</sup> aĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> -bi kur-e <sup>1</sup> al <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> gi <sup>1</sup> -gi-a-ri
X <sub>I, rev. vi 8</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> kur <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> al <sup>1</sup> -gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -a-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 9</sub> :	egi <sub>2</sub>	a- <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup> ama <sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a-ri a-a [-...]
K <sub>II, obv. 11</sub> :	egi <sub>2</sub>	a-ra-li ama nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri
X <sub>I, rev. vi 9</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> egi <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[x]- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup> [ ... ]	-a-ri a-a nu-a-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 10</sub> :	a-ra- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup>	ki-sikil <sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a-ri ĝuruš <sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> [x]
K <sub>II, obv. 12</sub> :	a-ra-li	ki-sikil nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri ĝuruš nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri
X <sub>I, rev. vi 10</sub> :	a-ra- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup>	ki- <sup>1</sup> sikil <sup>1</sup> [x]- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -ri <sup>1</sup> ĝuruš <sup>1</sup> nu-a-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 11</sub> :	a-ra- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> dumu <sup>1</sup> -nin <sub>9</sub>	<sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -a-ri dumu-šeš <sup>1</sup> nu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> [x]
K <sub>II, obv. 13</sub> :	a-ra- <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup> dumu-nin <sub>9</sub>	nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ri
X <sub>I, rev. vi 11</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> li <sup>1</sup>	<sup>1</sup> dumu <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> nin <sub>9</sub> <sup>1</sup> [x]-a-ri <sup>1</sup> dumu <sup>1</sup> -šeš nu-a-ri
K <sub>III,obv. 12</sub> :	[... ]- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup>	an-ta am <sub>3</sub> -[x]
K <sub>II, obv. 14</sub> :	meš <sub>3</sub> meš <sub>3</sub> -e	an-ta am <sub>3</sub> -nu <sub>2</sub> - <sup>1</sup> x <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>
X <sub>I, rev. vi 12</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> meš <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> meš <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>1</sup>	am <sub>3</sub> -nu <sub>2</sub>
K <sub>III,obv. 13</sub> :	[ ... ]	<sup>1</sup> uri <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> uri <sub>3</sub> -a <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> -ta na-mu <sup>1</sup> -un-[x]
K <sub>II, obv. 15</sub> :	<sup>1</sup> an <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> edin <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>	uri <sub>3</sub> uri <sub>3</sub> -a an-ta <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -mu-un-di
X <sub>I, rev. vi 13</sub> :	dumu mu- <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup>	uri <sub>3</sub> -uri <sub>3</sub> -na an-ta na-mu-un-du
K <sub>III,obv. 14</sub> :	[... ]- <sup>1</sup> lul <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> la <sup>1</sup>	<sup>1</sup> mu <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> zi-ra an- <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> [x]
K <sub>II, obv. 16</sub> :	[... ] <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> lul <sup>1</sup> -[x]	<sup>1</sup> mu <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> [x] <sup>1</sup> zi <sup>1</sup> -ra an-ta na-mu-un-di
X <sub>I, rev. vi 14</sub> :	uri <sub>3</sub> mu- <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> - <sup>1</sup> lul <sup>1</sup> -la	mu-lu zi-ra an-ta na-



interesting form can be found in obv. 9', where /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-ensi<sub>2</sub>/ is written for /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-[un]-si/, the common Emesal form of the noun.<sup>425</sup>

Two other *PRAK* texts contain Ninisina laments: *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597) and *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559). Not only do they focus on Ninisina, but they also contain language that appears to be similar to that which is seen in VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) (another Ninisina lament). Upon closer inspection, it is almost certain that these two fragments (*PRAK C 59* (PSK 597) and *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559)) were originally part of the same tablet (identification made by author).<sup>426</sup> Though both tablets are only partially preserved, and there are numerous difficulties with the hand copies, the texts contain a list of epithets to Ninisina, who apparently likely laments in an outdoor shrine.

### **PRAK C 59 (PSK 597), column II:**

#### *Break*

Obv. ii 1': [x] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]

Obv. ii 2': [ub]-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ᵀḡi<sub>6</sub>?<sup>1</sup>-[par<sub>3</sub>?-ra...]  
*In the outdoor shrine, the house of the Gipar (...),*

Obv. ii 3': ᵀlu<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup> maḥ diḡir a ḡiš? ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*The magnificent one, the god, who (...)*

Obv. ii 4': ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka ma te ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*In the outdoor shrine...*

Obv. ii 5': egi<sub>2</sub> gu-la an ba-tu-ᵀda<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*The great princess, born of An, (...?)*

Obv. ii 6': ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka i<sub>3</sub>-ḡal<sub>2</sub> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
*He set it in the outdoor shrine...*

<sup>425</sup> See Schretter 1990: 268, #502.

<sup>426</sup> Evidence for this connection can be seen in the form /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/, which appears in every other line in *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597), obv. ii (2', 4', 6', 8', 10', 12', 14'?), as well as every other line in *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii (2', 4', 6'). *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii 7' is followed by an apparent single ruling, which may indicate the end of the kirugu; thus, it seems likely that *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559) should follow *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597).

- Obv. ii 7': dumu an-na ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [...] *Child of An, Ninisina, (...)*
- Obv. ii 8': ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka e<sub>2</sub>-an-na im-me a-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] *"In the outdoor shrine, the Eanna!" she says, (...)*
- Obv. ii 9': edin<sup>427</sup> ama mu-gig-an-na-ra gu<sub>4</sub> na- [...] *In the steppe<sup>?</sup>, for the mother, the nugig of heaven, ...*
- Obv. ii 10': <sup>1</sup>ub<sup>1</sup>-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka a il<sub>2</sub>-la a du<sub>10</sub> u<sub>4</sub>? [...] *In the outdoor shrine...*
- Obv. ii 11': [...] ŠE ga-ša-an ušbar-ra <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] *... the lady (who?) ... to the mother/father-in-law*
- Obv. ii 12': [ub-lil<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>la<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> gu<sub>2</sub> me ur<sub>4</sub> la? <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] *The outdoor shrine (...) who gathers the MEs ...*
- Obv. ii 13': [...] an-na-še<sub>3</sub> za de<sub>5</sub>-<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> [...] *To the ... of heaven, ... which ...*
- Obv. ii 14': [ub-lil<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>la<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ka ur-ba?-<sup>1</sup>zu<sup>1</sup>? [...] *In the outdoor shrine ...*
- Obv. ii 15': [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ra dumu? nu <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- Obv. ii 16': [ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>]-ka na-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] *In the outdoor shrine...*

*Break*

**PRAK B 331 (PSK 559), column II:**

*Break*

Obv. ii 1': [x] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>še<sub>3</sub>? [...]

Obv. ii 2': [ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> [...]] *The outdoor shrine...*

Obv. ii 3': eš<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>ba-<sup>1</sup>u<sub>2</sub>? [...]] *Shrine of Bau...*

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<sup>427</sup> The first sign /edin/ is not clear at all in this line; the line could also begin with (at least) the signs /bar-ta/, /la<sub>3</sub>/, /sa<sub>6</sub>/, or /še<sub>26</sub>/.

Obv. ii 4': ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-e [...] *At the outdoor shrine...*

Obv. ii 5': lil<sub>2</sub>-e kur ᵀgul?¹-[gul?...] *Lil, the destroyer of lands<sup>2</sup>, (...)*

Obv. ii 6': ᵀub¹-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ᵀe<sub>2</sub>?¹ [...] *The outdoor shrine, the house<sup>2</sup> (...)*

Obv. ii 7': egi<sub>2</sub> mah ᵀx?¹ [...] *The magnificent princess...*

### *Single Ruling*

Obv. ii 8': mušen-e HI [...] *The bird...*

Obv. ii 9': ᵀga¹-ᵀša¹-ᵀan¹-[...] *Nin...*

### *Break*

As noted above, the most conspicuous feature of these two tablets is the repetition of /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ in every other line. This lexeme is uncommon, both in the preserved literary and liturgical corpora.<sup>428</sup> Appended to many of the occurrences of /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ is the form /-ka/, which I have understood as the genitive plus locative.<sup>429</sup> An interesting parallel can be seen in *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519) (and duplicates) lines 15-16, where music is performed in the /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/. From the context of *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), it appears that this performance in an outdoor shrine may highlight the severity of the situation that has brought about the devastation described in the lament.

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<sup>428</sup> See CAD I, s.v. *ibratu* lexical section, as well as Krecher 1966: 189 (to VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), v 20-22). In fn. 540, Krecher noted the oft repeated /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ in *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597), but said nothing more about its appearance there.

<sup>429</sup> Support for this reading can be seen in *PRAK C 59* (PSK 597), obv. ii 8', where it appears that the verb /im-me/ sets off the first portion of the line, leaving /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> KA e<sub>2</sub>-an-na/ preceding the verb. I can think of no other reason that the /KA/ would appear in this position. Against this understanding, however, are lines 15-16 of *PRAK C 47+* (PSK 519), where the locative appears to be directly attached to the form, written /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-a/, with no intervening genitival marker.

The two apparent references to Ninisina as the child of An are worthy of note: obv. ii 5' (an ba-an-tu-da) and 7' (dumu an-na),<sup>430</sup> for in the liturgical corpus, Iškur and Martu are referred to as children of An, and less often is this said of Nanna.<sup>431</sup> The possible epithet in obv. ii 12' /me ur<sub>4</sub>/ "one who gathers the MEs" would fit well in this context, but the /gu<sub>2</sub>/ that precedes these signs cannot yet be explained. Finally, the juxtaposition of /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-e/ (for /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-en-na/) with /kur gul-[gul]/ in *PRAK B 331* (PSK 559), obv. ii 5' is unexpected; these two epithets appear quite commonly in the same *Versatzstück*, but on separate lines (see *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) [and duplicates], obv. i 3 and 5).

*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) is a multi-column tablet, which contains at least three kirugus; some of the text duplicates the Balaġ Diġir Pae "The God, who was Manifest." The text centers on the goddess Aruru and has some similarity to the other known Aruru texts.<sup>432</sup> Two sections of *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) duplicate two manuscripts from the Balaġ Diġir Pae: obv. i 20'-28' partially duplicates lines 2-10 of the composition, while rev. iv 4'-14' appears to duplicate lines a+51-55.<sup>433</sup> For a full edition of *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), see Appendix B.

*PRAK C 31* (PSK 516), a small fragment, is a newly identified fragment, which duplicates *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 3'-7'. For an edition of *PRAK C 31* (PSK 516), see Appendix B.

<sup>430</sup> The signs in obv. ii 5' are unclear in the hand copy; collation here might change our understanding of the line.

<sup>431</sup> E.g., *Iškur*: BM 96927, rev. iii 2-3; 39-40; v 2-3; 39-40; vi 19-20; BM 29631, obv. 2-3; *Martu*: NFT 207 (AO 4331+), obv. ii 10; VS 2: 77 (VAT 1384), rev. 4; *Nanna*: VS 2: 68 (VAT 1354), b.e. 3.

<sup>432</sup> For a recent analysis of the Aruru compositions, see Black 2005: 39-62.

<sup>433</sup> See Cohen 1988: 733.

Another (newly identified) parallel source for Diġir Pae is *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), where obv. 2-8 duplicates lines 2-8 of the composition. The text is dealt with in detail in Appendix B, in the commentary on *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511).

**K<sub>I</sub>** = *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530)  
**K<sub>II</sub>** = *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511)  
**X** = **BM 96568**

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 1: x me-te edin-na an-ta ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...] *... in the steppe! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 2: <sup>d</sup>mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> ʿan<sup>1</sup>-ta ʿx<sup>1</sup>  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 20': <sup>d</sup>mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> edin-na i-ni-ib-su  
*O Mutin and Šulpae! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 3: ʿegi<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> da-ta ur<sub>3</sub>-ʿra<sup>1</sup> an-ta [...] *Oh bright princess who sweeps away (everything)! ... above!*  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 21': egi da-ta ur<sub>3</sub>-ra edin-na i-ni-ib-ʿsu<sup>1</sup>  
X, obv. 4: egi<sub>2</sub> dadag ur<sub>3</sub>-ra pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*Oh bright princess who sweeps away (everything)! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 4: ušum maḥ-bi edin-na an-ta [...] *O magnificent dragon of the steppe! ... above!*  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 22': ʿušum<sup>1</sup>-maḥ lu<sub>2</sub> edin-na edin-<na> i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su  
X, obv. 4: ušum maḥ mu-lu u<sub>2</sub>-te-na pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*O magnificent dragon of the steppe! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 5: mu-lu tur<sub>3</sub> in-gul-e an-ta [...] *She who destroys the cattle pen! ... above!*  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 23': [ušum?] maḥ in-gul-e edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su  
X, obv. 5: mu-lu tur<sub>3</sub> in-gul-e pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*She who destroys the cattle pen! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 6: [x] ʿamaš<sup>1</sup> ʿin<sup>1</sup>-ʿbu<sup>1</sup>-e an-ta [...] *She who tears out the sheepfold! ... above!*  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 24': lu<sub>2</sub> amaš in-bu-e edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su  
X, obv. 6: mu-lu amaš <<in>> in-bu-re pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*She who tears out the sheepfold! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 7: [...] mu-un-ʿḥul<sup>1</sup>-ʿla<sup>1</sup>? [...] *She who destroyed Sumer! ... above!*  
K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 25': ʿki<sup>1</sup>-en-gi mu-un-ḥul-ʿla<sup>1</sup> ʿedin<sup>1</sup>-ʿna<sup>1</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-ʿib<sup>1</sup>-[su]  
X, obv. 7: ki-en-gi mu-un-ḥul-a pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*She who destroyed Sumer! ... above!*

K<sub>I</sub>, obv. 8: [ ... ] mu-<sup>1</sup>lu?<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 K<sub>II</sub>, obv. i 26': [GAL].<sup>1</sup>BUR<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ge mu-un-na- [...]  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. 8: ušumgal saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub> mu-lu til-e pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a  
*The dragon, who brought an end to the black-headed ones! ... above!*

*Break*

We turn to *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528), consisting of two newly joined tablets *PRAK C 97* and *PRAK C 39*, which provide an example of a Nisaba lament. In the score below, the underlined text represents *PRAK C 39*. To date, these two tablets do not appear to have been joined, but *PRAK C 39*, obv. 1ff corresponds to *PRAK C 97*, obv. 6'ff, and *PRAK C 39*, rev. 2'ff corresponds to *PRAK C 97*, rev. 1'ff (*PRAK C 39*, obv. 1' preserves VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. 15, the previous line of the composition). When the two fragments are joined, the tablet preserves Nisaba B, lines 9-13 (obverse) and 15-21 (reverse), while obv. 3'-12' duplicates a portion of a text edited by Wilcke found in the Liverpool City Museum (56.5.1).<sup>434</sup> The use of the phonetic writing of /gir-zal/ for /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ in *PRAK C 97*, rev. 5-6 ([...]-zal/ appearing in line 7) *as well as* in *PRAK C 39*, rev. 3' (2x) makes it almost certain that these two fragments belong to the same tablet.

**PRAK C 39+ (PSK 528)** = **K**  
**VS 2: 65 (VAT 6086)** = **X<sub>1</sub>**  
**Liverpool City Museum 56.5.1**  
**(AfO 24, p. 15-16)** = **X<sub>2</sub>**  
**BM 29615 (CT 15, pl. 7-9)** = **X<sub>3</sub>**

*Break*

**Nisaba B, line 9**

**9.** **bad<sub>3</sub>-be<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub> gid<sub>2</sub>-da ba-am<sub>3</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>**  
*long grass grew at its wall,*

K<sub>1</sub>, obv. 1': [...] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ ... ]-mu<sub>2</sub>  
 X<sub>1</sub>, obv. 9: <sup>1</sup>bad<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-be<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub> gid<sub>2</sub>-da ba-am<sub>3</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>

<sup>434</sup> Wilcke 1973: 15-18. For comment on these lines, see Wilcke's edition.

**Nisaba B, line 10**

**10.**            **ša<sub>3</sub>-ba u<sub>2</sub> <sup>mu</sup>ĝen-na-ke<sub>4</sub> šu mu-ni<sub>10</sub>-ni<sub>10</sub>-ne**  
*(and) in its midst, the plants of the willow tree are everywhere!*

K<sub>,obv. 2:</sub>            [            ...            ] ʔx<sup>1</sup>-ka šu mu-ni<sub>10</sub>-ni<sub>10</sub>-ne  
X<sub>1,obv.10:</sub>        ša<sub>3</sub>-ba u<sub>2</sub> <sup>mu</sup>ĝen-na-ke<sub>4</sub> šu mu-un-ni<sub>10</sub>-ni<sub>10</sub>-e

**Nisaba B, line 11**

**11.**            **e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>-an-na e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ri**  
*The word of An! The word of Enlil! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 3:</sub>            [            ...            ]-ʔnaʔ<sup>1</sup> e-ne-<eĝ<sub>3</sub>>        <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-a ri  
X<sub>2,obv. 9:</sub>        e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>-an-na e-ʔne<sup>1</sup>-[eĝ<sub>3</sub>]        <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-ʔlil<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[la<sub>2</sub>]-ri  
X<sub>1,obv.11:</sub>        e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>-an-na e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>                <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ri  
X<sub>3,obv. 7:</sub>        [            ...            ] ʔe<sup>1</sup>-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>                <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ri

**Nisaba B, line 12**

**12.**            **u<sub>4</sub>-da ša<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-ba an gu-la ri**  
*Oh the storm! The angry heart of An! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 4:</sub>            [            ...            ]-ʔla<sup>1</sup>-a-ri  
X<sub>1,obv. 12:</sub>                           ša<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-ba an gu-la-ke<sub>4</sub>                    šu mu-un-ni<sub>10</sub>-ni<sub>10</sub>-e  
X<sub>2,obv. 10:</sub>        u<sub>4</sub>-da ša<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-ba an ʔgu<sup>1</sup>-la-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>3,obv. 8:</sub>        [            ...            ] an gu-la-a-ri

**Nisaba B, line 13**

**13.**            **ša<sub>3</sub>-ab ħul-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ri**  
*The evil heart of Enlil! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 5:</sub>            [            ...            ]                <sup>d</sup>mu-ʔul<sup>1</sup>-ʔlil<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-a-ri  
X<sub>1,obv. 13:</sub>        ša<sub>3</sub>-ab ħul<sub>2</sub>-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la        <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>        šu mu-un-ni<sub>10</sub>-ni<sub>10</sub>-e  
X<sub>2,obv. 11:</sub>        ša<sub>3</sub>-ab ħul-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-la        <sup>d</sup>ʔmu<sup>1</sup>-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-ʔla<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>3,obv. 9:</sub>        [            ...            ]-ʔla<sup>1</sup>        <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ri

**14.**            **aĝ<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ma-ab-gul-la ri**  
*That which destroyed my true house! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 6:</sub>            [            ...            ]-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ma-ab-ʔgul<sup>1</sup>-a-ri  
X<sub>2,obv. 12:</sub>        aĝ<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ba-ʔgul<sup>1</sup>-la-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
X<sub>3,obv. 10:</sub>        [            ...            ] ma-ab-gu-la-a-ri

**15. aĝ<sub>2</sub> uru<sub>2</sub> zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ma-ab-ĥul-a ri**  
*That which destroyed my true city! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 7</sub>: [ ... ] ʔziʔ<sup>1</sup>-ʔĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> ma-ab-ĥul-ʔa<sup>1</sup>-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>2,obv. 13</sub>: aĝ<sub>2</sub> uru<sub>2</sub> zi-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ba-ĥul-a-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>3,obv. 11</sub>: [ ... ] ma-ab-ĥul-a-ri

**16. nam-tar aĝ<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> sig<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga ri**  
*The fate, which scatted my house! (It is everywhere!)*

K<sub>,obv. 8</sub>: [ ... ]-ʔĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> a bi-im-du<sub>11</sub>-ʔga<sup>1</sup>-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>2,obv. 14</sub>: nam-tar aĝ<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> sig<sub>11</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-in-ʔdu<sub>11</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ga]-ʔri<sup>1</sup>  
 X<sub>3,obv. 12</sub>: [ ... ]-ʔĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> sig<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri

**17. an-še<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-zi nu-mu-da-an-ma-ma**  
*He who rose up will not be able to come down,*

K<sub>,obv. 9</sub>: [ ... ] ʔx<sup>1</sup> bi-ib<sub>2</sub>?-ʔda<sup>1</sup>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>  
 X<sub>2,obv. 15</sub>: ʔan<sup>1</sup>-ʔše<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-zi nu-mu-da-an-[ma-ma]  
 X<sub>3,obv. 13</sub>: [ ... ] ʔx<sup>1</sup> nu-mu-da-ma-ma

**18. [...]-x-ab-il<sub>2</sub> nu-mu-da-zi-zi**  
*[he who came down] will not be able to rise up.*

K<sub>,obv. 10</sub>: [...]-ʔx<sup>1</sup>-ab-il<sub>2</sub> [...?] ʔda<sup>1</sup>?-zi-zi  
 X<sub>3,obv. 14</sub>: [ ... ] nu-mu-da-zi-zi

**19. [...] tu-ra mu-ub-gur**

K<sub>,obv. 11</sub>: [...] ʔx<sup>1</sup> [...] ʔx<sup>1</sup> ʔtu<sup>1</sup>-ra mu-ub-gur  
 X<sub>3,obv. 15</sub>: [ ... ] x tu-ra mu-ub-bi-ir

**20. [...] mu-ub-ri**

K<sub>,obv. 12</sub>: [...] ʔša<sub>3</sub>?<sup>1</sup> mu-ub-ri  
 X<sub>3,obv. 16</sub>: [...] x-bi ĥaš-a mu-ub-ri  
*Break*





**Nis. B, 19.**    **iti<sub>6</sub> [an] gir-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra ba-de mu-na-ab-la**  
*The moon(light), which is in the glorious sky, fell over the wall for my man.*

K<sub>, rev. 6'</sub>:        iti<sub>6</sub>[...]            ᵀgir<sup>1</sup>-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ᵀra<sup>1</sup> ba-ᵀde<sup>1</sup> mu/-na-ab-la<sup>436</sup>  
X<sub>1, obv. 19'</sub>:      iti<sub>7</sub> aĝ<sub>2</sub>                giri<sub>17</sub>-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra

**Nis. B, 20.**    **iti<sub>6</sub> [ki-(a)] gir-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra ba-de mu-na-ab-la**  
*The moon(light), which (shines) on the glorious earth, fell over the wall for my man.*

K<sub>, rev. 7'</sub>:        [x].ᵀAN<sup>1</sup>.ᵀŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>.[...]    ᵀgir<sup>1</sup>-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra ba-de mu-na/-ab-la  
X<sub>1, obv. 20'</sub>:      iti<sub>7</sub> ĝi<sub>6</sub>-a                giri<sub>17</sub>-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra

**Nis. B, 21.**    **[an gir-zal ki gir]-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra ba-de mu-na-ab-la**  
*In the glorious sky, on the glorious earth, it fell over the wall for my man.*

K<sub>, rev. 8'</sub>:        [            ...            ]-ᵀzal<sup>1</sup> mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra ba-de    mu-na/-ᵀab<sup>1</sup>-la  
X<sub>1, obv. 21'</sub>:      aĝ<sub>2</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal ĝi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal mu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ra bad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ab-la<sub>2</sub>

### Double Ruling

### Colophon

K<sub>, rev. 9'</sub>:        [...mu?-bi?]-ᵀim?<sup>1</sup>  
... are its lines.

K<sub>, rev. 10'</sub>:      [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup>

In obv. 1'-2' (lines 9-10), the text preserves a common trope found in lamentational liturgies ("long grass grew at its wall, (and) in its midst, the plants of the willow tree are everywhere!"). Here, destruction and desolation are implied as plants are

<sup>436</sup> Cohen understood the broken sign at the beginning of *PRAK C 97*, rev. 5' as /ᵀJA/, reading the DN /[...]ᵀHa-ia<sub>3</sub>/ (see Cohen 1975a: 604. Unfortunately, the initial horizontal wedges of the /GIR/ sign are broken in both rev. 5' and 6' of *PRAK C 97*; however, given that *PRAK C 39*, rev. 3' reads /gir-zal/, and the tablets appear to correspond to one another correctly, it seems clear that /gir-zal/ is a phonetic spelling of /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/.

allowed to grow in ways that are uncommon in a city.<sup>437</sup> The meaning of /u<sub>2</sub>/ in line 2 is not immediately clear. Given the surrounding context (lines 8-9), which describes various types of grasses growing, it seems likely that /u<sub>2</sub>/ refers to the plants of the willow trees<sup>438</sup> that, left unattended, have grown in the midst of the city; a decimated population has left no one to care for the grounds, allowing undergrowth to form within the city walls.<sup>439</sup>

The difficulty in understanding the meanings of /ki/ and /an/ and /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ and /aġ<sub>2</sub>/ in the two manuscripts is due to the apparent phonetic writing of /an/ “sky” with /aġ<sub>2</sub>/ (Nisaba B, lines 15, 17, 19, and 21). VS 2: 65 (VAT 6086) contains the forms /aġ<sub>2</sub>/ and /ġi<sub>6</sub>/, while *PRAK C* 39+ (PSK 528) has /an/ and /ki/. In the literary corpus, we see examples of /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ “darkness, evening” modified by the form /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/.<sup>440</sup> However, /ki/ “earth” is nowhere associated with /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/. The two nouns /u<sub>4</sub>/ “light, day” and /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ “darkness, night” are often contrasted, but /an/ “sky” is nowhere paired with /ġi<sub>6</sub>. I have

<sup>437</sup> E.g., The Šumundu Grass, line 43: (<sup>i</sup>ridigna <sup>i</sup>buranuna-ke<sub>4</sub> u<sub>2</sub> gid<sub>2</sub>-da ba-an-mu<sub>2</sub>) “Long grass grew on (the banks of) the Tigris and Euphrates.”

<sup>438</sup> There is evidence that willow trees appeared almost exclusively on the banks of rivers and canals. For example, in CAD H, s.v. *hīlēpu*, two NB references (YOS 6 67:13 and WVD OG 4 pl. 5 (BE 2818) iv 7) describe willows being planted along a canal. See also Mason 1944: 190, “At certain places along the rivers, occurring in small belts, are found the Euphrates poplar . . . and a willow . . . They are seen generally on islands and at curves and bends of the river . . . *The willow and poplar communities are strictly riverain and never stray from the margins of streams*” (emphasis mine). It is also worthy of note that, with respect to a great deal of furniture being constructed out of willow wood, “The wood of the poplar, when mature, can be used for planking and boat building; that of the willow is soft and of little value.” Additionally, Mason notes that, along with other types of grasses, willow and poplar trees act “as an undergrowth in these riverain thickets.”

<sup>439</sup> Cohen 1975: 604. Cohen understood /u<sub>2</sub>/ to be equated with Akkadian *išu* “wood,” indicating the scattered wooden debris of furniture constructed from willow tree wood. While there is some evidence for willow tree wood having been used in construction (CAD H, s.v. *hīlēpu*), as noted above, the context seems to call for plants that have grown in uncommon ways or unexpected places.

<sup>440</sup> E.g., The Lament over Ur, 191 (Samet 2014: 182, line 192): (ġi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal a<sub>2</sub>-sed ġar-ra-ba <sup>tumu</sup>u<sub>18</sub>-lu ba-da-an-tab) “In the glorious night, when coolness sets in, he doubled the south wind.” The noun form of /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ appears in conjunction with /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ in Ninurta B, line 5: (u<sub>4</sub> ħe<sub>2</sub>-ġal<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub> ġi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal-am<sub>3</sub>) “The day was abundance! The night was a celebration!” (see also line 6).

understood both /aġ<sub>2</sub>/ and /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ of VS 2: 65 (VAT 6086) as phonetic writings of /an/ and /ki/, as the contrast between “sky” and “earth” provides some logic in the context.<sup>441</sup>

It would appear that, in the lament, Nisaba does not want the night to fall, for she urges the moonlight not to go into her house (rev. 3); moonlight entering a home indicates that night has fallen.<sup>442</sup> According to lines 22ff, the end of the day would represent coming sorrow (see lines 22-30 below). In spite of her wish, the image of the moonlight falling over the wall (rev. 5) signals that night has come.<sup>443</sup> The end of the text (lines 22-30) shows that, when the world around her darkens, Nisaba “darkens” as well.<sup>444</sup>

<sup>441</sup> For the opposite view, see Jaques 2006: 260, fn. 535. It is also possible that the use of these forms could simply be a type of wordplay. The term /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ corresponds to Akkadian *tašiltu* “celebration” or *muttellu* “glorious, proud” (for a thorough discussion of /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/, see Sjöberg 1962: 1-10). As seen in Ninurta B, the terms /ġi<sub>6</sub>/ and /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ appear together with the meaning “the night was a celebration (*tašiltu*).” It would be difficult to understand either /aġ<sub>2</sub>/ or /an/ as being equated with /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ (e.g., “heaven was a celebration”). Due to the clearly poetic stanzas appearing here in Nisaba B (repetition, gapping), it is possible that the scribe was playing with a more common or expected phrase (/ġi<sub>6</sub> kiri<sub>17</sub>-zal-am<sub>3</sub>/). It is also possible that the only preserved writing of /ki/ (*PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528), rev. 2’) is a scribal error, as it appears directly after the *diri*-compound /iti<sub>6</sub>/ (/UD.AN.ŠEŠ.KI/); perhaps the scribe simply wrote /ki/ twice.

<sup>442</sup> An example of this can be seen in *The Home of the Fish*, line 28: (iti<sub>6</sub> e<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup>-ba nam-ba-ni-ib-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>) “May the moonlight not enter into that house!” The following line reads, “But if the day has gone by and the night has come,…” Conversely, the disappearance of the moonlight is described metaphorically as the moon and the stars entering into their homes. See Sefati 1998: 273.

<sup>443</sup> The meaning of /la<sub>2</sub>/ here is not immediately apparent. However, two references may shed some light on a likely interpretation. In *Gilgameš and Ħuwawa A*, lines 78-79, we read: (kur ba-suh<sub>3</sub>-suh<sub>3</sub> ġissu ba-an-la<sub>2</sub>) “The mountains have become indistinct (because) the shadow(s) have fallen; (the evening twilight lies over them. Proud Utu has already gone to the bosom of his mother Ningal. Gilgameš, how long will you sleep?)” Here, the /ġissu/ “shadow” has /la<sub>2</sub>/; Akkadian *šūqallulu* “to hang down” seems to fit this use of /la<sub>2</sub>/ well. Similarly, in *Ninurta B*, D.13, we see (reconstructed) ([ġissu]-zu maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> kalam-ma bi<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>) “Your magnificent [shadow] falls in the land; (from the south as far as the highlands, it covers like a garment.)” It seems reasonable that the moonlight would fall over the wall, ultimately entering into the house.

<sup>444</sup>

22. it<sub>6</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> ki-sikil it<sub>6</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> aš-ša mu-un-nu<sub>2</sub>-en  
*Toward the moon, in a pure place, toward the moon, I will lie down alone.*
23. it<sub>6</sub> ḥur-saġ ki-sikil-la si-a-še<sub>3</sub> aš-ša mu-un-nu<sub>2</sub>-en  
*Toward the moon, where the hill fills the pure place, I will lie down alone.*
24. [kur] <sup>ġis</sup>eren-na <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>-a-še<sub>3</sub> aš-ša mu-un-nu<sub>2</sub>-en  
*Toward [the mountain], where Enlil lies down among the cedars, I will lie down alone.*

*Other Gods.* In addition to the groups of laments focusing on Inana, Enlil, and other goddesses, there are 2 laments that feature Enki, as seen in the table below:

**Table Appendix A.8. Enki laments**

Text	Evidence
<i>OECT 5, 3</i> (PSK 610)	Enki epithets
<i>PRAK C 65</i> (PSK 600)	Unclear Emesal text, perhaps concerning Enki <sup>445</sup>

One example of an Enki lament appears in *OECT 5, 3* (PSK 610), which duplicates a portion of *VS 2: 67* (VAT 1541), obv. 2-7. The text describes Enki as the king who roams about.

**OECT 5, 3 (PSK 610)** = **K**  
**VS 2: 67 (VAT 1541)** = **X**

- 
25. [... ir<sub>2</sub> gig i<sub>3</sub>]-še<sub>8</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>  
... *I will weep bitterly!*
26. [...] iti<sub>6</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>-a ir<sub>2</sub> gig i<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>  
... *lying down toward the moon, I will weep bitter tears!*
27. [...] i-zalag-ga-am<sub>3</sub> i-e<sub>3</sub> me-e ba-gig<sub>2</sub>-ge-en  
*(After the moon), which shines (in the glorious ...) has gone, I will darken.*
28. iti<sub>6</sub> aĝ<sub>2</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal i-zalag-ga-am<sub>3</sub> i-e<sub>3</sub> me-e ba-gig<sub>2</sub>-ge-en  
*After the moon, which shines in the glorious sky, has gone, I will darken.*
29. iti<sub>6</sub> ĝi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal ĝi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal i-zalag-ga-am<sub>3</sub> i-e<sub>3</sub> me-e ba-gig<sub>2</sub>-ge-en  
*After the moon, which shines on the glorious earth, on the glorious earth, has gone, I will darken.*
30. aĝ<sub>2</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal ĝi<sub>6</sub> giri<sub>17</sub>-zal i-zalag-ga-am<sub>3</sub> i-e<sub>3</sub> me-e ba-gig<sub>2</sub>-ge-en  
*After (the moon), which shines in the glorious sky, which shines on the glorious earth, has gone, I will darken.*

<sup>445</sup> The Emesal form of Eridu may appear in obv. 2' (/ruru<sub>2</sub><sup>?1</sup>-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba<sup>ki</sup>/), while Enki's name may be seen in obv. 7' (/en-ki/).

**1. al-li-li-ma al-li-la-lu**

*Allilima! Allilalu!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 1: ʾal<sup>1</sup>-ʾli<sup>?</sup>ʾli<sup>?</sup>-ma al-li-la-ʾlu<sup>1</sup>

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 1: [i]-ʾin<sup>1</sup>-ʾdi<sup>1</sup> i-in-di u<sub>3</sub>-lu-ʾli<sup>1</sup>-la-ma // ia-li-lu i-ia-ʾma<sup>?</sup>ʾdi<sup>?</sup>

*Double Ruling*

**2. lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di**

*The king goes about! The king goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 2: ʾlugal<sup>1</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di ʾlugal<sup>1</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 2: lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di

**3. lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di**

*The king goes about! Enki goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 3: ʾlugal<sup>1</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 3: lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di

**4. <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di**

*Enki goes about! Nudimmud goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 4: [<sup>d</sup>en]-ʾki<sup>1</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-ʾdi<sup>1</sup>

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 4: <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di

**5. ia-bi-ma u<sub>3</sub>-li-li al-li-la-lu x x x**

*... Ulili! Allilalu! ...*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 5: ʾia<sup>?</sup>ʾbi<sup>?</sup>ʾma<sup>1</sup> ʾu<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-li-li al-li-la-ʾlu<sup>1</sup> ʾx<sup>1</sup> ʾx<sup>1</sup> ʾx<sup>1</sup>

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 5: [ ... ]-ma u<sub>3</sub>-li-li al-li-la-lu

**6. e-la-lu lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di**

*Elalu! The king goes about! The king goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 6: e-la-ʾlu<sup>1</sup> lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di

X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 6: [ ... ]-lu ʾlugal<sup>1</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di

7. **e-la-lu lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di**  
*Elalu! The king goes about! Enki goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 7: e-<sup>l</sup>la<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>lu<sup>l</sup> lugal am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di  
 X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 7: [lugal] am<sub>3</sub>-di [ ... ]

8. **<sup>d</sup>en-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di <sup>d</sup>nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di**  
*(Enki goes about!) Nudimmud goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 8: [ ... ] <sup>d</sup>nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di  
 X<sub>III</sub>, obv. 8: [<sup>d</sup>en]-<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup>A<sup>l</sup>.<sup>l</sup>AN<sup>l</sup>-[ ... ]

9. **[...] gu<sub>4</sub> an-ki am<sub>3</sub>-di**  
*... the bull goes about (in?) heaven and earth!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 9: [...] <sup>l</sup>gu<sub>4</sub><sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup>an<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> am<sub>3</sub>-di

10. **[...] <sup>d</sup>nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di**  
*... Nudimmud goes about!*

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 10: [...] <sup>d</sup>nu<sup>l</sup>-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud am<sub>3</sub>-di

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 11: [...] <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup>

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 12: [...] <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> [...]

K<sub>III</sub>, obv. 13: [...] <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> [...]

*Break*

The refrain /am<sub>3</sub>-di/ “he goes about” appears in other liturgical texts to Enki.<sup>446</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious feature of this text is the use of various exclamations. In line 1, we see /al-li-li-ma/ (for /al-li-li-am<sub>3</sub>-ma/) as well as /al-li-la-lu/. In parallel with these exclamations in VS 2: 67 (VAT 1541), obv. 1 are the forms /u<sub>3</sub>-lu-li-la-ma/ and /ia-li-lu/.

<sup>446</sup> CT 42, 8 (BM 88288), rev. iii 23-24: (i-im-di i-im-di uru<sub>2</sub> udu-i<sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> ba-<sup>l</sup>gul<sup>l</sup> // u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-e <sup>d</sup>am-an-ki i-im-<sup>l</sup>di<sup>l</sup>) (refrain /i-im-di/ continues through at least rev. iii 29).

In line five, we again see /al-li-la-lu/, as well as /u<sub>3</sub>-li-li/. Finally, in lines 6-7, we see the form /e-la-lu/.<sup>447</sup>

*Unclear.* There is a category of laments that have no clear diagnostic features that would indicate to or about whom they are.

**Table Appendix A.9. Laments concerning other deities**

Text	Recipient	Evidence
<i>PRAK B 350</i> (PSK 561)	Goddess	Very small Emesal fragment; appears to be the lament of a goddess <sup>448</sup>
<i>PRAK B 447</i> (PSK 582)	Goddess	Lament of a goddess <sup>449</sup>
<i>PRAK B 460</i> (PSK 583)	Goddess	Fragmentary phonetic text that appears to mention Bau and Ninazu <sup>450</sup>
<i>PRAK B 461</i>	Goddess	Lament of a goddess <sup>451</sup>

<sup>447</sup> For a list of exclamations, see Krecher 1966: 148, Anm. 433, which includes: el-lu; el-lu<sub>2</sub>; e-el-lu; e-el-lum; i<sub>3</sub>-lum; i-lu-lam-ma; e-la-lu; el-la-lu; il-la-lum; i<sub>3</sub>-la-lum; il-lu; lu<sub>2</sub>; e-lu-lam; u<sub>3</sub>-lu-lu-ma-ma; a-la a-la-la; e-li-lum; u<sub>3</sub>-a-li; SAL.u<sub>3</sub>-a-li; a-la<sub>2</sub>; SAL.u<sub>3</sub>-li-li; a-al-la-ri; a-li-ri; u<sub>3</sub>-ru-ru; ia-ru-ru; i<sub>3</sub>-al-la-ri<sub>7</sub>-da.

<sup>448</sup> The obverse appears to speak of a goddess:

Obv. 1': [...] <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>21</sup> munus <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]

Obv. 2': [...] ga]-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-an-ba- [...]

Obv. 3': [...] ga]-ša-an [...]

<sup>449</sup> Fragmentary, multi-column tablet. The initial portion of the reverse indicates that this is the lament of a goddess:

Rev. iii 2': e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ġu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> [me]-am<sub>3</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub>  
*Where is my house? Where is my city?*

Rev. iii 3': dam-ġu<sub>10</sub> [me]-am<sub>3</sub> dumu-ġu<sub>10</sub> me-am<sub>3</sub>  
*Where is my spouse? Where is my child?*

<sup>450</sup> Obv. ii 5': /ama <sup>d</sup>nin-a-zu/; obv. ii 6': /<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam u<sub>4</sub>-mu-na/ "Bau, spouse of the lord" (see Immal Gudede, line 83 [<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam umun-na u<sub>4</sub>-] in Cohen 1988: 610); obv. ii 8': /egi<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>-ma eš<sub>3</sub> [...]/ (perhaps phonetic /egi<sub>2</sub> ama eš<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-/ in Immal Gudede, line 87; Cohen 1988: 611).

<sup>451</sup> The text speaks refers several times to /<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an- [...]/, though each form is broken. Songs are apparently mentioned as well. Line obv. 5' may duplicate BM 85005, rev. 9 (Eršemma 166.1, line 30; see Cohen 1981: 106-107).

Obv. 1': <sup>r</sup>d<sup>r</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>- [...]

Obv. 2': <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>- [...]

Obv. 3': <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>- [...]



(PSK 584)		
<i>PRAK C 49</i> (PSK 592)	Goddess	First person lament? <sup>452</sup>
<i>PRAK B 24</i> (PSK 541)*	Unclear	Emesal text <sup>453</sup>
<i>PRAK B 60</i> (PSK 542)	Unclear	Lament language? <sup>454</sup>
<i>PRAK C 48</i> (PSK 590)	Unclear	Lamentational language about the inside and outside of the city, and the repeated verb /gul/

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Obv. 4': ama šu-da<sup>?</sup> du<sub>10</sub>-ᵐga<sup>?</sup>ᵐzu<sup>?</sup> [...] *O mother! Your good songs<sup>?</sup> ...*

Obv. 5': mu-lu<sup>?</sup>šir<sub>3</sub>-ra a ᵐuru<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> [...] / a-na ḡal<sub>2</sub> [...] *O singer of songs! Alas, (my) city! (Alas, my house and) whatever else there may be!*

BM 85005, rev. 9: mu-lu<sup>?</sup>šir<sub>3</sub>-ra a uru-ḡu<sub>10</sub> a e<sub>2</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> a-na ḡal<sub>2</sub>-lu-bi

<sup>452</sup> The first-person possessive suffix appears to be present in obv. 4' and 6' ([...]-ḡu<sub>10</sub>). The verbal form /ba-gul-gul/ "they are destroyed" is repeated from obv. 2'-7'.

<sup>453</sup> In his catalogue (de Genouillac 1924: 31), de Genouillac identified apparently Emesal forms when he wrote, "Fragment sumérien dialectal (*na-ám-lù...*, *na-ám-ḡim-šú...*)."

<sup>454</sup> Perhaps a phonetic text. In obv. 4'-5', however, the language may indicate a lament:

Obv. 4': [... am<sub>3</sub><sup>?</sup>]-ta-e-di-ᵐdi<sup>?</sup>-en ba-da-gul du<sub>11</sub>-ga ᵐba<sup>?</sup>-da-gul  
... *I<sup>?</sup> wander aimlessly. It is destroyed! The word is destroyed!*

Obv. 5': [... laḡ<sub>4</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḡa<sub>2</sub>-nu-ma-aḡ ba<sup>?</sup>-da-gul ᵐx<sup>?</sup>-an-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ba-da-ᵐgul<sup>?</sup>  
*My pillager<sup>?</sup> of ..., the mangificent storehouse is destroyed! My ... is destroyed<sup>?</sup>!*

APPENDIX B

EDITION OF *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 511)

Obverse

Column I

Unknown # of lines broken

1. ʽx¹ʽlaʽ¹ʽx¹ʽga¹ʽša¹ʽ[...] an-[...]
2. e₂-gal-ur₃-ra-ta [bar-ta] an-zi-ga
3. e₂-gal-kalam-ma-da-ta [bar-ta] an-zi-ga
4. e₂-gal-u₃-tu-ta bar-[ta] an-zi-ga
5. e₂ ki-us₂-sa-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga
6. eš₃ gi-un-na-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga
7. e₂-en-temen-ki-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga
8. e₂-ĝarza₂-ka-na-aĝ₂-ĝa₂ ʽx¹ʽgaʽ zi-ga
9. agrun tur-ra-ta UN ʽx¹ʽzi¹ʽzi-ga
10. 20 eš₃ uri₅<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ta ʽUN¹ʽ am₃-zi-ga

11. egi₂-e ša₃<sup>?</sup> ĝiš<sup>?</sup>šennur-e a-ni ʽx¹ʽ [...]e
12. munus-e dabin<sup>?</sup>-gin₇ ĝiri₃-ni x-ri [...]e
13. ab₂-e tur₃-ra-ka ir₂-e ta nam-ʽba¹ʽ[...]
14. <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru a-ba bi₂-ak-ʽe¹ʽ mu-un-ši-si-ig-ʽgeʽ¹ʽ
15. nin₉<sup>!</sup> gal¹ mu-ul-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ an-ʽne₂ʽ¹ʽa¹ʽše-er nu-mu-un-ši-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-ʽx¹ʽ
16. <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil₂ ba-ge₄-le-ĝen bil-la₂-bi am₃-me
17. u₃-mu-un kur-kur-ra mu-un-ge₄-le-ĝen ir₂-še₃ i₃-še₈-še₈

18. edin-na i₃-ib-su edin-na i₃-ib-su /  
u₄ a-ba edin-na še am₃-ša₄ gu₃ edin-na ʽgu₃¹ʽni ul-li-am₃
19. u₄ a-ba edin-na a-ba-a ba-kal-e e-en gig-ga-am₃
20. <sup>d</sup>mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e₃ edin-na i-ni-ib-ʽsu¹ʽ
21. egi da-ta ur₃-ra edin-na i-ni-ib-ʽsu¹ʽ
22. ʽušum¹ʽ maḥ lu₂ edin-na edin-<na> i₃-ib-ʽsu¹ʽ
23. [lu₂] ʽtur₃¹ʽ in-gul-e edin-na i₃-ib-su
24. lu₂ amaš in-bu-e edin-na i₃-ib-su
25. ʽki¹ʽen-gi mu-un-ḥul-ʽlaʽ¹ʽedin¹ʽna¹ʽ i₃-ʽib¹ʽ-[su]
26. [GAL].ʽBUR₂¹ʽ saĝ-ĝi₆-ge mu-un-til-[...]
27. [u₄ te]-ʽeš¹ʽ tur₃-ra ri edin-na [i₃-ib-su]

28. [u<sub>4</sub> te-eš] ᵀamaš<sup>1</sup> a ri edin-na ᵀi<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-[ib-su]  
 29. [...] edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-[ib-su]  
 30. [...] mu edin-ᵀna<sup>1</sup> [i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su]  
 31. [...] ᵀedin<sup>1</sup>-[na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su]  
 Unknown # of lines broken

Column II

Unknown # of lines broken

1. uĝ<sub>3</sub>-[...]
2. edin-na [...]
3. ba-tum<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu [...]
4. ᵀuru<sup>1</sup> gub-ba-ni ħe<sub>2</sub>-[x] [...]
5. ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [x] ra lu<sub>2</sub> igi ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
6. ᵀu<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [x] DU [x] igi ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
7. ᵀla<sup>2</sup>? ma ᵀx<sup>1</sup> mu-ni i<sub>3</sub>-ᵀus<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>? [...]
8. ᵀx<sup>1</sup>-tu-na-ri ᵀe<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-mu-ᵀun<sup>2</sup>? [...]
9. ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ba-ri-ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> maš? ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
10. [x] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀmaḥ<sup>2</sup>? ᵀx<sup>1</sup> AN \_\_\_\_\_ UN [...]
11. [...] KA NE-na-KA-ni-ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
12. [x] ᵀu<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>? a-ba edin-na niĝ<sub>2</sub> x-a-x-UN [...]
13. [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> KA edin-na a-ᵀba<sup>1</sup>-e [...]
14. [...] e-en gig [...]

15. edin-e ga-ᵀx<sup>1</sup>-ᵀbi<sup>1</sup>-ᵀa<sup>1</sup> [...]
16. edin-e ba-[x] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> šu ᵀx<sup>1</sup>-ᵀUN<sup>2</sup>? [...]
17. mu-ba-ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [x] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
18. mu-ba-ᵀKE<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>? [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> mu [...]
19. ki-en-ᵀgi<sup>1</sup> [...]
20. gi<sub>4</sub> [x] ᵀmar<sup>2</sup>? ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
21. u<sub>4</sub>-ni [...]
22. u<sub>4</sub>-ᵀbi<sup>2</sup>? [...]
23. e<sub>2</sub>? [...]
24. ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]

Unknown # of lines broken

Reverse

Column III

Unknown # of lines broken

1. [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
2. [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀtur<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]
3. [...] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [x] ᵀx<sup>1</sup> [...]
4. [...] ᵀen<sup>1</sup> [...]

5. ʾgi<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup>[...] ʾedin<sup>1</sup>
6. [...] ʾbar?<sup>1</sup>[...] ʾše?<sup>1</sup>[...] ʾx<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup>
7. [...]
8. [...] ʾx<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup>[...]

Unknown # of lines broken

#### Column IV

Unknown # of lines broken

1. [...] ʾx<sup>1</sup>[...]
2. [...] -gin<sub>7</sub> ki-ʾsaġ<sup>1</sup>[...]
3. i-lu šu mu-ra-ʾab?<sup>1</sup>-[du<sub>7</sub>?] / uru<sub>2</sub>-men ʾx<sup>1</sup>[...]
4. <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru e<sub>2</sub>-zu [...]
5. uru<sub>2</sub>-zu uru<sub>2</sub> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> [...]
6. dam-zu u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un maḥ ʾšu<sup>1</sup>[mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
7. dumu-zu u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un ʾmaḥ<sup>1</sup>[x]
8. e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki!</sup> ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ʾgin<sub>7</sub>?<sup>1</sup>[...]
9. še-eb uru<sub>2</sub> BU-ka-zu ʾx<sup>1</sup>[...]
10. še-eb adab-bu-a-zu [...]
11. gu<sub>2</sub> <sup>i</sup>dimgul<sub>2</sub>-a-zu šu mu-[...]
12. e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-a-zu šu mu-ʾra<sup>1</sup>-[x]
13. <sup>ġi</sup>asal<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu šu mu-[ra-...]
14. ġiš-nim-mar du<sub>3</sub>-a-ʾzu<sup>1</sup> šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
15. pa-pa-šar su<sub>4</sub>-a-a du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
16. ul<sub>4</sub>-ul<sub>4</sub> tur-ra-zu šu mu-ra-[ab]-du<sub>7</sub>
17. ul<sub>4</sub>-ul<sub>4</sub> maḥ-a-zu šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
18. ul<sub>4</sub>-ul<sub>4</sub>-ʾde<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>{+sar}</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> šu-šu<sub>2</sub> x x šu [mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
19. ud kur-ʾx<sup>1</sup> e-ne ba-zu šu mu-ʾra<sup>1</sup>-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
20. e<sub>2</sub>-gal ša<sub>3</sub>-ab-sin<sub>2</sub>-na-ʾzu<sup>1</sup> šu mu-ʾra<sup>1</sup>-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
21. ʾe<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup>-ʾx<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup>ʾx<sup>1</sup> du<sub>6</sub>? babbar-ra-zu? šu mu-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]
22. ʾe<sub>2</sub>?<sup>1</sup>[...] šu ʾmu<sup>1</sup>-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]

Unknown # of lines broken

#### Obverse

##### Column I

Unknown # of lines broken

1. ...
2. [DN], who rose up from the *Egalura*,
3. who departed from the *Egalkalamada*,
4. who departed from the *Egalutud*,
5. who departed from the *Eki'usa*,
6. who departed from the sanctuary, the *Giguna*,
7. who departed from the *Etemenanki*,
8. who departed ... the *Eġarzakanaġ*.
9. who departed from the small cella,

10. who departed from the sanctuary of Ur.

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11. O princess! ... at the plums ...
  12. O woman! Like flour<sup>9</sup> ... her foot ...
  13. O cow! The one of the cattle pen! What ... tears?
  14. O Aruru! Who is doing it? He is silencing it!
  15. O older sister of Enlil, who cannot lament in heaven!
  16. "O Enlil! I have been destroyed!" she says, feverishly.
  17. "O lord of all the lands! I have been destroyed!" she weeps.
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18. It was drowned in the steppe! It was drowned in the steppe! O storm! Who was groaning in the steppe? The voice in the steppe, her voice, was a lament!
  19. O storm! Who? Who is making it scarce (in the steppe)? How horrible it is!
  20. O Mutin and Šulpae! It was drowned in the steppe!
  21. O bright princess who sweeps away (everything)! It was drowned in the steppe!
  22. O magnificent dragon, the one of the steppe! It was drowned in the steppe!
  23. She who destroys the cattle pen! It was drowned in the steppe!
  24. She who tears out the sheepfold! It was drowned in the steppe!
  25. She who destroyed Sumer! It was drowned in the steppe!
  26. The dragon, [who] brings an end to the black-headed ones!
  27. [O thundering storm], who was engendered in the cattle pen! [It was drowned] in the steppe!
  28. [O thundering storm], who was engendered in the sheepfold! It [was drowned] in the steppe!
  29. ... it [was drowned] in the steppe!
  30. ... [it was drowned] in the steppe!
  31. ... [it was drowned in] the steppe!
- Unknown # of lines broken

Columns II-III too fragmentary for adequate translation

Column IV

Unknown # of lines broken

1. ...
2. Thus she says, "My foremost place!"
3. The lament has been made perfect for you! I am foreign ...
4. Aruru, your house, which is the Emah, (was made perfect for you).
5. Your city, which is a magnificent city, (was made perfect for you).
6. Your spouse, the magnificent lord, was made (perfect for you).
7. Your child, the magnificent lord, (was made perfect for you).

8. Thus was the palace of Keš (made perfect for you).
  9. Your brickwork of the city of Adab (was made perfect for you).
  10. Your brickwork of Adab (was made perfect for you).
  11. On the riverbank, your mooring post was made (perfect for you).
  12. Your Emaḥ of Adab was made (perfect) for you.
  13. Your planted poplar trees were made (perfect for you).
  14. Your planted date palms were made (perfect) for you.
  15. Your planted ... were made (perfect) for you.
  16. Your small prosopis plants were made perfect for you.
  17. Your magnificent prosopis plants were made (perfect) for you.
  18. Your prosopis plants, which were covered over like the *teme* plants, were made (perfect for you).
  19. Your ... were made (perfect) for you.
  20. Your palace among the furrows was made (perfect) for you.
  21. Your ... was made (perfect for you).
  22. Your ... was made (perfect for you).
- Unknown # of lines broken.

## *Introduction*

*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), a four-column tablet measuring 120x95mm, preserves at least three Kirugus of a Balaĝ to the goddess Aruru.<sup>455</sup> The third Kirugu and portions of reverse iv duplicate the Balaĝ Diĝir Pae (see below). The text contains a temple litany, from which a deity is said to “rise up,” along with a series of epithets of the goddess Aruru, and a number of references to events taking place “in the steppe.”

There are several Emesal texts that concern themselves, at least in part, with the goddess Aruru. Because it is not our purpose to deal with all aspects of the goddess, we will limit ourselves to information about Aruru that can be derived from the evidence found primarily in the liturgical corpus.<sup>456</sup> The texts that deal with Aruru (assembled by Black) from the OB Period that will be utilized here are: PBS 10/2, 2 (CBS 45); Scheil, RA 17 (1920) 45-50; O.17 (Speleers, RIAA, #189); *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511); *PRAK C 56* (PSK 596); VS 10: 173 (VAT 3589); *OECT 5*, 10 (PSK 612); O.53; BM 96681 (CT 36, 47-50); HS 1606a (TMH NF 4:86) [not in Emesal]; MMA 86.11.62; The Temple Hymns, Hymn #7; VS 10:198 (VAT 5448); BM 98396 (CT 58:5); The Keš Temple Hymn; AO 3023; AUWE 23:135 (W 16743 aw). Other references to Aruru can be found in BE 31:43 (Ni 2394), VS 2: 23 (VAT 1564), YBC 7096, and VS 2:8 (VAT 605+).

Several general features of Aruru that appear in other laments also occur in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511). In several places, Aruru is referred to as “the (older) sister of Enlil,” as in obv. i 15’.<sup>457</sup> Quite often we see Aruru associated with the /edin/ “steppe;” this motif is

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<sup>455</sup> I would like to thank Konrad Volk for his invaluable insights in the preparation of this edition.

<sup>456</sup> For a more detailed discussion of all of the evidence for Aruru and her associated epithets, see Black 2005: 39-62.

<sup>457</sup> E.g., BM 96681, obv. ii 5; PBS 10/2 (CBS 45), obv. 2; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 15’; *OECT 5*, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 4’; O.53, obv. 4; BM 96681, obv. ii 5 (above); AUWE 23:135 (VAT 21647), rev. 1-2. See also Sjöberg, Bergmann, and Gragg 1969: 74.

quite prominent in both *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511).<sup>458</sup> Finally, Aruru frequently appears in contexts that emphasize her power<sup>459</sup> and her association with various types of vegetation, a focus in several places in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511).<sup>460</sup>

## 2. e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ta [bar-ta] an-zi-ga

There is an apparent /20/ mark on obv. i 10', which indicates that ten lines are broken from the top of the tablet; thus, it appears that obv. i 2' continues a temple litany that describes a deity abandoning various sacred buildings.<sup>461</sup> The difficulty with this litany is that it appears to contain a number of buildings, whose names are unduplicated elsewhere.<sup>462</sup>

I could find no other examples of the TN /e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/. There are two lexemes that are similar to /e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/: /e<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ and /e<sub>2</sub>-ki-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/. The Akkadian translation for both /e<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ and /e<sub>2</sub>-ki-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ is sometimes *rugbu*, a term which describes a portion

<sup>458</sup> Examples include Scheil, RA 17, obv. 1-2, 14; VS 10: 173 (VAT 3589), obv. 2; BM 96681, obv. i 4-5, 8, 39; ii 6-7; rev. iv 10; *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 18'-25', 27'-31'; ii 2', 12'-13'; 15'-16'; rev. iii 5'.

<sup>459</sup> Black 2005: 49. Passages like *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. v 6'-7' show Aruru's power: (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru mu-lu zi-ga-ni mar-<sup>r</sup>uru<sub>5</sub> <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ga // gu<sub>3</sub>-da ki-<sup>r</sup>bal<sup>1</sup>-x ušumgal <sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup> x x nu-a) "When Aruru rises up, a hurricane rises! A bull in the rebel lands, a dragon ..." See also, MMA 86.11.62, obv. 5-7, where similar language appears: (mu-lu zi-ga-ni mar-uru<sub>5</sub> <sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-[ga] // mu-lu nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ni eme-sig <sup>r</sup>nu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[a] // gu<sub>4</sub>-dam ki-bal-a muš-ša<sub>3</sub>-<sup>r</sup>tur<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]) "(When) she [Aruru] rises up, a storm r[ises]. (When) she rests, slander r[ests]. (Like) a wild bull in the rebel lands, a poisonous s[nake ...]" (Volk 2005: 3-10). Her power is also assumed in passages like In PBS 10/2:2 (CBS 45), obv. 18-24, for example, where we see a series of divine figures that go to Aruru in order to pacify (/huĝ/) her. For a recent discussion of this passage, see Löhnert 2009: 309.

<sup>460</sup> These include poplars (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 14'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 12'), date-palms (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 14'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 13), myrtles (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 16'-18'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 15'-17'; MMA 86.11.62, rev. 18-19), and *teme*-plants (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 18'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 17'; MMA 86.11.62, rev. 19).

<sup>461</sup> This type of abandonment is common to Balaĝs. Cf. Utugin, lines 15ff, in Löhnert 2009: 180-187. The composition opens with a number of epithets of Enlil, followed by a litany of places from which Enlil might depart, though his name is often omitted from the lines (cf. 16-39).

<sup>462</sup> Jahn 2005: 131. The evidence cited here shows that the /e<sub>2</sub>-gal/ need not be a palace, but could also be a private residence in the OB Period.



of a house in which objects are often stored or kept secure.<sup>463</sup> It may be that this TN is intended to describe a divine building characterized by storage or security.<sup>464</sup>

Though the /an-/ verbal prefix itself is not very productive in the OB Period, I have read the second portion these lines as /bar-ta an-zi-ga/, rather than as the negative subjunctive /bar-ta-an-zi-ga/ (/bar-ta-/ would represent a syllabic form of the negative subjunctive plus ablative infix /ba-ra-ta-/).<sup>465</sup> There are enough literary and liturgical examples, however, to justify reading /an-/ as the verbal prefix in /an-zi-ga/.<sup>466</sup>

The idiomatic expression /bar-ta/ appears with a number of verbs,<sup>467</sup> though I could find no examples occurring with the verb /zi/.<sup>468</sup> I understand /zi.g/ as *tebû*, with the nuance “to set out, depart, leave.”<sup>469</sup> Though rare, the appearance of the ablative /-ta/ in both the expression /bar-ta/ and on another noun phrase in the line can be seen in The

<sup>463</sup> For a recent archaeological discussion of /e<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/, see Jahn 2005: 142. For references to goods stored and sealed in these storerooms, see CAD R, s.v. *rugbu*, c, p. 403.

<sup>464</sup> In The Curse of Agade, lines 25ff, we see Inana filling the stores of Agade with various goods. In a parallel section of the text (lines 193ff), we see storehouses being reduced. In both sections, the abundance of Agade is the focus of the text, and the full storehouses of the city are a sign of abundance. Although the term /e<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ is not used in this text, the verb /ur<sub>3</sub>/ appears in line 28, /guru<sub>7</sub>-bi bar-ta im ba-an-ur<sub>3</sub>/ “she sealed its silos from the outside.” It may be that /ur<sub>3</sub>/ in /e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ is to be understood as “the sealed palace” with just such a connotation. Of course, the nominal component /im/ is not present in the TN, so the clay /im/, over which the seal rolls /ur<sub>3</sub>/, would have to be inferred. It is also possible that /ur<sub>3</sub>/ could intend Akkadian *sapānu*, “to level, devastate.”

<sup>465</sup> For a discussion of the /al-/ prefix, see Edzard 2003: 111-112; Attinger 1993: 269-270, and Thomsen 1984: 166-169. The exact meaning of /an-/ as a verbal prefix in these lines is not straightforward. Edzard notes, “al- und a- (in ab-, am<sub>6</sub>-, àm-, an- usw.) sind Allomorphe (oder Allographe?) eines einheitlichen Morphems [a(l)], wobei al- die ursprüngliche, volle Form darstellt,” and shows that there are a number of examples where /al-/ appears with clearly active-transitive verbs (Edzard 2003: 94-95).

<sup>466</sup> Some examples include: *TCL* 15:8 (AO 5374) (Enemani Ilu Ilu), obv. ii 15-18 (refrain): (tu-ra-a uru<sub>2</sub>-ne-še<sub>3</sub> an-DU); YBC 9862 (A Uruġu Imme), line 42: (mušen-anzu<sup>mušen</sup> e<sub>2</sub> ni<sub>2</sub>-bi an-dub<sub>2</sub>); Šulgi V (SRT 13 [Ni. 2432]), line 17 (a<sub>2</sub> an-ba<sub>9</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-a bar-ra-ni-še<sub>3</sub> [...]); Nungal A, line 101: (e<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> kurun-ta dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-gin<sub>7</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-ra an-e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>467</sup> These include /gub/, /e<sub>11</sub>/, /du<sub>3</sub>/, /de<sub>6</sub>/, /ġar/, /tuš/, /ra/, /šub/, and /dab<sub>5</sub>/

<sup>468</sup> In *PRAK* C 98, obv. i 6-9, 13, we see a similar verbal phrase: (/an-ta am<sub>3</sub>-zi-ga/). This may be the phrase that is repeated in *PRAK* C 105 (PSK 530), which appears (at least) in obv. 1-6. It may be that these two texts are to be joined. Of course, this is /an-ta/ rather than /bar-ta/.

<sup>469</sup> CAD T, s.v. *tebû*, 3b, specifically of deities departing in procession.

Lament over Sumer and Ur, line 133: (<sup>d</sup>lugal-<sup>r</sup>marad<sup>1</sup>-da-ke<sub>4</sub> uru-ni-ta bar-ta ba-da-gub)  
“Lugalmarada stepped outside his city.”<sup>470</sup>

Because the initial 10 lines of the tablet are not preserved, interpreting the /a/ in /an-zi-ga/ is problematic. It may be that the verb is simply a nominalized form, which should be translated, “(DN), who rose up from TN.” This type of construction can be seen in PBS 10/2, 2, obv. 37: (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru an-zi-ga niĝin-e-be<sub>2</sub>-en) “Aruru, who has risen up, return!” In PBS 10/2, 2 (CBS 45), the goddess Aruru sits outside of her city (lines 7-11), and has become like a foreigner (34-36), a similar process to what we see in *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 511).<sup>471</sup>

In the verbal form /an-zi-ga/, we see preverbal /n/, which could indicate a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. animate agent or a locative.<sup>472</sup> If the /n/ indicates a 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. agent, it could be problematic for our interpretation, as it could cause the verb /zi/ to increase its valency by one, making it causative. However, when we view the use of /zi/, there are instances when a clearly intransitive meaning is maintained, though there is a preverbal /n/ in the form.<sup>473</sup> When we take this into consideration, and compare it to the lines in *PRAK* B 471 (PSK 511), /an-zi-ga/ can justifiably be translated, “the one who rose up.”<sup>474</sup>

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<sup>470</sup> Michalowski 1989: 44-45.

<sup>471</sup> It is also possible that the /a/ is a truncated form of the copula, in which case, we might translate, “It is (DN), who rose up from TN.”

<sup>472</sup> For recent analysis on the function of stability of preverbal /n/, see Delnero 2007: 105-43.

<sup>473</sup> For example, in BM 88288, obv. i 11, we see (gaba-tuku ša<sub>3</sub> ħur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> mar-ru<sub>10</sub> im-ma-an-zi), “An opponent from the midst of the mountain rose up like a flood.” Additionally, in Aabba ħuluĥa, 153ff, we see the repeated phrase /te mu-un-zi-zi/ “When will he rise up?” (for a discussion of /te/, see Kutscher 1975: 106-107), while in 172ff, the lines end with the form /de<sub>3</sub>-en-zi-zi/, “Let him arise!” *ibid.* 106ff; 112ff. In both forms, the preverbal /n/ does not increase the valency of the verb, which remains intransitive in meaning. Enlil is the subject, and he is described as “sleeping,” so that the logical conclusion would be that Enlil would rise from his sleep.

<sup>474</sup> We could interpret the lines with a second participant: “DN caused X (the enemies, plunderers, etc.) to depart from TN.” There are examples of *šutbû* where the verb is used to expel people (CAD T, s.v. *tebû* 11a).

3. **e<sub>2</sub>-gal-kalam-ma-da-ta [bar-ta] an-zi-ga**  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal-[...] *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516), obv. 1'*

As with the TN found in obv. i 2', I can find no temple or palace names that are similar to /e<sub>2</sub>-gal-kalam-ma-da/.<sup>475</sup> I have tentatively interpreted the name to mean “palace of land and country,” reading both /kalam/ and /ma-da/, though I can find no examples of these two words being used in juxtaposition to one another.

4. **e<sub>2</sub>-gal-u<sub>3</sub>-tu-ta bar-[ta] an-zi-ga**  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal-u<sub>3</sub>-[...] *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516), obv. 2'*

A have interpreted /u<sub>3</sub>-tu/ as the verb “to bear” (Akkadian *alādu*), with the palace as the agent of the verb, but no object present in the line.<sup>476</sup> There are examples of a house described as giving birth.<sup>477</sup>

5. **e<sub>2</sub>-ki-us<sub>2</sub>-sa-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga**  
 e<sub>2</sub>-ki<sup>1</sup>-us<sub>2</sub>-[...] *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516), obv. 3'*

Though this TN is unduplicated elsewhere, the “founded house” seems an appropriate name for a structure, as the verb /ki--us<sub>2</sub>/ (Akk. *rašādu; šuršudu*) “to set on

<sup>475</sup> There is the TN /e<sub>2</sub>-kalam-ta-ni<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>3</sub>-ru/ “House which inspires dread in the land.” See George 1993: 107. In order for this to be the intended name here, however, one would have to assume a truncated form that assumes the verb, and that the /da/ represents /ta/ in the name. Of course, there is obviously the problem of the form /e<sub>2</sub>-gal/ rather than simply /e<sub>2</sub>/.

<sup>476</sup> There are a number of examples in which /u<sub>3</sub>-tu/ has a noun in the same syntactical position as we see here: Enki and Ninmah, line 17 (<sup>d</sup>namma-ke<sub>4</sub> ama palil u<sub>3</sub>-tu diġir šar<sub>2</sub>-šar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne) “Namma, the primeval mother, who gave birth to the numerous gods” [object present in line]; Enlil and Sud, ms. S<sub>2</sub>, line 152 (<sup>d</sup>nin-tur<sub>5</sub>-re nin u<sub>3</sub>-tu nin dub<sub>3</sub> bad mu-še<sub>21</sub> ʾmu<sup>1</sup>-[ri]-in-sa<sub>4</sub>) “He gave her the name Nintur, the lady who gives birth, the lady who spreads the knees” [object not present in line] (see Civil 1983a: 57). There are many other examples, but it is clear that the palace could be considered the agent of the verbal form, allowing the object to be either truncated or unspecified. It should be noted that another interpretive option could be to read /u<sub>3</sub>-tu/ as a phonetic form of /u<sub>6</sub>-de/ (homophonous sign replacement, /d/ to /t/ consonant shift, and /e/ to /u/ vowel shift). If so, this could be similar to the known TN /e<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>6</sub>-de/ “House of Wonder.” Cf. George 1993: 153. However, the most straightforward reading seems preferable here.

<sup>477</sup> See, for example, Nungal A, line 103 (e<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> si sa<sub>2</sub> mu-un-u<sub>3</sub>-tu lu<sub>2</sub>-lul mu-un-te-en-te) “My house gives birth to a just person, but extinguishes (the life of) a false person;”

the ground,” is often used to describe work done to a building, or the status of a particular building.<sup>478</sup>

6. **eš<sub>3</sub> gi-un-na-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga**  
eš<sub>3</sub> gi-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>l</sup>-[...] *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516), obv. 4’*

I have understood /gi-un-na/ as the Giguna.<sup>479</sup> There are several variant forms of this shrine appear in the liturgical and literary corpus.<sup>480</sup> Other than *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516)*, there are no other occurrences of /eš<sub>3</sub>/ preceding Giguna.

7. **e<sub>2</sub>-en-temen-ki-ta bar-ta an-zi-ga**  
e<sub>2</sub>-en-temen-[...] *PRAK C 31 (PSK 516), obv. 5’*

Again, outside of these duplicates, this precise TN does not occur elsewhere. It seems likely, however, given the phonetic writings of some of the TNs in this litany, that the /e<sub>2</sub>-en-temen-an-ki/ is the TN referred to here.<sup>481</sup>

8. **e<sub>2</sub>-ġarza<sub>2</sub>-ka-na-aġ<sub>2</sub>-ġa<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>l</sup>-ga<sup>?</sup> zi-ga**

I can find no examples of the TN /e<sub>2</sub>-ġarza<sub>2</sub>-ka-na-aġ<sub>2</sub>-ġa<sub>2</sub>/ “The house, the rites of the land.” The /ġarza/ (Akk. *paršu*) are closely associated with temples, deities, and

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<sup>478</sup> Examples include: Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 13: (e<sub>2</sub>-an-na unug<sup>ki</sup>-e kul-aba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-a <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>l</sup> us<sub>2</sub>-sa-a-am<sub>3</sub>) “The Eanna of Uruk Kulaba was firmly founded;” Šulgi C, 26: (e<sub>2</sub>-temen-ni<sub>2</sub>-guru<sub>3</sub> me ki us<sub>2</sub>-sa) “the E-temen-ni-guru, firmly founded with the MEs;” Išbi-Erra D, 13: (<sup>d</sup>nin-isin<sub>2</sub><sup>si</sup>-na e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>gal<sup>l</sup>-maḥ an-ne<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> <sup>r</sup>us<sub>2</sub><sup>l</sup>-[sa]) “Ninisina, (in) the Egalmaḥ, firmly founded by An.”

<sup>479</sup> In The Curse of Agade, line 194, we read, /eš<sub>3</sub> gi tur-tur im-ma-ra-an-du<sub>3</sub>/ “Enlil rebuilt (his great sanctuaries) into small reed sanctuaries” (cf. Cooper, The Curse of Agade, 59). It is possible that /un/ is a homophonous writing of /un<sub>3</sub>/, “to be high, lofty;” if so, the name of the sanctuary should be interpreted as /eš<sub>3</sub> gi un-na/, “The lofty reed sanctuary.”

<sup>480</sup> Examples include: /gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na/ (CBS 11359, obv. 13), /<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>l</sup>-gu-na/ (*PRAK B 357 (PSK 505)*, obv. 4), /<sup>r</sup>gi<sup>l</sup>-<sup>r</sup>gun<sub>4</sub><sup>r</sup>ki<sup>l</sup>-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>l</sup>/ (VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), rev. vi 36), /gi-gu<sub>2</sub>-na/ (VS 2: 48 (VAT 1437), obv. 7), and /gi<sub>4</sub>-ku-na/ (NFT 209 (AO 4334+), col. iii 7).

<sup>481</sup> See George 1993: 149 for citations. It is interesting to note the very early TN /e<sub>2</sub>-nun-en-temen-ki/ in BagM 22, 117 (W 24033, 1), ii 2.

even the Netherworld.<sup>482</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to see the “rites of the land” appearing in a TN.<sup>483</sup>

## 9. agrun tur-ra-ta UN ṛx<sup>1</sup>ṛzi<sup>1</sup>-zi-ga<sup>484</sup>

The /agrun/ (E<sub>2</sub>.NUN) can refer to a shrine of Ningal at Ur, the place from which Utu rises and to which he descends, or a place associated with Enki and the Abzu.<sup>485</sup> This connection of the /agrun/ to Ur is interesting in light of line 10 of our text, as the deity is said to have departed not only from the /agrun/, but from the /eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma/ “the sanctuary of Ur.”<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>482</sup> CAD P, s.v. *paršu* 1 for temples and deities. There are other references to the /ġarza kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “the rites of the netherworld.” In Ur-Nammu A, line 84 reads, (sipa zi ġarza kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> / ša<sub>3</sub>-ga-ni mu-un-zu) “The faithful shepherd knew well the rites of the Netherworld.” According to the rites of the Netherworld, the king made appropriate offerings, including bulls, kids, and sheep, in order to supply food for a banquet. In Inana’s Descent into the Netherworld, lines 133, 138, 143, 148, 153, 158, and 163, we see the repeated phrase /<sup>d</sup>inana ġarza kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> ka-zu na-an-ba-e/ “Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the Netherworld.” In the case of Inana, she was stripped of her vestments, one by one, according to the rites of the Netherworld. For a discussion of the motive for the stripping of Inana’s vestments, see Katz 1995: 221-33.

<sup>483</sup> However, according to the literary texts, there may have been *ġarza* rites that were associated with the land. In The Lament over Ur, line 393, we see the cutting off of the /ġarza/ rites in the midst of a list of calamities that had been brought about by the “storm” (line numbering following Samet 2014: 74). In line 388, the text reads, (e u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> kalam teš<sub>2</sub>-a i-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ra) “Alas! The storm! The storm struck the land together!” The storm is described as sweeping over the land (/kalam/) in line 390, destroying cities, houses, cattle pens, sheepfolds, *the rites*, and finally counsel. This list is summarized with the phrase (u<sub>4</sub> kalam-ma niġ<sub>2</sub> du<sub>10</sub> im-mi-ib-ku<sub>5</sub>-da-ri) “The storm, which cut off the good things in the land!” (line 395). In other words, it appears that there were /ġarza/ rites of the land, which makes it possible that there might be a temple named after such rites.

<sup>484</sup> I have translated /tur-ra/ as an adjective, “the *small* cella;” in The Temple Hymns, line 158, we see a comparable form in the line (eš<sub>3</sub> agrun gal tur<sub>3</sub>-e ri-a) “O shrine, great *agrun* founded at the cattle-pen.” It is possible, however, that the /tur/ in line 9 is a phonetic writing of /tur<sub>3</sub>/, as it is referred to in this line in The Temple Hymns (158) and 4<sup>R</sup> 18, 6:20-21 ([ša<sub>3</sub>]-ṛE<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>.NUN-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ġiri<sub>3</sub> ġen-na e<sub>2</sub>-tur<sub>3</sub>-bi igi im-ma-an-si<sub>3</sub> = [ina] lib<sub>3</sub>-bi ku-u-mi ina i-tal-lu-ki-šu<sub>2</sub> tar-ba-šu šu<sub>2</sub>-a-tu<sub>2</sub> ip-pa-lis-ma) “[Asalluḫi/Marduk...] while walking in the *agrun*, saw this cattle-pen.” The line would then read, “From the *Agrun* of the cattle-pen...”

<sup>485</sup> For a full list of references to /agrun/, see PSD AIII, 65-68. For discussion of the /agrun/ itself, see Caplice 1973: 299-305 and Charpin 1986: 211-216. In Charpin’s discussion of the /agrun/ as it appeared at Ur, he concludes that, in certain places, it seems to be another name for the temple of Ningal, and parallel to the Ekišnugal, the temple of Nanna.

<sup>486</sup> It is interesting to note the juxtaposition of the /eš<sub>3</sub> urim<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ and the /agrun/ in the Lament over Ur, 322-23: (nu-nus-ġen eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> nidba-bi im-ma-an-kur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ġu<sub>10</sub> // agrun ku<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> gibil-gibil-la-ġu<sub>10</sub> la-la-bi nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-ġu<sub>10</sub>) “I, the woman, my shrine of Urim, whose food offerings have been altered; O my *Agrun*-kug, my all-new house, whose charm does not satisfy.”

The end of the line is difficult, as the hand copy is unclear. The /UN/ sign appears to be written in line 10, though it is also in a broken section. This line requires collation.

**10. 20 eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma-ta ʽUNʽ am<sub>3</sub>-zi-ga**

The meaning of /eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma/ is not immediately clear. There appear to be two uses of the term “sanctuary” (/eš<sub>3</sub>/) in the liturgical and literary corpora. The first describes a particular building or structure as an /eš<sub>3</sub>/,<sup>487</sup> while the other use of /eš<sub>3</sub>/ appears to describe the *entirety of a city*, naming the city itself as the “sanctuary.”<sup>488</sup> In line 10 of our text, the genitive is added to /eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma-ta/. Should this be translated “from the shrine *of* Ur,” or, “from the shrine, (namely) Ur”? In The Lament over Ur, there are five examples of the phrase /eš<sub>3</sub> urim<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>/, with no genitival marker, which are translated as “the shrine, Ur.”<sup>489</sup> However, there are variants that appear in line 250; /eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ appears in two mss. as /eš<sub>3</sub> uri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma/, which seem to necessitate the translation “shrine *of* Ur.”<sup>490</sup> However, lines 249 and 250 together read, (lu<sub>2</sub> nu-nus-ĝen u<sub>3</sub> uru<sub>2</sub> mu-da-gul u<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> mu-da-gul // <sup>d</sup>nanna eš<sub>3</sub> urim<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> mu-da-gul mu-lu-bi ba-tu<sub>11</sub>-be<sub>2</sub>-eš) “As for me, the woman, oh! The city has been destroyed! The house has been destroyed! O Nanna! The shrine, Ur, has been destroyed! Its people have been killed!” It seems that, though the previous lines generally describe the destruction that had befallen the Ekišnuĝal, there remained a distinction between the city and the temple. If so, it appears that the final line, which describes the death of the people of Ur, focused on the destruction of the city as a whole, naming the city itself as the shrine. Thus, the genitive

<sup>487</sup> See Inana and Šukaletuda, line 249, which reads (eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>) “to my shrine, the Eanna.”

<sup>488</sup> For example, in The Lament over Ur, line 52, we see /eš<sub>3</sub> nibru<sup>ki</sup> uru<sub>2</sub> a-še-er gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub> a-še-er-zu ĝar-ra/ “O shrine Nippur, city, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you!”

<sup>489</sup> Lines 13, 250, 256, 293, and 322 (line numbers according to Samet 2014).

<sup>490</sup> Line 250 variant mss.: N<sub>47</sub> and U<sub>5</sub>.

marker may not necessarily require that we understand /eš uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma-ta/ as specifying a particular shrine in the city of Ur.

As in line 9, there is an apparent /UN/ before the verbal chain, which cannot yet be explained. Notice the shift from /an-zi-ga/ to /am<sub>3</sub>-zi-ga/, with no apparent change in verbal meaning. Perhaps this change is due to the fact that it is the final line in the Kirugu, although the end of line 9 is unclear in the hand copy, and may preserve an /am<sub>3</sub>- / verbal prefix as well.

### 11. egi<sub>2</sub>-e ša<sub>3</sub>? <sup>ĝiš</sup>šennur-e a-ni ʽxʽ [...]-e

The second Kirugu preserved on the tablet (lines 11-17) contains four apparent epithets of Aruru, followed by a lament by the goddess over the destruction apparently brought about by Enlil.<sup>491</sup> This Kirugu incipit does not appear to be duplicated elsewhere among the preserved Balaĝs.

Line 11 begins with /egi<sub>2</sub>-e/; it appears that the /-e/ here marks the vocative. There are several examples in the liturgical corpus of the vocative marked with an /-e/, though these are found in Eršemmaš, not Balaĝs.<sup>492</sup> This vocative /-e/ also appears in several lines of Ur-Namma B.<sup>493</sup> The remainder of the line is uncertain.<sup>494</sup>

<sup>491</sup> It is likely that this is the 2<sup>nd</sup> Kirugu, as there are only 10 lines missing from the top of the tablet.

<sup>492</sup> In BM 15821 (Eršemmaš #60), obv. 16-17, we see (ʽam<sup>1</sup>-e a-gin<sub>7</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-en ʽu<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> sila<sub>4</sub>-bi u<sub>3</sub>-ʽbi<sup>1</sup> a-gin<sub>7</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-ku) “O bull! You are the one who lies down in the same way that the ewe sleeps (with) its lamb!” The /e/ in the form /am-e/ is almost certainly marking the vocative. In the same way, in BM 29628 (Eršemmaš #165), obv. 1, as well as 5, 7, 9, and 11, contain a noun followed by /e/ (1: /šeš-e/; 5, 7, 9, and 11: /ku<sub>3</sub><sup>d</sup> inana-ke<sub>4</sub>/). In each case, the form appears to be in the vocative. This is especially clear in line 11, which reads, (ku<sub>3</sub><sup>d</sup> inana-ke<sub>4</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> edin mu-un-si-ig) “Oh holy Inana! My heart silenced the steppe!”

<sup>493</sup> We see at least five examples of /e/ marking the vocative in Ur-Namma B, lines 53, 56, 60, 64, and 68 in the repeated phrase /sipa<sup>d</sup> ur-damma-ke<sub>4</sub>/ “O shepherd, Ur-Namma!” While several of these examples could syntactically be understood as markings of the ergative, in neither lines 56 nor 64 does the ergative seem possible. In line 56, the verbal form has as its indirect object an implied /e-ne-er/ “to him” from line 54, which reads, (e-ne-er mu-na-an-šum<sub>2</sub> en<sup>d</sup> nu-nam-nir-re // kur am<sub>3</sub>-tu<sub>11</sub>-be<sub>2</sub> ĝiri<sub>3</sub> saga<sub>11</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-me) “He gave it to him! Lord Nunamnir struck the land! He trampled it!” The line is repeated in 56-57 (a pattern in this composition), and the dative form is removed, replaced with /sipa<sup>d</sup> ur-damma-ke<sub>4</sub>/; thus, the form of line 56-57 appears (sipa<sup>d</sup> ur-damma-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-na-an-šum<sub>2</sub> en<sup>d</sup> nu-nam-nir-re // kur am<sub>3</sub>-tu<sub>11</sub>-be<sub>2</sub> ĝiri<sub>3</sub> saga<sub>11</sub>

**12. munus-e dabin<sup>2</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> ġiri<sub>3</sub>-ni x-ri [...]-e**

Aruru here appears to be named as simply “woman,” followed by a possible comparison between her and flour?. There are a number of compound verbs that appear with /ġiri<sub>3</sub>/, which also form the *marû* as a regular verb, but it is not possible at this time to reconstruct the verb.<sup>495</sup>

**13. ab<sub>2</sub>-e tur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ka ir<sub>2</sub>-e ta nam-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-[...]**

I interpret the phrase /tur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ka/ as a headless genitive, followed by a vocative marker /a/.<sup>496</sup> Though the verbal form is not preserved, it seems clear that the position of the /ta/ interrogative makes it unlikely that /ir<sub>2</sub>-re/ is the nominal constituent of a compound verb, as neither /ta/, /a-na/, nor /a-ba/ appear between the two parts of a compound verb.<sup>497</sup> The epithet /ab<sub>2</sub>/ “cow” appears in another list of epithets attributed to Aruru.<sup>498</sup>

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am<sub>3</sub>-me) “O shepherd Ur-Namma! He [Nunamnir] gave it (to him)! Lord Nunamnir struck the land! He trampled it!” Ur-Namma cannot be the indirect object here, as this would require the dative /-ra/. Clearer, however, are lines 64-65, which has an inanimate object as the agent of the verb. The text reads (sipa<sup>d</sup>ur<sup>d</sup>namma-ke<sub>4</sub> ar<sub>2</sub>-a-ni ħuš-am<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ki-bala // u<sub>18</sub>-lu-ne<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> erim<sub>2</sub>-ġal<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-ib-ša<sub>4</sub>) “O shepherd Ur-Namma! His praise is furious! O house of the rebellious lands! His tempest snapped off<sup>2</sup> the evil man!” Thus, “his tempest” is the agent of the verb, marked by the preverbal /b/; this excludes the /e/ on Ur-Namma as indicating the ergative marker.

<sup>494</sup> It is possible that there is some similarity between the mention of fruit and what is seen in BM 23584 (CT 15, pl. 23), line 1, an Eršemma that begins with (ul-e pa-pa-al-ta ir<sub>2</sub> am<sub>3</sub>-da-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-[še<sub>8</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>]) “At the branches, among the shoots, I shed tears.”

<sup>495</sup> /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--dab<sub>3</sub>/ “to take to the road,” /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--gub/ “to step in/out,” /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--kur<sub>2</sub>/ “to change,” /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--us<sub>2</sub>/ “to step upon,” /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--ze<sub>2</sub>.er/ “to slip, slide,” /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--ul<sub>4</sub>/ “to rush toward,” and /ġiri<sub>3</sub>--zukum/ “to trample.”

<sup>496</sup> See commentary to obv. i 17 below for /a/ as a vocative marker.

<sup>497</sup> There are several verbs that appear with the locative-terminative on /ir<sub>2</sub>/, including /sig<sub>3</sub>/, /ġal<sub>2</sub>/, /kuš<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>/, /tuš/, /zi/, and /ġar/. Most examples come from VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+): /sig<sub>3</sub>/ (YBC 4659 [YNER 6, pl. i-ii], obv. 6-7); /ġal<sub>2</sub>/ (VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. i 16-17); /kuš<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>/ (VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 42); /tuš/ (VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. iii 44); /zi/ (VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. iv 11); /ġar/ (Lament over Ur, 77).

<sup>498</sup> In MMA 86.11.62, obv. 2-4, we read (<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru ul<sub>4</sub>-ul<sub>4</sub>-la mu-<sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[DU ...] // nin-ša<sub>6</sub>-ga x [...] // ab<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-ra <sup>1</sup>SAL + x<sup>1</sup> x [...] “Aruru, the one who hastens [came along ...] // The beautiful lady [...] // The cow in wailing [...].”<sup>498</sup> In a broken text, *PRAK* C 113 (PSK 602), a female deity is also seen mourning, and is called /ab<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-ra <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...], just as in MMA 86.11.62. Other goddesses are referred to as /ab<sub>2</sub>/ (see PSD AII, 162-163).



14. <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru a-ba bi<sub>2</sub>-ak-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> mu-un-ši-si-ig-<sup>r</sup>ge?<sup>1</sup>

I know of no examples of /si-ig/ “to be silent” which occur with the terminative infix /ši/. The verb /si-ig/ appears in a context similar to our passage in Enmerkar and Ensuhkešana, lines 204-5: (<sup>du</sup>šakir ku<sub>3</sub>-ga si-si-ig-bi [...] ša<sub>3</sub> [su<sub>3</sub>]-ga mu-un-ĝal<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub> ka-<sup>r</sup>tab<sup>1</sup>-[ba ba-nu<sub>2</sub>] // u<sub>4</sub>-bi-a <sup>r</sup>tur<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>amaš<sup>1</sup>-a e<sub>2</sub> si-ga ba-ab-[du<sub>11</sub>] / niĝ<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>lam<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ba-ab-<sup>r</sup>a<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>) “The churn’s clattering noise went mute, it was empty, [lay there ‘star]ving. On this very day, cattle pen and sheepfold became quiet buildings, were turned into ruins.”<sup>499</sup> This passage describes a lament over the desolation brought to the cattle pen and sheepfold, as is likely the case in our passage (cf. /tur<sub>3</sub>/ in the previous line).<sup>500</sup> Enlil appears to be acting as a destructive agent (obv. i 17), and is the one to whom Aruru cries out (obv. i 16). Here, the speaker addresses Aruru, this time asking “Who will do it?” However, it is unclear as to what the speaker is referring with this question.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>499</sup> Wilcke 2012: 64; 83.

<sup>500</sup> There are other examples that support reading /si-ig/ as the verb “to still, silence.” In BM 15795 (CT 15, pl. 20-21), obv. 10, we see (tumu ib<sub>2</sub>-bi nam-da-an-si-ig) “He was not able to still the angry wind.” In the context of this *eršemma*, the wind inflicts damage upon the land; thus, it seems reasonable that silencing or making still the angry wind would be a reasonable translation of /si-ig/. In BM 29628 (CT 15, pl. 19), obv. 11, we see the line (ku<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>inana-ke<sub>4</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> edin mu-un-si-ig) “O holy Inana! My heart silenced the steppe!” In the context, the death of Dumuzi has caused a number of people to no longer rejoice; it may be that this silencing is related to this lack of rejoicing.

<sup>501</sup> There is a similar series of lines in the phonetic text *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 14-19, which appear to contain the repeated phrase, /a-ya-ĝu<sub>10</sub> ħu-mu-na/, “Let my father do it!” See Cavigneaux 1987: 55. The father in *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607) is also almost certainly Enlil, as he is referred to as /u<sub>2</sub>-mu-un kur-kur-ra/ and /u<sub>2</sub>-mu-un du-qa zi-da/ in lines 16-17, epithets that are quite common to Enlil. For a list of some of the most common epithets of Enlil appearing in Emesal texts, see Kutscher 1975: 47-51.

15. **nin<sub>9</sub><sup>!</sup> gal<sup>!</sup> mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> an-<sup>r</sup>ne<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup> a<sup>!</sup>še-er nu-mu-un-ši-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>!</sup>**<sup>502</sup>

I have read the preserved signs at the end of the line as /-ši-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>!</sup>/, a common verbal form appearing with /a-še-er/.<sup>503</sup> The use of terminative infix /ši/ could be understood as semantic, as the lament is “set to” heaven /an-ne<sub>2</sub>--ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>/, and is perhaps related to the infix /ši/ in line 14.<sup>504</sup>

16. **<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub> ba-ge<sub>4</sub>-le-ĝen bil-la<sub>2</sub>-bi am<sub>3</sub>-me**

The verbal form /ba-ge<sub>4</sub>-le-ĝen/ represents /ba.gel.le.eĝ<sub>3</sub>.en/ “I have been destroyed!”<sup>505</sup> A similar form is found in The Lament over Nippur, 137 (ša<sub>3</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> mud-a ba-ni-gel-le-eĝ<sub>3</sub>-ĝen ba-bir-bir-en sug-ge<sub>4</sub> ba-ab-gu<sub>7</sub>) “My heart is dark, I am destroyed, I am in chaos, I have been devastated!”<sup>506</sup>

17. **u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un kur-kur-ra mu-un-ge<sub>4</sub>-le-ĝen ir<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>-še<sub>8</sub>**

The vocative can occur with both the grammatical marking /-e/ (cf. obv. i 11) as well as /-a/.<sup>507</sup> The verbal form in line 17 has the conjugation prefix /mu-/ instead of /ba-/, as in line 16.<sup>508</sup>

<sup>502</sup> Reading /nin<sub>9</sub><sup>!</sup> gal<sup>!</sup>/ based on Black 2005: 47. The final three preserved signs could also be /-ši-niĝin/; however, there appears to be at least one final sign in the break. Following /mu-un-/ could be the /KA/ sign, followed by /ga/, though the shape appears slightly different than those seen at the end of many lines in the 1<sup>st</sup> Kirugu. If the verb is /niĝin/, and the broken sign in the middle of the line is the /NI/ sign, there are at least two examples of /an(-ne<sub>2</sub>)-niĝin/ in the literary texts. In Nergal B, line 16, we see (an-<sup>r</sup>ne<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup> mu<sup>!</sup>-niĝin<sub>2</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub>-<sup>r</sup>nam<sup>!</sup>[ma] a<sub>2</sub> <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>!</sup>-<sup>r</sup>un<sup>!</sup>-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>) “He travels through heaven and organizes everything.” Additionally, in Inana and Ebiĥ, lines 24-25, we see (in-nin-me-en an niĝin<sub>2</sub>-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ne ki niĝin<sub>2</sub>-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ne // <sup>d</sup>inana-me-en an niĝin<sub>2</sub>-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ne ki niĝin<sub>2</sub>-na-ĝu<sub>10</sub>-ne) “When I, the goddess, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth // when I, Inana, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth.” Whether the verb is /ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>/, /niĝin/, or /du<sub>11</sub>/, the meaning appears to remain relatively the same; the lament is not brought to heaven to be heard.

<sup>503</sup> See, for example, The Death of Gilgameš, lines 15-16: (gub-ba nu-<sup>r</sup>ub<sup>!</sup>-sig<sub>10</sub>-ge tuš-a nu-ub-sig<sub>10</sub>-ge a-nir im-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> // u<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> nu-[ub-sig<sub>10</sub>]-ge a naĝ nu-ub-sig<sub>10</sub>-ge a-nir im-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>) “Unable to stand up, unable to sit down, he laments. Unable to eat, unable to drink, he laments.”

<sup>504</sup> For similar usages, see Gragg 1973: 23-26.

<sup>505</sup> See Krecher 1966: 114.

<sup>506</sup> Cf. also PBS 10/2, 2 (CBS 45), rev. 41: (<sup>r</sup>ĝa<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup>-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>!</sup>-<sup>r</sup>gin<sub>7</sub><sup>!</sup> gil-le-eĝ<sub>3</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> ab <sup>r</sup>x<sup>!</sup>[...] / ir<sub>2</sub> nu-ni-ib-gul-e).

<sup>507</sup> Krecher 1966: 114, “<sup>d</sup>Mu-ul-lil-lá ist wohl trotz -lá Vokativ; cf. oben PRAK B 471:17 und den Vokativ <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil-lá in SBH 7:25.”

**18. edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su /  
u<sub>4</sub> a-ba edin-na še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> edin-na ᵀgu<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ni ul-li-am<sub>3</sub>**

As with the last Kirugu, lines 18ff begin with an incipit that is unknown in the liturgical corpus.<sup>509</sup> However, as is apparently common at Kiš, this Kirugu presents another example of a series of lines that, while generally duplicating a section found in another text, the initial lines are distinct.<sup>510</sup>

The verbal form /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/ presents certain difficulties. Because no vocalic morpheme follows the verbal base, the Auslaut does not appear, and we cannot know which verbal base is intended. I have understood /SU/ as /su<sub>3</sub>.d (SUD)/ = *tebû* “to sink, submerge.”<sup>511</sup> I have interpreted /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/ as a passive construction.<sup>512</sup> Zólyomi cites

<sup>508</sup> We need not, grammatically speaking, shift to an active-transitive verb because of the change from /ba-/ to /mu-/. There is at least one example of /mu-/ with /ha-lam/ with this passive meaning. In The Lament over Ur, lines 423-24, we see (<sup>d</sup>nanna uru ki-bi gi<sub>4</sub>-a-za pa e<sub>3</sub> ḥa-ra-ab-ak-e // mul-an ku<sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> nam-mu-ḥa-lam-e igi-zu-še<sub>3</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-dib-be<sub>2</sub>) “O Nanna, may your restored city be manifest (‘may he manifest it’) before you. Like the bright stars, may it not be destroyed (‘may he not destroy it’), let it pass before you.”

<sup>509</sup> Kramer 1982b: 211. Kramer lists the Kirugu or composition incipits that contain references to /edin/; I repeat them here, including an additional Kirugu incipit (*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. ii 15’): (edin i-lu ḡar-u<sub>3</sub>) Dumuzi’s Dream, line 1 (line 6 in other mss.); (edin-e i-lu-e u<sub>4</sub> mu-ni-ib-zal-e) VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 44; (edin-na-NE šeš-ta edin-na-NE) VS 2: 1 (VAT 608+), rev. iii 9; (edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su) *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 18’; (edin-e ga ᵀx<sup>1</sup> ᵀbi<sup>1</sup> ᵀa<sup>1</sup> [...]) *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. ii 15’; (edin lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-ḡu<sub>10</sub> lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>) Scheil, RA 17 (1920), obv. 1; (edin-na di-di edin-na še am<sub>3</sub>-ša<sub>4</sub>) PBS 10/4, no. 13 (BM 78239), rev. 13.

<sup>510</sup> For example, VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+): *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502) and *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533).

<sup>511</sup> Krecher notes that /su/ was commonly used in this period to represent /su<sub>3</sub>/ = *tebû* “to sink.” Krecher 1966: 218, and fn. 627: “SK 11 I 10f. verglichen mit SBH 21:42; ähnlich SEM 44:4 buru<sub>x</sub>-su-su = AJSL 35, 140 Th. 1905-4-9, 10+12 ‘Obv.’ 15-16. buru<sub>x</sub>-sù-sù : [ša] *ebûra uᵀabbû* (Lugal III).” This is clearly the case in the OB literary corpus. See Civil 2003: 80-81. It is possible that /su/ represents the homophonous writing /su<sub>3</sub>.g/ = *riāqu* “to be empty, barren, stripped.” In Ur-Namma A, line 192, the text reads (edin bar su<sub>3</sub>-ga-ka lu<sub>2</sub> im-mi-in-nu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-da) “That one made me lie down in the open, desolate steppe.” There are other similar examples that appear without /edin/. In The Lament over Nippur, 33, it reads (e<sub>2</sub>-ri-a su<sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> nu-un-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>) “Like an empty wasteland, no one enters.” In *Ur-Namma A*, line 46, we see (tir [ḥa-šu]-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra-gin<sub>7</sub> im-ma-su<sub>3</sub> me-dim<sub>2</sub>-bi ba-kur<sub>2</sub>) “Like a forest of *ḥašḥur* trees, it was stripped; its appearance was changed.”

<sup>512</sup> Zólyomi 1993: 61. According to Zólyomi, there are five characteristics common to passives, which are consistent with our verbal form: 1) the agent is missing from the sentence; 2) the agent infix is omitted from the slot before the verbal base; 3) the locative infix (if present) is moved to the slot where the agent marker would have been; 4) there is a derived subject following the verbal base; 5) the verb is *ḥamtu*.

several passive verbal forms, which appear in the form /i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-VB/.<sup>513</sup> Thus, something is “submerged” or “drowned” in the steppe.

There are a number of examples in the liturgical and literary corpora that show a type of “submersion” that brings about destruction, which would fit well in our passage.<sup>514</sup> It is clear that the /edin/ “steppe” is pictured as a productive area, which could suffer loss and destruction due to flooding.<sup>515</sup>

The traces near the end of the line may read /ʽgu<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ʽni<sup>1</sup> ul-li-am<sub>3</sub>/. I understand /ul-li-am<sub>3</sub>/ as a phonetic writing of /u<sub>3</sub>-li/ “lamentation,” which appears in various forms in

<sup>513</sup> Ibid., 74. (im-ma i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-gi-in) “It is affirmed on the tablet” [MVN 13, 172 (FLP 2594), rev. 2]; (kišib(-PN) i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-ra) “The seal (of PN) is impressed upon it” [NRVN 1, 106 (Ni 433), obv. 5-6]; (im e<sub>2</sub>-gal-ka i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-sar) “These are recorded on the tablet of the palace” [AUCT 1, #867 (AUAM 73.1817), 8]; (a-ša<sub>3</sub> UŠ unu<sub>3</sub> u<sub>3</sub> KAM.KAM-ba // lu<sub>2</sub>-ib-gal i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-gub // lu<sub>2</sub> la-ba-an-da-ʽgub<sup>1</sup>) “To the field of US the herdsman and . . ., Luibgal is detailed and nobody else is detailed there with him” [TCS 1, #148:15-17].

<sup>514</sup> In BM 96927 (Elum Gusun), rev. vi 50, we read (ki-bala-da im-gin<sub>7</sub> ba-da-gul kišig-gin<sub>7</sub> ba-da-su<sub>3</sub>) “The rebellious land was submerged like a storm; it was submerged like the Ašagu plant.” In the Širnamšub BM 78183 (CT 44:16), b.e. 1, we see a similar idea: ([e<sub>2</sub> gi]-ʽgun<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-na niĝ<sub>2</sub>-ba-bi ki-bala saḥar ʽsu<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-[su<sub>3</sub>]) “The offerings of the Egiguna, which submerge the rebel lands with dust.” In Ur-Nammu A, line 23: (še gu-nu a-gar<sub>3</sub>-re mu<sub>2</sub>-a-ʽbi<sup>1</sup> zi kalam-ma ba-su) “that mottled barley grown on the arable lands, the life of the land, was submerged.” Finally, there are two references to plants being literally ruined by submersion. In the Balaĝ Udam Gudedeš (SBH 41 (VAT 408+), obv. 5-6) line 17, we see (buru<sub>14</sub> isin-bi-ta ba-da-an-su<sub>3</sub> : e-bu-ru ina i-sin-ni-šu<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ta-ab-bi) “The crops were drowned on their stalks.” In addition, in a Neo-Babylonian text (CT 57:389 (BM 57790), obv. 4), we read (x ŠE.NUMUN ḥal-qa u<sub>3</sub> te-bu-u<sub>2</sub>) “x arable field, ruined and submerged.” In summary, there are several examples of a land, both metaphorically and literally, being “submerged,” which brings about their destruction.

<sup>515</sup> In The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur, lines 77-78, we read (ʽim<sup>1</sup> gal edin-na edin-e im-si igi-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-ne-ĝen // edin niĝ<sub>2</sub>-daĝal-ba sig<sub>3</sub> ba-ab-du<sub>11</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> nu-mu-ni-in-dib-be<sub>2</sub>) “The great storm of the plain filled the plain, it went before them; the teeming plain was destroyed, no one passed by there.” Michalowski argues that the use of /daĝal/ in line 78, as well as in other places, carries the approximate meaning “to multiply.” For example, he cites The Curse of Agade, line 127, (a-gar<sub>3</sub> maḥ a-eštub<sup>ku</sup> daĝal-la-gin<sub>7</sub>) “As if for great tracts with teeming carp ponds” (see Michalowski 1989: 71) (for a more recent translation, see Attinger 2015e). In Rim-Sin G (UET 6/106 (U 7760), line 37, we see (edin daĝal ki daĝal-ba niĝ<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra niĝ<sub>2</sub>-zi-ĝal<sub>2</sub> SU RA-RA GA ʽAL<sup>1</sup>), which, translated in its context, appears as, “(May the Nun canal, the good Nun canal, the *life-bringing* canal of the land, *bring you fish and fowl*; from the ocean, the wide sea, from the standing reservoirs, *may it bring an unending supply of creatures* for your kinship.) In the wide open spaces of the wide desert, the four-footed beasts . . .” Though the end of the line is unclear, the idea is that, just as the Nun canal and the sea brought abundance of life, so also would the wide desert. Other examples include BM 96927, rev. vi 6-7: ([edin maš]-e še ka-na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> al-[u<sub>3</sub>-tu] / u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-e [...] // [edin maš da-ĝal<sub>2</sub>]-la-[e] ʽmu-ul-li<sub>2</sub>-[la<sub>2</sub>-ka]) “On the pure steppe, the grain of the land has been engendered; the lord [...] // on the pure, teeming steppe of Mulil (the grain of the land has been engendered)” (for the reconstruction of these lines, see Kramer 1990: 265. VS 2: 68 (VAT 1354), rev. 8: (an-edin-na mu-maš-ʽgurum<sup>1</sup> [si-a-na . . .]) “When he fills the high steppe with *Mašgurum* trees...” Cf. also VS 2: 31 (VAT 615+), obv. ii 29 and 32: (edin-ĝu<sub>10</sub> edin da-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-la) and (a-ra-li edin da-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-la). Thus, the /edin niĝ<sub>2</sub>-daĝal-la/ “teeming plain” was not a barren wasteland, but an area full of life.

both the liturgical and literary corpora.<sup>516</sup> If this reading is correct, the goddesses' voice could be understood as the subject of the passive verb /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/; her voice was drowned in the steppe.<sup>517</sup>

#### 19. u<sub>4</sub> a-ba edin-na a-ba-a ba-kal-e e-en gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>

The verb /kal/ is almost certainly here *aqāru* “to be rare, scarce,” not /kala.g/ *danānu* “to be strong,” which always appears with the /g/ Auslaut when a suffix is attached. A comparable context for /kal/ “to be rare, scarce” may be seen in Enmerkar and En-suḫkeš-ana, 218-19: (e<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>3</sub>-ra gara<sub>2</sub> ba-an-kal amar tur ba-an-ri-ri // tur<sub>3</sub> amaš-a niĝ<sub>2</sub> gig-ga bi<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>5</sub> i<sub>3</sub> gara<sub>2</sub> ba-e-ni-kal) “The ghee became scarce in the cattle pen building, so that the small calves were dying there; he committed sacrilege against cattle pen and sheepfold, made cream and ghee scarce.”<sup>518</sup> It may be that the abundant things that were once found in the steppe (see commentary to obv. i 18 above) are now made scarce.

The appearance of two distinct forms of /a-ba/ in obv. i 19 (/a-ba/ and /a-ba-a/) is rare, but not unprecedented.<sup>519</sup> The use of /e-en/ *kām* in this context is likely the interjection “how” or “so.”<sup>520</sup>

<sup>516</sup> /u<sub>3</sub>-li/ (VS 2:8 (VAT 605+), rev. iii 16); /u<sub>3</sub>-li-li/ (VS 2: 26 (VAT 611+), rev. v 11); /u<sub>3</sub>-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>inana-kam/ (Ni 4486, rev. iv 42).

<sup>517</sup> A parallel idea appears in PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), obv. 11': (gu<sub>3</sub> edin-na <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>?</sup>-ra-ra-ra) “She continuously cries out in the steppe.” It is possible to understand the voice of the goddess as the subject of /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/ as an active verb, as her voice of lament would “inundate” (everything) in the steppe. There is a motif found in the literary corpus where the voice of an individual “covers” an area “like a garment,” and “spreads over like a cloth.” See, for example, Dumuzi's Dream, 241: (gu<sub>3</sub> šu niĝin<sub>2</sub>-bi an-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra tug<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> i-im-dul gada-gin<sub>7</sub> i-im-bur<sub>2</sub>) “That cry, which goes about, covered the horizon like a cloth; it spread out like linen.” The problem with this interpretation, however, is that the verb /su/ is never used in these contexts; it is always /dul/ or /bur<sub>2</sub>/.

<sup>518</sup> Wilcke 2012: 66; 84.

<sup>519</sup> There is at least one example of two different forms of /a-ba/ appearing in the same line Šulgi D, 14-15: (lugal-ĝu<sub>10</sub> za-gin<sub>7</sub> a-ba an-ga-kala a-ba an-ga-a-da-sa<sub>2</sub> // a-ba za-gin<sub>7</sub> ša<sub>3</sub>-ta ĝeštug<sub>2</sub>-ga šu-daĝal mu-ni-in-du<sub>11</sub>) “my king, who, like you, is mighty? Who is equal to you? Who, like you, has been from the womb so richly endowed with wisdom?” The translation of line 19 as, “Who? Who is making it scarce in the steppe?” seems justified in light of Enkitalu and Enkiĝegal, line 197, where we see a somewhat similar

20. <sup>d</sup>mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> edin-na i-ni-ib-su  
<sup>d</sup>mu-ti-in <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> ʾan<sup>l</sup>-ta ʾx<sup>l</sup> (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 2)  
mu-tin <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> pa e<sub>3</sub>-a ḫur-saĝ-e<sup>l</sup> (BM 96568, obv. 2)

It is only here that the text of this Kirugu begins to duplicate the other two known manuscripts of Diĝir Pae.<sup>521</sup> There is variation in both the placement of the group of lines themselves, as well as in the content of the individual lines. In *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), the Kirugu begins in obv. i 18', as indicated by the preceding double ruling; however, neither the Kirugu incipit nor the following line (19) are duplicated in any extant source. When we view obv. i 20, however, the initial portion of the line is exactly duplicated in *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), obv. 2, but the refrain does not correspond to the other manuscripts.<sup>522</sup> The same is true of BM 96568; the incipit varies from both *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) and *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), but the following lines only duplicate the initial

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construction with /a-ba/ repeated: (a-ba a-ba-me-eš) "Who? Who are they?" (see UM 55-21-377, obv. 8: (a-ba a-ba-me-eš); TUM 3, 42 (HS 1606), rev. iii 39: (a-ba-am<sub>3</sub> [...])).

<sup>520</sup> For /e-en/ as *kīam*, see lexical section of CAD K, s.v. *kīam*. In BM 36800 (JRAS 1919), a NB bilingual duplicate of Enlil and Ninlil, rev. 20a and 22a, we read (<sup>lu</sup>ki-sikil ne-en ša<sub>6</sub>-ga-ra ne-en mul-la-ra // <sup>d</sup>nin-lil<sub>2</sub> ne-en ša<sub>6</sub>-ga-ra ne-en mul-la-re), lines that are translated into Akkadian (rev. 20b and 22b) (*ar-da-tu ša<sub>2</sub> ki-a-am dam-qat ki-a-am ba-na-a-at // MĪN ki<sup>l</sup>-a-am dam-qat<sup>l</sup> ki-a-am ba-na-tu*) "The young woman! How beautiful she is! How splendid she is! // Ninlil! How beautiful she is! How splendid she is!" Cf. Behrens 1978: 31. Here, /ne-en/ is used, and not /e-en/, but the use of *kīam* as an interjection in this context (followed by an adjective and copula, similar to *kīam* followed by the stative) fits well. See other examples: VS 2: 2 (VAT 617), obv. i 1: (en gig-ga-bi na-aĝ<sub>2</sub> dam-ma-ʾna<sup>l</sup>) "How horrible is the fate of her spouse!" along with BM 15795, obv. 1-3.

<sup>521</sup> There are at least two Kiš duplicates of the Balaĝ Diĝir Pae, a Balaĝ to Šulpae: *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) and *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511). What is interesting about this Balaĝ is that, according to the colophon of another duplicate, BM 96568, the section duplicated by both Kiš manuscripts is part of an Eršemma (47 ir<sub>2</sub>-šem<sub>3</sub>-ma <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>) "47 lines, an *eršemma* of Šulpae." It was common practice for an Eršemma to be appended to the end of a Balaĝ in the first millennium; see Gabbay 2014b: 8. However, it was rare for an Eršemma to be situated in a position other than at the end of a Balaĝ, though there were at least two examples (the Balaĝs Uruašera and Enzu Samarmar; see Cohen 1988: 731). Nevertheless, it is clear that the Eršemma appears at neither the beginning nor the end of the Balaĝ contained in *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), but (at least) in the second Kirugu. Thus, it is clear that an Eršemma need not only appear at the end of a Balaĝ in the OB Period.

<sup>522</sup> The refrains found in *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) and BM 96568 clearly differ from *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511). The only preserved portion of the refrain in *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) is /an-ta/ "above." The refrain of BM 96568 is ostensibly seen in line 1 of the tablet: (ʾdiĝir<sup>l</sup> pa e<sub>3</sub>-a ḫur-saĝ-e ʾgub<sup>l</sup>-ʾx<sup>l</sup>) "The god, who is manifest, who stands<sup>l</sup> at the mountain." The refrain is truncated in the following lines, written simply /diĝir pa e<sub>3</sub>-a/. In the introduction to CT 58, Alster and Geller recollated the tablet, and state that, in obv. 2, what was understood by Cohen to be /ḫur-ʾsaĝ<sup>l</sup>-[x]/, following the refrain, was actually /ḫur-ʾru<sup>l</sup>-[x]/. What seems likely, however, is that the scribe erroneously wrote /ru/, or the /saĝ/ was poorly copied by the scribe to look like /ru/. See Alster and Geller 1990: 25.

portion of the line.<sup>523</sup> This pattern repeats, almost invariably, through *PRAK B* 471 (PSK 511), obv. i 28, where the text begins to become difficult to read. Therefore, it appears that the idea of *Versatzstücke* can apply not only to an entire group of lines, but to *portions* of lines as well. In addition, the pattern of initial manuscript variation, followed by partial or entire duplication, may be a common feature among the Kiš manuscripts (see Chapter Four for a more detailed discussion).

It is interesting to note the apparent change in verbal form in lines 20 and 21, where the standard /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/ changes to /i-ni-ib-su/.<sup>524</sup> It is possible that the /i/ prefix indicates that lines 20 and 21 occur in a sequence, though a sequential meaning is difficult to understand in these lines.<sup>525</sup>

There are associations that can be made between the context of this Kirugu and the deities mentioned here. The goddess Ĝeštin was considered the “lady of the steppe,” which fits well with the recurring references to the “steppe” in this Kirugu of *PRAK B*

<sup>523</sup> In Cohen 1988: 731, Cohen understood the initial portion of line 2 to read (mu-lu<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>). However, it seems clear that the second sign is not /lu<sub>2</sub>/, but /DIN/, to be read /tin/. In BM 96568, the scribe consistently used the Emesal form /mu-lu/ to represent /lu<sub>2</sub>/; there are 13 other examples of /mu-lu/ appearing in the text, yet there are not other occurrences of /lu<sub>2</sub>/ or /mu-lu<sub>2</sub>/. One might argue that, because the divine determinative does not appear on /mu-tin/, as it does on /<sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>/, that /mu-lu<sub>2</sub>/ is intended, but there are certain DNs that often appear without the divine determinative. A good example of this is the DN /<sup>(d)</sup>u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-mu-zi-da/. In AO 5374 (*TCL* 15:8), there are many examples of this DN; several appear with the divine determinative, while several others lack it. With determinative: obv. ii 22; 38; obv. iii 13; rev. vi 26. Without determinative: obv. iii 3; 29; 39; rev. iv 10; 22; 34; v. 4; 28; vi 14. The DN /mu-ti-in/ is one of these DNs; examples include: NFT 205a (AO 4336+), rev. vii 2: (mu<sub>2</sub>-ti-na-na); NFT 208 (AO 4329), vi 2: (mu-ti-in); *OECT* 5, 42 (PSK 619), obv. 4' - rev. 1: (mu-ti-na-na); CT 15:18 (BM 15821), obv. 13: (šeš<sup>1</sup> ama<sup>1</sup> mu-tin-na nu-un-ti). In addition, there are many examples of two DNs appearing in juxtaposition to one another, where one contains the determinative, while the other does not. Examples include: BM 88288 (CT 42:8), obv. i 12: (<sup>d</sup>nammu <ama> am-an-ki-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>); UET 6/2:205, obv. ii 37-38: (a-a <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-ki nin-ki-da saĝ- // [u<sub>3</sub>]-mu-un ka-na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub> an mul <sup>d</sup>nin-lil<sub>2</sub>-le-da saĝ-); AO 5374 (*TCL* 15:8), rev. vi 6: (<sup>r</sup>alim<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>[x]-lil<sub>2</sub> šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a); NBC 1315, rev. iv 12: (ša<sub>3</sub>-ab an-na ša<sub>3</sub>-ab <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>); VS 2: 11 (VAT 607+), rev. vi 1: (<sup>d</sup>en-a<sub>2</sub>-nun ama kurku).

<sup>524</sup> It is also possible that the /I/ sign in both lines 20 and 21 as phonetic complements, as they only appear before the verbal form /i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su/.

<sup>525</sup> For a discussion of the sequential verbal prefix /i/, see Delnero, 2010c: 554-556.

471 (PSK 511).<sup>526</sup> It is interesting to note that Šulpae is said to be the spouse of Ninḫursaĝ in Šulpae A, lines 13-14.<sup>527</sup> As Ninḫursaĝ is quite often closely associated (and sometimes equated with) Aruru in the literary texts, it is not surprising for Šulpae to appear here in a Balaĝ focused on Aruru. Šulpae is also lauded as the “hero of orchards and gardens, plantations and greed reed beds, of the quadrupeds of the wide (/daĝal/) high desert (/an-edin/), of the animals, the living creatures of the plains (/edin/).”<sup>528</sup> Thus, some of the themes associated with Šulpae (the steppe, Ninḫursaĝ [for her association with Kiš and with Aruru]) fit well with the opening context and repeated sections of this Kirugu.<sup>529</sup>

**21. egi da-ta ur<sub>3</sub>-ra edin-na i-ni-ib-<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>**  
<sup>1</sup>egi<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> da-ta ur<sub>3</sub>-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> an-ta [...] (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 3)  
 egi<sub>2</sub> dadag ur<sub>3</sub>-ra pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a (BM 96568, obv. 3)

The available duplicates argue against Cohen’s reading of BM 96568, obv. 3, (NIN-bar<sub>11</sub>-bar<sub>11</sub> SILA<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>-ra pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a) “who manifests himself for the lustrous lady...”<sup>530</sup>

First, the presence of the /ŠE<sub>3</sub>/ sign (egi) in PRAK B 471 (PSK 511) indicates that the apparent /NIN/ sign read by Cohen should be understood as /egi<sub>2</sub>/. There are no difficulties with /egi/ representing /egi<sub>2</sub>/; in the liturgical corpus, there are numerous

<sup>526</sup> MSL 4, Ddi I, 79-80: (<sup>d</sup>mu-tin : <sup>d</sup>ĝeštin : <sup>d</sup>be-lit-EDIN // <sup>d</sup>mu-tin-an-na : <sup>d</sup>ĝeštin-an-na : <sup>d</sup>be-lit EDIN). Various spellings include: (mu<sub>2</sub>-ti-na-na) [NFT 205a (AO 4336+) iii 2]; (mu-ti-in) [NFT 208 (AO 4329) iv, 2’]; (mu-ti-na-na) [OECT 5:42 (Ashm. 1930.399b), 4-5]; (<sup>1</sup>šeš<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ama<sup>1</sup> mu-tin-na nu-un-ti) [CT 15:18 (BM 15821), 13].

<sup>527</sup> (za-e dim<sub>3</sub>-me-er maḫ-me-en dam-zu u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un maḫ-me-en // <sup>d</sup>r nin<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>hur<sup>1</sup>-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ni za-e-me-en) “You are an august god, and your wife is an august queen. You are beloved by Ninḫursaĝ.”

<sup>528</sup> Šulpae A, lines 34-37: (pu<sub>2</sub>-kiri<sub>6</sub> mu<sub>2</sub>-sar ĝiš-gi sig<sub>7</sub>-ga // niĝ<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub>-limmu<sub>2</sub> an-edin daĝal-la // maš<sub>2</sub>-anše niĝ<sub>2</sub>-zi-ĝal<sub>2</sub> edin-na // ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>šul-pa-e<sub>3</sub> za-e lugal-bi-me-en).

<sup>529</sup> For a more extensive overview of the evidence for Šulpae, including references, see Delnero, 2012b: 284-286.

<sup>530</sup> Cohen 1988: 731 and 736.



examples of goddesses referred to by this title, Ninḫursaĝ and Inana frequent among them.<sup>531</sup>

The use of the signs /da-ta/ in both *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511) and *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530) lead me to believe that /UD-UD/ should not be read as /babbar<sub>2</sub>/, but as /dadag/ = *ellu* “bright;” the syllabic form deletes the final consonant /g/ and shifts the second /d/ to /t/. Other syllabic writings of /dadag/ include: /da-da-ag/ (OB Diri, line 34) and /da-da-ga/ (Nanna N, lines 12 & 16 = VS 2: 4, rev. i 17 & 21).<sup>532</sup> In the literary corpus, there are a number of things that can be described as /dadag/.<sup>533</sup> There are a few examples where *people* can be described as or become /dadag/, which allows for a goddess to be described as such.<sup>534</sup>

The reading of the sign read by Cohen as /SILA<sub>4</sub>?/ is more difficult. As there are no other apparent datives in the surrounding lines (save for the /na/ infix in the verbal form in obv. i 26), it would seem that the /ra/ represents an Auslaut and either a genitive, locative, nominalizing element, or copula. This, it would seem, would require /SILA<sub>4</sub>?/ to be read as a sign with an /t/ Auslaut or final consonant; /ur<sub>3</sub>/ would fit well.<sup>535</sup> Perhaps the most difficult interpretive issue is the form /ur<sub>3</sub>-ra/. The verbal meaning of /ur<sub>3</sub>/ is often *bā'u* “to sweep over.” There are a examples of deities being compared to

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<sup>531</sup> Some examples include: BM 87518, obv. i 17: (egi<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-e<sub>2</sub>-an-na); VS 2: 11 (VAT 607+), rev. v 8: (egi<sub>2</sub> zi-an-na ga-ša-an-ḫur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>); VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339), obv. 3: (egi<sub>2</sub> maḫ kur gul-gul edin-na); VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. ii 1: (egi<sub>2</sub> ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-'in'); BM 85005, obv. 18: (<sup>c-eg</sup>egi<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>532</sup> Sjöberg 1960: 100, commentary to 17.

<sup>533</sup> Examples include: Enki and Ninḫursaĝ, 4 (Dilmun; cf. lines 7 and 10); Enlil and Ninlil, 83: (semen; cf. 84, 109-10, 135-36); Ninĝišzida's Journey, 2: (daylight); Lugalbanda and the Mountain Cave, 386: (a place); Gudea Cylinder B, 968: (hand washings; cf. LSUR, 447); Šulgi B, 131: (a person). For the use of /dadag/ in washing rituals, see Reiner 1970.

<sup>534</sup> See, for example, Šulgi B, 131 and Šulgi C, 29 above.

<sup>535</sup> This was also suggested in CT 58, p. 25.

“sweeping” floods.<sup>536</sup> An epithet that describes a deity as “sweeping” not only seems possible, but also appropriate.<sup>537</sup>

- 22.    ʾušum<sup>1</sup> maḥ lu<sub>2</sub> edin-na edin-<na> i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su**  
           ušum   maḥ lu<sub>2</sub><sup>!</sup> edin-na an-ta [...]                   (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 4)  
           ušum   maḥ mu-lu u<sub>2</sub>-te-na pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a                   (BM 96568, obv. 4)<sup>538</sup>

While there are no other occurrences of /ušum maḥ/ in either the literary and liturgical corpora (outside of these duplicates), it is quite common for deities to be referred to as a /ušum/ “dragon,” including: Ninurta, Enlil, Nanna, and Enki, Ninlil, and Ninisina.<sup>539</sup> Dragons, along with other wild creatures, are said to be of the steppe, as in our passage.<sup>540</sup> Finally, in at least two other Aruru compositions, Aruru herself is called the /ušumgal/ (cf. line 26 below).<sup>541</sup>

- 23.    [lu<sub>2</sub>] ʾtur<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>    in-gul-e edin-na i<sub>3</sub>-ib-su**  
           mu-lu tur<sub>3</sub>    in-gul-e an-ta [...]                   (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 5)  
           mu-lu tur<sub>3</sub>    in-gul-e pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a                   (BM 96568, obv. 5)

Both PRAK C 105 (PSK 530) and BM 96568 preserve /mu-lu tur<sub>3</sub>/, which is in parallel with /mu-lu amaš/ in the following line. However, a /maḥ/ appears in line 23 of

<sup>536</sup> For example, Ninurta’s Return to Nippur, 72-73: (lugal a-ma-ru ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ta // <sup>d</sup>nin-urta u<sub>4</sub> ki-bala-a a-ma-ru ba-ur<sub>3</sub>-ta) “After the king swept in like a flood, after Ninurta, the storm, swept into the rebellious land like a flood.”

<sup>537</sup> As a noun, /ur<sub>3</sub>/ can mean *ūru* “roof,” and with the locative, it often can mean “on the roof;” there are examples where people who “lie down” on roofs die there (for example, The Curse of Agade, 181: (ur<sub>3</sub>-ra nu<sub>2</sub>-a ur<sub>3</sub>-ra ba-ug<sub>7</sub>) “Those who lay down on the roof died on the roof.”), but I can see no reason why this would be a characteristic of a powerful deity.

<sup>538</sup> Note the syllabic spelling of /edin-na/ in BM 96568, /u<sub>2</sub>-te-na/.

<sup>539</sup> Some examples include: Ninurta’s Exploits, 10 (Ninurta), Iddin-Dagan D, 65, (Enlil), Ninlil A, 31 (Ninlil), Išme-Dagan D, A.2 (Enki), Šu-Suen F, 47 (Nanna), Iddin-Dagan D, 49 (Ninisina; cf. Ninisina F, 1).

<sup>540</sup> Examples include: Gudea Cylinder B, lines 905: (ur-maḥ piriḡ ušumgal edin-na-ka) “The lions and the dragons of the steppe.” A similar image is seen in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 351: (ušumgal edin-na ba-kiḡ<sub>2</sub>-ḡe<sub>26</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub>) “like a dragon prowling the desert.” For the use of /lu<sub>2</sub> edin-na-ke<sub>4</sub>/ as “the one of the steppe,” see BM 29628, obv. 6: (lu<sub>2</sub> edin-na-ke<sub>4</sub> nu-mu-un-su-ga-ḡu<sub>10</sub>) “My one of the steppe, who does not rejoice!”

<sup>541</sup> OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 7’ and PBS 10/2, 2 (CBS 45), obv. 33. Other occurrences include: AO 6906 (TCL 16:69) [Uruḫulake], obv. 12; OECT 5, 57 (PSK 622), rev. v 11’ (referring to Ninisina); and BM 96927, rev. vi 65.

the hand copy. As the sign is partially broken, and the previous sign is not preserved, I have read / $[\text{lu}_2]$   $\text{tur}_3^1$ /, which would provide a semantic and logical object for the verb /gul/, and bring the text in line with the other duplicates.<sup>542</sup>

The /n/ before the verbal base in /in-gul-e/, which appears in all three duplicates, presents certain difficulties. If the verb is *marû* 3<sup>rd</sup> animate singular (marked by /-e/), the /n/ could represent a locative /ni/, or an animate object. However, in Ur-Namma A, line 206, we see a nearly identical construction: ( $^d\text{inana-ke}_4$   $\text{tur}_3$  im-gul-e amaš im-tab-e) “Inana destroys the cattle pen; she devastates the sheepfold.” Thus, it would appear that the /n/ represents an inanimate object /b/ in both forms, referencing the / $\text{tur}_3$ / and /amaš/.<sup>543</sup>

- 24.  $\text{lu}_2$  amaš in-bu-e edin-na  $\text{i}_3$ -ib-su**  
 $[\text{x}]$   $^r\text{amaš}^1$   $^r\text{in}^1$ - $^r\text{bu}^1$ -e an-ta [...] (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 6)  
 mu-lu amaš <<in>> in-bu-re pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a (BM 96568, obv. 6)

See commentary to obv. i 23.

- 25.  $^r\text{ki}^1$ -en-gi mu-un- $\text{ḫul}$ - $^r\text{la}^?$   $^r\text{edin}^1$ - $^r\text{na}^1$   $\text{i}_3$ - $^r\text{ib}^1$ -[su]**  
 [...] mu-un- $^r\text{ḫul}^1$ - $^r\text{la}^?$  [...] (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 7)  
 ki-en-gi mu-un- $\text{ḫul}$ -a pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a (BM 96568, obv. 7)

It would appear that there is an unnamed agent in line 25, unless we are to understand / $\text{lu}_2$ / from line 24 as the agent of the verb / $\text{ḫul}$ /.

<sup>542</sup> It could be that this was a mechanical error on the part of de Genouillac, in which he wrote /maḫ/ in line 23; this repetition could be due to the fact that the first sign in both lines 23 and 22 are damaged, and thus appear similar.

<sup>543</sup> Destruction often comes to the cattle pens and sheepfolds. There are interesting parallels in CBS 497 (PBS 10/2: 12+) [Uruḫulake], obv. i 16-17: ( $\text{u}_4$  mu til-e  $\text{u}_4$  gi til-e //  $\text{u}_4$   $\text{tur}_3$  gul-e  $\text{u}_4$  amaš bu-re) “The storm that brings an end to the young man; the storm that brings an end to the young woman; the storm that destroys the cattle pen; the storm that rips out the sheepfold,” The Šumundu Grass, 39: ( $\text{tur}_3$  ba-da-gul amaš ba-da-bur<sub>12</sub>) “the cattle pen was destroyed, the sheepfold was ripped out,” and The Lament over Ur, 392: ( $\text{u}_4$   $\text{tur}_3$  gul-gul-e  $\text{u}_4$  amaš tab-tab-e) “the storm which destroys cattle pens, the storm which devastates sheepfolds.”

26. [GAL].<sup>1</sup>BUR<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ge mu-un-til-[...]  
 [...] mu-<sup>1</sup>lu?<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>X<sup>1</sup> [...] (PRAK C 105 (PSK 530), obv. 8)  
 ušumgal saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub> mu-lu til-e pa-e<sub>3</sub>-a (BM 96568, obv. 8)

We see a parallel passage in CBS 497 (PBS 10/2: 12+) [Uruḫulake], obv. i 16-17:  
 (u<sub>4</sub> mu til-e u<sub>4</sub> gi til-e // u<sub>4</sub> tur<sub>3</sub> gul-e u<sub>4</sub> amaš bu-re) “The storm that brings an end to the young man; the storm that brings an end to the young woman; the storm that destroys the cattle pen; the storm that rips out the sheepfold.” The verb /til/, along with the pairing of the /tur<sub>3</sub>/ and the /amaš/, and their respective verbs /gul/ and /bu/, appear in these lines.

27. [...] <sup>1</sup>eš<sup>1</sup> tur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ri edin-na [...] (BM 96568, obv. 9)  
 u<sub>4</sub> te-eš tur<sub>3</sub>-ra a ri pa e<sub>3</sub>-a

The phrase /u<sub>4</sub> te-eš/ appears to be a truncated form of /u<sub>4</sub> te-eš du<sub>11</sub>/, “thundering storm.”<sup>544</sup> There is a clear Sandhi writing of /tur<sub>3</sub>-ra a ri/ (/tur<sub>3</sub>-ra-ri/), which is not repeated in the following line. The compound verb /a--ri/ (Akkadian *reḫû*) means “to engender” (lit. “to place seed”).<sup>545</sup> I have translated the “storm” as the semantic passive subject of the verb, rendering the line, “the thundering storm, which was engendered in the cattle pen/sheepfold.” There are contextual problems with this understanding, however. The sequence of lines seen in manuscript BM 96568 shows a series of *actions* that the deity is performing. In obv. 5-6, the deity destroys the cattle pen and sheepfold,

<sup>544</sup> For a full list of citations to this form, see Sjöberg, Bergmann, and Gragg 1969: 74; Green 1978: 142 (commentary to line 5); Cooper 1983: 248 (commentary to line 149). In Šulgi A, 62, we see (u<sub>4</sub> te-eš du<sub>11</sub>-ga ki ḫe<sub>2</sub>-em-tuku<sub>4</sub>-tuku<sub>4</sub>) “Thundering storms shook the earth.” There are at least two examples that appear to delete the /du<sub>11</sub>/ portion of the form; in Ninurta’s Exploits, 278, we see (u<sub>4</sub> teš<sub>2</sub>-e ri-a) “the whirling storm,” and in CBS 15158, obv. 14, (u<sub>4</sub> te-eš-e gal) “the great storm”.

<sup>545</sup> It may be that there is a secondary meaning for /a--ri/ in this text. Cohen translates, “to spill the seed,” which would likely indicate a lack of fertility in the cattle pen and sheepfold (Cohen 1988: 736). The problem with this interpretation, however, is that /a--ri/ means “to engender,” and there appear to be no examples of /a--ri/ that can be understood as a sign of infertility. It is also possible that we should read BM 96568, obv. 9 as /u<sub>4</sub> te-eš tur<sub>3</sub>-ra <<a>> ri pa e<sub>3</sub>-a/, which would mean that the verb would simply be /ri/, allowing PRAK B 471 (PSK 511), lines 27-28 to contain /tur<sub>3</sub>-ra/ and /amaš-a/, with the final /a/ representing the locative, and not the nominal constituent of the compound verb /a--ri/.

while in 7-8, it destroys Sumer and kills the people. One would perhaps expect the storm to be *doing* something in the sheepfold and cattle pen.

28. [...] **ʾamaš<sup>1</sup> a ri edin-na ʾi<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...]**  
 u<sub>4</sub> te-eš amaš a ri pa e<sub>3</sub>-a (BM 96568, obv. 10)

As noted above, the writing of /a ri/ in line 28 is in normal orthography, as opposed to /tur<sub>3</sub>-ra ri/ seen in the previous line.

Reverse, Column IV

2. [...] **-gin<sub>7</sub> ki ʾsaĝ<sup>1</sup>-[...]**  
 a-ʾgin<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> ki saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-gu-ʾĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> i-me (NFT 203 (AO 4327), rev. ii 9)  
 e-ge-en ki<sup>!(DI)</sup> ʾx<sup>1</sup> [...] (PRAK C 52+, obv. ii 13')  
 a-gin<sub>7</sub> dam saĝ-ʾĝa<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> im-ʾme<sup>1</sup> (NCBT 688, rev. 6)<sup>546</sup>

The /ki/ in line 2 could be understood simply as *ašru* “place,” or as a phonetic writing of /egi<sub>2</sub>/ *rubātu* “princess.”<sup>547</sup> Although NCBT 688 contains /dam saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ (which could support understanding /ki/ as /egi<sub>2</sub>/), I have interpreted /ki saĝ-[ĝa<sub>2</sub>]/ as “foremost place,” as *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), and *NFT 203* (AO 4327) all contain /ki/, and there are no examples known to me in the Kiš corpus of /egi<sub>2</sub>/ being represented with /ki/. The syntax of the sentence is unusual, as the adverbial

<sup>546</sup> Cohen read /dam sa<sub>6</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ in NCBT 688, rev. 6 (Cohen 1988: 543). However, having re-collated the tablet, Delnero observes that the sign read /sa<sub>6</sub>/ appears to be /saĝ/ (Delnero forthcoming). Due to the confusion of the signs in the line, however, Delnero notes that collation should be done again. “NCBT 688 needs to be collated again to make sure the signs have all been read correctly here.”

<sup>547</sup> Cohen suggested that /ki/ could represent /egi<sub>2</sub>/, as both *NFT 203* (AO 4327) and *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) are syllabically written texts (Cohen 1988: 600).

/a-gin<sub>7</sub>/ normally occurs directly before the verbal chain.<sup>548</sup> Finally, there are a few examples of /saĝ/ being used as an adjective.<sup>549</sup>

**3. i-lu šu mu-ra-<sup>1</sup>ab<sup>2</sup>-[du<sub>7</sub>'] / uru<sub>2</sub>-men <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]**  
 i-lu x [...] x [x] x x [(...)] (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 1')

I can find no examples of an /i-lu/ as the oblique object of /šū--du<sub>7</sub>/, though it seems plausible that an individual (perhaps the **gala**-priest?) could perfect a lament for Aruru, who is addressed in the second person with the dative infix /-ra-/.<sup>550</sup> There are cases in which /i-lu/ indicates a joyful song;<sup>551</sup> in the laments, however, the /i-lu/ is most often a sad, sorrowful song.<sup>552</sup>

<sup>548</sup> Examples of ordinary word order of /a-gin<sub>7</sub>/ with /du<sub>11</sub>/ include the following: Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird, 328: (a-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-ne-du<sub>11</sub>) “(DIRECT SPEECH) Thus he spoke to them”; *ibid.*, 321: (a-gin<sub>7</sub> du<sub>11</sub>-mu-na-ab) “Say thus!”; UET 6/2:206, rev. 14 (Eršemma): (ur-saĝ-me-en ġeštu<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub>-ta a-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-un-na-ra-ab-du<sub>11</sub> [...]) “I, the hero, from my knowledge have spoken thusly to you!”

<sup>549</sup> The Lament over Nippur, 139: (še-eb saĝ-a na-aġ<sub>2</sub>-tar-zu ġig-ġa-am<sub>3</sub> ib-ši-šir<sub>3</sub>-šir<sub>3</sub>-ne-[am<sub>3</sub>]) “In the foremost brick buildings they sing about your fate, which is bitter!”; Dumuzi-Inana E, 4: (ġiš<sup>is</sup>ħašħur aġ<sub>2</sub> saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub> gurun il<sub>2</sub>-la-ġu<sub>10</sub> ġi-iz<sup>sar</sup>-am<sub>3</sub> a ba-an-du<sub>11</sub>) “My first-class fruitful apple tree, he is well-watered lettuce”; The Debate between Bird and Fish, 132: (numun saġ-[ġa<sub>2</sub>-me-en] <sup>1</sup>amar<sup>1</sup>-ġu<sub>10</sub> amar saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>) “I am the first-class seed, and my young are first-born young!” There may be another example: Dumuzi-Inana T, 12: (<sup>d</sup>inana-ke<sub>4</sub> nunuz saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub> in-pa<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub>-na mu-un-ġa<sub>2</sub>-ġa<sub>2</sub>) “Inana chooses the head stones and puts them on her head.” This could indicate “stones to be put on the head,” or “first-class stones,” which would be a form of wordplay (saġ = foremost; saġ = head).

<sup>550</sup> The verb /šū--du<sub>7</sub>/ (Akk. *šuklulu*) “to perfect, complete,” often marks its oblique object with /a/ or /e/, though this is not required; sometimes the oblique object is unmarked (cf. Karahashi 2000: 154-156). As an unmarked oblique object example, Karahashi cites Enki and the World Order (Karahashi 2000: 381): (<sup>d</sup>enki-ke<sub>4</sub> niġ<sub>2</sub> nam-munus-a šu gal ba-ni-in-du<sub>7</sub>) “Enki greatly perfected the task of women,” stating “The case of [13] niġ<sub>2</sub> am-munus-a (thing womanship-GEN) is morphographically unmarked.” There are a number of things that can be the oblique object of /šū--du<sub>7</sub>/: MEs: Ur-Ninurta D, F.38; Inana and Šukaletuda, 12, 105, 275; An Excerpt from a Hymn to Nanna (c.4.13.c), 2; Iddin-Dagan A, M.175; Samsu-iluna C, 12; Gudea Cylinder A, 551; Šu-Suen D, F.34; The Temple Hymns, 71; Išme-Dagan H, A.2; Išme-Dagan O, A.2; Inana’s Descent, 132, 137; Nuska B, 71. A sound: Gudea Cylinder B, 1176. Dais: Nanna E, 66. Scepter: Nuska A, A.18. Form, appearance (/alan/): Dumuzi-Inana C, A.25. Measuring line and rod: Ninimma A, A.8. Treasure (/ġi<sub>16</sub>-sa/): Ur-Namma A, 106. Wisdom: Šulgi A, 21. Supplication (/šita/): Lament over the Destruction of Ur, O.351. Border of the land: Damgalnuna A, A.4. Lord: Šulgi T, A.1. Offering: Šin-iddinam E, 48.

<sup>551</sup> Išme-Dagan J, lines 11-12: (sipa zi lu<sub>2</sub> i-lu du<sub>10</sub>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> // mur ša<sub>4</sub> i-lu ša-ra-an-ib-be<sub>2</sub>) “The good shepherd, the man of sweet songs, will loudly sing songs for you!” The goddess’ heart is then “made joyous” by his actions.

<sup>552</sup> Examples include: AO 5374 (TCL 15:8), obv. ii 1 (and throughout the 4<sup>th</sup> Kirugu): (e-ne-<sup>1</sup>eġ<sub>3</sub>-<sup>1</sup>ġa<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>ni i-lu i-lu) “His word is a wail! A wail!”; CNMA 10051, obv. i 6: (i<sub>3</sub>-lu a-e a-ši-ir ni-iš-ku-le) = [i-lu a-e i-lu a-e a-še-er nu-uš-gul-e] “A wail! Oh! A wail! Oh! He cannot hold back the lament!”

The meaning of /uru<sub>2</sub>-men/ is difficult in this context. It may be parallel to what is found in E Turgin Niginam, BM 88288 (CT 42:8), obv. ii 19-20: (e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-a uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝen uru<sub>2</sub>-a kur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ĝen // <sup>d</sup>en-ki uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝen uru<sub>2</sub>-a kur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ĝen) “In the house I am an enemy; in the city I am a stranger! Oh Enki! I am an enemy; in the city I am a stranger!” Cohen argues, based on the parallel position of /uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝen/ to /kur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ĝen/ that /uru<sub>2</sub>/ may be a phonetic writing of /ur/, which can indicate “enemy” in certain contexts.<sup>553</sup> As we only have these two signs preserved in our manuscript, it is difficult to know if this is what is intended in our text.

4. <sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru e<sub>2</sub>-zu [...] (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 3’)<sup>554</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>a-ru-ru e<sub>2</sub>-zu e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-am<sub>3</sub>

The TN Emaḥ (preserved in OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612)) was applied to a number of temples.<sup>555</sup> In the liturgical corpus, the Emaḥ is most often attributed to Damgalnuna.<sup>556</sup> In the literary corpus, it appears that the Emaḥ is connected to both Damgalnuna and Šara.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>553</sup> Cohen 1988: 90. “Based upon the parallelism with kur<sub>2</sub> in the line, we have assumed that the orthography uru<sub>2</sub>-men<sub>3</sub> is a variant for ur-men<sub>3</sub> (see CAD A/1 21 *sub aḥû* for ur = *nakru*, *aḥû*.”

<sup>554</sup> Beginning in rev. iv 4’, continuing through 14’ (perhaps 15’), PRAK B 471 (PSK 511) parallels OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 3’-13’ (perhaps 14). For transliteration and translation of OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), see Black 2005: 56-62.

<sup>555</sup> See George 1993: 119-120; RLA 2, s.v. Emaḥ: 359-360: Temple of Nintur in Adab, of Ninmaḥ in Babylon, of Ninsun in Ur, part of the Eninnu in Lagaš, of Damgalnuna, of Ninmaḥ in Assur, and of Nanna-Suen.

<sup>556</sup> Cf, for example, BM 87518 (CT 42:15), rev. iv 12: (ama e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ <sup>r</sup>d<sup>1</sup>[dam-gal-nun-na]) “Mother of the Emaḥ, Damgalnuna” and VS 2: 11+, obv. ii 3: ([ama] <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-maḥ-a <sup>d</sup>dam-gal-nun-na).

<sup>557</sup> Examples include: The Temple Hymns, 307 (cf. line 367): (e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>) “The Emaḥ, the house of Šara;” The Lament over Sumer and Ur, 156: ([<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>]-maḥ <sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[tuš] ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ni ĝiri<sub>3</sub> kur<sub>2</sub> ba-ra-an-dab<sub>5</sub>) “Šara took an unfamiliar path away from the Emaḥ, his beloved dwelling;” The Lament over Ur, 20: (<sup>d</sup>šara e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-a muš<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-in-ga) “Šara has abandoned the Emaḥ;” The Lament over Eridu, 15: (ama e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-a ku<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>dam-gal-nun-na uru-ni ba-ra-e<sub>3</sub>) “The mother of Emaḥ, holy Damgalnuna, went out from her city.”

5. **uru<sub>2</sub>-zu uru<sub>2</sub> maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> [...]**  
 diġir maḥ uru<sub>2</sub>-zu uru<sub>2</sub>-maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 4')

Note the addition of the vocative /diġir maḥ/ in OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 4' (cf. rev. iv 6'). Šulpae is known from An = *Anum*, as the spouse of Diġirmaḥ, along with the other “mother goddesses” seen in the list.<sup>558</sup>

6. **dam-zu u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un maḥ ʾšū<sup>1</sup> [mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
 diġir-maḥ dam-zu dam-maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 6')<sup>559</sup>

As the 3<sup>rd</sup> Kirugu of PRAK B 471 (PSK 511), along with rev. iv 3'-12', belong to an Eršemma to Šulpae, it is not surprising to see Šulpae ostensibly identified here as the spouse of both Diġirmaḥ and Aruru. The phrase used to describe Šulpae, /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un maḥ/, appears in a refrain in BM 88384 (rev. 4-10 (and duplicates); 16-17), though it does not apply to Šulpae, but Damu, Ištaran, Usus, and Igišuba.<sup>560</sup>

8. **e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> ʾa<sup>1</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub><sup>?1</sup> [...]**  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> a-gin<sub>7</sub> aš mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub> (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 7')  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> -a-na na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+51)<sup>561</sup>  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> -a-ta x [...] (YBC 7096, 59)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> -a-ke<sub>4</sub> a ib<sub>2</sub>-ta-lu-lu (AO 3023, obv. 13)

For /e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>/, the temple of Ninḫursaġ at Keš, George references YBC 7096, lines 51 and 102, where it appears in parallel with /e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ adab<sup>ki</sup>/.<sup>562</sup> Of course, as we see in the following lines of PRAK B 471 (PSK 511) (rev. iv 9'-10', 12'), Adab features prominently.<sup>563</sup>

<sup>558</sup> Litke 1998: 66-72. Cf. Delnero 2012b: 284.

<sup>559</sup> For the reading /dam/ instead of /nin/, see Black 2005: 57.

<sup>560</sup> See Römer 1983: 636-80 for edition.

<sup>561</sup> Line numbering of YBC 7096 based on Cohen 1988: 731-736.

<sup>562</sup> George 1993: 108.

<sup>563</sup> Another juxtaposition of /e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ and /e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ adab<sup>ki</sup>/ appears in AO 3023, obv. 13-16. Other references to /e<sub>2</sub>-gal keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ include CTMMA 2:1 (MMA 86.11.62), rev. 14; and Scheil, RA 17, rev. 29.



9. **še-eb uru<sub>2</sub> BU-ka-zu ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...]**  
 še-eb uru<sub>2</sub> keš<sub>2</sub>-ka-zu (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 8’)  
 še-eb uru adab<sup>bu ki</sup>-x-na na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+53)  
 še-eb uru adab<sup>bu ki</sup>-ka-ta x x x [...] (YBC 7096, 61)  
 še-eb uru SAR-ka a ib<sub>2</sub>-ta-lu-lu (AO 3023, obv. 14)

There are variant spellings of Adab in these lines, including /BU/ (line 9), /adab<sup>bu</sup>/ (line 10), and /a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/ (line 12). There appears to be a type of word play between the name of the city of Adab and the /a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/ bird.<sup>564</sup>

10. **še-eb adab<sup>bu</sup>-a-zu [...]**  
 še-eb a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-ka-zu (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 9’)  
 še-eb ʿuru<sup>?1</sup> adab<sup>bu ki</sup>-na na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+54)  
 še-eb uru adab<sup>bu ki</sup>-ta x x x [...] (YBC 7096, 62)  
 še-eb adab<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> a ib<sub>2</sub>-ta-lu-lu (AO 3023, obv. 16)

11. **gu<sub>2</sub> i<sub>7</sub> dimgul<sub>2</sub>-a-zu šu mu-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
 a-gu<sub>3</sub> i dim-gal-a-zu (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 10’)  
 gu<sub>2</sub> i<sub>7</sub> dimgul<sub>2</sub>-a-na na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+55)<sup>565</sup>

I have interpreted /gu<sub>2</sub> i<sub>7</sub>/ as “on the bank of the river,” though I can find no examples where this construction is formed without including the /d/ Auslaut (/id<sub>2</sub>-da/).<sup>566</sup> However, both OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612) and YBC 7096 contain essentially the same construction. Though the examples are few, there are 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessive suffixes that include an /a/ vowel before the suffix with no apparent grammatical meaning.<sup>567</sup>

<sup>564</sup> Veldhuis notes that the spelling /UD.NUN<sup>mušen</sup>/ was glossed /<sup>udu-bu</sup>UD.NUN<sup>mušen</sup>/, with /udu-bu/ representing /u<sub>4</sub>-du-bu/, later to be read /a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/. He cites Nik. 1, 282 (Erm 14282), obv. ii 3, where the city of Adab is written /UD.NUN<sup>mušen ki</sup>/, suggesting that “the two words may be homophones or nearly so (or, perhaps, the city is named after the bird or vice versa).” Veldhuis 2004: 215. It seems likely, therefore, that the writing of /BU/ in line 9 is either a scribal error (omitting UD.NUN), or a truncated form (perhaps shorthand) of the name of the city of Adab.

<sup>565</sup> Cohen 1988: 733, reads /piriĝ/ rather than /dimgul<sub>2</sub>/. However, the duplicates, as well as the similarity of /piriĝ/ and /dimgul<sub>2</sub>/, lead me to believe that /dimgul<sub>2</sub>/ is the intended sign.

<sup>566</sup> The “bank of the river” appears in at least one liturgical text; in an Eršemma to Ninḫursaĝ, BM 98396 (CT 58:5), rev. 12, we see, (im-ma-al gu<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-da-ke<sub>4</sub> i-bi<sub>2</sub>-zu ĝar-ra-am<sub>3</sub>-ma) “O Cow! Set your face toward the bank of the river!”

<sup>567</sup> Cf. Išme-Dagan I, 31: (ĝi<sup>is</sup>gag-a-za kar<sub>2</sub> ʿx<sup>1</sup> [...] a-ĝi<sub>6</sub> sur-sur) “Your peg is ... which ... a flood”; The Debate between Bird and Fish, 61: (gu<sub>2</sub>-a-zu si sa<sub>2</sub>-bi ĝi<sup>is</sup>buniĝ<sub>x</sub> nu-ub-dab<sub>5</sub>-be<sub>2</sub>) “Try to bring your neck to your feet!”

There are a number of examples of /dimgul<sub>2</sub>/ appearing in both the literary and liturgical corpora; almost exclusively these “mooring posts” are either cities or temples.<sup>568</sup> Perhaps the /dimgul<sub>2</sub>/ “mooring post” refers to the Emaḥ, which is on the bank of the river.

- 12. e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-a-zu šu mu-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
 e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu-zu (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 11’)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ adab<sup>bu</sup> ki<sup>na</sup> na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+52)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-maḥ adab<sup>ki</sup>-a-ke<sub>4</sub> a ib<sub>2</sub>-ta-lu-lu (AO 3023, obv. 15)

- 13. ḡi<sup>š</sup>asal<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu šu mu-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
 a-sa-al du-a-ta (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 12’)

The poplar is often used in the liturgical and literary texts as a place of shade and comfort.<sup>569</sup>

- 14. ḡi<sup>š</sup>nim-mar du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup> šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
 ni-mi-mar du-a-ta (OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 13’)

- 15. pa-pa-šar su<sub>4</sub>-a-a du<sub>3</sub>-a-zu šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**

- 16. kiš<sub>16</sub>-kiš<sub>16</sub> tur-ra-zu šu mu-ra-[ab]-du<sub>7</sub>**  
 kiš<sub>16</sub>-kiš<sub>16</sub> tur-ra (MMA 86.11.62, rev. 18a)

In his edition of the song of Aruru MMA 86.11.62, Volk argues that UL<sub>4</sub>-UL<sub>4</sub> represents a common type of foliage, and should likely be read kiš<sub>17</sub>-kiš<sub>17</sub> = *ašāgu*,

<sup>568</sup> Examples include: Gudea Cylinder A, 609: (e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu dim-gal mu-gi) “He fixed the Eninnu, the mooring post;” The Lament over Nippur, 228: (lagaš<sup>ki</sup> dim-gal an-na eš<sub>3</sub> ḡir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup> ul-ta ḡar-ra-ba) “(An and Enlil have looked with their beneficent gaze on) Lagaš, the mooring post of heaven, and the shrine Ḡirsu, established long ago;” Enki and the World Order, 10: ([e<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>r</sup>zu<sup>1</sup> maḥ abzu-ta sig<sub>9</sub>-ga dim-gal an ki-a) “Your great house is founded in the abzu, the great mooring post of heaven and earth.” See also Gudea Cylinder A, 604; Gudea Cylinder B, 815; Išme-Dagan A+V, A.184; Išme-Dagan W, A.22; Išme-Dagan B, A.23; The Temple Hymns, 79.

<sup>569</sup> For example, see Inana and Šukaletuda, 109; 157: (ḡi<sup>š</sup>-an-dul<sub>3</sub>-bi ḡi<sup>š</sup>asal<sub>2</sub> ḡissu daḡal-la-ka) “The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade,” as well as Dumuzi-Inana R, 24. See also Van De Mieroop 1992: 158.

“prosopis farcta.”<sup>570</sup> This reading is also understood to be correct in Black’s preliminary edition of *OECT* 5, 10 (PSK 612).<sup>571</sup>

17. **kiši<sub>16</sub>-kiši<sub>16</sub> maḥ-a-zu šu mu-ra-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
kiši<sub>16</sub>-kiši<sub>16</sub> [maḥ-a] (MMA 86.11.62, rev. 18b)

18. **kiši<sub>16</sub>-kiši<sub>16</sub> ᵀde<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>sar</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> šu-šu<sub>2</sub> x x šu [mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**  
kiši<sub>16</sub>-kiši<sub>16</sub> <sup>u</sup>ᵀteme<sub>2</sub><sup>sar</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-[a] (MMA 86.11.62, rev. 19)

For /teme<sub>2</sub>/, see Volk’s edition of MMA 86.11.62, comments to rev. 19, as well as his article on the reading of inverted /NAĜA/.<sup>572</sup> Note the syllabic writing /de-me<sup>sar</sup>/ for /<sup>u</sup>ᵀteme<sub>2</sub><sup>sar</sup>/, as well as /šu-šu<sub>2</sub>/ for /šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>/. The exact meaning of /šu<sub>2</sub>/ here is difficult to ascertain with respect to plant life; I have understood it as Akkadian *saḥāpu* “to cover.”<sup>573</sup> It appears, however, from the various contexts, that the “covering” is detrimental to the vegetation.

19. **u<sub>4</sub> kur-ᵀx<sup>1</sup> e-ne ba-zu šu mu-ᵀra<sup>1</sup>-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**

20. **e<sub>2</sub>-gal ša<sub>3</sub> ab-sin<sub>2</sub>-na-ᵀzu<sup>1</sup> šu mu-ᵀra<sup>1</sup>-[ab-du<sub>7</sub>]**

With Aruru’s association with vegetation, especially in the immediate context, the mention of a palace in the midst of the furrows would not be surprising.<sup>574</sup>

<sup>570</sup> Volk 2005: 9, commentary to line 18, along with literature, including Civil 1987a: 47-8.

<sup>571</sup> Black 2005: 57 (kiši<sub>16</sub>-kiši<sub>16</sub>).

<sup>572</sup> Volk 2005: 9; Volk 1990: 37-38.

<sup>573</sup> In The Lament over Sumer and Ur, 51, we see (pu<sub>2</sub>-ḡiš<sup>6</sup> kiri<sub>6</sub> u<sub>2</sub> gibil-la<sub>2</sub> nu-me-a ni<sub>2</sub>-ba šu<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>) “That there should be no new growth in the orchards, that it should all be covered over by itself.” There are later occurrences of *saḥāpu* that deal with the “covering” of fields or vegetation. For example, in a MB *kudurru* IM 74651, obv. ii 22-23 (lines 68-69, we read (<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su bēl a-la-la eqli // ugār-šu id-ra-na li-šes-ḥi-ip-ma // i-na ši-ir-i-šu<sub>2</sub> ur-qi<sub>2</sub>-tu a-a-ib-ba-ši) “May Ningirsu, lord of the *alāla*-song, make salt cover the field of his district, so that there may be no vegetation in his furrows” (see CAD S, s.v. *saḥāpu* for other examples). In both examples, it seems that a field (or the like) being covered has negative consequences.

<sup>574</sup> Cf. Gudea Cylinder B, 1074, we see (gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ka <sup>d</sup>ezina-ku<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> pa sikil-e // absin<sub>3</sub>-na saḡ an-še<sub>3</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>) “That the Ezina-Kusu, the pure stalk, will raise its head high in the furrows in Gu-edina,” while in Ur-Ninurta B, 10 (<sup>d</sup>ezina<sub>2</sub> ab-sin<sub>2</sub>-na saḡ il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-i u<sub>2</sub>-šim edin-na TAR [...] x) “To make Ezina lift her head in the furrows, to make vegetation ... in the steppe.”

21. ʽe<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> du<sub>6</sub><sup>?</sup> babbar-ra-zu<sup>?</sup> šu mu-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]  
[x x] e<sub>2</sub>-x-babbar-ra-na na-mu-un-si-ig (YBC 7096, a+61)
22. ʽe<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup> [...] šu ʽmu<sup>1</sup>-[ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>]

## APPENDIX C

### CHAPTER FIVE DATA: PHONETIC WRITING PATTERNS

In this appendix, I present the phonetic data that was the basis for the analysis and conclusions in Chapter Five.

#### *Homophonous Sign Replacement*

Because homophonous sign replacement is the most frequently occurring phonetic spelling, I will limit this investigation to those lexemes that are written phonetically at least five times or more. There are many examples of homophonous sign replacement that can be identified as Category 1, and a significant number of examples that appear in Category 2.<sup>575</sup> I will cite the most frequently occurring syllables or lexemes first, along with the various ways in which they are represented phonetically.

#### /DU/

In the Kiš corpus, the most frequently occurring syllable to be replaced with another homophonous sign is /du/ (du, du<sub>3</sub>, du<sub>5</sub>, du<sub>7</sub>, du<sub>8</sub>, du<sub>10</sub>, du<sub>11</sub>); there are at least 25 examples of the replacement of /du/. In *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), rev. iii 17', the expected verbal form /la-ba-du/ appears as /la-ba-du<sub>3</sub>/. In the same text, rev. iv 3, the verbal form /mu-un-du/ is written with /mu-un-du<sub>8</sub>/. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 11', the verbal base /i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>/ is written /i<sub>3</sub>-du/, while in *OECT* 5, 37 (PSK 615),

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<sup>575</sup> See Chapter Five for a discussion of the various categories.

rev. 2', /du<sub>5</sub>-mu/ appears /du-mu/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 11 and 12, the verbal form /bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-bi/, seen in NCBT 688, obv. 14-15, is written with the form /bi-du-qa-bi/. Similar replacements occur in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 7, Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 1-2 (literary), and *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 17. There are four examples of /du<sub>3</sub>/ appearing with /du/. In *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 12'-14', /du-a-ta/ occurs three times with /du/ being a phonetic representation of /du<sub>3</sub>/ "to plant."<sup>576</sup> Finally, in *PRAK B 264* (PSK 498), obv. 3'-4', the verb /he<sub>2</sub>-en-du<sub>3</sub>-en/ is written simply with /he<sub>2</sub>-en-du/. The verb /du<sub>7</sub>/ appears as both /du<sub>3</sub>/ and /du/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 31-32. In obv. i 31, NCBT 688, obv. 36 contains the form /nu-du<sub>7</sub>/, which appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) as /nu-du<sub>3</sub>/, while in the following line (NCBT 688, obv. 37), we see /nu-un-du<sub>7</sub>/, which appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 32 with the form /nu-du-ud/. Finally, in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 16', /du<sub>7</sub>/ is written with /du<sub>3</sub>/, while in obv. i 19, the expected verbal form /du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>/ appears to be written /tu-du/.<sup>577</sup> Finally, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 5, /am<sub>3</sub>-mi-in-du<sub>8</sub>/ is written phonetically as /a-mi-du/. There are no examples among the Category 2 Kiš texts that contain homophonous sign replacement with the syllable /du/.

What is interesting to note in the above examples is that each replacement occurs with a verbal base; there are no nominal constituents or elements that contained /du/ that were replaced with a homophonous sign.

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<sup>576</sup> Black 2005: 57.

<sup>577</sup> Reisman states that the /du/ is actually /de<sub>3</sub>/ in Reisman 1976: 360. If so, a shift from a /u/ vowel to /e/ is certainly not unprecedented at Kiš. Another difficulty exists, in that the expected verb is /šu--du<sub>7</sub>/; in this line, the /šu/ is deleted, replaced with a negative modal /la-/. Perhaps the negation of /tu/ "to bear" is intended here, with idiomatic meaning.

**Table Appendix C.1. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*du/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (DU)	Expected Form
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), rev. iii 17'	la-ba-du <sub>3</sub>	la-ba-du
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), rev. iv 3	mu-un-du <sub>8</sub>	mu-un-du
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 11'	i <sub>3</sub> -du	i <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>10</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 37 (PSK 615), rev. 2'	du-mu	du <sub>5</sub> -mu
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 11-12	bi-du-qa-bi	bi <sub>2</sub> -in-du <sub>11</sub> -ga-bi
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 7	du-ga	du <sub>11</sub> -ga
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 1-2	ga-an-na-ab-du	ga-na-ab-du <sub>11</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> D 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 17	du-qa	du <sub>11</sub> -ga
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 12'-14'	du-a-ta	du <sub>3</sub> -a-ta
<i>PRAK</i> B 264 (PSK 498), obv. 3'-4'	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -en-du	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -en-du <sub>3</sub> -en
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 31	nu-du <sub>3</sub>	nu-du <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 32	nu-du-ud	nu-un-du <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 16'	du <sub>3</sub>	du <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 19'	tu-du	du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 5	a-mi-du	am <sub>3</sub> -mi-in-du <sub>8</sub>

**/BI/**

There are fourteen examples of the syllable /bi/ written with a homophonous sign; all but one example involves the shift from the value /bi<sub>2</sub>/ to simply /bi/. As an example, the conjugation prefix /bi<sub>2</sub>-/ frequently appears as /bi-/, as seen in *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 11-12, where /bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-bi/ is written as /bi-du-qa-bi/. Similarly, in *PRAK* C 39+ (PSK 528), obv. 8, the verb /bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri/ appearing as /bi-im-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri/.<sup>578</sup> Other examples are found in *PRAK* C 8+ (PSK 513), obv. ii 7' & 11', *PRAK* B 417 (PSK 508), rev. 2, as well as *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 4' & 6', Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 7', and *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 14'. In *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), rev. iii 12', we see the reverse, as the demonstrative pronoun /-bi/ is written with /-bi<sub>2</sub>/, where the form /kur-bi-ta/ is written /kur-bi<sub>2</sub>/. Finally,

<sup>578</sup> The verbal form /bi-ib<sub>2</sub>?-da-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-ḡa<sub>2</sub>/ in *PRAK* C 39+ (PSK 528), obv. 9 is another example of this phonetic writing. However, the extant duplicates (e.g., BM 29615, obv. 13) preserve the form /nu-mu-da-ma-ma/, which may move this form to Category 2. There is a lack of exact duplication in other portions of *PRAK* C 39+ (PSK 528) as well.

we see a portion of a nominal form shifting from the expected /i-bi<sub>2</sub>/ to simply /i-bi/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 5 (2x). Thus, the majority of the changes with /bi/ appear in the conjugation prefix position, but we see that nominal forms and enclitics can also be affected.

**Table Appendix C.2. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*bi/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (BI)	Expected Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. 11-12	<i>bi-du-qa-bi</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-bi</i>
<i>PRAK C 39+</i> (PSK 528), obv. 8	<i>bi-im-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri</i>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D 41</i> ), obv. ii 7'	<i>bi-du<sub>11</sub>-ga</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga</i>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D 41</i> ), obv. ii 11'	<i>bi-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>11</sub>-ga</i>
<i>PRAK B 417</i> (PSK 508), rev. 2	<i>li-bi-x-x-x</i>	<i>li-bi<sub>2</sub>-in-tar-ra-bi</i>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), rev. iii 4'	<i>bi-si-si</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-si-si-in</i>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), rev. iii 6'	<i>bi-mu-mu<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub></i>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 7'	<i>ga-bi-ib<sub>2</sub>-gub</i>	<i>ga-bi<sub>2</sub>-ib-gub</i>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 14'	<i>bi-zu-zu</i>	<i>bi<sub>2</sub>-zu-zu</i>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), rev. iii 12'	<i>kur-bi<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>kur-bi-ta</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 5	<i>i-bi</i>	<i>i-bi<sub>2</sub></i>

/U/

There are 13 examples of the phonemic value /u/ being written with a homophonous sign (8 Category 1; 6 Category 2). There are three examples of /u<sub>2</sub>/ being written with the /u<sub>4</sub>/ sign (*OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), rev. iii 9'; *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 2; *TCL 16, 64* (PSK 457) (literary), obv. 21), and four examples of /u<sub>3</sub>/ represented with /u<sub>4</sub>/ (*PRAK C 124* (PSK 604), rev. 3' & 5'; *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 10; *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), obv. ii 6' [all Category 2]). Three times the value /u<sub>3</sub>/ is written with the /u<sub>2</sub>/ sign (*PRAK C 8+* (PSK 513), obv. 6' (Category 2); *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 16 & 17). Twice /u<sub>5</sub>/ written with /u<sub>2</sub>/ (*PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), obv. 6'



and *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3), and once /u<sub>6</sub>/ written with /u<sub>4</sub>/ (*PRAK C* 34 (PSK 591), obv.13’).

**Table Appendix C.3. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*u/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (U)	Expected Form
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), rev. iii 9’	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>2</sub>
<i>TCL</i> 16, 64 (PSK 457), obv. 21	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 124 (PSK 604), rev. 3’ & 5’	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 72 (PSK 525), obv. 10	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 460 (PSK 583), obv. ii 6’	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>3</sub>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK C</i> 8), obv. 6’	u <sub>2</sub>	u <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK D</i> 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 16 & 17	u <sub>2</sub>	u <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 298 (PSK 499), obv. 6’	u <sub>2</sub>	u <sub>5</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3	u <sub>2</sub>	u <sub>5</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 34 (PSK 591), obv. 13’	u <sub>4</sub>	u <sub>6</sub>

/E/

The next most frequent homophonous sign replacement occurs with the syllable /e/ (18 examples). In several cases, /e<sub>4</sub>/ (/A/) is read with another value of /e/. In *OECT* 15, 177 (PSK 456) (literary), obv. 5’, /e<sub>4</sub>-bi/ appears as /e-bi/, while in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 40 (2x) and ii 30 (2x), /e<sub>4</sub>/ appears as /e<sub>2</sub>/. In *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 1, /e<sub>4</sub>/ appears as /e/. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 14, we see /e<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ appearing as /e-du-qa/, as well as /e<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a/ being written /e-gi-ia/. Finally, in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 15 (2x), we see /e<sub>4</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ written /e-du-qa/, as in the previous line.

We also see the sign replacement in the noun /e<sub>2</sub>/, which shifts to /e/. For example, NCBT 688, rev. 1 preserves /e<sub>2</sub>-ġu<sub>10</sub>/, where *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 9’ has /e-ġu<sub>10</sub>/. This replacement also occurs in obv. ii 15 (2x) and rev. iv 5 (2x). The reverse replacement is seen once in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 18, where the form

/ba-e-ul<sub>4</sub>-la-bi/ in NCBT 688, obv. 22 appears to be written /be<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-[...]/. Another replacement appears in *PRAK C 109* (PSK 448), rev. 2', where the expected form /e<sub>5</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ appears as /e-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/. Finally, in *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 10', the expected verbal form is /al-e<sub>3</sub>/, which appears at least once (if not twice) as /al-e/.

**Table Appendix C.4. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*e/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (E)	Expected Form
<i>OECT 15, 177</i> (PSK 456), obv. 5'	e-bi	e <sub>4</sub> -bi
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 40	e <sub>2</sub>	e <sub>4</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 30'	e <sub>2</sub>	e <sub>4</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 1	e	e <sub>4</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 14	e-du-qa	e <sub>4</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 14	e-gi-ia	e <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -a
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 15	e-du-qa	e <sub>4</sub> -du <sub>11</sub> -ga
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'	e-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>2</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 15'	e-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>2</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 5	e-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>2</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 18	be <sub>2</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> -[...]	ba-e-ul <sub>4</sub> -la-bi
<i>PRAK C 109</i> (PSK 448), rev. 2'	e-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	e <sub>5</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 100</i> (PSK 529), obv. 10'	al-e	al-e <sub>3</sub>

### /IB/

The syllable /ib/ appears with homophonous signs, occurring 10 times in Category 1 texts. Without exception, the value /ib/ is replaced with /ib<sub>2</sub>/, and each appears in the preverbal slot of the verbal chain (/ib<sub>2</sub>-VB/). In *PRAK C 45+* (PSK 447) (literary), rev. 7 and 8 contain the form /ba-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ti/, while five times in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary) (obv. i 19', ii 8', 14', 18', and 22') the text shows the same replacement before five different verbal bases.<sup>579</sup> Other examples include *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), rev. iv 8, as well as Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 6' and 20'.

<sup>579</sup> /tu-du/ [phonetic /du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>/], /šu-mu/ [šum<sub>2</sub>/], /keš<sub>2</sub>-da/, /si-sa<sub>2</sub>/, and /gub/.

**Table Appendix C.5. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*ib/**

<b>Text &amp; Line</b>	<b>Homophonous Form (IB)</b>	<b>Expected Form</b>
<i>PRAK C 45+</i> (PSK 447), rev. 7 & 8	ba-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -ti	ba-ni- <i>ib</i> -ti
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 19'	la-ba-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -tu-du	ba-ni- <i>ib</i> -du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. ii 8'	mi-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -šu-mu	mu-ni- <i>ib</i> -šum <sub>2</sub> -mu
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. ii 14'	ba-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -keš <sub>2</sub> -da	ba-ni- <i>ib</i> -keš <sub>2</sub> -da
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. ii 18'	ši-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -si-sa <sub>2</sub>	ši-ni- <i>ib</i> -ĝa <sub>2</sub> -ĝa <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. ii 22'	ši-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -gub-be <sub>2</sub>	ši-ni- <i>ib</i> -gub-be <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), rev. iv 8	mu-[x]- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -gu <sub>7</sub> -e	mu-ni- <i>ib</i> -gu <sub>7</sub> -e
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 6'	nam-bi <sub>2</sub> - <i>ib</i> -sar-re	nam-bi <sub>2</sub> - <i>ib</i> -sar
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 20'	mu-ni- <i>ib</i> <sub>2</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub> -[...]	mu-ni- <i>ib</i> -gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>

**/GI<sub>4</sub>/**

The value /gi<sub>4</sub>/ is also commonly replaced with a homophonous sign in the Kiš corpus; as with /ib<sub>2</sub>/, it is replaced in every instance with only one sign: /gi/. In the literary duplicates, we see this replacement in *OECT 11, 7* (PSK 428) (literary), obv. 8, as the verb /ba-an-na-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>/ is written /ba-an-na-ab-gi-en/. In *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iv 8, the form /gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>/ goes to /gi-gi/, and in *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 7', we see /gi<sub>4</sub>-in-še<sub>3</sub>/ replaced with /gi-in-na/. We see the same changes in the liturgical corpus. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 14, /a-gi<sub>4</sub>-a/ appears as /e-gi-ia/, and twice in PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*) (obv. i 12') and *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612) (rev. v 1'-2'), and perhaps once in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 10 (Category 2), /gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>/ appears with the expected form /gi-gi/. In *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), obv. 4', the form /šu-mar-gi<sub>4</sub>/ appears as /šu-ma-ar-gi/.

**Table Appendix C.6. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*gi/**

<b>Text &amp; Line</b>	<b>Homophonous Form (GI)</b>	<b>Expected Form</b>
<i>OECT 11, 7</i> (PSK 428), obv. 8	ba-an-na-ab-gi-en	ba-an-na-ab-gi <sub>4</sub>

<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iv 8	ma- <i>gi-gi</i>	ma-ab- <i>gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub></i>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 7'	<i>gi-in-na</i>	<i>gi<sub>4</sub>-in-še<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 14	e- <i>gi-ia</i>	a- <i>gi<sub>4</sub>-a</i>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D</i> 41), obv. i 12'	gi-gi	gi <sub>4</sub> -gi <sub>4</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. 1'-2'	ḥa-ma- <i>gi-gi</i>	ḥa-ma- <i>gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub></i>
<i>PRAK D</i> 45 (PSK 533), obv. 10	al- <i>gi-gi-a-ri</i>	al- <i>gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-ri</i>
<i>PRAK B</i> 421 <i>bis</i> (PSK 509), obv. 4'	šu-ma-ar- <i>gi</i>	šu-mar- <i>gi<sub>4</sub></i>

**/ME/**

In eight instances the syllabic value /me/ is written with a homophonous value, each occurring in liturgical texts. Five of these examples show /me/ written with the /MI/ sign: *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'-10' and *PRAK D* 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 9-11.<sup>580</sup> The final three examples concern the homophonous writing of /me<sub>3</sub>/. In *PRAK B* 348 (PSK 504), obv. 6', /me<sub>3</sub>/ is written with /me/, while in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 28 and 29, we again see the /MI/ sign representing /me<sub>3</sub>/, further evidence that /MI/ is likely to be read /me<sub>2</sub>/.

**Table Appendix C.7. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*me/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (ME)	Expected Form
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 9'-10'	im-me <sub>2</sub> (MI)-e	im-me
<i>PRAK D</i> 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 9-11	i-ra-na-bi-me <sub>2</sub> -me-en	ir <sub>2</sub> -ra a-na-bi-me-en

<sup>580</sup> I read the /MI/ sign here as /me<sub>2</sub>/ based on the following evidence. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 9' and 10', the form seen in the duplicates (e.g., NCBT 688, rev. 1-2) is /im-me/, which is represented in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520) as /im-MI-e/. It is possible that the examples from *PRAK D* 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 9-11 (Category 2) further support this contention. Cavigneaux 1987: 55: “aux lignes 8-13 du revers il me paraît certain qu'on a chaque fois en fin de ligne, abstraction faite des remords du scribe, l'équivalent syllabique de la phrase ér-ra a-na-bi-me-en 'Qu'as-tu à faire avec les larmes?'” If this is so, this phrase appears in the following forms in lines 8-13:

8. /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/
9. /i-ra-na-bi-MI-me-en/
10. /i-ra-na-bi-MI-bi?-me-en/
11. /i-ra-na-bi-MI-bi-me-en/
12. /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/
13. /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/

It seems likely that, whatever problems may exist in the phonetic spelling of the forms in 10-11 (with the insertion of an apparent /bi/ between /MI/ and /me/), the value of /MI/ likely corresponds to that of the following /me/ in the form /me-en/.

<i>PRAK B 348 (PSK 504)</i> , obv. 6'	me	me <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+ (PSK 520)</i> , obv. i 28-29	me <sub>2</sub>	me <sub>3</sub>

/NU/

Another common replacement is seen with the value /nu/, appearing nine times (6x in Category 1, 3x in Category 2); in every case, /nu<sub>2</sub>/ is written simply with /nu/. In *PSK 513 (PRAK D 41)*, obv. i 23', the verbal form /am<sub>3</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ba/ appears phonetically as /a-am-nu-a-ba/; the same verbal form is found in obv. i 25, 29, and ii 4. In *OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612)*, rev. v 5', /nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ni/ and /nu<sub>2</sub>-a/ are written /nu-a-ni/ and /nu-a/ (both Category 2); in rev. v 7', /nu<sub>2</sub>-a/ again appears to be the form represented by /nu-a/ (Category 2). In *PRAK C 66+ (PSK 523)*, obv. 5' & 6', the form /nu<sub>2</sub>-ra/ is written syllabically /nu-ra/.

**Table Appendix C.8. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*nu/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (NU)	Expected Form
<i>PSK 513 (PRAK D 41)</i> , obv. i 23', 25', 29', & ii 4'	a-am- <i>nu</i> -a-ba	am <sub>3</sub> - <i>nu</i> <sub>2</sub> -a-ba
<i>OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612)</i> , rev. v 5'	<i>nu</i> -a-ni	<i>nu</i> <sub>2</sub> -a-ni
<i>OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612)</i> , rev. v 5' & 7'	<i>nu</i> -a	<i>nu</i> <sub>2</sub> -a
<i>PRAK C 66+ (PSK 523)</i> , obv. 5'-6'	<i>nu</i> -ra	<i>nu</i> <sub>2</sub> -ra

/GU/

There are also eight examples of the phoneme /gu/ being represented with a homophonous value. There are two examples of /gu<sub>2</sub>/ written with /gu<sub>3</sub>/ (*PRAK C 9 (PSK 514)*, obv. 3' and *OECT 5, 10 (PSK 612)*, rev. iv 10'). Twice in *PRAK C 52+ (PSK 520)*, rev. iii 1, /gu<sub>3</sub>/ is written phonetically with /gu<sub>2</sub>/. In three cases (*Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435)* (literary) obv. i 23' and *OECT 15, 177 (PSK 456)* (literary), rev. 4 & 5) the value

/gu<sub>3</sub>/ appears as /gu<sub>4</sub>/. Finally, in *OECT* 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 7', we see the opposite case, where /gu<sub>4</sub>/ is represented with the value /gu<sub>3</sub>/.

**Table Appendix C.9. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*gu/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (GU)	Expected Form
<i>PRAK</i> C 9 (PSK 514), obv. 3'	gu <sub>3</sub>	gu <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 10'	gu <sub>3</sub>	gu <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 1	gu <sub>2</sub>	gu <sub>3</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 23'	gu <sub>4</sub>	gu <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456), rev. 4-5	gu <sub>4</sub>	gu <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 7'	gu <sub>3</sub>	gu <sub>4</sub>

**/KU/**

There are also eight examples of the value /ku/ being written with homophonous signs. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 19', /ba-an-ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>/ appears as /ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>-AN-ku<sub>4</sub>/, and in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 22', /ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>/ also appears as /ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>/. In *OECT* 15, 177 (PSK 456) (literary), rev. 2, /ba-ra-ku<sub>2</sub>/ is written /ba-ra-an-ku/. In *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 3, /ku<sub>3</sub>-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-e/ is written /ku-ĝal<sub>2</sub>-le/. Finally, in five instances, all in *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 8-10, we see /ku<sub>3</sub>/ written simply /ku/.

**Table Appendix C.10. Homophonous sign replacements: /\*ku/**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form (KU)	Expected Form
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 19'	ba-an-ku <sub>4</sub> -AN-ku <sub>4</sub>	ba-an-ku <sub>7</sub> -ku <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 22'	ša <sub>3</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -ku <sub>4</sub> -da-me-en	ša <sub>3</sub> -ku <sub>7</sub> -ku <sub>7</sub> -da- [...]
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456), rev. 2	ba-ra-an-ku	ba-ra-ku <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 3	ku-ĝal <sub>2</sub> -le	ku <sub>3</sub> -ĝal <sub>2</sub> -e
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 8-10	ku	ku <sub>3</sub>

## Others

There are many other examples of homophonous sign replacement seen in the Kiš corpus. There are seven instances with /de/, the majority of which replace /de<sub>3</sub>/ with /de/.<sup>581</sup> There are seven times when the phoneme /i/ is replaced.<sup>582</sup> Similarly, /la<sub>2</sub>/ is written phonetically, appearing nine times (two Category 2) as simply /la/.<sup>583</sup> Seven times /ne/ is replaced, most frequently with /ne<sub>2</sub>/.<sup>584</sup> There are seven examples with the phoneme /mu/.<sup>585</sup> In five cases, we see /pa<sub>3</sub>/ being replaced simply with /pa/.<sup>586</sup> There are also eleven instances with the replacement of the phoneme /še/ (5x in Category 1; 6x in Category 2).<sup>587</sup> Finally, /ur/ is replaced five times.<sup>588</sup> There are many other homophonous replacements, but those described above occur at least five times in the corpus.

**Table Appendix C.11. Homophonous sign replacements: other**

Text & Line	Homophonous Form	Expected Form
<i>PRAK C 32</i> (PSK 517), obv. 2'-3'	de	de <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 6, 9-10	de	de <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 13	de <sub>2</sub>	de <sub>3</sub>
<i>TCL 16, 66</i> (PSK 458), rev. 36'	de <sub>2</sub>	de <sub>6</sub>

<sup>581</sup> /de<sub>3</sub>/ to /de/: *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), obv. 2' & 3'; *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 6, 9, & 10. /de<sub>3</sub>/ to /de<sub>2</sub>/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 13. /de<sub>6</sub>/ to /de<sub>2</sub>/: *TCL 16, 66* (PSK 458) (literary), rev. 36'.

<sup>582</sup> /i<sub>3</sub>/ to /i/: *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 18' (x2) & 19'. /i<sub>7</sub>/ to /i/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27'; *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 10'. /i<sub>7</sub>/ to /i<sub>3</sub>/: *PRAK D 60* (PSK 433), obv. 17.

<sup>583</sup> *PRAK C 39+* (PSK 528), rev. 5-8; *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 6 (x2); *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 2'; *PRAK C 124* (PSK 604), rev. 3', 5' (Category 2).

<sup>584</sup> /ne/ to /ne<sub>2</sub>/: Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), rev. iii 20; *PRAK B 264* (PSK 498), obv. 2'; *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), obv. 4'; *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 5; *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439) (literary), obv. 2. /ne<sub>2</sub>/ to /ne/: Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 8' & 23'.

<sup>585</sup> /mu<sub>4</sub>/ to /mu/: *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 5'. /mu<sub>2</sub>/ to /mu/: PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), obv. i 14' & 16'-17'; *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 6'; *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 4. /mu<sub>2</sub>/ to /mu<sub>4</sub>/: *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 6'.

<sup>586</sup> *PRAK B 186* (PSK 546), obv. 2'; *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), obv. 1'-4'.

<sup>587</sup> /še<sub>3</sub>/ to /še/: Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), rev. iii 2. /še<sub>3</sub>/ to /še/: *PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), obv. 6'; *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 29' & 30'; *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), rev. 2; *PRAK B 413* (PSK 577), rev. 6'-7' (Category 2); *PRAK C 6* (PSK 512), obv. 3', 5', rev. 2', 4' (Category 2).

<sup>588</sup> /ur<sub>3</sub>/ to /ur<sub>4</sub>/: *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 4. /ur<sub>3</sub>/ to /ur<sub>2</sub>/: *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439) (literary), obv. 4 (x2). /ur<sub>3</sub>/ to /ur<sub>4</sub>/: *PRAK B 322+* (PSK 502), obv. 2; *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11'.

<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 18'-19'	i	i <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27'	i	i <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 10'	i	i <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK D</i> 60 (PSK 433), obv. 17	i <sub>3</sub>	i <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 39+ (PSK 528), rev. 5-8	la	la <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 6	la	la <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 70 (PSK 524), obv. 2'	la	la <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 124 (PSK 604), rev. 3' & 5'	la	la <sub>2</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 20	ne <sub>2</sub>	ne
<i>PRAK B</i> 264 (PSK 498), obv. 2'	ne <sub>2</sub>	ne
<i>PRAK B</i> 307 (PSK 500), obv. 4'	ne <sub>2</sub>	ne
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 5	ne <sub>2</sub>	ne
<i>PRAK B</i> 46+ (PSK 439), obv. 2'	ne <sub>2</sub>	ne
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 8' & 23'	ne	ne <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 5'	mu	mu <sub>4</sub>
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D</i> 41), obv. i 14' & 16'-17'	mu	mu <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 6'	mu	mu <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4	mu	mu <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 6'	mu <sub>4</sub>	mu <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 186 (PSK 546), obv. 2'	pa	pa <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 66+ (PSK 523), obv. 1'-4'	pa	pa <sub>3</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 2	še	še <sub>8</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 298 (PSK 499), obv. 6'	še	še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 29'-30'	še	še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 66+ (PSK 523), rev. 2	še	še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 413 (PSK 577), rev. 6'-7'	še	še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 6 (PSK 512), obv. 3', 5', rev. 2', 4'	še	še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK D</i> 45 (PSK 533), obv. 4	ur <sub>4</sub>	ur <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 46+ (PSK 439), obv. 4'	ur <sub>2</sub>	ur <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B</i> 322+ (PSK 502), obv. 2	ur <sub>4</sub>	ur <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 100 (PSK 529), obv. 11'	ur <sub>4</sub>	ur <sub>3</sub>



### *One Sign Replaced with Two or More Signs*

Concerning the phonetic replacement of one sign with two or more, I will first provide examples and discussion of the more common forms. I will begin with examples where the duplicates of the phonetic spellings have clear case markers that should be represented in the phonetic text, beginning with instances where an /a/ case marker is written with /a/.

#### **CV-CV, with /a/-/a/ vowel case markers**

In *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), rev. 3, the divine name /<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-mu-un-gur<sub>11</sub>-ra/ is written phonetically as /Ga-ša-an-ma-gu-ra/. The genitive marker is apparently attached to the /r/ separated from /gur<sub>11</sub>/. Similarly, in *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 4', the DN /<sup>d</sup>nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud-da/ appears as /nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mu-da/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4 and ii 7, as well as *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 12', the common epithet /an dub<sub>2</sub>-ba/ "the one who makes the heavens tremble," is written phonetically as /an tu-pa/, where the nominalizing element /a/ is maintained. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 5, /šeš-a-ne-ne-ka/ appears as /si-sa-ne<sub>2</sub>-[...]/. In *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. ii 10', /kišeb-ġal<sub>2</sub>-la-ni-me-en/, "you are his seal bearer," appears as /kišeb-ġa<sub>2</sub>-la-ni-me-en/.<sup>589</sup> Similarly, in *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), obv. 10', /hul<sub>2</sub>-la-na/ is written in the form /hu-la-ni/, the nominalizer represented in both forms. In *PRAK B 357* (PSK 505), obv. 4 and *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531), rev. 16, the TN /gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-na/ appears as /gi-gu-na/. In Ashm.

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<sup>589</sup> In obv. ii 11', the form /saġ-ki-ġal<sub>2</sub>-ni-me-en/ is written /saġ-ki-ġa<sub>2</sub>-la-ni-me-en/. Although the /a/ of /ani/ does not appear in the standard orthographic form, it is clear that the /a/ in /ġa<sub>2</sub>-la-ni/ indicates a grammatical marking. The noun /kišib-ġal<sub>2</sub>/ sometimes appears without a nominalizing /a/ [e.g., UET 6/1, 101 (U 7730+), obv. 7: (kišeb-gal<sub>2</sub> a-a<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> tam-ma e<sub>3</sub> erim<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra); UET 6/2, 134 (U 16858), obv. 7: (engiz ensi kišeb-ġal<sub>2</sub>-bi eš-da šu li-bi<sub>2</sub>-in-du<sub>7</sub>-da)]. Thus, the /a/ almost certainly represents the full form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> animate singular possessive suffix /a.ni/. Because the /a/ is required following the consonant /l/ of /ġal<sub>2</sub>/, its appearance in /ġa<sub>2</sub>-la/ indicates that the /a/ is part of the suffix, and not anaptyctic.

1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 7, /gi-sig-ga/ is written /gi-si<sub>3</sub>-ga/, showing an /a/ to /a/ representation.

In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 13', the form /ḥa-ma-dim<sub>2</sub>-ma/ is represented in the Kiš source as /ḥa-pa-di-ma/.<sup>590</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 32', the form /lu<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>2</sub>-ra/, with its accompanying nominalizing /a/, is represented in the Kiš text as /lu-ku-ra/.<sup>591</sup>

Again in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 8, the form /laḥ<sub>6</sub>-a-bi/ is written /la-ḥa- [...]/. While the form is broken, the nominalizing /a/ appears to be represented in the phonetic form. In rev. iii 10, we have another example of a grammatical marker being represented in the phonetic text; the form /e<sub>2</sub> šen-na/ is written /e<sub>2</sub> še-na/. Here, the nominalizing /a/, marking the adjective /šen/ “pure,” is likely represented in the syllabic spelling. The nominalizer is also seen in *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 5', as /ga-ša-an-eš<sub>3</sub>-gal-la/ appears as /ga-ša-an-uš-ga-la/. In the same line, /kul-aba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ appears as /ku-la-ba-ra/.<sup>592</sup> In *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 5, we see the form /šud<sub>3</sub>-da/ written in the syllabic text with /su-da/.<sup>593</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 6, /erim<sub>x</sub>-ma-ḡu<sub>10</sub>/ in normal

<sup>590</sup> The /a/ vowel on /dim<sub>2</sub>-ma/ is difficult to explain. Of the four sources that preserve the verbal form, three contain the /a/ vowel affixed to the end of the form. However, Ni 42 (BE 31, 31), preserves the form /ḥa-ma-dim<sub>2</sub>-e/. Because this is clearly not a verb in a subordinate clause, it seems most likely that this /a/ represents either the /e/ of the *marû* 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, with vowel harmony, or a truncated form of /-am<sub>3</sub>/. In either case, the /a/ indicates a grammatical element, and is represented in the phonetic spelling /ḥa-pa-di-ma/.

<sup>591</sup> Because there are several examples, in both the literary and liturgical corpus, of /lu<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>2</sub>/ written with no nominalizing marker, it seems more likely that the /a/ vowel in /lu-ku-ra/ is not anaptyctic, but represents a grammatical marker. For example: /ninda-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ḡal<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>2</sub> ib<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>/ (UET 6/2, 320, obv. 3-4). It is interesting to compare this line with UET 6/2, 239, obv. 2-3, which appears in the form /ninda ḥa-ma-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-la lu<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>2</sub>-ra ib<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub>/. It is the same proverb, yet written with the nominalizing /a/. Both forms appear to be acceptable, despite the necessity of the grammatical marker. See also: /ḡiri<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> kur<sub>2</sub>-e<sup>ka</sup> kalam-še<sub>3</sub> ba-<sup>r</sup>bad<sup>l</sup>-[(re<sub>6</sub>)]/ (CBS 346, obv. 6), Michalowski 2011: 337.

<sup>592</sup> The /a/ represents the initial /a/ of /aba<sub>4</sub>/, allowing for a Sandhi writing. This shows, however, that the final /a/ of /Ku-la/ is not simply anaptyctic.

<sup>593</sup> The noun /šud<sub>3</sub>/ “prayer” appears in Elum Gusun (of which *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525) is a duplicate) in the refrain /šud<sub>3</sub>-da mu-un-re<sub>7</sub>-en-de<sub>3</sub>-en/ “We went in prayer!” The apparent locative /a/ also appears in NBC 1315, rev. iv 7-8, for example, in the similar and synonymous phrase, /a-ra-zu-a mu-un-re<sub>7</sub>-en-de<sub>3</sub>-en/ “We

orthography appears as /i-ri-ma-gû<sub>10</sub>/.<sup>594</sup> Similarly, in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 7, /gurum-gurum-ma-ni/ appears as /gi-gi-ru-ma/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 5 and ii 8, /ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub> amaš-ke<sub>4</sub>/a(-men<sub>3</sub>)/ is written /ga-ša-an tur<sub>3</sub> ama-sa-[...]/, which appears to represent the genitive. What appears to be a single sign division, along with a Sandhi writing, appears in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 8', as /ab<sub>2</sub>-sin<sub>2</sub>-na na-nam/ goes to /ab-si<sub>2</sub>-na-nam/. In *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 8-13, there are six examples of /a/ to /a/ representation; the form /i-ra-na/ represents the writing of /ir<sub>2</sub>-ra a-na/.<sup>595</sup> The separation of the consonant from the initial VC syllable shows the marking of the locative to the new CV syllable.

Our final Category 1 example is seen in *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), obv. ii 10'.<sup>596</sup> In lines 2-6, the partially syllabically written refrain /maš<sub>2</sub> šu mu-un-gi-di/ (maš<sub>2</sub> šu mu-un-gid<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>) “he will examine the exta” appears at the end of each line. In obv. ii 9, the form /maš<sub>2</sub> šu gid<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>/ appears as well. When we view obv. ii 10, we see /maš<sub>2</sub> šu? mi-ni-gi-da-a/; this form appears to be a nominalized form of the earlier refrain, but written phonetically. If so, it seems likely that the form in normal orthography would likely be /šu mi-ni-gid<sub>2</sub>-da/. Thus, the phonetic form could be understood to represent a nominalizing /a/ in /gi-da/.

There are some examples of this /a-a/ duplication of the grammatical marking in Category 2 forms. On the obverse of *PRAK B 239* (PSK 469), there appears to be a the

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went in supplication!” Thus, the form /su-da/ in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525) is consistent with the grammatical markings that appear in the normal orthography of the duplicates.

<sup>594</sup> The /-ma/ on /erim<sub>x</sub>/ appears often in Emesal texts, and appears to be represented here in phonetic form. For a discussion of /-ma/ on /erim<sub>3</sub>/, see Krecher 1966: 115-117.

<sup>595</sup> Cavigneaux 1987: 55.

<sup>596</sup> Though this section of the Aruru Balaġ to date has no known duplicates, much of the text can be translated with relative certainty, and will be considered a Category 1 text. For a transliteration and translation of this text, see Black 2005: 56-61.

end of a litany of temples or sanctuaries, which may duplicate lines from the Balaĝ

Utugin (16-19):

YBC 9838 obv. 6-9	CBS 11359 obv. i 12-15	PSK 469 obv. 1'-4'
e <sub>2</sub> -kur e <sub>2</sub> ša <sub>3</sub> -ge pa <sub>3</sub> -da-zu gi-gun <sub>4</sub> -na tir šim <sup>ĝis</sup> erin-na-zu kissa-a-ka urin mul-la-ta e <sub>2</sub> -sar-ra e <sub>2</sub> u <sub>6</sub> di-zu	e <sub>2</sub> -kur e <sub>2</sub> ša <sub>3</sub> -ge [...] gi-gun <sub>4</sub> -na <sup>ĝis</sup> tir šim [...] kissa-a-ka urin [...] e <sub>2</sub> -sar-ra e <sub>2</sub> u <sub>6</sub> [...]	ʽe <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ʽkur <sub>2</sub> ? <sup>1</sup> [...] gi-ʽgu? <sup>1</sup> -[na? ...] sa-ka ʽu <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[...] e <sub>2</sub> -sa-ra [...]

If this is a duplicate of Utugin, then the form in obv. 4' /e<sub>2</sub>-sa-ra/ would likely contain the genitive marker (“House of Vegetation?”), attempting to phonetically duplicate the form in normal orthography.<sup>597</sup> In *PRAK* B 240 (PSK 549), obv. 3', we see /eš-bar-ra/ “of decisions” appears as /eš-ba-ra/, marking the genitive with an /a/.<sup>598</sup>

**Table Appendix C.12. CV-CV, with /a/-/a/ vowel case markers**

Line	Divided Form (a-a)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK</i> C 72 (PSK 525), rev. 3	ga-ša-an-ma-gu-ra	<sup>d</sup> ga-ša-an-mu-un-gur <sub>11</sub> -ra
<i>PRAK</i> C 70 (PSK 524), obv. 4'	nu-dim <sub>2</sub> -mu-da	<sup>d</sup> nu-dim <sub>2</sub> -mud-da
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 4 & ii 7	tu-pa	dub <sub>2</sub> -ba
<i>PRAK</i> C 92 (PSK 527), obv. 12'	tu-pa	dub <sub>2</sub> -ba
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 5	si-sa-ne <sub>2</sub> -[...]	šeš-a-ne-ne-ka
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. ii 10'	kišeb-ĝa <sub>2</sub> -la-ni-me-en	kišeb-ĝal <sub>2</sub> -la-ni-me-en
<i>PRAK</i> C 32 (PSK 517), obv. 10'	ħu-la-ni	ħul <sub>2</sub> -la-na
<i>PRAK</i> B 357 (PSK 505), obv. 4	gi-gu-na	gi-gun <sub>4</sub> -na
<i>PRAK</i> C 122 (PSK 531), rev. 16	gi-gu-na	gi-gun <sub>4</sub> -na
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 7	gi-si <sub>3</sub> -ga	gi-sig-ga
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 13'	ħa-pa-di-ma	ħa-ma-dim <sub>2</sub> -ma
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 32'	lu-ku-ra	lu <sub>2</sub> -kur <sub>2</sub> -ra

<sup>597</sup> George 1993: 141.

<sup>598</sup> *PRAK* B 240 (PSK 549), obv. 3': [...] -mu-un-eš-ʽba?<sup>1</sup>-ʽra<sup>1</sup> [...] (AO 3924, rev. 4 [Elum Gusun, 105]: a-lu-lu-ĝu<sub>10</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un eš-bar-ʽra<sup>1</sup>).

<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 8	la-ḥa-[...]	lah <sub>6</sub> -a-bi
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 10	še-na	šen-na
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 5'	ga-ša-an-uš-ga-la	ga-ša-an-eš <sub>3</sub> -gal-la
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 5'	ku-la-ba-ra	kul-aba <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup>
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 5	su-da	šud <sub>3</sub> -da
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 6	i-ri-ma-ḡu <sub>10</sub>	erim <sub>x</sub> -ma-ḡu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 7	gi-gi-ru-ma	gurum-gurum-ma-ni
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 5 & ii 8	tur <sub>3</sub> ama-sa-[...]	tur <sub>3</sub> amaš-ke <sub>4</sub> /a(-men <sub>3</sub> )
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), rev. iii 8'	ab-si <sub>2</sub> -na-nam	ab <sub>2</sub> -sin <sub>2</sub> -na na-nam
<i>PRAK D 1+</i> (PSK 607), rev. 8-13	i-ra-na	ir <sub>2</sub> -ra a-na
<i>OECT 5, 10</i> (PSK 612), obv. ii 10'	mi-ni-gi-da-a	mu-ni-gid <sub>2</sub> -da
<i>PRAK B 239</i> (PSK 469), obv. 4'	e <sub>2</sub> -sa-ra	e <sub>2</sub> -sar-ra
<i>PRAK B 240</i> (PSK 549), obv. 3'	eš-ba-ra	eš-bar-ra

### **CV-CV, with /e/-/e/ vowel case markers**

A similar representation of final vowels in this type of phonetic spelling is the writing of /e/ for /e/; all examples here are from Category 1 forms. In *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), obv. ii 2-6, the verbal form /šu mu-un-gid<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ “he will examine the exta” appears in the syllabic writing /šu mu-un-gi-de/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 4, the noun /mu-un-gar<sub>3</sub>-e/ “farmer” appears as /mu-ga-re/.<sup>599</sup> Also in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 11', the verbal form /ba-gub-be<sub>2</sub>-en/ seen in normal orthography is written /ba-gi-be<sub>2</sub>-en/, maintaining the /e/ vowel grammatically required by the form. In *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), obv. 6'-7', we see /ir<sub>2</sub>-re/ represented with the form /i-re/; the locative-terminative is maintained in the syllabic form. In *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 9, /ḥuḡ-ḡe<sub>26</sub>/ is represented with /ḥu-ḡe<sub>6</sub>/.

<sup>599</sup> That the /e/ on the form is the ergative is clear from the previous line, where another example of /e/ to /e/ appears, as the /ku<sub>3</sub>-ḡal<sub>2</sub>-e/ “canal inspector” (written ku-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-le) performs as the agent, as the farmer acts as the agent in the following line. Thus, the /e/ in both /mu-ga-re/ and /ku-ḡa<sub>2</sub>-le/ seems to represent the ergative marker seen in the standard duplicate.

There are three examples in *PRAK* C 39+ (PSK 528) (literary), rev. 6-8, where /bad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ “on the wall” is written /ba-de/. In *PRAK* C 32 (PSK 517), obv. 12’, a clear duplicate of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), the verbal form /am<sub>2</sub>-da-mar-re-en/, though broken, appears as /[…]-ma-re-na/ in the Kiš duplicate; the /e/ in /-re-na/ marks the verbal suffix /-en/. The next example comes from *PRAK* B 186 (PSK 546), obv. 2’ (and almost certainly obv. 1), where the verbal form /nu-mu-un-pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ is written with /x-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>/.<sup>600</sup> The same /e/ to /e/ replacement occurs in *PRAK* C 66+ (PSK 523), obv. 1’-4’, with the form /nu-mu-un-pa-de<sub>3</sub>/. Another example of clear marking of a grammatical /e/ appears in *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 29, 35, and rev. iii 11. In obv. i 29, the phrase /me<sub>3</sub> saĝ-e/<sup>601</sup> “at the beginning of the war” contains the locative-terminative, which is represented with the form /mi sa-ĝe<sub>26</sub>/. This occurs in obv. i 35 (/lu<sub>2</sub>-sa-ĝe<sub>26</sub>/ and /ama-sa-ĝe<sub>26</sub>/) and rev. iii 11 (/šir<sub>3</sub>-sa-ĝe<sub>26</sub>/). In rev. iii 8, we see another example of /e/ to /e/, as /im-da-sig<sub>3</sub>-ge-de<sub>3</sub>/ appears /im-da-si-ge-da/. Finally, in obv. i 17, /nu-tar-re-da-bi/ is written with the /e/ in the form /nu-ta-re-[…]/.<sup>602</sup> In *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3, the verbal form /na-an-šeš<sub>2</sub>-šeš<sub>2</sub>-en/ appears to be syllabically written /na-ma-se-se/.<sup>603</sup>

**Table Appendix C.13. CV-CV, with /e/-e/ vowel case markers**

Line	Divided Form (e-e)	Standard Form
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), obv. ii 2-6	šu mu-un-gi-de	šu mu-un-gid <sub>2</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>

<sup>600</sup> *PRAK* B 186 (PSK 546), obv. 1’ is quite broken, and all that is preserved is /[…]-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>de<sub>3</sub>?<sup>1</sup>/; however, given the likely duplication between this text and *PRAK* C 66+ (PSK 523), and the presence of the verbal form in obv. 2’ of *PRAK* B 186 (PSK 546), we can likely assume /pa-de<sub>3</sub>/ as the original form. It should also be noted that the duplicate to obv. 1’-2’ of *PRAK* B 186 (PSK 546) is *PRAK* C 66+ (PSK 523), which is also phonetic; thus, we cannot determine from this duplicate alone that the form that should be duplicated is in fact /pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/.

<sup>601</sup> New collation; see Delnero forthcoming.

<sup>602</sup> New collation; see Delnero forthcoming.

<sup>603</sup> It could be that /se-se/ is meant to simply represent /šeš<sub>2</sub>/ (as in VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339), rev. 3, which has the form /im-ma-an-šeš<sub>2</sub>/), or /šeš<sub>2</sub>-en/ (as in MBI 5 (CBS 11932), rev. iv 12 /na-an-šeš<sub>2</sub>-šeš<sub>2</sub>-en/). In each case, when an /e/ case marker or grammatical element was present in normal orthography, the phonetic duplicate also likely marks the form with an /e/.

<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 4	mu- <i>ga-re</i>	mu-un- <i>gar<sub>3</sub>-e</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 11'	ba- <i>gi-be<sub>2</sub>-en</i>	ba- <i>gub-be<sub>2</sub>-en</i>
<i>PRAK C 32</i> (PSK 517), obv. 6'-7'	i-re	ir <sub>2</sub> -re
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 9	ḥu- <i>ġe<sub>6</sub></i>	ḥuġ- <i>ġe<sub>26</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 39+</i> (PSK 528), rev. 6-8	ba-de	bad <sub>3</sub> - <i>de<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 32</i> (PSK 517), obv. 12'	[...]- <i>ma-re-na</i>	am <sub>2</sub> - <i>da-mar-re-en</i>
<i>PRAK B 186</i> (PSK 546), obv. 2'	x-mu-un- <i>pa-de<sub>3</sub></i>	nu-mu-un- <i>pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523), obv. 1'-4'	nu-mu-un- <i>pa-de<sub>3</sub></i>	nu-mu-un- <i>pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 29	mi <i>sa-ġe<sub>26</sub></i>	me <sub>3</sub> <i>saġ-e</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 35	lu <sub>2</sub> - <i>sa-ġe<sub>26</sub></i>	lu <sub>2</sub> - <i>saġ-e</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 35	ama- <i>sa-ġe<sub>26</sub></i>	ama- <i>saġ-e</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 11	šir <sub>3</sub> - <i>sa-ġe<sub>26</sub></i>	šir <sub>3</sub> - <i>saġ-e</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 8	im- <i>da-si-ge-da</i>	im- <i>da-sig<sub>3</sub>-ge-de<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 17	nu- <i>ta-re-[...]</i>	nu- <i>tar-re-da-bi</i>
<i>OECT 5</i> , 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3	na- <i>ma-se-se</i>	na-an- <i>šeš<sub>2</sub>-šeš<sub>2</sub>-en</i>

### **CV-CV, with /u/-/u/ vowel case markers**

There are a few examples, in Categories 1 and 2, where the /u/ vowel in standard orthography is represented with a /u/ in the phonetic duplicate. In *PRAK B 264* (PSK 498), obv. 2', the verbal form /mu-un-da-dur<sub>2</sub>-ru-ne-eš/ appears in the Kiš text as /mu-un-du-ru-ne<sub>2</sub>/. In *OECT 5*, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. ii 8', /mu-ni-ib-šum<sub>2</sub>-mu/ is written /mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-šu-mu/. Both verbal forms contain a grammatical postfix that is apparently represented in the syllabic duplicate. Four times in *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439), obv. 7'-10', the form /ur<sub>11</sub>-ru/ is written /u<sub>3</sub>-ru/. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 20', the verbal form /mu-ni-ib-tum<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu/ is divided into the form /bi-in-tu-mu/. Finally, in *PRAK C 124* (PSK 604) (Category 2), rev. 5', the phrase /u<sub>3</sub>-bur gab<sub>2</sub>-bu/ “left breast” is written /ga-bu/, the /u/ representing the nominalizing element of the adjective. In *OECT 5*, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 9' and 11' (Category 2), twice the GN /Adab/ is written /a-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/; because another duplicate does not appear in normal orthography, we cannot be certain if /adab/ has a clear case marker or not. The same is true for *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 12', which appears as /a<sub>12</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-bu/. In all clear cases, the /u/ vowel

representing a grammatical element in normal orthography is maintained in the phonetic duplicate.

**Table Appendix C.14. CV-CV, with /u/-/u/ vowel case markers**

Line	Divided Form (u-u)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK</i> B 264 (PSK 498), obv. 2'	mu-un- <i>du-ru</i> -ne <sub>2</sub>	mu-un-da- <i>dur</i> <sub>2</sub> -ru-ne-eš
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. ii 8'	mi-ni-ib <sub>2</sub> - <i>šu-mu</i>	mu-ni-ib- <i>šum</i> <sub>2</sub> -mu
<i>PRAK</i> B 46+ (PSK 439), obv. 7'-10'	u <sub>3</sub> -ru	ur <sub>11</sub> -ru
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 20'	bi-in- <i>tu-mu</i>	mu-ni-ib- <i>tum</i> <sub>2</sub> - <i>tum</i> <sub>2</sub> -mu
<i>PRAK</i> C 124 (PSK 604), rev. 5'	ga-bu	gab <sub>2</sub> -bu
<i>OECT</i> 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. iv 9' & 11'	a-ra <sub>2</sub> -bu	adab
<i>PRAK</i> B 471 (PSK 511), rev. iv 12'	a <sub>12</sub> -ra <sub>2</sub> -bu	adab

**CV-CV, with other vowel case markers**

The less frequent case marking vowel replacements are /a-u/, /u-a/ and /a-i/. In *PRAK* C 66+ (PSK 523), obv. 1', the form /hul<sub>2</sub>-la/ appears in the form /hu-lu/. There are two instances where a /u/ vowel is represented in a syllabic duplicate with /a/. In *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 30, the adjective /dur(u)<sub>5</sub>/ “damp” twice appears in NCBT 688, obv. 33 as /dur(u)<sub>5</sub>-ru(-bi)/, but in the Kiš text as /du-ra(-bi)/.<sup>604</sup> In *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 36, we see the forms /lu<sub>2</sub>-gir<sub>10</sub>-ra/ and /ama-gir<sub>10</sub>-ra/ written /gi-ri/, showing an /a/ to /i/ transition. Finally, in *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4, the duplicate in normal orthography reads /tug<sub>2</sub> tan<sub>2</sub>-na-ni/; the phonetic form appears to be /tu-u<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub> da-ni-in-ni/. It would appear that the nominalizing /a/ in the form /tan<sub>2</sub>-na-ni/ is represented with an /i/ in /da-ni-in-ni/.

<sup>604</sup> It would appear that the scribe simply utilized the common form of syllabic division in these two instances (separation of final consonant and addition of anaptyctic /a/ vowel), rather than replicating the vowel harmony seen in the standard duplicate.



**Table Appendix C.15. CV-CV, with other vowel case markers**

Line	Divided Form (others)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523), obv. 1'	ḥu-lu	ḥul <sub>2</sub> -la
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 30	du-ra(-bi)	dur <sub>5</sub> -ru-bi
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 36	gi-ri	gir <sub>10</sub> -ra
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 4	da-ni-in-ni	tan <sub>2</sub> -na-ni

**CV-CV, with no apparent grammatical marking**

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 41, the phrase /piš<sub>10</sub> nu-zu-gin<sub>7</sub>/ “like one, who does not know the shore” is represented in the Kiš text as /bi-ša nu-zu-bi/. It seems clear that /piš<sub>10</sub>/, as the object of the verb /zu/, should take the absolutive, as in the phrase /lu<sub>2</sub> kaš nu-zu-gin<sub>7</sub>/ “like a man who does not know beer.”<sup>605</sup> However, the syllabic writing contains an /a/ vowel, which appears to have no grammatical meaning. Another possible example may be *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11'; here, /gu<sub>2</sub>-bar ur<sub>3</sub>-ra-x/ is written /[...] -ba-ru ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ka/.<sup>606</sup> This line is also duplicated in *PRAK D 45* (PSK 533), obv. 4 (/ [x] -ba?-x-ru ur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ri/), and though it is broken, it seems to follow the same pattern as *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 11'.

**Table Appendix C.16. CV-CV, with no apparent grammatical marking**

Line	Divided Form (no case marker)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 41	bi-ša	piš <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK C 100</i> (PSK 529), obv. 11'	[...] -ba-ru	gu <sub>2</sub> -bar
<i>PRAK D 45</i> (PSK 533), obv. 4	[x] -ba-x-ru	gu <sub>2</sub> -bar

<sup>605</sup> Proverbs Collection 26, Segment C, line 12 (CT 58, 69 [BM 80001], rev. vii 18).

<sup>606</sup> It is possible that /bar/ is written /ba-ru/ syllabically, but the /u/ vowel may have been written to link the syllable /ru/ to the following /ur<sub>4</sub>/, though this seems superfluous as a Sandhi writing. One might expect, instead, \*/[...] -ba-ru-ra-ka/, for example. Thus, it seems more likely that this /u/ is anaptyctic and carries no grammatical meaning.

**CV-VC syllable division**

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 13', the form /a-gin<sub>7</sub>/ appears as /e-ge-en/, not \*/e-ge-na/, as might be expected. This replacement of /gin<sub>7</sub>/ with /ge-en/ also occurs in obv. ii 12.<sup>607</sup> In *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 2 and 3, we see both /bur/ (obv. 2) and /bur-ra/ (obv. 3) written with /bu-ur/. Notice that the grammatical element in obv. 3 is not represented in the phonetic spelling, as the consonant is no longer fronted in the second syllable. In *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), obv. 4', the form in normal orthography /šū-mar-gi<sub>4</sub>/ is written /šū-ma-ar-gi/.

Another example appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 32, where the form /mu-un-gur<sub>11</sub>-ni-ta/ is written /ma-gi-ur/. In *PRAK B 421 bis* (PSK 509), obv. 3' (Category 2), it appears that /sig<sub>3</sub>/ is represented by /si-ig/, though the line is broken. Twice in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 1, the noun /šud<sub>3</sub>-da/ “in prayer” is written /šū-ud-da/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 2, the verbal form /ba-ab-tag/ appears as /ba-ab-ti-ib/. Finally, there are three occurrences in *PRAK B 298* (PSK 499), obv. 3'-5' (Category 2), of /til<sub>3</sub>/ being represented by /ti-il/. As these examples show, the majority of cases where a CVC sign/*diri*-compound is divided into the form CV-VC, the internal vowels remain consistent with the form in normal orthography.<sup>608</sup>

**Table Appendix C.17. CV-VC syllable division**

Line	Divided Form (CV-VC)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 12'-13'	e-ge-en	a-gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 2-3	bu-ur	bur(-ra)
<i>PRAK B 421 bis</i> (PSK 509), obv. 4'	šū-ma-ar-gi	šū-mar-gi
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 32	ma-gi-ur	mu-un-gur <sub>11</sub> -ni-ta

<sup>607</sup> The reading /ge-en/ for /gin<sub>7</sub>/ supports the proposed reading /gen<sub>7</sub>/ in Mittermayer 2006: 28, sign #67.

<sup>608</sup> In *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), obv. 1'-2', we see the verbal prefix /nam-/ represented with /na-aġ<sub>2</sub>-/, but this could just as easily (and more likely) the Emesal writing of /nam-/.

<i>PRAK B 421 bis</i> (PSK 509), obv. 3'	si-ig	sig <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 1	šu-ud-da	šud <sub>3</sub> -da
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	ba-ab-ti-ib	ba-ab-tag
<i>PRAK B 298</i> (PSK 499), obv. 3'-5'	ti-il	til <sub>3</sub>

### Multi-syllable sign division

An example of this appears in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 14 with the form /<sup>d</sup>en-da-šurim-ma/, written phonetically as /<sup>d</sup>en-da-šu-rim-ma/, where /šurim/ is divided along normal syllabic lines. Also in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), rev. 15, the divine name /<sup>d</sup>ušumgal-an-na/ is similarly divided, written /<sup>d</sup>ušum-gal-an-na/. In both instances, it is clear that the single sign (šurim) and *diri*-compound (ušumgal = GAL.BUR<sub>2</sub>) are divided along the normal lines of syllabic division.

There are several other clear examples of this phenomenon in the Kiš corpus. In *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), obv. 3, we see /dadag/ appearing as /da-ta/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 34, the expected form /<sup>u</sup>uga-a-bi/ (uga = U<sub>2</sub>.NAĜA.GA) is written /u<sub>4</sub>-ga-bi/ in the syllabic text. In *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510), obv. 1, it appears that /bara<sub>2</sub>/ would likely be divided into two syllables /ba-ra/.<sup>609</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 28', the noun /ama-gan/ is divided into the syllables /e-mi-ga/. Twice the verb /bala/ appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27' divided into two syllables /bi-li/. In the same way, in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 9', /gaba/ is written /ga-ba/. In *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439) (literary), obv. 3', /guru<sub>7</sub>/ is divided into the form /ku-ru/.

<sup>609</sup> Although the first line of *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510) is broken, and no apparent extant duplicate of the initial section of the Balaĝ exists, it appears that *PRAK B 465* (PSK 510), obv. 1 represents the incipit of the Balaĝ Ame Baraanara: (am-e bara<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-na nam-sig<sub>3</sub>-ga), written ([...] -x-ra-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-ni nu? [...] / u<sub>4</sub>-tu-su? u<sub>4</sub> kur [...]). An additional difficulty with this identification is the fact that, at present, we cannot collate the tablet. The sign before /ra/, in the hand copy, appears to be some form of /tab/, but it is not possible to make a definitive determination.

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 27, the noun /ġuruš/ is written /mu-ru/, and in *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), rev. 2, the form /iri/ (VCV) is written /i-ri/. In *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 2, /naġa/ is written /na-ma/. In *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 7', /sipa/ is written /si-pa/, and in both *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 18' and *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 17', /teme<sub>2</sub>/ is written /de-me/. Finally, the GN /zabala<sub>2</sub>/ appears in *PRAK C 6* (PSK 512), rev. 1', in the form /za-ba-la/, divided into three syllables. This type of division also occurs in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 12, where /arata/ is written /a-ra-ta/.

**Table Appendix C.18. Multi-syllable sign division**

Line	Divided Form (multi-syllable)	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 14	<sup>d</sup> en-da-š <u>u</u> -rim-ma	<sup>d</sup> en-da-šurim-ma
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), rev. 15	<sup>d</sup> ušum-gal-an-na	<sup>d</sup> ušumgal-an-na
<i>PRAK C 105</i> (PSK 530), obv. 3	da-ta	dadag
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 34	u <sub>4</sub> -ga-bi	<sup>u</sup> uga-a-bi
<i>PRAK B 465</i> (PSK 510), obv. 1	ba-ra	bara <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 28'	e-mi-ga	ama-gan
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27'	bi-li	bala
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 9'	ga-ba	gaba
<i>PRAK B 46+</i> (PSK 439), obv. 3'	ku-ru	guru <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 27	mu-ru	ġuruš
<i>PRAK C 66+</i> (PSK 523), rev. 2	i-ri	iri
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 2	na-ma	naġa
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 7'	si-pa	sipa
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), rev. iv 18'	de-me	teme <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 10</i> (PSK 612), rev. iv 17'	de-me	teme <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C 6</i> (PSK 512), rev. 1'	za-ba-la	zabala <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 12	a-ra-ta	arata

*Deletion of a Phonetically Superfluous Consonant*

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 5, the verbal form /am<sub>3</sub>-mi-in-du<sub>8</sub>/ is written simply /a-mi-du/; the phonetically superfluous /m/ is deleted from the verbal prefix. In

*PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 16'-17', the intended verb \*/ge-le-em<sub>3</sub>-men<sub>3</sub>/ appears in a truncated form; in obv. i 16', we see the form /ba-gi<sub>4</sub>-le-men<sub>3</sub>/, where the syllable /em<sub>3</sub>/ is deleted, as it is not necessary with the following /men<sub>3</sub>/. Similarly, in obv. i 17', /mu-un-gi<sub>4</sub>-le-men<sub>3</sub>/ the anticipated /-em<sub>3</sub>-/ sign is deleted. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 38, we see /ḥar-ra-an-na/ written with the form /ha-ra-na/, which shows both the customary CVC-CV change to CV-CV with the signs /ḥar-ra/ changing to /ḥa-ra/, as well as the deletion of syllable /an/, as it is phonetically unnecessary. In *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), obv. ii 4', the verb /di--du<sub>11</sub>/ "to pronounce judgment" appears in the prohibitive as /na-an-ne-e/, which is written /na-an-e<sub>3</sub>/. The phonetic form deletes the /-ne-/ before the verbal base, as it is phonetically superfluous. A similar deletion appears twice in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 2 and iii 2; /nu-gig-an-na/ is written with only one /n/ in the form /nu-gi-a-na/; additionally, in obv. ii 5, we see the form /nu-gig-a-na/, a slight variation. In *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 4', the form /um-me-da/ loses a superfluous /m/, written /e-me-da/.

**Table Appendix C.19. Deleted phonetically-superfluous consonants**

Line	Form with Deletion	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 5	a-mi-du	am <sub>3</sub> -mi-in-du <sub>8</sub>
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), obv. i 16'	ba-gi <sub>4</sub> -le-men <sub>3</sub>	ba-ge-le-em <sub>3</sub> -men <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), obv. i 17'	mu-un-gi <sub>4</sub> -le-men <sub>3</sub>	mu-un-ge-le-em <sub>3</sub> -men <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 38	ḥa-ra-na	ḥar-ra-an-na
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. ii 4'	na-an-e <sub>3</sub>	na-an-ne-e
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 2 & iii 2	nu-gi-a-na	nu-gig-an-na
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 4'	e-me-da	um-me-da

### *Deletion of Consonant*

An example of this type of deletion is found in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 3 and ii 6, where /gul-gul/ is written /gul-ul/, deleting the initial /g/ of the second syllable; this same writing (/gul-gul/ to /gul-ul/) is found in *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 11'. In *PRAK C 105* (PSK 530), obv. 3, /dadag/ is shortened to /da-ta/, with a loss of a final /g/.

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 28', as seen above, the form /ama-gan/ appears as /e-mi-ga/, where the final /n/ is deleted from the form. In *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 2', the entire syllable /nu/ is apparently deleted from the form /lu<sub>2</sub>-nu-gi-[x]/, written instead /lu<sub>2</sub>-gi-ba/, and in rev. 6, the final consonant /n/ is deleted from the form /<sup>[dEn]</sup>-a<sub>2</sub>-nun/, written /[...] -nu/. In *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 17', the reduplicated verbal form /ni-ib-dun<sub>4</sub>-dun<sub>4</sub>/ is written /nu-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-e/. Here, both of the final /n/ consonants are deleted from the reduplicated form.<sup>610</sup> The replacement of the comparative suffix /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ with the form /-ke<sub>4</sub>/ occurs several times; the deletion of the final /n/ in each form is seen in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 10' and 24', *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 17' and 19', and *TCL 16, 64* (PSK 457) (literary), obv. 2.<sup>611</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 9, the reduplicated verb /hul-hul-lu-de<sub>3</sub>/ appears in the form /hu-hu-te/, showing the deletion of both final consonants /l/. In *OECT 5, 13+* (PSK 454) (literary), obv. 24, the preverbal element /-ib-/ in /im-mi-ib-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri/ is written /im-mi-i-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ri/, with the deletion of final /b/. The verbal base CVC /dul/ in /im-mi-in-dul/ is written /im-mi-in-du/ in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 8'.

<sup>610</sup> There does not seem to be any evidence for a /du/ reading of DUN<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>611</sup> It is possible that the change from /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ to /-ke<sub>4</sub>/ should be considered a literary phenomenon, as each example seems to come from literary texts.

Twice in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 40-41, the verbal base /mar/ appears as /ga/, apparently deleting the final /r/. In *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 3', /mu-dul-e-en/, though written with reduplication, apparently loses the final /l/ in the form /mu-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-e/. In obv. ii 16, it appears that /m/ assimilates into the consonant /d/, as the form /na-ga-an-tum<sub>3</sub>-da/ becomes /na-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-tu-da/. In *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531), obv. 9, the text shows the deletion of the final /l/, as the form /mu/ in [... ] mu še-er-kan-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-an-na/ represents /mul/.<sup>612</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 1, 3, and 4, the form /na-nam/ appears in a rather complicated forms: /na-na-a/, /na/, /na-na/, and /na-a/.<sup>613</sup> In each case,

<sup>612</sup> Three other duplicates confirm that /mul/ is represented by /mu/. VS 2:8 (VAT 605+), obv. i 24, preserves /ka<sub>2</sub>-gal mu še-er-ka-an-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ta/, while YBC 9838, obv. 19, contains [... ] mu še-er-ka-an-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-zu/, and K.7138+, obv. i 17 also reads /<sup>a</sup>ka<sub>2</sub>-gal mu še-er-[ka]-an-[-...]/. Although Cohen interpreted the Kiš manuscript to read “at my entrance gate, lavishly decorated” (Cohen 1988: 108), Löhnert shows that, based on the duplicates of this line, the form /-mu/ should not be read /-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/, but as an unorthographic writing of /mul/, “Das sternefunkelnde, verzierte [...] des Himmels” (Löhnert 2009: 221). Additionally, she argues, “In keinem Balaĝ spricht Enlil selbst, es ist immer die Göttin bzw. derjenige, der das Klage lied vorträgt.” It would be quite unexpected to see Enlil speaking in the first person in this case.  
<sup>613</sup> In order to demonstrate where the phonetic forms of /na-nam/ are demarcated in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), I have placed the lines in question below with their corresponding duplicating lines in NCBT 688.

ᵐgu <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>	im-mi-a-re	gu <sub>2</sub> -ru-na	<b>na-na-ᵐa?</b> <sup>1</sup>	( <i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 1)
gu <sub>3</sub>	im-me-a-re	gu <sub>3</sub> uru <sub>2</sub> -na	<b>na-nam</b>	(NCBT 688, rev. 34)
uru <sub>2</sub> <sup>ru</sup> -a-na	<b>na-na-a</b> ia-na	<b>na</b>		( <i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 3)
uru <sub>2</sub> -na	<b>na-nam</b> e <sub>2</sub> -na	<b>na-nam</b>		(NCBT 688, rev. 36a)
dam-ma-na	<b>na</b> dumu-na	<b>na-a</b>		( <i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 4)
dam-na	<b>na-nam</b> dumu-na	<b>na-nam</b>		(NCBT 688, rev. 36b)

Taking these examples in order, we see that *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 1 maps rather evenly onto NCBT 688, rev. 34. The homophonous sign replacement of /gu<sub>3</sub>/ with /gu<sub>2</sub>/ is followed by the almost exact duplication of /im-me-a-re/ with /im-mi-a-re/. Homophonous and Sandhi writings follow, as /gu<sub>3</sub> uru<sub>2</sub>-na/ appears as /gu<sub>2</sub>-ru-na/, where the initial /u/ of /uru<sub>2</sub>/ is subsumed into the /u/ of /gu<sub>2</sub>/. Thus, the only remaining signs in the first portion of NCBT 688, rev. 34 are /na-nam/. The final signs of *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 1 are /na-na-ᵐa?/; reading the final sign as /a/ is supported by the writing /na-na-a/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 3. Thus, the final /m/ is deleted from the form, and the final /a/ vowel is written in plene form.

The initial form of NCBT 688, rev. 36a is /uru<sub>2</sub>-na/, which *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) represents with /uru<sub>2</sub><sup>ru</sup>-a-na/. We can theorize that /ru/ was intended to be a phonetic complement for /uru<sub>2</sub>/, though there are no other examples in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) of /uru<sub>2</sub>/ with a phonetic complement. The /a-na/ likely represents a plene writing of /ani.a/, which leaves us then with /na-na-a/. That these three signs constitute /na-nam/ phonetically is further supported by the signs that follow: where NCBT 688 has the form /e<sub>2</sub>-na/, we see in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) /ia-na/. Although /ia/ is generally used to represent /a/ or /a-a/ (e.g., *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 3'; *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 15-19), the interchange between /e/ and /a/ in

the end of each form is deleted, often involving only the loss of final /m/, but in some cases the deletion of the entire second syllable /nam/.<sup>614</sup>

Other deletions include, for example, *OECT* 5, 45 (PSK 535), obv. i 4, where /saġ-dul<sub>6</sub>-a/ appears simply as /saġ-tu/, losing the final /l/. The final /m/ is lost in *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 1, as /šen-dilim<sub>2</sub>/ appears syllabically as /si-id-li/. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 1, we see the final /g/ in /tug<sub>2</sub>/ deleted, the noun simply written /tu/. Similarly, in *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 23' and ii 16', the verb /tum<sub>3</sub>/ is written /tu/, deleting the final /m/. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 32', in place of /ur/ we see the /UD/ sign; there appear to be two options for understanding this phonetic change. First, it may be the simple deletion of final /r/, reading /UD/ as /u<sub>4</sub>/. It is also possible that the /d/ in /ud/ is used to represent the /r/ sound; this would fit well with the Sumerian /d<sub>r</sub>/ phoneme.

Another example of deletion occurs in *PRAK C* 26 (PSK 515), obv. 3', as /uru<sub>2</sub> a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ in normal orthography is written /u<sub>3</sub> a-še-er-ra-ma/ in the syllabic duplicate. We can understand the final /u/ of /uru<sub>2</sub>/ disappearing into the /a/ of /a-še-er/, but the deletion of /r/ seems clear. Our final Category 1 deletion occurs in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 27', as /uz<sub>3</sub>/ loses its final /z/, written simply /u<sub>3</sub>/. There are only two

Category 2 examples of deletion. The first occurs in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 10;

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the Kiš texts may make /e<sub>2</sub>/ to /ia/ seem more plausible. If so, this would leave simply /na/ to represent /na-nam/, a deletion of the entire second syllable.

The final line that contains these variant forms is *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 4, in which both the form /na/ and /na-a/ appear as phonetic writings of /na-nam/. It appears that the form /dam-na/ is written in the same style as was /uru<sub>2</sub>-na/ in the previous line; the /a/ in the pronominal suffix /ani/ is written out, with the form /dam-na-na/. Following this form is again simply /na/, apparently representing /na-nam/. Finally, /dumu-na/ is duplicated directly, leaving again /na-a/ to represent /na-nam/.

<sup>614</sup> It is interesting to note the possible pattern in which these forms appear in these lines. In rev. iii 1, /na-na-a?/ may appear at the end of the line, as well as in the first form of rev. iii 3. The second form in rev. iii 3 is the same as the first form in rev. iii 4 (/na/). In other words, the final form and the initial form of the following line, in at least two places, appear to be linked. This could, of course, be coincidence, but the fact that they appear to be written in such distinct forms may have been intentional, along with (perhaps) this “pattern.”



the verbal form /im-gu-ul-lu-bi/ appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520) in the form /i<sub>3</sub>-gi/. Thus, there may be the deletion of final /l/ from the verb /gul/, though this is not clear. Finally, there is an example of superfluous consonant deletion in *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515), obv. 2', where it seems that the form /ga-ša-an-a-e/ represents /ga-ša-an-an-ne/. The previous line (obv. 1) has the following form: /nin a-še-er-ra-me-en na-[...]/ "I am/you are the lady of laments ...", and obv. 2 reads /ga-ša-an-a-e nin a-[še-er-ra-me-en ...]/. If this understanding is correct, then there is another example of the deletion /n/.

**Table Appendix C.20. List of deleted consonants**

Line	Form with Deletion	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 3 & ii 6	gul-ul	gul-gul
<i>PRAK C 92</i> (PSK 527), obv. 11'	gul-ul	gul-gul
<i>PRAK C 105</i> (PSK 530), obv. 3	da-ta	dadag
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 28'	e-mi-ga	ama-gan
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 2'	lu <sub>2</sub> -gi-ba	lu <sub>2</sub> -nu-gi-[x]
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 6'	[...]-nu	[ <sup>d</sup> En]-a <sub>2</sub> -nun
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 17'	nu-du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub> -e	ni-ib-dun <sub>4</sub> -dun <sub>4</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10' & 24'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 17' & 19'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>TCL 16, 64</i> (PSK 457), obv. 2	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 9	ḥu-ḥu-te	ḥul-ḥul-lu-de <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 13+</i> (PSK 454), obv. 24	im-mi-i-du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ri	im-mi-ib-du <sub>11</sub> -ga-ri
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 8'	im-mi-in-du	im-mi-in-du <sub>l</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 40-41	ga	mar
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), rev. iii 3'	mu-du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub> -e	mu-dul-e-en
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. ii 16'	ḥa-ḡa <sub>2</sub> -tu-da	na-ga-an-tum <sub>3</sub> -da
<i>PRAK C 122</i> (PSK 531), obv. 9	mu	mul
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 1	na-na-a	na-nam
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 3	na-na-a	na-nam
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 4	na-na	na-nam
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 4	na-a	na-nam
<i>OECT 5, 45</i> (PSK 535), obv. i 4	saḡ-tu	saḡ-dul <sub>6</sub> -a
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 1	si-id-li	šen-dilim <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 1	tu	tug <sub>2</sub>

<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 23' & ii 16'	tu	tum <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 32'	u <sub>4</sub>	ur
<i>PRAK</i> C 26 (PSK 515), obv. 3'	u <sub>3</sub> a-še-er-ra-ma	uru <sub>2</sub> a-še-er-ra-am <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 27'	u <sub>3</sub>	uz <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 10	i <sub>3</sub> -gi	im-gu-ul-lu-bi
<i>PRAK</i> C 26 (PSK 515), obv. 2'	ga-ša-an-a-e	ga-ša-an-an-ne

### *Sandhi Writings*

An example of a Sandhi writing appears in *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 1, where the composition reads /gu<sub>3</sub>uru<sub>2</sub>-na/, but the phonetic duplicate has /gu<sub>2</sub>-ru-na/. The word boundary between /gu<sub>3</sub>/ and /uru<sub>2</sub>/ is crossed, as pronouncing both the /u/ from /gu<sub>3</sub>/ and the initial /u/ from /uru<sub>2</sub>/ would have required a glottal stop. Once removed, these two words could be pronounced as one.

In *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 6, there is assimilation of final /n/ in the form /in-ga-an-zu/, written /i-ga-du-u<sub>4</sub>/; deleting the /n/ by assimilating it into the following syllable crossed the internal word boundary. In *OECT* 5, 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 5', /<sup>d</sup>A-ru-ru mu-lu nu-a-ni me-si nu-a/ appears “When Aruru lies down (/<sup>d</sup>A-ru-ru nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ni/), slander rests (/eme-sig nu<sub>2</sub>-a/).”<sup>615</sup> If we read /nu-a-ne<sub>2</sub>/, the final /e/ of /ne<sub>2</sub>/ can be connected to /me-si/ to form /eme-sig/, as in /nu-a-ne<sub>2</sub>-me-si/. In *OECT* 5, 37 (PSK 615), rev. 5', the GN /kul-aba<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>/ appears in the form /ku-la-ba-ra/. In *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 14', it appears that /a<sub>2</sub> zi/ is written /az<sub>2</sub>-zu/, combining the two lexemes into one. In *OECT* 5, 37 (PSK 615), rev. 2', the DN /<sup>d</sup>u<sub>4</sub>-saḥar<sub>(2)</sub>-ra/ appears as /us<sub>2</sub>-ḥa-ra/. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), rev. iii 8', the phrase /ab-sin<sub>2</sub>-na na-nam/ “it is surely the furrow” appears as /ab-si<sub>2</sub>-na-nam/, deleting one of the two /na/ signs, and combining the two forms.

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<sup>615</sup> Black 2005: 58-60.

In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 9-10, there is internal Sandhi, as the verbal form /ba-ab-ir-ra-bi/ appears as /ba-bi-ra-bi/. Instead of a connecting syllable /-ab-/ and a full verbal base /ir/, the Sandhi writing truncates the form. In *PRAK C 26* (PSK 515), obv. 3', the phrase /dam a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub>/ is combined to form /dam-ma-še-[...]/. In *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), obv. i 16'-17', the verbal base /ḥalam/ in its Emesal form /gel-le-eḡ<sub>3</sub>/ appears with Sandhi writings. In obv. i 16', the verbal form extant is /ba-ge<sub>4</sub>-le-men<sub>3</sub>/ which likely represents /ba-gel-le-eḡ<sub>3</sub>-me-en/. If so, the /ḡ/ of the verbal base and /m/ḡ/ of the verbal postfix are joined, forming internal Sandhi. In the following line, /mu-un-ge<sub>4</sub>-le-men<sub>3</sub>/ shows the same internal Sandhi.

In *PRAK D 1+* (PSK 607), rev. 8-13, there are six occurrences of Sandhi writings with the repeated form /i-ra-na/, which appears to represent /ir<sub>2</sub>-ra a-na/, deleting the reduplicated /r/, as well as the syllable /a/. In the Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 16', /ḥe<sub>2</sub>-a im-ma-zu-am<sub>3</sub>/ is joined in the form /ḥe<sub>2</sub>-me-em-ma-za-am<sub>3</sub>/, as the /a/ in /ḥe<sub>2</sub>-a/ is deleted, and the /e/ of /ḥe<sub>2</sub>/ appears to join with the /i/ of /im/, coloring the following syllable. Another apparent Sandhi writing is found in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 26, where /ki-sikil/ is written /ki-iš-ke-el/. Similarly, in *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 1, the noun /šen-dilim<sub>3</sub>/ is written /si-id-li/; the final /m/ is deleted, the /n/ of /šen/ is assimilated, and the interconsonantal vowel /i/ in /dilim<sub>3</sub>/ is deleted as well. In *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 5', the verbal form /mu-un-il<sub>2</sub>-en/ appears in the truncated form /mu-ni-le/; the verbal base /il<sub>2</sub>/ is divided and each part is joined to the previous and following syllable, as was /ir/ in /ba-bi-ra-bi/ above. In *PRAK B 417* (PSK 508), rev. 2, /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-e/ is truncated to read /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-ne/. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), rev. iv 27, /ur<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ak-en-ze<sub>2</sub>-en/ is represented with a Sandhi writing as /ur<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub>-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-en-eš/.

The conjugation prefix /i<sub>3</sub>/ is deleted, and the syllable /ak/ is divided between the previous and following syllables /na/ and /ke<sub>4</sub>/. Finally, in *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), obv. 2', the form /ka-ša-na-na/ is almost certainly a phonetic writing of /ga-ša-an-an-na/. As this line is preceded by a likely writing of /mu-gig/, with the form /mu-gi-ke<sub>4</sub>/, and both epithets are followed by /dam/ "spouse," it seems very likely that /ga-ša-an-an-na/ is intended here. If so, all necessary phonemes are maintained in the Sandhi writing of the form.

There are a number of Category 2 examples of Sandhi writings. In *OECT 5*, 42 (PSK 619), obv. 4', the epithet /ama mu-ti-na-na/ represents /ama mu-tin-an-na/. In *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), obv. ii 8' may be a duplicate of Immal Gudede, line 87, which reads /egi<sub>2</sub> ama eš<sub>3</sub>/; obv. ii 8 is a Sandhi writing /egi<sub>2</sub>?-ma eš<sub>3</sub> [...]/, if it is a duplicate.<sup>616</sup> In *PRAK B 460* (PSK 583), obv. ii 6', the nominal form /u<sub>4</sub>-mu-na/ duplicates /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-na/, deleting the phonetically superfluous syllable /un/ from the noun. A similar form likely appears in the litany found in *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 10, where /[...] -mu?-na/ appears to duplicate /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-na/.

**Table Appendix C.21. List of Sandhi writings**

Line	Sandhi Writing	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 1	gu <sub>2</sub> -ru-na	gu <sub>3</sub> uru <sub>2</sub> -na
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 6	i-ga-du-u <sub>4</sub>	in-ga-an-zu
<i>OECT 5</i> , 10 (PSK 612), rev. v 5'	nu-a-ne <sub>2</sub> -me-si	nu <sub>2</sub> -a-ni eme-sig
<i>OECT 5</i> , 37 (PSK 615), rev. 5'	ku-la-ba-ra	kul-aba <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup>
<i>OECT 5</i> , 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 14'	az <sub>2</sub> -zu	a <sub>2</sub> zi
<i>OECT 5</i> , 37 (PSK 615), rev. 2'	us <sub>2</sub> -ḥa-ra	<sup>d</sup> u <sub>4</sub> -saḥar-ra
<i>OECT 5</i> , 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 8'	ab-si <sub>2</sub> -na-nam	ab <sub>2</sub> -sin <sub>2</sub> -na na-nam
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 9-	ba-bi-ra-bi	ba-ab-ir-ra-bi

<sup>616</sup> In obv. ii 6, we see /<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam u<sub>4</sub>-mu-na am?-ma? [...]/, which may well duplicate Immal Gudede 83, which reads /<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam umun-na u<sub>4</sub>-. SBH 66 (VAT 38+) apparently preserves these lines, though Reisner did not copy them. See Cohen 1988: 605 for discussion.

10		
<i>PRAK C 26</i> (PSK 515), obv. 3'	dam- <i>ma-še</i> -[...]	dam a-še-er-ra-am <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), obv. i 16'	ba-ge <sub>4</sub> -le-men <sub>3</sub>	ba-gel-le-eg <sub>3</sub> -me-en
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), obv. i 17'	mu-un-ge <sub>4</sub> -le-men <sub>3</sub>	mu-un-gel-le-eg <sub>3</sub> -me-en
<i>PRAK D 1+</i> (PSK 607), rev. 8-13	i-ra-na	ir <sub>2</sub> -ra a-na
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 16'	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -me-em-ma-za-am <sub>3</sub>	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -a im-ma-zu-am <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 26	ki-iš-ke-el	ki-sikil
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 1	si-id-li	šen-dilim <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 5'	mu-ni-le	mu-un-il <sub>2</sub> -en
<i>PRAK B 417</i> (PSK 508), rev. 2	u <sub>3</sub> -mu-ne	u <sub>3</sub> -mu-un-e
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iv 27	ur <sub>5</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> -na-ke <sub>4</sub> -en-eš	ur <sub>5</sub> -gin <sub>7</sub> i <sub>3</sub> -ak-en-ze <sub>2</sub> -en
<i>PRAK C 54</i> (PSK 595), obv. 2'	ka-ša-na-na	ga-ša-an-an-na
<i>OECT 5, 42</i> (PSK 619), obv. 4'	ama mu-ti-na-na	ama mu-tin-an-na
<i>PRAK B 460</i> (PSK 583), obv. ii 8'	egi <sub>2</sub> -ma eš <sub>3</sub>	egi <sub>2</sub> ama eš <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK B 460</i> (PSK 583), obv. ii 6'	u <sub>4</sub> -mu-na	u <sub>3</sub> -mu-un-na
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 10	[...]-mu-na	u <sub>3</sub> -mu-un-na

### *Determinative Deletion*

A good example of this deletion can be seen in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 18 and 19; the DN /<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-le/ is written in the truncated form /mu-lil<sub>2</sub>(-le)/, with no determinative. Almost all Category 1 examples of determinative deletion show the loss of the divine determinative.

In *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), t.e. 1, the DN /<sup>d</sup>a-uru<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba/ appears in the form /am-ru-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba/; in rev. 3, the DN /<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub>-ra/ is written /ga-ša-an-ma-gu-ra/. In PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), obv. ii 10', the DN /<sup>d</sup>igi-šuba/ appears without the determinative /i-iġ<sub>3</sub>-šuba/. There are three examples of the DN /<sup>d</sup>lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-en-na/ in the phonetic texts that lose the determinative; in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 5 and ii 8, we see the form /lil<sub>2</sub>-

e<sub>2</sub>(-na)/, and in *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 13', /lil<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-na/.<sup>617</sup> In *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 4', /<sup>d</sup>nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mud-da/ is written /nu-dim<sub>2</sub>-mu-da/. In *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 3', the DN /<sup>d</sup>šu-zi-an-na/ appears only as /šu-zi-an-na/. In PSK 513 (*PRAK D 41*), obv. i 25', the DN /<sup>d</sup>u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-mu-zi-da/ appears in the form /mu-mu-mu-zi-da/, and in *PRAK B 308* (PSK 501), obv. 3, /<sup>d</sup>ze<sub>2</sub>-eb-ze<sub>2</sub>-eb-ba-ke<sub>4</sub>/ is written /ze<sub>2</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub>-[...]/. The deletion of the vessel determinative appears in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 17', as /<sup>du</sup>gšakira/ is written /ši-ki-ra/, and in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 37, the wood determinative is deleted from the form /<sup>g</sup>išma<sub>2</sub>/, written simply /ma/.

**Table Appendix C.22. List of deleted determinatives**

Line	Determinative Deletions	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 18-19	mu-lil <sub>2</sub> (-le)	<sup>d</sup> mu-ul-lil <sub>2</sub> -le
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), t.e. 1	am-ru-ze <sub>2</sub> -ba	<sup>d</sup> a-uru <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub> -ba
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D 41</i> ), obv. ii 10'	i-iĝ <sub>3</sub> -šuba	<sup>d</sup> igi-šuba
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 5 & ii 8	lil <sub>2</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> (-na)	<sup>d</sup> lil <sub>2</sub> -la <sub>2</sub> -en-na
<i>PRAK C 92</i> (PSK 527), obv. 13'	lil <sub>2</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> -na	<sup>d</sup> lil <sub>2</sub> -la <sub>2</sub> -en-na
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 4'	nu-dim <sub>2</sub> -mu-da	<sup>d</sup> nu-dim <sub>2</sub> -mud-da
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 3'	šu-zi-an-na	<sup>d</sup> šu-zi-an-na
PSK 513 ( <i>PRAK D 41</i> ), obv. i 25'	mu-mu-mu-zi-da	<sup>d</sup> u <sub>3</sub> -mu-un-mu-zi-da
<i>PRAK B 308</i> (PSK 501), obv. 3	ze <sub>2</sub> -ze <sub>2</sub> -[...]	<sup>d</sup> ze <sub>2</sub> -eb-e <sub>2</sub> -eb-ba-ke <sub>4</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 17'	ši-ki-ra	<sup>du</sup> gšakira
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 37	ma	<sup>g</sup> išma <sub>2</sub>

### *Vocalic Variation*

#### /i/ to /e/

We begin with the most common vocalic shift: /i/ vowel changing to /e/. There are five examples of the equative marker /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ written /-ke<sub>4</sub>/, showing an /i/ to /e/ shift;

<sup>617</sup> There is difficulty with the forms in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), as the /e<sub>2</sub>/ and /lil<sub>2</sub>/ signs are difficult to differentiate in the hand copies.

all examples come from literary texts.<sup>618</sup> In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 13', the equative /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ is represented differently, with the spelling /-ge-en/. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 9', the form /ba-an-ši-in-ti/ is written /ba-ši-in-te/; similarly, in the same text, obv. i 23, the verbal form /ba-ni-in-ra/ appears as /ba-ne-ra/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 1, 6, and 7, the reduplicated adjective /di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ is written /de<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-la/ (1; 6) and /de-de<sub>3</sub>-el-le/ (7).<sup>619</sup> In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 16', the prefix /ḥe<sub>2</sub>-a im-ma-zu-am<sub>3</sub>/ appears as /ḥe<sub>2</sub>-me-em-ma-za-am<sub>3</sub>/. In *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), obv. 8', the nominal form /i-si-iš/ appears as /šeš/. Twice in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 2'-3', /ir-ra-bi/ "that plundered one" appears in the form /e<sub>2</sub>-ri-a-bi/. The noun /ki-siki/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 26, is changed into /ki-iš-ke-el/.

**Table Appendix C.23. Examples of vocalic variation: /i/ to /e/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /i/ to /e/	Standard Form
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10' & 24'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 17' & 19'	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>TCL</i> 16, 64 (PSK 457), obv. 2	ke <sub>4</sub>	gin <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 13'	ge-en	gin <sub>7</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 9'	ba-ši-in-te	ba-an-ši-in-ti
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 23'	ba-ne-ra	ba-ni-in-ra
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 1, 6	de <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> -la	di <sub>4</sub> -di <sub>4</sub> -la <sub>2</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 7	de-de <sub>3</sub> -el-le	di <sub>4</sub> -di <sub>4</sub> -la <sub>2</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 16'	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -me-em-ma-za-am <sub>3</sub>	ḥe <sub>2</sub> -a im-ma-zu-am <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 32</i> (PSK 517), obv. 8'	šeš	i-si-iš
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 2'-3'	e <sub>2</sub> -ri-a-bi	ir-ra-bi
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 26	ki-iš-ke-el	ki-siki

<sup>618</sup> Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10' and 24'; *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438), obv. i 17' and 19', and *TCL* 16, 64 (PSK 457), obv. 2.

<sup>619</sup> It seems that the writings /de<sub>3</sub>/ and /de/ (DI) for /TUR-TUR/ may indicate that /de<sub>10</sub>-de<sub>10</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ is the correct reading, rather than /di<sub>4</sub>-di<sub>4</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/. Cf. Mittermayer 2006: 155, /TUR/, sign #393.

/e/ to /i/

Almost as frequent is the shift from /e/ to /i/. In *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 6', the verbal form /mu-un-na-ab-il<sub>2</sub>-en/ changes to /mu-un-na-il<sub>2</sub>'-in/. In *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 16', we see /mi<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>/ written /mi<sub>2</sub>-ši/. In *PRAK C 118* (PSK 580), obv. ii 17'-18', /a-še-er/ is ostensibly written /[a]-šir<sub>3</sub>/, and in *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439), obv. 9'-10', it appears that /e-ne-er/ is written /e-ni<sub>2</sub>/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 3', we see /e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>/ written with the form /i-ni-[x]/. The verbal ending /-en-de<sub>3</sub>-en/ appears as /-en-de-in/ in both *PRAK C 72* (PSK 525), obv. 6 and 9. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 6, /erim<sub>x</sub>-ma/ is written /i-ri-ma/.<sup>620</sup> In *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), obv. ii 11', the verbal chain /ĥe<sub>2</sub>-en-/ appears as /<ĥe<sub>2</sub>>-in-. In *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439), obv. 1', the grammatical suffix /-ke<sub>4</sub>/ appears as /-ki/, and in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 2, /me-ri/ appears as /ĝir<sub>2</sub>/. In *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 1, /šen-dilim<sub>2</sub>/ is written /si-id-li/, and in obv. 3, /šeš<sub>2</sub>/ is written /si-si/.

**Table Appendix C.24. Examples of vocalic variation: /e/ to /i/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /e/ to /i/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 6'	mu-un-na-il <sub>2</sub> -in	mu-un-ab-il <sub>2</sub> -en
<i>PRAK C 100</i> (PSK 529), obv. 16'	mi <sub>2</sub> -ši	mi <sub>2</sub> -še <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 118</i> (PSK 580), obv. ii 17'-18'	[a]-šir <sub>3</sub>	a-še-er
<i>PRAK B 46+</i> (PSK 439), obv. 9'-10'	e-ni <sub>2</sub>	e-ne-er
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 3'	i-ni-[x]	e-ne-eĝ <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK C 72</i> (PSK 525), obv. 6 & 9	/-en-de-in/	/-en-de <sub>3</sub> -en/
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 6	i-ri-ma	erim <sub>x</sub> -ma
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. ii 11'	<ĥe <sub>2</sub> >-in-	ĥe <sub>2</sub> -en-
<i>PRAK B 46+</i> (PSK 439), obv. 1'	/-ki/	/-ke <sub>4</sub> /
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	ĝir <sub>2</sub>	me-ri
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 1	si-id-li	šen-dilim <sub>2</sub>

<sup>620</sup> Mittermayer 2006: 75, #191, where /erim<sub>3</sub>/ is read /irimma/; this reading /i-ri-ma/ appears to support /irimma/.



### /a/ to /i/

The next most frequently occurring vocalic change is /a/ to /i/. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 17', /<sup>du</sup>gšakira/ is written /š̄i-ki-ra/. In *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4, the adjective /tan<sub>2</sub>-na-ni/ appears in phonetic form /da-ni-in-ni/. Similarly, in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 28', the form /ama-gan/ is written /e-mi-ga/. Twice in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27', the form /bala/ appears in the form /bi-li/. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 16', the phrase /sipa-ra/ appears in the form /šibir/. Finally, in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2, the verb /ba-ab-tag/ is written /ba-ab-ti-ib/.

**Table Appendix C.25. Examples of vocalic variation: /a/ to /i/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /a/ to /i/	Standard Form
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 17'	š̄i-ki-ra	<sup>du</sup> gšakira
<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4	da-ni-in-ni	tan <sub>2</sub> -na-ni
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 28'	e-mi-ga	ama-gan
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 26'-27'	bi-li	bala
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 16'	šibir	sipa-ra
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	ba-ab-ti-ib	ba-ab-tag

### /u/ to /i/

There are a number of examples of the vowel /u/ changing to /i/. In *PRAK D* 45 (PSK 533) (a duplicate of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+)), obv. 15-16, the form /na-mu-un-du/ is replaced in both lines with /na-mu-un-di/.<sup>621</sup> In *OECT* 15, 177 (PSK 456) (literary), obv. 3', we see the form /du<sub>3</sub>-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/ replaced with /ti-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 10, /im-gu-ul-lu-bi/ is likely truncated, written in the form /i<sub>3</sub>-gi/. Similarly, in obv. ii 11, /ba-gub-be<sub>2</sub>-en/ is written /ba-gi-be<sub>2</sub>-en/. In rev. iv 2, /en-na-gurum-e-de<sub>3</sub>/ appears in

<sup>621</sup> Krecher sees /di/ in *PRAK D* 45 (PSK 533) as the verb “to go,” but not as a phonetic spelling with /u/ changing to /i/. Krecher 1966: 158: “Das letzte Zeichen in *PRAK D* 45:15 und 16 ist wohl mit DU von SK 25 so zu vereinbaren, daß man es zu DI korrigiert und in den beiden Lautvarianten des Wortes “gehen” sieht (di und du).”

the broken form /[...]gi-ru-...]/, and in rev. iii 7, /gurum-gurum-ma-ni/ is written /gi-gi-ru-ma-an-ni/. In *OECT* 5, 14 (PSK 442) (literary), obv. 3, the writing /ki-lul-la/ appears in the form /ki-lil-la/, and in *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 32, /mu-un-gur<sub>11</sub>/ is written /ma-gi-ur/.

**Table Appendix C.26. Examples of vocalic variation: /u/ to /i/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /u/ to /i/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK</i> D 45 (PSK 533), obv. 15-16	na-mu-un-di	na-mu-un-du
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456), obv. 3'	ti-a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>	du <sub>3</sub> -a-ĝu <sub>10</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 10	i <sub>3</sub> -gi	im-gu-ul-lu-bi
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. ii 11'	ba-gi-be <sub>2</sub> -en	ba-gub-be <sub>2</sub> -en
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iv 2	[...]gi-ru-...]	en-na-gurum-e-de <sub>3</sub>
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 7	gi-gi-ru-ma-an-ni	gurum-gurum-ma-ni
<i>OECT</i> 5, 14 (PSK 442), obv. 3	ki-lil-la	ki-lul-la
<i>PRAK</i> C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 32	ma-gi-ur	mu-un-gur <sub>11</sub>

/e/ to /a/

The next most frequent replacement is /e/ to /a/. In *PRAK* C 57 (PSK 521), obv. 2-3, we see the Emesal /e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>/ written twice in the form /na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>/.<sup>622</sup> In *PRAK* C 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 8, Emesal /me-ri/ appears phonetically /ma<sub>3</sub>-ri/.<sup>623</sup> In *OECT* 5, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 20', the verbal form /um-me-te/ "after you reach" appears as /um-ma-ta/.

**Table Appendix C.27. Examples of vocalic variation: /e/ to /a/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /e/ to /a/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK</i> C 57 (PSK 521), obv. 2-3	na-aĝ <sub>2</sub>	e-ne-eĝ <sub>3</sub>

<sup>622</sup> See Krecher 1967b: 108. Other examples Krecher cites include: NFT 207 (AO 4331+) iv 2-3 (/na-am-zu/); VS 10: 195 (VAT 6530), obv. 6-rev. 3 (/na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-/). The latter (VS 10: 195) is an interesting example, as six lines contain this form, followed by the standard Emesal form /e-ne-eĝ<sub>3</sub>/ in lines rev. 4ff.

<sup>623</sup> Of course, /ma<sub>3</sub>/ (ĜA<sub>2</sub>) could be read here /ĝe<sub>26</sub>/, which would be an acceptable phonetic shift (/me-ri/ to /ĝe<sub>26</sub>-ri/).

<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 8	ma <sub>3</sub> -ri	me-ri
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 20'	um-ma-ta	um-me-te

**/u/ to /e/ or /a/**

There are several examples of the vocalic shift from /u/ to /e/ and /u/ to /a/ in the Kiš corpus, most occurring in the literary texts. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 21' and 22', the verbal base in the form /mu-ni-du<sub>8</sub>-a/ appears as /mu-de<sub>3</sub>-e/. Similarly, in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 12', /nu-du<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>/ is written /nu-de<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/. In *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 4', the noun /um-me-da/ appears as /e-me-da/. Finally, in *OECT 5, 13+* (PSK 454) (literary), obv. 18, we see the form /u<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/ written /e<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>/. Moving to changes from /u/ to /a/, in *TCL 16, 64* (PSK 457) (literary), obv. 21, the determinative in the form /<sup>ugu</sup>ugu<sub>4</sub>-bi/ is apparently written /<sup>a-ga</sup>uga<sub>4</sub>-bi/, and in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 19', we see the verb /ba-an-du<sub>10</sub>/ written /ban<sub>3</sub>-da/.

**Table Appendix C.28. Examples of vocalic variation: /u/ to /e/ or /a/**

Line	Vocalic Variation: /u/ to /e/ or /a/	Standard Form
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 21'-22'	mu-de <sub>3</sub> -e	mu-ni-du <sub>8</sub> -a
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 12'	nu-de <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>	nu-du <sub>3</sub> -du <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 4'	e-me-da	um-me-da
<i>OECT 5, 13+</i> (PSK 454), obv. 18	e <sub>3</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>	u <sub>4</sub> -de <sub>3</sub>
<i>TCL 16, 64</i> (PSK 457), obv. 21	<sup>ugu</sup> ugu <sub>4</sub> -bi	<sup>a-ga</sup> uga <sub>4</sub> -bi
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 19'	ban <sub>3</sub> -da	ba-an-du <sub>10</sub>

**Other changes**

Other examples of vocalic changes include /i/ to /u/, /i/ to /a/, /e/ to /u/, and /e/ to /ia/. In *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 2', the phrase /a<sub>2</sub> zi/ "to raise the arm" appears in the form /a<sub>2</sub> zu/, and in obv. i 14', the same form is written /az<sub>2</sub>-zu/. In *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), /gi-di-da/ appears as /gi-du-da/ (obv. i 15'). In *PRAK C 52+*

(PSK 520), obv. ii 28', the noun /i<sub>7</sub>/ "river" is written /u<sub>2</sub>/. The shift from /i/ to /a/ appears in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 30, where /gi/ "young woman" is written /qa/, and in *PRAK C 70* (PSK 524), obv. 2', /maḥ-di-di/ appears /maḥ-ti-da/. We see a shift from /e/ to /u/ in *OECT 15, 177* (PSK 456) (literary), obv. 5', where /de<sub>2</sub>/ is written /du<sub>11</sub>/, and in *OECT 5, 37* (PSK 615), rev. 5', where the epithet /ga-ša-an-eš<sub>3</sub>-gal-la/ appears as /ga-ša-an-uš-ga-la/. Finally, there is one example of /e/ to /ia/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 3, as /e<sub>2</sub>-na/ is written /ia-na/.

**Table Appendix C.29. Examples of vocalic variation: other**

Line	Vocalic Variation: Other	Standard Form
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 2'	a <sub>2</sub> zu	a <sub>2</sub> zi
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 14'	az <sub>2</sub> -zu	a <sub>2</sub> zi
<i>OECT 5, 4</i> (PSK 451), obv. i 15'	gi-du-da	gi-di-da
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 28'	u <sub>2</sub>	i <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 30	qa	gi
<i>PRAK C 70</i> (PSK 524), obv. 2'	maḥ-ti-da	maḥ-di-di
<i>OECT 15, 177</i> (PSK 456), obv. 5'	du <sub>11</sub>	de <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT 5, 37</i> (PSK 615), rev. 5'	ga-ša-an-uš-ga-la	ga-ša-an-eš <sub>3</sub> -gal-la
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iii 3	ia-na	e <sub>2</sub> -na

#### *Consonantal Variation*

I will identify the most frequently occurring consonantal variants in the corpus, and further identify in which position (Anlaut or Auslaut) the consonant in question occurs. For example, if the verb /sag<sub>3</sub>/ is written phonetically /saĝ/, we will describe the change as /g/ to /ĝ/ in the Auslaut position. For a multi-syllable word (e.g. /murgu/ to /mur<sub>7</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/), though the consonant shift occurs in the middle of the word, it will be identified as in the Anlaut position, as the /g/ shifts to /ĝ/ at the beginning of the syllable /gu/.

### /g/ to /k/

The most common replacement is the consonant /g/ to /k/; in every example, the shift occurs in the Anlaut position. In *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), rev. 4' and 6', the familiar Emesal /ga-ša-an/ is written /ka-ša-an/. In *OECT 5*, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), obv. ii 16', the phrase /gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>/ appears as /gig-ka-a/, while in obv. i 17' and 19' of the same text, the equative /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ is written in the form /-ke<sub>4</sub>/. This change also occurs in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 10' and 24', as well as *TCL 16*, 64 (PSK 457) (literary), obv. 2. Thus, each of the five Category 1 examples of /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ to /-ke<sub>4</sub>/ appear only in literary duplicates. In *OECT 5*, 33 (PSK 438) (literary), obv. i 20', the reduplicated verbal form /gu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub>/ appears as /ku<sub>4</sub>/. Similarly, in *PRAK B 46+* (PSK 439) (literary), obv. 3', the noun /guru<sub>7</sub>/ is syllabically written /ku-ru/. In *OECT 5*, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4, /tug<sub>2</sub>/ is written /tu-u<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>/. In *OECT 11*, 7 (PSK 428) (literary), obv. 4, the verbal form /ib<sub>2</sub>-gu-ul/ is written /ib<sub>2</sub>-ku-ul-en/. In *PRAK D 60* (PSK 433), obv. 14, the verb /nu-mu-un-da-kal-la-ge/ is written /nu-mu-un-da-kal-la-ke<sub>4</sub>/. In *PRAK C 34* (PSK 591), obv. 13', it appears that the verbal form /u<sub>6</sub> ga-e-du<sub>11</sub>/ may be written /u<sub>4</sub> ke<sub>4</sub>-[...]/, which would show homophonous sign replacement of /u<sub>6</sub>/ with /u<sub>4</sub>/, and the consonantal shift and vowel contraction of /ga-e-/ into the form /ke<sub>4</sub>/.<sup>624</sup> In *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 2', the noun /egi<sub>2</sub>/ may be written /ki/.<sup>625</sup> Two times we see /ga-ša-an/ appearing as /ka-ša-an/ in *PRAK C 54* (PSK 595), obv. 2' and *PRAK B 123* (PSK 543), rev. 3'.

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<sup>624</sup> The signs in the hand copy could be understood as /u<sub>6</sub>/; see Cohen 1988: 341, commentary to line rev. 11'.

<sup>625</sup> The lines parallel NCBT 688, rev. 6, which contains the form /dam/ where the other texts read /ki/. The writing /ki/ is found in another duplicate, NFT 203 (AO 4327), rev. ii 9. Because only one source preserves /dam/, and the other sources read /ki/, it is also possible that simply /ki/ “place” is intended. See chapter 6, commentary to *PRAK B 471* (PSK 511), rev. iv 2' for discussion.

**Table Appendix C.30. Examples of consonantal variation: /g/ to /k/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /g/ to /k/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 54</i> (PSK 595), rev. 4' & 6'	<i>ka-ša-an</i>	<i>ga-ša-an</i>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. ii 16'	<i>gig-ka-a</i>	<i>gig-ga-am<sub>3</sub></i>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 17' & 19'	<i>ke<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>gin<sub>7</sub></i>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 10' & 24'	<i>ke<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>gin<sub>7</sub></i>
<i>TCL 16, 64</i> (PSK 457), obv. 2	<i>ke<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>gin<sub>7</sub></i>
<i>OECT 5, 33</i> (PSK 438), obv. i 20'	<i>ku<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>gu<sub>4</sub>-gu<sub>4</sub></i>
<i>PRAK B 46+</i> (PSK 439), obv. 3'	<i>ku-ru</i>	<i>guru<sub>7</sub></i>
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 4	<i>tu-u<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>tug<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>OECT 11, 7</i> (PSK 428), obv. 4	<i>ib<sub>2</sub>-ku-ul-en</i>	<i>ib<sub>2</sub>-gu-ul</i>
<i>PRAK D 60</i> (PSK 433), obv. 14	<i>nu-mu-un-da-kal-la-ke<sub>4</sub></i>	<i>...-da-kal-la-ge</i>
<i>PRAK C 34</i> (PSK 591), obv. 13'	<i>u<sub>4</sub> ke<sub>4</sub>-[...]</i>	<i>u<sub>6</sub> ga-e-du<sub>11</sub></i>
<i>PRAK B 471</i> (PSK 511), rev. iv 2'	<i>ki</i>	<i>egi<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 54</i> (PSK 595), obv. 2'	<i>ka-ša-an</i>	<i>ga-ša-an</i>
<i>PRAK B 123</i> (PSK 543), rev. 3'	<i>ka-ša-an</i>	<i>ga-ša-an</i>

**/d/ to /t/**

There are also many examples of a dental shift from /d/ to /t/ in the Kiš corpus; all but one example appears in Anlaut position. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 33, the noun /*ad<sub>6</sub>-a*/ “corpse,” with the /d/ appearing in Auslaut position, is written /*a-ta*/, showing the common “one sign written with two” phonetic writing. The form /*u<sub>4</sub>-da*/ in normal orthography appears as /*u<sub>4</sub>-ta*/ in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 8. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 9-12, the grammatical postfix /-*de<sub>3</sub>*/ is written four times /-*te*/. In *OECT 15, 177* (PSK 456) (literary) obv. 3', /*du<sub>3</sub>-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>*/ is phonetically spelled /*ti-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>*/. An interesting case appears in *OECT 5, 4* (PSK 451) (literary), obv. i 19', as /*du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>*/ is written /*tu-du*/.<sup>626</sup> In three places, the epithet /*an dub<sub>2</sub>-ba*/ appears in the form /*an tu-pa*/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4, ii 7, and *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 12'. In *PRAK C*

<sup>626</sup> Reisman states that the /*du*/ is actually /*de<sub>3</sub>*/ in Reisman 1976: 360.

70 (PSK 524), obv. 2', the form /maḥ-di-di/ appears /maḥ-ti-da/. In *OECT* 5, 45 (PSK 535), obv. i 4, /saḡ-dul<sub>6</sub>/ appears in the form /saḡ-tu/. In *PRAK C* 105 (PSK 530), obv. 3, the form /dadag/ goes to /da-ta/.

**Table Appendix C.31. Examples of consonantal variation: /d/ to /t/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /d/ to /t/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 33	a-ta	ad <sub>6</sub> -a
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), rev. iii 8	u <sub>4</sub> -ta	u <sub>4</sub> -da
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 9-12	te	de <sub>3</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456), obv. 3'	ti-a-ḡu <sub>10</sub>	du <sub>3</sub> -a-ḡu <sub>10</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. i 19'	tu-du	du <sub>7</sub> -du <sub>7</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 4; ii 7	an tu-pa	an dub <sub>2</sub> -ba
<i>PRAK C</i> 92 (PSK 527), obv. 12'	an tu-pa	an dub <sub>2</sub> -ba
<i>PRAK C</i> 70 (PSK 524), obv. 2'	maḥ-ti-da	maḥ-di-di
<i>OECT</i> 5, 45 (PSK 535), obv. i 4	saḡ-tu	saḡ-dul <sub>6</sub>
<i>PRAK C</i> 105 (PSK 530), obv. 3	da-ta	dadag

**/g/ to /q/**

Another common shift is the change from /g/ to /q/; every example appears in Anlaut position. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 14-15, the form /a-du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ is written /e-du-qa/, and in obv. i 11-12, the verbal form /du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ is written /du-qa/. In *PRAK D* 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 17, the noun form /du<sub>11</sub>-ga/ is also written /du-qa/. In *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 35-36, the Emesal form of /de<sub>6</sub>/, /ga/, is twice written /qa/. In two cases in *PRAK D* 1+ (PSK 607), rev. 1 and 3, the verbal form /ba-zi-ga/ appears to be written /ba-zi-qa/. Finally, in *PRAK C* 52+ (PSK 520), obv. i 30, the nominal phrase /gi-bi/ is written /qa-bi/.

**Table Appendix C.32. Examples of consonantal variation: /g/ to /q/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /g/ to /q/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 14-15	e-du- <i>qa</i>	a-du <sub>11</sub> - <i>ga</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 11-12	du- <i>qa</i>	du <sub>11</sub> - <i>ga</i>
<i>PRAK D 1+</i> (PSK 607), rev. 17	du- <i>qa</i>	du <sub>11</sub> - <i>ga</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 35-36	qa	ga
<i>PRAK D 1+</i> (PSK 607), rev. 1 & 3	ba-zi- <i>qa</i>	ba-zi- <i>ga</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 30	<i>qa</i> -bi	<i>gi</i> -bi

**/b/ to /p/**

In several cases, the consonant /b/ shifts to /p/ in the phonetic Kiš texts, though there is relative balance between the examples appearing in Auslaut and Anlaut position. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 34', the noun /ambar/ is written /appa-ar/. It seems likely that there is a /b/ to /p/ shift in the Anlaut position of syllable /bar/, into which the /m/ of the previous syllable assimilates into the /p/.<sup>627</sup> In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), rev. iii 24, the verbal prefix in the verb /ba-da-me-en-na/ is written /pad<sub>3</sub>-da-me-eš/, changing /b/ to /p/ in the Anlaut position. There are three examples of /b/ to /p/ in Auslaut position in *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 37-39, as /dib-ba/ changes to /di-pa/. Similarly, in Auslaut position, the verbal form /dub<sub>2</sub>-ba/ is written /tu-pa/ three times: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 4, ii 7, and *PRAK C 92* (PSK 527), obv. 12'. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 13', the verbal form /ha-ma-dim<sub>2</sub>-ma/ appears /ha-pa-di-ma/, showing the change in Anlaut position.

<sup>627</sup> It is possible that the /m/ also shifts to /p/, a change that we see in Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. ii 13', /ha-ma-dim<sub>2</sub>-ma/ to /ha-pa-di-ma/.



**Table Appendix C.33. Examples of consonantal variation: /b/ to /p/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /b/ to /p/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. ii 34'	<i>ap-pa-ar</i>	<i>ambar</i>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 24	<i>pad<sub>3</sub>-da-me-eš</i>	<i>ba-da-me-en-na</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 37-39	<i>di-pa</i>	<i>dib-ba</i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 4; ii 7	<i>tu-pa</i>	<i>dub<sub>2</sub>-ba</i>
<i>PRAK C 92</i> (PSK 527), obv. 12'	<i>tu-pa</i>	<i>dub<sub>2</sub>-ba</i>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. ii 13'	<i>ḥa-pa-di-ma</i>	<i>ḥa-ma-dim<sub>2</sub>-ma</i>

**/š/ to /s/**

There are a number of examples of /š/ appearing in the syllabic texts as /s/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 5 and ii 8, the noun /amaš/ is written in Auslaut position /ama-sa/. In *OECT 5*, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 1, the /š/ in /šen-dilim<sub>2</sub>/, in Anlaut position, appears as /si-id-li/. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 5, in both Anlaut and Auslaut positions, /šeš/ changes to /si-sa/, and in the same way, *OECT 5*, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3, /šeš<sub>2</sub>/ is written /si-si/.

**Table Appendix C.34. Examples of consonantal variation: /š/ to /s/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /š/ to /s/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 5 & ii 8	<i>ama-sa</i>	<i>amaš</i>
<i>OECT 5</i> , 49 (PSK 537), obv. 1	<i>si-id-li</i>	<i>šen-dilim<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), rev. iv 5	<i>si-sa</i>	<i>šeš</i>
<i>OECT 5</i> , 49 (PSK 537), obv. 3	<i>si-si</i>	<i>šeš<sub>2</sub></i>

**/g/ to /ĝ/**

There are a few examples of /g/ shifting to /ĝ/, most occurring in Anlaut position. In *OECT 15*, 177 (PSK 456) (literary), rev. 1, the equative /-gin<sub>7</sub>/ is written with the /DU/ sign, apparently read /ĝin/ in the Anlaut position. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. i 5', the noun /murgu<sub>2</sub>/ shows /g/ to /ĝ/ in Anlaut position with the form

/mur<sub>7</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/. In *OECT* 5, 4 (PSK 451) (literary), obv. ii 16', the verbal prefix /na-ga-an-tum<sub>3</sub>-da/ is written /na-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-tu-da/, the shift occurring in Anlaut position. Finally, in *PRAK* C 34 (PSK 591), obv. 5', the verb /sag<sub>3</sub>/ is written /saĝ/.

**Table Appendix C.35. Examples of consonantal variation: /g/ to /ĝ/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /g/ to /ĝ/	Standard Form
<i>OECT</i> 15, 177 (PSK 456), rev. 1	ĝin	gin <sub>7</sub>
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), obv. i 5'	mur <sub>7</sub> -ĝu <sub>10</sub>	murgu <sub>2</sub>
<i>OECT</i> 5, 4 (PSK 451), obv. ii 16'	na-ĝa <sub>2</sub> -tu-da	na-ga-an-tum <sub>3</sub> -da
<i>PRAK</i> C 34 (PSK 591), obv. 5'	saĝ	sag <sub>3</sub>

**/t/ to /d/**

In some places, /t/ is represented with /d/, all in Anlaut position. In *TCL* 16, 65 (PSK 425) (literary), obv. 3, the /t/ in Anlaut changes to /d/, as /il<sub>2</sub>-la-ta/ is written /il<sub>2</sub>-la-da/. In Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), rev. iii 19, /la-ba-da-te-ĝe<sub>26</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-[x]/ appears /la-ba-da-de<sub>3</sub>-[...]/ (Anlaut). The ablative /-ta/ (Anlaut) in *PRAK* C 32 (PSK 517), obv. 8', is written /-da/ (/i-bi<sub>2</sub>-bi-ta/ changes to /i-bi<sub>2</sub>-bi-da/). Finally, in *OECT* 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4, /tan<sub>2</sub>-na-ni/ in Anlaut position is written /da-ni-in-ni/.

**Table Appendix C.36. Examples of consonantal variation: /t/ to /d/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /t/ to /d/	Standard Form
<i>TCL</i> 16, 65 (PSK 425), obv. 3	il <sub>2</sub> -la-da	il <sub>2</sub> -la-ta
Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435), rev. iii 19	la-ba-da-de <sub>3</sub> -[...]	la-ba-da-te-ĝe <sub>26</sub> -de <sub>3</sub> -[x]
<i>PRAK</i> C 32 (PSK 517), obv. 8'	i-bi <sub>2</sub> -bi-da	i-bi <sub>2</sub> -bi-ta
<i>OECT</i> 5, 49 (PSK 537), obv. 4	da-ni-in-ni	tan <sub>2</sub> -na-ni

### /ĝ/ to /m/

In three cases we see /ĝ/ shifting to /m/; two in Anlaut and one in Auslaut position. In *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 27, the noun /ĝuruš/ is written /mu-ru/, the shift coming in Anlaut position. In *PRAK C 122* (PSK 531), obv. 6, we see /ki-na-aĝ<sub>2</sub>-sikal/ appearing as /ki-am<sub>3</sub>-sikal/ in Auslaut position. Finally, in *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 2, the /ĝ/ in Anlaut position in /naĝa/ changes to /na-ma/ in the syllabic text.

**Table Appendix C.37. Examples of consonantal variation: /m/ to /ĝ/**

Line	Consonantal Variation: /m/ to /ĝ/	Standard Form
<i>PRAK C 52+</i> (PSK 520), obv. i 27	mu-ru	ĝuruš
<i>PRAK C 122</i> (PSK 531), obv. 6	ki- <u>am</u> <sub>3</sub> -sikal	ki-na-aĝ <sub>2</sub> -sikal
<i>OECT 5, 49</i> (PSK 537), obv. 2	na- <u>ma</u>	naĝa

### Others

There are a number of consonantal shifts that occur 1-2 times in the Kiš corpus. /ĝ/ to /g/: *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438), rev. iv 4. /g/ to /n/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 9 and 11. /k/ to /g/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 16; *PRAK C 109* (PSK 448), rev. 2'. /l/ to /g/: *PRAK C 66+* (PSK 523), rev. 4 and 6 (Category 2). /m/ to /g/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 40-41. /m/ to /ĝ/: *PRAK B 307* (PSK 500), obv. 1'-2'. /p/ to /b/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 41 (x2). /s/ to /š/: *PRAK C 32* (PSK 517), obv. 8'; *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. i 26. /b/ to /m/: *OECT 5, 10* (PSK 612), rev. iv 13'. /d/ to /s/: *PRAK C 100* (PSK 529), obv. 16'. /g/ to /b/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iv 2. /k/ to /ĝ/: *OECT 5, 33* (PSK 438), obv. i 14'. /k/ to /q/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), obv. ii 32'; Ashm. 1932.155 (PSK 435) (literary), obv. iv 27. /n/ to /l/: *OECT 5, 49* (PSK 537), obv. 4. /z/ to /d/: *PRAK C 52+* (PSK 520), rev. iii 6.

## APPENDIX D

### CURRICULUAR AND LAMENTATIONAL CATALOGUE

This catalogue presents information concerning the OB Kiš curricular and lamentational tablets. As greater emphasis has been placed on the lamentational corpus in this dissertation, more detailed information will be presented for the liturgical lamentations. Sources for identification and line numbering will be listed to the right of the identified composition and line numbers, while other editions of the texts will be listed under the heading “Editions.” Other notes and references to the specific tablet found in Secondary literature will be listed under the heading “Secondary Literature.” Any discussion of a particular text in the dissertation will be noted “see p. #.”

#### **Syllable Alphabet A (PSK 1-21)**

##### **PSK 1**

PRAK A 3 (not copied)

SA A, lines 42-44 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “*ni-ba, ni-ba-ba, a-ba.*”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

##### **PSK 2**

PRAK A 116 (not copied)

SA A, lines 4-5 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “*a-a-u, ku-ku.*”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

##### **PSK 3**

PRAK A 119 (not copied)

SA A, lines 2, 4-5 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “*pap-pap, a-a-a, ku...*”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 4**

PRAK A 136 (not copied)

SA A, line 3? (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “*a-a*, etc.”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 5**

PRAK A 166 (not copied)

SA A, line 97 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “*me-du(g)-ga*.”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 6**

PRAK A 198 (not copied)

SA A, line 6? (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “*lu-lu*.”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 7**

PRAK A 204 (not copied)

SA A, line 3? (DCCLT Q000058)

Identification made by author; see pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “*a-a*.”

**PSK 8**

PRAK A 299 (not copied)

SA A, line 21-23 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “*A-IGI, A-IGI-IGI, IGI-A*.”

Secondary Literature:

-Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 9**

PRAK A 493 (not copied)

SA A, line 116? (DCCLT Q000058)

Identification made by author

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “*Face, ab-ba en gros caractères*.”

**PSK 10**

PRAK D 59

SA A, lines 5-11(?); 18-23; 35-39; unclear (DCCLT Q000058)

Secondary Literature:

- Farber 1999: 123 (catalogue entry)
- Landsberger 1933: 170, fn. 1

**PSK 11**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1932.182)

SA A, lines 1-5 (DCCLT Q000058)

Secondary Literature:

- Robson 2004: 45 (catalogue entry)
- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 12**

OECT 13, 103 (1924.1273)

SA A (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 13**

OECT 15, 179 (1932.187b)

SA A (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 14**

OECT 15, 181 (1932.187g)

SA A, lines 6-10 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

Secondary Literature:

- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 15**

OECT 15, 182 (1932.187n)

SA A (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 16**

OECT 15, 184 (1932.187w)

SA A, initial lines (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

**PSK 17**

MSL SS1, 110 (1924.2139)

SA A, lines 1-4; 18-22 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

Secondary Literature:

- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 18**

MSL SS1, 111 (1924.581)

SA A, lines 43-48 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 19**

MSL SS1, 112 (1932.187i+u)

SA A, lines 1-6, 27-35, 54-62? (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 20**

MSL SS1, 114 (1924.570)

SA A, lines 54-58 (DCCLT Q000058)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 21**

OECT 15, 183a (1932.187s)

SA A, lines 4-5, 1-3 (DCCLT Q000058)

See pp. 38-47 for transliteration

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**Tu-ta-ti****PSK 22**

PRAK A 371 (not copied)

Tu-ta-ti, line 48? (Veldhuis 1997: 44, fn. 138)

See pp. 47-48

De Genouillac 1925: 54, "Exercice scolaire (*a, i, etc.*);"

**PN Lists (PSK 23-76)****PSK 23**

PRAK A 36 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 46, "Modèle d'écriture de noms propres.")

**PSK 24**

PRAK A 40 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 46, “Noms propres en grande écriture (*Ur-Nina, Ur-Ninne-sag, Ur-dGa...*).”)

**PSK 25**

PRAK A 45 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 46, “Noms propres.”)

**PSK 26**

PRAK A 68 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Liste de noms commençant par Šamaš.”)

**PSK 27**

PRAK A 69 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Exercice d’écriture: 1<sup>o</sup> noms propres; 2<sup>o</sup> signe répété.”)

**PSK 28**

PRAK A 71 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Exercice, quelques noms propres.”)

**PSK 29**

PRAK A 100 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Liste de noms propres (*Apil-Nin...*, *Sin-iki[šam]*, *Nannar-ma...*).”)

**PSK 30**

PRAK A 102 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Fragment scolaire, liste de noms?”)

**PSK 31**

PRAK A 103 (not copied)

PNs beginning with /nin-/? (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice en grands caractères (*..-da-a, ..-dū-dū, Nin...-dū, Nin-šir*).”)

**PSK 32**

PRAK A 121 (not copied)

Akkadian PNs beginning with /a-mur-<sup>d</sup>/? (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Modèle d’écriture (noms commençant par *A-mur-<sup>d</sup>...*).”)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 33**

PRAK A 163 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 49, “Modèle d’écriture, noms propres.”)

Additional Information: lentil



**PSK 34**

PRAK A 192 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 50, “Exercice scolaire, noms propres.”)

**PSK 35**

PRAK A 218 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 50, “Modèle d’écriture (noms, dont celui de Marduk).”)

**PSK 36**

PRAK A 282 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 52, “La face semble une liste de noms propres; au revers, chiffres.”)

**PSK 37**

PRAK A 349 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 53, “Liste de noms propres.”)

**PSK 38**

PRAK A 350 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 53, “Liste de noms propres (?)”)

**PSK 39**

PRAK A 382 (not copied)

Akkadian PNs? (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Fr. de gr. tabl., restent 10 l. en 1 colonne (noms sémitiques).”)

**PSK 40**

PRAK A 388 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Noms propres.”)

Additional Information: writing model; lentil

**PSK 41**

PRAK A 391 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Noms propres.”)

Additional Information: writing model; lentil

**PSK 42**

PRAK A 404 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Exercice scolaire, liste de noms propres.”)

**PSK 43**

PRAK A 409 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tabl. lenticulaire, noms propres, modèle d’écriture.”)

**PSK 44**

PRAK A 418 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tablette scolaire: côté, signes; revers, noms propres.”)

**PSK 45**

PRAK A 431 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Faces, signes; revers, noms propres.”)

**PSK 46**

PRAK A 432 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tabl. lenticulaire, modèle (*..a-nu-uš, a-na-šu*).”)

**PSK 47**

PRAK A 434 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tabl. lenticulaire, modèle, noms propres.”)

**PSK 48**

PRAK A 470 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 56, “Liste de noms propres?”)

**PSK 49**

PRAK A 473 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 56, “Noms et mots.”)

**PSK 50**

PRAK A 494 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 57, “Liste de noms propres.”)

**PSK 51**

PRAK A 498 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 57, “Noms propres sémitiques.”)

**PSK 52**

PRAK A 532 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Tablette lenticulaire, modèle d’écriture (noms propres).”)

**PSK 53**

PRAK A 589 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Noms propres.”)

**PSK 54**

PRAK B 29 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 31, “Liste de noms sémitiques”)

**PSK 55**

PRAK B 30 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 31, “Liste de nomes sémitiques (Sin-iqišam, Ušur-awatsu, Akšaia, Gudua-našir, etc.).”)

See p. 50

**PSK 56**

PRAK B 33

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 32, “Exercices grammaticaux sémitiques.”)

**PSK 57**

PRAK B 35 (not copied)

Sumerian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 32, “Tablette lenticulaire, exercice d’écriture noms propres sumériens.”)

**PSK 58**

PRAK B 178 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 35, “Modèle d’écriture, liste de noms commençant par *lù*.”)

**PSK 59**

PRAK B 202 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 36, “Liste de noms propres sémitiques.”)

**PSK 60**

PRAK B 219 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 36, “Liste de noms propres commençant par *Ur*.”)

**PSK 61**

PRAK B 294 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 38, “Face, noms propres; reves, exercices grammaticaux.”)

**PSK 62**

PRAK B 297 (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 38, “Liste de noms sémitiques.”)

**PSK 63**

PRAK B 311

Akkadian PN list? (De Genouillac 1924: 38, “Liste de noms propres sémitiques: Idin-Il-Amurri, Šalibum, Humurum, Sin-gamil, Zibarum.”)

See p. 50

**PSK 64**

PRAK B 419 bis (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 41, “Noms propres.”)

**PSK 65**

PRAK B 429 bis (not copied)

Akkadian PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 42, “Liste de noms sémitiques (À-lí-wa-ak-ru, É-til, Sumurame, Šamaš-abi, etc.).”)

See p. 50

**PSK 66**

PRAK B 431 (not copied)

PN list? (de Genouillac 1924: 42, “Catalogue de noms commençant par Sin.”)

**PSK 67**

PRAK D 20

PN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 42, “Modèle d’écriture en gros caractères: noms propres.”)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 68**

MSL SS1, p. 67 (1924.580)

PN list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 69**

OECT 5, 52 (1924.863)

PN list beginning with /ur-/ (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Peterson 2009a: 9

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 70**

OECT 5, 53 (1924.1779)

PN list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 71**

OECT 13, 32 (1924.558)

Akkadian PN list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, fn. 18; catalogue entry)

See p. 51

**PSK 72**

OECT 13, 66 (1924.854)

Akkadian PN list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 212, table 2; catalogue entry)

See p. 51

**PSK 73**

OECT 13, 68 (1924.867)

Akkadian PN list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 212, table 2; catalogue entry)

See p. 51

**PSK 74**

OECT 15, 173 (1931.92)

PN list beginning with /ur-/ (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 220, table 9; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 75**

Ohgama and Robson:3 (1930.363g)

PN list beginning with /nin-/ (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 230; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 76**

Ohgama and Robson:4 (1931.149)

PNs beginning with /ur-/ (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 230; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: lentil

**OB Ura (PSK 77-124)****PSK 77**

PRAK A 5 (not copied)

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, 192-195 (DCCLT Q000041)

Secondary Literature:

-*MSL X*, 63 (transliteration)

**PSK 78**

PRAK A 11 (not copied)

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, 422, 455-457 (DCCLT Q000001)

Editions:

-*MSL IX*, 42 (edition; Source Kich A)

**PSK 79**

PRAK A 31 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice d'écriture, list de pierres (?).")

**PSK 80**

PRAK A 33 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice d'écriture: face, texte où revient plusieurs fois *giš-pú*; revers, liste de pierres.")

**PSK 81**

PRAK A 44 (not copied)

OB Ura (De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Liste de *gi*: *gi-lil-má*, *gi-uru-nig-ḫar-ra*, *gi-tuk-sag*, *gi-lil*, *gi-ma-ḫá-a*.")

**PSK 82**

PRAK A 61 (not copied)

OB Ura (list of wood, including <sup>ĝiṣ</sup>kinkin and <sup>ĝiṣ</sup>ad<sub>2</sub>) (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Modèle d’écriture, liste de *giš* (*giš-har*, *giš-gír*).”)

**PSK 83**

PRAK A 131 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice d’écriture, liste d’étoffe.”)

**PSK 84**

PRAK A 132 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice: face, signe *lugal* en grande caractère; revers, liste de vases.”)

**PSK 85**

PRAK A 134 (not copied)

OB Sippar Ura, Tablets 1-2, lines obv. ii 19ff? (DCCLT Q000260)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Modèle d’écriture (*šes-a-ni*, *nin-a-ni*, *da-a-ni*, etc.).”

**PSK 86**

PRAK A 161 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 49, “Modèle d’écriture, noms de pays.”)

**PSK 87**

PRAK A 173 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 49, “Exercice scolaire, liste de *gi*.”)

**PSK 88**

PRAK A 217 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 50, “Face, modèle d’écriture (*é-sum-mu*, *é-il-su*, *é-il-sir*); revers, série de signes semblables.”)

**PSK 89**

PRAK A 279 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 52, “Face, exercice d’écriture en grands caractères sur le mot *giš* (*giš-gar*, *giš-sig*, *giš-sig-sig-ga*, *giš-ka*, *giš-ká*); revers, liste de signes en colonnes.”)

**PSK 90**

PRAK A 281 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 52, “Exercice scolaire, liste (presque illisible) d’oiseaux.”)

**PSK 91**

PRAK A 312 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 52, “Exercice, liste d’oiseaux.”)

**PSK 92**

PRAK A 330 (not copied)

OB Ura (list of wood, including <sup>ĝi</sup>tukul) (de Genouillac 1925: 53, “Exercice d’écriture (*giš-ku, giš-ki*).”)

**PSK 93**

PRAK A 393 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Noms des denrées.”)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 94**

PRAK A 395 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Trois noms de lieux.”)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 95**

PRAK A 396 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 54, “Noms de pierres.”)

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 96**

PRAK A 417 (not copied)

OB Ura, Tablet 5 (list of GNs)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tabl. lenticulaire, 3 noms de pays.”

Additional Information: lentil

**PSK 97**

PRAK A 420 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Tabl. lenticulaire: noms de pays?”)

**PSK 98**

PRAK A 463 bis (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1925: 56, “Tabl. lenticulaire, modèle (*ú-ta, ú-ta a-bi, ú-ta a-ĥi*).”)

**PSK 99**

PRAK B 39

Duplicates Tablet 1 of 1<sup>st</sup> mill. Ura, 103?-111 (*MSL* V, 16-17 [edition; Source S<sub>19</sub>])

Additional Information: partially duplicates the Sumerian column of CBS 1862 [OB

Sippar Ura 1-2; DCCLT Q000260], obv. ii 13'-19'. The same line order is seen in the 1<sup>st</sup>

mill. duplicate Ashm. 1924.818, obv. i 4-12.

**PSK 100**PRAK B 47

Duplicates portions of OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1 (52-63) (DCCLT Q000039)

See pp. 54-58 for score and discussion

Secondary Literature:

-*MSL V*, 90

**PSK 101**PRAK B 49

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, lines 198, 142-143 (DCCLT Q000041)

Secondary Literature:

-*MSL X*, 63 (transliteration)

**PSK 102**PRAK B 51

Bilingual portion (Akkadian in obv. columns i and iii) of OB Ura, Tablet 1 (*MSL V*, 14-16 [edition; Source S<sub>22</sub>])

Additional Information: examples of sources with this section of text include: CBS 1862 (OB Sippar Ura 1-2 [DCCLT Q000260]), obv. i 36'-41', ii 1'-6'; HS 1613+HS 1642 (OB Nippur), rev. ii 15-21; OB Nippur ki-ulutin-bi-še<sub>3</sub>, obv. iv 3'-9'; CBS 6456 (MB Nippur Ura), obv. i 1-7; Msk 731046 (MB Emar), obv. ii 11-18; Msk 731059a+ (MB Emar), obv. ii 3-6, 25-33.

**PSK 103**PRAK B 96

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, 455-457; 475-479 (DCCLT Q000001)

Editions:

-*MSL IX*, 42 (edition; Source Kich B)

**PSK 104**PRAK B 122 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1924: 34, "Exercice d'écriture; 1<sup>o</sup> liste de mesures . . . 2<sup>o</sup> série de giš.")

**PSK 105**PRAK B 173

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 4, 178-190 (DCCLT Q000041)

Secondary Literature:

-*MSL X*, 63 (transliteration)

**PSK 106**PRAK B 268 (not copied)

OB Ura (de Genouillac 1924: 37, "Liste de temples.")



**PSK 107**

PRAK B 397

OB Ura. Type II; obv. wood list; rev. food list (beer)

See p. 52

Secondary Literature:

-*MSL* 5, 90 (lists B 397 as a ‘forerunner’)

-Veldhuis 1997: 36, fn. 113

-Oppenheim 1950: 55

Additional information: a portion of the obverse roughly duplicates lines found in a few other manuscripts; obv. i 5-8 (<sup>ĝis</sup>ma-nu; <sup>ĝis</sup>ma-nu kur-ra; <sup>ĝis</sup>ma-nu šu ak-a; <sup>ĝis</sup>mur-an-na) is partially duplicated, for example, in Msk 731030 (MB Emar), obv. ii 25-32; RSO 5/1, p. 281 fig. 34c [MB Ura], obv. ii 21-26. However, there are several lines added to or deleted from the sequence seen in *PRAK B 397* (PSK 109).

**PSK 108**

AAICAB 1:100 (1924.519)

OB Ura (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 212-213; transliteration and partial score)

Additional Information: similar lines appear in Msk 731059a+ (MB Emar), obv. i 22'-36'; Ashm 1924.1643, obv. i' 9'-11' and ii' 1'-4'.

**PSK 109**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1924.2017)

OB Ura (food list?) (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 110**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1924.2090)

OB Ura (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 111**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1924.2098)

OB Ura (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 112**

MSL SS1, 91 (1932.176)

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 17-33 (DCCLT Q000039)

See pp. 59-60 for score

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 113**

MSL SS1, 92 (1924.1405)

Obv. OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 30-33 (DCCLT Q000039); rev. OB Ea

See p. 52

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14

**PSK 114**

MSL SS1, 93 (1924.563)

Obv. OB Ura; rev. OB Ea (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 115**

MSL SS1, 94 (1924.576)

Obv. OB Ura (wood list); rev. metrological (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4; catalogue entry)

**PSK 116**

MSL SS1, 98 (1924.587)

OB Ura (wood list) (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4, “obv. 326-328; rev. 359-361.”). Text may also duplicate CBS 29-16-13, rev. ii 1-7.

**PSK 117**

MSL SS1, 99 (1932.177)

OB Ura (aromatics? and copper list) (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

See p. 53

**PSK 118**

MSL SS1, 100 (1930.177o)

Portions of OB Nippur Ura (see pp. 60-62 for score and discussion)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 119**

MSL SS1, 105 (1932.156c)

OB Ura; obv. plants and fish; rev. fish and birds (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 222, table 11; catalogue entry)

**PSK 120**

OECT 4:157 (1932.153)

OB Ura; obv. list of fields; rev. clothing (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 222, table 11; catalogue entry)

See p. 53

**PSK 121**

OECT 4:158 (1932.154)

OB Ura (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 222, table 11; catalogue entry)

See p. 53

**PSK 122**

OECT 15:164 (1924.1716)

OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 3, lines 167-70 (list of lambs) (DCCLT Q000001)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 123**

OECT 15:174 (1931.93)

OB Ura (list of wood); see p. 62 for score

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 220, table 9 (catalogue entry)

Other Information: lentil; partially duplicates SC 1, 22 (OB Ura, Tablet 1), rev. ii 17-19 (list of wood).

**PSK 124**

Ohgama & Robson:5 (1931.150)

OB Ura, Tablet 4 (list of stones) (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 231 edition and hand copy)

See p. 53

**Metrological (PSK (159) 125-134)****(PSK 159)**

PRAK A 303 (not copied)

Metrological list; table of inverse squares (Robson 2004: 43, table 6 [catalogue entry])

**PSK 125**

PRAK A 285 (not copied)

List of weights (de Genouillac 1925: 52, "Liste de poids de 10, 20, 30, 50 mines.")

**PSK 126**

PRAK A 358 (not copied)

Field measurements (de Genouillac 1925: 53, "Calcul de domaine.")

**PSK 127**

PRAK A 504 (not copied)

List of weights (de Genouillac 1925: 57, "Exercice scolaire, liste de poids de 5 à 60 grains!")

**PSK 128**

PRAK A 505 (not copied)

List of measures (de Genouillac 1925: 57, "Exercice scolaire, mesure da *qa* et fractions de '*qa* à grain.")

**PSK 129**

PRAK A 568 (not copied)

Obv. list of weights; rev. Akkadian school exercise (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Face, liste de poids depuis ½ siclé; revers, exercice scolaire en sémitique.”)

**PSK 130**

PRAK B 26 (not copied)

List of field measurements (de Genouillac 1924: 31, “Mesures de champs de 5 à 24 gan.”)

**PSK 131**

PRAK B 171 (not copied)

List of distances (de Genouillac 1924: 35, “Semble des distances en 1000 et 100 x, prises de villes à villes.”)

**PSK 132**

PRAK B 234 (not copied)

List of grain measurements (de Genouillac 1924: 37, “Liste de mesures pour le grain, de 10 à 16 qa, de 90 à 200.”)

**PSK 133**

OECT 13, 35 (1924.564)

List of weights (Robson 2004: no. 23, pp. 38-39 [hand copy, transliteration, and description])

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 134**

OECT 15, 157 (1924.1341)

List of weights (Robson 2004: no. 26, pp. 41-42 [hand copy, transliteration, and description])

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 6 (catalogue entry)

**OB Ea (PSK (19, 113, 114), 135-140)**

**(PSK 19)**

*MSL* SS1, 112 (1932.187i+u)

Obv. i 1 – iii 3 = OB Ea (See p. 65)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**(PSK 113)**

MSL SS1, 92 (1924.1405)

Obv. OB Nippur Ura, Tablet 1, 30-33; rev. OB Ea (see p. 52)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (catalogue entry)

**(PSK 114)**

MSL SS1, 93 (1924.563)

Obv. OB Ura; rev. OB Ea (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 135**

PRAK A 22 (not copied)

OB Ea (*MSL XIV*, 110-111 [transliteration: Source 1.1])

See p. 65

**PSK 136**

PRAK A 117 (not copied)

OB Ea (*MSL XIV*, 111 [transliteration: Source 1.2])

See p. 65

**PSK 137**

PRAK A 118 (not copied)

OB Ea (*MSL XIV*, 111-112 [transliteration: Source 1.3])

See p. 65

**PSK 138**

PRAK C 38

OB Ea (*MSL XIV*, 140 [transliteration: Source #18])

**PSK 139**

MSL SS1, 115 (1932.156d)

OB Ea? (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 222, table 11; catalogue entry)

**PSK 140**

MSL SS1, 116 (1932.187t)

OB Ea? (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**Mathematical (PSK 141-200)**

**PSK 141**

PRAK A 9 (not copied)

Table of powers (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 142**

PRAK A 17 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 46, “Exercice d’écriture: face, chiffres.”)

**PSK 143**

PRAK A 19 (not copied)

Table of powers (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 144**

PRAK A 26 (not copied) + PRAK A 41 (not copied)

Arithmetical series (Robson 2004: 42, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 145**

PRAK A 55 (not copied)

Table of powers (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 146**

PRAK A 58 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Exercice de chiffres.”)

**PSK 147**

PRAK A 93 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 47, “Tablette lenticulaire, exercice d’écriture, chiffres.”)

**PSK 148**

PRAK A 99 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Tablette lenticulaire, exercice d’écriture, chiffres.”)

**PSK 149**

PRAK A 104 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice, signes et chiffres.”)

**PSK 150**

PRAK A 112 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Fragment scolaire, chiffres.”)

**PSK 151**

PRAK A 122 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Tablette lenticulaire, quelques chiffres.”)

**PSK 152**

PRAK A 124 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 48, “Chiffres en colonnes.”)

**PSK 153**

PRAK A 126 (not copied)

Arithmetical series (Robson 2004: 42, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 154**

PRAK A 133 (not copied)

Multiplication table (de Genouillac 1925: 48, "Exercice d'écriture, table de multiplication en *gar.*")

**PSK 155**

PRAK A 138 (not copied)

Multiplication table (de Genouillac 1925: 48, "Table de multiplication.")

**PSK 156**

PRAK A 172 (not copied)

Multiplication table (de Genouillac 1925: 49, "Table de multiplication.")

**PSK 157**

PRAK A 193 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 50, "Fragment d'exercice, chiffres '30' et '10'.")

**PSK 158**

PRAK A 246 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 51, "Exercice de chiffres.")

**PSK 159**

PRAK A 277 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 160**

PRAK A 288 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 52, "Tablette lenticulaire: exercice de chiffres.")

**PSK 161**

PRAK A 303 (not copied)

Metrological list; table of inverse squares (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 162**

PRAK A 307 (not copied)

Multiplication table? (de Genouillac 1925: 52, "Peut-être table de multiplication.")

**PSK 163**

PRAK A 329 (not copied)

Table of squares (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 164**

PRAK A 339 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 165**

PRAK A 365 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 166**

PRAK A 485 (not copied) + PRAK B 273 (not copied)

Arithmetical series (Robson 2004: 42, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 167**

PRAK A 507 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 168**

PRAK A 567 (not copied)

Mathematical problems (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 169**

PRAK A 584 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1925: 58, "Chiffres.")

**PSK 170**

PRAK B 25 (not copied)

Mathematical (de Genouillac 1924: 31, "Grande tablette inscrite de chiffres.")

**PSK 171**

PRAK B 54 + PRAK B 58

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 37 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 172**

PRAK B 57

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 38 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 173**

PRAK B 59 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)



**PSK 174**

PRAK B 66 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 175**

PRAK B 149

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 41 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 176**

PRAK B 168 (not copied)

Mathematical problems (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 177**

PRAK B 172

Table of inverse cubes (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 73 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 178**

PRAK B 177 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 179**

PRAK B 199

Table of powers (Neugebauer 1935: 78-79; edition)

Secondary Literature:

-Robson 2004: 43, table 6 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 180**

PRAK B 372 (not copied)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 181**

PRAK B 422

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 10; 40 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 182**

PRAK B 422 bis

Table of reciprocals (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

**PSK 183**

PRAK B 453 (not copied)

Arithmetical series

Secondary Literature:

-Robson 2004: 42, table 6 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 184**

PRAK B 458

Arithmetical series

Secondary Literature:

-Robson 2004: 42, table 6 (catalogue entry)

-Neugebauer 1935: 52 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 185**

PRAK C 16 + PRAK B 452

Table of squares (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

-Neugebauer 1935: 69 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 186**

PRAK C 22

Mathematical problems (Neugebauer 1935: 123; edition)

Secondary Literature:

-Robson 2004: 43, table 6 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 187**

PRAK C 127

Arithmetical series (Robson 2004: 42, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 55 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 188**

PRAK D 3

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 36 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 189**

PRAK D 9

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: 43, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary Literature:

-Neugebauer 1935: 41 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 190**

PRAK D 63

Mathematical problems (Neugebauer 1935; edition)

Secondary Literature:

-Thureau-Dangin 1938: 204-205 (transliteration and translation)

-Robson 2004: 43, table 6 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 191**

OECT 13, 64 (1924.620)

Tabular calculation (Robson 2004: no. 22, p. 38; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 192**

OECT 15, 149 (1924.586)

Mathematical (Robson 2004: no. 21, p. 38; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 211, table 1 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 193**

OECT 15, 170 (1930.365)

Tabular calculations (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15; catalogue entry)

**PSK 194**

Ohgama and Robson:1 (1924.833)

Erased calculations (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 230; hand copy and description)

**PSK 195**

Robson 2004:15 (1924.590)

Reciprocal table (Robson 2004: no. 15, p. 28-29; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 196**

Robson 2004:16 (1929.833)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: no. 16, p. 29-30; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 197**

Robson 2004:17 (1924.1214)

Table of squares (Robson 2004: no. 17, p. 30; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 198**

Robson 2004:20 (1924.573)

Multiplication table (Robson 2004: no. 20, p. 38; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 199**

Robson 2004:24 (1931.91)

Geometrical diagram of a triangle (Robson 2004: no. 24, pp. 39-40; hand copy, transliteration, and description)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 220, table 9 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 200**

Robson 2004:25 (1932.180)

Multiplication table

Secondary Literature:

-Robson 2004: no. 25, p. 40 (hand copy, transliteration, and description)

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10 (catalogue entry)

**DN Lists (PSK 201-211)****PSK 201**

PRAK A 167 (not copied)

DN list? (De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Tablette lenticulaire, modèle d’écriture (*Nin-an-na-gú-la, Nin-ša(g)-ga*).”)

**PSK 202**

PRAK A 199 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 50, “Exercice scolaire: liste de dieux? (*An-ki-ti*).”)

**PSK 203**

PRAK A 216 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 50, “Face, modèle d’écriture en grands caractères; revers, liste de dieux?”)

**PSK 204**

PRAK A 232 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 51, "Liste de dieux?")

**PSK 205**

PRAK A 273 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 51, "Liste de noms divins.")

**PSK 206**

PRAK A 289 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 52, "Modèle d'écriture, noms divins.")

**PSK 207**

PRAK A 353 (not copied)

Obv. Akkadian text; rev. DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 53, "Liste de dieux.")

**PSK 208**

PRAK A 373 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 54, "Exercice scolaire; face, noms de dieux; revers, liste de signes en colonnes.")

**PSK 209**

PRAK A 435 (not copied)

DN list? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, "Revers, peut-être liste de dieux.")

**PSK 210**

PRAK B 69 (not copied)

Weidner God List, lines 88-91 (identification by author; see p. 68) (de Genouillac 1924: 32, "Exercice d'écriture . . . liste de noms de dieux (Irra, Mama, Mami).")

**PSK 211**

PRAK B 276

DN list (see pp. 69-71 for score)

Secondary Literature:

-De Genouillac 1930: no. 10, lines 112ff (not a duplicate)

**Grammatical (PSK 212-221)****PSK 212**

PRAK A 171 (not copied)

Grammatical vocabulary? (de Genouillac 1925: 49, "Liste d'adjectifs (*gu-la*, *banda*).")

**PSK 213**

PRAK A 304 (not copied)

Grammatical? (de Genouillac 1925: 52, "Exercice grammatical.")

**PSK 214**

PRAK A 305 (not copied)

Grammatical? (de Genouillac 1925: 52, “Exercice grammatical.”)

**PSK 215**

PRAK A 412 (not copied)

Sumerian verbal paradigm? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Radicaux de verbes sumériens.”)

**PSK 216**

PRAK A 415 (not copied)

Verbal paradigm? (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Face, signes majuscules; revers, formes verbales.”)

**PSK 217**

PRAK A 558 (not copied)

Verbal paradigm? (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Face, formules verbales; revers, 3 colonnes de signes.”)

**PSK 218**

PRAK A 565 (not copied)

Akkadian verbal paradigm? (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Exercice de verbes sémitiques.”)

**PSK 219**

PRAK B 34

Bilingual duplicate of an OB Grammatical Text; obv. 5, 9-11 = CBS 19791, vi 5, xi 2'-4' (MSL IV, 126; transliteration, translation, some commentary)

**PSK 220**

PRAK B 36 (not copied)

Bilingual grammatical exercises? (de Genouillac 1924: 32, “Exercices grammaticaux, une colonne sémitique.”)

**PSK 221**

OECT 15, 155 (1924.1303)

Bilingual verbal paradigms (ġar) (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**Proverbs (PSK 222-242)**

**PSK 222**

PRAK A 37 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 223**

PRAK A 64 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 224**

PRAK A 72 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 225**

PRAK A 120 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 226**

PRAK A 155 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 227**

PRAK A 188 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 228**

PRAK A 200 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 229**

PRAK A 301 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 230**

PRAK A 398 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 231**

PRAK A 399 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 232**

PRAK A 400 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 233**

PRAK A 401 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 234**

PRAK A 402 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 235**

PRAK A 425 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 236**

PRAK A 456 (not copied)

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 237**

PRAK B 55

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

Secondary Literature:

-Alster 1997: 338

**PSK 238**

PRAK B 104

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 239**

PRAK B 106

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 240**

PRAK B 145

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

**PSK 241**

PRAK C 110

Proverbs? (Gordon 1960: 125, fn. 33: identifies text as likely proverb)

Secondary Literature:

-Alster 1997: 338

**PSK 242**

OECD 11, 9 (1924.1374)

Proverbs (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)



## **Akkadian Letter Exercises (PSK 243-250)**

### **PSK 243**

PRAK B 8 (not copied)

Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959: 26; transliteration and translation)

Additional Information: concerning the release of distresses.

### **PSK 244**

PRAK B 14 (not copied)

Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959: 28; transliterations and translation)

Additional Information: from ...-*gāmil*, concerning the release of distresses.

### **PSK 245**

OECT 13, 40 (1924.559)

Akkadian letter exercise (*AbB* 10:84)

Additional Information: tablet containing two letter exercises. The first letter concerns ...-*gāmil* and speaks of a meeting in Babylon. The second, on the reverse, is from *Rīš-Šamaš* to *Marduk-Nāšir*.

### **PSK 246**

OECT 13, 40 (1924.571)

Akkadian letter exercise (*AbB* 10:85)

Additional Information: fragmentary letter from *Marduk-mušallim*.

### **PSK 247**

OECT 13, 41 (1924.572)

Akkadian letter exercise (*AbB* 10:86; transliteration, translation, some commentary)

Additional Information: duplicate of *AbB* 108 (PSK 330). Letter concerning the use of a field. Speaks of the judges at the Gate of *Šamaš*.

### **PSK 248**

OECT 13, 47 (1924.593)

Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959: 26 (letter m); transliteration and translation)

Secondary literature:

-*AbB* 10:89

Additional Information: duplicates lines from *PRAK* B 8 and perhaps B 14. Obv. 1-3 corresponds to *PRAK* B 8, rev. 4-6 and possibly *PRAK* B 14, rev. 1-3.

### **PSK 249**

OECT 13, 48 (1924.595)

Akkadian letter exercise (Kraus 1959: 23-25 (letter l); transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

-*AbB* 10:90

**PSK 250**

OECT 13, 143 (1929.810)

Akkadian letter exercise (*AbB* 10:108; transliteration, translation, and some commentary)

Additional Information: duplicate of *AbB* 86 (PSK 327). Letter concerning the use of a field. Speaks of the judges at the Gate of Šamaš.

**Other Exercises (PSK 251-421)****PSK 251**

PRAK A 2 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Tablette lenticulaire, exercice: *nin-mu, nin-zi-ša, nin-bulug.*”

**PSK 252**

PRAK A 12 (not copied)

Exercise; lentil

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “*lugal...*, *lugal-pir-bi-an-na.*”

**PSK 253**

PRAK A 14 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Liste de signes.”

**PSK 254**

PRAK A 15 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Exercice d’écriture, 4 lignes de signes (*gir-gam*, etc).”

**PSK 255**

PRAK A 16 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Exercice d’écriture, colonnes de signes semblables.”

**PSK 256**

PRAK A 18 (not copied)

Exercise; lentil

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Analogie à n° 12: *lugal-da, lugal-an-kú(g)-ga.*”

**PSK 257**

PRAK A 24 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, “Exercice d’écriture (3 colonnes): signes.”

**PSK 258**

PRAK A 25 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, “Exercice d’écriture . . . *ud-an-...*, *ud-zi-ib-tum, ud-šu-ú-rum.*”

**PSK 259**

PRAK A 28 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Face, exercice (*an, an-na, an-ne, an-ne-mi*); revers, exercice de signes (*šar*) et chiffres."

**PSK 260**

PRAK A 32 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice d'écriture, liste de signes sur 5 colonnes."

**PSK 261**

PRAK A 34 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice de signes."

**PSK 262**

PRAK A 35 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice, liste de signes."

**PSK 263**

PRAK A 39 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Liste de signes en colonne."

**PSK 264**

PRAK A 54 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 46, "Exercice d'écriture, liste de signes."

**PSK 265**

PRAK A 59 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, "Fragment d'exercice, signes en colonnes."

**PSK 266**

PRAK A 60 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, "Exercice en gros caractères."

**PSK 267**

PRAK A 62 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, "6 colonnes de signes avec répétition, exercice."

**PSK 268**

PRAK A 66 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, "Vocabulaire?"

**PSK 269**

PRAK A 76 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, "2 colonnes de liste de signes."

**PSK 270**

PRAK A 95 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, “Fragment de grande tablette scolaire, colonnes de signes (*ma-na*).”

**PSK 271**

PRAK A 96 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 47, “Fragment d’exercice d’écriture, signes.”

**PSK 272**

PRAK A 98 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice, signes.”

**(PSK 129)**

PRAK A 568 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Face, liste de poids depuis ½ sicle; revers, exercice scolaire en sémitique.”

**(PSK 207)**

PRAK A 353 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Quelques signes sur 2 colonnes (texte sémitique) ; au revers, liste de dieux.”

**PSK 273**

PRAK A 106 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Fragment d’exercice en sémitique (quelques signes).”

**PSK 274**

PRAK A 107 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Fragment d’exercice scolaire sémitique (*ba-ni, ili-na-ad-ni...*).”

**PSK 275**

PRAK A 123 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice, signe NIN avec 2 ou 4 traits.”

**PSK 276**

PRAK A 127 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Face, grands caractères; revers, exercice (signe *pisán*).”

**PSK 277**

PRAK A 128 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice (*ni-ni, u, u, u, šu*).”

**PSK 278**

PRAK A 135 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Exercice d’écriture, liste de signes.”

**PSK 279**

PRAK A 146 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Petit fragment d’exercice d’écriture, signes.”

**PSK 280**

PRAK A 148 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Tablette lenticulaire, modele d’écriture (peut-être bilingue).”

**PSK 281**

PRAK A 152 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Exercice (*an-al, an-gab-ti, an-pisaán, an-bi*).”

**PSK 282**

PRAK A 177 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Exercice de signes.”

**PSK 283**

PRAK A 178 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 49, “Fragment de tablette d’exercice: face, signes; revers, texte.”

**PSK 284**

PRAK A 189 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Fragment de grande tablette d’exercice, signes semblables.”

**PSK 285**

PRAK A 201 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Exercice de signes.”

**PSK 286**

PRAK A 202 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Face, signes; revers, mots.”

**PSK 287**

PRAK A 205 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Tablette scolaire (*sag-la, sag-ti*).”

**PSK 288**

PRAK A 210 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Fragment de liste de signes (exercice).”

**PSK 289**

PRAK A 219 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Fragment d’exercice d’écriture (signes *ni*, *in* et *ti*).

**PSK 290**

PRAK A 221 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Mots en colonne (*šu-la*, *šu-nam*).”

**PSK 291**

PRAK A 223 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 292**

PRAK A 226 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Face, modèle de signes; revers, liste de signes et mots.”

**PSK 293**

PRAK A 227 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Liste de signes, et peut-être, vocabulaire.”

**PSK 294**

PRAK A 228 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 50, “Face, grands caractères (*giš-apin-šu*).”

**PSK 295**

PRAK A 234 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Face. grands caractères (*lul-a-ni*); revers, liste de signes.”

**PSK 296**

PRAK A 235 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Signes (liste) sur tablette informe.”

**PSK 297**

PRAK A 237 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Face, grands caractères; revers, moyens.”

**PSK 298**

PRAK A 242 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Face, *kaš-pal*; revers, signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 299**

PRAK A 258 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Grimoire d’essai d’écriture.”

**PSK 300**

PRAK A 265 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Exercice en grands caractères.”

**PSK 301**

PRAK A 274 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 51, “Fr. gr. tabl. : partie de 2 colonnes de mots sémitiques.”

**PSK 302**

PRAK A 286 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Tablette lenticulaire: fractions de mine d’argent (1/2, 2/3).”

**PSK 303**

PRAK A 290 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Liste de *pisán* (*mah, šà-du, i-gab*, etc.).”

**PSK 304**

PRAK A 291 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Liste de sortes de palmiers.”

**PSK 305**

PRAK A 297 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Tablette informe portant les signes *gí* et *ir*, de forme archaïque.”

**PSK 306**

PRAK A 309 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Exercice scolaire et grimoire.”

**PSK 307**

PRAK A 310 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Face, colonne de signes.”

**PSK 308**

PRAK A 316 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “exercice d’écriture; au revers, *a* majuscules.”

**PSK 309**

PRAK A 319 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 52, “Liste de signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 310**

PRAK A 333 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Scolaire: face, signes; revers, mots en colonnes.”

**PSK 311**

PRAK A 334 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Scolaire: face, signes; revers, mots en colonnes.”

**PSK 312**

PRAK A 335 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Tablette scolaire en majuscules.”

**PSK 313**

PRAK A 345 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Tablette informe trapézoïdale avec simples ‘bâtons.’”

**PSK 314**

PRAK A 347 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Revers liste de mots (*gaz-tu-ní, gi-na, šu-id*).”

**PSK 315**

PRAK A 357 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Fr. d’exercice scolaire, liste de signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 316**

PRAK A 359 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Liste d’objets, restent les déterminatifs *kam* et *pag*.”

**PSK 317**

PRAK A 364 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 53, “Tablette scolaire, liste de mots sumériens (*tur-tur, tur-nitah, gal*).”

**PSK 318**

PRAK A 375 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 54, “Tablette scolaire: face, *igi-a-pal*; revers, signes.”

**PSK 319**

PRAK A 416 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, “Colonnes de signes.”

**PSK 320**

PRAK A 421 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, “Exercice de signes.”

**PSK 321**

PRAK A 436 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, “Fr. de tabl. en grands caractères: texte sémitique.”



**PSK 322**

PRAK A 437 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, "Liste de signes en colonnes."

**PSK 323**

PRAK A 451 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, "Exercice d'écriture, signes en colonnes."

**PSK 324**

PRAK A 459 bis (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Liste de signes."

**PSK 325**

PRAK A 460 bis (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Quelques grands caractères."

**PSK 326**

PRAK A 461 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Exercices scolaires, 3 colonnes de signes ou de mots."

**PSK 327**

PRAK A 465 bis (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Liste de signes."

**PSK 328**

PRAK A 471 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Grands caractères (*ud-bar...*)."

**PSK 329**

PRAK A 482 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 56, "Liste de signes."

**PSK 330**

PRAK A 492 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Gros signes et chiffres sur petite tablette."

**PSK 331**

PRAK A 508 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 332**

PRAK A 509 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 333**

PRAK A 510 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 334**

PRAK A 511 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 335**

PRAK A 512 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 336**

PRAK A 513 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 337**

PRAK A 514 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 338**

PRAK A 515 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes." Lentil. Writing exercise.

**PSK 339**

PRAK A 516 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 340**

PRAK A 517 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 341**

PRAK A 518 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 342**

PRAK A 519 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 343**

PRAK A 520 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, "Liste de signes, exercice scolaire."

**PSK 344**

PRAK A 521 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “Liste de signes, exercice scolaire.”

**PSK 345**

PRAK A 522 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “Signes en 2 colonnes.”

**PSK 346**

PRAK A 524 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “Tablette moyenne, 1 colonne (signe KA).”

**PSK 347**

PRAK A 525 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “1 colonne (signe PI); revers, rien.”

**PSK 348**

PRAK A 526 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 57, “2 colonnes de signes (HA).”

**PSK 349**

PRAK A 534 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Tablette lenticulaire (*ab-a, ab-a-a, iá-a*).”

**PSK 350**

PRAK A 535 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Exercice d’écriture, 4 colonnes de signes.”

**PSK 351**

PRAK A 562 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Exercice scolaire de signes (2 colonnes).”

**PSK 352**

PRAK A 563 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Côté, signes; revers, mots sumériens.”

**PSK 353**

PRAK A 564 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Une colonne de signes.”

**PSK 354**

PRAK A 571 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Tablette scolaire, liste de signes par colonnes.”

**PSK 355**

PRAK A 574 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Signes et un chiffre.”

**PSK 356**

PRAK B 16

Akkadian list? Contains the PN *Ipiq-Arahtim*, along with other fragmentary Akkadian lines.

**PSK 357**

PRAK B 22 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 31, “Exercice d’écriture, tablette scolaire.”

**PSK 358**

PRAK B 27 (not copied) + PRAK B 38 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 31, “Listes de signes répétés.”

**PSK 359**

PRAK B 43

De Genouillac 1924: 32, “Fragment de grande tablette vocabulaire.”

**PSK 360**

PRAK B 73 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 33, “Exercice d’écriture, liste de signes.”

**PSK 362**

PRAK B 114 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 34, “Liste de mots avec le déterminatif d’insectes (?)”

**PSK 363**

PRAK B 117

De Genouillac 1924: 34, “Scolaire, phrases sumériennes; au revers, signes et chiffres.”

**PSK 364**

PRAK B 126

De Genouillac 1924: 34, “Fragment de vocabulaire.”

**PSK 365**

PRAK B 158 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 35, “Exercice d’écriture mal formée, signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 366**

PRAK B 160 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 35, “Texte scolaire, quelques signes.”

**PSK 367**

PRAK B 190 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 36, “Essais d’écriture, signes et chiffres sur toute la surface.”

**PSK 368**

PRAK B 195 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 36, “Exercice d’écriture, 2 colonnes de signes.”

**PSK 369**

PRAK B 227

Obv. OB Ka<sub>2</sub>-gal; rev. OB Diri? (*MSL* XIII, 243, Source D)

**PSK 370**

PRAK B 228

Unclear Akkadian fragment

**PSK 371**

PRAK B 254 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 37, “liste (?)”

**PSK 372**

PRAK B 284 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 38, “Signes en grands caractères.”

**PSK 373**

PRAK B 310 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 38, “Exercices.”

**PSK 374**

PRAK B 330

De Genouillac 1924: 39, “Fragment sumérien de grande tablette, caractères majuscules.”

**PSK 375**

PRAK B 338 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 39, “Fragment de liste.”

**PSK 376**

PRAK B 353

De Genouillac 1924: 39, “Exercice, au revers signes *AN*.”

**PSK 377**

PRAK B 366

Unclear Akkadian fragment

Additional information: mentions Ḫursaġkalama.

**PSK 378**

PRAK B 373 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 40, “Tablette d’exercice d’écriture, liste de signes par colonnes.”

**PSK 379**

PRAK B 374 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 40, “Tablette d’exercice d’écriture, liste de signes par colonnes.”

**PSK 380**

PRAK B 409 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: “Liste de laines (?)”

**PSK 381**

PRAK B 424

De Genouillac 1924: 42, “Tablette scolaire, liste de signes avec gloses (?)”

**PSK 382**

PRAK B 441 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 42, “Liste de signes en colonnes.”

**PSK 383**

PRAK B 446 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 43, “Liste de gens désignés par leur nom ou leur fonction.”

**PSK 385**

PRAK C 126

Unclear Akkadian text

**PSK 387**

PRAK D 22

Unilingual Sumerian section of OB Ka<sub>2</sub>-gal (*MSL* XIII, 243; Source H)

**PSK 388**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1924.575)

Unidentified lexical fragment (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4; catalogue entry)

**PSK 389**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1932.187r) OECT 15:183

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 390**

MSL SS1, p. 66 (1931.184)

Syllabary A, lines 15-19; 57-86; 106-124; 137-166 (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 231-233; hand copy and transliteration)

**PSK 391**

MSL SS1, p. 67 (1924.1066)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 392**

MSL SS1, p. 67 (1924.1530)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 393**

MSL SS1, p. 67 (1932.187d)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 394**

MSL SS1, 103 (1929.818)

Unidentified sign list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15; catalogue entry)

**PSK 395**

MSL SS1, 104 (1924.1222)

Unidentified sign list (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 396**

MSL SS1, 107 (1931.137a)

Obv. OB Saġ tablet; rev. OB Nippur Izi, Tablet 1, lines 143-147; 217-251; 301-321; 357-365; 405-414 (see pp. 77-82 for score)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223, table 12 (catalogue entry)

-MSL SS1, 13 (Source H; translation of obverse)

**PSK 397**

MSL SS1, 108 (1932.392)

OB Nippur Lu, lines 147-153; 211-230; 319ff; 613-616; 648-654 (see pp. 82-86)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 398**

MSL SS1, 109 (1924.1342)

OB Nippur Lu (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 399**

MSL SS1, 117 (1924.562)

OB Nippur Izi, Tablet 1, lines 316-325 (see pp. 76-77 for score)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 400**

MSL SS1, 118 (1924.599)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 401**

OECT 5, 54 (1924.569)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 402**

OECT 5, 56 (1924.566)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 403**

OECT 11, 6 (1932.373f)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223, table 12; catalogue entry)

**PSK 404**

OECT 11, 10 (1924.1474)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 212, table 2; catalogue entry)

**PSK 409**

OECT 13, 30 (1924.554)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 410**

OECT 13, 51 (1924.601)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 411**

OECT 13, 60 (1924.613)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 214, table 3; catalogue entry)

**PSK 412**

OECT 13, 62 (1924.617)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 210, fn. 11; catalogue entry)

**PSK 413**

OECT 13, 128 (1924.1532)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 211, table 1; catalogue entry)

**PSK 414**

OECT 15, 150 (1924.608)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 211, table 1; catalogue entry)



**PSK 415**

OECT 15, 151 (1924.887)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 215, table 4; catalogue entry)

**PSK 416**

OECT 15, 159 (1924.1575)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

**PSK 417**

OECT 15, 167 (1929.812)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15; catalogue entry)

**PSK 418**

OECT 15, 175 (1931.137b)

Sippar Phrasebook? (Veldhuis 2014: 193, fn. 412)

Secondary Literature:

-Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223, table 12 (catalogue entry)

**PSK 419**

OECT 15, 180 (1932.187d)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 420**

OECT 15, 249 (1932.287)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 221, table 10; catalogue entry)

**PSK 421**

Unpublished (1931.84)

Unidentified school text (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223, table 12; catalogue entry)

**Literary (PSK 422-494)**

*Decad:*

**PSK 422**

PRAK C 77

Šulgi A

Obv. = lines 2-12; rev. = lines 25-33 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 1865-1909)

Editions:

-Klein 1981: 183 (Source K): edition, composite text, variants, translation

-Delnero 2006: 1865-1870; 1876-1880 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)

**PSK 423**

PRAK B 9

Lipit-Ištar A

Obv. = lines 9-20; rev. = lines 52-56 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 1918-1961)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 1921-1926; 1938-1940 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)

-Römer 1965: 29-38 (composite text, variants, translation)

**PSK 424**

PRAK B 175

Lipit-Ištar A

Obv. = lines 33-35; rev. = lines 36-39 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 1918-1961)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 1931-1934 (score; Source K<sub>3</sub>)

-Römer 1965: 29-38 (composite text, variants, translation)

**PSK 425**

TCL 16, 65 (AO 6891)

Lipit-Ištar A

Obv. = lines 1-19; rev. = lines 20-31 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 1918-1961)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 1918-1930 (score; Source X<sub>5</sub>)

-Römer 1965: 29-38 (composite text, variants, translation)

**PSK 426**

TCL 16, 67 (AO 6893)

Lipit-Ištar A

Obv. = lines 31-52; rev. = lines 53-68 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 1918-1961)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 1930-1945 (score; Source K<sub>2</sub>)

-Römer 1965: 29-38 (composite text, variants, translation)

**PSK 427**

PRAK C 13

Inana B

Obv. = lines 118-122; rev. = 126, 131-34 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2091-2093; 2096-2097; 2098-2099)

Editions:

-Zgoll 1997: 275-277; 280-283 (edition; Source KiA)

-Delnero 2006: 2091-2093; 2096-2097; 2098-2099 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)

-Attinger 2015d (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 428**

OECT 11, 7 (1930.232h)

Inana B

Obv. = lines 140-47; rev. broken (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2101-2105)

Editions:

- Zgoll 1997: 286-290 (edition; Source KiB)
- Delnero 2006: 2101-2105 (score; Source K<sub>2</sub>)
- Attinger 2015d (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 429**

PRAK C 53

Enlil A

Obv. = lines 1-7; rev. not preserved (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2116-2172)

Editions:

- Delnero 2006: 2116-2118 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)
- Attinger 2015b (edition; Source K<sub>1</sub>; secondary literature)

**PSK 430**

OECT 11, 31 (1924.2405)

Enlil A

Obv. = lines 115-117; rev. ? (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2116-2172)

Editions:

- Delnero 2006: 2157-2158 (score; Source K<sub>2</sub>)
- Attinger 2015b (edition; Source K<sub>2</sub>; secondary literature)

**PSK 431**

PRAK B 150

Keš Temple Hymn

Obv. = lines 51-58; rev. = lines 76-79 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2173-2238)

Editions:

- Delnero 2006: 2203-2208 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)
- Gragg 1969 (edition; *PRAK* source not cited)

**PSK 432**

PRAK B 272

Inana and Ebiḫ

Obv.<sup>?</sup> = lines 141-149 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2345-2349)

Editions:

- Delnero 2006: 2345-2349 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)
- Attinger 2015c (secondary literature, translation, commentary)
- Delnero 2011: 123-149 (secondary literature, updated readings)

**PSK 433**

PRAK B 167 (may belong to *PRAK B 174*)

Gilgameš and Ħuwawa A

Obv. = lines 38?-43; rev. = lines 60-63? (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2396-2474)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 2419-2422; 2428 (score; Source K<sub>2</sub>)

-Edzard 1990: 178 (edition; Source KiB)

**PSK 434**

PRAK B 174 (may belong to *PRAK B 167*)

Gilgameš and Ħuwawa A

Obv.<sup>?</sup> = lines 145-50 (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2396-2474)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 2461-2463 (score; Source K<sub>3</sub>)

-Edzard 1990: 178 (edition; Source KiC)

**PSK 435**

JRAS (1932) 914-21 (*Ashm. 1932.155*)

Gilgameš and Ħuwawa A

Obv. i = lines 26-44; ii = lines 71-97; rev. iii = lines 98-121; iv = lines 149-73a (line numbering based on Delnero 2006: 2396-2474)

Editions:

-Delnero 2006: 2413-2422; 2430-2447; 2463-2471 (score; Source K<sub>1</sub>)

-Edzard 1990: 177 (edition; Source KiA)

Additional Information: Perhaps written by the same scribe as *OECT 5, 4*

*Other Sumerian literary texts*

**PSK 436**

PRAK B 11

Hammurabi D & E

Obv. = Hammurabi D, lines 30-37; rev. = Hammurabi E, lines 43-46 (Sjöberg 1972: 58-71; edition)

**PSK 437**

PRAK B 20

Instructions of Šurruapak

Obv. = lines 136-43; rev. = lines 198-208 (Alster 2005: 80-81; 90-92; Source K<sub>2</sub>)

**PSK 438**

OECT 5, 33 (*1932.156b*)

Instructions of Šurruapak

Obv. i = lines 49-70; ii = lines 123-45; rev. iii = lines 151, 154-68; iv = lines 218-40 (Alster 2005: 66-71; 77-86; 93-95; Source K<sub>1</sub>)

**PSK 439**

PRAK B 46 + PRAK C 94

Dumuzi-Inana I

Obv. = lines 26-38; rev. ? (Sefati 1998: 194-205; edition; Source B)

**PSK 440**

PRAK B 76

Eduba B

Obv. = lines 75?-81?; rev. = lines 87ff? (Sjöberg 1973: 108 (Source W); cites line numbers, but because of the poor state of preservation, he does not treat the tablet)

**PSK 441**

PRAK B 88

SEpM 8, "Lugal-nesaê to a King" (B8, 3.3.3): obv. 13-17; rev. 18-21 (Kleinerman 2011: 136-140; Source K1)

**PSK 442**

PRAK B 464

Letter from Sin-Iddinam to Ninisina

Obv. 12'-18' = lines 1-7; remainder of tablet: ? (line numbering based on Brisch 2007: 142-156; Source Ki 1)

**PSK 445**

PRAK C 10

CKU #24

Obv. = 10-11; rev. = 14-16 (Michalowski 2011: 467-468; edition, score; Source Ki1)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2012 (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 446**

PRAK D 60

CKU #13

Obv. = 1-20; rev. = 21-34 (Michalowski 2011: 358; edition, score; Source Ki1)

**PSK 447**

PRAK C 45 + PRAK D 53

Dumuzi's Dream

Obv. = lines 1-28; rev. = lines 29-55 (Alster 1972: 52-59; edition, composite text, variants; Sources D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>2</sub>)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2015a (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 448**

PRAK C 109

Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird

Obv. = lines 261-67; rev. = lines 292-98 (Wilcke 1969: 114-119; edition; Source U)

**PSK 450**

OECT 5, 1 (1924.560)

Ninurta's Exploits

Obv. = lines 159-73; rev. = lines 228-37 (van Dijk 1983: 71-73; 82-84; edition; Source Z)

**PSK 451**

OECT 5, 4 (1932.156a)

Išbi-Erra E

Obv. i = lines 14-36; ii = lines 48-73; rev. iii = lines 74?-88; iv = lines 108-118 (Reisman 1976; edition; Source B)

**PSK 452**

OECT 5, 8 (1937.646)

Iddin-Dagan D

Obv. = lines 1-39; rev. = lines 40-80 (Gurney and Kramer 1976: 20-26; edition)

Additional Information: mislabeled in Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223

**PSK 453**

OECT 5, 12 (1932.415)

Lament over Ur

Obv. = lines 272-83; rev. = lines 284-93 (Samet 2014: 68-71; edition, Source K<sub>1</sub>)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2014 (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 454**

OECT 5, 13 + OECT 5, 15 (1932.522+1932.526j)

Lament over Ur

Obv. 375-98; rev. 400-36 (Samet 2014: 74-77; edition, Source K<sub>3</sub>)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2014 (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 455**

OECT 5, 14 (1932.526o)

Lament over Ur

Obv. = lines 339-44; rev. = lines 345-58 (Samet 2014: 72-73; edition, Source K<sub>2</sub>)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2014 (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 456**

OECT 15, 177 (1932.156e)

Ninġišzida's Journey to the Netherworld

Obv. = lines 28-34; rev. = lines 35-39 (Zólyomi 2003: 70-81; edition, Source G)

**PSK 457**

TCL 16, 64 (AO 6890)

Curse of Agade

Obv. = lines 1-29; rev. = lines 30-60 (Cooper 1983: 73-110; edition, Source A)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2015e (literature, translation, commentary)

**PSK 458**

TCL 16, 66 (AO 6892)

Curse of Agade

Obv. = lines 1-8, 27; rev. = lines 35-72 (Cooper 1983: 71-77; 86; 90-115; edition, Source B)

B)

Secondary literature:

-Attinger 2015e (literature, translation, commentary)

*Uncertain literary*

**PSK 459**

PRAK A 10 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 45, “Hymne à un dieu ou héros.”

**PSK 460**

PRAK A 130 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 48, “Texte religieux, hymne à Enki.”

**PSK 461**

PRAK A 422 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 55, “Au revers, nom de <sup>d</sup>Gi(bi)l-ga-mes.”

**PSK 462**

PRAK A 561 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1925: 58, “Texte à Išhara et Nintud.”

**PSK 463**

PRAK B 45 + PRAK B 53

Royal hymn

Secondary literature:

-Lewy 1961: 58-59

-Edzard 1957: 130, Anm. 689

-Kupper 1957: 175

-RGTC 3, 15

-PSD A3: 13

Additional Information: mentions the Martu.

**PSK 464**

PRAK B 91

Refers to the gods ruling, though no deity appears to be named.

**PSK 465**

PRAK B 98

Speaks of the moon, sun, and the “light of all the lands?”

**PSK 466**

PRAK B 131

Possibly belonging to *PRAK B 11*, a duplicate of Hammurabi D+E

Secondary Literature:

-Van Dijk 1966: 60

-Sjöberg 1972: 58

**PSK 467**

PRAK B 138

Royal hymn?

Secondary Literature:

-Sjöberg 1960: 73

Additional Information: refers to the “beloved of the gods”

**PSK 468**

PRAK B 187

Hymn?

**PSK 469**

PRAK B 239

Mentions the Esara?

**PSK 470**

PRAK B 243

Mentions Babylon and the Ebabbar.

**PSK 471**

PRAK B 263

Mentions Zababa.

**PSK 472**

PRAK B 265

Mentions the Ekur.

**PSK 473**

PRAK B 305

Mentions Nanna.



**PSK 474**

PRAK B 370

Hymn to Ningirsu?

**PSK 475**

PRAK B 384 (not copied)

De Genouillac 1924: 40, “Hymne invoquant (?) le vent d’Est.”

**PSK 476**

OECT 5, 36 (1930.363h+1924.2070)

Ohgama and Robson 2010: 218, table 7 (“Sumerian literature: unidentified fragment.”)

**PSK 477**

OECT 5, 38 (1930.385)

Ohgama and Robson 2010: 223, table 12 (“Sumerian literature: unidentified fragment.”)

**PSK 478**

OECT 5, 50 (1929.808)

Azimua hymn? (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 227, table 15; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Löhnert 2009: 36; 82

**PSK 479**

OECT 11, 8 (1924.2058)

Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (“Sumerian literature: unidentified.”)

*Akkadian Literary Texts*

**PSK 480**

PRAK B 82

Akkadian love poem (see p. 88)

**PSK 481**

PRAK B 87

Akkadian hymn to Ištar/Innin?

Secondary literature:

-CAD P, p. 275a

Description: 1<sup>st</sup> person Akkadian hymn<sup>?</sup> to Ištar/Innin, with a Sumerian litany between double rulings: [x] a lugal-ĝu<sub>10</sub>; [<sup>d</sup>]In-nin-ĝu<sub>10</sub>; [<sup>d</sup>]Ištar x-ĝu<sub>10</sub>; [<sup>d</sup>]Iškur lugal-ĝu<sub>10</sub>.

**PSK 482**

PRAK B 128

Akkadian letter prayer

De Genouillac 1924: 34, “Tablette lenticulaire, exercice d’écriture.”

Additional Information: to Marduk from *Iddin-Amurru*; lentil.

**PSK 483**

PRAK B 185

Very fragmentary Akkadian literary text mentioning Nana and Dagan.

**PSK 484**

PRAK B 472

Akkadian love poem (Westenholz 1987: 415-425; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

**PSK 485**

PRAK C 3

Akkadian love poem (part of *PRAK B 472*?)

Secondary literature:

-Westenholz 1987: 416, fn. 6

-Groneberg 2003: 57

**PSK 486**

PRAK C 30

Akkadian love poem

Secondary literature:

-Wasserman 2003: 204 (catalogue entry)

Additional Information: mentions Ištar and perhaps Šu-Sin.

**PSK 487**

PRAK C 37

Akkadian letter prayer to Ištar of Īursaġkalama of Kiš. Incipit and colophon essentially preserved: 'a<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>d</sup> išt<sup>ar</sup> ħur-saġ-kalam-ma // [...] -na kiš<sup>ki</sup>; colophon: [i<sup>tu</sup>] 'APIN<sup>1</sup>.DU<sub>8</sub>.A U<sub>4</sub>.8.KAM // [MU A]. 'ENGUR<sup>1</sup> A-pil-EN.ZU-ĤE<sub>2</sub>.ĜAL<sub>2</sub> [MU.UN.BA.AL]

**PSK 488**

PRAK C 41

Akkadian love poem (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

**PSK 489**

PRAK C 114 + PRAK C 136

Akkadian (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

**PSK 490**

PRAK C 125

Akkadian love poem (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

**PSK 491**

PRAK C 132

Akkadian love poem (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

**PSK 492**PRAK C 134

Akkadian literary text (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

Additional Information: may mention Šu-Sin.

**PSK 493**PRAK C 135

Akkadian love poem (Wasserman 2003: 204; catalogue entry)

**PSK 494**PRAK D 55

Akkadian; reverse 1-3 reads  $\text{r}i^1\text{-na tar-ba-}\check{s}i\text{-im // in-na-am-ru-ma // i}\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}a\text{-ab-tu}$  “They have been seen and seized in the cattlemen!” (see CAD S, 34). The excerpt appears with a large space before and after. The text is dated  $[\text{iti}]\text{r}^1\text{NE}^1\text{.NE.}\hat{G}\text{AR r}^1\text{UD}^1\text{.5.}[\text{KAM}]$ .

**Laments***Known laments***PSK 495**PRAK B 48 + PRAK B 296

$ir_2$  na-mu-ma-al (join made by author; see pp. 185-192 for score, translation, and partial commentary)

Secondary literature:

-Cavigneaux 1987: 54

-Gabbay 2014b: 146, fn. 607

-Alster and Geller 1990: 17 (introduction to text #33)

Description: preserves 13 lines on the obverse and 11 on the reverse, appears to join *PRAK B 296*, which only partially preserves the first three lines of the tablet (*PRAK B 296*, obv. 1-3 = *PRAK C 47+*, obv. 1-3). This join made by the author duplicates portions of several texts, including *PRAK C 47+*, BE 30/1:9, and CT 58:33 (BM 100111). It is a relatively well preserved 1<sup>st</sup> person lament, containing standard divine epithets (/nu-gig-an-na/, /kur gul-gul/, etc.).

**PSK 496**PRAK B 110

Uruamairabi (identification made by author)

Obv. 1-4 = lines 106-107 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 541-545)

Description: Small fragment, five lines preserved on the obverse and two on the reverse.

Although the first four lines duplicate a portion of Uruamairabi, the text that follows obv. 4 does not.

**PSK 497**

PRAK B 188

a uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu im-me (see p. 199 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary)

Description: Small fragment that preserves a section of a lament spoken in the first person, which likely contains the incipit /a uru<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub> im-me/.

**PSK 498**

PRAK B 264

Uruamairabi

Obv. 2'-4' = Tablet 19, lines 60-62 (Volk 1989: 119-121; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

- Fritz 2003: 109 (Source f)
- Black 1987: 50
- Alster 1988: 11
- Civil 1974: 96
- Römer 1998: 307

**PSK 499**

PRAK B 298

utu-gin<sub>7</sub>

Obv. 4'-6' = lines 25-26 (Löhnert 2009: 89; 138; Source Ki1)

Secondary literature:

- Cohen 1988: 118 (commentary to obv. 5'-6')

**PSK 500**

PRAK B 307

im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub> (identification made by author)

Obv. 2-4 = lines c+242-44 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 604-623; see pp. 183-185 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary)

Secondary literature:

- Cohen 1981: 9, fn. 44

**PSK 501**

PRAK B 308

im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>

Obv. 1-3 = lines a+89, 91, and 95 (Cohen 1988: 610-611; Source C)

**PSK 502**

PRAK B 322 + PRAK C 25

VS 2: 25 (join made by author)

Obv. 1-14 = VS 2: 25, obv. ii 48 - iii 3 (see pp. 218-219 for score showing join)

Editions:

-Krecher 1966: 148ff; fn. 123&130 (transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

-Jaques 2009: 380; 494

Description: Both fragments were identified and treated by Krecher, but were not joined. The incipit of *PRAK B 322+* does not match any known portion of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), but does parallel the incipit of *PRAK D 45*.

**PSK 503**

PRAK B 332

Uruamairabi, Tablet 19, lines unclear (Volk 1989: 7; 119 & fn. 241; partial commentary)

**PSK 504**

PRAK B 348

Uruamairabi

Obv. 1'-6' = lines 26-35 (Cohen 1988: 546; Source PP)

Secondary literature:

-Volk 1989: 5

-Jaques 2009: 39; 64; 406; 475, fn. 1006

**PSK 505**

PRAK B 357

zi-bu-um zi-bu-um

Obv. 1-5 = lines 13-18 (Löhnert 2009: 89; 111; edition, Source Ki2)

-Cohen 1988: 348-349 (Source A)

**PSK 506**

PRAK B 389

Uruamairabi (identification made by author)

Obv. 2-5 = lines 2, 4, 6-7 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 541-545)

Description: Small fragment, which is likely the top of a single column tablet. The tablet is blank following the first portion of obv. 5.

**PSK 507**PRAK B 396 + PRAK B 444

Uruamairabi

Obv. 1-6 = lines 1-2, 4-5, 9-10 (Cohen 1988: 545; partial edition *PRAK B 396* = Source XX; *PRAK B 444* = Source F)

Secondary literature:

- Volk 1989: 5; 19-20 (transliteration, translation, and commentary)
- Alster 1992a: 28
- Black 1987: 50
- Black 1991: 33, fn. 79
- Gabbay 2014b: 52, fn. 218; 53; 208, fn. 113

Description: *PRAK B 396* preserves the first lines of the composition on the obverse, which connects to *PRAK B 444* for the remainder of the preserved text. The reverse of *PRAK B 444* contained only traces, while *PRAK B 396* preserves the end of the apparently single column tablet. At this time, I cannot place these final lines of *PRAK B 396* with another portion of Uruamairabi.

**PSK 508**PRAK B 417

Uruamairabi (identification made by author)

Rev. 1-2 = lines 21-22? (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 541-545)

Description: Tablet fragment preserving five lines on the obverse and three on the reverse. I identified that rev. 1-2, although in reverse order, appear to duplicate lines 21-22. However, the obverse of the tablet does not parallel any portion of Uruamairabi.

**PSK 509**PRAK B 421 bis

Duplicates various compositions (see Appendix A for score)

Secondary literature:

- Cohen 1988: 455

Description: Fragment which contains seven lines on the obverse and two lines on the reverse. The reverse also contains the lower left corner of a large box, with what appears to be the double lines of a possible “X” shape inside of the box. Obverse 2-4 duplicates lines from en-zu sa<sub>2</sub>-mar-mar (lines 18-19) gu<sub>4</sub>-ud-nim e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra (SBH 18 (VAT 284), obv. 30). The remainder of the obverse as well as the few lines on the reverse appear unduplicated.

**PSK 510**PRAK B 465am-e bara<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ra1<sup>st</sup> Kirugu

Secondary literature:

-Black 1987: 43

Description: Although the first line of *PRAK B 465* is broken, and no apparent extant duplicate of the initial section of the Balaĝ exists, it appears that *PRAK B 465*, obv. 1 represents the incipit of the Balaĝ Ame Baraanara: (am-e bara<sub>2</sub>-an-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-na nam-sig<sub>3</sub>-ga), written with the form ([...]-x-ra-na-ra uru<sub>2</sub>-ni nu? [...] / u<sub>4</sub>-tu-su? u<sub>4</sub> kur [...]). An additional difficulty with this identification is the fact that, at present, we cannot collate the tablet. The sign before /ra/, in the hand copy, appears to be some form of /tab/, but it is not possible to make a definitive determination.

**PSK 511**PRAK B 471

Aruru Balaĝ; portions duplicate Diĝir Pae (identification made by author)

See Appendix B for edition

Secondary literature:

-Zhi 1989: 81-83 (commentary to some lines on reverse)

-Black 2005: 51 (general description)

-Krecher 1966: 113, fn. 329

-Kramer 1982b: 211-12

-Volk 1990: 37-38.

-Krecher 1974-77: 194

-Cohen 1981: 187

-PSD A2: 125; 150

-PSD A4: 154; 157

-PSD B: 154

-Sjöberg 1969: 121

Description: Multi-column tablet, containing at least three Kirugus, which include a temple litany, epithets of Aruru, and various references to the steppe throughout the preserved text.

**PSK 512**PRAK C 6im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>

Obv. 1-Rev. 6 = lines b+140-152 (Cohen 1988: 613; edition, Source D)

### **PSK 513**

PRAK C 8 (+) PRAK C 138 (+) PRAK C 108 (+) PRAK D 41 (+?) PRAK C 116

Inana (Cohen 1988: 726-727; edition of *PRAK C 8*)

Secondary literature:

- Fritz 2003: 179 (Sources A<sub>5</sub> & A<sub>7</sub>)
- Alster 1986: 20, fn. 4
- Löhnert 2009: 40; 71
- Black 1987: 53
- Löhnert 2008: 431
- Wilcke 1976: 285
- Alster 1972: 20
- Falkenstein 1959b: 98, fn. 3
- Jaques 2009: 386
- Krecher 1966: 92, fn. 241

Description: Cohen refers to tablet *PRAK C 8* as lines 1-17 of the Balaĝ ĝuruš mu-lu ir<sub>2</sub>-ra, but Fritz lists these as duplicates of eden-na u<sub>2</sub>-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>. It is clear that the text concerns Dumuzi. For a discussion of the tablets, see Fritz 2003: 179.

### **PSK 514**

PRAK C 9

e-lum gu<sub>4</sub>-sun<sub>2</sub>

Obv. 2-8 = lines c+110-119 (Cohen 1988: 272-291; edition, Source T)

Secondary literature:

- Sjöberg 1960: 164
- PSD A3: 211

Description: Fragment that preserves the initial portion of 12 lines on the obverse, and 11 lines on the reverse. While a portion of the obverse duplicates Elum Gusun, there are no known parallels for content on the reverse.

### **PSK 515**

PRAK C 26

Uruamairabi?

Cohen 1988: 555; transliteration and translation (Source G)

Secondary literature:

- Krecher 1967-68: 263
- Cavigneaux 1993: 256
- Durand and Guichard 1997: 49
- Jaques 2009: 168; 413; 49
- PSD A1:128

Description: Phonetic liturgy that focuses on Inana. In obv. 3', the line appears to duplicate *TCL 16:68* (AO 6905), rev. 16: (u<sub>3</sub>-a-š-er-ra-ma a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [...] / dam-ma-še- [...]) may be the phonetic writing of ([uru<sub>2</sub>-a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a-še]-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> dam-a-še-er-ra-am<sub>3</sub> dumu-a-še-er-[ra-am<sub>3</sub>]).



**PSK 516**

PRAK C 31

*PRAK B 471* (identification made by author)

Obv. 1'-5' = *PRAK B 471*, obv. i 3'-7' (see Appendix B for edition)

**PSK 517**

PRAK C 32

VS 2: 25

Obv. 2'-13' = obv. i 9-23 (Krecher 1966: 83-100; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

-Löhnert 2009: 89; 123

-Krecher 1967a: 26

-Jaques 2009: 40; 170, fn. 380; 490; 502; 503; 545

-PSD A1,130

**PSK 518**

PRAK C 42

im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>? a-še-er ġi<sub>6</sub>-ta?

Secondary literature:

-Black 1987: 51 (labels the text as Immal Gudede)

-Krecher 1974-77: 194

Description: Small fragment, which contains six partial lines on the obverse, and three partial lines on the reverse.

**PSK 519**

PRAK C 47 + PRAK C 119

ir<sub>2</sub> na-mu-ma-al

See pp. 185-192 for score, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

-Cavigneaux 1987: 54; 62 (new hand copy)

-Gabbay 2014b: 11, fn. 50; 235, fn. 55; 208, fn. 113; 85, fn. 48; 146, fn. 607; 91, fn. 96; 116, fn. 331; 117, fn. 342

-Kramer 1975: 141-66

-Cohen 1981: 12, fn. 85

-Löhnert 2009: 4

-Römer 2001: 71

-Kramer 1977: 5

-*BE* 30:9

**PSK 520**

*PRAK C 52 + PRAK C 121 + PRAK B 442*

Uruamairabi

Obv. i 1-rev. iv 6' = lines 1-118 (Cohen 1988: 536-545; 545-546; 549-550 (Sources H [*PRAK C 52*], J [*PRAK C 121*], and E [*PRAK B 442*]))

Secondary literature:

- Volk 1989: 5, fn. 43; fn. 44; 12; 19
- Volk 1997: 59, fn. 30
- Black 1985: 46; 48
- Black 1987: 50
- Black 1991: 33, fn. 79
- Cavigneaux 1993: 255-256
- Civil 1974: 96
- Cohen 1977: 15
- Gabbay 2014b: 52, fn. 218; 53; 208, fn. 113
- Krecher 1967b: 98f; 102, fn. 15; 108
- Krecher 1995: 193
- Löhnert 2009: 16, fn. 75
- Wasserman and Gabbay 2005: fn. 3
- Krecher 1966: fn. 79; 196-197
- Krecher 1965: 18, fn. 10
- Black 1996: fn. 48
- Schretter 1990: 191; 195
- Jaques 2009: 39; 94; 124, fn. 275; 168; 406; 413; 475, 494, fn. 1006; 546; 559
- Attinger 2011: 41, 46.
- PSD A1: 18
- PSD A1: 88; 128
- PSD A3: 211
- PSD A4: 28
- PSD B: 207
- CAD Š2: 144

Description: *PRAK C 52* is part of the same tablet as *PRAK C 121*, with only a few lines broken between the two (see Delnero forthcoming). *PRAK B 442* joins *PRAK C 52*, with the ends of several lines in column i preserved on the left side of *PRAK B 442*. The tablet is highly syllabic, and the phonetic writings are discussed at length in Chapter Five of the dissertation.

**PSK 521**PRAK C 57im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>

Obv. 1-5 = lines c+239?-243 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 604-623). See pp. 183-185 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

-Krecher 1967b: 108, fn. 22

-Cohen 1981: 9, fn. 44

**PSK 522**PRAK C 58

Uruamairabi

Rev. 1-7 = Tablet 19, lines 20-28 (Volk 1989: 102-106; edition)

Secondary literature:

-Cohen 1988: 556 (Source I)

-Löhnert 2009: 362; fn. 985

-Black 1987: 50

Description: Small fragment with five lines on the obverse and seven on the reverse. The lines on the obverse do not parallel Uruamairabi.

**PSK 523**PRAK C 66 + PRAK B 271

Unassigned (join made by author)

Obv. 1-rev. 6 = BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879), rev. 15-29 (and others). See pp. 207-212 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

-Cohen 1988: 466

-Krecher 1966: 115; 152, fn. 174

-Krecher 1974-77: 194

-Michalowski 1987: 45

-Schretter 1990: 198

Description: This join duplicates of the unassigned 1<sup>st</sup> mill. Inana Balaĝ found in the bilingual text BRM 4:9 (MLC 1879).<sup>628</sup> The joined tablet is duplicated by the Kiš tablets *PRAK B* 186, obv. 1'-t.e.2 (lines 3-6), as well as *OECT* 5, 41 (PSK 618), obv. 5'-6' (lines 1-2).

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<sup>628</sup> See Black 1987: 77.

**PSK 524**

PRAK C 70

Uruamairabi

Obv. 1'-7' = Tablet 20, lines 41-46 (Volk 1989: 169-171; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

- Black 1987: 50
- Kramer 1942: 14
- Attinger 1993: 123
- Cohen 1975a: 609

Description: Fragment that preserves the end of the text on the reverse with a double line, followed by blank space. The obverse preserves a portion of the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. version of Uruamairabi, but the reverse does not.

**PSK 525**

PRAK C 72

e-lum gu<sub>4</sub>-sun<sub>2</sub>

Obv. 1-top edge 3 = lines e+161-203 (Cohen 1988: 272-291; edition, Source B)

Secondary literature:

- Löhnert 2009: 39; fn. 720
- Falkenstein 1963: fn. 30; 37
- Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2000: 24
- Cohen 1981: 184
- Falkenstein 1959a: 67; 113, fn. 7
- Kramer 1964: fn. 8
- Kramer 1990: 261
- Sjöberg 1960: 40; 92; 156
- van Dijk 1960: 151
- PSD A1:40
- PSD A3: 197
- CAD I/J, 263
- CT 42:3

**PSK 526**

PRAK C 74

a-še-er ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ta

Obv. 1-rev. 19 = lines 1-39 (Cohen 1988: 706-707; edition, Source A)

Secondary literature:

- Black 1985: 20; 68: transliteration (Source A)
- Black 1987: 53
- Cohen 1981: 196
- Gabbay 2014b: 52, fn. 218; 53; 208, fn. 113
- PSD A1:129

Description: Tablet contains the incipit /a-še-er ĝi<sub>6</sub>-[...]/, although the first Kirugu is poorly preserved. This is the only tablet that contains the first 39 lines of the composition.

## **PSK 527**

### PRAK C 92

Inana

Obv. 10-13 = Uruamairabi, lines 4-7 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 541-545)

See p. 195 for partial transliteration

Description: Highly syllabic, relatively well preserved obverse, which contains a 1<sup>st</sup> person lament of Inana. Obv. 10-13 contains a common *Versatzstück* found in Uruamairabi (and a number of other texts), although the final portion of each of these lines is not represented in Uruamairabi. In addition, no other text on the tablet parallels Uruamairabi.

## **PSK 528**

### PRAK C 97 + PRAK C 39

Nisaba B (join made by author; see pp. 225-232 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary)

Obv. 1'-3' = lines 9-13; rev. 1'-8' = lines 15-21 (Cohen 1975a: 602-604 (no. 4, text B = *PRAK C 39*; *PRAK C 97* transliterated in commentary to lines 17-21) See also Wilcke 1973: 15-17 (transliteration, translation, and commentary to text duplicated on obverse) and Krecher 1966: 211-214 (commentary to *PRAK C 97*, obv. 3'-5' & *PRAK C 39*, 1'-6')

Secondary literature:

- Krecher 1965: 15-16
- Cohen 1981: 9, fn. 44
- Shehata 2009: 270, fn. 1561
- Schretter 1990: 145; 171
- Bergmann 1964: 4
- Hallo 2010: 27, fn. 58
- Krecher 1967b: 93; 100-101; fn. 15
- Wilcke 1976: 288
- Shehata 2010: fn. 45
- Sjöberg 1960: 19
- Jaques 2009: 260, fn. 535; 512, fn. 1050

Description: To date, these two tablets do not appear to have been joined, but *PRAK C 39*, obv. 1'ff corresponds to *PRAK C 97*, obv. 6'ff, and *PRAK C 39*, rev. 2'ff corresponds to *PRAK C 97*, rev. 1'ff (*PRAK C 39*, obv. 1' preserves VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), obv. 15, the previous line of the composition). When the two fragments are joined, the tablet preserves Nisaba B, lines 9-13 (obverse) and 15-21 (reverse), while obv. 3'-12' duplicates a portion of a text edited by Wilcke found in the Liverpool City Museum (56.5.1).<sup>629</sup> The use of the phonetic writing of /gir-zal/ for /giri<sub>17</sub>-zal/ in *PRAK C 97*, rev. 5'-6' ([...]zal/ appearing in line 7) as well as in *PRAK C 39*, rev. 3' (2x) makes it almost certain that these two fragments belong to the same tablet.

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<sup>629</sup> Wilcke 1973. For comment on these lines, see Wilcke's edition.

**PSK 529**

PRAK C 100

VS 2: 25

Obv. 4'-20' = obv. iii 6-23 (Krecher 1966: 159-164; transliteration and commentary)

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 54-55; 63 (new hand copy)
- Attinger 1993: 132
- PSD A2: 37
- PSD B: 77; 80; 97

**PSK 530**

PRAK C 105

diġir pa-e<sub>3</sub> (identification made by author)

Obv. 2-8 = lines 2-8 (based on Cohen's line numbering in Cohen 1988: 731-736) See pp. 124-125 and Appendix B for edition.

Secondary literature:

- Falkenstein 1963: 23, fn. 78

**PSK 531**

PRAK C 122

zi-bu-um zi-bu-um

Obv. 1-12 = lines 16-31 (Löhnert 2009: 89; edition, Source Ki4)

Secondary literature:

- Cohen 1988: 349 (Source B)
- Black 1987: 39
- Krecher 1968: 264
- Schretter 1990: 147; 148
- Römer 1965: 104
- PSD A4: 166.

**PSK 532**

PRAK D 7 + PRAK D 38

Uruamairabi

Rev. 10'-14' = lines 67-71 (Cohen 1988: 551; partial edition, PRAK D 38 = Source OO)

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 55; 65 (new hand copy)
- Kramer 1977: 4
- Krecher 1967b: 21
- Wasserman and Gabbay 2005: fn. 3
- Jaques 2009: 233

Description: The reverse contains a portion of Uruamairabi. However, no other portion of the tablet parallels this Balaġ.

**PSK 533**PRAK D 45

VS 2: 25

Obv. 2-rev. 1 = obv. ii 46-53; rev. vi 8-16 (Krecher 1966: 148-159; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

Secondary literature:

- Bergmann 1964: 31
- Jaques 2009: 380; 413; 494
- Krecher 1965: 14
- PSD A1:138
- PSD A3: 214
- PSD A4: 6

Description: The single column tablet preserves a clear duplicate of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+) on the obverse and the single line on the reverse, which is followed by a single ruling and blank space. All but obv. 1 duplicates VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), as with *PRAK C 25 + PRAK B 322*; the incipit does not match any known portion of VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), but does parallel the incipit of *PRAK C 25 + PRAK B 322*.

**PSK 534**OECT 5, 18 (1930.341a)

im-ma-al gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub> , c+218-225 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 604-623)

Secondary literature:

- Gurney and Kramer 1976: 4
- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 5
- Löhnert 2009: 81
- Cohen 1988: 606

Description: Small fragment of the top of a multi-column tablet. The text duplicates a portion of Immal Gudede, 218-225 (MBI 5, rev. iii 4-14), which ends with a single ruling in MBI 5 (CBS 11932) and a double ruling in *OECT 5, 18* (PSK 534).

**PSK 535**OECT 5, 45 (1930.230g)

Uruamairabi

Obv. i 1-7 and ii 2-7 = lines a+181-86 and a+191-96 (Cohen 1988: 536; edition, Source N); see also Civil 1983b (Source C)

Secondary literature:

- Volk 1989: 6
- Black 1987: 50
- Borger 1990: 35

Description: Poorly preserved, multi-column tablet. The obverse contains a phonetic duplicate of the 1<sup>st</sup> mill. version of Uruamairabi, while the reverse preserves only a few signs.

**PSK 536**

OECT 5, 46 (1924.1062)

Uruamairabi

Obv. ii 6-9 = lines 2-5 (Civil 1983b: 47; 49; transliteration)

Secondary literature:

-Volk 1989: 6

Description: Multi-column tablet, possibly the same tablet as *OECT 5, 45* (PSK 535); only the obverse is preserved.

**PSK 537**

OECT 5, 49 (1924.1443)

Uruamairabi

Obv. 1-4 = lines 64-72, OB recension (Volk 1989: 121-125; transliteration, translation, and commentary, and Gurney and Kramer 1976: 42; transliteration, translation, and commentary)

See pp. 179-180 for re-analysis

Secondary literature:

-Black 1987: 50

-Krecher 1974-77: 195

-Löhnert 2009: 36; 82

-Attinger 1998: 42

-Cassin 1980-83: 217

-PSD A1: 193

-PSD B: 28, 184

Description: Highly syllabic text, which contains nine lines on the obverse of the tablet; the reverse was uninscribed.

*Other laments***PSK 538**

PRAK A 419 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1925: 55, “Fragment sumérien dialectal.”)

**PSK 539**

PRAK A 528 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1925: 57, “Texte religieux sumérien dialectal.”)

**PSK 540**

PRAK A 578 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1925: 58, “Hymne sumérien dialectal.”)

**PSK 541**

PRAK B 24 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 31, “Fragment sumérien dialectal (*na-ám-lù... , na-àm-gím-šú...*).”)



**PSK 542**

PRAK B 60

Unclear; see p. 236 for a partial transliteration and translation

Description: Perhaps a phonetic text. In obv. 4'-5', however, the language may indicate a lament.

**PSK 543**

PRAK B 123

Inana; see p. 192 for partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

-Civil 1990: 20

-Krecher 1965: 14, fn. 5

Description: Although the obverse of the tablet is quite fragmentary, reverse 3-5 appear to represent at least a portion of the lamentational liturgy Udam Kiamus "It Touches the Earth like a Storm," lines 194 and 195 (see Cohen 1988: 148-149 for line numbering).

**PSK 544**

PRAK B 135 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 34, "Texte religieux mentionnant Ellil.")

**PSK 545**

PRAK B 184

Inana; see pp. 197-198 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Description: Small fragment of the top of a tablet, with three lines on the obverse and three on the reverse. The text is a first person lament, where the goddess is crying out for her spouse, child, house, city, and shrine. Rev. 1-2 may duplicate SBH 51 (VAT 265+), rev. 7-8.

**PSK 546**

PRAK B 186

Unassigned; see pp. 207-212 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Description: Small fragment, duplicating portions of several laments, including *PRAK C* 66+, *OECT* 5, 41 (PSK 618), and other texts.

**PSK 547**

PRAK B 192

Inana; see p. 193 for partial transliteration and translation

Description: The reverse of the tablet is uninscribed, and the obverse is poorly preserved. However, the extant text (esp. obv. 1-3) seems to focus on a goddess.

**PSK 548**

PRAK B 233

Unclear (Löhnert 2009: 39, notes an unclear marking on the edge of the tablet)

**PSK 549**PRAK B 240

Enlil; see p. 215 for a partial transliteration

Description: Very small fragment of the center of a tablet, only preserving five lines on one side of the tablet. Obv. 3' may duplicate Elum Gusun, line 105 (line numbering based on Cohen 1988: 272-291)

**PSK 550**PRAK B 244

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 37, "Fragment sumérien dialectal (?).")

**PSK 551**PRAK B 245

Unclear

Secondary literature:

-Sjöberg, Bergmann, and Gragg 1969: 68

Description: Text contains the incipit /ama a-a-ᵏu<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup> [...] / "My mother (and) father..."**PSK 552**PRAK B 251 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 37, "Sumérien dialectal à Ellil.")

**PSK 553**PRAK B 255Bau? Text mentions Bau, Ningal, and the desert. It is the same tablet as *PRAK B 259*; perhaps this was a drawing error by de Genouillac.**PSK 554**PRAK B 274 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 38, "Religieux sumérien . . . (noms de Gula et Sin).")

**PSK 555**PRAK B 277Ninḥursaĝ? Obverse<sup>?</sup> of a very small fragment, which mentions Ninḥursaĝ and may refer to An as father-in-law of Utu.**PSK 556**PRAK B 319Unclear; small fragment that preserves seven partial lines on the obverse and perhaps six on the reverse. The text may contain a phonetic form /ga-ša-ᵏne<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/ for /ga-ša-an-ne/ (obv. 6').**PSK 557**PRAK B 320

Unclear; the preserved text describes the destruction of a house and city.

**PSK 558**PRAK B 329

Unclear; contains a litany, where each line ends with the repeated form /en<sub>3</sub>-du/ “song.”

**PSK 559**PRAK B 331

Ninisina

Part of the same tablet as *PRAK C 59*; see pp. 220-223 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Description: Column 2 contains a list of epithets of Ninisina. The text mentions the sanctuary of Bau, along with the repeated form /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ “outdoor shrine.” *PRAK B 331* (as well as *PRAK C 59*) is a multi-column tablet. The form /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ appears in every other line in *PRAK B 331* obv. ii (2', 4', 6'), as well as in every other line in *PRAK C 59* obv. ii (2', 4', 6', 8', 10', 12', 14'?). In addition, *PRAK B 331*, obv. ii 7' is followed by an apparent single ruling, which may indicate the end of the Kirugu. Thus, it seems likely that *PRAK B 331* should follow *PRAK C 59*.

**PSK 560**PRAK B 344

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 39, “Fragment religieux mentionnant l'*arali*.”)

**PSK 561**PRAK B 350

Unclear; see p. 235 for a partial transliteration and translation

Description: The obverse appears to speak of a goddess.

**PSK 562**PRAK B 351

Inana; in obv. 2', the tablet preserves /[...] r<sup>x</sup> r<sup>bi</sup> [...] r<sup>d</sup> dumu-[zi? ...]/, while in obv. 8', we see the verbal form /[...] ba-gul-r<sup>la</sup>? [...] / (“*which destroyed.*”)

**PSK 563**PRAK B 352

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 39, “Petit fragment sumérien, au revers *NIN*.”)

**PSK 564**PRAK B 354 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 39, “Sumérien dialectal à Ellil.”)

**PSK 565**PRAK B 358

Unclear; text may mention Isin or Ninisina.

**PSK 566**

PRAK B 361

Inana; obv. 2'-3' appear to contain language indicative of a Dumuzi/Inana composition, including the repeated lexeme /mu-ud-na/ "spouse," and possibly /šeš/ "brother in obv. 3'.

**PSK 567**

PRAK B 362

Enlil; mentions an "evil storm" and destruction.

**PSK 568**

PRAK B 364

Unclear; may mention destruction and perhaps /uru<sub>2</sub>/.

**PSK 569**

PRAK B 369 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 40, "Hymne sumérien dialectical à une déesse.")

**PSK 570**

PRAK B 379

Inana

Secondary literature:

-Krecher 1967b: fn. 9

Description: Contains the refrain /im-me/ "she says" on the obverse.

**PSK 571**

PRAK B 380

Unclear; mentions the steppe, as well as Kiš being destroyed? It is possible that *PRAK B 380* is part of the same tablet as *PRAK B 390*, based on content.

**PSK 572**

PRAK B 386 (not copied)

Unclear (de Genouillac 1924: 40, "Fragment mentionnant en refrain l'*arali*.")

**PSK 573**

PRAK B 390

Unclear; mentions the steppe, and perhaps someone going to a river. It may be that *PRAK B 390* is part of the same tablet as *PRAK B 380*, based on content.

**PSK 574**

PRAK B 391

Enlil

Description: Fragmentary text that mentions Enlil, the Ekur, and perhaps the plundering of the Eanna. Obv. 7': /e<sub>2</sub>-an-na šu gaba-<sup>r</sup>zi<sup>1</sup> [...]/ "Let me plunder the Eanna." Obverse 6 also refers to the /saĝ-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-ge/ "the black-headed ones." Finally, Enlil and the Ekur may be mentioned in rev. 3' (/ [<sup>d</sup>mu-ul]-lil<sub>2</sub>-la e<sub>2</sub>-kur-ra mu-da-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>).

**PSK 575**PRAK B 395

Enlil; obv. 1' contains /mu-lil<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ĝu<sub>10</sub>/

**PSK 576**PRAK B 405

Enlil; obv. 1': [...] ʽu<sub>3</sub>?ʽ-ʽmuʽ-*un kur-kur-ra-ʽke<sub>4</sub>?ʽ / še-ʽAʽ.ʽANʽ* “*The lord of all the lands...*”

**PSK 577**PRAK B 413

Inana; see p. 194 for partial transliteration

Description: Reverse may duplicate portions of VS 2: 73+ (VAT 1323), rev. 3-10, but this is unclear. The text may be phonetic.

**PSK 578**PRAK B 415

Inana; only the right side of the tablet is preserved, but obv. 1' appears to speak of the “lord, Dumuzi” ([...] ʽenʽ?ʽ *dumu-zi ʽdumuʽ?* [x]). Obverse 4' appears to be a phonetic form of /sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub>-an-na/, as it reads /... sa<sub>12</sub>]-du<sub>5</sub>-a-na-ʽzuʽ/ “your land recorder of An,” an epithet that appears in other Dumuzi/Inana texts (e.g., CBS 3656, obv. 41: /sa<sub>12</sub>-du-an-na ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in<sup>ki</sup>-na-men<sub>3</sub>/). Finally, the phonetic line in obv. 11 ([...] -la ma-aḥ mu-lil<sub>2</sub>-ʽxʽ-ʽzuʽ) may duplicate a line in an Inana lament found in UET 6/2, 205, obv. ii 21 (ka<sub>2</sub>-gal maḥ<sup>d</sup> mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-ʽleʽ).

**PSK 579**PRAK B 420 bis

Unclear; very small fragment that partially preserves the ends of six lines on the obverse and four lines on the reverse. A /MU/ sign appears at the end of obv. 1'-4', which likely indicates a first person text (/ -ĝu<sub>10</sub>/); a double ruling follows these lines. The traces on rev. 4' appear to read /ga-ʽšaʽ-ʽanʽ/.

**PSK 580**PRAK B 421

Unclear; tablet contains 12 rather poorly preserved lines on the obverse and 6-8 very fragmentary lines on the reverse. The preserved text may speak of the anger of Enlil.

**PSK 581**PRAK B 425 bis

Inana; see p. 194 for partial transliteration

Secondary literature:

-Kramer 1940: 241.

-BE 31: 41-43.

Description: Obv. 2'-5' may parallel lines from BE 31, pl. 16 (Ni 2327), rev. iii 12-19, but this identification is unclear.

**PSK 582**PRAK B 447

Unclear; see p. 235 for partial transliteration and translation

Description: Multi-column tablet that has a very poorly preserved obverse, and a partially broken reverse. Reverse column iii contains a 1<sup>st</sup> person cry, “Where is my house? Where is my city? Where is my spouse? Where is my child?”

**PSK 583**PRAK B 460

Unclear obv. ii 5': /ama<sup>d</sup>nin-a-zu/; obv. ii 6': /<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam u<sub>4</sub>-mu-na/ “Bau, spouse of the lord” (see Immal Gudede, line 83 [<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> dam umun-na u<sub>4</sub>-] in Cohen 1988: 610); obv. ii 8': /egi<sub>2</sub><sup>?</sup>-ma eš<sub>3</sub> [...] / (perhaps phonetic /egi<sub>2</sub> ama eš<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-/ in Immal Gudede, line 87; Cohen 1988: 611).

**PSK 584**PRAK B 461

Lament of a goddess (likely Inana); see p. 235 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

-Alster 1992a: 35

Description: The obverse contains a list of epithets to Inana, beginning with /ga-ša-an/. The text appears to center on the goddess lamenting the loss of her house and possessions.

**PSK 585**PRAK B 463

Unclear; speaks of plundering, as well as things going away from the sanctuary and the house.

**PSK 586**PRAK B 471 bis

Inana; see p.195 for a partial transliteration and translation

Description: The reverse of the tablet contains a number of epithets of Inana.

**PSK 587**PRAK C 5

Unclear; the preserved text may contain phonetic writings, and speaks of a spouse, shepherd, child, and house (obv. 2'-6').

**PSK 588**PRAK C 7

Inana; see pp. 200-201 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Description: Inana is described (ostensibly) as lamenting over her spouse, Dumuzi, though the specific circumstances are unclear.

**PSK 589**

PRAK C 27

Unclear

Secondary literature:

-Edzard 1976: 57, fn. 225.

Description: The right side of the tablet is preserved on the obverse and reverse; 10 lines appear on the obverse, and five very partial lines on the reverse. The preserved text speaks of a sister, a spouse, and a woman.

**PSK 590**

PRAK C 48

Unclear

Secondary literature:

-Schretter 1990: 198.

-Krecher 1966: 165.

Description: Bottom of a single column tablet, which contains text on the left side and bottom of the tablet. The preserved text refers several times to one who destroys the city, and destruction in general (repeated verb /gul/ “to destroy”).

**PSK 591**

PRAK C 34

Enlil; see p. 215 for a partial transliteration and translation

Description: Phonetic fragment, preserving ca. 22 partial lines. Contains the common word pair /dub<sub>2</sub>/ and /sag<sub>3</sub>/, describing the destructive “word” that makes the heavens rumble and the earth shake, that causes the Anuna gods to forsake their place, and has neither diviner nor interpreter (obv. 4’ ff).

**PSK 592**

PRAK C 49

Unclear; first-person possessive suffix appears to be present in obv. 4’ and 6’ (/ [...] - $\hat{g}u_{10}$ /). The verbal form /ba-gul-gul/ “they are destroyed” is repeated from obv. 2’-7’.

**PSK 593**

PRAK C 50

Enlil; Obverse 2’-4’ contain / $^f u_3^1$ -mu-un lil<sub>2</sub>- $^f la^{?1}$ / “lord of the wind,” /ur-sa $\hat{g}$ / “hero,” and / $^f d^{?1}$ mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ “Enlil.”

**PSK 594**

PRAK C 51

Inana

Secondary literature:

- Wilcke 1969: 41.
- Jaques 2009: 494; 502
- Krecher 1966: 88; 92, fn. 241

Description: Obverse 4': /mu-lu ir-ra-me<sub>2</sub>-en/ "you are the one of tears;" obv. 5': /mu-lu a-še-ra-me<sub>2</sub>-en/ "you are the one of laments." See Jaques 2009: 494 and 502-503. Damu may also be mentioned in obv. 7': /[x] ʽdumuʽ da-mu/.

**PSK 595**

PRAK C 54

Inana; see pp. 202-204 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 53; 61 (new hand copy).
- Cavigneaux 1998a: 75.

Description: Small tablet fragment, which preserves four lines on the obverse and six on the reverse. The tablet contains a highly syllabic text concerning the lamentation of Inana; she is described in the third person as the one who wept alone for her spouse, Dumuzi. A portion of the reverse (rev. 3-6) contains the common *Versatzstück* of Inana epithets seen in compositions like Uruamairabi.

**PSK 596**

PRAK C 56

Aruru

See p. 217 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

- Black 2005: 51.
- Falkenstein 1963: 23, fn. 78.
- Krebernik 2003-2005: 326.
- Black 2003: 52, fn. 94.

Description: Left side of a tablet, which preserves 11 lines on the obverse and eight on the reverse. A double ruling follows the first line on the reverse. The text is an Aruru lament, which refers to Enlil, along with a number of Adab deities.

**PSK 597**

PRAK C 59

Unclear

See p. 220-223 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Description: This fragment is part of the same tablet as *PRAK B 331*. There are several parallels in theme to VS 2: 25 (VAT 609+), including the mentioning of /ub-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>/ and Ninisina. The litany seen in obv. ii alternates between a shrine and an epithet of Ninisina.



**PSK 598**

PRAK C 62

Unclear; tablet may contain phonetic Emesal.

**PSK 599**

PRAK C 63

Inana; obverse 2'-4' ([...] ga-ša-an [...] // [...] am<sub>3</sub> ib<sub>2</sub> [...] // [...] lu<sub>2</sub> amaš [...] // [...] lu<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>3</sub> [...]). The reverse contains references to brickwork and the palace: rev. 3' & 7' (/še-eb/); rev. 6' (/e<sub>2</sub>-gal/).

**PSK 600**

PRAK C 65

Enki? The Emesal form of Eridu may appear in obv. 2' (/ʽuru<sub>2</sub><sup>ʽ1</sup>-ze<sub>2</sub>-ba<sup>ki</sup>/), while Enki's name may be seen in obv. 7' (/en-ki/).

**PSK 601**

PRAK C 93

Unclear; the preserved text may contain phonetic forms.

**PSK 602**

PRAK C 113

Ninbara?

Secondary literature:

-PSD A4: 28

Description: Obverse 1'-4' (nin-ʽbara<sub>2</sub><sup>ʽ1</sup> ʽx<sup>1</sup> [...] // ab<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-ra ʽx<sup>1</sup> [...] // še de<sub>3</sub>-na-ša<sub>4</sub> še ʽx<sup>1</sup> [...] // ʽnbur<sub>2</sub> kur-kur-ra [...]) “*Oh Ninbara? ... // Oh cow! In tears ... // Let her mourn for him! ... // The stalk of the lands ...*”). Both /ʽnbur<sub>2</sub>/ “stalk” and /ambar/ “marsh” appear throughout the obverse of the tablet.

**PSK 603**PRAK C 118

Inana

Secondary literature:

- Fritz 2003: 125
- CT 58:2
- Krecher 1966: 82; 129, A. 240
- Krecher 1967b: 20; 93; 108
- Krecher 1965: 14; 18
- Schretter 1990: 144
- Sefati 1998: 298
- Alster 1972: 113
- Jaques 2009: 231; 472 (partial transliteration and translation) 494; 503; 547; 562, fn. 1131-Alster 1991: 90
- Falkenstein 1957: 306
- Wilcke 1976: 282
- PSD A3: 194; 200
- PSD B: 81; 174

Description: Large, multi-column tablet that preserves a text focused, apparently on Dumuzi. Duplicates CT 58:2 (BM 61892), obv. 6-9 and TUM 3:26 (HS 1494), obv. 6-16.

**PSK 604**PRAK C 124

Inana; see p. 196 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 53; 58 (new hand copy)
- Civil 1983a: 61
- Falkenstein 1959b: 98, fn. 3
- van Dijk 1960: 90
- Michalowski 1980: 267.

Description: Obv. 4' contains /dam/ "spouse," and obv. 6' may read /<sup>d</sup>inana/. Ninegalla appears in rev. 6' and 8'. In addition, rev. 3', 5'-6' appears to duplicate VS 2:3 (VAT 604+), obv. ii 9, 11-12.

**PSK 605**PRAK C 129

Enlil; obv. 2' reads ([...] e-lu-me<sub>2</sub> / [...] -mu-un kur-kur-ra di-e). It is likely that we should understand /[...] u<sub>3</sub>] -mu-un kur-kur-ra/ in the second half of the line, as this is a common epithet for Enlil. This may indicate that the form /e-lu-me<sub>2</sub>/ could be a syllabic writing of /e-lum-e/ "bison, honored one," which would fit well in this context (cf. /e-lum di-da-ra ne-en ga-an-na-tuš/ "Thus, let me sit down for the honored one, who roams about" [VS 2:11+ (VAT 607+), rev. iv 8, *Elum Gusun*]).

**PSK 606**PRAK C 130

Inana? Enlil?

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 52; 66 (new hand copy)
- Attinger 2004: 75
- Cohen 1981: 11, fn. 63

Description: In obv. 11'-18', we see a relatively set progression of lines preserved in several sources, which appear in the Balaĝ Zibum Zibum, lines 88-91. This is where the kirugu or tablet ends in some manuscripts (e.g., VS 2: 8 (VAT 605+) and YBC 9838), but not in others (e.g., VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339) continues past the end of the kirugu). The text before obv. 11' is not duplicated in other texts, however, and the tablet breaks off following obv. 18'. The line order is inconsistent among some of the sources; for example, VS 2: 8 (VAT 605+) has obv. ii 17, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 21, while VS 2: 29 (VAT 1339) has rev. 5, 6, 7, 13, 8, and 9. See Cavigneaux 1987: 52.

**PSK 607**PRAK D 1 + PRAK D 40

Enlil? See p. 216 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

- Cavigneaux 1987: 55; 59 (new hand copy)
- Krecher 1967b: 105
- Schretter 1990: 263
- Wilcke 2007: 240, fn. 154
- Krecher 1967-68: 256
- PSD A1: 120

Description: Highly phonetic Emesal lament that appears to center of Enlil, particularly on the reverse of the tablet. See, for example, rev. 16-17, which contains common Enlil epithets, and the plea, "Let my father do it!" (which runs from rev. 14-19). Inana appears to be the focus of rev. 1-13, however, including the refrain /i-ra-na-bi-me-en/ "What have you to do with tears?" (see Cavigneaux 1987: 55), as well as the highly syllabic (and very uncertain) lines rev. 1-4.

**PSK 608**PRAK D 2

Inana

Secondary literature:

- VS 2: 152
- Alster 1992b: 62-63.
- Attinger 2011: 35; 52
- Cavigneaux 1993: 254

Description: This text contains a number of phonetic writings, and is difficult, therefore, to elucidate. However, in obv. 4'-7', it appears that there is motion away from a series of temples: /r̄eš<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-ni-ta/ "from her sanctuary" (obv. 4'), /e<sub>2</sub>?-gal-ta/ "from the palace" (obv. 5'), /gi ku<sub>3</sub>-ga-ta/ "from the holy reed (sanctuary?)" (obv. 6'), and /ia-ni-ma-en-ta/ "from the ?" (obv. 7'). In addition, in these lines (perhaps all the way through rev. 3'), the verb /saĝ—dub<sub>2</sub>?/ "to smash" appears to be repeated, taking /kur/ as its oblique object. This type of language seems to indicate lamenational language concerning a goddess.

**PSK 609**PRAK D 61

Inana; see p. 196 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

- PSD A4: 164

Description: In obv. i 3', 5', 6', and 10', the lines contain /ga-ša-an-(an-na)/, and obv. i 13' reads /u<sub>3</sub>-mu-un-na-ni/ "her lord," and 14' contains /guruš-a-ni/ "her young man." Finally, obv. i 11'-12' appear to partially duplicate lines from CT 42:20 (BM 132096).

**PSK 610**OECT 5, 3 (1924.1540)

Enki; see pp. 232-235 for score, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14 (catalogue entry)

Description: Top of single column tablet, preserving ca. 12 lines on the obverse and five on the reverse. There is a single ruling at the bottom of the reverse, followed by a single line. The text is dedicated to Enki; duplicates portions of VS 2: 67 (VAT 1541). Enki is the king who walks about.

**PSK 611**OECT 5, 5 (1924.1612)

Unclear lament (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 225, table 14; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

- Gurney and Kramer 1976: 2
- Focke 1998: 207
- PSD A4: 41

Description: Complete single column tablet, with 14 lines on the obverse and six on the reverse, ending with a double ruling. It appears to be a hymn to Ninurta, who is called the "great hero." The Ešara, Eninnu, and Ekur temples are mentioned.

**PSK 612**

OECT 5, 10 (1930.362)

Aruru (Black 2005: 56-61; transliteration, translation, minimal commentary)

Secondary literature:

-Jaques 2009: 241; 245

-PSD A4: 17; 157

-PSD A1: 21; 30; 37; 153

Description: Lament to Aruru and Šulpae. In the text, both the sheepfold and cattle pen are associated with Šulpae, while Aruru is lauded in the context of her cities Keš and Adab. Duplicates portions of *PRAK B* 471.

**PSK 613**

OECT 5, 16 (1930.363b+i)

Inana (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 218, table 7; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Gabbay 2014b: 208, fn. 113

Description: There are at least two epithets of Inana (obv. 5: /<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ama kiš<sup>ki</sup>/; rev. 7': /ga-ša-an mu-ĝi<sub>6</sub>-par<sub>3</sub>/). There are other sanctuary names; for example: /eš<sub>3</sub> <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>/ (obv. 3) and /ĝi<sub>6</sub> <sup>r</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-imin/ (obv. 4). See Gabbay 2014b: 208, fn. 113. Finally, obv. 3-6 end with the repeated phonetic phrase /<sup>h</sup>u-lu-a-be<sub>2</sub>-eš/.

**PSK 614**

OECT 5, 17 (1930.400c)

Lament by a goddess (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Gurney and Kramer 1976: 4

-Löhnert 2009: 36; 81

-PSD A4: 18

-PSD A3: 201; 202

Description: Very well preserved, single column tablet. The obverse, with 12 lines, is perfectly legible, with 13 fragmentary lines on the reverse, and two on the bottom, which has a clear double ruling. The text describes a 1<sup>st</sup> person lament of female deity, which speaks of Ningal and the “true woman.”

**PSK 615**

OECT 5, 37 (1930.402e)

Duplicates sections of several compositions; see pp. 206-207 for transliteration, translation, and partial commentary

Secondary literature:

- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 6 (catalogue entry)
- Sjöberg 1982: 71
- Mittermayer 2009: 227
- Löhnert 2009: 81
- Bergmann 1964: 15-16

Description: Small fragment, the contents of which are duplicated in different lamentational liturgies (e.g., Mutin Nunuz Dima [c+302-7] and Elum Gusun [e+220-25]), and contains a DN litany with several phonetic forms.

**PSK 616**

OECT 5, 39 (1930.363j)

Unclear lament (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 218, table 7; catalogue entry)

Description: Very small fragment (four lines) that duplicates several compositions, including Umun Šermal Ankia (34-38) and Ušumgin Ni Sia (59-63).

**PSK 617**

OECT 5, 40 (1930.344+1930.363c)

Inana; see p. 197 for a partial transliteration and translation

Secondary literature:

- Gurney and Kramer 1976: 11
- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 5
- Löhnert 2009: 36; 81

Description: Small tablet, which preserves three partial lines on the obverse and seven on the reverse. The text appears to be highly syllabic, and may speak of the “lady of Nippur” and the “mother of the young man,” both who “sit alone.”

**PSK 618**

OECT 5, 41 (1930.402d)

Parallels *PRAK C* 66+; see p. 207-212 for partial score, translation, and commentary

Secondary literature:

- Civil 1983b: 49
- Gurney and Kramer 1976: 11
- Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 6
- Van der Toorn 1985: 177
- Löhnert 2009: 36
- Hallo 2010: 584, fn. 12
- Hallo 1979: 162, fn. 12

Description: Fragment of the bottom right of the tablet, with the ends of six lines on the obverse and three lines on the reverse. The text is phonetically written, and appears to speak of destruction.

**PSK 619**

OECT 5, 42 (1930.399b)

Inana; (Civil 1983b: 49; transliteration and commentary)

Secondary literature:

-Schretter 1990: 237

-Alster 1999: 86

-Löhnert 2009: 81

-PSD A1:137

-PSD A3: 148

Description: Small fragment of the bottom left corner of a tablet, which contains four lines on the obverse and five on the reverse. The text contains a number of epithets of Inana, and appears to mention Dumuzi (obv. 2') as well.

**PSK 620**

OECT 5, 43 (1930.345c)

Inana (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 5; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Gurney and Kramer 1976: 11

-Löhnert 2009: 81

Description: Small fragment of the bottom of the tablet, with three lines on the obverse and four on the reverse. The text appears to be a 1<sup>st</sup> person lament, with the repeated verb /ir<sub>2</sub>--ma-al/; may also speak of plundering in the foreign lands.

**PSK 621**

OECT 5, 44 (1930.402c)

Enlil (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 6; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Gurney & Kramer, *OECT 5*, 11

-Löhnert 2009: 81

Description: Small fragment of the reverse of a tablet, with eight partial lines preserved. There is a double ruling in the middle of the tablet. The preserved text mentions Enlil (Rev. 4': /<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-lil<sub>2</sub>-ra/ "for Enlil.").

**PSK 622**

OECT 5, 57 (1930.366i)

Ninisina (Ohgama and Robson 2010: 217, table 5; catalogue entry)

Secondary literature:

-Löhnert 2009: 81

Description: Fragmentary Emesal text that refers several times to Ninisina. For example, Ninisina is clearly referred to in rev. iv 2' (/ᵏga<sup>1</sup>-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-ᵏsi<sup>1</sup>-ᵏin<sup>1</sup>-[...]/), 10' (/ga-ša-an-i<sub>3</sub>-si-in-na/), and rev. v 4' (/ᵏx<sup>1</sup>ᵏx<sup>1</sup>-i<sub>3</sub>-si-ᵏin<sup>1</sup>-ᵏna<sup>1</sup>/). The form /ga-ša-an/ appears in rev. iv 3', v 7', 8', 9', and 10'. Finally, a phonetic form of /a-še-er/ "lament" appears as /a-še-ra/ in rev. iv 11', v 5', 9', and 12'.

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## **Curriculum Vitae**

Joshua A. Bowen was born in Annapolis, Maryland on November 11, 1979. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Religion from Liberty University in 2003 and with a Master of Theology degree in Old Testament from Capital Bible Seminary in 2009, where he served as an Adjunct Professor of Hebrew Linguistics from 2008-2009. Immediately after this he began work towards a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Near Eastern Studies department at The Johns Hopkins University. While pursuing that degree he taught courses at The Johns Hopkins University, including Intermediate Sumerian Grammar and Akkadian Literature. He participated in a season of field work at Tell Umm el-Marra, Syria in 2010, and was awarded both the Fulbright and Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst Scholarships in 2014.