

# Duplication in Early Akkadian Literature. The Duplicates of the Papulegara Hymns, Ištar Louvre, and the Dialogue Between Father and Son

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**Abstract.** In this study, we present newly discovered duplicates of three significant Old Babylonian literary texts. 1) An unpublished Louvre duplicate (AO 6161) of the Papulegara hymns collection, which is currently housed at the British Museum. 2) A recently published Geneva duplicate (MAH 16069 = Cavigneaux and Clevestine 2020) of the large hymnic ritual commonly referred to as Ištar-Louvre. 3) The Yale prism (YBC 2394 = Foster and George 2020), which contains an almost complete version of the Dialogue Between Father and Son. Previously, only a small fragment of this text was known. The paper provides a philological commentary and a thorough discussion of these duplicates, considering the relatively uncommon phenomenon of duplicate literary texts during the Old Babylonian period.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Duplication in Old and Middle Babylonian Literature

Duplication, the process by which different texts are more or less identical witnesses of one composition, is uncommon in Old Babylonian (OB) literature. The SEAL website<sup>1</sup> lists more than 400 distinct OB literary compositions, of which a mere 18 have duplicates<sup>2</sup>:

- 8 Incantations: SEAL no. 7181, 7191, 7210, 7212, 7104, 7116, 7117, 7118.
- 6 Hymns and Prayers: SEAL no. 7496 (Ininšagura), 26977 (divination prayer), 1815 (Mama), 7491 (Gods of the Night), 7511 (Papulegara, see the edition below in section 2), 7498 (Ištar Louvre, see our remarks section 3, below).
- 1 lamentation: SEAL no. 1814 (Marduk).
- 2 Wisdom Compositions: SEAL no. 1762 (proverb), 1738 (Dialogue Between Father and Son, see our remarks below in section 4).
- 1 Epic: SEAL no. 1515–1519 (Atrahasis).

<sup>1</sup> <https://seal.huji.ac.il>

<sup>2</sup> The following list does not include Akkadian translations of Sumerian compositions.

Thus, although Akkadian duplicates exist across literary genres from the OB period, duplication occurs less frequently than it does in Sumerian literature. The conventional explanation is that the literature of the dying Sumerian language was taught in school<sup>3</sup> and preserved through copying, whereas Akkadian literature was still living and productive and therefore less copied. But one must remember that the small number of extant duplicated texts may reflect the paucity of the OB source material in general (as reflected in SEAL)<sup>4</sup>. If we had a representative corpus from the city of Babylon in that period, things might look very different.

In the MB period, duplication intensifies, as we have duplicates from multiple sites (Emar, Ugarit, Hattusa and more). In the first-millennium libraries of Assyria and Babylonia (Assur, Nineveh, Ḥuzirīna, Sippar, Babylon, Uruk, to name only the better-known sites), duplicates are common. These later periods are beyond the scope of this paper, and we leave it to others to analyze them.

## 1.2. General Observations on Papulegara, Iṣtar Louvre, and the Dialogue Between Father and Son

Three cases of duplicated OB literary texts form the focus of this article:

- A collection of hymns to the god Papulegara, re-edited by Streck–Wasserman (2008), which is now partly duplicated by the Louvre tablet AO 6161 (see below, section 2)<sup>5</sup>. The collection of hymns on a three-column tablet (A) is paleographically and grammatically older than the single hymn on a one-column tablet (B).
- The large hymn and ritual known as Iṣtar Louvre AO 6035, re-edited by Streck–Wasserman (2018), for which a new duplicate MAH 16069 was found and published by Cavigneaux–Clevenstine (2020) (section 3). Both texts are three-column tablets, and the Louvre text (A) seems older than the Geneva text (B).
- The long Dialogue Between Father and Son, a fragment of which was published by Streck–Wasserman 2014, recently completed with the publication of the Yale prism by Foster–George (2020) (section 4). The amount of parallel text is insufficient to determine philologically which of the two is older.

<sup>3</sup> Waetzoldt–Cavigneaux (2009, 303f. § 11.2.2).

<sup>4</sup> Only two OB compositions from Babylon are listed in SEAL: no. 1617, a love dialogue, and no. 7523, a hymn on a statue of Hammurapi.

<sup>5</sup> We would like to extend our gratitude to the staff of the Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, especially Ariane Thomas and Mahmoud Alassi, for their help and for granting us permission to publish AO 6161. We thank E. Jiménez for calling our attention to this text, which was already listed in the SEAL catalogue, as a duplicate of Papulegara.

## 2. The Ninurta/Papulegara Hymn AO 6161 (SEAL no. 7512)

### 2.1. Contents

Text B (the Louvre tablet edited here) constitutes another witness of the first Papulegara-hymn of text A (the British Museum text), i.e., the *pārum*. It does not include the next two hymns (the two *šir tanittim*) of text A. The separation lines after B 11 and B r. 13 refer to different sections of this first hymn, whereas the double separation line at the end of the reverse marks the end of the hymn. In other words, text B presents missing parts of text A, proving that *attama* “you” in A iii 9 is the beginning of the second hymn of the British Museum text.

An important new datum is that where Text A has the god Papulegara, text B instead has the god Ninurta. This corroborates the previously suspected equation of the two gods<sup>6</sup>. Ninurta is characterized as Enlil’s first-born son (l. 1), throne-bearer of the gods (l. r. 20), and Enlil’s advisor (l. r. 23). As expected, he is also described as a warrior god (ll. 2–8, r. 4–10), and as the superior god among his brothers (ll. r. 13), who rules the world for his father (l. r. 21).

After the separation line, ll. r. 14–26 allude to the astral aspect of Ninurta as Sirius<sup>7</sup>. Sirius joins Šamaš in his chamber at night (r. ll. 24–26) in the nether-world (ll. r. 14, 15, 18, 19, 24), when the other gods are sleeping (l. r. 26). Astronomically, this means that Sirius accompanies the Sun, so that they rise and set together. This happens each year during the one and a half months before the heliacal rising of Sirius, which served as a sign for the summer solstice in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BCE. According to MUL.APIN II Gap A 12–13<sup>8</sup>, the summer solstice is associated with the rising of Sirius in the middle of months IV or V<sup>9</sup>. Hence, Ninurta-Sirius is in the chamber of the Sun in month III of the Babylonian calendar (plus fractions of the previous and subsequent months), which is the period of its invisibility<sup>10</sup>.

### 2.2. Variants Between Texts A and B

Text B	Text A
<i>bu-uk-ri</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>En-líl</i> 1	<i>bu-ku-ur</i> <sup>d</sup> <i>En-líl</i> i 4
<i>da-na-&lt;an-&gt;ka</i> 1	<i>da-na-an-ka</i> i 4

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Krebernik (2004); Streck–Wasserman (2008, 335f.).

<sup>7</sup> For this aspect, cf. Streck (2001, 517f.); Mayer (1990, 466–474).

<sup>8</sup> Hunger–Pingree (1989, 90).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hunger (2011, 155 § 4.4.2).

<sup>10</sup> We thank Susanne M. Hoffmann (Jena) for sharing with us her astronomical knowledge for understanding these lines.

Text B	Text A
<i>nu-za-am-mi-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup></i> 1	<i>nu-za-am-me-e-er</i> i 4
<sup>r</sup> <i>mu-tá<sup>1</sup>-ri-id</i> 2	<i>mu-ta-ar-ri-ir</i> i 6
<i>da-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ni</i> 2	<i>da-aš-ni</i> i 7
<i>qar-du</i> 3	<i>qar-du-um</i> i 8
<i>ta-lim</i> 3	<i>ta-a-lim</i> i 8
<sup>d</sup> <i>E-nu-<sup>r</sup>na-ki<sup>1</sup></i> 3	<i>E-nu<sup>!</sup>-na-ki</i> i 8
DINGIR <sup>meš</sup> 3	<i>i-li</i> i 8
<i>a-ḫi-ka</i> 3	<i>aḫ-ḫi-i-k[a*]</i> i 8
<sup>r</sup> <i>im<sup>1</sup>-hu-li</i> 4	<i>um-ḫu-ul-li</i> i 9
<sup>r</sup> <i>er<sup>1</sup>-bu-e</i> 4	<i>er-bé*-e-[em*]</i> i 9
<sup>r</sup> <i>a-bu-bi<sup>1</sup></i> 4	<i>a-bu-bi-im</i> i 10
<i>aš-ši</i> 4	<i>ḫa-a[š*-š<sup>i</sup>*]</i> i 10
<i>mu-uš-te-de-ek-ki</i> 5	<i>mu-uš-te-ed-gi</i> i 11
<i>ap-[lu]-<sup>r</sup>uḫ<sup>1</sup>-&lt;ti&gt;-im</i> 5	<i>ap-lu-uḫ-tim</i> i 11
< <i>mu-&gt;<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ib a-nu-un-<sup>r</sup>{NU}-ti</i> 5	<sup>r</sup> <i>e-pí<sup>1</sup>-[iš]tu-q[ú-um/n-tim]</i> i 11–12
<sup>r</sup> <i>mu-uš-ta-ki-in<sup>1</sup></i> 6	<i>mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-in</i> i 13
<i>e?-<sup>r</sup>pí<sup>1</sup>?-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> tu-qú-um<sup>1</sup>-ti-im</i> 6	[...] <i>mu-ša[-li]</i> i 13–14
<i>ši-mi ul?-l[i]</i> 7	[...] <i>ge[ri]</i> i 16
<i>t]a-ab-ni-it</i> r. 22	<i>ta-am-li-it</i> iii 1
AN r. 22	<i>A-nim</i> iii 2
<sup>r</sup> <i>ip-la-aḫ<sup>1</sup>-ka</i> r. 24	<i>ip-la-ak-ka</i> iii 3
<i>te-er-ru-ub</i> r. 24	<i>te-e-er-[ru-ub]</i> iii 4
<i>ul-la</i> r. 25	<i>ul-lu-um</i> iii 5
<i>ta-aK-ma-am!</i> (text: LUL?) r. 26	<i>ta-aK-ma-am</i> iii 7
<i>in!</i> (text: NI) DU.GAN! <i>(text: UG)</i> r. 26	<i>un* D[U*?- ...]</i> iii 7

### 2.3. Date of Duplicate B

As opposed to text A, which is unequivocally OB, text B exhibits some features and variants that suggest a later date, perhaps late OB or MB.<sup>11</sup> Epigraphically, the text seems to us later than classical OB, but it does not show the

<sup>11</sup> As opposed to CDLI P492408 (accessed June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2022), which dates the text to the Neo-Babylonian period.

typical diagnostic features of Sealand literary texts.<sup>12</sup> Orthographically, the text shows the following late OB or even MB features:

- In B 4, *ašši* replaces *hašši* of text A.
- In B r. 14 and B. r. 21, we find *KI-su* and *da-an-nu-ú-su* with *-su<sub>1</sub>*, an indication of a late OB or even later text.
- In B r. 25, the accusative *ulla* replaces the locative *ullūm*.
- Mimation is not systematically used in the text. Forms without mimation include: *hi-ša-ú* B 2 (but note that the following word *muṭarrid* starts with *m*), *qar-du* B 3, *a-bu-bi aš-ši* B 4, *a-nu-un-<sup>{NU}</sup>-ti* B 5, *ma-ti* B r. 17, *er-še-tu* B r. 24, *ri-ša-ti* B r. 25. Forms with mimation are: *ap-[lu]<sup>-r</sup>uḥ<sup>1</sup>-<ti>-im* B 5, *tu-qú-um<sup>1</sup>-ti-im* B 6, *ʿa<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-na-ʿan<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-ti-im* B 8, *ša-ka-ʿni<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-ʿim<sup>1</sup>* B 9, *e-eṭ-ru-t[im]* B r. 10, *ka-ab-ta-tum* B r. 11.
- Finally, the use of logograms is more prominent in B: *DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>* B 3, r. 18; *ŠÀ* B 10; *AN* B r. 8, 22, 26; *KI* B r. 14; *KUR* B r. 20; *DU.GAN* B r. 24, 26; <sup>d</sup>UTU B r. 25. In A, there are virtually only logograms for termini technici and divine names: *ŠIR* (i 2, 3; iv 4; vi 33, 35, 37), *AL.TI* (iv 3), *MUŠ.ḪUŠ* (v 11), <sup>d</sup>GIBIL<sub>6</sub> (v 19) and <sup>d</sup>IŠTARAN (vi 21).

## 2.4. Archaic and Literary Forms

Text B displays several archaic and literary forms:

- Shortened suffixed possessive pronouns: [... *r*] *a-aš-nu* B r. 7, *še-er-re-e-ta-aš-nu* B r. 21.
- Archaic construct states in *-i*: *bu-uk-ri* B 1, *be-lu-ti* B r. 13, *a-aš-ri* B. r. 18.
- Construct state singular feminine forms: *mi-il-ka-at* B r. 22 (instead of more common *milikti*).
- *ir-ri-ik-si ši ma-ti* B r. 17: periphrastic genitive construction with an inflected determinative pronoun.
- Shortened preposition *in(a)* assimilated to the following consonant: *ir-ri-ik-si* B r. 17.
- Terminative case followed by suffixed possessive pronoun: *ri-ig-mi-iš-ka* B r. 24.
- No vowel contraction in II-*infirmae* verb: *ú-ki-a-al* B r. 21. See also the inverse spelling *tu-uš-EN-a-al* for *tušnī<sup>1</sup>al* B r. 26.
- The text shows some “broken spellings”: *da-ʿiš<sup>1</sup>-ni* B 2, *ʿtu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ma-ra-ʿuš<sup>1</sup>* B r. 5, *te-am-si ka-uk-ki-ka* B r. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Gabbay–Boivin (2018, 24).

## 2.5. List of Mistakes

- Omission of signs: *da-na-<an->ka* B 1. *ap-[lu]-<sup>r</sup>uh<sup>1</sup>-<ti>-im* B 5. *ba-al-ṭú-<ti>* B r. 18.
- Dittography: *a-nu-un-<sup>{</sup>NU<sup>}</sup>-ti* B 5.
- Inverse spelling: *tu-uš-EN-a-al* for *tušnī'al* B r. 26.
- Confusion of similar signs: LUL(?) and UG instead of AM and GAN B r. 26.
- Hearing mistakes: *muṭarrid dašnī* B 2 instead of *mūtarrir dašni* A i 6; *apluḫtim rīb* B 5 instead of *apluḫti murīb*; *tabnīt* B r. 22 instead of *tamlīt* A iii 1.

We may conclude that Text B post-dates Text A and was produced by dictation, which explains the preference for logograms and the mistakes stemming from mishearing.

## 2.6. Edition

A = BM 139964 (Streck–Wasserman (2008)); corrections of our old edition are marked with an asterisk “\*”). For photos and copies see figs. 6–19, below.  
B = AO 6161. The translation follows text B.

Obv.

B 1 *a-ša-re-ed bu-uk-ri* <sup>d</sup>*En-líl da-na-<an->ka i nu-za-am-mi-<sup>r</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>*

A i 4 *a-ša-re-ed bu-ku-ur* <sup>d</sup>*En-líl da-na-an-ka*

A i 5 *i nu-za-am-me-e-er*

Leader, first-born of Enlil, let us sing your might!

B 2 <sup>d</sup>*Nin-urta ḫi-ša-ú* <sup>r</sup>*mu-ṭá<sup>1</sup>-ri-<sup>r</sup>id<sup>1</sup> da-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-ni*

A i 6 <sup>d</sup>*Pap-ul-e-gar-ra ḫi-ša-ú mu-ta-ar-ri-ir*

A i 7 *da-aš-ni*

Ninurta, the noble, who chases away the powerful.

B 3 *qar-du ta-lim* <sup>d</sup>*E-nu-na-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> [DINGIR]<sup>rmeš<sup>1</sup></sup> a-hi-ka*

A i 8 *qar-du-um ta-a-lim E-nu<sup>1</sup>-na-ki i-li aḫ-ḫi-i-k[a\*]*

Valiant, the beloved brother of the Enunakū, your divine brothers.

B 4 *ra-ki-ib* <sup>r</sup>*im<sup>1</sup>-hu-li* <sup>r</sup>*er<sup>1</sup>-bu-e* <sup>r</sup>*a-bu-bi<sup>1</sup> aš-ši*

A i 9 *ra-ki-ib\* um-ḫu-ul-li er-bé\*-e-[em\*]*

A i 10 *a-bu-bi-im ḫa-a[š\*-š<sup>r</sup>\*]*

Who rides the four evil winds, the overwhelming flood.

B 5 *mu-uš-te-de-ek-ki ap-[lu]-<sup>r</sup>uh<sup>1</sup>-<ti>-im <mu-><sup>r</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ib a-nu-un-<sup>{</sup>NU<sup>}</sup>-ti*

A i 11 *mu-uš-te-ed-gi ap-lu-uh-tim* <sup>r</sup>*e-pí<sup>r</sup>-[iš]*

- A i 12 *tu-q[ú-um/n-tim]*  
Who constantly stirs up the armor-bearing, who waves battle,
- B 6 *ṛmu-uš-ṛta-ki<sup>1</sup>-[in]* ṛx x x<sup>1</sup> [e?-ṛpī]-ṛiš<sup>1</sup> *tu-qú-um<sup>1</sup>-ti-im*  
A i 13 *mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-in* [...] A i 14 *mu-ša[-li]*  
Who constantly establishes ..., [who wage]s(?) war,
- B 7 *ṛmu-uš-ta-ak-ki<sup>1</sup>-iš<sup>1</sup> tu?-úr?<sup>1</sup>-ṛx<sup>1</sup>-x?* [x x x x] *ši-mi ul?-[i?]*  
A i 15 *mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-i[š...]*  
A i 16 *ge[ri]*  
Who constantly slays ...
- B 8 *ṛku?<sup>1</sup>-un ma ṛx<sup>1</sup> [x] ṛx<sup>1</sup>-ṛtu?<sup>1</sup>/ DUB-ṛpī<sup>1</sup> [x x x x] ṛa-na-an-ta?<sup>1</sup>*  
Firm is(?) ... tablet ... battle.
- B 9 *ṛbe?<sup>1</sup>-lu?-tu-u[m?] ṛe?-li? ṛ<sup>1</sup> x x x ṛi?<sup>1</sup>/a?-na?<sup>1</sup> ša-ka-ṛnim<sup>1</sup>*  
Lordship ... in order to/when establish(ing) ...
- B10 [x x] EN-[x] ṛx-bi?-x-x<sup>1</sup> šà-šú-nu mu-ṛx<sup>1</sup>-[x]-ki?-x  
... their heart ...
- B 11 *ṛx x<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] pa-ri-sà ṛx<sup>1</sup> [x] AG? ṛx x x x x?<sup>1</sup>*  
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- B 12 *ṛx x<sup>1</sup> [x x] [wa?]-at?-ru<sup>d</sup>[x x x x]-x-da ṛx x x<sup>1</sup> [za-]qì-ki-iš*  
... like [w]ind.
- B 13 [x x x] *ad ša ṛx<sup>1</sup>? [x x x] ṛx x x x<sup>1</sup> ti*  
B 14 [x] ṛx x x<sup>1</sup> *ba ṛx x<sup>1</sup> [...] ba-aš [...] ṛx x<sup>1</sup>*  
B 15 [x] ṛx x [x x] *iz-zi x x x<sup>1</sup> [x x x] ṛx<sup>1</sup>*  
B 16 [...] *pa-da [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup>*  
B 17 [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...] *ba?*  
B 18 [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...] ṛx<sup>1</sup>  
(ca. 6 lines broken)
- Rev.
- B r. 1 [x] ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
B r. 2 *ṛmu<sup>1</sup>-un[-...]*  
B r. 3 *ṛmu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ṛni[-...]*  
B r. 4 *ṛta<sup>1</sup>-aš-gi-i[š?] ...*  
You (Ninurta) have slai[n ...]
- B r. 5 *ṛtu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ma-ra-ṛuṣ<sup>1</sup> ḥa-a[r-ḥa-ar-ri?] ...] ṛx<sup>1</sup>*  
You (Ninurta) trouble the ev[il ones(?) ...]

- B r. 6 'iš?¹-ri-šu še-ri-iš-š[u-nu ...] -bu-<sup>r</sup>x¹  
[You(?) ...] ten times(?) against th[em ...]
- B r. 7 tu-uš-ba-al-ki-it i[b ... r]a-aš-nu  
You turned over ... their ...
- B r. 8 te-am-si ka-uk-ki-ka ta-[... ana ma?-ah?]-ri AN <sup>d</sup>En-líl  
You washed your weapons, you [... befo]re(?) An (and) Enlil.
- B r. 9 at-ta-ma ta-aš-ku-un [... ah]-hi-ka  
It is you who placed [... among(?)] your [br]others.
- B r. 10 te-ep-ti e-eṭ-ru-t[im ...] -ti  
You released the captives ...
- B r. 11 ù ka-ab-ta-tum t[e? ... ta?-r]i-iš  
and the noble (goddess?) .[... rej]oiced(?).
- B r. 12 ih-du-ma Nu-na-am-m[i-ir ...] ku  
Nunamm[ir] delighted in ...:
- B r. 13 be-lu-ti ah-ḫi-ka <sup>d</sup>[E-nu-na-ki ... i?-na? qá?-ti?]-ka  
“The lordship over your brothers, the [Enunakū ... in(?) ] your [hands(?)].”
- B r. 14 iš-ir KI-su na-ši-r[u ... ]-is  
He *roamed*(?) through his netherworld, the protect[or ...].
- B r. 15 še<sub>20</sub>-ed-di a-ra-al-l[e-e ... ú?-sa?]-ar-ra  
The demon of the underworld [... *whir*]s(?) *around*(?).
- B r. 16 im-ta-al-li-ik iš-ti [...] -ta  
He (Enlil?) consults with ...
- B r. 17 ir-ri-ik-si ši ma-ti s[i? ... ] Ku-bi  
Through the bond of the land ... of Kūbu.
- B r. 18 a-aš-ri la ba-al-ṭú-<ti> DINGIR<sup>me</sup>[<sup>s</sup> ... a]t?-ta  
At the place of the non-living, the gods ... y]ou(?).
- B r. 19 <sup>d</sup>Ki-gu-ul-la i-na er-še-t[i ...] x šu-um-ka  
Kigulla in the netherworld [...] your (Enlil’s) name.
- B r. 20 ù bi-in-ka ku-uz-za-la-šu-nu 'ki/di ḫu? x¹ ki-ma KUR  
and your (Enlil’s) son (Ninurta), their (the gods’) throne-bearer, is ...  
like a mountain.



- B r. 21 *da-an-nu-ú-su Nu-na-<sup>r</sup>mir<sup>1</sup> ú-ki-a-al še-er-re-e-ta-aš-nu*  
By his (Ninurta) strength, Nunammir holds their (the people's) leading rope.
- B r. 22 <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[na t]a-ab-ni-it Iš!(text: UŠ)-ta-ar mi-il-ka-at AN ù <sup>d</sup>Da-gan
- B r. 23 <sup>r</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[am-q]í-iš tu-ub-ba-al
- A iii 1–2 *i-na ta-am-li-it [Ištar mi-il-ka-at] A-nim ù <sup>d</sup>D[a\*-gan ...]*  
Instead of Ištar, you (Ninurta) properly carry advice for An and Dagan.
- B r. 24 <sup>r</sup>ip-la-aḥ<sup>1</sup>-ka ri-ig-mi-iš-ka er-še-tu te-er-ru-ub DU.GAN-ma
- A iii 3 *ip-la-ak-ka ri-i[g-mi-iš-ka eršetu]*
- A iii 4 *te-e-er-[ru-ub ... ]*  
At your (Ninurta) cry, the earth feared you, while you are entering the chamber.
- B r. 25 *ul-la i-na ri-ša-ti tu-uq-qà-a <sup>d</sup>UTU ù at-ta*
- A iii 5 *ul-lu-um i-na r[i-ša-ti ...]*  
There, you and Šamaš are waiting in happiness.
- B r. 26 *ta-aK-ma-am!(text: LUL?) in!(text: NĪ) DU.GAN!(text: UG) En-ki*  
*An-ša-ar AN <sup>d</sup>Da-gan tu-uš-ni!(text: EN)-a-al*
- A iii 7 *ta-aK-ma-am un\* D[U\*?-...]*
- A iii 8 <sup>d</sup>En-ki An\*-ša\*-[ar [...]]  
You nodded(?) (and) in(!?) the chamber(!?) you make rest Enki, Anšar, An and Dagan.

## 2.7. Commentary on Individual Lines

B 1 // A i 4–5: *bukri Enlil* (B) instead of *bukur Enlil* (A)—a sandhi spelling.

B 2 // A i 6–7: Text B has *Ninurta* instead of *Papulegara* in Text A, confirming the earlier identification of Papulegara with Ninurta<sup>13</sup>.—We take *mūṭarrid* in B instead of *mūtarrir* in A as a variant resulting from dictation.

B 4 // A i 9–10: The variant *umḥullī* in A, instead of *imḥullī* in B is, pace AHw. 376, not a sandhi spelling after *u* but a progressive vowel assimilation *i > u* as, e.g., in *e/unūtu*.—Note the form *erbu'e* in B, instead of *erbē[m]* in A, for which we do not know any parallel.—*aš-ši* in B with parallel *ḥa-a[š!-šī]* in A derives from *ašāšum* with var. *ḥašāšum*<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Krebernik (2004, 329).

<sup>14</sup> AHw. 79f. *ašāšu* IV “umfassen, (um)fangen”, AHw. 333 *ḥašāšu* I “schwellen, sich freuen”, CAD A/1, 424f. *ašāšu* B “to catch (in a net), to engulf, overwhelm”. See especially AHw. 8 *abūbu* 3 and AHw. 79f. *ašāšu* IV 1 for *abūbu āšišu*.

B 5 // A i 11–12: *muštedekki* in B is ŠDtn of *dekûm*. A has *muštedgî* <*muštedkî*, a Štn of *dekûm*.—Text B has <*mu*>*rîb anunti*, while A has *ēpi[š] tuq[umtim]*<sup>15</sup>.

B 5–B 7: n these lines, both texts maintain the topic of warfare but use different wording.

B 6 // A i 13–14: For *lîtam šakānum* s. CAD L 221 *lîtu* A. The spelling *li-iḫ-ti* preserves the glottal stop /ʔ/ and stands for *liʔti*.

B 10: If our restoration is correct, this line mentions Ninurta, Enlil’s son.

B r. 4: The hymn switches here from a 3<sup>rd</sup> person descriptive voice to a glorifying address of Ninurta in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

B r. 8: Washing the weapons signifies victory, and is a well-known ritual attested in royal inscriptions<sup>16</sup>. Here, as we understand it, it is not the king, but rather the god Ninurta himself, who performs the ritual.

B r. 11: Ištar might be the subject. By the end of the line, our restoration assumes *riāšum*, in parallel to *ḥadûm* in the next line.

B. r. 12: For Enlil’s epithet Nunamnir see Cavigneaux–Krebernik (2001, 614).

B r. 14: The reading of the signs seems sound, but the entire meaning of the line remains questionable. In this new section of the text, marked by the separation line, the hymn speaks of the netherworld, but how Ninurta is connected to it remains unclear.—*išʔir* derives from *šeʔēru*<sup>17</sup>.—KI is spelled logographically, whereas in l. B r. 19 it is spelled syllabically.

B r. 17: Another possibility is to read *rikis šimāti*, but this construction, to the best of our knowledge, does not exist.—For the netherworld demon Kūbu, see Lambert 1980–83.

B r. 19: According to Lambert (1976–80), there are three deities named *Ki-gu/gul-la*. The one here is a chthonic god.

B. r. 20: According to Atr. I 9, Ninurta is the “throne-bearer” of the gods. The title is not to be taken literally, see Renger 1972–75, 446. In Mari, the *guzalû* supervises agricultural work (Joannès 1984, 111), which fits one of Ninurta’s domains, namely agriculture.

B r. 21: Note the two plene spellings *da-an-nu-ú-su* and *še-er-re-e-ta-aš-nu*, which could reflect accent or intonation.

B r. 22–23: The lines address Ninurta. Texts A and B show variants. Our translation follows text A. *ina tamlīt* means “instead of”<sup>18</sup>, whereas *tabnūt* in text B is taken as a misunderstanding on the part of the ancient scribe.—In OB, the rare word *militum* is only found in text A ii 5, v 27<sup>19</sup>.—Like Ištar, the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. CAD A/2, 150 for *murîb anunte* in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Pappi (2016, 2f.).

<sup>17</sup> AHw. 1208 *šeʔēru* “herausreißen, zerstören(?)” and CAD Š/2, 259 “to whirl around(?)”.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. CAD T 142, 2 “replacement”.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. CAD M/2, 66.

belligerent Ninurta is able to give good advice<sup>20</sup>.—Note that Enlil in lines B 1 and r. 8 is replaced here, and in B r. 26, by Dagan, the supreme god of the middle Euphrates in the OB period<sup>21</sup>. Interestingly, Anum and Dagan together also appear in two other OB literary texts hosted in the Louvre, namely Anzu II 45 (SEAL no. 1512) and Anzu III 14 (SEAL no. 1514), both from Susa.

B r. 24, 26: DU.GAN is thus far unattested. We consider it to be a pseudo-Sumerogram for *ta/ukkannu* A “chamber”<sup>22</sup>. According to B r. 25, Šamaš and Ninurta are waiting in the DU.GAN, and in B r. 26, the DU.GAN is the place where the gods recline (cf. Erra IV 110, where *takkannu* is parallel to *uršu* “bedroom”). Elsewhere, the chamber in which the sun god sleeps at night is called *kummu*<sup>23</sup>.

B r. 26: The last line contains several mistakes. In two cases, we have an inverse syllabic spelling: NI for *in* and *tu-uš-EN-a-al* for *tušnī'al*. Furthermore, the scribe confused the signs AM and gan GAN with LUL(?) and UG, respectively<sup>24</sup>. It appears that this line posed a problem for the ancient scribe.

### 3. Ištar Louvre (AO 6035, SEAL 7498) and its Duplicate MAH 16069 (SEAL 26976)

In the following section, we present our comments and observations regarding MAH 16069, the newly discovered duplicate of Ištar Louvre, published by Cavigneaux–Clevenstine (2020).

#### 3.1. Dating of the Duplicates

For several reasons, text A (AO 6035) seems to be somewhat older than text B (MAH 16069):

- In some cases, text A has mimation where B has not: *ka-al-lu-tim* A i 44 // *ka-al-lu-ti* B 6; *zi-ik-rum* A i 45 // *zi-ik-ru* B 7; *te-ni-im* A i 52 // *te-né-e* B 14; *zi-ik-ri-im* A i 58 // *zi-ik-ri* B 20.
- In one place, Text A has a dual form where text B uses a plural: *uznān* A i 51 // *uznū* B 13.
- Text B replaces *etpēštim* A i 54 by *etpuštim* B 16, a post-OB form<sup>25</sup>.
- In one case, text A uses the syllabic value *sa<sub>6</sub>* A i 53, where B has *sa<sub>1</sub>* B 15<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> For Ištar as advisor see AHw. 595 *māliktu* and CAD M/1, 166 *malkatu* B.

<sup>21</sup> For this old syncretism of Enlil and Dagan see Feliu (2003, 296–298).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. CAD T 74; Sumerian *daggan* “sleeping chamber” Civil 2004, 18; ePSD2.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Heimpel (1986, 128f.).

<sup>24</sup> Note that an UG-sign appears just in the line above.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. AHw. 263 *etpušu*.

<sup>26</sup> On the syllabic value *sa<sub>6</sub>* in OB cf. Streck (2022, § 2.345b).

- In several instances, the scribe of Text B replaced words in Text A that apparently were not entirely understood; see our comments below on ll. A i 44, A i 48, and A i 49.
- The use of CVC signs in Text A vs. CV-VC spellings in Text B is inconclusive: *tu-gàr* A i 42 // [t]u?-*ga-ar* B 4; *ki-it-tum* A 43// [k]i-it-tu-um B 5. The same is true for the single instance of a Sumerogram in Text A versus syllabic spelling in Text B: <sup>gis</sup>GU.ZA A i 56 // *ku-us-si-i* B 18.

After careful analysis, we have reached the conclusion that Text A “... was either composed in the late OB or MB period”<sup>27</sup>. The data gathered above suggests an even younger date for this text, namely somewhere later in the MB period.

### 3.2. Excursus: The Signs SU and ZU in AO 6035 (Text A)

The reading *na-an-su-ka* in A i 51 by Cavigneaux–Clevenstine<sup>28</sup>, instead of the correct *na-an-sú-ka*, along with their table of the characteristic sign forms on page 63, prompts the need for a systematic review of the sign forms ZU and SU in Text A (AO 6035). As already observed by Groneberg (1997, 58), both ZU and SU are written with two small horizontal wedges. This fact led her to posit *zu<sub>x</sub>* where *zu* was expected. But does this mean that Ištar Louvre and Agušaya A do not distinguish between ZU and SU? The answer is no. A careful examination of the relevant signs in Ištar Louvre reveals that the difference between the two similar signs lies not in the horizontal wedges, but in the *vertical* ones. Namely, ZU is written with two vertical wedges, whereas SU is written with three vertical wedges.

Thus, in most instances where we expect a reading *zu* or *šú*, the sign is written with two vertical wedges: *ú-zu-un-* A i 2, 4, *ta-am-ḥa-šú* A i 21, *na-zu-us-su* A ii 21, *šú-um-bi* A v 40. The only exception is *šu-uš-šú-ru* A i 22, which has three vertical wedges.

With /s/, matters are more complicated, because both ZU-spellings for the affricate allophone and SU-spellings for the deaffricate allophone occur side by side in OB. Word initial /s/, and double /ss/, are especially diagnostic: both are usually written with z-signs in OB, and intervocalic /s/ is usually written with s-signs<sup>29</sup>. For /sa/ and /si/, text A has the following spellings<sup>30</sup>:

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Streck–Wasserman (2018, 8), duplicate B.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also the author’s reading *ú-su-un* A i 2 and i 4 instead of correct *ú-zu-un* on p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Streck (2022, § 2.263c). Less diagnostic are words with two /s/ because they sometimes show deaffrication of one or even both /s/ already in middle OB, cf. Streck (2022, § 2.366). Cf. *sa-as-zu-ru* A ii 15, *sa-as-su-ru* A i 43, *ḥa-si-zu* A i 11.

<sup>30</sup> For a review of the spellings for /s/ in duplicate cf. Streck–Wasserman (2018, 9 and 11).

- Z-sign in word initial position: ZA-*pa-aḫ* A i 16, ZA-*aḫ-ma-aš-tum* A i 19, ZI-*ek-ra-at* A i 40, ZI-*ir-ḳú* A ii 33.
- s-sign in word initial position: SI-*in-ni-iš-te-eš* A i 45 and ii 19, SI-*in-ni-iš-tim* A i 57, SI-*in-ni-iš-t[um]* A i 58, *si-ni-iš-ta* A i 60, SI-*in-ni-tu* A ii 4, SI-*ni-iš-tum* A ii 6, SI-*ib-tam* A ii 7, SI-*in-ni-ša-tu* A ii 8, SI-*ni-iš-tum* A ii 11, SE(-*e*)-*tu(-um)* A v 34, 38, 41, SE-*ti-iš* A v 43.
- Z-sign for structural doubled /ss/: *ki-ri-is-ZA-am* A ii 7.
- s-sign for structural doubled /ss/: *as-SI-in-nu-um-mi* A ii 16.
- Z-sign for double /ss/ resulting from an assimilation /tš/ > /ss/: *a-a-as-ZA* A ii 43.
- The s-spellings for word initial /s/ and structural doubled /ss/ argue for a late OB or even MB date of text A, whereas the Z-spellings follow the older use.

For /su/ the following spellings occur:

- ZU in word initial position: ZU-*ur-ri* A i 5, ZU-*ur-ru* A i 47.
- ZU for structural doubled /ss/<sup>31</sup>: *la-ma-as-<sup>r</sup>* ZU<sup>1</sup> A i 25.
- ZU for doubled /ss/ resulting from an assimilation /tš/ > /ss/<sup>32</sup>: *qá-as-* ZU A ii 10, *ar-ka-as-ZU-nu* A ii 17.
- SU for double /ss/ resulting from an assimilation /tš/ or /zš/ > /ss/<sup>33</sup>: *ša-bi-it-SU-ma* < *šabit-šu-ma* A ii 9, *na-zu-us-SU* < *nazūz-šu* A ii 21.
- ZU for /s/ between vowels: *na-ap-lu-ZU* A i 42.
- SU for /s/ between vowels: *ú-SU-uḫ-šu* A v 43.

These usages resemble that of Z- and s-signs for /si/ and /sa/, namely, Z-spellings commingle with s-spellings. SU for double /ss/, resulting from an assimilation /tš/ or /zš/ > /ss/, indicates a late OB or MB date of Text A.

### 3.3. Commentary on Individual Lines

A i 40: *sé-ek-ra-at e-mu-tim sek-ru-tu šu-uš-ku-nu ku-um-ma Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*. Cavigneaux–Clevenstine suggest *ti-ru-tu* instead of *sek-ru-tu*. Scrutiny of other photos for occurrences of the sign TI in Text A shows that the sign is question is not a complete TI. The prominent *winkelhaken* at the end is missing, as already noticed by Cavigneaux–Clevenstine themselves. To our eyes, the sign is SIG<sup>34</sup>. *sekrūtu* “status of *sekretu*” also yields a better meaning than *tīrūtu* “l’état de courtisane(?)”. We keep, therefore, our original reading and translation.

<sup>31</sup> Note *as-SU-uk-ki* A ii 8, but this is a loanword from Sumerian, which frequently show s-spellings in middle OB, see Streck (2022, § 2.365a).

<sup>32</sup> Note also *li-bi-is-ZU-nu* < *libiš-šunu* A ii 19. Z-spellings in these cases occur more rarely in middle OB than s-spellings, see Streck (2022, §§ 2.398–408).

<sup>33</sup> Note also *i-ḳí-is-SU* < *iqiš-šu* A v 14 and cf. the previous fn.

<sup>34</sup> As in Mittermayer (2006, 174) no. 437.

A i 42: *tu-gàr še-er-ri šu-ur-šu a-ap-li ù na-ap-<sup>r</sup>lu-su ku<sup>1</sup>-um-ma Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*. Text B refutes our reading *tu-am!* instead of *tu-qar*. Hence, with Cavigneaux–Clevenstine, we translate “the orifice of the baby” (parallel to *ik-karši* “in the belly” in the previous line).

A i 44: *si-ìs-si-ni ka-al-lu-tim ù bu-a-ar ma-aš-ta-ki ku-um-ma Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár // B si-si-ir ka-al-lu-ti ù bu-a-a[r ...]* “The date spadix of matrimony, the happiness of the chamber—are yours, Ištar.”—Whereas Text A clearly reads *si-ìs-si-ni*, Text B has *si-si-ir*. Cavigneaux–Clevenstine propose to analyze these different readings as variants of the word *sissiru* “granary”<sup>35</sup>. But the word *sissiru* B has no variant *sissinnu* (only *sissimu*), and the translation “l’engagement (que procure l’entrée) d’une nouvelle femme” is not convincing. What in fact happened here is that the scribe confused the similar signs *ni* and *ir* and consequently replaced the lectio difficilior *sissini* by the word *sissiru* A “progeny, child”<sup>36</sup>, which thematically fits the previous lines. For the date spadix in connection with lovemaking, sexuality, and fertility see the love composition LAOS 4, 13 i 11: *sí-in-s[í]nu <sup>r</sup>qá-ti-ni* “the date spadix of our hand”, and a plaque showing Ištar holding a date spadix in her hand<sup>37</sup>.—Text B supports our reading *ka-al-lu-tim*, although the sign *tim* is admittedly not written well.

A i 45: *zi-ik-ru-um si-in-ni-iš-te-eš ar-da-tu e-<sub>4</sub>el // B zi-ik-ru si-in-ni-iš-te-eš ar-da- [...]* “(That) a man is like a woman, a maiden is a young man”.—Based on the high-resolution photos of the Louvre duplicate, we maintain our reading *e-<sub>4</sub>el* without *-šu* at the end of the line. The “*-šu*”, already misread in the copy of Groneberg (1997, 197), is in fact the second half of the sign *-el* (see Fig. 1, below). Similar elaborate sign forms, with two small horizontal wedges in the rectangle, are attested in an OB inscription of Warad-Sîn<sup>38</sup>.—*sinništeš* is no doubt a terminative with a comparative function: this form with the same meaning also occurs in ii 19: *endū zappī zikrū sinništeš* “The men are endowed with combs like a woman”. Comparative *-iš* attached to nouns is now well attested in OB literary text<sup>39</sup>. For adverbials with the terminative ending acting as a predicate in non-verbal sentences see *šibūtum mā[d]iš* AbB 6, 11: 11 “The need is excessive” and *elīšma pānūšunu* ARM 2, 102: 10 “Their faces are (directed) upwards”<sup>40</sup>. By contrast, the grammatical base for the translation of Cavigneaux–Clevenstine, “Un homme ou plutôt une femme? Une fille ou mieux un garçon?” eludes us. Thus, we firmly maintain our analysis and translation of the line.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. CAD S 328 *sissiru* B.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. CAD S 328 (instead of *sissiru* B!).

<sup>37</sup> Schroer–Keel (2005, 308) no. 212.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Fossey (1926, 1016) nos. 33276 and 33277.

<sup>39</sup> Streck (2022, § 5.206a); see already Streck–Wasserman (2018, 12).

<sup>40</sup> Both references are quoted in Streck (2021, 143) § 328b.



Fig. 1. Ištar Louvre i 45 (photo N. Wasserman).

A i 46: *li-it-ta-šu i-na ši-ši-it!* (text: DA) *-tim ta-aš-ku-ni ...* // B *[li-]it-ta-šu i-na ši-ši-ti! ta-aš-k[u-ni ...]* “You put his (the man’s) stool at the ‘loom’...”. The new Geneva duplicate shows that we have to change our previous reading *at-ta!-da-tim* and follow Cavigneaux–Clevenstine’s reading. However, our interpretation of this couplet differs from theirs. First, *littu* means “stool”<sup>41</sup>, and not, as we thought previously, “offspring”. Next, the suffix *-šu* refers to the man (*zikru*, *eṭlu*) in the previous line. Finally, *šiṣītu/šiṣīttu* stands *pars pro toto* for the loom, an object typically associated with women. Hence, this line further develops the theme of Ištar’s power to turn men into women and vice versa, and is not connected to giving birth.

A i 47: A *pu-ḫu-ur a-ḫu-ti sū-ur-ri qí-ma-ti ša-ar-ta* // B *[p]u-ḫu-ur a-ḫu-ti su-ur-ri q[í-...]* “Assembling the strange ones, letting the locks dance, the hair”. With Cavigneaux–Clevenstine, the reading *a-ḫu-ti* is clear on both tablets. However, our understanding of *a-ḫu-ti* does not follow the translation of Cavigneaux–Clevenstine: “fraternelle” (i.e., *aḫūtu* “brotherhood”). Rather, we derive the word from *aḫû*, pl. masc. *aḫûti* “strange, unusual”. In our mind, this term refers to the cross-gender behavior of men (described also in the preceding lines), a behavior designated by the verbs *šubalkutu*, *šanû* and *nakāru* in A ii 1, 9 and 17.

A i 48: *qí-a-lu?-um ṽdu?-šu<sup>1</sup>-ú ga-ma-lu ù šu-ta-du-ru* // B *ṽqí?<sup>1</sup>-a-lu-um šu-su-ú ga-ma-<sup>1</sup>lu ù šu?<sup>1</sup>-[...]* “To wither(?), to make flourish, to show mercy and to become worried is yours, Ištar.” In our eyes, text A has *du-* with a slanted wedge after the lower horizontal wedge, not *šu-* (note that Groneberg also copied this slanted wedge, but read it as TA). As for the next sign, we read *-šu-* instead of *-su-*, as we see only one vertical wedge at the end (see Fig. 2). The rare verb *qiālu* is only attested once in the dictionaries and seems to mean “to wither” (said of reeds). If so, *duššû* “to make flourish”, an opposite term, makes better sense here than *šussû* “to remove”. However, text B has a clear *šussû*. Thus, as in A i 44 and A i 49, the two duplicates do not conform here.



Fig. 2. Ištar Louvre A i 48 (photo N. Wasserman).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. AHw. 557 *littu* III, CAD L 219 *littu* B.



A i 49: *me-ne-šu-um q[ar]-<sup>r</sup>du-tum<sup>1</sup> ta-ar-bi-tu tu-ú la-ú-tum* // B *me-né-e-šu-um qar-du-tum šu-ur-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-tum <sup>r</sup>da?<sup>1</sup>-a[n?-nu-tum ...]* “Weakness, heroism, greatness, incantations, strength(?) (or: strong(?) incantations)” (A) // “Weakness, heroism, eminence, str[ength(?) ...]” (B).—In the second part of the line, the texts clearly diverge. The var. *šurbītu* shows that *tarbītu* does not mean “(child) rearing” but rather an abstract noun with the meaning “greatness”. Hence, the new duplicate helps prove that this line is definitely speaking about babies.—We cannot follow the suggestion to read *tu-ú-la-ú-tum* as one word. Without emending the text, the most reasonable reading for *tu-ú* is *tû* “incantation(s)”. As for *la-ú-tum*, we tentatively derive it from the root L’Y “to be strong”, although, admittedly, *lē’utu* is expected. Text B again (cf. A i 44 and perhaps also A i 48) probably tried to resolve a lexical difficulty by replacing it with another word, perhaps *dannūtum*.

A i 51: *dī-id ka-ba-at-ti uz-na-an na-an-sú-ka im-ma!-tim* // B *dī-i-id ka-ba-at-ti uz-nu na-[...]* “The underwear of the mid-body, (that) the ears are torn out(?) (as customary) in the land”.—We cannot follow the derivation of *dī(-i)-ID* from YD<sup>r</sup>. The expected form is, as Cavigneaux–Clevenstine have already noted themselves, *dī/a’atu*, with strong aleph.—The last word of the line is read by Groneberg and by Cavigneaux–Clevenstine as *ra-šu-uš-ni*. But the first sign is a good *im* and not *ra*<sup>42</sup>. The sign after *im* has three horizontals, whereas *šu* in Text A always has four<sup>43</sup>. More importantly, the last combination of wedges is a clear *tīm*<sup>44</sup>, and not the two signs *uš-ni* (see Figs. 3–5). Furthermore, an analysis of *ra-šu-uš-ni* as *rāš uzni* is unacceptable because of the spelling with *ús*. Therefore, although difficulties with the line remain, we stand by our reading and translation of the line.



Fig. 3. Ištar Louvre i 51 (photo N. Wasserman).



Fig. 4. Ištar Louvre i 5: sign *šu* with four horizontal wedges (photo N. Wasserman).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Fig. 3, below.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Fig. 4, below.

<sup>44</sup> Cf., e.g., A i 20, see Fig. 5, below.





Fig. 5. Ištar Louvre i 20: sign TIM (photo N. Wasserman).

A i 53–54: *sa<sub>6</sub>-ar-ta ne-me-eq-ša* <sup>d</sup>EN.KI *ša x [...]* *ar-ka-at et-pé-eš-tim ta-ri-<sup>r</sup>t* [*im?* *ku-um-ma Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár*] // *sa-ar-ta ni-e-me-eq-ša [...]* *ar-ka-at e-et-pu-uš-<sup>r</sup>tim*<sup>1</sup> [...] “(That) Ea of ... [gave(?) ] lying (as) her wisdom, the behavior of a capable nursemaid—are yours, Ištar.”—The new Text B proves that our reading *sa<sub>6</sub>-ar-ša* was wrong<sup>45</sup>. The new reading leads, however, to a syntactical problem, namely that the scribe uses the suffix *-ša* (*nēmeqša*) instead of *-ki*, a switch between direct and indirect speech in the same sentence.—We keep our interpretation of l. 53: *arkat* < *alkat* as in A ii 17 (*šanīat arkassunu šipiršunu nukkur* “different is their way, their activity is strange”). The phrase *alkatu* + *šanū* also occurs in RA 15, 174: 9<sup>46</sup>. (*w*)*arkatu* “circumstances”<sup>47</sup>, on the other hand, is only found in phrases with *parāsu*, *šālu* and *hīātu*, and is not freely used. Its meaning is not specifically “legal affair” but “conclusion, future” of a case or matter.—In our view, reading *ta-ri-t[im]* is better than Cavigneaux–Clevenstine’s *ša?* RI <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>.

A i 55–56: *li-is-mu da-an-nu-tum ma-ra-<sup>h</sup>u x [...]* *ku-un-nu* <sup>giš</sup>GU.ZA *aš-ru ū ša-[qu-ú ...]* // B *li-ás-mu da-an-nu-tum ma?-<sup>r</sup>ra?-<sup>h</sup>u?*<sup>1</sup> [...] *ku-un-nu ku-us-si-i aš-ru <sup>r</sup>ū*<sup>1</sup>[...] “Difficult running courses, speed(?) ... establishing firmly the throne, the humble one and the pro[m]inent one(?)—are yours, Ištar.”—Text B shows that our reading *šu-ru-<sup>h</sup>u* cannot be maintained. However, unlike Cavigneaux–Clevenstine, we take *ma-ra-<sup>h</sup>u* as a *maPRaS* form of *arāhu* “speed, haste”, not attested until now.

A i 57–58: *ma-la-ak si-in-ni-iš-tim zi-[ik-ru il?-la?-ak?] ša zi-ik-ri-im si-in-ni-iš-t[um ta?-al?-ak? ku-um-ma Iš<sub>8</sub>-tár]* // B <sup>r</sup>*ma<sup>1</sup>-la-ak si-in-ni-<sup>r</sup>iš-tim*<sup>1</sup> [...] [*ša*] *zi-ik-ri si-<sup>r</sup>in-ni<sup>1</sup>-[...]* “(That) a m[an goes] the way of a woman, a woman [goes] (the way) of a man, [—are yours, Ištar].”—We do not follow Cavigneaux–Clevenstine’s translation “ce qui relève de l’homme”, but keep our interpretation that *ša* in A i 58 is an elliptic expression for *mālak ša zikri* in A i 57.

A i 59–60: *zi-ik-ra-am tu-al-la-lí na? x [...]* *si-ni-iš-ta ki zi-ik-ri ta-ah?-[...]* // B [*zi-i*] *k-ru-um tu?-al?-[...]* B [*si-in-n*] *i<sup>r</sup>-iš<sup>1</sup>-tu [...]* “As to the man, you hang [on him ...]. As to the woman, like on a man, you h[ang(?) ... on her]”.—Against the copy of Cavigneaux–Clevenstine, and based on the photo in

<sup>45</sup> Note that in Text A the signs ŠA and TA are almost identical.

<sup>46</sup> Agušaya B: *šunniā alkāssa*.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. CAD A/2, 277 a. 4.

CDLI P421410, we read *tu?* instead of *ta?/it?* in A i 59.—Note that Text B uses nominative *zikrum* and *sinništu* instead of accusative *zikram* and *sinništa* in Text A to denote *casus pendens*.—These two lines might describe Ištar adorning men and women with items associated with the opposite gender. Although the spelling with *lí* is unusual, we do not see any other option but to derive the form *tu-al-la-ni* from *alālu* D.

#### 4. A Dialogue Between Father and Son

Foster–George 2020 presented the *editio princeps* of a large prism kept in Yale with a dialogue between a father and son (Text a)<sup>48</sup>. This text offers the full version of a British Museum fragment published earlier by Streck–Wasserman (2014) (Text b). Its format of a prism may indicate that this text was used in an educational setting<sup>49</sup>.

##### 4.1. Contents

The dialogue questions the right source of authority: is it parental or royal? The father does not criticize royalty per se, as witnessed by the fact that he calls Naram-Su'en, the famous Old Akkadian king, his “lord” (*bēlum* viii 9). Nevertheless, he stresses that loyalty to the king should not come at the expense of family ties. Contrary to the editors, who see a satirical or parodic aspect to the dialogue (p. 38), we read the text as an honest, even harsh, exchange (as, e.g., i 59–62). The text presents the following ideas, some of which are agreed by both the father and the son:

- Posthumous fame of the sage: Although wisdom and knowledge do not save the sage from poverty (§ 2, the son), he will be praised after his death (col. viii, so the father).
- Vanity of mankind: In old age, happiness will end and one will get sick (§ 3, so the father). Everyone eventually, inescapably dies (§ 4, the son). The father too will die (col. viii, the father).
- Unexpected and unjust fate: One’s fate is unpredictable. The important become insignificant and vice versa (§ 14, the son; § 17, the father).
- Parental obligations and benefits: A father should love his son (§ 4, the son) and embrace him (§ 12, the son). A son guarantees that his father’s name persists (§ 7, the father). A man without a son is lost like a boat without

<sup>48</sup> We follow Foster–George (2020) and use the sigla “a” and “b” respectively for the duplicates.

<sup>49</sup> On prisms in curricular settings see Spada (2011). Clay cones were also used in school; see Niederreiter (2015).

- rudder (§ 8, the son). Etana is a prime example of a man without an heir (§ 9, the father; § 10, the son).
- Filial obligations: A son is obligated to support his father in his old age (§§ 5, 7, the father). If a son fails to do so, he will meet a similar fate (§ 11, the father). There are extenuating circumstances under which a son can refuse this obligation (§§ 12, 18, 22, the son). The father accuses the son of nihilism, because he respects neither king, nor god, nor his father (§ 19, the father). The son who neglected his father is cursed (col. viii, the father).
  - Piety: The protective spirit (*šēdum*, *lamassum*) guarantees wealth (§ 2, the son). Trusting god guarantees life (§ 6, the son). God makes someone important (§ 15, the father). Penitence brings divine pardon (§ 21, the father).
  - Trusting the king: One who trusts the king will be provided for (§ 6, the son). The king makes someone important (§ 15, the father). Royal favor brings prestige to the family (§ 16, the son). The authority of the king is greater than that of the father (§ 25, the son; § 26, the father).

#### 4.2. Date of the Duplicates

The prism (Text a) employs mimation twice where it is missing in the BM tablet (Text b) (*nebrītum* a i 47 // *nebrītu* b i 8, and *apim* a i 51 // *api* b i 10). On the other hand, Text a breaks longer lines into two, signaling that the prism is secondary to the tablet format, and therefore, perhaps, also younger.

#### 4.3. Commentary on Individual Lines

a i 8–9: [<sup>m</sup>P]u-ut-ti NUN.ME-<sup>l</sup>lu-tum! ?<sup>1</sup> ša-lu-tum <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> mi-ši-tum “O [P]utti, being a sage is captivity and plunder”.—The parallel with *šallūtum* leads us to derive *mi-ši-tum* from *mašā’u* “to rob” rather than from *mašû* “to forget”.

a i 33–34: *ūtaḥḥiz ana namrāšim kīl qaqqadka* “Coat (= protect) yourself against sickness! Be ready (for it)!” (a zeugma construction).

a i 37–38: *u lumnu uḥtalliḳ ḥadû uddappir* “and evil made (the generous hand) disappear, happiness was driven out”. These lines continue the idea of the preceding couplet, in which generosity ceases to exist. We read *uḥ-ta-li-iq* (Dt) instead of *iḥ-ta-li-iq* (G perfect).—*ḥadû* is analyzed as an infinitive, not as a participle (see *nawārum šussu* in l. 30).—*uddappir* is again Dt (not D perfect).

a i 46 // b i 7: 6-šu iṣ-ši-a-am-ma 7-šu ittūr // 6-šu i[š!-š]i!-a!-am-ma 7-šu uttē[r] “six times it rose and seven times it receded”: With the prism, we correct our reading in b.—Text a has a perfect G *ittūr*, whereas Text b has a Dt *utter*, a preterite form.

a i 49 // b i 9: *ba-li-il-ma it-ti ni-ši // ba-li-il 'it-ti ni!-'ši!-ma*<sup>1</sup> “(Hunger ...) is mixed with people”. Line a i 49 is missing in the edition of Foster–George 2020, 40f.

a i 53–54 // b i 11: *kīma* GL.ĒN.BAR *še-eḫ-ri illakam adi ūmīšu // kīma* GI.ĒN<sup>1</sup>!BAR! ‘*še*<sup>1</sup>-*eḫ-ru-u*[*m ...*] ‘*adi*<sup>1</sup> *ūmīšu* “Like a *ṭubû* reed the child will reach its day (b)”. Following Text a, we correct our reading in b to GI.ĒN<sup>1</sup>!BAR.—The scribe of Text a misunderstood the sentence and took *šeḫri* as an adjective of *ṭubû*, and *kīma* as a preposition—not as a conjunction.

a i 57 // b i 13: *am-ra-ti-ma kikiṭṭa ša ilim // am\*-ra\*-a\*-[ti ...]* “You are versed in the god’s rites”. With the prism published, we correct our previous reading of Text b.

a ii 1–4: *ù šum-ma i-na dam-q[á-tim]a-bu la iḫ-si-nam ma-r[a-šu] ma-ti ma-rum i-na nam-ra-š[i-im] a-ba-šu li-iḫ-si-<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>* “And if a father does not protect [his] son in good t[imes], when possibly would a son shelter his father during suffering?” In *iḫ-si-nam*, *li-iḫ-si-in*, the second radical is spelled with *si*, which stands for deaffricated [s], whereas the affricate /s/ is written *zi* = *sí* elsewhere in the text (*sí-ik-ka-nim* a ii 32, *la-ma-(as-)sí* a i 9, 14). This means that /s/ was unexpectedly deaffricated here and *iḫ-si-nam* and *li-iḫ-si-in* derive from *ḥašānu*.<sup>50</sup>—The precativ in the question denotes an irrealis (cf. also a ii 29).<sup>51</sup>

a ii 6, 18: Taking the name *Ma-an-nu(-um)-ú-tar-is-sú* as *Mannum-utar-rissu* < *utarriš-šu*<sup>52</sup> is neither favored by the broken spelling, nor by the short form *Mannu-ú-tar* (a ii 37, 53 etc.). We defend our interpretation of this PN as *Mannu(m)-utār-issu* “Who can beat off his arm?”<sup>53</sup>

a ii 13–14: *ša itti awīlūtīm mītu itti ilim baliṭ dārišam* “The one who is dead for (lit. with) the people is alive forever under (the auspices of) god”. *ša* introduces a relative clause with predicate *mītu* in subordinative.—These two lines must be interpreted in light of the following couplet: “Verily, the king will provide for the son who is a cripple in (his) father’s house”. Trust in god and king, and you will live and be provided for!

a ii 19–20: *īdē ša mārī ina panīka / u šipra ša ṭābu u né-pe-sà (nēpessa* < *nēpeš-ša*) *anāku ḥassāku* “I know (the matter = *awātum*) of sons earlier than you, and I am well aware of the duty, which is pleasant, and what it requires (*nēpessa*)”. *nēpessa* with a suffixed fem. pron. must refer to some fem. noun. The most plausible antecedent is an elliptic *awātum*.

a ii 24–26: *mārum mala šerrī u aššatīm abāšu iṭṭul* “A son regards his father as much as (his) children and (his) wife”. *iṭṭul* is a gnomic preterite. Emending the text to *liṭṭul* is unwarranted.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Streck (2022, § 2.373).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Wasserman (2012, 125f.) on irrealis and precativ.

<sup>52</sup> Foster–George (2020, 38).

<sup>53</sup> Streck–Wasserman (2014, 45).

a ii 29: *ina mārī 5 6 7 8 mannu šerram ša t̄ābu ana awīlim lišruk* “Out of five, six, seven, eight sons, who would grant (even one) child who is virtuous towards a man”? The sentence echoes Gilg. XII: 102–116, where Gilgameš asks Enkidu if he saw in the Netherworld a dead man “with one son... with two sons... with three sons... with seven sons”.<sup>54</sup> The more sons, the better the dead father is treated in the underworld. Here, though, the father is more skeptical and concerned, saying that even if a father has many children, it does not guarantee that any of them will take care of him.

a ii 35: *nāš ittī a-ḫi-šu* “He is regarded with disrespect by his brothers”. *a-ḫi-šu* here and in ii 38 is probably plural *aḫ(h)īšu*. Corroborating this idea is a ii 38–39: *Etana ana šar-ri a-ḫi-šu imṭī’am lā maš’am* “Etana, with respect to the (other) kings, his brothers, was less, was not equal”.

a ii 40–41: L[UGAL]?\*-k]a ḫašbu ša ina sūqim DILI\* ilqû ilam [u]l irši “Your k[ing] is a potsherd. He who took a single (child) from the street, did [no]t obtain luck”. As we understand these lines, the father criticizes the king and praises biological fatherhood over adoption.—The broken sign at the beginning of the line is L[UGAL] rather than D[UMU], especially because “your son” is hard to construe: the father is speaking here to his son, and the son clearly has no son of his own.—*ḫašbu* is status rectus instead of an expected stative, so, a nominal sentence.—Note the clear DILI at the end of l. 40.

a ii 48: [a-na SIP]<sub>A</sub>\*-tim iškunūniš[šu] “They (the gods) appointed [him (Etana)] for [shepher]dship”. For the restoration [rē]ūtīm instead of [a-wi-l]u-tim cf. SKL l. 64<sup>55</sup>: *Etana sipa lú an-šè ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè* “Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven ...”. This restoration also better fits the limited space of the break.

a iii 24–25: *u ša šarrum ūštāqīru[šu] abam ú-u[l i\*-de\*]* “And the one the king has esteemed, does not [know] the father”. This restoration, instead of *ú-u[l-le]* “exalts the father”, just yields the opposite meaning, namely, the son forsakes his father in favor of the king<sup>56</sup>.

a iii 28–31: *ammīnimma rāši aka[lim] dimmatam isaḫḫur u ša ilšu izzurušu ú-ra-am i!?-mur!* “Why does the one who gets food go around in moaning, and the one whose god has cursed him, has seen! the day-(light)?” We read *urram*, not *ūram* “roof”<sup>57</sup>. Note the use of *urram* instead of expected *nūram*. This is the famous motive of unjust fate.

a iii 34–34: *Putti mannu ša ana mersi issuku libittam* “Putti, who is the one who throws a brick into a cake?!” For this proverbial saying, one may compare

<sup>54</sup> George (2003, 732–734).

<sup>55</sup> ETCSL c.2.1.1.

<sup>56</sup> See our commentary on a ii 40–41.

<sup>57</sup> The text frequently does not write doubled consonants, cf. here also *di-ma-tam* and *i-sà-ḫu-ur*.

the parodic incident described in the OA Sargon legend II. 13–14<sup>58</sup>: *šabītam āmurma libittam ana nārim addīma* “I saw a gazelle and threw a brick into the river”. In both cases, throwing a brick signifies a nonsensical act.—*issuku* is a gnomic preterite. See also the commentary on ii 24–26.

a iii 40: *ina zumrika ina lē[û]tika<sup>1</sup> ša Šamaš ušēši pagrī* “(By the order) of Šamaš I saved myself from your powerful existence (lit. body)”. *ša Šamaš* recalls elliptically *qibīt ilimma* “command of god” in l. iii 38, while *pagru* denotes reflexivity.

a iii 42–46: *Mannu-utār mā attā ul šarram taplaḥ ul ilam tukabbit ul unnēnū<sup>a</sup> imqutū ana libbika* “Mannu-utār, you did not fear the king, did not honor god, my supplications did not fall into your heart”. The extraposition of the negation *ul* does not indicate a question, but emphasis.

a iii 48: [<sup>m</sup>P]u-ut-ti-ma: unlike iii 43 and 48, we take *-ma* here as an enclitic.

a iii 51–52: *ina bīrini ša arnim ubbalaššu aranšu li[šš]i* “He (Šamaš) will bring forth from among us the culprit (*ša arnim*), so that he may bear his sin”. *ša arnim* is a (colloquial?) equivalent of *bēl arnim*.

a iii 60–61: *anāku ša šuḥriya-ma ul uwaššarakkum* “I cannot forgive (lit. release) you the (experience) of my childhood”. Similar elliptical use of *ša* as in iii 51–52.

a iv 21–22: *u ša šarrum uk-t[a\*/tab\*-bi-tu-(šu)] liqallil m[a?-rum]* “And he whom the king h[onors], would the s[on(?)] belittle (him)?”—yet he does belittle his biological father.

a iv 39: *maḥar ilī qú-ra-d[i\*(-i)]* “before the valian[t] gods”. A plural *qurādūtīm* is not attested elsewhere.

a viii 4–5: *[di\*-i]m\*-tám\*<sup>1</sup> [im-d]a-la ināya* “My eyes [fill]ed with tear(s)”.

a viii 16–18: *amātma ina libbū ālim Agade bītum ša errubušu ul ušarša bābam* “When I die in the midst of the city of Agade, the house (the grave), into which I shall enter, will have no door.”

a viii and base of the prism: The dialogue between the father and his son is followed here by a mournful monologue of the father, ending with curses. Grammatically and lexically, this part of the text belongs to a higher literary register. Note the following:

- Locative constructions: *ina libbū* viii 16, *šamû Anim* viii 20.
- Different terminative forms: *apsi<sup>a</sup>šu* viii 21, *šamêšam* viii 31, *apsišum* viii 32.
- Rare literary words: *me<sup>a</sup>mlī* viii 23; *dunnanū* base 16; and *zi-î(ḥ)-im-šu* viii 39 for *zīmšu*.

<sup>58</sup> SEAL no. 1556.

a viii 37: This is the oldest known reference for Oannes, who up to now was attested only in 1<sup>st</sup> mill. sources<sup>59</sup>.

a base 7: [*a\* i\*-ku\*-u*]l\* *ak-lam a illikam elīšu li-ru-ub* “[May he not ea]t bread ... may he tremble (of hunger)”. We derive the last verb from *rābu* instead of *erēbu*. The middle part of the sentence, “may he/it not walk against him/it”, remains unclear.

a base 14: Better *ana libbi šarrišu ina lemuttim li-di-šu* “may she make him known(?) to the heart of the king with evil intent” (*uddû*, instead of the emendation *li-<ir>-de-šu*).

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Streck (2003).

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Fig. 6. Photo of AO 6161 (Papulegara) obverse by K. Wagensooner.

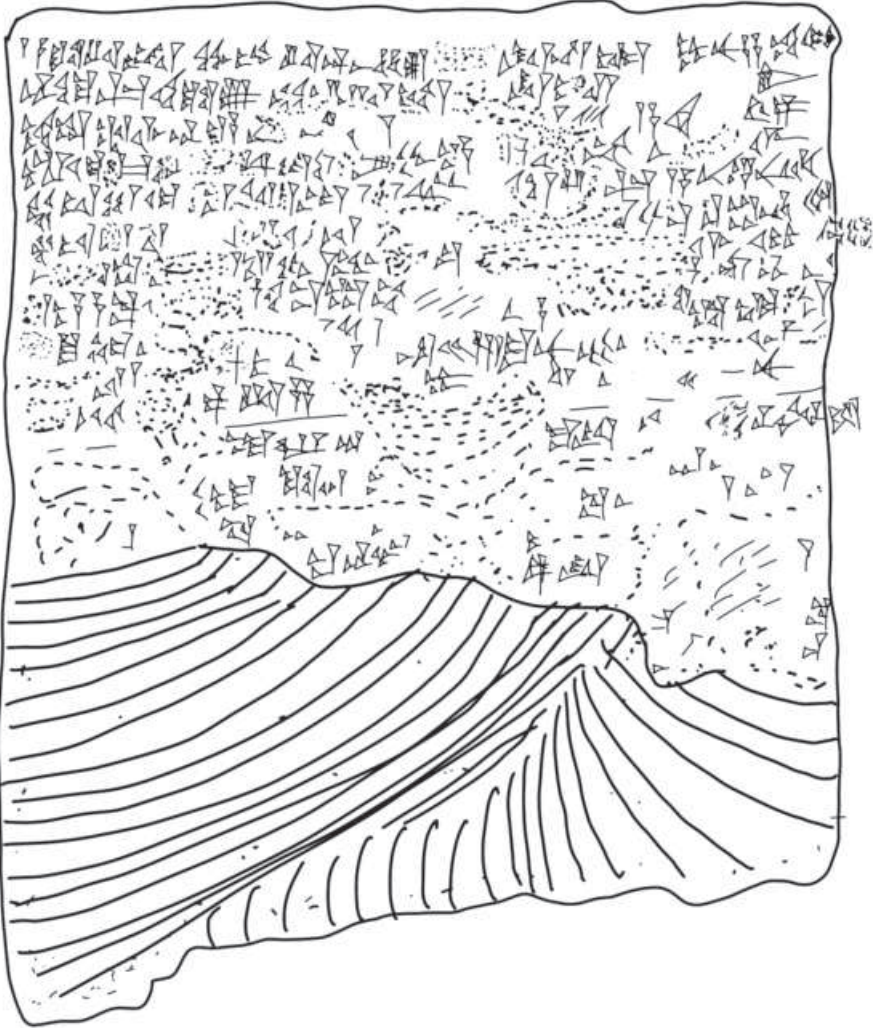


Fig. 7. Copy of AO 6161 (Papulegara) obverse by M. P. Streck.



Fig. 8. Photo of AO 6161 (Papulegara) reverse by K. Wagensohner.



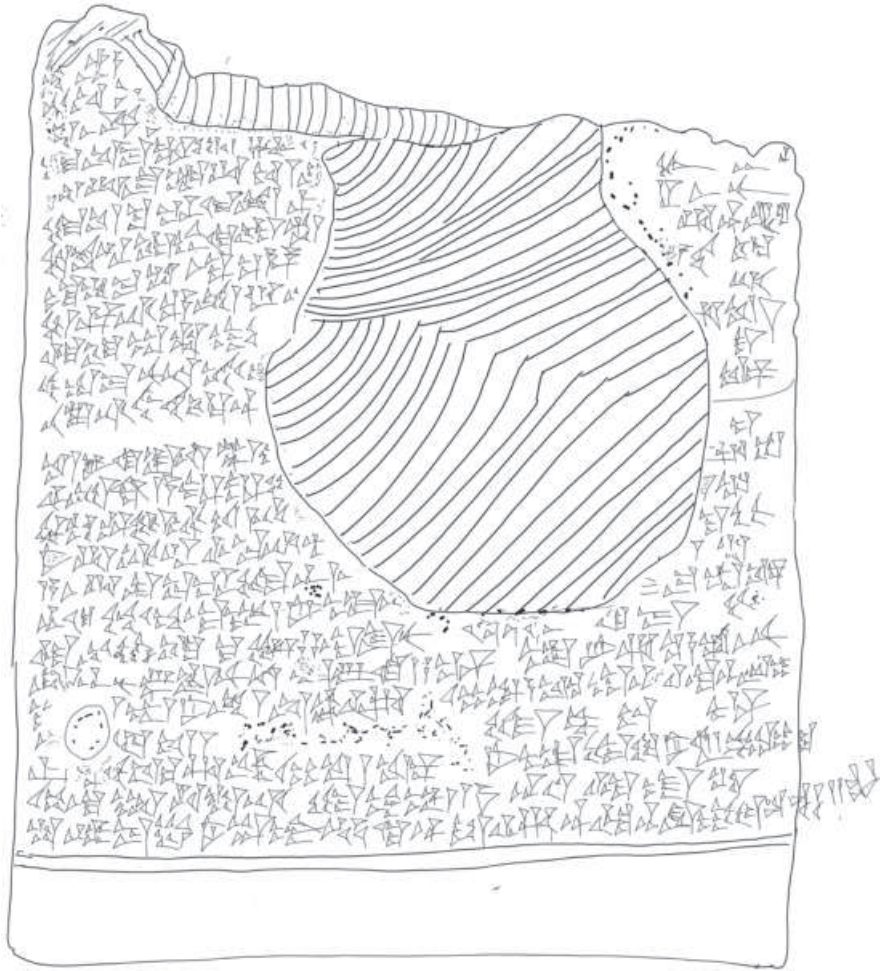


Fig. 9. Copy of AO 6161 (Papulegara) reverse by M. P. Streck.