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Ezinan's Seven Children

An Early Dynastic Sumerian Myth from Abū Ṣalābīḥ

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Abstract: This contribution contains the first edition of a Sumerian myth about the grain goddess Ezinan/Ašnan and her seven children or her seventh child. Its other protagonists are the deities Enki with his vizier Isimud, the sky god An, and the moon god Nanna. The composition is exclusively preserved on several more or less fragmentary tablets from Abū Ṣalābīḥ.

Keywords: Myth, Sumerian, Early Dynastic period, Abū Ṣalābīḥ

1. Introduction

In his *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Ṣalābīḥ* (1974) R.D. Biggs identified tablets IAS 283–297 and 231 as witnesses of a composition which he called: ‘Text concerned with Ašnan’.¹ He singled out ‘the standard sequence *giš–dug₄, ne–šub_x*, “had intercourse, kissed”’. In his discussion of the literary texts from Abū Ṣalābīḥ, Alster noted about tablet IAS 283:

‘OIP 99 no. 283 is an interesting text concerned with Ašnan (...). After the traditional *u₄.ri*-formula in col. i follows what seems to be an introductory passage describing the original state of things before a given type of food was eaten (... *nu-kú*). The passage which follows, ii 10–16, describes Ašnan giving birth to seven children who, one may guess, may have provided this kind of food. It reads as follows:

<i>u₄</i> ^d <i>ašnan-ra</i>	When ... had intercourse with Ašnan
<i>giš</i> (<i>SAL</i> + <i>Giš</i>) <i>mu-dug₄</i>	
<i>ne mu-ni-sub_x</i> (<i>MUNŠUB</i>)	and kissed her,
<i>dumu</i> 7 <i>Áš mu-tu</i>	she gave birth to seven children.
7 <i>ti-kam SUR</i> (?)	For seven months . . .
<i>ama dumu-da</i>	the mother
<i>ša mu-da-dīb</i>	was pregnant with the children.

It is hardly possible to make connected sense out of the continuation of the text, but the children of Ašnan are likely to have played a major role.²

Civil, in his edition of *Enlil and Sud*, referred to this story as follows:

‘Ašnan is the personification of grain. In earlier texts Ašnan plays an active role in the mythology; later on, as shown by the Debate between Lahar and Ašnan, she is simply a divine hypostasis of grain. The former

1 Biggs 1974: 90 sub No. 283. As Biggs stated, fragment IAS 297 (ms. O in the present edition) ‘possibly belongs to the same composition’, but it cannot be placed.

2 Alster 1976: 124f.

role is exemplified by the myth OIP 99 283 (with numerous dupls. in the same volume), which deals with, among other topics, her seven sons (of which no trace is found in the later mythology).³

No duplicates of this composition have been identified outside Abū Šalābīḥ and no allusions to it could be detected in other Sumerian compositions. *Faute de mieux* it is given the title *Ezinan’s seven children* in our present edition.

2. The Content

2.1 The Protagonists

2.1.1 An

An “The Sky” formed a primordial pair with Ki “The Earth”. He was the father of the main deities and the nominal head of the Sumerian pantheon (but in fact a *deus otiosus*).⁴ We assume that he is also the father of Ezinan’s children in the present composition. Our assumption is based on the partly preserved sign AN in l. 25, where the partner of Ezinan is mentioned, and on lines 104–108, where one of Ezinan’s children approaches An as “his own Father”.

2.1.2 Ezinan/Ašnan

Ezinan/Ašnan⁵ is one of the three principal Mesopotamian grain goddesses (the others are Nisaba and Ninlil). The earliest spelling of her name is ^dTIR(ezina_x/ašna_x),⁶ which was subsequently replaced by ^dŠE.TIR (ezina₂/ašna₂).⁷ A parallel development can be observed in the spelling of Nisaba.⁸ Perhaps the earliest attestation of Ezinan/Ašnan is found in an ED ‘*kudurru*’, which seems to be slightly older than ED IIIa.⁹

3 Civil 1983: 45 sub 1.1.7.

4 Lisman 2013; for a summary see table 2, p. 205.

5 Conventionally Ezina(n/m) is considered as Sumerian and Ašnan as Akkadian. Despite the irregular correspondence between the sibilants *z* and *š*, the two names seem to be related. If so, they might both originate from an unknown third language. A further cognate could be Sumerian *isina* (PA.ŠE), Akkadian *iše/innu* “stalk (of grain)” (Diri V 60, see MSL 15, 168), perhaps identical with the toponym Isin. For an equation and for syllabic spellings of the Ezinan and Ašnan, see e.g. Diri V 202 (MSL 15, 174); Aa VII/4: 80 (MSL 14, 467). Note also ^dezina_x(TIR) = *a-za-na-an* in Ebla (see fn. 29). Syllabic aš₂-za-na-ka₄ in the Sumerian *Ama-ušumgal Hymn* from Ebla (ARET 5, 20 i 4) has in all likelihood nothing to do with Ezinan/Ašnan. For the reading ŠE.TIR = ezina₂/ezina₂ see also Attinger (2023, 471 with fn. 1538f.).

6 This is the usual spelling in Fāra: SF 1 obv. x 25; SF 5 obv. iii 9; SF 6 obv. iii 3; SF 23 obv. iii 19; WF 74 obv. v 9; WF 75 rev. iii 2; WF 153 obv. v 13.

7 Already attested in Fāra: TSŠ 46 viii 16 (CDLI P010717); Visicato/Westenholz 2000: 1109 rev. iv 2.

8 Earliest spelling ^dNAGA, replaced by ^dŠE.NAGA (Krebernik 1998: 284; Michalowski 2001: 575b). Obviously, the additional sign ŠE “grain” served as a semantic indicator.

9 OIP 104, no. 13 rev. iii 2: um-me(-)^dezina_x(TIR). CDLI interchanges obverse and reverse and reads: [...] DUB~e? ME~a AN EZINU~a (P005998: obv. i 6.a2). um-me could be “wet nurse” or “master” (for later um-mi-a); an Akkadian personal name ^dašnan_x-um-me “Ašnan is my mother” is theoretically possible but very unlikely in this period.

The cult of Ezinan/Ašnan is documented from the Fāra period to the OB period. Temples and offerings are mentioned in Fāra,¹⁰ Umma,¹¹ Ġirsu,¹² Nippur,¹³ and Adab.¹⁴ Roughly during the same time span personal names with Ezinan/Ašnan as a theophoric element are attested in these cities.¹⁵ During the OB period the cult of Ezinan/Ašnan seems to have ceased. One of the latest documents is a curious list of divine attributes (?) and deities from OB Nippur, which mentions both Ezinan/Ašnan and Nisaba.¹⁶

Ezinan/Ašnan also occurs in Sumerian literary texts. *Zame Hymn* 29 is devoted to Ezinan,¹⁷ but in the *Temple Hymns*¹⁸ her name is not mentioned. The short myth *How Grain Came to Sumer* relates how An brought Ezinan/Ašnan (grain) from the heavens to the mountains and how Enlil introduced it to Sumer, where the people formerly “ate grass like sheep”.¹⁹ In *Enki and the World Order*, Ezinan/Ašnan receives from Enki the responsibility for the cultivation of the Land, especially the production of grain, and she is called ^dezin₂ inda₃ du₁₀ inda₃ ki-šar₂-ra-ke₄ “Ezinan, the good bread, bread for the whole land”.²⁰ According to *Enlil and Sud*, Enlil took Sud, the daughter of Nisaba, as his wife and changed her name first into Ezinan/Ašnan and finally into Ninlil.²¹ The relation between Ezinan and Enlil in the OB literary text MS 3390 is unclear due to the broken context.²² Ezinan/Ašnan is the winner in the *Debate between Grain and Sheep*.²³ In the OB composition *A širnam-šub to Nisaba* the destruction of a temple of Ezinan/Ašnan is recorded.²⁴

10 In a sale contract from Fāra (Visicato/Westenholtz 2000: 1107–1109.) the text of rev. iv 1–3 is: ⁽¹⁾e₂-d u-d [u] ⁽²⁾d ašnan (ŠE.TIR) ⁽³⁾l u₂-e₂-š a m₂ “Edudu, (of the temple) of Ašnan, is the buyer of the house”. The authors concluded that text seems to implicate that there was a temple of Ezinan in the ED IIIa period. Offering: TŠŠ 629 rev. i 4 for ^dTIR (P010870), cf. Steible/Yıldız 2008: 183.

11 Temples (Ur III): BCT 2, 55 rev. 2 (P105296); BPOA 6, 1286 rev. 1 (P292489); SACT 2, 53 rev. 1 (P129010); SET 260 obv. 6 (P129670); UTI 4, 2887 rev. 1 (P140906). Offerings (ED IIIb): CUSAS 23, 8 obv. ii 5 (P326924). Regular s a₂-d u₁₁ offerings (Ur III): AACAB 1/2, pl. 133 obv. 6 (P248834); AACAB 1/3, pl. 243 Bod S 283 rev. 3 (P249188); BPOA 1, 803 rev. 7 (P339459); BPOA 1, 1459 obv. 2 (P340114); LAOS 1, 19 rev. 2 (P481062); Nik 2, 273 rev. 23 (P121956); Nisaba 26, 54 rev. 6 (P376063); Deimel 1925: 60, IB 98 obv. 2 (P124842). See also Sallaberger 1993: T. I, 242 sub i.

12 Temple (Ur III): MVN 6, 301 rev. i 28 (P114744). Offerings (ED IIIa): RTC 8 obv. iii 1 (P010562); (ED IIIb): DP 43 obv. v 4 (P220693); DP 47 obv. vi 11 (P220697); DP 53 obv. vii 2 (P220703); Nik 1, 23 obv. viii 3 (P221730); TSA 1 obv. v 13 (P221362); VS 14, 34 obv. ii 4 (P020048); VS 14, 93 obv. vi 4 (P020108).

13 Temple (Ur III): NRVN 1, 287 rev. 2 (P122504). Offerings (Ur III): Sallaberger 1993: T. I, 102; TCL 5, 6053 obv. i 21 (P131767); MVN 10, 144 rev. i 33 (P115914); Zettler/Sallaberger 2011: 31, text 4 NT 205 rev. i 2' (P330749). One s a₂-d u₁₁ offering in Puzriš-Dagan: AUCT 2, 176 rev. 2 (P103994). Cf. also Such-Gutierrez (2003: 230f.) sub ^dAšnan for the Ur III cult of this goddess.

14 Offerings (Old Akkadian period): CUSAS 13, 106 rev. ii 5–7 (P323355).

15 a m a r - ^dTIR: Fāra: WF 75 rev. iii 2; Umma: CDLI P270822 obv. iii' 12; CT 50, 48 obv. i 1; Nik 2, 19 obv. ii 13; CUSAS 23, 39 obv. iii 1; CUSAS 33, 172 obv. iii 7; *id.* 221 obv. iii 5; *id.* 232 obv. iv 2; CUSAS 35, 392 obv. iv 3; *id.* 432 obv. i 7; Bramanti 2020: 216 obv. iv 2; Zabalam: CUSAS 33, 226 obv. v 6. Adab: CUSAS 13, 56 obv. i 2'; Molina 2014, Lippmann Coll. 293 obv. i 5; *id.* 294 obv. i 3; a m a r - ^dŠE.TIR (Balke 2017: 88); ^dTIR - a m a - ġ u₁₀ (Balke 2017: 99). ^dŠE.TIR - a m a - ġ u₁₀ in OSP 1, 23 obv. vi 31' (P216090). ^dŠE.TIR - u₃ - t u: AUCT 2, 218 obv. 2 (P104036). In Ur III texts from Umma, Ġirsu and Nippur, the name u r - ^dŠE.TIR is frequently found.

16 CBS 8359, published by Legrain 1922, pl. XXIII no. 60; see Renger 1967: 149; Schwemer 2001: 362 fn. 2903; Richter 2004: 93, 99, 102, 157, 160, 161; Krebernik 2012a: 317a. In l. 5 Ezinan/Ašnan is associated with [a]m^{1?} ¹GAR₃? .MUNUS^{2?}.Aš₂ “wild bull? (and) female kid?”; for MUNUS.Aš₂.GAR₃ see Attinger 2023: 470 e š ġ a r_x. Note that the sign looking like ġ u₇ in ll. 4, 5 and 8 most probably is a variety of AM similar to the form of this sign in pre-Sargonic Ġirsu texts, e.g. CT 50, 33 rev. ii 16 and rev. viii 1; DP 529 obv. ii 4. In CBS 8359 l. 11 d u b k u₃ “tablet of precious metal” relates to Nisaba.

17 Krebernik/Lisman 2020: 34, 62, 118f.

18 Sjöberg/Bergmann 1969.

19 HS 1518 (Wilcke 1976: 15) // Sb 12518 (Cavigneaux 2003: 59f.); ETCSL 1.7.6. Lines 1–3 may be read: ⁽¹⁾u ġ₃-e u du-gen₇ u₂ ka-ba mu-ni-ib-ġ u ⁽²⁾u₄ ri-a ^dezina₂ še ġ u-nu ⁽³⁾an-ne₂ an-ša₃-ta im-da-an-e₁₁-de₃ “People ate grass in their mouths like sheep. On that day An brings Ezinan (= grain) and fine barley down from the interior of heaven.” After collation by M. Krebernik the last sign of l. 1 copied as ni (cf. collation Wilcke 1976: 15) is most probably ġ u and stands for ġ u₇. For še ġ u-nu: Attinger 2023: 1269.

20 Benito 1969: 103f., 130, ll. 326–332; ETCSL 1.1.3 ll. 326–334. Cf. l. 29 of the present composition, where Ezinan is called z i z₂ “wheat”.

21 Civil 1983; ETCSL 1.2.2. For Sud's change of name: ll.156–170.

22 Metcalf 2019: 73.

23 Alster/Vanstiphout 1987; Mittermayer 2019: 37–66, 163–227.

24 Cohen 1975: 602f.; ETCSL 4.16.2. The provenance of the tablet VAT 6086 is uncertain; two other fragments (PRAK 39 and 97) are from Kiš. The names of the grain goddesses Ezinan/Ašnan and Nunbaršegunu in this composition most likely are synonyms of Nisaba. Cf. Cavigneaux/Krebernik 2001, and Michalowski 2001: 576, § 3.

Ezinan/Ašnan is present in the god lists from Fāra and Abū Šalābīḥ,²⁵ in the OB god list from Nippur,²⁶ in the OB An = *Anum* forerunner TCL 15, 10,²⁷ and in the canonical list An = *Anum*.²⁸

The bilingual lexical list *Ešbarkīḡ* from Ebla mentions, besides Ezinan/Ašnan herself, a “great” (maḥ) and a “small” (tur) Ezinan/Ašnan.²⁹

2.1.3 The Seven Children

The seven children of Ezinan are not attested outside the present composition. The birth of seven children from a divine couple is, apart from the present composition, reported also in the *Barton Cylinder*³⁰ and in *Gudea Cylinder B*.³¹ Their sex is not explicitly indicated. However, one child returns to her/his “young brothers” (ll. 109–111), which makes it likely that all of them were male. The text also remains silent about the names of the children (but see below). The seventh child seems to be the focus of the narrative. If our interpretation of section J is correct, she would be a girl since she is addressed there as a bride. Ezinan does not feed her. The reason for that is perhaps expressed by the child’s epithet *ti sur* (l. 30) “(its) ribs are distorted”. This child is most likely referred to by *PEŠ₂ al du₃* “digging⁷ mouse”, see l. 41 with commentary. If so, the present composition would contain a mythological explanation of the origin of mice, which are well known as grain eaters³² and therefore may well threaten Ezinan’s life. A deified ‘Mouse’ occurs much later in the god list An = *Anum*: in V 200 and VI 227 ^dMAR.TU.LA₂.(AN).KI is glossed with *ḥumuṣṣir* “Mouse”.³³ In the former attestation ^dMAR.TU.LA₂.AN.KI is explained as *ama nam-tar-ra-ke₄* “mother of Namtar”, the vizier of the netherworld-queen Ereškigal; in the latter one ^dMAR.TU.LA₂.(AN).KI is mentioned among the names of Saman(ur), the deified “Rope”, who is identified with Martu. It remains an open question, however, whether there is any connection between Ezinan’s child and the later deity. A possible link might be seen in section F where several animals are tied to the hands of Ezinan’s child.

2.1.4 Enki

Enki is nowhere mentioned by name. He can, however, be identified as the deity speaking of the *engur a-ḡu₁₀* “the engur, my water” in l. 47, referred to as *nun* “prince” in ll. 78 and 88, and associated with Isimud in ll. 88 and 90. Enki is the god of (sweet) water, fertility, crafts, wisdom, and magic.³⁴ In this composition he uses his ingenuity to solve the food problems of Ezinan’s children.

²⁵ Fāra: SF 1 x 25; SF 5/6 l. 27 (Krebernik 1986: 190); SF 23 obv. iii 19. Abū Šalābīḥ: IAS 82–89 (Mander 1986: 24 l. 24).

²⁶ Peterson 2009: 15, 35 l. 121.

²⁷ TCL 15, 10: 320 (= rev. ii 32), see Lambert[†]/Winters 2023: 57.

²⁸ An = *Anum* I 287f. according to Litke 1998: 53, and I 273f. in the edition of Lambert[†]/Winters 2023: 86.

²⁹ MEE 4, 291 VE 811–813 (ll. 797–799 in the forthcoming new edition by Archi/Krebernik): ^dezinan_x(TIR) maḥ = *a-za-na maḥ*; ^dezinan_x(TIR) = *a-za-na-an*; ^dezinan_x(TIR) tur *a-za-na du-u₉-ur₂*.

³⁰ CBS 8383 ii 1–10. The term *maš-imin* (ii 9) is translated as “seven twins” in Alster/Westenholtz (1994: 27), and as “a set of septuplets” in Lisman (2016–2017: 155).

³¹ *Gudea Cyl. B* xi 3–12. The term *dumu maš-imin* (xi 11) is generally understood as “seven twin daughters”, “Siebenlinge”, or “septuplets”; cf. e.g. Edzard 1997: 94; Römer 2010: 34; ETCSL 2.1.7.

³² However, this motif does not seem to be attested in cuneiform literature. Instead, *arrabu* “dormice” (?) and birds occur as grain thieves in a Neo-Babylonian letter, eating 10 gur of grain daily (YOS 3, 137: 7–10, cf. Heimpel 1990: 608).

³³ Quoted after the new edition in Lambert[†]/Winters 2023: 196 and 222f., respectively. See also Litke 1998: V 218f. and VI 234, and Krebernik 1989: 379, s.v. *Mardula’anki*.

³⁴ Black/Green 1998: 75.

2.1.5 Isimu(d)

Isimu(d), Akkadian *Usmû*, also called Ara, is Enki's 'vizier'. Isimu(d), spelled ^disim_u₄ (PAP.SIG7.NUN.ME), is attested from the late Early Dynastic to the Neo-Assyrian periods.³⁵ Neither name is preserved in the ED god lists from Fāra and Abū Šalābīḥ. In the OB An = *Anum* forerunner TCL 15, 10 obv. iii 1–2, ^d[PAP.SIG7].NUN.ME is followed by ^d[PAP.SIG7].NIMGIR. The latter is perhaps another spelling for ^dara(ša) as the two corresponding entries ^dara^(a-ra) and ^disim_u₄^(i-si-mu) in the canonical version An = *Anum* II 282f. suggest.³⁶ The OB god list from Nippur mentions only ^dara.³⁷

2.1.6 Nanna

The moon god Nanna appears from section M through the end of the composition. His actions in ll. 141–143 are unfortunately unclear. Someone praises his generosity (ll. 144–146). He is praised two more times (ll. 159–161, 179–181) for actions that remain unknown because the text is broken.

2.1.7 The Wolf

At first glance, the sudden appearance of a wolf in section H (l. 93) comes as a surprise. It may seem more plausible if one recalls that a wolf in most Ancient Near Eastern compositions where it occurs is hunting for food; a wolf symbolizes hunger.³⁸ The first part of this Ezinan composition deals in fact with food shortage, and when the situation changes due to the intervention of Enki (i.e. when food becomes available) the wolf “wakes up” (l. 95f.).

2.2 The Motifs

It is impossible to reconstruct a coherent plot for the composition because parts of it are seriously damaged or missing (especially at the end) and because the interconnection between the various motifs is mostly mysterious. Therefore, we subdivide the text according to motifs into the sections A–K (see below).

Some of the motifs have parallels in the *Barton Cylinder*.³⁹ There the primordial times (corresponding to A–B) are followed by the intercourse of Ninḫursaġa presumably with An, resulting in the birth of seven children (corresponding to C); later someone makes food and beer in Sumer unhealthy (roughly corresponding to D), and finally Ninurta with the aid of Ninḫursaġa restores normal life in Sumer (perhaps corresponding to the actions of Enki and other deities starting in H).

A (ll. 1–3): The introduction places the story in primordial times.

B (ll. 4–24): After a short gap the text relates that several officials were absent, certain animals had nothing to eat, and the granaries were filled with chaff/litter (instead of grain) (ll. 9–24). This passage can be compared to negative statements in other Sumerian creation stories.

³⁵ For a recent discussion of this god, his name, and the earliest attestations: see Keetman 2022.

³⁶ Lambert[†]/Winters 2023: 122f., corresponding to An = *Anum* II 298f. in Litke 1998: 102. There Ara/Isimu(d) is explained as ^dus-mu-u sukka1-maḥ ^den-ki-ga-ke₄ “Usmû, chief vizier of Enki”.

³⁷ See Peterson 2009: 14 l. 25, and commentary p. 48f.

³⁸ Cf. e.g. the proverbs dealing with wolves Alster 1997: 132–134, collection 5 Vers. A/B 75. Cf. also Streck/Wasserman 2016: 244 sub Contents; Weszeli 2016.

³⁹ Alster/Westenholtz 1994; Lisman 2016–2017.

C (ll. 25–29): Sections **A** and **B** form the background of the first action, Ezinan’s intercourse, presumably with An, and the birth of her seven children, whose names are not mentioned.

D (ll. 30–42): There seems to be a problem with the seventh child, which causes Ezinan’s anger; most probably the child has a congenital defect. Ezinan does not have cream and does not feed (the child) with pap² (ll. 30–34). We are told about an orchard where fruit is eaten by goats and perhaps other animals (ll. 35–40). The text then states again that Ezinan does not give any milk to the seventh child, who is called here “digging² mouse” (ll. 41–42).

E (ll. 43–59): Someone, presumably Enki, is speaking about engur a-ĝu₁₀ “the engur, my water”, (i.e. the sweet underground waters associated with Enki). Apparently, he has noticed the misery of Ezinan’s child, who has to catch locusts (to keep herself/himself alive). He wants to end the catastrophe by supplying water and food in the form of birds to the Land of Sumer.

F (ll. 60–82): Someone (most probably still Enki) “ties” various wild animals – bears, aurochs, stags, lions – “to the hands” of one of Ezinan’s children, which may simply mean that he gives the animals to the child to control. However, the purpose of these actions is not made explicit. Finally, an eagle flies with this child to the “prince” (i. e. Enki), a motif well known from the Etana myth.

G (ll. 83–85): “Arrogant people sat down”. Perhaps this refers to pedantic know-it-alls, who complain but do not contribute to the solution of a problem, as opposed to Enki?

H (ll. 86–103): Enki speaks to Isimud, who “did not open (his mouth), did not know a greeting”. Instead, a wolf reacts: he awakes and offers his aid. Surprisingly no further action by the wolf is related. In Sumerian literature a wolf is usually associated with hunger and the hunt for food. From this we may infer that the wolf has been alerted because Enki is about to solve the food shortage.

I (ll. 104–111): One of Ezinan’s children visits her/his father An and returns to her/his brothers.

J (ll. 112–122): The brothers declare that they want to be at her/his service with something which (s)he had brought down from heaven, and that they want to do something (ki ga-NE) with a “necklace?” (BU.BU), “price/market” (KI.LAM) and “white-spotted ...” (bara₂¹-bara₂¹ BAR.MUL). These actions are possibly connected with the marriage preparations in the next section.

K (ll. 123–?): Someone is addressed with the words: “The a-du₂ priest(ess) has covered your head with a cloth, (s) he has put sandals on your feet, (yet) you² the bride, have not left the house for him.” It seems that this is a continuation of the speech of the brothers in the preceding section, and that the person addressed is still the child who had visited An. If so, this child would be a girl.

L (ll. ?–140): Someone is looking [down from above?]. On her/his headgear different kinds of wool were applied. Then (s)he fled / took (it) away from An.

M (ll. 141–146): Nanna takes possession of an unclear object. Someone in the first person (Ezinan?) praises his generosity.

N (ll. 147–?): Large gap.

O (ll. ?–161): Nanna causes something “to exist in the lands” and is praised (by Ezinan?) for his generosity.

P (ll. 162–?): Large gap.

Q (ll. ?–181): Nanna is praised once again for his generosity (reason not preserved).

R (ll. 182–?): The end is missing.

3. The Manuscripts

Like the *Sumerian Zame Hymns*⁴⁰ the present composition is exclusively attested on tablets from Abū Šalābīḥ, which were excavated in the same room.⁴¹ Of the *Ezinan* composition we have 15 more or less fragmentary manuscripts. The maximum number of duplicates amounts to 4 (l. 65: A // C // E // F; l. 83: A // E // G // L). From this it can be concluded that there existed at least 4 copies. As far as recognizable, all manuscripts share the same formal feature: each tablet was (pre-)formatted with cases of equal dimensions. In the best-preserved manuscript, A, each of the 10 columns consisted of 19 cases.⁴² Ms. A was therefore used for reconstructing the length of the composition (182 + n lines⁴³) and for placing the other, more fragmentary manuscripts. In mss. A and E the colophon is partially preserved. The name of one scribe, Ḫutium, figures in ms. A of the *Ezinan* composition and in ms. B of the *Zame Hymns*.

As in other texts prior to ED IIIb, the distribution of signs in the individual cases is more or less free. When the manuscripts of the present composition were written, the syllabic part of the Sumerian writing system was not yet fully developed.⁴⁴ In this respect it is of interest that our text does contain some grammatical morphemes⁴⁵ and personal pronouns.⁴⁶

Ms.	Publication Numbers (OIP 99, 98–109)		Line Numbers
A	IAS 283 = AbS-T 279+293	obv. col. i	1–16
		obv. col. ii	17–35
		obv. col. iii	36–54
		obv. col. iv	55–73
		obv. col. v	74–92
		obv. col. vi	93–111
		obv. col. vii	112–130
		obv. col. viii	131–149
		obv. col. ix	150–168
		obv. col. x	169–?
	rev.	Colophon	
B	IAS 284 = AbS-T 390b	col. i'	41–44

⁴⁰ Cf. Krebernik/Lisman 2020: 12.

⁴¹ The manuscripts of both compositions were found in Room 31, cut in Level I. IAS 297 (ms. O), which was tentatively attributed to the *Ezinan* composition by Biggs but excluded from our edition, and IAS 429 (ms. R) come from a different findspot (Room 11, level 1B fill).

⁴² With the exception of col. A i 1–3 where each case has the height of two 'normal' cases. For details: see the section Synopsis.

⁴³ The end of the composition is not preserved.

⁴⁴ Syllabograms used to express morphemes and personal pronouns had come into use not long before, and some very common syllabograms of later periods as, e.g., -ka and -ke₄, were still missing.

⁴⁵ Postpositions: -da (ll. 31, 140), -ra (ll. 26, 41, 88), -še₃ (ll. 64, 68, 72, 75, 111), -ta (ll. 44, 46, 60, 86, 108, 113, 128); copula /-am/: -dam (l. 19), -kam₄ (l. 30), -nam (ll. 1–3); verbal prefix (chains): al- (l. 40), am₆-še₃- (l. 111), an- (ll. 141, 143, 158), ba₄- (ll. 94, 96, 97), ba₄-da- (l. 140), ga- (ll. 50, 59, 99, 102, 103, 122), ga-ri- (l. 114), i₃- (l. 104), ma- (l. 178), mu- (ll. 27, 29, 44, 46, 105, 107), mu-da- (l. 32), mu-na-ta- (l. 129), mu-ni- (l. 28), mu-še₃- (ll. 64, 68, 72, 75), na- (ll. 1–3, 89), na-ni- (l. 127), nam- (ll. 37, 125), nam-ma- (l. 82), nam-ta- (l. 87), nu- (ll. 11–14, 18, 33, 34, 42, 91, 129, 146, 161, 162), še₃- (l. 78); 'participle' ending /-a/: du₁₁-ga (l. 84).

⁴⁶ a-ne (ll. 86, 94, 97), ġe₂₆ (ll. 47, 48, 50, 98, 146, 161, 181), -ġu₁₀ (ll. 47–49), -na (l. 138), -ne (ll. 43, 63, 67, 71, 74, 77, 104, 109), -za (ll. 99, 103, 124, 126), -zu (ll. 145, 160).

Ms.	Publication Numbers (OIP 99, 98–109)		Line Numbers
C	IAS 285 = AbS-T 392 <i>g</i>	col. i'	45–46
		col. ii'	64–66
D	IAS 286 = AbS-T 392 <i>e</i>	col. i'	15
		col. ii'	25
		col. iii'	37
E	IAS 287 = AbS-T 308	obv. col. i'	38–44
		obv. col. ii'	59–67
		obv. col. iii'	79–86
		obv. col. iv'	102–105
		rev. col. i'	177–180
		rev. col. ii'	Colophon
F	IAS 288 = AbS-T 354 <i>a</i>	col. i'	48–50
		col. ii'	63–65
		col. iii'	85–88
		col. iv'	104–106
		col. v'	121–123
G	IAS 289 = AbS-T 354 <i>b+e</i>	col. i'	83–85
		col. ii'	97–100
		col. iii'	117–120
H	IAS 290 = AbS-T 354 <i>c</i>	col. i'	93–94
I	IAS 291 = AbS-T 354 <i>d</i>	col. i'	74–76
		col. ii'	95–97
J	IAS 292 = AbS-T 354 <i>g</i>	col. i'	113–114
K	IAS 293 = AbS-T 354 <i>f</i>	col. i'	76–78
L	IAS 294 = AbS-T 403 <i>b</i>	col. i'	67–68
		col. ii'	83
M	IAS 295 = AbS-T 387 <i>b</i>	col. i' 1	97
		col. i' 2	97a
N	IAS 296 = AbS-T 387 <i>e</i>	col. i'	?
		col. ii'	74–76
O	IAS 297 = AbS-T 139 <i>d</i>		?
P	IAS 231 = AbS-T 392 <i>j</i>	col. i'	9
		col. ii'	27–29

Ms.	Publication Numbers (OIP 99, 98–109)		Line Numbers
Q	IAS 335 = AbS-T 320a	col. i'	117–121
		col. ii'	136–141
		col. iii'	157–160
		col. iv'	181–183
R	IAS 429 = AbS-T 139f	col. i	146//161//181
S	IAS 456 = AbS-T 409a	col. i'	141–142
		col. ii'	160–162

4. Score, Transliteration and Translation

A			
1	A i 1	ʽu ₄ riʽ u ₄ [ri] na-nam	That remote day, it was indeed on that remote day;
2	A i 2	ĝe ₆ ri ĝe ₆ ri na-nam	that remote night, it was indeed in that remote night;
3	A i 3	mu ri mu ri na-nam	that remote year, it was indeed in that remote year:
B			
4	A i 4	gu ₅ -li zi ʽkešda ¹	Good companions, connected,
5	A i 5	ʽxʽ [...]	...
6	A i 6	[...]	...
7	A i 7	[...]	...
8	A i 8	[...] mušen	... birds.
9		ĝul[la](TE.[LAL]) [n]iĝir	Policeman, herald,
	A i 9	TE [...] [n]iĝir	
	P i' 1'	[T]E [...]	
10	A i 10	κ[A.κ]i	registrar,
11	A i 11	g[A ...] išib [nu?]-ĝal ₂	... (and) purification priest did [not?] exist.
12	A i 12	gu ₄ nu-gu ₇	Oxen did not (have anything to) eat.
13	A i 13	ʽagrigʽ(ʽIGIʽ.[D]UB) uzug ₂ (U ₂ .KA) nu-[m]e ²	It was ² neither steward nor uzug ₂ priest.
14	A i 14	[ud]u nu-gu ₇	Sheep did not (have anything to) eat.

15		[...] izim ʿx ¹ gu ₇	... the festival ... eaten.
	A i 15	[...]	
	D i' 1'	[...] izim ʿx ¹ gu ₇	
16	A i 16	<i>broken</i>	
17	A ii 1	ʿšah ₂ ¹ [niġ ₂ ?]-g[u ₇ ²]	Pigs to be fattened (?)
18	A ii 2	nu-gu ₇	did not (have anything to) eat.
19	A ii 3	ʿe ₃ ¹ -dam	It was (only) chaff/litter ²
20	A ii 4	[g]uru ₇ -[g]uru ₇	(which in) the granaries ...
21	A ii 5	[...] ʿx ¹ ʿx ¹	...
22	A ii 6	ʿx ¹ [...] -dug ₄	... said (?).
23	A ii 7	gu ₄ LU LU ʿx ¹ [...]	Numerous ² oxen ...
24	A ii 8	[...]	...
C			
25		ʿunug ² ¹ ʿan ¹	In Uruk ² An
	A ii 9	[...] ʿan ¹	
	D ii' 1'	ʿab/unug ¹ ʿan ¹	
26	A ii 10	[k]u ₃ ¹ d ezina _x (TIR)-ra	had intercourse ^(1, 27) with the pure Ezinan,
27		ġeš _x (SAL.UŠ) mu-du ₁₁	
	A ii 11	ġeš _x mu-du ₁₁	
	P ii' 1'	[...] ʿdu ₁₁ ¹	
28		ne mu-ni-sub ₅ (LAK672)	he kissed her.
	A ii 12	ne mu-ni-sub ₅	
	P ii' 2'	ne mu-<ni>-sub ₅	
29		ziz ₂ dumu 7 mu-tu	'Wheat' gave birth to seven children.
	A ii 13	ziz ₂ dumu 7 mu-tu	
	P ii' 3'	ʿziz ₂ ¹ dumu ʿ7 ¹ [x]-t[u]	
D			
30	A ii 14	7-kam ₄ ¹ (LAK28) ti sur	The seventh (child) – (its) ribs are distorted.
31	A ii 15	ama dumu-da	The mother was angry ^(1, 32) with the child,
32	A ii 16	ša ₃ mu-da-dab	

33	A ii 17	gara ₂ nu-tuku	she had no cream,
34	A ii 18	ʿsilaġa _x ¹ (šID) [nu [?] -]gu ₇	she had [no?] pap [?] to feed (to the child).
35	A ii 19	[(x) A]L	...
36	A iii 1	[... p]u ₂ -kiri ₆	[... (fruit)] (in the) orchard
37		ʿnam ₍₂₎ ¹ -gu ₇	have eaten.
	A iii 2	[nam [?]]-[g]u ₇	
	D iii ʿ 1ʿ	ʿnam ₂ [?] ʿ-ʿgu ₇ ¹	
	E ʿ 1ʿ	[x]-ʿgu ₇ [?] ʿ ¹	
38		[... u]d ₅	... goats
	A iii 3	[... u]d ₅	
	E	(omitted)	
39		[...] peš ₃ pu ₂ -kiri ₆	... figs (in the) orchard
	A iii 4	[...] ʿpeš ₃ ¹ [...] kiri ₆	
	E ʿ 2ʿ	[...] peš ₃ ʿx ¹ pu ₂	
40		al-[g]u ₇	have eaten.
	A iii 5	al-[g]u ₇	
	E ʿ 3ʿ	ʿx ¹ -gu ₇	
41		PEš ₂ al du ₃ -ra	To the “digging [?] mouse”
	A iii 6	PEš ₂ al du ₃ [-ra [?]]	
	B ʿ 1ʿ	[...]	
	E ʿ 4ʿ	[PE]š ₂ al du ₃ -ra	
42		ga nu-gu ₇	she (Ezinan) did not give milk to drink.
	A iii 7	ga nu-gu ₇	
	B ʿ 2ʿ	[g]a nu ¹ [nI]-gu ₇	
	E ʿ 5ʿ	[...] gu ₇	
E			
43		dumu-ne bir ₅ ħeš ₅ (LU ₂ [×x [?]])	‘Now that her child has caught ^(ll. 43–44) locusts,
	A iii 8	[... [b]ir ₅	
	B ʿ 3ʿ	dumu-ne bir ₅ L[LU ₂ ×x [?]]	
	E ʿ 6ʿ	[dumu-n]e ¹ [bi]r ₅ ^{1?} ʿLU ₂ ¹ [×x [?]]	
44		mu-AK-ta	
	A iii 9	mu-AK-ʿta ¹	
	B ʿ 4ʿ	[m]u-[...]	
	E ʿ 7ʿ	[x]-ʿx ¹ -ta	

45		dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR)	now that Ezinan's child
	A iii 10	dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR)	
	C í' 1'	[...] [^d ezin]an _x (TIR)	
46		bir ₅ hēš ₅ (LU ₂ [×X?]) mu-AK-ta	has caught locusts,
	A iii 11	bir ₅ LU ₂ [×X?] mu-AK-ta	
	C í' 2'	[...] [m]u [...]	
47	A iii 12	ġe ₂₆ engur a-ġu ₁₀	I want to fill ^(l. 50) the engur, my water,
48		ġe ₂₆ a ME a-ġu ₁₀	I (want to fill) the pure ² water, my water,
	A iii 13	ġe ₂₆ a ME a-ġu ₁₀	
	F í' 1'	[...] a	
49		kur-ġu ₁₀ -še ₃	into my land
	A iii 14	kur-ġu ₁₀ -še ₃	
	F í' 2'	kur-ġu ₁₀ -NE(še ₆ ?)	
50		ġe ₂₆ dug-gin ₇ ga-si	like in a jar.
	A iii 15	ġe ₂₆ dug-gin ₇ ga-si	
	F í' 3'	ġe ₂₆ [...] ᵐGABA ¹ -si	
51	A iii 16	tum ₁₂ -tum ₁₂ kur-še ₃	Wild doves into the land,
52	A iii 17	dar-dar kur-še ₃	francolins into the land
53	A iii 18	tum ₁₂ -tum ₁₂ [k]ur	– wild doves of the land,
		<dar-dar kur?>	< francolins of the land?,>
54	A iii 19	ed[e]n ḪU.DUR ₂ .[BU]	the Ḫubur steppe –
55	A iv 1	[...] N[É] [...]	...
56	A iv 2	ḪU.DUR ₂ .BU-še ₃	into Ḫubur,
57	A iv 3	dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR)	Ezinan's child
58	A iv 4	ᵐkur ¹ [...]	... the land ...
59		[... ga?-]si	... (I want to?) fill.'
	A iv 5	[... ga?-]si	
	E ii 1'	[...]	

F			
60		kur-ta	From the highlands:
	A iv 6	ʿkur ¹ -t[a]	
	E ii' 2'	kur-ta	
61–62		az KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	bound bears
	A iv 7–8	[...] ; ʿKEŠ ₂ ¹ .ʿKEŠ ₂ ¹	
	E ii' 3'	az KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
63		šu-ne-še ₃	he tied ^(l. 63–64) to her/his hands;
	A iv 9	ʿšu ¹ -ne-še ₃	
	E ii' 4'	ʿšu ¹ -ne-še ₃	
	F ii' 1'	ʿšu-ne-še ₃ ¹	
64		mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	A iv 10	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	C ii' 1'	[...]	
	E ii' 5'	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	F ii' 2'	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
65		alim(LIM+KIŠ)	bound ^(l. 66) aurochs
	A iv 11	LIM+KIŠ	
	C ii' 2'	LIM+KIŠ	
	E ii' 6'	LIM+KIŠ	
	F ii' 3'	[LIM+K]IŠ KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
66		KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
	A iv 12	KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
	C ii' 3'	KEŠ ₂ .KE[Š ₂]	
	E ii' 7'	KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
67		šu-ne-še ₃	he tied ^(l.68) to her/his hands;
	A iv 13	šu-ʿne ¹ -še ₃	
	E ii' 8'	[...]	
	L i' 1	[x]-[n]e-še ₃	
68		mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	A iv 14	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	L i' 2	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -[a ₂]	
69	A iv 15	lulim ¹ (LIM+KIŠ×LU ¹)	bound ⁽⁷⁰⁾ stags
70	A iv 16	KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂	
71	A iv 17	šu-ne-še ₃	he tied ^(l. 72) to her/his hands;
72	A iv 18	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	

73	A iv 19	ušumgal	([bound]) lions
73a		(([KEŠ ₂ .KEŠ ₂]))	
74		šu-ne-še ₃	he tied ^(l. 75) to her/his hands;
	A v 1	[...]	
	I i' 2'	[šu]-ne-še ₃	
	N ii' 1'	šu- ^r ne ¹ -[še ₃]	
75		mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	A v 2	^r mu-še ₃ ¹ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	I i' 3'	^r mu-še ₃ ¹ -la ₂ -la ₂	
	N ii' 2'	mu-še ₃ -la ₂ -la ₂	
76		[t] _{i8} kešda	A bound eagle
	A v 3	x kešda	
	I i' 4'	[t] _{i8} x	
	K i' 1'	x kešda	
	N ii' 3'	[t] _{i8} x	
77		šu-ne-še ₃	to her/his hands
	A v 4	[šu]-ne-še ₃	
	K i' 2'	šu-ne-še ₃	
78		nun še ₃ -...	the prince ...
	A v 5	nun [(x)] še ₃ [R] ¹	
	K i' 3'	[x š] _{E3} ² ^r NI ¹ [...]	
79–81		<i>3 lines broken</i>	...
	A v 6–8	[...]	
	E iii' 1'–2'	[...]	
82		[...] nam-ma-si	[...] really filled.
	A v 9	[...] ^r x ¹	
	E iii' 3'	[...] nam-ma-si	
G			
83		enim diri	(People) with arrogant words,
	A v 10	enim diri	
	E iii' 4'	enim diri	
	G i' 1'	enim ^r diri ¹	
	L ii 1	en[im] [...]	
84		du ₁₁ -ga diri	(people) with arrogant speech
	A v 11	du ₁₁ -ga diri	
	E iii' 5'	du ₁₁ diri	
	G i' 2'	du ₁₁ diri	

85		mu-DUR ₂ .DUR ₂	sat down.
	A v 12	mu- DUR ₂ .DUR ₂	
	E iii' 6'	mu- DUR ₂ .DUR ₂	
	F iii' 1'	[...]	
	G i' 3'	[m]u-DUR ₂ .D[UR ₂]	
H			
86		a-ne an-ta	From above he
	A v 13	a ¹ (LAK798)-ne an-ta	
	E iii' 7'	a-ne an-t[a]	
	F iii' 2'	ʾa ¹ -x ʾan ¹ -ta	
87		igi nam-ta-bar	looked down.
	A v 14	igi nam-ta-ʾbar ¹	
	F iii' 3'	igi nam-ta-bar	
88		nun isimu ₄ (PAP.SIG ₇ .NUN.ME)-ra	The prince spoke ^(l. 89) to Isimud,
	A v 15	nun isimu ₄ (PAP.SIG ₇ .NUN.ME)-ra	
	F iii' 4'	nun isimu ₄ (PAP.SIG ₇ .NUN.ME)-ra	
89		enim na-du ₁₁	
	A v 16	enim na-du ₁₁	
90	A v 17	isimu ₄ (PAP.SIG ₇ .NUN.ME)	Isimud did not open (his mouth?),
91	A v 18	<ka?> nu-bad	
92	A v 19	šudu ₃ -ša ₄ [nu?]-ʾzu ¹	he did not(?) know a greeting.
93		[u]r ² -ʾbar ² ¹	The wolf,
	A vi 1	[...]	
	H i 2'	[u]r ² -ʾbar ² ¹	
94		a-ne igi ba ₄ -gub	he stepped in front (of him).
	A vi 2	a-ne igi ba ₄ -gub	
	H i 3'	a-ne ʾigi ¹ ʾba ₄ ¹ -g[ub]	
95		ur-bar	The wolf
	A vi 3	ur-bar	
	I ii' 1'	ur ʾx ¹	
96		igi ba ₄ -lib	had woken up,
	A vi 4	igi ba ₄ -lib	
	I ii' 2'	igi x-[ib]	

97		a-ne ba ₄ -gub	he stepped (in front of him).
	A vi 5	a-ne ba ₄ ¹ -gub	
	G ii' 1'	[...] ba ₄ -gub	
	I ii' 3'	ʔxʔ [...]	
	M i' 1	a-ne ba ₄ -gub	
97a	M i' 2	SIG ₄ SAĜ ʔxʔ	...
98		ĝe ₂₆ [A]B×AŠ ₂ .IGI su du ₁₀	ʔI, pleasing the “Old Man”,
	A vi 6	[...]	
	G ii' 2'	ĝe ₂₆ [A]B×AŠ ₂ .IGI su du ₁₀	
99		[i]gi-za ga-tuš	want to sit in front of you.
	A vi 7	[...]	
	G ii' 3'	[i]gi-za(LAK797) ga-tuš	
100		[...]	...
	A vi 8	[...]	
	G ii' 4'	[...] ʔxʔ	
101	A vi 9	[...]	...
102		ʔsaman ₄ ¹ -[la ₂ ?] ga-me	I want to be (your) aid,
	A vi 10	ʔsaman ₄ (ŠAGAN) ¹ -[la ₂ ?] ga-me	
	E iv' 1'	ʔxʔ [...]	
103		igi-za ga-tuš	I want to sit in front of you.’
	A vi 11	igi-x ga-tuš	
	E iv' 2'	igi-za(LAK798) g[a]-x	
I			
104		dumu-ne i ₃ -ti	Her child approached him;
	A vi 12	dumu-ne x-ti	
	E iv' 3'	dumu-ne i ₃ -x	
	F iv' 1'	dumu-ʔne ¹ i ₃ -ti	
105		a-ugu _x mu-ti	(her/his) own father (s)he approached.
	A vi 13	a-ugu _x mu-ti	
	E iv' 4'	a-ugu _x ʔxʔ [...]	
	F iv' 2'	a-ugu _x mu-ti«-ta»	
106		dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR)	Ezinan’s child
	A vi 14	dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR)	
	F iv' 3'	dumu ^d ezinan _x (TIR) i ₃ -t[i] [...]	
107		ʔan ¹ mu-ti	approached An.
	A vi 15	ʔan ¹ mu-ti	

108	A vi 16	a - u g u _x mu-<ti>-ta	After (s)he had approached (her/his) own father,
109	A vi 17	šeš banda ₃ ^{da}	(s)he returned ^(l. 111) to her/his ^(l. 110) young brothers.
110	A vi 18	-ne-še ₃	
111	A vi 19	am ₆ -še ₃ -gi ₄ -g[i ₄]	
J			
112	A vii 1	[...]	{[With the ...]
113	J i' 1'	[(igi-)n]im[-ta] du	brought from above,
	A vii 2	[...]	
114		ga-ri-gub	we want to stand at your service.'
	A vii 3	[...] r[i] [...]	
	J i' 2'	ga-ri-gub	
115	A vii 4	ʿšeš ¹ banda ₃ [...]	The young brothers ...
116	A vii 5	[...]	
117		[...]	...
	A vii 6	[...]	
	G iii' 1'	ʿx ¹ [...]	
	Q i' 1'	[...]	
118		BU.BU	a necklace ²
	A vii 7	[...]	
	G iii' 2'	BU.BU	
	Q i' 2'	[B]u.[B]u	
119		KI.LAM	the market/price ²
	A vii 8	[...]	
	G iii' 3'	LAM ʿx ¹	
	Q i' 3'	[L]AM KI	
120		bara ₂ ¹ -bara ₂ ¹	white-spotted ^(l. 121) ...
	A vii 9	[bara ₂ ²]-ʿbara ₂ ² ¹	
	G iii' 4'	bara ₂ ¹ -ba[ra ₂ ¹]	
	Q i' 4'	[...] [b]ara ₂ ¹	
121		BAR.MUL	
	A vii 10	BAR.MU[L]	
	F v' 1'	BAR.MUL	
	Q i' 5'	[...]	

122		ki ga-NE	we want to ...’
	A vii 11	ʽki ga-NEʽ	
	F v’ 2’	ki ga-NE	
K			
123		a-du ₂	‘The a-du ₂ priest(ess)
	A vii 12	a-du ₂	
	F v’ 3’	ʽxʽ [...]	
124	A vii 13	saġ-za(LAK798)	has covered ^(l. 125) your head
125	A vii 14	tug ₂ nam-dul ₅	with a cloth,
126	A vii 15	esir _x (LAK173 ¹) du-za(LAK798)	(s)he has put ^(l. 127) sandals on your feet,
127	A vii 16	na-ni-ġar-ġar	
128	A vii 17	e ₂ -ġi ₄ e ₂ -ta	(yet) you ² , the bride, have not left ^(l. 129) the house for him.’
129	A vii 18	ʽnu ²¹ -mu-na-ʽta ¹ -ʽe ₃ ¹²¹	
130	A vii 19	[...]	...
131–136	A viii 1–6	<i>broken</i>	...
L			
136	Q ii’ 1’	[a-ne an-]ʽta ¹	From [above]
137		igi nam-ta-bar	(s)he looked down.
	A viii 7	[...]	
	Q ii’ 2’	igi nam-ta-bar	
138		muš ₃ (-na) siki	On (her/his) muš ₃ (headgear), (normal) wool
	A viii 8	muš ₃ siki	
	Q ii’ 3’	muš ₃ -na siki	
139		siki (šu) kad ₄ ba ₄ -dib	(and) (šu) kad ₄ wool were put side by side.
	A viii 9	ʽsiki ¹ kad ₄ [b]a ₄ -dib ¹²	
	Q ii’ 4’	siki šu kad ₄ ba ₄ -dib	
140		an ba ₄ -da-kar	(S)he fled / took (it) away from An.
	A viii 10	an ba ₄ -ʽda ¹ -kar	
	Q ii’ 5’	an ba ₄ -da-kar	

M

141		^d nanna silig an/diġir	Nanna, the majestic ² one of the heavens/gods ² ,
	A viii 11	^d nanna silig an/diġir	
	Q ii' 6'	^d nanna ʿx¹ [...]	
	S i' 1'	[...] [sil]ig an/diġir	
142		^d nanna šID ʿx¹	Nanna took possession ^(l. 143)
	A viii 12	^d nanna ʿšID¹ ʿx¹	
	S i' 2'	[^d šEš].KI [x šI]D²	
143	A viii 13	an-tuku	of ... ^(l. 142) .
144	A viii 14	^d nanna	'Oh Nanna,
145	A viii 15	šu-[bad]-zu	with your generosity (lit. "your open-hand")
146		ġe ₂₆ nu-bad	I cannot compete (lit. "I do not open").'
	A viii 16	ġe ₂₆ ʿnu¹-[bad]	
	R (?)	ġe ₂₆ nu-bad	
N			
147	A viii 17	ʿx¹ [...]	...
148–149	A viii 18–19	<i>broken</i>	...
O			
150–155	A ix 1–6	<i>broken</i>	...
156	A ix 7	[...]	[Nanna ...]
157		kur-kur-ra	in the (mountain) lands
	A ix 8	ʿkur¹-k[ur]	
	Q iii' 1'	ʿkur¹-[ku]r-ra	
158		an-ġal ₂	has caused to exist.
	A ix 9	an-ġal ₂	
	Q iii' 2'	an-ġal ₂	
159		^d nanna	'Oh Nanna,
	A ix 10	^d nanna	
	Q iii' 3'	^d nanna	
160		šu-bad-zu	with your generosity (lit. "you open-hand")
	A ix 11	šu-bad-zu	
	Q iii' 4'	[...]	
	S ii' 1'	[...] ʿzu¹	

161		ĝe ₂₆ nu-bad	I cannot compete (lit. “I do not open”).’
	A ix 12	ĝe ₂₆ nu-bad	
	R (?)	ĝe ₂₆ nu-bad	
	S ii’ 2’	ĝe ₂₆ nu-b[ar]	
P			
162		BARA ₂ ʽxʽ nu [...]	... not ...
	A ix 13	BARA ₂ ʽxʽ nu [...]	
	S ii’ 3’	BARA ₂ ʽxʽ [...]	
163	A ix 14	AN [...]	...
164–168	A ix 15–19	<i>broken</i>	
169–176	A x 1–8	<i>broken</i>	
Q			
177		EN [x (x)]	...
	A x 9	[...]	
	E rev. i’ 1’	EN [x (x)]	
178		ma-[šum ₂ ?]	has [given?] ... to me.
	A x 10	[...]	
	E rev. i’ 2’	ma-[x]	
179		^d nann[a]	‘Oh Nanna,
	A x 11	^d n[annaʽ]	
	E rev. i’ 3’	^d nann[a]	
180		šu [bad]-z[u]	with your generosity (lit. “your open-hand”)
	A x 11	šu [bad]-z[u]	
	E rev. i’ 4’	šu [...]	
181		ĝe ₂₆ nu-bad	I cannot compete (lit. “I do not open”).’
	A x 12	ʽĝe ₂₆ ʽ [nu-bad]	
	Q iv’ 1’	ĝ[e ₂₆] ʽnuʽ-[bad]	
	R (?)	ĝe ₂₆ nu-bad	
R			
182		NIĜ ₂ ʽxʽ [...]	...
	A x 13–?	<i>broken</i>	
	Q iv’ 2’	NIĜ ₂ ʽxʽ [...]	
183	Q iv’ 3’	ʽxʽ [...]	...

Unplaced Fragment

O i' 1'	ʿkešē ₂ ¹ [...]
O i' 2'	šE ₃ NUN ʿx ¹
O ii' 1'	[...]
O ii' 2'	NU[N ...]

Colophons

A	rev. 1'	[...]ʿNE ¹ ʿx ¹	PN
	rev. 2	ʿuš ¹ -bi ₂ -a-ḥa	Irbi-aḥa
	rev. 3	il-SIG ₅	Il(i)-damiq
	rev. 4	a-zu-zu	Azuzu
	rev. 5	[ḥu-]ti-ʿum ¹	Ḥutum
	rev. 6	ʿi-gi ₍₄₎ ¹ -i ₃ -lum	Igi-ilum
	rev. 7	[...] BU ʿx ¹	PN
	rev. 8	si-du ₃	Sidu
	rev. 9	i-ku-ʿa ¹ -ḥa	Iku(n)-aḥa
	rev. 10	ur-saḡ-me-ʿx-x ¹	Ursaḡ-me...
	rev. 11	ʿx-x ¹ -BU	PN
	rev. 12	[...]	
E		[...]	[...]
	rev. ii' 1'	dub šu ʿḡal ₂ ¹	held [?] the tablet.

5. Commentary

1–3 The introduction formula *u₄ ri u₄ ri na-nam ... mu ri mu ri na-nam* “That remote day, it was indeed on that remote day; ... that remote year, it was indeed in that remote year” was used, with small variations, mostly in mythological compositions since the Early Dynastic period in order to place the story in primordial times.⁴⁷

4–23 As in other myths of origin⁴⁸ this composition starts with some negative statements about the primeval ages: oxen, sheep and pigs did not (have anything to) eat (ll. 12, 14, 17f.), no *agri* “steward” and no *uzug₂*-priest existed (l. 13); presumably this is also true of the other officials mentioned in this section – *ḡulla* “policeman”, *niḡir* “herald”, *ka.ki* “registrar” and *išib* “purification priest” (ll. 9–11) – although the negation *nu* is not preserved. The two categories of negative statements (i.e. concerning food and officials) seem to imply that the animals are associated with specific (groups of) officials.

47 Van Dijk 1964: 16–34, § 2; Black 1992: 93–95; Krebernik 1998: 323f.; Lisman 2013: 64–67, § 2.2.1; Ceccarelli 2016: 140f. Biggs 1966: 81 mentioned an exercise tablet (IAS 280) which also showed these introductory lines. A unique opening phrase is found in the text AO 4153 (Thureau-Dangin 1910: 180); Sollberger 1956: 57 published this tablet as Ukg 15): ^(iii 1)u₄-ʿda¹ im-ma ^(iii 2)ul-[li₂-a] im-m[a] “One day, in a bygone year, in the long-ago, in a bygone year” (Lisman 2013: 230–235.).

48 Examples include: NBC 11108 (Lisman 2013: 37–39, 243–250); the *Debate between Grain and Sheep* ll. 3–22 (Lisman 2013: 40–44, 256–275; Mittermayer 2019: 38f., 48–50); *Enki and Ninḡursaḡa* ll. 11–28 (Attinger 1984; id. 2019a).

4 The expression gu_5 -li zi, literally “good companion”, is otherwise not attested in context.⁴⁹ In lexical lists it occurs as one of the equivalents of Akk. *itbāru* “a member of an association of persons of the same status or profession” (CAD I 294), “friend, colleague” (CDA 136).

The sign $KEŠDA$ lacks the characteristic interior wedges, most likely due to surface damage.

8 The sign $MUŠEN$ here is the logogram for $mušēn$ “bird” and not the bird-determinative, since the text spells the bird names in ll. 51–53 without determinative.

9 For this variant of the sign TE in Abū Šalābīḥ cf. e.g. IAS 34 obv. v 4’; IAS 39 obv. vi 12’; IAS 42 obv. ii 4’.

10 The traces of the two signs point to $SAĜ$ or $κ[A]$ and $[κ]I$ or $[D]I$, respectively. $SAĜ.KI$ “forehead, front” does not seem to fit in the context, while $SAĜ.DI$ is not attested. An official $KA.DI$ is attested in administrative texts from Ebla, see EbDA s.v. In the bilingual list *Ešbarkiḡ* it is glossed $ne-me-ti$ (< $inim-di$) and explained as *ti/dal-da-gi-lum*.⁵⁰ The most likely reading in our context is $ka-ki$. An official $ka-ki$ is attested from the EDIIIb period on,⁵¹ see most recently Charpin (2023: 40–50). The term appears between $niḡir$ “herald” and compounds with $niḡir$ in OB Lu_2 lists, see DCCLT s.v. $ka-ki$. DCCLT, obviously following ePSD2, translates it as “registrar for houses”. The word was borrowed into Akkadian as *kakkikku*, see SAD 3, 36 with reference to the syllabic spelling ^{1u2}*ka-ak-ki-ki-i[m]* in Mari.⁵² The Akk. word is translated as “an official recording and witnessing transactions concerning real estate and slaves” (CAD K 43), as “recorder”, a municipal official concerned with sales” (CDA 141 sub *kakikkum*) and as “an official” (SAD).

11 Most likely the enumeration of officials (ll. 9f.) continues. It is therefore tempting to read the traces at the beginning of the line as $saḡḡa^1$ “temple administrator”. However, we rather trust Bigg’s copy, which actually shows two signs on top of each other. The upper one seems to be $G[A]$ (and not $suga_7$ ($LUḪ$)) because of the vertical wedge at the beginning). If the sign below is complete, it is ME , which can be read *išib* “purification priest”. Three names of officials composed with GA exist: $GAL.GA$, $ga-eš_8$ ($KASKAL$) and $GA.UB$. $GAL.GA$, like other compounds with GAL , is nearly always written with GAL in the first position: in Uruk IV⁵³ and Uruk III administrative texts,⁵⁴ and in the *Archaic Lu₂A* and the *ED Lu₂A* lists.⁵⁵ $ga-eš_8$ is always written $KASKAL.GA$ in ED texts.⁵⁶ $GA.UB$ is attested only in a lexical list.⁵⁷ Therefore the supposed name of the profession remains uncertain here.

Assuming a parallelism between ll. 9–11 and l. 13 we restore the negation $[nu?]$, which is also in line with the other negative statements in this section (B).

12, 14, 18 The negated form of gu_7 without a direct object expressed is found elsewhere in literary texts: $uḡ_3 nu-gu_7-e$ “people have nothing to eat”,⁵⁸ $kar ni_{10}-ni_{10} saḡ ka-bi nu-gu_7$ “Der sich am Hafen heruntreibt und der *nie* (*genug*) *essen* (*kann*)”,⁵⁹ $munus-e nu-gu_7-e$ “the woman does not eat”.⁶⁰

49 Instead of ku^1 -li-zi in Visicato/Westenholtz (2010) Text 1, rev. iii 5’, read en - en_8^1 - tar -zi (Schrakamp 2013: 204).

50 MEE 4, 219 VE 186ab, see Krebernik 2022: 129. The Eblaite equivalent is most probably derived from a root with the meaning “to speak”, see Kogan/Krebernik 2021: 923 and fn. 923.

51 E.g. Hallo 1973: 238; YBC 16408 rev. iii 3 (P247624); CDLI P429702 obv. ii 7 (Umma; unpublished), and Limet 1973: DPA 17 rev. 4 (P213183).

52 A. 3357: 9, published by Charpin 1992.

53 ATU 5: W 07227,a; W 09578,m; ATU 6: W10595.

54 Lecompte, Uruk III texts from the Schøyen collection (unpublished; via CDLI): MS 2356, 2430, 2441, 2445, 2499, 2500, and 2868; only in MS 2868 the order is $GA.GAL$.

55 *Archaic Lu₂A* and the *ED Lu₂A* lists l. 20.

56 In *ED Lu₂E* $KASKAL.GA$ is present in l. 83.

57 *ED Officials* l. 11 (SF 59 obv. i 11 // MEE 3, 50 obv. i 11).

58 *The Lament for Sumer and Urim* l. 129, see Michalowski 1989: 44f.

59 *Vogel und Fisch* l. 121, see Mittermayer 2019: 74f.

60 *A balbale to Nanna (Nanna D)*, translated differently in Hall 1985: 781 l. 182: “the woman does not feed (the cattle?)” and ETCSL 4.13.4 l. 14: “the woman does not eat”.

13 n u - z u ḫ (κΑ) “thief” hardly fits the context. More likely n u is the negation as in ll. 12, 14 and 18. In this case it can be combined with [m]e, which yields n u - m e “was not”, parallel to [n u] - ḡ a l₂ “did not exist” in l. 11. The remaining signs u₂ and κΑ can be read u z u g₂ “a kind of priest”, parallel with i ṣ i b “purification priest” in l. 11.

14 According to the context, the first sign is perhaps to be restored as [u d] u “sheep” since the officials in ll. 9–11 are also associated with a specific animal, namely the ox in l. 12. For n u - g u₇ see commentary on l. 12.

15 The position of D i 1' has been derived from the fact that all mss were (pre)formatted with a regular grid of cases of the equal height. According to ms. A, the distance between D ii 1' and D iii 1' is 10 lines. If we assume the same distance between D i 1' and D ii 1', then D i 1' must correspond to A i 18.

17f The first visible sign in l. 17 can safely be restored as ṣ a ḫ₂ “pig”; for the sign form used in Abū Ṣalābīḫ cf. e. g. IAS 28 obv. iv 4'–5'. The next sign could be s[AḠ] or κ[A(+x)]. While ṣ a ḫ₂ s a ḡ and ṣ a ḫ₂ ṣ e g u₇ occur only rarely in ED texts, ṣ a ḫ₂ n i ḡ₂ g u₇ “fattened pigs” is well attested and therefore restored here. For n u - g u₇ see commentary on l. 12. The resulting phrase “pigs to be fattened (?) did not (have anything to) eat” parallels the two preceding phrases (l. 12 and l. 14).

19f e₃ - d a m in the sense of “is to be brought out” is not likely at the beginning of a sentence. Therefore e₃ - d is perhaps to be interpreted as “litter” or “chaff” or similar (= ḫāmū), although this word is attested only lexically.⁶¹

22 The last sign κΑ most probably represents the verb d u₁₁ - g “to say”, perhaps as part of a compound verb.

23 The reduplicated sign LU after g u₄ “ox(en)” may be interpreted as l u - l u “to be/make numerous”. However, the possibility that one LU represents u d u “sheep” cannot be excluded. The reduplicated form u d u - u d u, however, is not common in Sumerian.

25 According to ms. D the damaged line contained only two signs. The first one has the shape of AB or UNUG. Since the second sign (traces preserved in A and D) can confidently be restored as AN, the first sign most likely refers to An's cult city, Uruk. An seems to be the partner of Ezinan in our text. This is supported by ll. 104–108, where one of Ezinan's children approaches “his own Father” An. Elsewhere in the Sumerian literature no partner or husband is mentioned for Ezinan.

26–32 For Alster's translation of these lines: see the Introduction.

26 The damaged sign at the beginning of the line was read u₄ “when” by Alster⁶² in accordance with Bigg's copy. However, we prefer to read [k] u₃¹, which is a well-known divine epithet.⁶³ Furthermore, if u₄ would mark the beginning of a temporal phrase (“when”), the subject of the phrase (which we restore in the preceding gap) would be missing.

27 ḡ e ṣ_x (SAL.UŠ)⁶⁴ instead of ḡ e ṣ₃ in the expression ḡ e ṣ_{3/x} d u₁₁ - g “to have intercourse”⁶⁵, is also attested in the ED version of the *Instructions of Šuruppak*.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Aa III/3: 168 (MSL 14, 337): [e UD.DU] = ḫa-[a]-¹ m u¹.

⁶² Alster 1976: 124.

⁶³ In some literary compositions Ezinan's name is connected with ^(d) k u₃ - s u₃, e.g. in *Gudea Cyl. B* xi 19 and in the *Debate between Grain and Sheep* 10. In the TAŠ god list Kusu is in l. 153, while Ezinan is in l. 24 (Mander 1986: 24, 27). For Kusu, see Bauer : no. 19; Michalowski 1993: 158–160; Simons 2018; Borrelli/Escobar 2022: 38–45; and Nicolet 2022: 49f.

⁶⁴ Alster 2005: 66 l. 49 and his commentary on p. 121 sub l. 49.

⁶⁵ Attinger 2023: 370.

⁶⁶ IAS 256 vi 6: g e m e₂ - z u₅ (LAK117) ḡ e ṣ_x n a - e “do not have intercourse with your female slave”.

29 We assume that ziz_2 “wheat” is used here metonymically for Ezinan. This usage can be compared to that of Ezinan/Ašnan which also designates the grain and the grain goddess. Compare further ${}^d e z i n a n_2 i n d a_3 d u_{10} i n d a_3 k i - \dot{s} a r_2 - r a - k e_4$ “Ezinan, the good bread, bread for the whole world”.⁶⁷

30 The number 7 at the beginning must refer to Ezinan’s new-born children (cf. preceding line). LAK28 is a variant of LAK29 = KAM_4 ,⁶⁸ it was later replaced by KAM . Apart from some nominal meanings, KAM_4 is used – particularly in early orthography – as a syllabogram expressing the copula /-a m/ (3rd person singular) together with the final consonant of the genitive morpheme /-(a)k/. With numerals, /-k a m/ forms ordinal numbers. It is inviting to also assume this frequent usage in the present context: 7- $k a m_4$ “the seventh (child)”. All the attested meanings of SUR are verbal: “to press, squeeze, twine”; “to delimit; to break”.⁶⁹ TU is in most cases verbal (ti “to approach”, ti_3 “to live”) but has also nominal meanings (ti “arrow”, “rib”, ti_3 “life”⁷⁰). The expression $TU SUR$ very probably has a parallel in *Enki and Ninmah* b 58,⁷¹ where $ti sur-sur$ refers to a newborn child as in our passage, designating a malformation of the “ribs”.⁷² A less likely possibility is that $TU SUR$ in our context means something like “limiting the life (of the mother)” (cf. § 2.1.3). Both interpretations, however, could be seen as reasons for the mother’s anger expressed in the next line.

31f The compound verb $\dot{s} a_3 - d a b_{(5)}$, literally means “to seize the heart”. The expression either refers to one’s own heart in the sense of “becoming angry” or to the heart (= interior) of something else in the sense “understanding” it. In the bilingual lexical list *Ešbarkîg* from Ebla, $\dot{s} a_3 - d a b(-d a b)$ is translated with forms of a verb that corresponds to Akk. *zenû* “to be angry”.⁷³ Most of the evidence concerns the wrath of gods.⁷⁴ In the present line, $\dot{s} a_3 - d a b$ governs the comitative case, which is indicative of the first meaning, cf. *Nippur Lament* 79: $u r u_2 u_3 - m u - u n - b i \dot{s} a_3 b a - d a - a n - d a b - b a$ “The city’s lord who became angry with it”.⁷⁵ In the present context, it is difficult to understand why Ezinan should “be(come) angry” with her child or her children. The reason must be hidden in the preceding sentence (l. 30). From this perspective the first interpretation suggested above seems most likely. However, it cannot be excluded that the compound verb $\dot{s} a_3 - d a b_{(5)}$ has a broader meaning than “to be angry”, e.g. “to be worried” or similar.

33 The first sign is clearly $g a r a_2$ “cream”, but one should expect that the mother has no $g a$ “milk” to feed her children. See also the commentary on l. 41.

34 The first sign, which is damaged, was most likely $\dot{s} i D$. It represents the object of the following verb $g u_7$ “to eat”. Therefore it must mean a kind of foodstuff. The only reading of $\dot{s} i D$ with an appropriate meaning is $s i l a \dot{g} a_x$ “dough”. This word is attested in Old Babylonian literary texts in the spelling $s i l a_{11}(\dot{s} i D) - \dot{g} a_2$.⁷⁶ In later texts, “dough” is normally spelled $n i \dot{g}_2 - s i l a_{11} - \dot{g}$ ⁷⁷ whereas $s i l a_{11} - \dot{g}$ is *lāšu* “to knead”. In the present context $s i l a - \dot{g} a_x$ seems to refer to a kind of “pap” rather than to “dough”. The word occurs again in l. 142.

67 *Enki and the World Order* 332, see Benito 1969: 103 l. 332; ETCSL 1.1.3 l. 333.

68 Krebernik 1998: 278. Some examples: WF 112 obv. iii 2; WF 141 obv. i 2, ii 3, rev. ii 2.

69 Attinger 2023: 1236–1238.

70 The usual word for life is $n a m - t i_3$; however, $t i_3$ is rarely attested in the same sense: Attinger 2023: 1358f.

71 We owe this reference to P. Attinger.

72 See Ceccarelli 2016: 118f. and 185f. That the expression refers to the “rib(s)” or “side” is very clear from the context: the enumeration of defective body parts starts from the head and continues with $g u_2$ “neck”, $z i$ “throat”, $t i$ “ribs” and $m u r$ “lungs”. Ceccarelli translates $t i sur-sur$ with “mit verdrehten Rippen”. From a medical perspective the meanings “to twist” and “to press (out)” of sur could describe malformations of the chest of the new-born (*pectus excavatum*, *pectus carinatum*).

73 MEE 4, 264 VE 574–575 (ll. 566–567 in the forthcoming new edition by Archi/Krebernik): $\dot{s} a_3 d a b - d a b = d u - \dot{s} a - n e - u_4, d u - u \dot{s} - d a - n a - n e - u m$; $\dot{s} a_3 d a b = \dot{s} a - n a - u_4, \dot{s} e_3 - n a - u m$. Cf. Krebernik 1983: 21f.; Conti 1990: 161; Sjöberg 1999: 533f.

74 Jaques 2006: 93–95, 106–108); ead. 2023: 138.

75 Tinney 1996: 102 l. 79.

76 Attinger 2023: 1198. E.g. *Debate between Grain and Sheep* 156 (Mittermayer 2019: 44); *A Drinking Song* l. 8 (ETCSL 5.5.a).

77 Attinger 2023: 1036; cf. ePSD2: $n i \dot{g}_2 - s i l a \dot{g}$ “dough”. E.g.: *A Hymn to Ninkasi* ll. 13, 15 (Civil 1964: 69, 77); *A Hymn to Ĥendursaġa* ll. 34, 188, 191 (Attinger 2019c // ETCSL 4.6.1 A36, B32, B35); *Našše A* l. 114 (Attinger 2019d: 86).

With gu_7 , a verbal prefix is expected. We suggest the restoration of $nu-$ in accordance with the preceding line and because there is space only for a small sign.

35 The preserved part of AL is relatively large. Only one small sign may be missing in front of it. There might be a parallel between the lines 35–37 and 38–40 (cf. the commentary on l. 36). If so, l. 35 could contain the name of an animal qualified by $AL = ma_h_2$.

36 This line is probably parallel to l. 39. In this case the damaged sign above SAR could be restored as $[pe]š_3$ “fig” or $[pu_2]$ “well”. The sign before SAR looks like $[N]AM_2$ or $[N]N$. A verbal form nam_2-SAR is unlikely because this same ms. (A) spells the verbal prefix $/nam/$ with $nam-$ (ll. 87, 125).

37 The damaged sign in ms. D iii' 1' before $[gu_7]$ might be $[N]AM_2$, used as verbal prefix in ms. D, contrary the use of $nam-$ in mss. A and F (ll. 87, 125).

39 The line can be reconstructed from mss. A and E as [...] $peš_3 pu_2-kiri_6$ “... figs (in the?) orchard”. The compound noun $pu_2-kiri_6(-k)$ “(irrigated) orchard”⁷⁸ is already attested in an ‘ancient *kudurru*’ (MS 2482) assigned by Steinkeller ‘broadly to the Early Dynastic I-II periods’.⁷⁹

41f. We assume that ll. 41f. form a complete sentence and that the subject of $nu-gu_7$ is Ezinan, who does not give the seventh child milk to drink according to ll. 31ff. This child is most likely referred to by $PEŠ_2.AL.DU_3$. The sign RA , which is not preserved and probably missing in ms. A, is most likely the dative morpheme $-ra$.⁸⁰ The dative marks, among other things, the causee in Sumerian, in this case of $ga nu-gu_7$: “she did not make $PEŠ_2.AL.DU_3$ eat milk”. The expression $PEŠ_2 AL DU_3$ is difficult to analyse. The combination $PEŠ_2.DU_3$ occurs in the bilingual list *Ešbarkig* from Ebla with the unclear translation *a-pi-um*.⁸¹ As in the preceding equations $LUL.A = ba-ti-um$ and $UM.LUL.LU = [ta_2^?]-ri_2-tum$, the word seems to be a participle *a-wi-um* designating a profession. If correctly restored, the translation of $UM.LUL.LU$ is *tārītum* “nurse”, which recalls the situation in our text, and it is tempting to assume a semantically related meaning also for $PEŠ_2.DU_3 = a-wi-um$. If this lexical evidence were applicable in the present context, the additional sign AL would have to be read ma_h_2 “foremost”, which does not make sense with regard to the seventh child. Therefore we suggest an interpretation independent of the lexical entries quoted above: $PEŠ_2$ “mouse” (for which the readings $peš_2$ and $kiš_5$ are possible⁸²) accompanied by an epithet $al du_3$, literally “driving the hoe (into)”, i.e. “digging” or metaphorically “gnawing”. If we assume that $PEŠ_2 AL DU_3$ refers to the seventh child of Ezinan who may be threatening the life of her/his mother (see § 2.1.3 and l. 30 with commentary), this interpretation seems preferable. The (nick)name “digging² mouse” may also express Ezinan’s contempt for the deformed child.

43f We assume that $-ne$ here expresses the 3rd person possessive pronoun $/-ane/$ later normally written $-(Ca)-ne_2$ but cf. e.g. *lugal-ne* in BiMes. 3, 26 obv. iii 1 from ED IIIb Lagaš.⁸³

Ezinan’s child “catches” ($heš_5-AK$)⁸⁴ animals written NAM . These are more likely bir_5 “locusts” than *sim* “swallows” since it is hard to imagine that mice catch swallows; however they do eat locusts. On the other hand, this passage could relate to ll. 51–59, where Enki wants to fill the Land with birds for Ezinan’s child.

47–59 The passage contains a direct speech starting with ge_26 “I”. The speaker is certainly Enki (cf. § 2.1.4) because he refers to the *engur*, his cosmic domain. He provides water and birds “in the steppe” and thereby

78 pu_2-kiri_6 “Obstgarten” (Volk 1995: 189 sub 132//171 and fn. 888f.); $pu_2-(geš)kiri_6$ “verger (irrigué)” (Attinger 2023: 1092).

79 Steinkeller 2011, no. 104; MS 2482; pu_2-kiri_6 in obv. iii' 5–7 on p. 215; Pls.LXXXIX–XCI; quotation p. 214.

80 The postposition $-ra$ is also present in ll. 26 and 88.

81 MEE 4, 331 1251' a and b (ll. 1232 in the forthcoming new edition by Archi/Krebernik).

82 Heimpel 1990: 606. For the palaeography of the sign $PEŠ_2$: see Krebernik 1984: 287–290.

83 Biggs 1973: 28.

84 For this compound verb, see Attinger 2023: 179; Michalowski 2011: 445.

apparently wants to eliminate the famine in his land. In the introduction of *The Debate between Bird and Fish* it is also Enki, who cares for the Sumerian people by supplying water (ll. 6f.), birds and fish “in the steppe” (ll. 14f.).⁸⁵

47–50 This passage contains several repeated words and is built on parallelisms. We understand the threefold ĠA₂ in every instance as ġe₂₆ “I”, which is supported by the corresponding possessive pronoun -ġu₁₀ in ll. 47–49. a engur-ġu₁₀ can mean “my engur-water”. The expression is paralleled by a me-a-ġu₁₀, where me-a corresponds to engur. The identification of me-a with later me(-a) “pure” would fit semantically but is problematic for orthographic reasons. Therefore we prefer to analyse the two parallel expressions as engur a-ġu₁₀ “the engur, my water” and a ME a-ġu₁₀ “the pure² water, my water”. ME is ambiguous, it could mean “pure”⁸⁶ or “cultic” or even “(of the) purification priest (išib)”.

50 Note the unusual spelling ᵀGABA¹-si of the verbal form in ms. F, spelled ga-si in ms. A. Most likely the form behind both spellings is /ga-b-si/ “I want to fill it”. The syllabic value gab of GABA was rarely used for Sumerian, and it became part of the Akkadian syllabary only in the MB period. Instead, we mostly find gab₂- in Sumerian nouns going back to finite verbal forms, but note the OB spellings ga-ba-gaz (*Zwei Frauen B* 106, see Matuszak 2021: 250) and gab-gaz (VS 10, 176 2’ and 3’) besides the more common gab₂-gaz “murderer”.

51f. For the birds tum₁₂(TU) “dove” and dar “francolin”, see Veldhuis (2004: 289 and 234, respectively). Note that bird names in this composition are generally written without the determinative mušen.

53 We assume that the line should parallel ll. 51f. and therefore restore <dar dar kur>.

54 The location of the ‘HU.DUR₂.BU steppe’ is unknown.⁸⁷ The bird-sign (HU) in its name and the birds mentioned in the preceding lines suggest that it was rich in birds.

63–75 The compound verb šu – la₂ appears here in four parallel phrases with different animals as objects. As in the preceding section, Enki must be the subject. Animals “tied” (keš₂) by Enki occur also in an ED composition in the context of divination.⁸⁸ The possessive pronoun -ne “his/her” after šu most likely refers to the seventh child. šu – la₂ literally means “to tie to the hand(s) of ...”, but may have a more abstract meaning like “to hand over”, “to grant power over”. It remains unclear, however, for what purpose the animals are handed over to the child.

69 In ms. A the signs še₃ in iv 14 (l. 68) and LU in the ‘ear’ of LULIM¹ iv 15 (l. 69) merge with each other.

73 We assume that ušumgal, mostly translated as “dragon”, is here a metaphor for “lion”. Alster presented evidence for this in his edition of the *Instructions of Šuruppak*: in l. 30 all mss. have piriġ except one ED ms. which has ušum instead.⁸⁹ In the lexical list *ED Animals B*, ušumgal “lion” (l. 63) is followed by ug “lion” and nemur₂ “leopard”; ušum is not present in the section about snakes (ll. 104–113).

73a In ms. A there is one broken line between ušumgal and šu-ne-še₂, the fragments I and N start with šu-ne-še₂. It is possible that either KEŠ₂.KEŠ₂ or šu-ne-še₂ was erroneously omitted in A and that KEŠ₂.KEŠ₂ is to be restored in the gap before šu-ne-še₂ in I and N.

⁸⁵ Mittermayer 2019: *Vogel und Fisch*, 68f.

⁸⁶ Mittermayer 2009: 237; Attinger 2023: 831 sub ku₃ me(-a), 933.

⁸⁷ HU.DUR₂.BU can be a toponym and a personal name, see Krebernik et al. 2014: 349f. sub i 2’.

⁸⁸ SF 37 and duplicates, edited as “CUT 3” in Zand 2011: 186–208; for Enki as diviner: see already Krebernik 1998: 322 fn. 812. The animals are še₉ “mountain goat” (CUT 3A 03.14’–03.16’) and ušum “lion” (CUT 3A 06.06–06.08).

⁸⁹ Alster 2005: 62 and commentary p. 114. Michałowski (2011: 309 sub 23), discussing ušumgal independently from Alster, came to the same conclusion.

76 The damaged signs in mss. I i' 4' and N ii' 3' most likely must be restored as ti₈(A₂) “bird of prey”, conventionally translated as “eagle”.

78 The line cannot be restored completely. Witness A clearly contains NUN and šE₃, the rest is uncertain. Furthermore, the two witnesses A and K (if placed correctly) seem to differ. n un “prince” is a common epithet of Enki, who is likely meant here, see § 2.1.4. šE₃ is most probably part of the verbal predicate, either to be read eše₂-, which would represent the prefix /e/ + the dimensional infix /ši/ “towards”, or to be read še₃-, which would be the prefix /ši/ meaning “and then”, “so”. The verb is unclear, perhaps ri “to direct” rather than dal “to fly” because the eagle, which must be the object, is kešda “bound”.

86 We assume that a-ne “he” refers to n un “the prince” in l. 78.

88–90 The presence of Isimud, addressed by n un “the prince”, identifies the latter as Enki, see § 2.1.4. Isimud’s behaviour is unusual: he does not answer his master.

91 In the preceding lines (ll. 88f.) Enki is speaking to Isimud. One expects that Isimud answers his master, but the text reads only isi mu₄ nu-bad “Isimud did not open”. We tentatively restore <ka> “(his) mouth”.

92 In parallel with nu-bad in the preceding line we restore a negative verbal form [nu]-zu “he did not know”.

94–97 a-ne “he” (ll. 9, 97) topicalises the preceding word ur-bar “wolf” (ll. 93; 95). The wolf is evidently put in contrast to Isimud. He instead of Isimud offers his services to Enki (l. 102), whom he addresses as “The Old Man” (l. 98). Perhaps Enki’s preparations for overcoming the food shortage (ll. 43–59) had alerted the sleeping and presumably hungry animal.

98–103 This passage introduced with ĝe₂₆ “I” must be the direct speech of the wolf.

98 For AB×Aš₂.IGI “old man/woman”, see e.g. Behrens/Steible (1983: 18 with references), Bauer (1985) and most recently Such-Gutierrez (2021: 320 and fn. 9), who analyses the expression as ABBA₂-IGI-X “‘Ältester’/‘Älteste vor X’”. The use of the logogram AB×Aš₂ is typical of the so-called Kish orthography.⁹⁰

99 za is written LAK797 in ms. G ii' 3', while in ms. A vii 13 and 15 (ll.124; 126) and in ms. E ii' 3' (l. 61f.) and E iv' 2' (l. 103) LAK798 was used for za.

102 We tentatively restore the word after ga-me as [s]a ma n₄([š]AGAN)-[la₂?] “helper, aid (of a merchant)”. The use of this term for the wolf offering his help to Enki may have a comical undertone.

104–107 These lines contain three sentences forming a semantic climax which reveals An as the father of Ezinan’s child(ren); the clearly structured figure of speech makes the reading An preferable to the semantically weaker diĝir “god”:

“Her child approached (*him*),
(s)he approached *her/his own father*,
Ezinan’s child approached *An*”.

105 We assume that a KA is to be interpreted as a-ugu_x “(her/his) own father”, spelled a-a-ugu(U+KA) in later orthography. The additional TA after mu-ti “(s)he approached” in ms. F is apparently a scribal error

⁹⁰ Gelb 1981: 60 sub 8.1.

caused by the similar line 108 to be restored as a-ug_x mu-<ti>-ta “after (s)he had approached (her/his) own father”.

108 In this line, preserved only in ms. A, the scribe erroneously omitted the verb *ti*, which can be supplemented after a-ug_x mu-*ti* in l. 105: a-ug_x mu-<ti>-ta “after (s)he had approached (her/his) own father”.

109–111 The distribution of šeš banda₃^{da}-ne-še₃ “to her/his young others” over two cases was certainly conditioned by the regular size of the cases, cf. § 3. We interpret šeš banda₃^{da}-ne as /šeš banda-ani/ “her/his young brothers” and not as /šeš banda-ene/ “the young brothers”. The collective meaning of šeš banda₃^{da} can be concluded from the context (they are Ezinan’s children) and from the verbal form am₆-še₃-gi₄-gi₄ (l. 111) which can be analysed as /a-m(u)-b-ši-gege/ with /b/ referring to the collective “her/his young brothers” and /gege/ as ‘freie Reduplikation’ expressing the plurality of the object (rather than a *marû* form).

113–114 Since the child returns from the sky-god An, the beginning of the sentence can probably be restored as [(igi-)n]im-[ta] “from above”. *nim-ta* and *igi-nim-ta* are attested sometimes in one and the same composition.⁹¹ The remaining sign *DU* could be a participle referring to an object “brought” from above which was named in the preceding, broken, line. The verbal form *ga-ri-gub* may be understood as “we want to be at your service”, with a well-attested special meaning of *gub* = *izuzzu* “to stand”,⁹² forms with prefix *ga-* originally do not mark the plural (with /-enden/), see Jagersma (2010: 571).

115–116? Since the “young brothers”, who were speaking in the preceding section, appear here in the third person, a verbal predicate like “(they) spoke to her” is probably to be restored in the following gap.

117/8–129 Most likely another direct speech of the brothers to their sister.

118 BU.BU is perhaps identical with BU.BU in l. 3, BU.BU ZA.GIN₃, of the *Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A*, where it designates “a (lapis) necklace”.⁹³

119 For KI.LAM, the meanings “market” and “price” are well attested. In Ebla, the word is current in the spellings KI:LAM and KI:LAM₇(LAM×KUR). Note also the equation E₂.RA = *ba-du* KI:LAM₇ “market-house”.⁹⁴

120 The repeated sign in l. 120, fully preserved only in ms. G, looks like LAGAB with an inscribed sign similar to HAL, however the orientation of its wedges is irregular. We tentatively identify it as BARA₂ to which it shows the greatest similarity (but the inscribed little wedges are missing). An almost regular BARA₂ occurs in ms. A ix 13 (l. 162), where the two wedges of the inscribed ‘X’ have the same irregular orientation as in l. 120 ms. G. Possible meanings of *bara₂-bara₂* include “daises” or “sacks” but the following adjective BAR.MUL “with white spots” (l. 121) is attested only with animals. Therefore, one wonders if *bara₂* here could be a loanword from Akk. *parûm* (< **para’um*) “mule”. Interestingly, BAR.MUL has a similar reading *barum_x* (see below) but this might be a coincidence.

121 BAR.MUL is known from the *ED Animal List A*,⁹⁵ where it specifies several terms for bovids: *ab₂* (l. 10), *gu₄* (l. 36), *amar* (l. 62), and *am* (l. 88). Like other specifications it could be a colour term.⁹⁶ A partially preserved

91 *Ninurta’s exploits* (van Dijk 1983): *igi-nim-ta* l. 471 (p. 112) and *nim-ta* l. 694 (p. 143). *Gudea Cyl. A* (Edzard 1997): *igi-nim-ta* xii 5 (p. 76), and *nim-ta* xvii 25 (p. 80).

92 *ga-ri-gub* in *Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird* has been interpreted in very different ways. The translation “I shall grant you” (ETCSL 1.8.2.1. 165) seems to imply a similar understanding.

93 See Civil 2008: 23, with commentary p. 54; the syllabic duplicate from Ebla has *gu-^rx¹* [KUR].

94 MEE 4, 237 VE 336; Pettinato’s reading ŠID was corrected in Krebernik (1983: 14).

95 Edited in MEE 3, p. 50–56.

96 According to Pientka-Hinz 2011: 337: “mit stern- bzw. blütenförmigen Flecken auf dem Rücken(fell)”; similar to Pientka-Hinz 2014: 772f. We thank W. Sommerfeld for the references.

syllabic ms. from Ebla⁹⁷ assigns to it the reading $ba_4-ru_{12}-um$.⁹⁸ Krispijn considered the possibility that the ending *-um* could be Semitic⁹⁹ and/or that term could be identical with Akk. *parûm* “mule”.¹⁰⁰ In the same syllabic ms. a similar or identical reading is attributed to UD: $ab_2 ku\hat{g}_2 UD$ “cow with a white (?) tail” is rendered as $ab kum bu_3-ru_{12}-um$ (l. 18), and $ab_2 si UD$ “cow with white (?) horns” is rendered as $ab si b[a-r]u_{12}-um$ (l. 110). We tentatively suggest that in all three cases – as well as in our text – the same lexeme is meant. Its original form would be /barum/, which could become /burum/ through vowel assimilation (note that in the latter case the preceding word $ku\hat{g}_2/kum$ contains an *u*). The word is obviously different from *babbār*, and we are not able to identify it in later sources. It is perhaps a loanword from Akk. *barmum* (fem. *barumtum*) or *ba/urumum* “multicoloured”, or in this case “white-spotted”. Later versions of the *ED Animal List A* replace *BAR.MUL* by $\mathit{\text{š}}u_2.MUL$ and *MUL*. Civil interpreted these terms as $su\text{ḥ}ub(\mathit{\text{š}}u_2.MUL)$ and $su\text{ḥ}ub_2(MUL)$ “boot”; he thought that $gu_4 su\text{ḥ}ub_{(2)}$ referred to “trampling” herds of cattle.¹⁰¹ However, as noted by Civil himself, the word for “boot” is written differently in ED texts.¹⁰²

122 The line comprising the signs *KI GA NE* is hard to analyse. *GA* most likely is the same cohortative prefix as in l. 114. If so, the line expresses another wish of the brothers. The verbal base seems to be *NE*: $ki ga-NE$ “we want to ...”. Then the preceding lines should contain the objects of the action. For *ki* and *NE* the literal meanings “(to the) earth/netherworld” and “to burn/boil” are possible but not corroborated by the context, and a compound verb *ki – NE* is not attested. *KI.NE* as a *diri* compound is also unlikely because its attested meanings (“brazier”, “kiln” and the like) are nominal. There remains a slight possibility that *NE* is a syllabic spelling de_3 for $de_6(DU)$ “to bring”.

123–127 The young brothers are speaking about what most likely are preparations for a marriage, based on ll. 128f. “(yet) you (?), the bride, have not left the house for him.”

123 $a-du_2(ru)$ is a priest(ess) with unclear functions. The word is attested in a lexical list from Fāra (SF 47 obv. i 2), in the ED and OB versions of the *Keš Temple Hymn*¹⁰³ and in an OB Balaḡ to the mother goddess¹⁰⁴. In the latter two attestations $a-du_2$ is connected with the Mother Goddess. This relationship is also reflected in *An = Anum* II 99f. where $^da-du_2-gu-la$ and $^da-du_2-banda_3^{da}$ are two deities in the circle of the Mother Goddess.¹⁰⁵

124f. The “cloth” ($tu\text{g}_2$) with which the head “is covered” ($nam-du_1s$) is most likely the veil of a bride. In later texts the veiling of the bride is well attested.¹⁰⁶ Wilcke assumed that ‘die Schwiegertochter durch die Verschleier-

97 MEE 3, no. 62, recognized and edited independently by Krecher 1983 and Krispijn 1981–1982.

98 $ab_2 BAR.MUL$ (l. 10) is rendered as $ab_2 ba_4-ru_{12}-um$, see Krecher 1983: 180; and Krispijn 1981–1982: 48. It is the only case in the text where ab_2 is not rendered syllabically by *ab*. This is probably due to an error of the scribe, who made also other mistakes in this line which shows several traces of erased signs.

99 Krispijn (1981–1982: 49) cites several spellings ending in *-um* and comments: ‘Das bedeutet möglicherweise, dass diese Komplexe wie die Zeichennamen ausgesprochen wurden (vergl. Ebla S⁹)’.

100 Krispijn 1981–1982: 50: ‘Soll man denken an ein allgemeines Wort für “Hybride”, nicht nur für “equide Hybriden”, Akk. *parûm* I (AHw. 837 links)?’. This suggestion is, however, very unlikely as stated by Sommerfeld in his yet unpublished edition of the Sargonic texts from Tall as-Sulaima (personal communication). According to Sommerfeld, these texts contain the earliest attestations of *parûm* in the expression *be-lu par₂-e* “Besitzer von Esel-Onager-Mischlingen”. The same word is presumably represented by the frequent *BAR/šU₂*. *AN = KUNGA₂* in Ebla, which occurs with the determinative *ANŠE* in *Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A*, 251, see Civil 2008: 42 and 113. There is no indication that the terms *BAR.MUL* and (*ANŠE*).*BAR/šU₂.AN* have anything in common.

101 Civil (1994: 141–147) comments on $gu_4 su\text{ḥ}ub_2$ in *The Farmer’s Instructions* l. 7.

102 Civil (2008: 124f.) comments on $gul.zu_2-ḥub_2-du$ in *Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A* 281, where he also quotes *E.A.ZU₅.ḥUB₂* from Ebla (MEE 4, VE 1322).

103 For the ED fragment, see Biggs 1971: 198 Fig. 3: Source D (Abs-T 302 = IAS 308) obv. col. iii’ 9’. For the OB version, see Gragg 1969: 174 ll. 109f.

104 See Volk 2005: 41. 17 with commentary on p. 8.

105 Lambert¹/Winters 2023: 112; the two names are preceded by Nintur and her by-names (ll. 96–98).

106 Cf. Stol 2016: 22–28.

ung bei ihrer Ankunft im Hause ihres Schwiegervaters in dessen Familie aufgenommen [wird]’.¹⁰⁷ The Akkadian equivalent of e_2-gi_4 , *kallatum*, is etymologically connected with *kullulu* “to crown/veil/cover (the head or face)”.¹⁰⁸

126 The ED sign read $esir_x$ “shoe” here, roughly corresponding to LAK173, was treated by Steinkeller 1981–1982. Forms like ours without the BAR-like element in the middle were common in pre-Sargonic Lagaš.¹⁰⁹ Putting on sandals before meeting the lover is mentioned in *Dumuzi-Inanna T 24*.¹¹⁰ For DU “foot”, see Krebernik (2012b: 64).

127 The verbal form $na-ni-ĝar-ĝar$ parallels $nam-dul_5$ in l. 125. We assume that the prefix / $na-$ / in both cases has a positive (affirmative?) meaning and that $ĝar-ĝar$ is the reduplicated *hamtu* base indicating a plural object (sandals) and not an archaic spelling of the *marû* form written $ĝa_2-ĝa_2$ already in pre-Sargonic Sumerian.

128–129 The word e_2-gi_4 (Akk. *kallatum*) “daughter-in-law” was discussed e.g. by Wilcke, Westbrook and Stol.¹¹¹ According to their OB sources a woman was given in marriage by her father (or, if he had died, by her mother or brother),¹¹² and finally the bride moved from her parental house to the house of the groom.¹¹³ For this the verb e_3 “to leave, to go out” was used, which we restore here.

136–137 As far as preserved these lines parallel ll. 86–87.

138–139 The two lines apparently describe an action with wool (*siki*). The meaning and reading of $MUŠ_3$ in l. 138 are uncertain, especially since $MUŠ_3$ and $MUŠ_2 = MUŠ_3-g$. were not yet differentiated in the ED period.¹¹⁴ In combination with wool, it likely refers to a kind of headgear. In l. 139 mss. A and Q differ: $SIKI KAD_4 BA_4 AGA^{1?}/DIB^{1?}(A) // SIKI ŠU KAD_4 BA_4 DIB(Q)$. Unless $ŠU$ is to be restored in A in the damaged left part of the line, it was probably omitted erroneously. The expression $siki šu kad_4$ is attested in the ED lexical list *Plants*. In the ms. from Abū Šalābiḥ (IAS 23 ii 13) it is preceded by $siki maš_2$ “wool of a (billy) goat”, whereas the duplicate from Fāra (SF 58 ii 17) merges the two entries into one and omits $ŠU$: $siki maš_2 kad_4$. The lexical entry $siki šu kad_4$ is most probably to be identified with $siki (šu) kad_4$ in our text. If so, the remaining signs BA_4 and $AGA^{1?}/DIB^{1?}(A) // DIB(Q)$ belong together, representing a verbal form with prefix ba_4- whose base must then be $dib^{(1)}$. Based on these presumptions, the whole passage may be tentatively interpreted as $MUŠ_3(-na) siki siki (šu) kad_4 ba_4-dib^{(1)}$ “on her/his $MUŠ_3$ (headgear), (normal) wool (and) ($šu$) kad_4 wool were put side by side”.

140 The verb *kar* means “to take away” and “to flee, to escape”. Since the comitative infix $-da-$ usually refers to an animate object, an *is* here rather the god *An* and not “sky/heaven”.

141 The sequence $AN.NANNA AN.ASAR$ could, of course, be read $^d nanna ^d asar$ “Nanna (and) Asar”, but this is syntactically excluded because the next line starts with $^d nanna$ as subject of a new sentence. Alternatively, $AN.ASAR$ could be a finite verbal form $an-silig$ “he ceased/stopped (it)”, which would parallel $an-tuku$ “he had (it)” in the next phrase. However, the verb *silig* is normally intransitive and all its occurrences checked by us are negative. A third possible interpretation of the phrase, which we prefer *faute de mieux*, is $silig an/diĝir$ “the majestic one of the heavens / the gods” ($silig =$ Akk. *šagapūru*) as an epithet of Nanna.

¹⁰⁷ Wilcke 1985: 283.

¹⁰⁸ Wilcke 1985: 282f.

¹⁰⁹ Some examples: DP 342 rev. i 2 (P220992); Nik 1, 266 obv. ii 2 (P222035); VS 14, 25 obv. i 6 (P020039); VS 25, 53 obv. ii 2 (P020259).

¹¹⁰ Sefati 1998: 248.

¹¹¹ Wilcke 1985: 281–283; id. 2007: 60; Westbrook 1988: 17f.; Stol 2016: 22–28.

¹¹² Westbrook 1988: 32b, 89 sub ‘Dowry’; Greengus 2000: 479 sub ‘Dowry’.

¹¹³ Wilcke 1985: 227f.

¹¹⁴ See Attinger 2023: 970f. with previous lit. For the reading $suku_5$ or $šuku_x$ see Attinger 2015: 46.

142 The damaged sign below ^dnanna cannot be restored with certainty. šID could represent the same word as in l. 34, where it was interpreted as silaĝa_x “dough” and tentatively translated as “pap”, but this is far from certain. Among the many readings of šID, there is one which could be connected with the two key-terms of the preceding section L, namely “headgear” and “wool”: šudum(šID) = Akk. *šutû* “warp” can designate a type of wool, which is used for a headgear in an OB letter.¹¹⁵ However, the co-occurrence of the terms in a piece of ED literature and in an OB letter is most likely mere coincidence.

145–146, 160–161, 180–181 The phrase šu-bad-zu ĝe₂₆ nu-bad is fully preserved in ll. 160–161 and can safely be restored in ll. 145–146 and 180–181. It can be translated literally as “your hand-opening I cannot hand-open”. The meaning must be something like “I cannot compete with your open-handedness” or “... with your generosity”.

156–161 The praise of Nanna in ll. 159–161 suggested that he is the subject of the preceding phrase ending in an-ĝal₂ “he has caused to exist”.

177–181 The praise of Nanna in ll. 179–181 suggests that Nanna is the subject of the preceding phrase ending in ma-[šum₂?] “he has [given?] ... to me”.

Colophons

The colophons of these manuscripts are treated in the ‘Appendix: Colophons and Scribes’ of the edition of the Sumerian *Zame Hymns*.¹¹⁶

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Abbreviations

AAICAB 1/2	Grégoire 2000
AAICAB 1/3	Grégoire 2002
ATU 5	Englund 1994
ATU 6	Englund/Nissen 2005
AUCT 2	Sigrist 1988
BPOA 1	Gomi/Sigrist 2006
BPOA 6	Sigrist/Gomi 2009
CUSAS 13	Maiocchi 2009
CUSAS 23	Bartash 2013
CUSAS 33	Notizia/Visicato 2016
CUSAS 35	Bartash 2017
DCCLT	Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/ (last access 13 February 2024)
EbDA	Ebla Digital Archives: http://ebda.cnr.it/ (last access 13 February 2024)
ELTS	Earliest Land Tenure Systems: Gelb et al. 1991
epsd2	Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/sux (last access 13 February 2024)
LAOS 1	Neumann 2011
LAOS 7	Streck 2018–
MEE 3	Pettinato 1981
MEE 4	Pettinato 1982
MSL 14	Civil et al. 1979

¹¹⁵ CT 29, 12: 32, quoted in CAD Š III, 408, together with the lexical evidence for si ki šudum-ma.

¹¹⁶ Krebernik/Lisman 2020: 200.

MSL 15	Civil et al. 2004
MVN 6	Pettinato et al. 1977–1978
MVN 10	Grégoire 1981
Nisaba 26	Al-Rawi et al. 2013
OIP 99	Biggs 1974
OIP 104	Gelb ¹ et al. 1991
P+number	Artifact number in CDLI: https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/ (last access 13 February 2024)
SACT 2	Kang 1973
SAD	Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries (LAOS 7)
TCL 15	de Genouillac 1930
TSA	de Genouillac 1909
UGN	UD.GAL.NUN (orthographic system in Early Dynastic cuneiform texts)
UTI 4	Gomi/Yıldız 1997
VS 14	Förtsch 1916
VS 25	Marzahn 1991

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Synopsis of the Manuscripts (Hand-Copies from Biggs 1974)

As described in section 3, the best-preserved manuscript, A, had 10 columns with 19 cases of equal dimensions, except for col. A i 1–3. Therefore the synopsis is based upon 10 model columns with 19 cases each.

The position of D i 1' can be calculated from the distance between D ii 1' and D iii 1' (10 lines); assuming the same distance between D i 1' and D ii 1', D i 1' must correspond to A i 15 (= l. 15).

The overlap between A iii 3–9 and E obv. i' 1'–7' (= ll. 38–44) indicates that there is no reason to suppose an extra space between A iii 7 and 8.

For some fragments several placements are possible:

- F ii' // ll. 63–65 or ll. 67–69.
- L i' // ll. 63f. or ll. 67f. or ll. 71f.
- L ii' // l. 83 or l. 84.

Some fragments have been bracketed because their placement is uncertain:

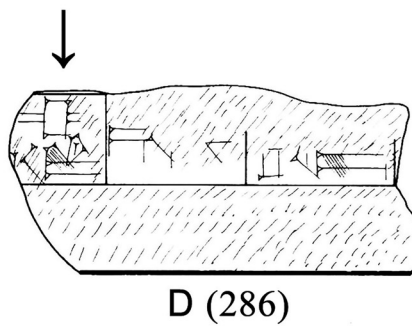
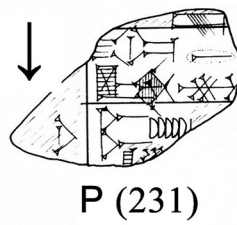
- B i' 2' // l. 42?
- M i' 2 = l. 97a.

Fragment O could not be placed.

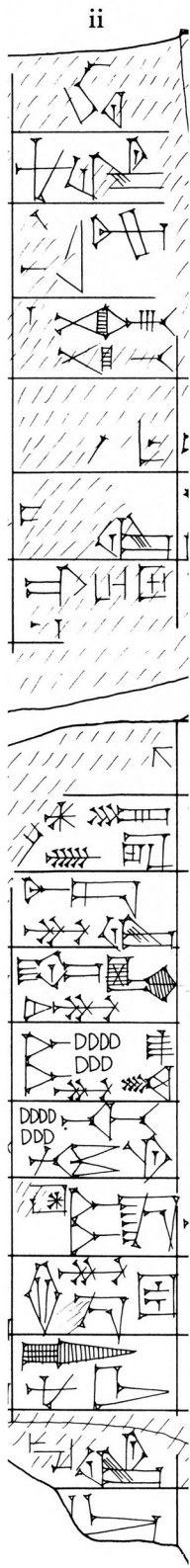
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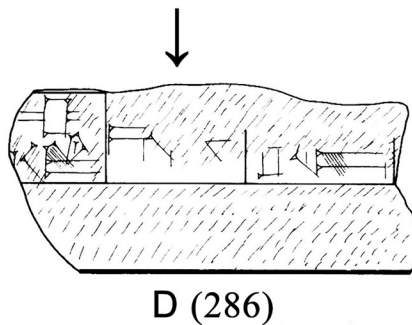
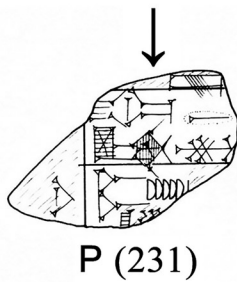
A (283)

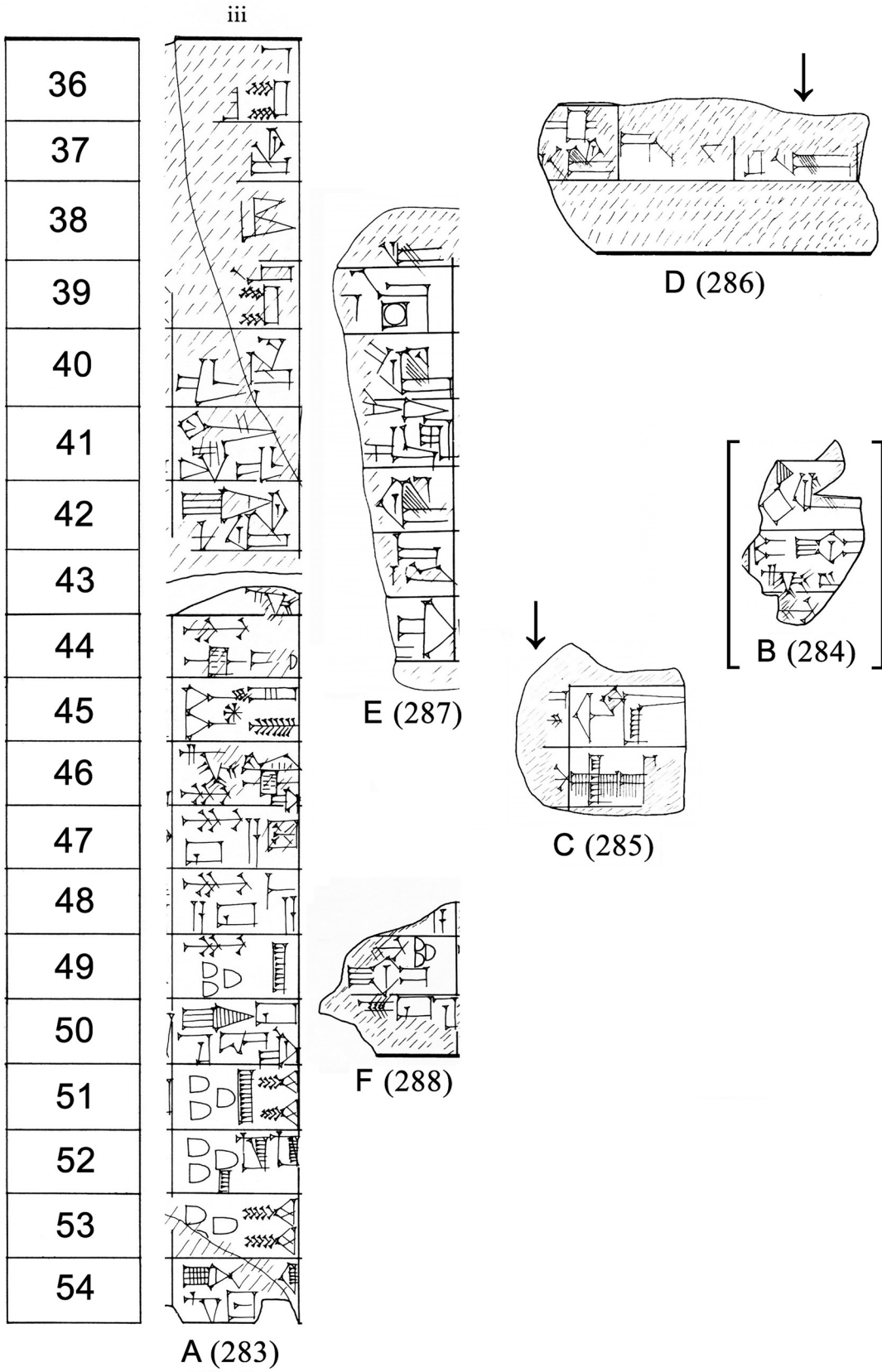


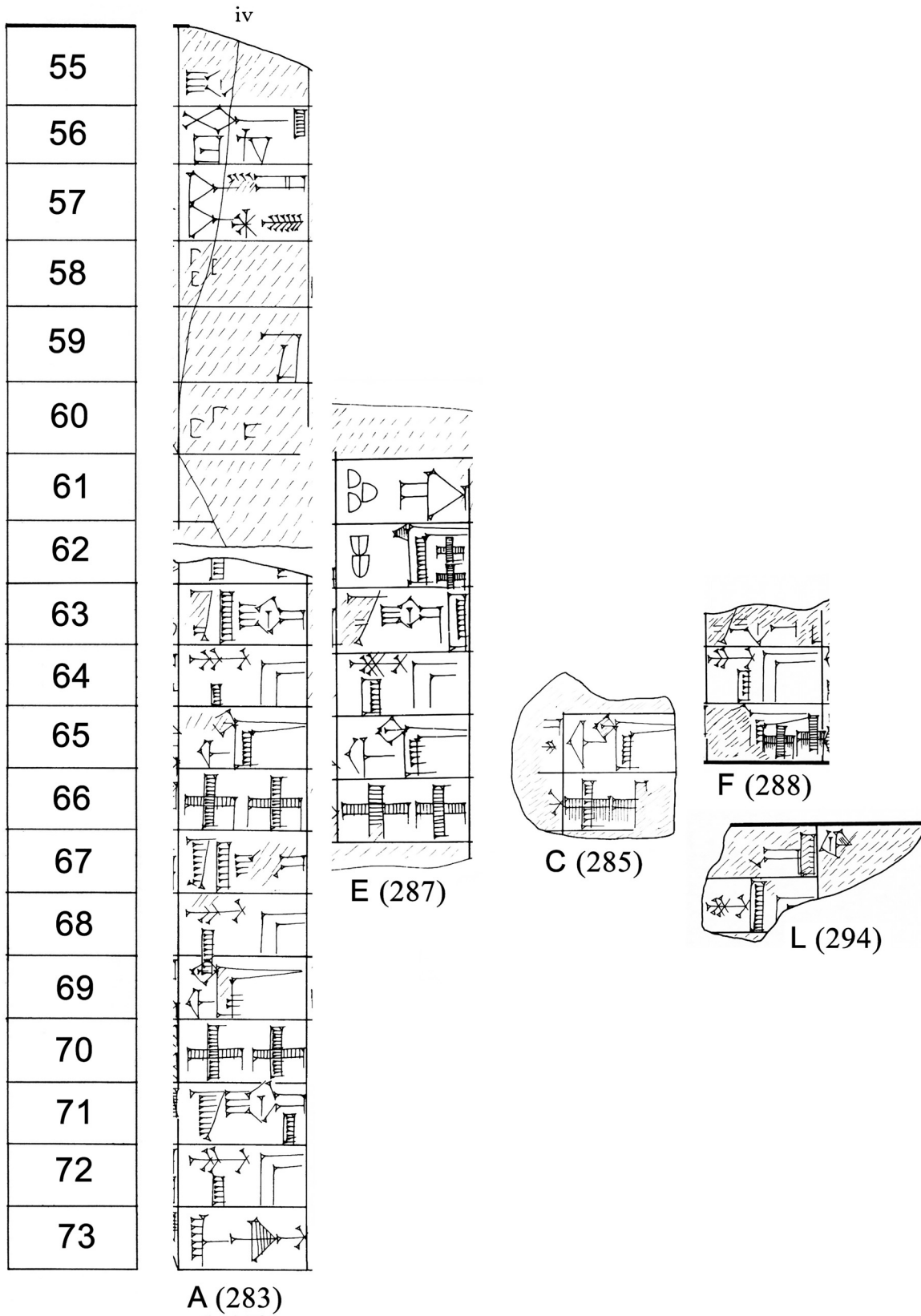
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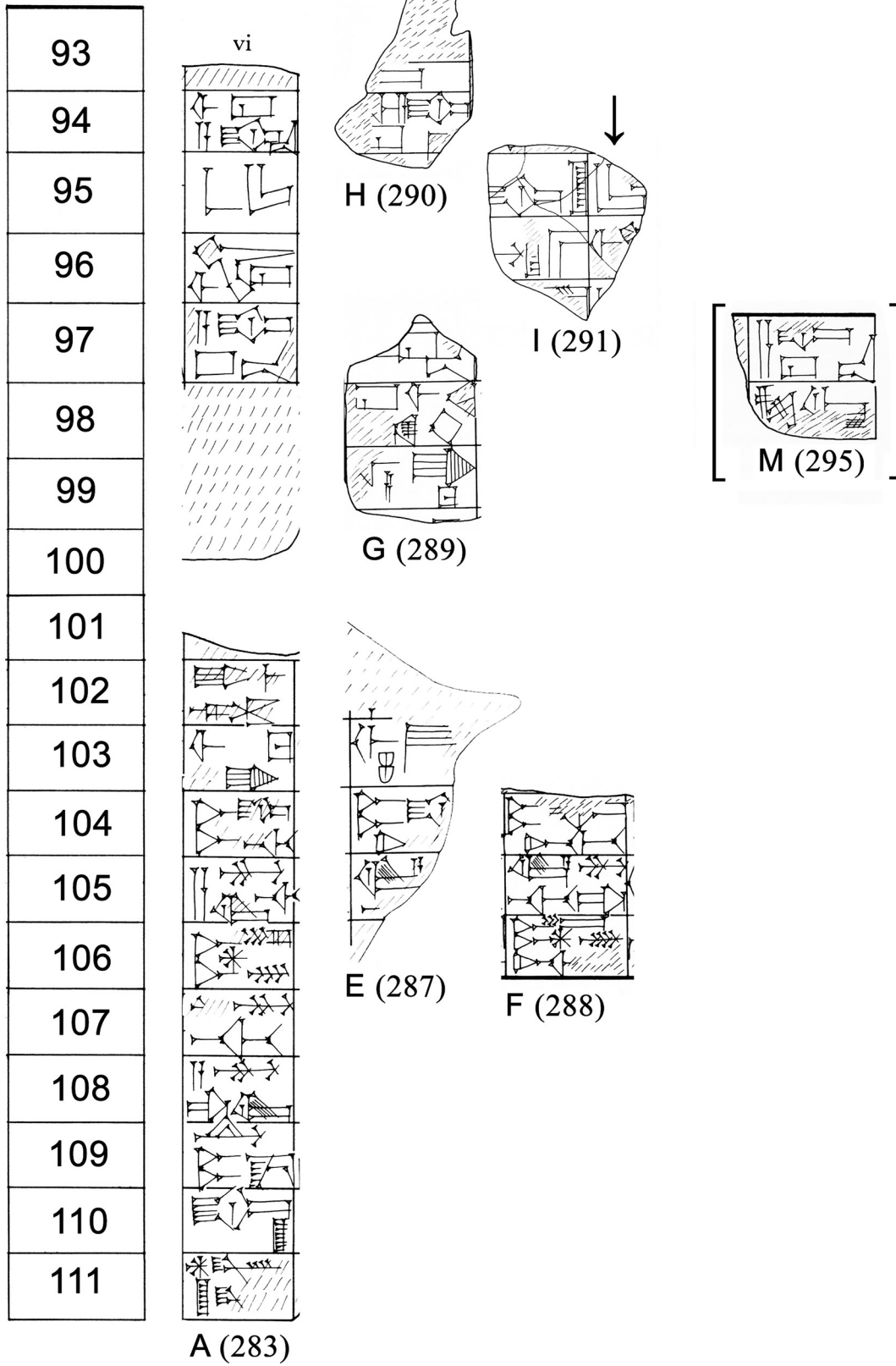


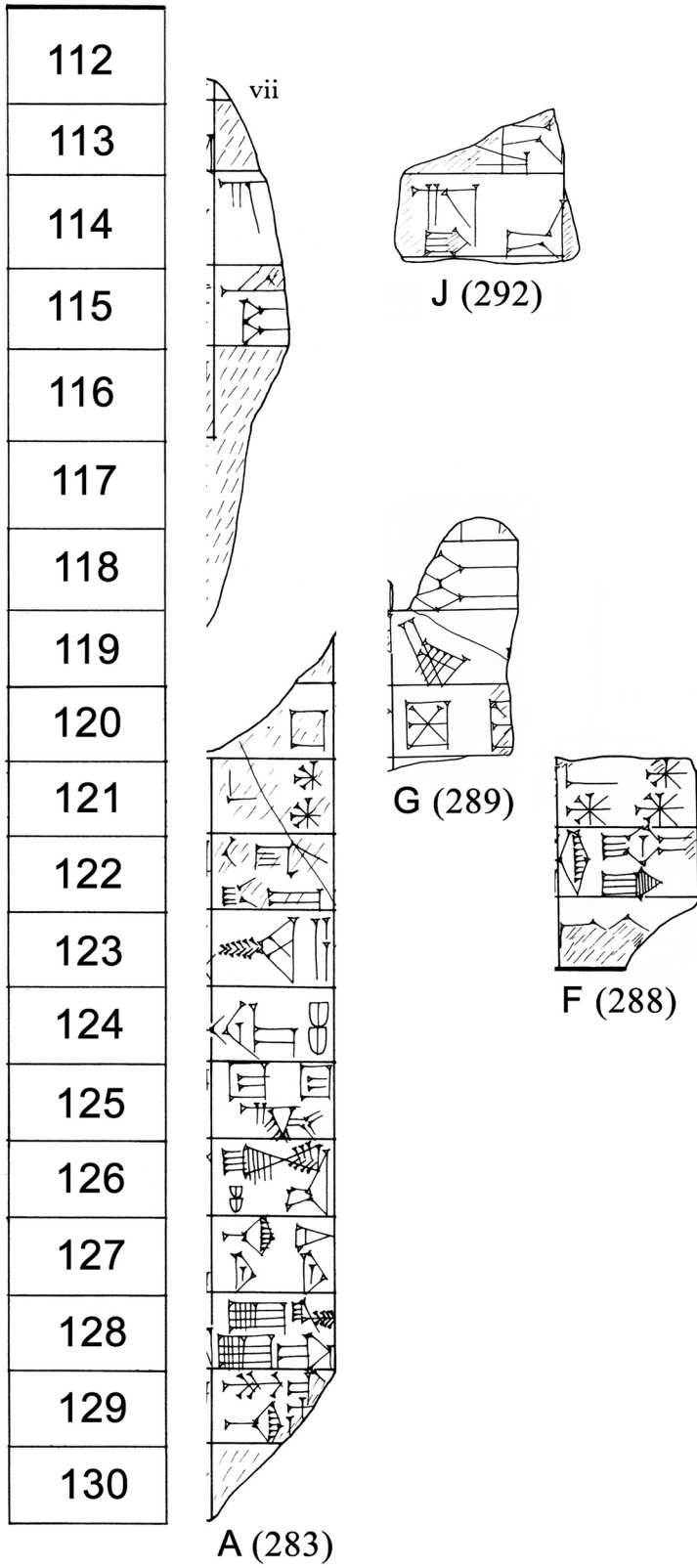
A (283)



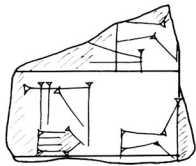
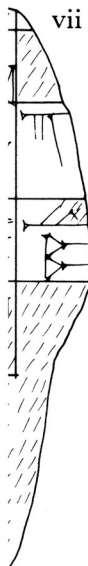




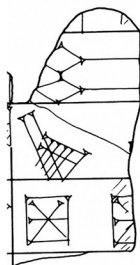




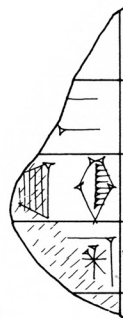
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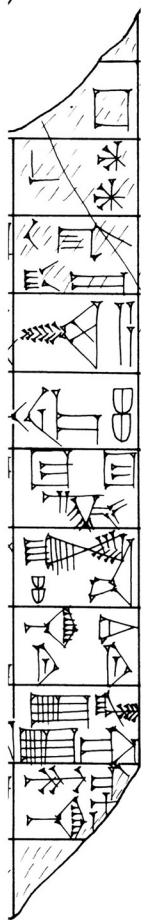
J (292)



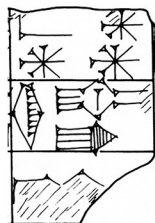
G (289)



Q (335)

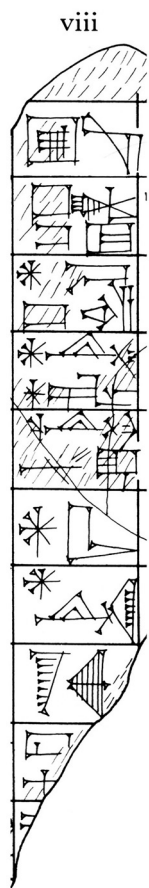


A (283)



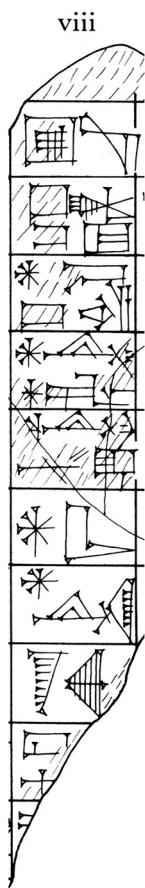
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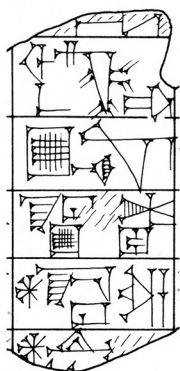


A (283)

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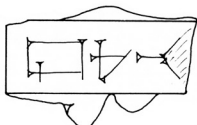
A (283)



Q (335)

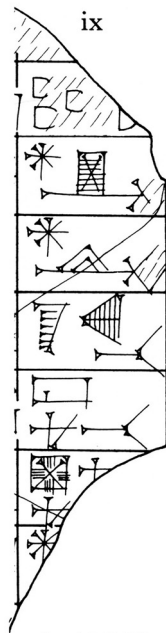


S (456)

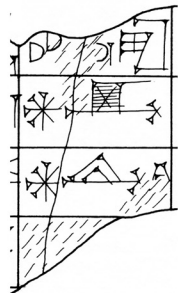
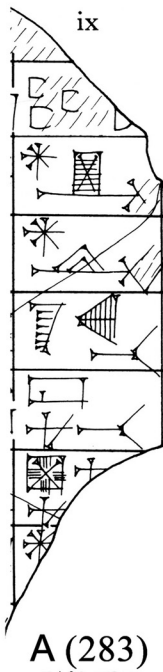


R (429)

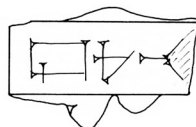
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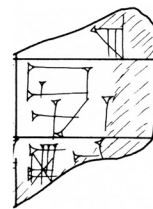
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Q (335)



R (429)

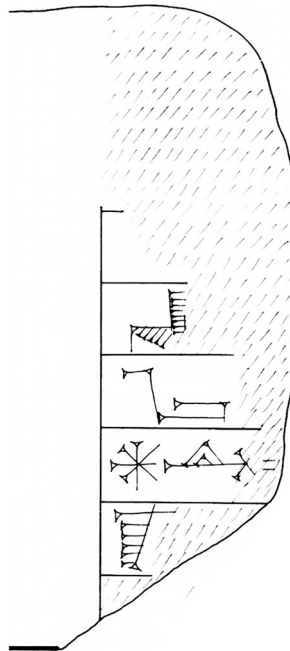


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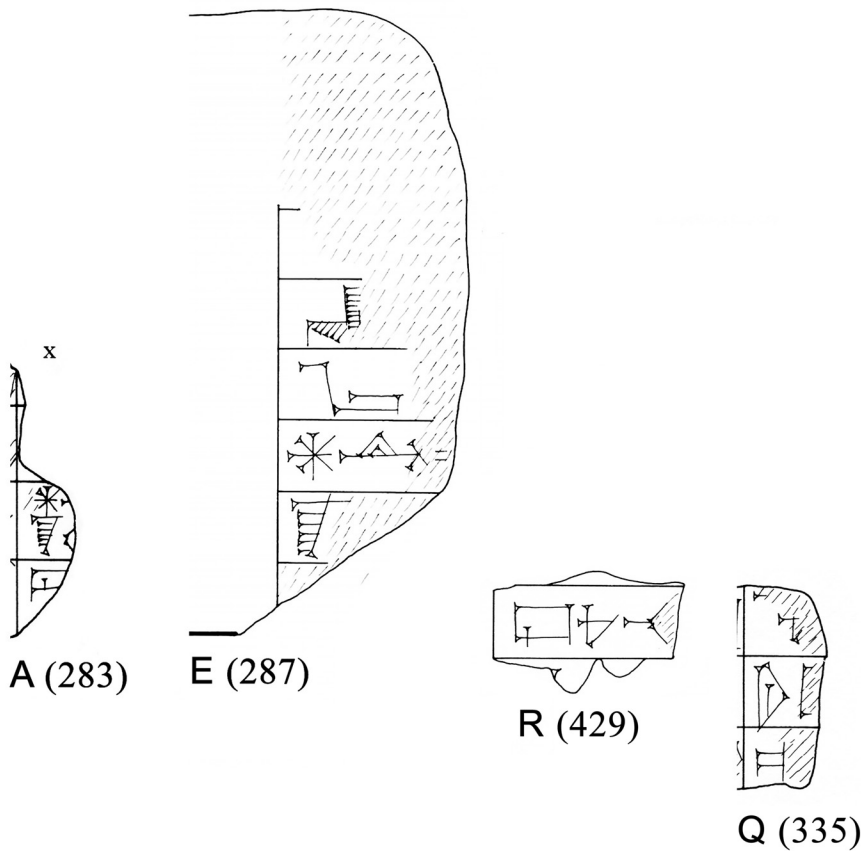


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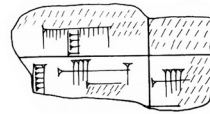


E (287)

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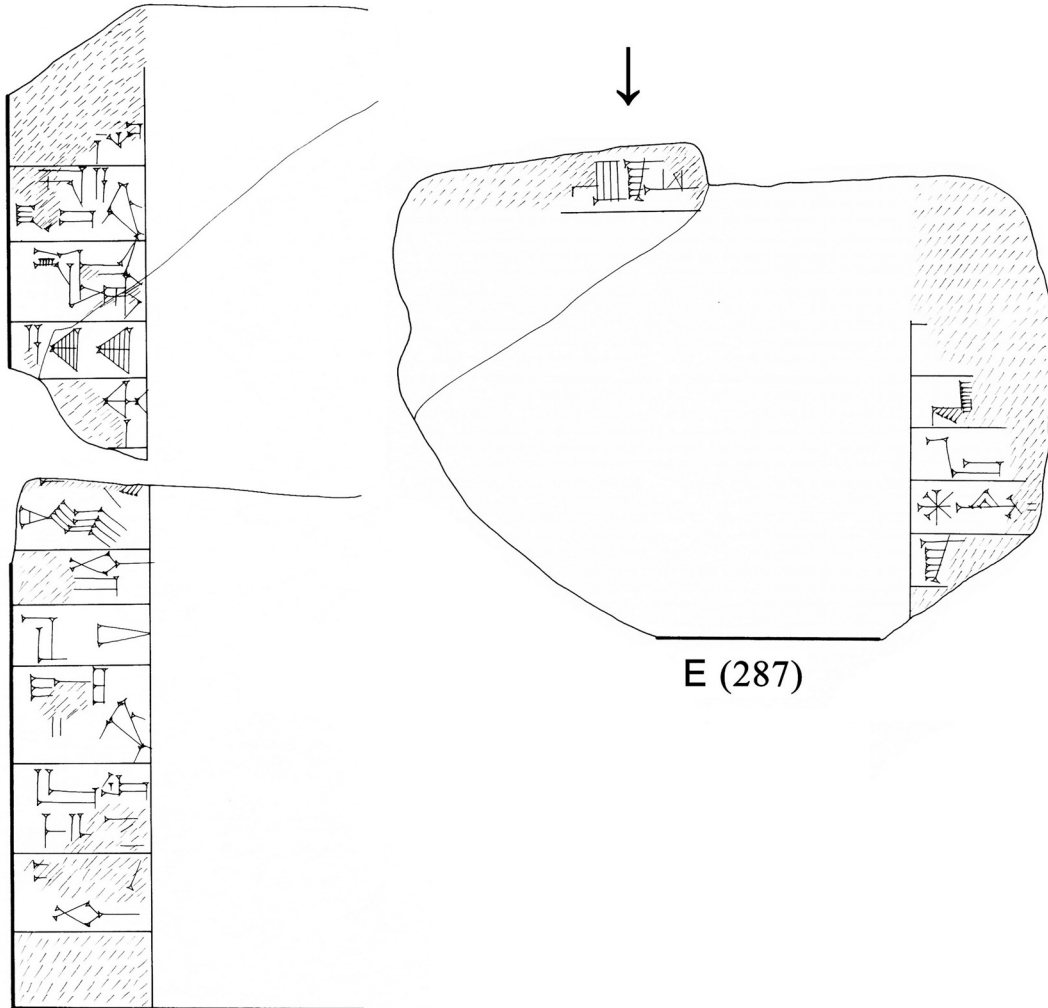


Unplaced fragment



O (297)

Colophons



E (287)

A (283)