6 Sumerian Literary and Magical Texts from Emar

Texts from Emar will be presented according to their scribal tradition, Syrian and Syro-Hittite. Texts with duplicates from Emar and Ugarit will be treated in the present chapter as the Emar sources are usually better preserved.

6.1 Syrian School Texts

The only known Sumerian literary text written in Syrian school style is E 775, *A Prayer for a King*. The rest of the Syrian school documentation consists of lexical lists, omina and incantations.

6.1.1 A Prayer for a King – E 775 - RS 79.25

The composition *A Prayer for a King* (*P*/*K*) is a prayer to the god Enlil on behalf of an unnamed king. This text is unknown from the Old Babylonian literature and is only attested in a bilingual recension preserved on two tablets from Emar and Ugarit.

*E 775* is a single-column tablet from Emar containing a bilingual version of the text in interlinear format. *RS 79.25* is the left edge of a tablet discovered at Ugarit in Maison A containing the phonetic Sumerian version of the text. A parallel column likely containing the Akkadian translation was arranged to the right of the Sumerian version as shown by double vertical rulings on line 11 of the obverse. An additional Akkadian version is attested at Ugarit on a small fragment, *RS 79.25c*, which, according to Arnaud, does not belong to the same tablet as RS 79.25 on the basis of clay and sign shapes. According to the hand-copy, which shows the margin of the tablet to the left of the phonetic Sumerian column, RS 79.25 did not contain a version in standard orthography; such a version was probably inscribed on a different tablet as attested for other Sumerian texts from Ugarit.

The Emar manuscript is a beautiful tablet entirely preserved and drafted, according to the colophon, by the scribe Tuku-dE₂-hur-sağ, priest of the god Dagan. This name is otherwise unknown at Emar and in the Mesopotamian onomasticon. Recently Rutz proposed the reading Raši-ili, <title of> Ehursaĝ, shrine of Dagan. Whatever the correct reading is, the association with Dagan, the principal deity of the Middle Euphrates region, makes it clear that the scribe was Syrian.

The tablet is dated to the month of *Urda*. This is possible evidence for an early date because at Emar only the oldest texts contain a dating formula. Indeed, most of the dated ephemeral documents go back to the first dynasty while only seven dated tablets date to the second dynasty and

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1473 This tablet was drafted by a local scribe as shown by the shape of TI and LI (*passim*).
1474 Dietrich 1998, 156.
1475 Arnaud 1982a, 213.
1476 Arnaud 1982a, 209.
1479 Rutz 2013, 296-298.
1480 For this god see Fleming 2000, 28-29.
mostly to the first kings. Consequently, this tablet may be dated to a period between the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 13th. The tablet was probably a library copy, as no other duplicates are known from Emar. Most of the Ugarit scholarly texts date to the last fifty years before the destruction of the city (second half of the 13th century), but some tablets may be earlier and have been preserved as library copies. Tablets discovered in Maison A are from a secondary context going back to a phase earlier than the building itself. If this group of tablets is actually older than the rest of the scholarly texts discovered at Ugarit, the Emar and Ugarit sources of PfK might be contemporary.

PfK is a royal hymn containing a prayer asking the gods to bestow blessings and gifts on the king, who is addressed in the second person as is typical in the Sumerian royal hymns. M. Dietrich’s study dedicated to this composition will be the starting point for the present analysis. According to Dietrich, the Ugarit text is based on the Emar model, and some passages were expanded as a result of adaptation to the local cultural and theological milieu. Dietrich evidenced the text’s reliance on the Mesopotamian tradition but also suggested connections with Ugaritic and biblical literature. In addition to the Sumero-Akkadian bilingual format, links to Mesopotamian literature include the deities mentioned in the text, the list of divine gifts and the role of the king as conqueror of his enemies and as defender of his land. These elements can be found in the royal inscriptions and royal hymns of the second and first millennium. Dietrich pointed out that contrary to the Mesopotamian tradition, where kings are blessed with both material (weapons, scepter, throne etc.) and immaterial gifts, only abstract gifts are attested in PfK. The single material gift is a weapon given by Nergal in a line that is only preserved in the Emar text (PfK 13). Western Semitic elements in PfK include the encomiastic incipit wishing life upon the king, expressed by the formula ti-la lugal-mu / buluṭ bēlī,'Live!, my king', and the divine granting of life to the king, which follows a topos known from the Ugaritic epic texts. The list of divine gifts is unknown in the Ugaritic literature, but some biblical passages on the enthronement of kings describe abstract gifts similar to those attested in PfK, such as wisdom, integrity and a long-lasting and prosperous reign.

Dietrich regards PfK as a Krönungshymnus that may have been sung during the enthronement of the king at Emar and Ugarit. This hypothesis is based on the connection between the Sumerian royal praise poems and enthronement. According to Dietrich PfK is thus a literary work that originated in Mesopotamia but was adapted to Syrian culture. On the assumption that the diffusion of the Mesopotamian texts followed an east-west route, Dietrich also states that the Ugarit text depends on an Emar source and identifies that city as the place where the composition was reworked.

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1481 Fleming 2000, 198-204.
1483 For the chronology of the Ugarit tablets see § 9.4.
1484 Dietrich 1998; lineation follows Dietrich’s edition.
1486 Dietrich 1998., 171.
1492 Dietrich 1998, 196.
1494 Dietrich 1998, 197.
The textual analysis presented here will show that PfK relies entirely on the Mesopotamian tradition.

The postulated function of PfK as an enthronement hymn is in contrast with its presumed reworking at Emar. The social and political structures of Emar and Ugarit were so far removed from one another that it is inconceivable that the same literary composition was used in the enthronement of the king in both cities. The Emarite kingship was defined by Fleming as a *Limited Kingship* as its authority was restricted by collective powers, such as the Elders, typical of the entire Middle Euphrates region. These features render Emar’s society and political framework completely different, even from an economic point of view, from the palatial and centralized structures of Ugarit.

The local religious and cultic traditions of Emar are encoded in several Akkadian rituals that display, on the one hand, the importance of the god Dagan, and on the other hand the limited role of the king in religious ceremonies. The creation of a royal hymn with a cultic function similar to the Sumerian praise poems seems unlikely in a society in which the king had a limited religious role. Moreover, Dietrich has only evidenced connections between PfK and Ugaritic and biblical literature but not with the local cultural setting of Emar that is expressed in the ritual texts, even on the linguistic level. The social and cultural milieu that yielded this composition is therefore removed from that of the city of Emar. Even though an effective use of PfK during enthronement ceremonies at Ugarit is to be dismissed, the ideology behind this composition would better fits the Ugaritic court.

Contrary to Dietrich’s claim, the elements assumed to be typical of Western Semitic culture can be traced in the Mesopotamian literature, remarkably the introductory petition for the life of the king.

This incipit appears in NBC 5452, an unpublished tablet containing the hymn *Sîn-iddinam D*, which consists of four prayers beginning with *til-la lugal-ĝu*. Three of these prayers end with the formula *sin-i-din-nam lugal-ĝu*. The rubric RN lugal-ĝu is documented in the royal hymns of Rim-Sîn, Ḫammu-rābi and Samsu-ilūna and according to van Dijk it might indicate a distinctive literary genre tied to the cult. It is worth noting that only a single manuscript containing this rubric is known from Nippur. As NBC 5452 is unpublished, the relation, if any, between *Sîn-iddinam D* and PfK cannot be ascertained.

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1497 For an overview on the social and economic structures at Emar and on the Middle Euphrates as opposed to those from the Levant, see Viano 2010; on Ugarit see Liverani 1974.
1499 RIA 4, 543.
1501 The Ugaritic kingship was related to the epic and ritual texts in Ugaritic, Liverani 1974, 338-341, Del Olmo Lete 2008; for the divinization of the king see 121-132; the local gods who appear in these texts were the only ones to be worshipped at Ugarit, Kämmerer 1998, 64-66; for the religious role of the king at Ugarit see Wyatt 2007.
1504 This incipit is possibly attested in N 1316 (ETCSL 2.99a), a tablet containing a hymn to an anonymous king which on the basis of the expression nam-lugal-û-sud-ra, bala ḫe-ĝal-la z[il?] x x x seems to contain a petition for a long-lasting reign (Sjöberg 1982, 75-76); the first line could be restored as *[til]-la lugal-ĝu-10 ĝeš-gu-za […]*, see Sjöberg 1982, 75 n. 8.
1505 One prayer ends *sin-i-din-nam lugal-nam-nam-[a]-a [an]-ra <diri-ga>,* Hallo 1967, 96.
1506 ETCSL 2.6.9.3, 2.6.9.4, 2.6.9.5, 2.6.9.6, 2.6.9.7, 2.8.2.2, 2.8.3.2, 2.8.3.3, 2.8.3.5.
1507 van Dijk 1966, 63.
1508 3N-T 230 + 3N-T 236 = *Samsu-ilûna E* (ETCSL 2.8.3.5), see Brisch 2007, 47.
The expression ti-la lugal-ĝu₁₀ is not limited to this text but is also attested in *Hymn to Marduk for a King* (HM)¹⁵⁰⁶, a praise poem on behalf of an anonymous king¹⁵¹⁰ inscribed on OB Sammeltafeln from Sippar, which, as we will see below, also contain the monolingual recension of *The Ballad of Early Rulers*. Even though in the *Hymn to Marduk for a King* this expression does not occur as the incipit, it is placed at the beginning of the second section of the composition after a dividing ruling found in both manuscripts that preserve the text:¹⁵¹¹

HM 14  
⁴ ti₃-la lugal-ĝu₁₀  an-ne₄, aia-diĝir-re-e-ne₄-ke₄, sa₆-ga¹⁵¹²  
May the life of my king be pleasant in the eyes of An, father of the gods!

The *Hymn to Marduk for a King* also represents a close parallel to PfK even though it does not duplicate any line. Both texts contain the theme of a long life granted to the king:

PfK 1  E  
⁴ ti₃-la lugal-ĝu₁₀  u₄-gid₂-da ḫe₂-am₄  
bu-luṭ be-li UD.MEŠ-ka₃, li-ri-ku

U  
⁴ ti₃-il₃-la lu-ga-la-g[u]

2  E  
mu-mu₃-uzu ḫe₂₃, mu₃-me-en-na-an-da ḫe₂-am₃₃

MU.MEŠ-ka₃ li-te-ed-di₃-sa

U  
₂₃-mi-za-ah₃-bi-li ḫa₃-a

Life, my king! May your days be long,  
may your days be renewed

HM 4  
⁴ nam-ti₃₃-la-uzu ḫe₂₃-ri-ib-su₃₃-dam

5  [ud d]u-ru-še₃ ḫe₂₃-ri-ib-tuku-a

6  ḫe₂₃-ti₃₃-la

May he (Marduk) prolong your life,  
may he let you keep it for everlasting days!  
May you live!

The *Hymn to Marduk for a King* only mentions abstract gifts, which were considered by Dietrich one of the principal connections to biblical literature:¹⁵¹³

HM 3  
⁴ nam-ti₃₃-la-uzu  ḫe₂₃-e₄-bₑ₂₂

May Marduk decree life for you!

7  ḫe₂₃-silim-ma

8  gi₁₆-sa-a₃-a ḫe₂₃-a

9  ġe₃₃-šub-ba-uzu nam-ti₃₃-la ḫe₂₃-a

10  nam-ti₃₃₄₃ du₁₀₃-ga ḫa₃-la-uzu ḫe₂₃-a  
May you have peace!

¹⁵⁰⁶ ETCSL 2.8.5.b, Alster, Jeyes 1986, Alster 1990.

¹⁵¹⁰ It is not precluded that the unnamed king is Abī-ešuḫ who is the addressee of another hymn inscribed on the same Sammeltafel; this praise poem follows the *Hymn to Marduk for a King*, Alster 1990, 1-2.

¹⁵¹¹ BM 80091, CBS 1208.

¹⁵¹² Note that the incipit of the first prayer of Sîn-iddinam D, til₃-la lugal-ĝu₁₀  igi x […], recalls this line of the *Hymn to Marduk for a King*.

¹⁵¹³ An expression similar to the PfK incipit is known from the Ur III version of the Sumerian King list: “šul-gi lugal-ĝu₁₀  u₃₄-sud-še₃, ḫa₃-ti-il, ‘May Šulgi, my king live a life of long days’, Steinkeller 2003, 284.
May it last forever!
May life be your lot.
May a life of a good heart be your share.

If the Hymn to Marduk for a King was not composed on behalf of a specific king, the absence of the king’s name is perhaps a further connection with PfK. The theme of bestowing a long life on the king is also contained in The Letter of Sin-iddinam to Utu of which a duplicate is attested at Emar.\footnote{1514}

\begin{verbatim}
SI-Utu 45   u₄ ša₂-e ni₆-te₂-ga₂-mu-uš nam-ti šum₃-mu-na-ab
And to me give life because of my reverence!
46   zi su₂-ud ga₂ ni₇-ba-e-e₂, ba-mu-na-ab
A long-lasting life bestow upon me as a present.\footnote{1515}
\end{verbatim}

The portrayal of An bestowing life and plenty (PfK 17-18), which according to Dietrich reflects the nature of the Ugaritic god El,\footnote{1516} is already known in Mesopotamian literature. In the hymn Lipit-Ištar C the god An is addressed as numun i-i, ‘the one who makes the seeds sprout’.\footnote{1517} Moreover in the praise poem Ur-Ninurta E (UrN E) the god An grants the king ‘years of plenty’:\footnote{1518}

\begin{verbatim}
UrN E 24   mu ḫe₂-gal₂ hala u₁ sud-da
And to me give life because of my reverence!
25   ₃ur-<nín-urta>-ra mu-na-an-šum₄
(An) gave to Ur-Ninurta years of plenty, and a reign of long days
\end{verbatim}

The life-giving power of the water connected to the god An, which according to Dietrich\footnote{1519} reflects the role of El in the Ugaritic theology, is attested in Rim-Sîn C (RS C).\footnote{1520} It is worth noting that this composition is one of the RN lugal-ğu₁₀ hymns. Here An grants rain bringing life and plenty:

\begin{verbatim}
PfK 18  U 32 a-ia-i’-gu-la-gin₃
Like the water of great rivers may you be in accordance with the orders of An
U 33   du-ga [n-nu za-e-me-in]
PfK 19  E a-na ḫe₂-gal₂ la an-ta-ḡal₂ ga-a-ni-šur-ra-ke₄
ša-mu-ūṭ ḫe₂-gal-li iš-tu ša-me-e li-iz-nu<un>-ka
May a rain of plenty rain over you from the sky.
RS C 23   ubur an sud-aġ₂ ḡal₂ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-taka₄ im-a an-na ḫu-mu-ra-ab-še₂₃
24   mu ma-da u₁ nam-ḥe₂ an-ša₃-ta za₃ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-ke₂₄
25   it₄ ni₂ gir₁₂-zal ša₃ ḫul₃-la u₁-zu-še₂ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-ḡar
26   bala ni₂₂ du₁₀ ni₇-si-su si₄-a šu-zu-še₂₃ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-ḡar
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{1514} § 6.2.4.
\footnote{1515} Brisch 2007, 45-46.
\footnote{1516} Dietrich 1998, 159 n. 24, 169, 180-181. Marduk playing the role of Enki as lord of the underground water (PfK 7), cited by Dietrich (Dietrich 1998, 159 n. 21) as a further example of the difference between this text and the Mesopotamian tradition, is probably part of the process of Marduk’s rising to the head of the pantheon and of the syncretism between Babylon and Eridu accomplished in Enûma-eлиš.
\footnote{1517} Römer 1965, 10; for the role of An as creator see Tallqvist 1938, 254.
\footnote{1518} ETCSL 2.5.6.5.
\footnote{1519} Dietrich 1998, 169.
\footnote{1520} ETCSL 2.6.9.3; Brisch 2007, 61-64, 200-202.
May he open for you the breasts of the shining heavens, so that the rain of heaven rains for you.

Years of prosperity and days of plenty may he assemble for you from the heart of heaven.

Months of splendor and a joyful heart may he establish for your lifetime.

A reign filled with excellence and justice may he give to you.

The same portrayal of An is found in Ur-Namma C.\textsuperscript{1521}

\begin{verbatim}
20     an-e ka ku₃-ga-ni mu-un-ba im-a ma-u₃-du₂
      An opens his holy mouth, and for me rain is produced.
\end{verbatim}

As pointed out by Dietrich PfK is not only connected to the Sumerian literary texts but also to the Akkadian literature. Arnaud\textsuperscript{1522} noticed the close relationship of the Akkadian version to the inscription of the Kassite king Agum-kakrime, although the latter is only preserved in first-millennium sources.\textsuperscript{1523}

I was able to identify a further parallel to PfK in a composition titled Bénédiction sur le roi à son entrée dans le nouveau palais published in Arnaud’s volume on the literary texts from Ugarit (RS 25.431A = AuOrS 23 37). A line of this text strongly resembles the second part of the PfK incipit:

\begin{verbatim}
AuOrS 23 37   2    U₄.MEŠ-ka li-ri-ku ba-la-ta liš-ri[ik₃]
      May your days be long, may (the god) grant life to you.

Pfk       2    bu-luṭ be-li U₄.MEŠ-ka₃ li-ri-ku
\end{verbatim}

Arnaud regards this tablet as imported from Assyria on the basis of the ductus and the presence of a few Assyrianisms and dates it to Tukulti-Ninurta’s reign. A paleographic analysis, however, shows that this tablet was not drafted in 13\textsuperscript{th} century Assyria.

- The sign ŠA with two inscribed Winkelhaken (l. 6) \textsuperscript{1524}, has a Middle Babylonian shape,\textsuperscript{1525} the same form is attested in the 14\textsuperscript{th} century MA texts,\textsuperscript{1526} but it is different from that known from the texts of Tukulti-Ninurta’s period, \textsuperscript{1527} as shown for instance in KAR 128 (Prayer to Assur for Tukulti-Ninurta)\textsuperscript{1528} and KAJ 310.

- The shape of the sign LI (ll. 1, 2)\textsuperscript{1529} is typically Middle Babylonian;\textsuperscript{1530} it diverges from both the 14\textsuperscript{th} century Assyrian variant,\textsuperscript{1531} and from the ŠE+ŠA variant (with four horizontal wedges) of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{1532} This variant is also different from the late Ugarit script form\textsuperscript{1533} attested in other literary texts.\textsuperscript{1534}

\textsuperscript{1521} ETCSL 2.4.1.3.
\textsuperscript{1522} Arnaud 1982a, 216.
\textsuperscript{1523} See for instance K 4149+ = 5R 33, VII, 11-12, ša LUGAL a-gu-um // U₄.MEŠ-šu₄ lu-’ar-ku‘.
\textsuperscript{1524} BA 14, No. 167.
\textsuperscript{1525} See Weeden 2012, 237 and n. 48.
\textsuperscript{1526} See § 2.1.5.1.
\textsuperscript{1527} In line 5 the sign transliterated as LI looks like TE.
\textsuperscript{1528} BE 14, No. 211; the Syrian school shape attested at Emar derives from the MB variant, Wilcke 1992, 128-131.
\textsuperscript{1529} Weeden 2012, 239-240.
\textsuperscript{1531} van Soldt 2001; this variant corresponds to that attested at Emar in the Syro-Hittite scholarly texts.
\textsuperscript{1532} Cf. RS 79.25 (Arnaud 1982a, 210-212), RS 17.80 (Nougayrol 1968, 376).
The sign KA shows a MB shape,1533  which is different from the 13th century MA variant1534
attested for instance in KAR 128  ; this form is also different from the 14th century MA
variant.1535

Paleographic analysis thus invalidates the hypothesis that AuOrS 23 37 is a 13th MA tablet. Linguistic traits taken by Arnaud as clues to an Assyrian origin are limited to the adverb [ha-ra-a]m-ma (l. 10) and to the 3sg. precative [l]u-ka-an-ni-ka (l. 11).1536 Arnaud himself admits that the only certain Assyrianism is the precative form since the adverb is in a broken context and its restoration is speculative. Even the precative might be a Babylonian form1537 if it were a 1sg. form. Notwithstanding Arnaud’s claim that the context requires a 3sg. form,1538 the use of the second person to address the king does not exclude that the precative could be a 1sg. form.

A further hint toward the origin of the tablet is provided by its find-spot. AuOrS 23 37 was found in the Lamaštu archive where several Babylonian tablets were unearthed.1539 Therefore, by regarding the precative as a 1sg. form1540 the script of the tablet can be classified as Babylonian.1541

The influence of Akkadian literature is further suggested by the epithet of Iškur, lu[-ga]l ḫi-gal ‘king of plenty’.1542 PF/K is the only Sumerian text where such an epithet is attested, but it is known from several Akkadian compositions and the list An=Anum.1543

It is clear that PF/K was not reworked in Syria1544 but rather originated in the Mesopotamian stream of tradition. All the elements supposed by Dietrich to be influenced by West Semitic culture are already attested in the Sumero-Akkadian documentation. In this context, these traits, which later appear in biblical literature, must be considered as dependent on the Mesopotamian tradition.

Compared to the text of the Emar tablet the Ugarit manuscript expands some sections: Enki and Asalluḫi are added to the list of invoked gods (PF/K, 7);1545 Anu/El is mentioned in a passage equating the king to the power of the waters (PF/K, 17-18). On the contrary RS 79.25 makes no mention of Nergal providing the king with a mighty weapon (PF/K 13). Furthermore, the Ugarit manuscript ends with a four-line reference to Iškur’s gifts, which is lacking in the Emar tablet. Some textual variants are also attested.1546

1533 BE 14, No. 84.
1534 For the 13th century MA shape see van Soldt 2001.
1535 Weeden 2012, 238-239, 247.
1537 For the Babylonian and Assyrian variants in the D stem see GAG § 81c.
1538 The line is broken and this is the only word preserved.
1539 For this archive see § 9.5.2.
1540 Is it possible reading [u], instead of [l]u? By reading [u],-ka-an-ni-ka the presence of Assyrianisms would be excluded.
1541 Note also the use of the value /aš/ of the sign AŠ, that, as seen in RS 17.80 (see § 5.3.4), is rare at Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989, 385), and the value pi which is only known from texts of Mesopotamian origin, Huehnergard 1989, 23. On the other hand, if any Assyrianism is attested, this manuscript might be a Syrian copy of either a MB tablet or a 14th century MA tablet. In the first case the Assyrianisms are due to the Syrian scribe, for at Ugarit and Karkemiš the precative presents both Babylonian and Assyrian forms, Huehnergard 1979, 232-233.
1542 RS 79.25, 44.
1544 Kämmerer 1998, 118-119, supporting the Syrian reworking of PF/K, defines the process as Induktion.
1546 Orthographic variants due to phonetic writings in the Ugarit recension are not listed here.
Now that the dependence of PFK on the Mesopotamian tradition has been substantiated, it is time to determine how the text received the form in which it came down to us. The Sumerian text shows many errors and is often obscure and artificial. In the following section, I try to distinguish errors typologically, in order to identify their origin.

**Traditional-Type Errors**

Here are listed errors documented in any segment of the Sumerian literary tradition:

- Ergative indicated with -a; this writing is known from the Old Babylonian period:
  - ši-meš nam-ti₃-la an-na ḫe₂-ri-ib₂-si, ‘Let An fill you with the plenty of life’ (E 775, 8).
  - ṣe-e-ru pu-luḫ-ta-šu li-di₃-n₉-ku₉, ‘Let the steppe provide you with its awesomeness’, the ergative is perhaps indicated by -a in edin-na ni₂-bi ḫe₂-en-na-an-šum₂ (E 775, 16). The same use of -a seems to be attested at Ugarit: a-te-na (RS 79.25, 28). However, edin-na ni₂-bi can also be an anticipatory genitive, ‘The awesomeness of the steppe’.

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1547 For attestations and bibliography see Attinger 1993, 214; although it rarely occurs, the writing of the ergative with -a is also documented in the Decad, see Delnero 2006, 412. This phenomenon derives from the confusion between -a and -e in the dative and directive which extended to other cases, see Black, Zólyomi 2007, 18. An example in a MB tablet is attested in N 3455, § 1.1.1.1.
- u₂-du su-pa-kur-ku-ra-ak-ka [u₂]-za-la-qa-qa ḫe₂-zə-la-qə, ‘Let Utu, shepherd of the lands, light you up like a bright day’ (RS 79.25, 19-20); in this case the use of -a is probably to be considered a result of the assimilation e>a in the phonetic writing.

- Genitive indicated by /ke/:\(^{1548}\)

- In u₂-ša₂-ḫul-ke gu-la-kam₂, ‘The plant of heart-joy is big’ (E 775, 20), the presence of the ergative is incorrect because it is a nominal sentence with copula.

- A further error typical of late texts is the transfer of the nominal element of a compound verb directly before the verbal base; this error is attested in both manuscripts for the verb ġal₂--taka₄:

  PfK 7  E 3a asal umun-ḫal ḫal-bi mu-un-ĝal₂-taka₂-a
  U a-ša₂-₄-li-ni₂-te ni₂-te ma-an-a-gal-ta-qə-a
  E Marduk the lord of the underground water opened his underground water.
  U Asalluḫi (lord) of fear, opened the fear.

- An error going back to the post-Old Babylonian tradition\(^{1549}\) is the use of -meš as a plural marker under the influence of Akkadian: diĝir-meš (E 775, 5), ši-meš (E 775, 8) i₇-da-meš (E 775, 22); note the same use in the MA tablet BM 98496.\(^{1550}\)

- The precative of the verb šum₂ is formed with the ḫamṭu stem in two-participant clauses. Such constructions are sporadically known from the Old Babylonian period.\(^{1551}\)

  E 9  ši-meš nam-ti₁₄-la ḫe₂-nu₁₁ ṣu ḫe₂-en-na-an-šum₂
  E 13  iq₃-sum nir-ĝal diĝir-gal-gal-e-ne ḫe₂-en-ti-an-šum₂
  E 15  ḫe₂-en-na-an-šum₂
  E 16  edin-na ni₂-bi ḫe₂-en-na-an-šum₂

- Some substantives that are usually nominal elements of compound verbs are used as independent verbs in non-finite forms where the Akkadian has finite verbal forms. Such forms are usually found in late texts:

- šudu₃ is rarely attested as a verbal form after the post-Old Babylonian period.\(^{1555}\)

  E 4  ḫNIN.LIL₂ i-na pi₂-ṣa ta₃-a-bi li-ik-ru-bu-ka
  (May) Ninlil bless you with her good words.


\(^{1549}\) A similar use is already attested in the royal inscriptions of Rim-Sin but limited to person class nouns, see Kärki 1967, 41.

\(^{1550}\) § 2.1.5.2; see also § 6.2.2.

\(^{1551}\) Black, Zólyomi 2007, 21-22.

\(^{1552}\) The 3sg. IO (-na-) occurs instead of the Akkadian 2msg. dative (-ku).

\(^{1553}\) -en-ti is unclear and *ḫa-ra-ab-šum₂-mu would be expected.

\(^{1554}\) This sentence is two-participant only if edin-na is the subject, see above.

\(^{1555}\) Attinger 1993, 727 § 864.
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E 5  diĝir-meš kalam-ma šudu₄₃-šudu₄₃-a-zu
DIĜIR.MEŠ KALAM.MA ša ma-ti li-ik-ru-ba-ak-ku₈
May the gods of the land bless you.

- In [a-š]a-lu-uḫ-ḫe₄ e-kur nam-ti₅₄-l₅₄ // [še-er-k]a-an-zu, ‘(May) Assaluhī from the Ekur adorn you with life’ (RS 79.25, 10-11), še-er-ka-an, ‘ornament’, which is usually part of the verb še-er-ka-an--du₁¹, is used as a verbal form (= za‘ānu).¹⁵⁵⁷

In both cases the possessive -zu with an apparent object function is appended to a non-finite verbal form. Even though the possessive can assume the function of objective genitive,¹⁵⁵⁸ in these cases -zu seems to be the direct object, probably under the influence of Akkadian;¹⁵⁵⁹ a similar form is found at Meturan, mu-ši-bar-ra-zu.¹⁵⁶⁰ Note that the Akkadian accusative pronoun suffix is attested in the Emar version.

Copying Mistakes

The following mistakes are likely to be attributed to Syrian copyists:

- The insertion of šu in šu-nam-tar-ta-re-e-ni (RS 79.25, 5) is probably the result of miscopying from the preceding line: il-li-il šu-nam-ba-le-e, ‘Enlil the one who does not change’¹⁵⁶¹ (RS 79.25, 4).

- The morpheme -ke₄, which is attested in the phonetic version from Ugarit as -ka, is omitted and the verbal form is miscopied in the following lines:

  E 10  dūtu sipa-kur-ra u₄₄-zalag₂-giz-zu ne-ne
  dūtu re-i ma-ta-ti ki-ma u₄₄-mi ša nam-ri / li-na-me-er-ka

  U 19-20  u₄₄-du su-pa-kur-ku-ra-ak-ka // [u₄₄]-za-la-qa-ka ḫe₄₄-za-la-qa
  Let Utu, shepherd of the lands, light you up like a bright day.

- In i₇-da-meš-tum (E 775, 22), -tum is miscopied from the Akkadian version, I₇-MEŠ-tum.

Other Errors

This section groups errors that cannot be clearly explained:


- In a-na-ĥe₇-ţal-l₈ an-ta-ţalₗ, ga-a-ni-šur-ra-ke₉ // ša-mu-ut ṭe₉-gal-li iš-tu ša-me-e li-iẓ-nu-<un>--ka₉, ‘May a plenty rain fall over him from the sky’ (E 775, 19), an-ta-ţalₗ, ‘exalted’ (see ePSD) is a mistake for an-ta = iš-tu ša-me-e. The verbal form is perhaps a writing for ga-ni-šur-ra ak: as seen above, the cohortative form ga- for the expected precative is attested elsewhere

¹⁵⁵⁶ Note that in line 4 the verb is plural but the singular form is expected whereas in line 5 it is singular but the subject is plural; the scribe probably reversed the position of the signs BA (l. 5) and BU (l. 5).
¹⁵⁵⁷ As a verbal form șerkan is only attested in lexical lists, see Attinger 1993, 684 § 777, 685 § 781.
¹⁵⁵⁸ In this case -žu would refer to the whole sentence.
¹⁵⁵⁹ Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi 1993b, 201.
¹⁵⁶⁰ Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi 1993b, 198.
¹⁵⁶¹ The translation is based upon the Akkadian lā mušpelû.
¹⁵⁶² a-na is a writing for șeq₃ (A.AN).
in the LBA documentation but how it developed remains unclear;\textsuperscript{1563} -ke\textsubscript{4} is perhaps a form from the verb AK used as a verbalizer.\textsuperscript{1564}

- The expression nam-tar--tar in 'en-lil-e nu-bala-ta\textsuperscript{1565} nam-tar-zu ḫe\textsubscript{2}-ne-tar-re, ‘May Enlil, the one who does not change, decree your fate’ (E 775, 3), is not attested elsewhere and is probably a calque on the Akkadian ši-im-ka li-ši-im in which nam-tar corresponds to ši-im-ka.

- In ḫur-saĝ gu\textsubscript{2}-un-bi gur\textsubscript{3} zi-ga-zu // ša-du-u₂ bi-la-as-su liš-ši-ku, ‘May the mountain bring its tribute to you’ (E 775, 21), it is unclear why two synonymous verbal forms guru\textsubscript{3} and zi are used for the Akkadian verb našû, ‘to bring, to lift.’\textsuperscript{1566}

- The morphemes following -mu\textsubscript{2}\textsuperscript{1567} are unclear; perhaps they result from copying:

\begin{verbatim}
E 2          mu-mu-zu ḫe₂-mu₂(-)me-en-na-an-da ḫe₂-am
MU.MEŠ-ka li-te-ed-di-ša
May your years renew.
\end{verbatim}

A sequence of two precatives\textsuperscript{1568} is perhaps attested also in the Ugarit manuscript according to Arnaud’s interpretation of u₂-mi-za-ah-bi-lu ḫa-a (RS 79.25, 2) as *mu-mu-za ḫe₂-gibil ḫa-a.\textsuperscript{1569} A similar series of precatives is attested, once again, in a passage of the Hymn to Marduk for a King:

\begin{verbatim}
HM 23        ḫe₂-ti₂-la ḫe₂-si₂-ma gi₁₆-sa-aš ḫe₂-a
May you live! May you have peace! May it last forever!
\end{verbatim}

It appears that the majority of mistakes are not unknown in Sumerian literature, especially in late sources. This perhaps indicates that PFK was composed or deeply reworked during the Middle Babylonian period.

As already noticed, the Sumerian and Akkadian diverge in several passages. Here follows the list of variants:

\begin{verbatim}
2 E        ḫe₂-mu₂-me-en-na-an-da ḫe₂-am VS li-te-ed-di-ša
U          -aḥ-bi-lu ḫe-a
3 E        ḫe₂-ne-tar-re VS li-ši-im
U          šu-nam-tar-ta-re-e-ni
4 E        šudu₃-šudu₃-a-zu VS li-ik-ru-bu-ka
U          šu-da-ia-ku
5 E        šudu₃-šudu₃-a-zu VS li-ik-ru-ba-a-k₈
U          šu-da-ia-ak-[…]\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{1563} See §§ 1.1.9.1, 5.2.1.
\textsuperscript{1564} Cf. § 2.1.5.1.
\textsuperscript{1565} This form probably derives from *nu-bala-e-da.
\textsuperscript{1566} CAD N/2, 80-81.
\textsuperscript{1567} For mu₂ = edēšu see CT 51 168 ii 43.
\textsuperscript{1568} Two precatives are usually documented with the same verb with an emphatic function. A series of epistemic ḫe₂-clauses are found to indicate disjunction, see Civil 2000b, 34-35.
\textsuperscript{1569} Arnaud 1982a, 213; according to Arnaud the phonetic writing aḥ-bi-lu renders gibil with the shift g > ḫ, see § 4.3.1.1.2.
These occurrences may be grouped according to the following typologies:\textsuperscript{1570}

- **Akkadian precative VS Sumerian non-finite form** (Emar: ll. 4-5, 10(?), 12, 14, 20, 21, 23; Ugarit: ll. 3, 4-5, 6, 11, 12)

- **Sumerian precatives formed with an additional form of the verb ‘to be’** (Emar: ll. 2, 6; Ugarit: l. 2)

- **Akkadian precative VS Sumerian non-precative verbal forms beginning with the prefix mu- or in-** (Emar: ll. 7, 22; Ugarit: ll. 8, 22)

- **Sumerian cohortative VS Akkadian precative** (Emar: l. 19)\textsuperscript{1571}

A few lines (ll. 3, 8, 10)\textsuperscript{1572} offer examples of precatives in both Akkadian and Sumerian. Another attestation is the above-quoted ḫe-en-na-an-šum in E 775, 9, 15, 16 that corresponds to the Akkadian precative li-din-ku.\textsuperscript{1573} In E 775, 11, the opposition between the Sumerian tar ‘to decree’ in ḫe₂-ne-i₃b₂-tar-re and the Akkadian šaṭāru ‘to write’ is semantic. None of the verbal forms in the Sumerian

\textsuperscript{1570} For the precative in the Ugarit version see Arnaud 2007, 22.

\textsuperscript{1571} For this line see above.

\textsuperscript{1572} Note that ḫe₂-za-la-Qa (l. 10) in the Ugarit text is more correct than the Emar text.

\textsuperscript{1573} Cf. fn. 1552.
version correctly correspond to the Akkadian precatives that are the expected forms on the basis of both the context and the parallels cited by Dietrich.

The Akkadian version, fully preserved only in the Emar tablet, shows a higher degree of accuracy compared to the Emar documentation. The Gtn conjugation, which is rare and usually incorrect at Emar,\textsuperscript{1574} appears in the morphologically correct form \textit{li-te-ed-di-ša} (E 775, 2).\textsuperscript{1575} The Akkadian version presents old and late forms.\textsuperscript{1576} Archaic forms typical of the Syrian school tradition are the sign \textit{su₂} (ZU) in \textit{bi-la-as-su₂} (E 775, 21)\textsuperscript{1577} and the preservation of \textit{s} before a dental in \textit{na-pu-uš-ti} (E 775, 18) and \textit{liš-tur} (E 775, 11). Later traits emerge in the shift \textit{w > m} in \textit{li-na-me-er-ka} and \textit{nam-ri} (E 775, 10).\textsuperscript{1578} Moreover CVc signs are frequently used and voiced and emphatic consonants are incorrectly distinguished as is common in peripheral Akkadian.\textsuperscript{1579} Such late features are not unusual in the Emar Syrian school texts.\textsuperscript{1580} Isolated Assyrianisms are the form \textit{lu-ub-la-ku}\textsuperscript{1581} and the value \textit{ti₃} of the sign \textit{ḪI} (E 775, 23).\textsuperscript{1582} As with other texts such forms are to be considered common features of peripheral Akkadian. The few traces of the Akkadian version in the Ugarit manuscript seem to agree with the text of the Emar source.

According to Arnaud,\textsuperscript{1583} the Sumerian text is not the primary version, but a translation from Akkadian prepared ‘à coup de listes lexicographiques’. The dependence of \textit{PfK} on Sumerian literature indicates that the whole Sumerian text cannot be considered as a translation from Akkadian. A further example of such a connection is the expression \textit{hi-li-du-ud-du} ~ \textit{hi-li} \textit{du₂} \textit{du₈} (RS 79.25, 9)\textsuperscript{1584} which is known in the Sumerian literature and especially in praise poems.\textsuperscript{1585} Nevertheless the relevant influence of Akkadian makes it possible that lexical lists were used as a reference for composing the text. Lexical material was also employed by Syrian scribes to create the phonetic version, as pointed out by Arnaud.\textsuperscript{1586}

Three features of the text have emerged so far: (1) the high number of mistakes in the Sumerian version; (2) the difference between the Sumerian and Akkadian versions; (3) the accuracy of the Akkadian translation. The primary result of this analysis is that there is no evidence supporting a Syrian adaptation of \textit{PfK}. Indeed, the majority of mistakes are common to the diachronic development of Sumerian grammar whereas only copying mistakes may be attributed to local scribes. The Sumerian appears to be artificial and strongly influenced by Akkadian and shows many late traits. Such features along with the lack of any Old Babylonian duplicates suggest that this text was composed or reworked in the Middle Babylonian period, perhaps on the basis of older texts such as the \textit{Hymn to Marduk for a King}. The presence of Emešal forms ~ \textit{mu-li-li} ~ \textit{d-mu-li₃} (l. 4), \textit{umun}, \textit{e-re-eš} ~ \textit{ereš} (l. 6) – in a main dialect text is further evidence for a late date of composition. Lacking any OB exemplar the setting of this royal hymn cannot be understood. It is unknown whether it was composed with a cultic intent and was actually performed in ceremonies praising the

\textsuperscript{1574} Seminara 1998, 412-413 and n. 141.
\textsuperscript{1575} Note that the use of the feminine is normally correct in the scholarly texts, Seminara 1998, 358 n. 62.
\textsuperscript{1576} Note the gloss in \textit{DIĜIR.MEŠ KALAM.MA ša ma-ti} (E 775, 5) which represents one of the rare cases in the Emar documentation, Seminara 1998, 70.
\textsuperscript{1577} See Seminara 1998, 72-76 and n. 62.
\textsuperscript{1578} Seminara 1998, 164-165.
\textsuperscript{1579} See \textit{ku₄} (E 775, 5), \textit{ga₂} (E 775, 7); Seminara 1998, 176-177; see also the use of the signs \textit{tu₄} (E 775, 6) and \textit{-ka₄} (QA) in \textit{U₄.MEŠ-ka₄}, Seminara 1998, 256.
\textsuperscript{1580} Seminara 1998, 216-217.
\textsuperscript{1581} See Seminara 1998, 403.
\textsuperscript{1582} Seminara 1998, 212.
\textsuperscript{1583} Arnaud 1982a, 209.
\textsuperscript{1584} Arnaud 1982, 214: 8-9.
\textsuperscript{1585} Sjöberg 1966, 292.
\textsuperscript{1586} Arnaud 1982a, 213: 1-2; the writing \textit{u₂-mu} for \textit{u₄-d} (RS 79.25, 2) is attested in an Ugarit recension of \textit{Urra}; here it is clearly due to the influence of Akkadian.
king.\(^{1587}\) If \(PfK\) already existed in the Old Babylonian period it was most likely a non-curricular text. On the contrary if this composition was composed during the post-Old Babylonian period a cultic setting is unlikely. Whatever its original function, it seems that \(PfK\) was copied in a scholastic context during the LBA at least in the Western periphery. On the basis of the present evidence the tradition of \(PfK\) cannot be ascertained. However, one may note that RN lugal-\(\text{gu}_1\) hymns are rare in Nippur. Moreover, connections with the *Hymn to Marduk for a King*, a composition that lies outside of the mainstream of the Sumerian literary tradition, likely originating in Northern Babylonia,\(^{1588}\) perhaps suggest that \(PfK\) derives from the same scribal milieu. Differences between the Emar and Ugarit manuscripts suggest that different *Vorlagen* circulated in Syria.

### 6.2 Syro-Hittite School Texts

Syro-Hittite school texts include wisdom compositions, a literary letter and incantations.

#### 6.2.1 The Ballad of Early Rulers

*The Ballad of Early Rulers (BeR)*\(^{1589}\) is preserved on three Old Babylonian tablets as well as in copies from Emar and Ugarit. This composition features the so-called vanity theme that reflects upon the shortness and futility of human life. The Emar fragments, \(E\ 767^+\), belong to a three-column tablet containing versions in standard Sumerian, phonetic Sumerian and Akkadian. A second manuscript is the tiny fragment Msk 74159j (\(E\ 767B\)) which contains lines 6-8 of the phonetic Sumerian version. On the basis of the fragment Msk 74153, which preserves a cryptographic colophon, the scribe of this tablet has been identified as Šaggar-abu\(^{1590}\) the eldest son of Baʿal-qarrād, diviner of Zu-Baʿla’s family. Šaggar-abu is also known as the author of letters\(^{1591}\) and scholarly texts:\(^{1592}\) two manuscripts of the *Paleographic Syllabary A*, the *S* \(\text{a}c\) Vocabulary, Urra Tablets \(V_s\) VII and XIII, the lexical list \(Lu\), one omen probably belonging to the series *iqqr-\text{i}puš*, one astronomic omen concerning a lunar eclipse and the Sumerian wisdom text *The Fowler*.\(^{1593}\)

Three bilingual fragments of *BeR*, published by Nougayrol in Ugaritica V 164-166, have come down to us from the Ugarit documentation. \(RS\ 25.130 = Ugaritica\ V 164\) (\(Ua\)), discovered in the Lamaštu archive, is a single-column tablet containing the standard orthography version with interlinear Akkadian translation. The tablet has a circular disposition of text lines: the beginning of the composition is duplicated in lines 18-23 on the obverse and on lines 40-44 on the reverse.\(^{1594}\) The text continues on the obverse (ll. 1-17) with a line order different from the Emar manuscript.\(^{1595}\) The remainder of the reverse (ll. 24-39) contains a collection of sayings called *Proverbs from Ugarit*.\(^{1596}\) Fragments \(RS\ 23.34\ (+) 23.484 + 23.363 = Ugaritica\ V 165\) (\(Ub\)), found in the proximity of the Maison-aux-tablettes,\(^{1597}\) belong to a two-column tablet containing the phonetic Sumerian version.

\(^{1587}\) For the context of the royal hymns see Ludwig 1990, 41-65.

\(^{1588}\) The text is unknown in Nippur and was likely composed under Abi-ešuḫ when most of the Nippur scholars left the city; in addition all the manuscripts stem from Sippar.

\(^{1589}\) ETCSL 5.2.5; the unilingual Old Babylonian recension is indicated as OB, and the Syrian as Syr. A new hand-copy of the Emar tablet is provided by George apud Cohen 2012c, 148-149.

\(^{1590}\) Cohen 2006.

\(^{1591}\) Cohen 2009, 165.

\(^{1592}\) Cohen 2009, 166-170.

\(^{1593}\) § 6.2.3.

\(^{1594}\) These lines are separated from the preceding lines by a double ruling containing the sign BAD.

\(^{1595}\) For the reconstruction of line order see Dietrich 1992, 13.

\(^{1596}\) For this composition see § 7.1.1.

\(^{1597}\) van Soldt 1991, 187.
on the left and the Akkadian translation on the right. No standard Sumerian was inscribed on this tablet. At the end of ‘Face A’ a portion of the colophon is preserved identifying the scribe as an apprentice. This clearly indicates that this tablet is the product of schooling activities. The third manuscript RS 25.424 = Ugaritica V 166 (Uc) discovered, like Ua, in the Lamaštu archive only preserves a few lines of the Akkadian version and traces of the Sumerian text. On the basis of Obv. 7 (Syr. 6) which preserves [...]-g]-a-an-ni, it seems that the Sumerian version was probably written in phonetic orthography and was separated from the Akkadian translation by Glossenkeile.

The Old Babylonian recension is inscribed on three Sammeltafeln probably stemming from Sippar, BM 80091 (A), BM 80184 = CT 44 18 (B) and CBS 1208 (D). In addition to BeR these tablets contain three other monolingual compositions that are thematically related. No sources so far stem from Nippur even though it is not precluded that BeR was known in the city of the god Enlil. The Nippur OB tablet CBS 13777, which preserves two literary texts that feature the vanity theme, the OB recension of Proverbs from Ugarit and niḫ.-nam nu-kal, Nothing is of Value (NV), perhaps also contained BeR. The Sippar tablets reflect a late textual tradition as shown by the use of the person class interrogative pronoun a-la-an, in reference to a non-person class noun.

BeR is also known from the NA bilingual fragments K 6917 + K 13679 discovered in the library of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh. These fragments only preserve the beginning of the composition in a format similar to Ua: a proverb collection reminiscent of Proverbs from Ugarit is inscribed between the three-line introductory prologue repeated twice. BeR is also quoted in the NA catalogue of the series of Sidu.

A number of studies have been dedicated to this composition and often very diverse interpretations have been advanced. For the present study it will suffice to recall the different hypotheses on BeR’s textual history and the relation between the Old Babylonian and Syrian recensions.

The Syrian recension diverges from the monolingual version as it presents a different line order and some additional passages. Lines 16-18 of the monolingual recension correspond to lines 7-9 of the Syrian text, which follow a six-line introductory theme unpreserved in the OB manuscripts. The Syrian recension ends differently with a carpe diem theme: lines 21-22 are replaced with a passage dedicated to the beer goddess Siraš (Syr. 23) and a couplet (Syr. 20-21) is added. Finally, in the Syrian recension the names of Bazi and Zizi are added to the list of ancient rulers (Syr. 16).

Two different hypotheses on the origin of the Syrian recension have been put forward: some scholars (Dietrich, Klein, Kämmerer) assume that the Emar-Ugarit text results from reworking by local scribes; on the other hand, some (Lambert, Alster, Y. Cohen) consider the Syrian recension to be dependent on Mesopotamian models.

1598 Against the hand-copy (Nougayrol 1968, 438) obverse and reverse are to be exchanged as the text begins on ‘Face B’ and continues on ‘Face A’.
1599 For a translation see Dietrich 1992, 20; at the bottom of the tablet a ruling separates the colophon from some badly preserved signs which may be part of either the same colophon or of another composition.
1600 1. Hymn to Marduk for a King (ETCSL 2.8.5.b); 2. Abî-e-šuh B (ETCSL 2.8.5.a); 3. Nothing is of Value; 4. The Ballad of Early Rulers (ETCSL 5.2.5).
1601 See Alster 1990, 8-9, Alster 2005, 297.
1602 See §§ 9.1, 9.4.
1603 CBS 13777 probably contained extracts from vanity theme compositions.
1604 Alster 2005, 282.
1605 Alster 1999, 89.
1606 Cf. Syr 19 below. For the differences among the manuscripts see Alster 2005, 318-319.
1607 ki in-ki geš-ḫur-ḫur-ra, Finkel 1986. The same catalogue lists The Song of the Plowing Oxen (§ 1.1.5.1) and possibly The Fowler (§ 6.2.3).
1609 For an overview on the different interpretations see Alster 2005, 290-292.
1610 See Alster 2005, 292-293 for more details on the differences between the two recensions.
Dietrich regards the Emar text as an independent composition resulting from adaptation to the local environment. He also underlines differences between the Syrian manuscripts and describes the Emar text of BeR as «eine in sich geschlossene Komposition mit sechs Abschnitten» but «Das ist aber bei den Ugarit-Texten nicht der Fall» since only Ub and Uc reflect the Emar text, whereas Ua has a different structure.\textsuperscript{1611} According to Dietrich the Syrian recension of BeR was composed at Emar on the basis of Mesopotamian models and then was transmitted to Ugarit where it was further modified.\textsuperscript{1612} It became a very popular composition in the Syrian scribal schools as «Lernstoff Sumerisch und Babylonisch». According to Dietrich, the Mesopotamian tradition can be seen in the themes of ancient rulers and the \textit{carpe diem} motif that he related to the Siduri episode of the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. The idea of adaptation is followed by Kämmerer who defined the Syrian recension as an example of «Reception mit Adaption».\textsuperscript{1613}

A totally different view was proposed by Lambert who found no evidence that the Emar and Ugarit recensions reflected a text independent from the Mesopotamian tradition because «The differences ... are less than recensional differences between variant editions of Akkadian texts from southern Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian Period, e.g. the Gilgameš Epic, and there is of course no proof that the Ugarit and Emar copies of the texts under discussion offer editions created in the west».\textsuperscript{1614} He also presented evidence supporting a connection between BeR and the book of \textit{Qoheleth},\textsuperscript{1615} which, according to him, was therefore inspired by the Mesopotamian tradition.\textsuperscript{1616} On the addition of the Siraš theme, he states that «The Emar recension and the Ugarit copies ... obviously are based on something very like the unilingual Sumerian version and have inserted into it a second, more specific, idea of how to find happiness».

In a later study Klein (2000), following Dietrich, emphasized the independent character of the Syrian recension, listing additional parallels with \textit{Qoheleth}. According to him the monolingual recension could have ended with a pessimistic tone as opposed to the \textit{carpe diem} theme of the Syrian recension.\textsuperscript{1617}

More recently Alster argued in favor of the dependence of the Syrian manuscripts upon Mesopotamian models, as «whenever the Syro-Mesopotamian versions differ from their presumed genuine Babylonian forerunners, there may have been Babylonian models for specific additions in the Syro-Mesopotamian texts, whether 'genuine' Babylonian models are presently known or not».\textsuperscript{1618} By restoring the conclusion of the monolingual text,\textsuperscript{1619} he was able to demonstrate that the Old Babylonian and Syrian recensions do not offer a thematically different ending. The \textit{gaudeamus igitur} theme was attested in the monolingual version too:\textsuperscript{1620}

\begin{verbatim}
OB 21  nįg₂-sa₂-ga digressor-ene bi₂-in-šum₂-ma-am₁ u₂-gu₂-gu₂ nam-ti₁ i₃-ki₂-g₂-ki₂
\end{verbatim}

For him who gives the good things of the gods, the food provider, life is found.

According to Alster the Syrian manuscripts depend on an unpreserved MB model which modified the monolingual text: ‘the structure of the OB version had become somewhat weakened, and some of its well-intentioned additions result in confusion rather than clarity.’\textsuperscript{1621} The differences of the Syr-
ian recension reflect therefore «a rephrasing or ‘update’ – perhaps but not necessarily, to suit local circumstances – of the underlying intent of the OB version».

Even the mention of Bazi and Zizi belongs to a Mesopotamian tradition, as these two rulers appear as kings of Mari in the Tell-Leilan recension of the Sumerian King List.\(^{1622}\) Y. Cohen\(^{1623}\) has shown that the inclusion of the section dedicated to the kings of Mari mentioning Bazi and Zizi was not limited to the Tell-Leilan recension of the SKL but was part of a widespread Mesopotamian heritage.

In the following pages I will try to substantiate the dependence of the Syrian recension on Babylonian models with further evidence.

According to Alster the Emar and Ugarit sources belong to two different textual traditions: on the one hand the Ugarit manuscripts are closer to the Old Babylonian recension, and on the other hand the Emar tablet reflects a later tradition.\(^{1624}\) Differently, Arnaud (2007) believes that the Ugarit manuscripts do not reflect one homogenous tradition: according to him manuscripts Ub and Uc were transmitted to Ugarit through Assyrian and Anatolia as they exhibit Hittite sign values and Assyrianisms in addition to some possible local features. Conversely, Ua does not show any Assyrianisms but has several Hittite traits which would indicate that this manuscript reached Ugarit from Babylonia via Anatolia.\(^{1625}\)

The analysis of the Ugarit manuscripts reveals that they cannot belong to a single textual tradition: Ua is closer to the Old Babylonian monolingual recension than the other manuscripts.\(^{1626}\) A peculiarity of manuscript Ua that has so far escaped the attention of scholars is the sequence of lines: the line order of Ua on the obverse (ll. 1-16) follows the OB recension, not the Emar text:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Obv.} & \text{OB} & \text{E} \\
1-2 & 13 & 15 \\
3-4 & 14 & 17 \\
5-6 & 15 & 18 \\
7-8 & 16 & 7 \\
9-10 & 17 & 8 \\
11-12 & 18 & 9 \\
13-14 & 19 & 19 \\
15-17 & 20 & 22 \\
18-19 & x & 1 \\
20-21 & x & 2 \\
22-23 & x & 3 \\
\text{Rev.} & 24-39 = \text{Proverbs from Ugarit} \\
40-41 & x & 1 \\
42-43 & x & 2 \\
44-(45) & x & 3 \\
\end{array}
\]

One of the major differences between the Syrian and OB sources, namely the line order, does not occur in manuscript Ua. Conversely, manuscripts Ub and Uc follow the line order of the Emar tablet. This strengthens Alster’s criticism\(^{1627}\) of Dietrich’s hypothesis that BeR was transmitted along the East-West route and consequently the Emar text would have been the model of the Ugaritic manuscripts.

\(^{1622}\) See Alster 2005, 318: 16 with bibliography.
\(^{1623}\) Cohen 2012c.
\(^{1624}\) Alster 2005, 293.
\(^{1625}\) Arnaud 2007, 12.
\(^{1626}\) Partially this emerges from Alster 2005, 293, 318.
\(^{1627}\) Alster 2005, 293.
Dietrich’s suggestion that the list of ancient rulers and in particular line 16 mentioning Bazi and Zizi\textsuperscript{1628} is missing in Ua because of the theological conception of the king in Ugarit as mortal in life but deified after death\textsuperscript{1629} is also to be dismissed. As Arnaud’s restoration of Ua 1-2, [me-e 4en-k]
i-d[\ldots]/[\ldots]/[\ldots]/[\ldots]/[\ldots] shows, the mention of Enki indicates that this section was attested in this manuscript too, but it is not fully preserved. The list of ancient rulers is also inscribed in Ub as demonstrated by Cohen (2012c):

\begin{verbatim}
Ub B' 16 [me-e 4a-lu]-lu mu šar₂-[10-am₁ in-ak]
17 [me-e 4en-ta-na lugal-e lu₃] an-[šē₂ bi₂-in-e₃-de₃]
\end{verbatim}

The omission of Bazi and Zizi in Ua recalls the absence of this line in the monolingual version. Unfortunately, the other Ugarit manuscripts are too badly preserved to ascertain if they originally contained this line.

Ua further differs from the other Ugarit manuscripts in its origin. Paleographic analysis of the tablet clearly indicates that signs present MB shapes\textsuperscript{1631} and the syllabary is Babylonian.\textsuperscript{1632} The value mam₂ of the sign SAL,\textsuperscript{1633} indicated by van Soldt\textsuperscript{1634} as Ugaritic, is Babylonian\textsuperscript{1635} and it is attested in colophons from the library of Aššurbanipal\textsuperscript{1636} in the word mam₂-ma. Consequently a first-millennium Assyrian scribe could not have learned this value from the peripheral regions. At Ugarit mam₂ occurs elsewhere only in Ugaritica V 4, 3, a legal text from the Rašap-abu archive;\textsuperscript{1637} the context is, however, unclear and Berger\textsuperscript{1638} reads mim-ma instead of mam₂-ma. The value mam cannot therefore be considered as typical of Ugarit. Indeed Uc, which was drafted by a local scribe,\textsuperscript{1639} has ma-am-ma (Obv. 9 = Syr. 7). To sum up, Ua is a Babylonian tablet\textsuperscript{1640} containing a recension of BeR very close to the OB manuscripts, but apparently lacking the final lines of the monolingual recension.\textsuperscript{1641} Nevertheless, Ua seems to offer a different ending from the other Syrian manuscripts, E, Ub and Uc (Syr. 23-24), as it ends with line 20 which is the last line shared by all manuscripts (i.e. OB and Syrian). Unlike Ub, which has a parallel column format, the Akkadian translation in Ua is arranged in interlinear format. All these differences exclude that Ua is the model of Ub and Uc.

Even though Ua is very close to the monolingual recension, its text reflects the modifications and adaptations occurring in the Middle Babylonian period as is evident from the presence of the Akkadian translation. Indeed, Ua does not entirely adhere to the monolingual recension as lines 15-16 (= Sir. 22) make clear:

\textsuperscript{1628} This line should have been placed between lines 1-2 and 3-4.
\textsuperscript{1629} Dietrich 1992, 26.
\textsuperscript{1630} Arnaud 2007, 142: 4, see also Cohen 2012c, 140.
\textsuperscript{1631} See the shapes of the signs TI (ll. 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 27, 29, 31, 41), LI (ll. 4, 16, 17), RU (l. 8) and TAR (l. 37).
\textsuperscript{1632} See the use of the signs qum/qu (ll. 8, 16), qa (ll. 21, 37), su (l. 37) and the sign KI with the value qe₂, see Aro 1955, 19-20. Also note the lack of Assyrianisms, Arnaud 2007, 12.
\textsuperscript{1633} Ua, 10 (Syr. 8), 31 (Proverbs from Ugarit); in both cases the sign is used in the word mam₂-ma; however Alster 2005, 314, reads mim-ma in line 10.
\textsuperscript{1634} van Soldt 2012, 176.
\textsuperscript{1635} Jucquois 1966, 71.
\textsuperscript{1636} MesZL, 450; AkkS no. 298.
\textsuperscript{1637} Huehnergard 1989, 407.
\textsuperscript{1638} Berger 1969, 121.
\textsuperscript{1639} Ub and Uc present Ugarit sign shapes, see TI (Ub A‘, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15; Ub B’, 11, copy in Arnaud 2007, 256; Uc Rev. 2, 6), LI (Ub A‘, 6, 13), RU (Ub A‘, 11; Uc Obv. 8).
\textsuperscript{1640} Based on the present evidence it is not possible to state with all confidence whether Ua was an imported tablet or whether it was written by a Babylonian scribe working at Ugarit; only a physical analysis of the clay would allow us to understand its origin.
\textsuperscript{1641} OB 21-22 in Alster 2005, 305.
The Reception of Sumerian Literature in the Western Periphery Viano

OB 20 niği₃-sag-il-la u₄ ša₄-hul-la 1-am₃ niği₃-me-ğar mu 36000x10-am₃ in-ak
Instead of one day of joy, 36000 years of silence.

E 22 za-[..]’il, ü₄ ša₄-hul-la, // [lu-ul] bi ü₄-ser₄-ser, ḫe₄-en-du
za-an-ki-el-la u₄ ša₄-hu₄-la-al // lu-ul-bi ü₄-ša₄-ša₄-ørhe₂-en-du
di-na-nu [ša ḫu₄-ud] lib₃-bi // 1-en ü₄-m[u...]. 10 ša₄-{ru...}²⁴⁴²

Ua 15 niği₃-sag-il-la ša₄-hul-la // ü₄ 1-kam ü₄-im-ba-kam mu-10-ša₄-ørhe₃-hul in-na-ak
a-na di-na-an ḫu₄-ud lib₃-bi u₄₃-um-ak-kal u₄₃-um qu-li // 10 ŠA[R₂].(ME₃) µu₄₄₆₃
MU.MES lil₃-ka

Ub A’ 9 sa₄ğ-ki-il-la […] ḫu₄-ul-la // u₄₃-[u-ul-bi […] hi-in-du
a-{n}a ‘di₄₃-na-ni ü₄₃-mi ḫu₄-ud […] // 1 U₄ qu₂₄₃-[i] ‘e’-še-re-et ša₄-ar{u...}

E S: Instead of a single day of joy, let there come silence for 36000 (years).
E A: Instead of [one day] of joy, one day of [silence (?)] for 36000 (years).
Ua: Instead of the joy of the heart for one day, let one day of 36000 years come.

Instead of a day of joy, let a day of 36000 years of silence come.

This line shows some degree of variation among the Syrian manuscripts²⁴⁴³ and the Sumerian of Ua differs from all the sources. As pointed out by Alster,²⁴⁴⁴ there are two Sumerian variants, ‘u₄ 1-kam and u₄₃-im-ba-kam, for the Akkadian u₄₃-um-ak-kal, ‘for the length of one day’; thus he states: ‘the text seems to have expanded by the inclusion of both variants, instead of the plain OB ü₄ ša₄-hul-la di₄₄₆₃.’ Sumerian and Akkadian diverge from one another in Ua: qulu, ‘silence’, seems to translate ḫul, ‘bad’; Sumerian in-na-ak adheres to the OB recension whereas the Akkadian lillika translates the Sumerian of E and Ub.²⁴⁴⁵

Syrian manuscripts offer different texts also in Syr. 19: the Emar text is closer to the monolingual version rather than to Ua which includes a variant:

B [nam-til₃ nu₃-zalaq-ga] ugu nam-u₄₃-a-kam // [a]-ba-am₃ bi₄₃-[in-diri-ga]
D [...] x GE₃.S.KA-am₃

E 19 [na₃m-til₃ nu₃-zalaq-ga // [ugu]-nam-u₄₃-ta-am₃ me-diri
nam-til₃ nu₃-za-la-aq qa // u₃-ga-na-ma-u₄₃-ša la-am₃ me-d[a-ri]
[ba-la-t]u₃-ša la₃ a-na ma₃-ri // [a-na-m₃]u₃-ti₃ na₃-a ut-ti₃-[i-r]]

Ua 13 nam-til₃ la₄-ni₄-sa₄ğ-za₃-la₄₃ nu-ma₃-a ugu-[n]a nam-u₄₃₃-a a-na-am₃ mi₃-ni-diri
ba-la₃-ta ša₃ la₄₃ na₃-ma₃-i₃-na₃-a ut₃-ter

Ub A’ 10 na₃m-[til₃ nu₃-zalaq-ga…………] na₃[m-u₃-t]a₄₃-a // mi-x₃-ru’ […………] x x x

Uc Rev. 1-2 : ba-la₃-tu₃ ša₃ la₄₃ a-na ma₃-ri // ŠUGU ‘mu₄₃-ti₄₃ mi₃-na₃ [ut₃-ter]
[………] […………] la₄₃ a-na₃ ma₃-ri // […………] ti₄₃ mi₃-na₃ am₃ ut₃-ter‘

Life on which no light is shed, how can it be more valuable than death?


²⁴⁴³ See Alster 2005, 311.


²⁴⁴⁵ Cf. the OB manuscripts: BM 80091: [niği₃-sag-il₃-la u₄ ša₄-hul₃-la ‘x’ // niği₃-re₃-ṭer mu 3600 x 10-am₃ in-ak; BM 80184: […] la₄₃ u₄₃-ša₄₃-hul₃-la 1-am₃ // [niği₃]-re₃-ṭer mu 3600 x 10-am₃ in-ak; CBS 1208: […] 3600 x 10-am₃ in-ak.
Ua has niq₂-zalag-ga nu-me-a, ‘without light’ instead of nu-zalag-ga attested in the OB manuscripts, E and Ub. Moreover, Ua is the only manuscript to report the correct non-human interrogative pronoun a-na-am₃ instead of the incorrect a-ba-am₃ attested in the OB recension. It is worth noting that the Akkadian versions of all the Syrian manuscripts are nearly identical.

The extant sources seem to diverge from one another in line 3 and thus some remarks are required:

E 3 \[u₃-da(?) i-gi-da-ta inim\] ni ĝal₂-la
\[iš-tu u₄-mi pa-na-a ‘ib’-\[………………\]
Ua 22 \[u₅-‘da’-ta im al-‘gal₂-la
23 [………………] x x i-ba-a[š₂]-ša-a an-ni’-[a-t]u\[………………\]
Ua 44 ‘u₄-‘da-ta’ im [………………]
45 [………………]
UB B’ 5 u₇-tu ‘i’-ki’-[tu’\[………………\]
[……]
Uc Obv. 2 [………………]
44 \[………………\]

The text of E, Ub and Uc also agrees with the NA recension against Ua:

NA \[x\] i-gi-du-ta ne-e al-‘gal₂-[la(?)\]

According to Alster i-gi-du-ud-du₄, in E, which renders the reading i-gi-du of IGI.DU, replaces the expected palil because the scribe mistakenly copied from the following line. However, the restoration proposed here in Ub B’ 5, u₇-tu ‘i’-ki’-[tu’\[………………\], allows harmonizing the text of Ub with manuscript E and with [x] i-gi-du-ta in the NA fragment. This suggests that the Emar variant is not due to a scribal mistake but that E, Ub, Uc and NA rely on the same textual tradition that ensued from adaptation and modification that occurred in the Middle Babylonian period. Alster restored im al-‘gal₂-la, ‘there has been wind’, in the OB recension on the basis of Ua and regarded the Emar manuscript as corrupted. Assuming agreement between the Mesopotamian sources (OB and NA), Alster states: ‘these lines do not confirm the expected reading im al-‘gal₂-la = [ša]-ru found in Ua 22-23, but have NE instead of im.’ As far as the relationship among the Syrian manuscripts is concerned, two possible explanations may be advanced:

---

1646 This expression is grammatically incorrect as -da is omitted; for the expression -da nu-me-a ‘without’ see Jagersma 2010, 711.

1647 Different readings of Ua have been suggested by scholars: Dietrich 1992, 14, reads \[………………\] i-ba-a[š₂]-ša-a an-ni’-[a-t]u, considering IM as a lapsus for i-ni-im ~ inim, but this seems improbable as im also appears in line 44; Wilcke 1988 followed by Alster 2005 reads \[………………\] i-ba-a[š₂]-ša-a an-ni’-[a-t]u, according to the hand-copy the last sign can be neither -tum nor -tu₃, but -ru (Alster) or -tu as here suggested.


1649 For IGI.DU = panu see CAD P, 96.

1650 Syr. 1-6 are not preserved in the OB manuscripts.


1652 He refers to the NA text; this line is repeated in NA 2, 10.

1. ne-e (NA) could be the demonstrative pronoun ne(n)\textsuperscript{1654} written phonetically in E as ni; consequently one may regard IM in Ua with the reading ni\textsubscript{2} as a phonetic writing for ne-e that would fit Akkadian anni\textsubscript{atu}.\textsuperscript{1655}

2. ni (E) and ne-e (NA) could be phonetic writings for ni\textsubscript{2}, which would be a misreading of IM. Consequently, the reading of the line Ua proposed by Wilcke and Alster is required. This would lead to two hypotheses: (a) the copying mistake was produced independently in Syria and at Nineveh; (b) the two recensions depend on the same corrupted MB source which instead of IM had a different sign, for instance NI.

Because the tablets are badly preserved a conclusive explanation cannot be arrived at; perhaps slightly different texts existed.

The phonetic Sumerian version occasionally differs from the standard orthography version:

- In line 8 the standard orthography version of the Emar text has me-na instead of the expected na-me attested in the phonetic version and in Ua.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{E} & 8 & [(ki) buru_3]-bi me-na 'nu'-u[n-zu-a] \\
& & [... su-lica ... n]a-me nu-un-za-\ween a\textsuperscript{1656} \\
\text{Ua} & 9-10 & ki buru_3-da-gen7, na-me nu-zu-[
\end{array}
\]

A place which like the depth of the underworld nobody knows.

- In E 21 the first column has mu-un-na-dim\textsuperscript{1657} whereas the second has mu-un-na-ak-ki. This difference depends on the equivalence of dim\textsubscript{7}, ‘to create’, and AK, ‘to do’, with the Akkadian epēšu.\textsuperscript{1658} It is not precluded that the same holds true in line 11 in which the standard orthography version reports [...]e-dim\textsubscript{2}, whereas the OB recension has in-ak.\textsuperscript{1659} Unfortunately, the second column of the Emar tablet is broken.

These examples may suggest that the phonetic Sumerian version of the Emar source is independent from the standard orthography version written on the same tablet. However, as this involves the way in which texts were copied it goes beyond the limits of the present work; the question remains open to further study.

The standard orthography Sumerian text usually agrees with the OB version, but variants are attested both between the Syrian and the monolingual sources, and between the Syrian manuscripts. The majority of variants are orthographic, but as pointed out above several textual variants are attested. Additionally, Syr. 20-22 is omitted in the manuscript Uc. This is further evidence that the final part of the composition was transmitted with several variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line\textsuperscript{1}</th>
<th>OB</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Ua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>ki ‘nam’-sur-sur-re’</td>
<td>ki-gal nam’sur-sur-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>[inim] ni ḡal\textsubscript{2}-la</td>
<td>im al-‘ḡal\textsubscript{2}’-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>šu-ḡu\textsubscript{10}</td>
<td>šu ti</td>
<td>šu-ṭi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{1655} Cohen 2013, 140-143: 3, also suggests the presence of a demonstrative pronoun, but he refers it to I.NIM, read as i-ni\textsubscript{2}, in the phonetic version of E, while ni-ig would be a writing for niğ\textsubscript{2}. However, in the first column NI is clearly written before ḡal\textsubscript{2}-la, hence if one takes I.NIM as a writing for the ne(n), the reading i-ḡal\textsubscript{2}-la / i-ḡal-gal-1a is required. Consequently, ni-ig cannot be a writing for niğ\textsubscript{2}, unless one considers that i/ is omitted after ni-ig, but taking into consideration that in Ua and NA the prefix is al, I would tend to regard ḡal\textsubscript{2}-la as a non-finite form.

\textsuperscript{1656} Msk 74159gj, 3 has the variant nu-mu-un-za-\ween a.

\textsuperscript{1657} Alster 2005 reads mu-un-na-ka but the sign seems to be gen, in E 767, I, 7 = Msk 74153 Obv. 10; for KA see E 767, III, 7, II, 15, III, 20, III, 23; Arnaud 1985-1987 and Dietrich 1992 transliterate -gim.

\textsuperscript{1658} CAD E, 192.

\textsuperscript{1659} See below for the list of variants.
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Standard Orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Ub</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sa₂bi₂-in-du₁₂-ga</td>
<td>na[m-bi-in-zu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ki buru₂-da-gen₁</td>
<td>[ki buru₂-da]-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>na-me</td>
<td>me-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nu-mu-un-zu-a</td>
<td>nu-u[n-zu-a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>in-ak</td>
<td>[…]e-dim₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>bi₁-in-e₂-de₃</td>
<td>[x-(x)-d]a-e-de₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>nam-til₁</td>
<td>nam-til₁-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>i₁-ki₇₂₂ki₇₂₂</td>
<td>ki₇₂₂ […]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>[me-a]</td>
<td>[me]-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>dub-saḡ</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>u₂-ul-li₁-a-ke₂-ne</td>
<td>[u₂-saḡ-غا]-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>e-ne-e-še-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>[(nu-un-peš₂-peš₂]-a’</td>
<td>[nu-peš₂-men₃]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>nu-un-du₂-ud-da</td>
<td>nu-du₂-du₂-men₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>nu-zalag-ga</td>
<td>[nu-zal]ag-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ugu nam-uš₂-a-kam</td>
<td>[ugu]-nam-u[š₂]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>a-ba-am₁</td>
<td>[t]a-am₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>bi₁-in-diri-ga</td>
<td>me-diri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>niḡ₂-saḡ-il₁-la</td>
<td>za[…]i₁-l₆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>u₂ša₂-hul₂-la</td>
<td>‘u₂ša₂-hul₂-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1-am₃</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>niḡ₂-me-ḡar</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>[lu-u]l-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>mu 3600 x 10-am₃</td>
<td>u₂-ser₃-ser₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>in-ak</td>
<td>ḫe₂-en-du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Lineation according to the Syrian recension.
2 This is an unorthographic writing for i₂-til₁-eš, cf. OBGT I, 655.
3 Note that u₂ = ūmu is also omitted in the Akkadian translation.

The phonetic Sumerian version is known from manuscripts E and Ub₁⁶⁶⁰ but only some lines are preserved. From the several variants attested it is clear that phonetic versions of these manuscripts are not derived from the same source; likely they were created independently at Emar and Ugarit as exercises.

Phonetic Orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Ub</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u-du</td>
<td>u₂-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-gi-du-ud-du₁</td>
<td>‘i’-ki‘-[tu…]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>me-na-a</td>
<td>me-e-tum²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>la-ba-an-tu-ka-a</td>
<td>lab₂₂-ba-an{-…}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[dir]i-na-na-ni</td>
<td>diri-ni-in-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>[an-ta e₂/e[-u]j-ra-k[i]-e‘-en²</td>
<td>[a]n-ta-e-ur-ra-ga-‘an-ni’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>an ša-ud-ta-ki-im</td>
<td>[a]n-šu₂,-ud-ta-‘ki‘-im</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁶⁶⁰ A few unorthographic writings are also attested in Ua.
### Phonetic Orthography

| Line | Sumerian | Phonetic
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>na-me</td>
<td>nam-e-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>nam-lu-x</td>
<td>[na-am]-lu-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ud-da-ri-iš</td>
<td>ud-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>nu-ni-x</td>
<td>ni-ig-[-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>nu-za-la-aq-qa</td>
<td>nu-za[lag-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>u-ga-na-ma-uš-ša</td>
<td>[na[m-u]]š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ta-am₁</td>
<td>ta-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>me-d[a-ri]</td>
<td>mi-x-ru'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ku-ru-uš</td>
<td>gu-ru-uš'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ti-kar-zu</td>
<td>di[ji-r-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ga-r[a-zu]</td>
<td>ga-la[-]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>isiš</td>
<td>a-li-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>za-an-ki-el-la</td>
<td>saš-ki-il-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ū₃₄,ša-ḫu-la-al</td>
<td>[šu]-ul-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>lu-ul-bi</td>
<td>u₂-[u]-ul-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ḫe₃-en-du</td>
<td>ūi-in-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>ni-in-ki</td>
<td>ni-[i]-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>'e'[n]-ni</td>
<td>'en-na'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ki-š-ḫu-ur</td>
<td>'gi-es'[…]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>[nam]-'lu-ul-lu'</td>
<td>nam-u₁₂-'lu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>gi-na</td>
<td>ki-[n-na]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2. ‘e’en is in Msk 74159j.
The Akkadian translation presents a few variants between manuscripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Ua</th>
<th>Ub</th>
<th>Uc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u[s...]</td>
<td>[u]š-su-ra-tuₚₚₚ</td>
<td>[... s]u’-re-[tu]</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>teₚ-em”</td>
<td>teₚ-em / te-em</td>
<td>teₚ-e-i-[m]</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>DIĜIR’ ‘lim-ma’</td>
<td>DIĜIR-ma</td>
<td>DIĜIR-ma</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2    | x | us-çe₂-tu | x | us-çe₂-[
| 3    | pa-na-a | x | x | pa-na-nu |
| 4    | [te]š₂-mi | x | x | [te]-š-mi |
| 5    | [el]-ši-na ši-na-m[a] | x | x | [e]-ši-su-nu šu-nu-ma | |
| 7    | ša-an-nu-t(uₚₚₚₚ) | x | x | ša-nu-tu-ma |
| 7    | [l]-ka-aš-su-ud | x | x | i-kaš-ša[d] |
| 15   | “En-ki-du” | “En-ki’-du” | x | x |
| 17   | a-le-e šar-nu-ru a-le šu-nu-ti | LUGAL.MES | x | x |
| 18   | [u]l | u | [u]-u[l] | x |
| 18   | in-neₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | in-neₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | x | x |
| 19   | [ba-la]ₚₚₚ₂ | ba-la-ₚ₂ | ba-la-tuₚ₂ | x |
| 19   | lo-a | la | la-a | la-a |
| 19   | x | a-na | UGU | x |
| 19   | [m]u-ti | mi-ti | ‘mu’-ti | x |
| 19   | miₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | miₚ₂ₚ₂ | mi-no | mi-na-am |
| 19   | ut-ti-[r] | ut-ter | x | ut-‘ter” |
| 21   | siₚ₂ₚ₂ | x | siₚ₂ₚ₂-[k]i-ip | - |
| 21   | qu-[a-ti] | x | quₚ₂ₚ₂-[a-ti] | - |
| 22   | di-na-nu | a-na di-na-an | a-[n]a’ diₚ₂ₚ₂-ni’ | x |
| 22   | [bu-um]ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | šu-ud libₚ₂.bi | uₚ₂.mi [šu-ud […]] | x |
| 22   | 1-en uₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | uₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | 1 Uₚ₂ | x |
| 22   | 10 ša-[ru ..] | qu-li // 10 ŠARₚ₂ [MES] | quₚ₂ₚ₂-[š]-še-re-et šaₚ₂ₚ₂-[u ..] | x |
| 23   | kiₚ₂ₚ₂ma ma-ri [’zi-ra-aš] | x | ’zi-ra’-[aš] kiₚ₂ₚ₂- […] | […] kiₚ₂ₚ₂-[a(m)] ma ma-ri |
| 24   | an-[nu-um] | x | [an]-nu-um-ma | [an-nu-um] |
| 24   | uₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ₚ₂ | i-[s(u-ur-tum)] | i-[s(u-ur-tum)] | i-su-tum |

1. Alster 2005, 307, regards the feminine form in E as a mistake, but see the reconstruction in Cohen 2013, 132, in which elišina refers to anniātu in l. 3. Dietrich 1992, 15, regards -šina as referring to an implied substantive nišū. For the use of 3pl. possessive pronouns see Seminara 1998, 262-263.
2. This line is duplicated in Ub A 10-11 and 3.

The majority of variants are purely orthographic and as expected the most significant ones are attested in Ua¹⁶⁶¹ which relies on a different textual tradition.¹⁶⁶²

¹⁶⁶¹ See Syr. 3, 5, 17, 22.
¹⁶⁶² Note the tendency towards the use of logograms for syllabic writings in the other manuscripts in ll. 7, 17, 22 and the writing la in line 19 as opposed to la-a.
As noted above the Akkadian diverges from the Sumerian text in Syr. 3, 22; a further instance is E 767, 17 which presents e-ne-e-še-ta, a phonetic writing for i3/i/e-ne-še3-ta ‘henceforth’, instead of the expected i3/i/e-ne-še3 = inanna,1663 ‘now, so far’,1664 as shown by the Akkadian adi inanna.

The Sumerian text presents errors of minor importance. Aberrations such as those observed in PfK are not attested in BeR.

- The genitive is omitted in the following passages of the Emar text:
  - In [ka lu2]-igi-du-a-ni (E 767, I, 4) -k- is omitted: *ka lu2-igi-du-ka-ne2.
  - [ugu]-nam-u[š2] (E 767, I, 19), cf. ugu-nam-uš-a-kam in BM 80184 (B); on the basis of the hand-copy there is no room for the -a attested in the phonetic version u-ga-na-ma-uš-ša.

Both cases may be due to the Emar copyist.

- The use of -bi with human class nouns is known since the Old Babylonian period:1665 in lu-u2 tur-ra-bi, ‘her little child’ (E 767, I-II, 23), -bi refers to a goddess.1666

- In e2-ur3-ra-ke4-e-n[e] (E 767, I, 6) -e-ne is a short-writing from -a-ne-ne = *e2-ur3-ra-ke4-ne-n[e].1667

- E 767, 18 has the 1/2sg. copula instead of the expected 3pl. -me-eš; the copula is not present in the OB manuscripts.1668

  B        [nu-un-peš2-pes3]-a` nu-un-du2-ud-da

            nu-peš-ša-me-en nu-da-dá-am-m[e-en]

  They are no longer engendered, they are not born.

- In Ub A' 6 (= Syr. 21) the scribe writes the sequence A.IGI for isiš2 as a-li-im.1669

As noted above, the OB manuscripts also exhibit some errors that suggest a late textual tradition. A further example is til3-a e2 guruš-ke4 ‘(men who) live in the house of the young man’ (OB 22): according to Alster1670 the syntactic order with the verb placed at the beginning of the sentence is influenced by Akkadian. However, a different explanation may apply: the sentence could be a genitive compound, in which case the error is not in the position of til3-a,1671 but in the use of -ke4 as a genitive case marker, a common practice since the Old Babylonian period,1672 instead of the expected -a-ka.

1663  Cf. CAD I, 142.
1664  Cf. OBGT la rev. i 5: i3-ne-še-ta = iš-tu i-na-a[na]; Inanna and An (ETCSL 1.3.5) Segment D 43, i3-ne-es3-ta u3-da šid-bi ba-da-tur u3-ge2-bi-a ba-da-bur3, ‘From today, when the day’s watch is three units long, daylight is equal to night-time.’
1667  See Alster 2005, 308.
1669  See Alster 2005, 318.
1671  til3-a is a writing for til3-la.
1672  Edzard 2000, 64.
Arnaud suggested that the text of Ub and Uc was received through Assyrian mediation on the basis of the form ʾiṣurtu for the Babylonian ʾuṣurtu (Syr. 24). A further Assyrianism in the same line is amiluttu, documented in Ub, Uc and E. These Assyrian forms, however, must be considered common features of peripheral Akkadian. The use of the Assyrian suffix -uttu is typical of the Akkadian of Emal for abstract substantives. Peripheral forms are the adverb panānu in Uc Obv. 2 (Syr. 3), which in the second half of the second millennium is only attested in the Western periphery and earlier in the Old Babylonian and Old Akkadian dialects; the word immatimē in E (Syr. 4), which belongs to the peripheral lexicon; the form ša-an-nu-[t(u₄-ma)] in E (Syr. 5).

To sum up, two different textual traditions of BeR are reflected in the Syrian manuscripts, one represented by the Babylonian script tablet Ua, and the other by the manuscripts E, Ub and Uc which share the same line order and the mention of Siraš (Syr. 23-24). Whether the circulation of the Ua text in Syria was limited to Ugarit cannot be determined on the basis of the present evidence. Babylonian schools developed and transmitted two versions of BeR, one closer to the OB recension and another characterized by several variants. These two textual traditions probably took different paths of transmission: the text of Ua reached the Western periphery directly, whereas the Emar-Ugarit manuscripts (E, Ub, Uc) seem not to depend on the same Mesopotamian model. Different versions of the same composition are known at Ugarit for the Gilgameš epic as pointed out by Arnaud and George.

Variants of the Emar-Ugarit manuscripts rely on the Mesopotamian tradition and do not result from reworking by local scribes but rather by the Middle Babylonian scribal schools. However, the distinction between variants due to Middle Babylonian scribes and those already attested in some unpreserved OB sources is unclear. The alteration of line order and the addition of Bazi and Zizi to the list of ancient rulers were likely accomplished in the Middle Babylonian period, whereas the mention of Siraš might have been contained in an OB manuscript.

BeR was used in the Syrian scribal schools as a tool for learning Sumerian and Akkadian as evidenced by the creation of the phonetic Sumerian version and by the recovery of manuscripts in two different scribal centers at Ugarit, the Maison-aux-tablettes (Ub) and the Lamaštu archive (Ua, Uc). Moreover the scribe of Ub is identified as an apprentice.

As better explained below, the relation of BeR to the vanity theme which was well known at Nippur suggests that it reflects the mainstream of the Sumerian literary tradition.

6.2.2 Enlil and Namzitarra

*Enlil and Namzitarra (EaN)* is another wisdom composition expounding the vanity theme discovered in the Syrian libraries. It is preserved in two manuscripts from Emal and Ugarit.

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1. Arnaud 2007, 12, see also Arnaud 1977-78, 185-186.
2. Seminara 1998, 104; this form is also attested in *Enlil and Namzitarra*.
5. Ub A’ 3 = A’ 10-11 (= Syr. 19); Uc omits Syr. 20-21.
6. Note also in Ua the preservation of -ak, Syr. 22 (= OB 20), as in the OB manuscripts, whereas the other Syrian manuscripts have -du, Alster 2005, 293.
9. Indeed Ua does not report this line.
10. See Alster 2005, 290.
11. See § 9.4.
12. ETCSL 5.7.1.
13. For the interpretation of the composition see Alster 2005, 327-334, Cohen 2010 with previous bibliography.
Fragments E 771 (+) E 772 (+) E 773 (+) E 774 (+) E 592 are part of a two-column tablet containing the Sumerian version on the left and the Akkadian translation on the right. The Emar recension is expanded with an Akkadian wisdom text inscribed on the same tablet containing the speech of a father to his sons. This composition begins on line 29 without any dividing ruling from EaN and it is inscribed on both columns.

RS 22.341 + RS 28.053A = AuOrS 23 47 is a fragment from the right edge of its tablet discovered in the Maison-aux-tablettes preserving a few lines on the reverse whereas the obverse is broken away. Only the Akkadian version is preserved but the Sumerian text was probably arranged in a parallel column. The tablet format with lines enclosed in paragraphs set off by horizontal rulings is reminiscent of the Emar tablet. This manuscript is the work of a local scribe as is evident from the shapes of TI (§§ 2, 3, 4, 5) and LI (§ 5).

EaN is known from seven OB tablets from Nippur and was used in the education of scribes during the Intermediary Phase, as the tablet formats clearly indicate. As pointed out by Y. Cohen, the Ugarit recension duplicates the Emar text. This composition is quoted in a catalogue from the library of Aššurbanipal, but no first-millennium sources are so far known. This quotation, however, confirms that EaN was transmitted to the first-millennium libraries.

Compared to the OB monolingual text, the bilingual Syrian recension differs in line order and the addition of new sections. Indeed the three-line speech in the OB version (19-21) featuring the vanity theme is expanded into a larger section in the Emar text (E 771+, 13-26):

| OB | 19 | ku₂ ḫe₂-tuku za ḫe₂-tuku gud ḫe₂-tuku udu ḫe₂-tuku |
| 20 | u₂ nam-lu₂-u₁₈-lu al-ku-nu |
| 21 | niĝ₂-tuku-zu me-še₃ e-tum₃-ma |
| 20 | You will have silver, you will have precious stones, you will have cattle, you will have sheep. |
| 21 | The day of mankind is approaching (death), So where does your wealth lead? |

| E | 13 | ’en-na ku₂-babbar ḫe₂-tuku [.........] |
| 14 | na₄za-gin₃ ḫe₂-tuku [...............] |
| 15 | gud ḫe₂-tuku [.........................] |
| 16 | [u]du ḫe₂-tuku |
| 17 | ku₂-babbar-zu na₄za-gin₃-zu gud-zu udu-zu |
| 18 | ‘KU₃,BABBAR-ka na₄ZA.GIN₃-ka’ [GUD-ka UDU-ka] |
| 19 | me-še₃ al-tum₃ |
| 20 | u₂-nam-lu₂-u₁₈-lu al-gurun-na |
| 21 | [U₃,MES a-mi-lu-ut-’ti lu qe₂-er-bu] |
| 22 | iti-an-na ḫa-ba-lal |
| 23 | ITI a-na ITI li-im-ṭi |

1686 The OB sources of EaN are inscribed on either Sammeltafeln or exercise tablets, see Civil 1974-77, 67, and Vanstiphout 1980, 67 and n. 1. Type I: 3N-T 326 (IM 58427) + 3N-T 360 (A 30218), N 3097, UM 29-16-79A; Type III: CBS 4605 = PBS 12/1 31; Type II: N 5149, N 5909, CBS 7917 + N 4784, see also Kleinerman 2011, 65, Rutz 2013, 271 n. 235-236.
1688 Lambert 1989.
1690 Translation according to Cohen 2010, 92-93.
1691 The presence of al- is possibly due to an analogy with line 20 of the OB recension where this prefix was used.
1692 For this restoration see Cohen 2013, 159: 19; Arnaud 2007, 140 § 4 reads iku-pu-pu.
As with the other compositions found in the Western libraries, our main concern lies in the origin of the differences between the OB recension and the LBA manuscripts. Klein claimed a connection with the Western-Semitic tradition and in particular with Genesis 6:3 in which the limit of 120 years is imposed on mankind (E 771+, 23-24). Indeed, even though the divine imposition of a limit on human life is known from Atraḫasis and the Gilgameš epic, the number of 120 years is nowhere else attested in Mesopotamian literature. On the contrary Alster emphasized the relation with the Mesopotamian tradition, advancing the hypothesis, here followed, that the Syrian recension stems from a MB model that was created on the basis of the tale of EaN. Moreover, according to Alster the Akkadian is the primary version while the Sumerian was added as a secondary translation.

The figure of 120 years which seems to be the principal connection with the Western-Semitic tradition is based on a sexagesimal system, which is common in Mesopotamia but unknown in the biblical literature as pointed out by Klein himself. Also the meaning ‘bane’ (as the consequence of a punishment) implied in the term niĝ₂-gēg (l. 24), which is only attested in the Emar manuscript, is known from The Death of Gilgameš as illustrated by Klein. The dependence of the Syrian manuscripts of BeR, which is thematically related to EaN, on the Mesopotamian tradition further supports Alster’s hypothesis.

The Akkadian wisdom text inscribed on the same tablet as E 771+ was appended to EaN because it concerns the shortness of human life expressed in the vanity theme. Even though no Mesopotamian duplicates of this text are known, its thematic relation with EaN, and more generally with the vanity

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1693 Sumerian u₄/iti/mu-an-na is not equivalent to u₄-mi a-na u₄-mi, ITI a-na ITI, MU a-na MU, see Klein 1990, 63 n. 12, 14. For a similar expression see E 775, 24.

1694 Translation according to Cohen 2010, 94.

1695 Klein 1990, 60-62.

1696 Alster 2005, 330-332; Alster’s hypothesis that the Emar scribe copied from a damaged tablet on line 23 may be dismissed in light of Klein’s reading pa₂-‘a’-ša’ at the end of the Akkadian line, apud Cohen 2010, 94 n. 13. I consider ḫe-a here as a phonetic writing for ḫe₂-a.

1697 Klein 1990, 69 n. 47.

1698 Klein 1990, 64 n. 15.
theme, indicates that it relies on the Mesopotamian tradition. This composition is reminiscent of \textit{Šimâ Milka}, attested at Emar, Ugarit and Hattuša. Although no OB or MB sources from Mesopotamia have yet been recovered its quotation in an OB catalogue and the recent identification of a first-millennium manuscript from Nimrud clearly evidence that \textit{Šimâ Milka} is a Mesopotamian composition. The close relation between Sumerian and Akkadian wisdom texts is not surprising, given the aforementioned OB catalogue quoting \textit{Šimâ Milka} which lists Akkadian texts in addition to Sumerian compositions. Moreover an OB Type II tablet is inscribed with an Akkadian Sargon letter and an extract from Proto-Lu. Therefore it is not precluded that \textit{EaN} and the Akkadian wisdom text were already written together on the same Mesopotamian tablet that was transmitted to the Western periphery. The format of \textit{E 771+} recalls OB Type III tablets inscribed with different compositions on each side. That \textit{EaN} is a composition belonging to the mainstream of the Sumerian literary tradition is clear from its curricular setting and the provenance from Nippur of all the OB manuscripts. During the Middle Babylonian period \textit{EaN} was rephrased and updated with the addition of the Akkadian translation. This bilingual version was then transmitted to the Western periphery.

6.2.3 The Fowler – \textit{E 768} - \textit{E 769} - \textit{E 770}

A literary composition concerned with a fowler is preserved in several fragments at Emar. Two fragments are published under \textit{E 768}. \textit{E 768A} = Msk 7498b (+) Msk 7478b + Msk 74228b is a fragment from the upper left corner of its tablet preserving standard orthography and phonetic Sumerian versions arranged in parallel columns. \textit{E 768B} = Msk 74137b is a fragment from the right edge of its tablet that only preserves the Akkadian version. According to Arnaud these two fragments were not part of the same tablet, but restoration of the colophon may suggest otherwise. According to the colophon the scribe is the same as that of \textit{BeR}, Šaggar-abu son of Baʿal-qarrād. \textit{E 769} is a fragment from the lower left corner preserving six lines on the obverse and five lines on the reverse in standard Sumerian. \textit{E 770} is a fragment from the central part of its tablet preserving, on the obverse, unorthographic Sumerian and Akkadian versions in parallel column format, whereas the reverse is broken away. It is clear that these fragments belong to several three-column tablets, the same format as the manuscript of \textit{BeR}.

No other duplicates are known from either Syria or Mesopotamia, but this composition is very close to an Akkadian text preserved on Late Babylonian tablets. Furthermore the catalogue of the series of Sidu quoted above cites an incipit which may refer to \textit{The Fowler}. Probably related to our text is \textit{The Fowler and his Wife} which, as seen above, is known from OB and MB manuscripts

\textbf{1700} Klein 1990, 66 n. 25.
\textbf{1701} Civil 1989; on the tradition of this text and the Akkadian wisdom literature see Sallaberger 2010.
\textbf{1702} Nurullin 2014.
\textbf{1704} Veldhuis 1997, 66.
\textbf{1705} Type III tablets are here taken as relevant examples because Type I are multicolumn tablets designed to be inscribed with more than two compositions, and Type II tablets, even though they only contain two texts on the obverse and reverse, comprise a copy written by the master. The closest parallels to \textit{E 771+} are therefore those Type III tablets that were occasionally inscribed with two compositions because the first was too short for the daily exercise.
\textbf{1706} See § 9.4.
\textbf{1707} Note that the use of -meš (\textit{E 771+}, 23) as plural marker traces back to the Mesopotamian tradition of the post-Old Babylonian period.
\textbf{1708} Cohen 2009, 169-170, 221.
\textbf{1709} Civil 1989, 7, also quotes Msk 74238t = \textit{E 747} as a further possible fragment, see § 6.2.20.
\textbf{1710} BM 53309 and BM 53555 = Lambert 1960, 221.
and is a part of proverb collections. These two compositions do not preserve any parallel lines and the fragmentary nature of all the manuscripts precludes any possibility of understanding their relationship to each other. It is possible that the text preserved at Emar is a LOB or MB reworking of The Fowler and his Wife or a different composition created in the Middle Babylonian period. Some errors that cannot be ascribed to the Emar copyist(s) are possible pieces of evidence that the text was composed or reworked in the Middle Babylonian period:

- In še-na bir-bir-re, ‘He scatters his grain’ (E 768A, I, 2), -ani=a (GEN/LOC) is written instead of the expected absolutive form -ani=Ø. Perhaps the influence of the Akkadian accusative can be taken into account here.

- In muš-en-ḫi-a (E 768A, I, 5) the typical Akkadian plural marker ḪI.A is used.

- In buru₃-muš-en-e-ne (E 768A, I, 7) the human plural marker -ene is used for a non-human noun.

An error possibly due to the Emar scribe is the order of prefixes in the verbal form ₄uṭu-ra in-ta-ba-an-ki, ‘He approached Utu’ (E 768A, I, 3) because the ablative -ta- cannot precede -ba-; the expected form would be: *im-ma-ta-an-ki₄.

Because The Fowler and his Wife was used as a school text, the same function can probably be attributed to The Fowler. Taking into consideration that The Fowler and BeR were related by their possible mention in the same catalogue and were copied at Emar by the same scribe, they likely arrived in Syria at the same time and through the same route.

6.2.4 The Letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu – TBR 101

The Letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu (SI-Utu) was the only composition from the Sumerian court literature of the Larsa dynasty to be transmitted to the Western periphery. It is preserved on a single tiny fragment from Emar, TBR 101. Since this source was found during illegal excavations its find-spot is unrecorded but it likely stems from Temple M₄. Six OB monolingual manuscripts of SI-Utu are known. Three tablets stem from Nippur: CBS 7072 + N 3147 is a single-column tablet (Type III) containing SI-Utu on the reverse whereas the obverse is inscribed with another petition letter from the Larsa court literature, Sîn-iddinam to Ninisina; CBS 3829 = STVC 13 is a fragmentary tablet, probably an imgidda, preserving a few lines on the reverse; CBS 4078 is a lentil-shaped tablet (Type IV) that contains only line 25 on each side. From Sippar stems the unpublished tablet Si 550. Two manuscripts are of unknown provenance: AO 6718 = TCL 16 56 is a single-column tablet (Type III) containing the second half of the text; Ashm 1922-258 = OECT 4 25 is a four-sided prism containing four additional letters: Pû-Înana to Lugal-ibila, Ninšatapa to Rîm-Sîn, a possible let-

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1711 See § 1.1.6.5.
1712 A similar case is LI-LN that was created on the model of The Letter of Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila, § 5.3.4.
1713 Cf. for instance The Lament for Nibru 4, me-bi a-ba-a in-bir-re, ‘who scattered its divine powers?’
1714 buru₃ ~ buru₄.
1716 ETCSL 3.2.5; a new edition of all manuscripts is provided by Brisch 2007, 158-178.
1717 For the manuscripts see Brisch 2007, 170 with previous bibliography.
1718 This source is an extract tablet as lines 23-25 inscribed on the reverse are followed by a horizontal ruling and blank space.
1719 For the provenance of unrecorded tablets of the Larsa literature see Brisch 2007, 33-35.
1720 Brisch 2007, 78.
1721 Civil 2000a, 107-109.
The Reception of Sumerian Literature in the Western Periphery

Viano

Sumerian Literary and Magical Texts from Emar

6

The one who lives in the tent, who knows no place of gods.

Following Civil’s restoration the reverse of TBR 101 exhibits a different line order from the other manuscripts as line 43 is placed between lines 40 and 41. The rest of the Emar text does not contain any relevant variants.

The Sumerian court literature of the Larsa dynasty strongly diverges in terms of form, style, content and language from the Ur III and Isin poetry. The Larsa literature represents an independent stream of tradition of Sumerian literature that was almost excluded from the Nippur scribal schools which made the Ur III and Isin compositions an essential part of their curriculum. On the contrary the Larsa literature flourished in Ur where most of the sources were recovered. However, within the corpus of Larsa literature a distinction between praise poems (hymns) and literary letters is required. The letters indeed show motifs very different from those found in the royal hymns of the kings of Larsa. In particular Sin-iddinam’s letters of petition depict the king in a such negative way that it is unthinkable that they were commissioned by him. It is more likely that they were composed after his death, probably at the behest of the rulers of Babylon who were interested in producing a defamatory portrait of Sin-iddinam. Moreover, contrary to praise poems, three of the four Larsa letters are attested in Nippur. As pointed out by Brisch, literary letters of Larsa dynasty should be regarded as a product of the Nippur school. This makes it understandable why SI-Utu was transmitted to the Western periphery and survived in the first millennium. It is not a coincidence that this is the only composition from the Larsa literature that survived after the Old Babylonian period.


1722 Cf. LI-LN, § 5.3.4.
1723 K 8937; K 4615+.
1724 W 17259an = AUWE 23 112 Obv. 13.
1725 Cohen 2009, 224.
1726 According to Civil 1996 the Emar manuscript depends on a different textual tradition.
1727 Brisch 2007, 70-74, 116-120.
1728 For an explanation of the exclusion of the Larsa literature from the Nippur curriculum see Brisch 2007, 73-74.
1729 Brisch 2007, 14.
1730 Brisch 2007, 80-81.
1731 Brisch 2007, 118.
The NA manuscripts replace the name of Larsa with Babylon and use the Emesal form for ‘city’, uru, instead of the main dialect iri. According to Borger this change was accomplished under the king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, Adad-apla-iddinam, but he is not able to state whether the Akkadian translation was prepared during his reign or earlier. The presence of a surely bilingual recension at Emar clearly points out that the Akkadian translation was composed before the Second Dynasty of Isin. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to know whether the replacement of Larsa with Babylon had already occurred in the Emar manuscript as none of these lines are preserved. However, it is likely that the Emar text relied on the OB manuscript because such a replacement better fits the political ideology of the Second Dynasty of Isin. This could indicate that SI-Utu underwent further adaptation after the Kassite period. The NA recension basically follows the OB manuscripts even though variants are attested, some of which are to be considered as recensional and not only purely orthographic.

The variants illustrated above might suggest that the Emar text depends on a different textual tradition from the extant OB manuscripts. Unfortunately the only known Northern Babylonian manuscript, Si 550, is very poorly preserved and no lines paralleling TBR 101 survive. One may however observe that Si 550 shows some variants. It can only be said that the Emar source depends on a bilingual MB model which was transmitted to Syria, where the phonetic version was composed. For the present study it is relevant that one of the OB sources of SI-Utu, the prism from the Ashmolean Museum, contains The Letter of Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila which is the model of The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaḫ attested at Ḫattuša and Ugarit. Moreover, both The Letter of Lugal-ibila to Lugal-nesaḫ and SI-Utu are perhaps quoted in the same catalogue from Uruk. It appears that it is not a coincidence that these related compositions are attested in the Western periphery and were transmitted to the first millennium. This clearly speaks for a conscious process of selection of the OB repertoire.

6.2.5 Unidentified Literary Text – E 776

E 776 is a tiny fragment apparently from the central part of its tablet preserving five lines from an unidentified Sumerian literary text. The first two lines are set off from the following three by a horizontal ruling. The text is written in phonetic Sumerian but likely the manuscript was originally a three-column tablet also containing standard Sumerian and Akkadian versions.

6.2.6 Udug-ḫul Tablet III – E 729

The best preserved magical text from Emar is E 729, a single-column tablet containing on the obverse three monolingual Sumerian incantations belonging to Tablet III of the series Udug-ḫul. The reverse is inscribed with an incantation that starts in Sumerian and ends in Akkadian. The incantations are separated by horizontal rulings.

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1732 Borger 1991, 63.
1733 Ll. 12, 20, 34, 35, 37, 40.
1734 See the matrix in Brisch 2007, 171-178.
1735 In addition to the above mentioned lines see ll. 16, 21, 29, 30, 36, 39.
1736 See Brisch 2007, 170.
1737 Brisch 2007, 78.
1738 See § 5.3.4.
1739 The division into paragraphs of two or three lines each is reminiscent of the Emar manuscript of BeR.
a) The first paragraph (ll. 1-9) contains a *Legitimationstyp* incantation, forerunner of UH III: 165-177 (CT 16 Pl. 6-7, 230-258). The Emar tablet is the oldest preserved source for this incantation because the OB manuscripts are broken at this point but it was probably encompassed in the gap after UH 119. Compared to the canonical recension, the Emar tablet presents several variants. Enki (UH III: 166 = CT 16 Pl. 6, 233) is replaced by "en-sîr-ra (E 729, 2) whom I was not able to identify. In place of Ningirrimma (UH III: 175 = CT 16 Pl. 7, 253) another god name is written that Arnaud reads as Ningirsu. Line UH III: 167 (CT 16 Pl. 6, 235) describing the exorcist approaching the patient is omitted in E 729 as well as the mention of Asalluḥi.

b) The second incantation (ll. 10-23) is another *Legitimationstyp* that is known from first-millennium duplicates, UH III: 124-146 (CT 16 Pl. 5, 170-202), and from an OB tablet from Nippur, Ni 623 + Ni 2320 (UHF 90-98). Unfortunately, the OB tablet is too badly preserved to be used for comparison. The Emar text omits some lines of the canonical recension and has a different line order. In this regard the line order of the OB tablet seems to correspond to the canonical recension:

```
   16 te-lu₂-du₃-r₁₁-ra-še₂ ra-ra-ta-mu-‘ni’ ugu₄-lu₂-tu‘-ra-a₂ [ku di-m]u-ni
   17 [lu₂]-dur₁₁-ra ḫu‘(AN)-luḥ-ḥa-mu-ni
```

```
UHF 95 lu₂-[du₃-r₁₁-r₁₁-še₂ ra-ra-da₃-mu-de₃]
   96 {e lu₂-du₃-ra-še₂ ra-ra-da₃-mu-de₃]
   97 u[gu₄-lu₂-du₃-r₁₁-ra-ke₄ gu₅₃-de₃-mu-de₃]
```

```
UHIII 136 ‘nam‘-šub eri₅-du₄-a₃ [lu₄-mu-da₃-mu-de₃] 1744
```

Furthermore the Emar recension ends with ka-ḫul-ĝal₂ bar-eš₂ ḫe₂-en‘-da-gub (E 729, 22) against niq₂-AK-A niq₂-ḥul-d₃₃-ma s₁₃-l₃₃-iga-mu-ta, ‘… depart from before me’, in the canonical recension (UH III: 144-145 = CT 16 Pl. 5, 201-202). The Emar text is also characterized by several unorthographic writings.

c) The last text on the obverse (ll. 24-35) is a further *Legitimationstyp* incantation. The first part (ll. 24-38) is parallel to the beginning of the OB recension of Tablet III (UHF 01-5) which is unfortunately completely restored on the basis of the first-millennium duplicates (UH III: 1-8). The Emar text expands the two-line legitimation theme of the OB and NA recensions, in which the āšipu declares himself the man of Enki and Damgalnunna, with a longer enumeration of deities that includes Sîn, Enki, Damgalnunna, Ninšuburra and Namma. Several recensional variants are attested between the Emar and first-millennium sources:

1740 Campbell Thomson 1903, 24-27.
1741 The reading is unsure; "nin‘-gir₂-su‘.
1742 Campbell Thomson 1903, 18-23.
1743 UH III: 131, 132, 137, 142-143 (CT 16 Pl. 5, 183, 185, 194, 199-200). Notably E 729 omits the petition for the protection of the patient that is part of *Legitimationstyp* incantations (Falkenstein 1931, 30), udug-saga₁₀,g₃-l₃₃ ma sag₃₃-g₃₃-da₄-ĝa₄ ḫe₂-gub, ‘May the good Utukku and Lamma be at your side’ (UH III: 137).
1744 This line is not preserved in UHF. Note that in the Akkadian translation of the canonical recension, ši-pat eri₅-du₄ ina na-de-e-a, the verb nad₄ translates šub attested in the Emar text and not šum₃ = nad₄m₃ of the corresponding Sumerian version.
1745 CT 16 Pl. 1, 1-20 and UET 6 391, 1-7; UET 6 392, 1-7.
1746 The canonical recension also mentions Asalluḥi (UET 6 391, 4) who is omitted from the OB recension, see Geller 1985, 85.
The second part of the incantation (ll. 31-35) is badly preserved but it is clear that the Emar text completely diverges from the OB and NA sources. Indeed a much shorter text is contained in E 729; nevertheless it ends with a zi-pa₃ formula that is also attested in the duplicates.

As the following table shows, the Emar tablet completely reverses the sequence of the incantations as they appear in the OB and canonical recensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E 729</th>
<th>UHF</th>
<th>UH III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) 1-9</td>
<td>gap after 119</td>
<td>165-177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 10-23</td>
<td>90-98</td>
<td>124-146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) 24-30</td>
<td>00-5</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences in the Emar manuscript break off differently from earlier and later sources. E 729 is not as close to the canonical series as the Middle Assyrian texts are. The full rubric en₂-e₂-ne-nu-ru is unusually placed at the end of the incantations throughout E 729 contrary to the OB and NA sources where, as expected, the rubric is found at the beginning of each incantation.

It is clear that the OB tablet, which stems from Nippur, and the NA sources are close to each other. On the contrary, the Emar tablet depends on a different textual tradition. The unorthographic writings have an inconsistent nature but it is impossible to understand to what extent they are due to the Emar copyist.

6.2.7 Udug-ḫul Tablet IV – E 790

E 790 is a tiny fragment from the left edge of its tablet preserving on one side five broken lines belonging to Tablet IV of the series Udug-ḫul. The other side is broken away. The OB recension is only preserved on a manuscript probably from Sippar BM 78185 (H).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E 790</th>
<th>UHF</th>
<th>UH IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gidim kur-ta ‘e₂-da’ ḫ[e₂]-me-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[x] edin […]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>li₂-en-na ki-‘nu₂-tuku ḫ[e₂]-me-en’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[ki]-sikil […]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>‘ki-sikil’ šu ‘nu-du₂-a ḫ[e₂]-me-en’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1748 See § 2.1.6.1.
UH IV 133  guruš a₂ nu-la₂-e ḫe₂-me-en

E 790 5 [lu₂] edin-na […]
UHF 315  lu₂ edin-na 'šub-ba-de₂, ḫe₂-me-en
UH IV 134  lu₂ edin-na šub-ba ḫe₂-me-en

The Emar text adds -ḫul in line 1. Line 2 cannot be harmonized with the extant manuscripts but it may contain a variant or refer to UHF 316 = UH IV: 135:

UHF 315  lu₂ edin-na 'ba-ug₅-ga ḫe₂-me-en
UH IV 135  lu₂ edin-na ba-ug₅-ga ḫe₂-me-en

It is clear that E 790 diverges on some points from the extant earlier and later sources.

6.2.8 Tsukimoto Incantation - E 730

One of the most beautiful manuscripts from Emar is a single-column tablet almost completely preserved found during illegal excavations and now housed in a private collection in Japan. This tablet published by Tsukimoto (1999) contains a collection of medical prescriptions and incantations divided into three sections according to the kind of sickness: fever (ll. 1-35), leprosy (ll. 37-93) and urinary tract disease.¹⁷⁵⁰ Each treatment is separated by horizontal rulings and the first two sections are set off by double rulings inscribed with the BAD sign. The tablet bears the scribe’s name, Madi-Dagan son of Abī-kapi,¹⁷⁵¹ who is the author of another incantation published by Arnaud.¹⁷⁵² As pointed out by Y. Cohen¹⁷⁵³ these two tablets share the same sign shapes which differ from those typical of Emar, both Syrian and Syro-Hittite, but are reminiscent of the Assyro-Mitannian tablets discovered at Ḫattuša. Cohen regards the Assyro-Mitannian features as the result of external influence, due to the process of transmission of the text, on a tablet belonging to the Syro-Hittite school.¹⁷⁵⁴ The use of ta- as 3fsg. claimed by Tsukimoto¹⁷⁵⁵ as a form typical of the Upper Euphrates is not only a trait of Emar¹⁷⁵⁶ and Western periphery Akkadian, it is also characteristic of the Assyrian dialect.¹⁷⁵⁷ These features seem to indicate that also for Emar the Assyro-Mitannian scribal school played a role in the transmission of Mesopotamian culture. The Tsukimoto tablet includes two Sumerian incantations.

a) Lines 25-26 contain the incantation en₂ ka-ra-ra-tum which is written in Sumerian with elements of an unidentified language,¹⁷⁵⁸ probably simply an abracadabra. This incantation is here used against fever¹⁷⁵⁹ but has also been found in different contexts¹⁷⁶⁰ and in the first millennium was included in

¹⁷⁵⁰ Tsukimoto 1999, 187.
¹⁷⁵¹ On this scribe see Cohen 2009, 189-194.
¹⁷⁵² Arnaud 1992, 225-227 = SMEA 30 27.
¹⁷⁵⁴ It is to note that the elements attributed by Cohen to the Syro-Hittite school are compatible with the Assyro-Mitannian texts: the shape of the sign LI and the use of a sign for aleph are also common to the Assyro-Mitannian school; for the signs LI and ‘A see Schwemer 1998, 19, 33.
¹⁷⁵⁵ Tsukimoto 1999, 188; Cohen 2009, 219, considers this form as 2msg.
¹⁷⁵⁷ GAG § 75h.
¹⁷⁵⁸ See Böck 2007, 19.
¹⁷⁵⁹ Finkel 1999a.
¹⁷⁶⁰ Böck 2007, 61-63.
the series \textit{Muššu’u} Tablet VIII/q.\textsuperscript{1761} Compared to late sources the Emar tablet presents a very different text. The incantation was probably also contained in a MA medical tablet, VAT 9587 = BAM II 194, even though it is not preserved on the manuscript. Indeed, both BAM II 194 II, 5-10 and the medical prescription preceding our incantation in the Tsukimoto text (ll. 21-24) mention the \textit{kara-ratum} incantation as a magical treatment.\textsuperscript{1762} Our text is followed by another incantation (ll. 27-35) which ends the first section and is parallel to § 7 of the magical-ritual tablet from Ugarit RS 17.155 = AuOrS 23 21, 71-78.\textsuperscript{1763}

b) The second section begins with the Sumerian incantation \textit{en₂ me-še₃ ba-da-dal} (ll. 37-40) which in the first millennium was incorporated into the series \textit{Muššu’u} Tablet IX/b\textsuperscript{1764} and \textit{Udug-ḫul} Tablet I (ll. 31-37).\textsuperscript{1765} Contrary to late sources the Emar text is written in phonetic orthography. Moreover, as shown by Finkel,\textsuperscript{1766} it only duplicates the first line and partially the second line of late sources, whereas the remaining lines completely diverge. The Emar incantation continues with a list of demons followed by a \textit{zi-pa₃} formula.

A possible duplicate of this incantation is E 730. This is a tiny fragment from the lower edge of its tablet preserving on one side four broken lines while the other side is broken away. According to Arnaud the fragment may duplicate E 729, 18-23, but if this holds true then E 730 would bear a very different version because some lines are omitted. Consequently, I am inclined to present E 730 as a duplicate of the \textit{Tsukimoto Incantation}, 37-40:

\begin{align*}
\text{Tsk} & \quad 37 & \text{me-še₃, pa-da-dal i-ki-du ba-da-an-za-aḫ me-te gub-ba i-ki-du nu-gub-ba} \\
\text{UH I} & \quad 31 & \text{en₂ me-še₃ ba-da-dal ki-še₃ ba-da-zah₃ me-še₃ gub-ba igenous₉ nu-gub} \\
\text{Tsk} & \quad 38 & \text{an-nu u₂-min₁, ki u₂-me-en bar-da i-ki u₂-me-en udug-ḫul a-la₂-ḫul} \\
\text{UH I} & \quad 32 & \text{an inim ki imin im im-gal imin iki im in im bar ta iki imin} \\
\text{E 730} & \quad 1 & \text{[.................]-x’te₇ x-x-na(\-\text{\(\ldots\)})an\{-\}} \text{\ldots} \\
\text{Tsk} & \quad 39 & \text{gidim-ḫul gal₂-la₂-ḫul diğir-ḫul maškim-ḫul eme-ḫul-ḫal₂} \\
\text{E 730} & \quad 2 & \text{[............. gedim-ḫulu] gal₂-la₂-ḫul diğir-ḫulu […]} \\
\text{Tsk} & \quad 40 & \text{bar-še₃ ḫe₂-en-da-gu-ub zi-an-na ḫe₂-pa₃ zi-ki-a ḫe₂-pa₃ en₂} \\
\text{E 730} & \quad 3 & \text{[........ bar-še₃ ḫe₂-en-d(java-gub zi-an-na ḫe₂-pa₃] en₂} \\
\text{E 730} & \quad 4 & \text{[zi-ki-a ḫe₂-pa₃ en₂ e₂-nu]-ru} \\
\end{align*}

E 730 is written in standard orthography as shown by the writing -gub (l. 3) for -gu-ub in the \textit{Tsukimoto Incantation} and the full rubric \textit{en₂ e₂-nu-ru}. As noted earlier in the discussion of KUB 4 24,\textsuperscript{1767} forerunners of \textit{Udug-ḫul} Tablets I-II are poorly documented. Due to the fragmentary nature of E 730 and the difficulty of harmonizing line 1 with the extant sources, its attribution to the same text as the \textit{Tsukimoto Incantation} is not assured. Indeed E 730 contains a very stereotyped passage common to several incantations. A further possibility, but in my opinion less probable, is that E 730 is parallel to a section of \textit{Udug-ḫul} Tablet VII. In the OB recension this passage is preserved by two manuscripts

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{1761} Böck 2007, 295-296: 181-182. Forerunners to Tablet VIII/a are attested at Emar in E 735 and E 736 (Böck 2007, 42) with a MB duplicate from Nippur, Ni 178 = BAM IV 398 (Böck 2007, 36).
\textsuperscript{1762} Böck 2007, 61-63.
\textsuperscript{1763} See § 7.3.7.
\textsuperscript{1764} Böck 2007, 20-21, 26.
\textsuperscript{1765} Böck 2007, 24.
\textsuperscript{1766} Finkel 1999a with bibliography.
\textsuperscript{1767} § 5.3.9.
\end{footnotes}
from Nippur which significantly diverge from one another. Only manuscript C (Ni 2676 + Ni 2997 + Ni 4017 + Ni 4018) is close to our text and also resembles the late recension.\textsuperscript{1768}

\begin{align*}
\text{UHF C 829} & \quad \text{[udug-ḫul a-la₂-ḫul gidim-ḫul gal₁₂-ḫul e₂-ta ḫa-ba-ra-e₃]} \\
\text{C 830} & \quad \text{[bar-ta-bi-še₃ ḫa-ba-ra-an-gub-ba]} \\
\text{C 831} & \quad \text{[u₂-b[₁₂-zu/zi ḫul-dub₂] zi-an-n[a ḫe₂-pa₃ zi-ki-a ḫe₂-pa₃]}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{UH VII} 126 & \quad \text{udug-ḫul a-la₂-ḫul gidim-ḫul gal₁₂-ḫul e₂-ta ḫa-ba-ra-e₃ bar-ta-bi-še ḫa-ba-ra-an-gub} \\
127 & \quad \text{u₂-b₁₂-zi ḫul-dub₂ zi-an-na ḫe₂-pa₃ zi-ki-a ḫe₂-pa₃}
\end{align*}

E 730 is quite different from \textit{Udug-ḫul} Tablet VII, therefore it is more likely that this fragment duplicates the \textit{Tsukimoto Incantation} and \textit{Udug-ḫul} Tablet I.

6.2.9 \textbf{Saĝ-geg Incantation – E 732}

\textbf{E 732} is a fragment from the upper left corner of its tablet preserving the opening lines of a monolingual \textit{Saĝ-geg} incantation on the obverse, whereas the reverse is broken away. The incipit recalls the beginning of the first tablet of the canonical series which was also incorporated in \textit{Muššuʾu} Tablet I, but the subsequent lines are different.\textsuperscript{1769} Forerunners of the series \textit{Sağ-geg} are also known from Ḫattuša and Ugarit.\textsuperscript{1770} The text in the Emar manuscript is monolingual Sumerian in standard orthography.

6.2.10 \textbf{Unidentified Udug-ḫul Incantation – E 731}

\textbf{E 731} is a fragment possibly from the lower edge of the reverse of its tablet, as a double horizontal ruling is drawn after the preserved lines and the space below is apparently uninscribed. It preserves five lines and the obverse is broken away. The text, written in standard orthography, is a \textit{Udug-ḫul} style incantation quoting Namma in addition to Enki and Asalluḫi. No such passage citing Namma seems to be attested in either the forerunners or the canonical recensions of the series \textit{Udug-ḫul}.

6.2.11 \textbf{E 733 – Msk 74107q}

\textbf{E 733} is a large fragment from the central part of its tablet preserving 18 lines of a Sumerian monolingual incantation written in standard orthography. The fragment \textbf{Msk 74107q} possibly belongs to the same tablet. The incantation quotes Inana\textsuperscript{1771} and has a mythological character. Unfortunately no earlier or later duplicates are known.

6.2.12 \textbf{E 740}

\textbf{E 740} is a fragment from the upper left edge of its tablet containing a collection of monolingual incantations written in standard orthography. The obverse preserves three incantations separated by horizontal rulings, whereas the reverse only preserves a few signs on the left-end corner. Unfor-

\textsuperscript{1768} It is worth noting that the Emar manuscript resembles the OB version that entered the canonical series.
\textsuperscript{1769} See Rutz 2013, 265.
\textsuperscript{1770} §§ 5.1.5, 7.3.7.
\textsuperscript{1771} Note the presence of the Emesal form mu-gib (l. 8).
tunately no earlier or later duplicates can be identified. The incantations mention Enki and An and two unidentified temples.  

6.2.13 E 743

E 743 is a fragment from the upper edge of its tablet preserving three broken lines on the obverse and a few signs on the reverse. The text on the obverse is in monolingual Sumerian in standard orthography and contains the injunction to the demons: [...-ḫu]-giatan-har-eš2 ḫe₂-en-da-[gub] (Obv. 3).

6.2.14 E 744

Two fragments of monolingual incantations in standard orthography are listed under E 744: Ms 74107t and Ms 7499b. Ms 74107t is a tiny fragment from the upper edge of its tablet that only preserves [d]u₁₁-ga das₂-hi. Ms 7499b is another tiny fragment that only preserves four broken lines.

6.2.15 E 745

E 745 is a fragment from the lower right corner of its tablet preserving six lines on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. Although the fragment is published as a magical text, one may note that it contains abbreviated verbal forms, ḫe₂ (ll. 11-12), which are more common in literary texts than in incantations. The text is monolingual Sumerian in standard orthography.

6.2.16 E 751 - E 752 - E 746

E 751 is a tiny fragment preserving six broken lines on one side whereas the other is broken away. This fragment seems to contain the instruction section of an incantation. It is interesting to note that the modal prefix in the verbal form u-me-ni-[...] is written with the sign u, as is typical of late texts, instead of the OB u₃. The fragment, however, contains a monolingual Sumerian text in standard orthography.

Possibly belonging to the same tablet are two other fragments, Ms 74107n listed under E 746 and E 752. The first is a fragment from the central part of its tablet preserving eight broken lines while the second one is a tiny fragment from the left edge of a tablet or a column. All three pieces contain the word ‘purple’ written in the late form siki₂-ḫe₂-me-da (E 751, 5; E 752, 3; Ms 74107n, 3). Moreover, E 752 presents the form šu u-me-[...] (ll. 2).

Another fragment listed under E 746 is Ms 74107m which apparently does not share any words with the other pieces.

6.2.17 E 756

According to the hand-copy, the vertical ruling at the left edge of the fragment may indicate that E 756 originally belonged to a multicolumn tablet of which it represents the right column. The fragment preserves six lines set off by horizontal rulings on the obverse and contains a monolingual incantation in standard orthography. The reverse is broken away. The preserved section

1772 e₂-geš₃-na₃-u (l. 11) and e₂-ge₉-sha₂-er-da-ba (l. 12) are not attested in George 1993.
1773 Note that both E 751 and E 752 write siki₂-ḫe₂-me-da with the sign DA resembling U₅ or TA.
contains the instructions for performing the ritual. As with E 751 the modal prefix u₃ is spelled as u in u-me-ni-.

6.2.18 Bilingual Incantations – E 757 - E 763 - E 764

E 757 is a fragment from the left edge of its tablet preserving thirteen lines on one side whereas the other side is broken away. E 763 is a fragment from the upper right corner of its tablet preserving ten broken lines on one side, whereas the other side is broken away. E 764 is a tiny fragment preserving five broken lines on one side only. These fragments contain bilingual incantations in interlinear format with couplets separated by horizontal rulings. Judging from the hand-copy of E 757 the tablet may extend to the left with an additional column. Taking into consideration that these fragments are the only manuscripts from Emar preserving bilingual incantations and show the same mise en tablet, they probably belong to the same tablet.

6.2.19 Phonetic Sumerian Incantations – E 734 - Msk 74148f

E 734 is a fragment from the right edge of its tablet preserving eleven lines on the obverse whereas the reverse is broken away. The fragment contains an incantation in phonetic writing quoting Enki. Lines are inscribed in paragraphs set off by horizontal rulings. The fragment Msk 74148f possibly belongs to the same tablet.

6.2.20 Fragments of Incantations

Several fragments contain monolingual Sumerian incantations in standard orthography: E 747, according to Civil, is not an incantation but possibly belongs to The Fowler; E 748; E 749 mentions An; E 753 ends with a zi-pa₃ formula and mentions Lamaštu (l. 7); E 759; E 761; E 762; Msk 74122ar.

6.2.21 Unidentified Text – E 777

E 777 is a fragment from the central part of its tablet preserving six fragmentary lines from an unidentified Sumerian text, possibly an incantation. The lines are set off by horizontal rulings and no Akkadian translation is preserved but it is not excluded that it was arranged in a parallel column. The text is written in standard orthography.

1774 See fn. 1709.
1775 Note that the nature of this fragment is uncertain; Rutz 2013, 520, classifies it as a lexical list.
1776 Rutz 2013, 541 lists this fragment as either an incantation or a lexical text.
1777 See en₂ (l. 5).