

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS

THE AMARNA  
SCHOLARLY TABLETS

Shlomo Izre'el

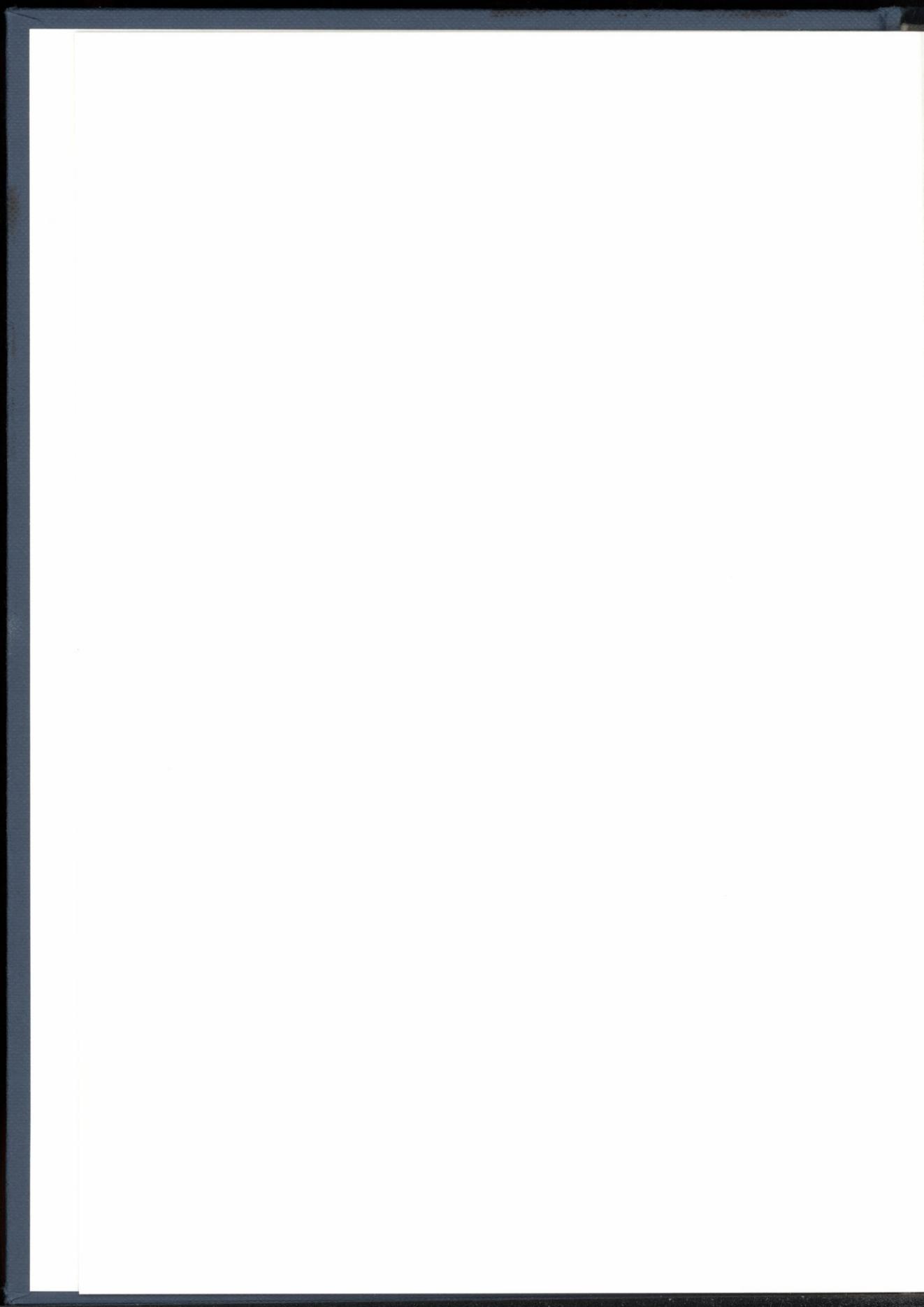


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THE AMARNA SCHOLARLY TABLETS

## CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 9

Edited by

T. Abusch, M. J. Geller, Th. P. J. van den Hout  
S. M. Maul and F. A. M. Wiggermann

**STYX**  
PUBLICATIONS  
GRONINGEN  
1997

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ISBN 90 72371 83 6  
ISSN 0929-0052

PJ  
3885  
.I97  
1997

STYX Publications  
Postbus 2659  
9704 CR GRONINGEN  
THE NETHERLANDS  
Tel. # 31 (0)50-5717502  
Fax. # 31 (0)50-5733325  
E-mail: [styxnl@compuserve.com](mailto:styxnl@compuserve.com)

This book, dealing with study of foreign languages in ancient times, is dedicated to my mother, who had always admired the study of languages, and started to fulfill her desire to study after her retirement. May she keep up with learning for many more happy years.



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## PREFACE

William Moran's recent translation of the Amarna letters has brought our understanding of this important corpus up to date. Yet, in addition to letters the Amarna cuneiform find also comprises texts related to the education of scribes in Egypt, including syllabaries, lexical lists, literary texts and other educational exercises. These texts have not been included in Moran's volume, and are in want of a renewed study in the context of the Amarna cuneiform corpus, as well as in the broader context of literary and scholarly Peripheral and core Akkadian texts. Many of these texts suffer from poor editions of cuneiform copies in their original publications, and from a lack of exposure to the advances in scholarly research. A renewed edition of these tablets is presented here (together with some other fragments not included in Moran's new edition) in transliteration and translation, as well as with good photographs and adequate cuneiform copies.

The tablets which are included in this volume are now kept in four museums: The British Museum (London), The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), The Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin) and the Egyptian Museum (Cairo). Without the generous help of the curators and staffs of these museums this book would never have seen light. Special thanks are due to C.B.F. Walker of the British Museum, Helen Whitehouse of the Ashmolean Museum, Evelin Klengel and Joachim Marzahn of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, M. Abd el Halim Nur el Din, Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Mohamed Saleh, director of the Egyptian Museum, Adel Mahmoud and Ibrahim Abd el Gawad of the Egyptian Museum. Emanuel Marx, director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo, and its staff, among them Dawi Yunes, and especially Mounir Mahmoud, have helped in organizing my visits to Cairo and to the Egyptian Museum. I acknowledge with thanks the kind permission to publish photographs made by the photographic departments of the respective museums, and also (at the Vorderasiatisches Museum and at the Egyptian Museum) for the right to reproduce and publish photographs taken by myself. I also thank the Ashmolean Museum for permission to reproduce the cuneiform copy of EA 351 made by Sayce, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum for permission to reproduce cuneiform copies made by Schroeder.

Also at the British Museum, I enjoyed the benefits of Irving Finkel's observant eyes, as well as of those of Wilfred G. Lambert and, again, of Christopher Walker. The aid and friendship of Joachim Marzahn have meant more than the supplying of working space and needed authorizations, before, during and after my visits to the museum. I further thank Miguel Civil for sharing with me his work on the Amarna *diri* fragments and for teaching me a chapter in their study; Gertrud Farber for serving as a knowledgeable *mārat šipri* between Civil and myself; Pinhas Artzi for sharing with me his work on EA 340 before publication and for his support and encouragement; Aage Westenholz for sharing with me his cuneiform copy of EA 368; Jeremy Black for collations and insights on EA 368; Jürgen Osing for discussing EA 368 with me and making some insightful suggestions, for teaching me a chapter on Egyptian point marking, and for sharing unpublished work with me; Stephanie Dalley for sharing with

## Preface

me her views on EA 355; Joan Goodnick Westenholz, Sabina Franke and Herman L. J. Vanstiphout for sharing with me their respective studies of EA 359; Itamar Singer for discussing with me the *šar tamhāri* epic (EA 359) along with its Hittite version, and for reading a former draft of the manuscript; Wayne Horowitz for sharing with me unpublished work; William L. Moran for putting at my disposal his collations of the Amarna tablets; Zvi Lederman for commenting on an earlier draft of the introduction; Margalit Mendelson for her valuable assistance in technical research and general editing; Ann Guinan for making the book more intelligible as its English editor, and especially for the constant input of her vast knowlegde, which allowed the elimination of errors and greatly improved the presentation of my views; Frans A.M. Wiggermann for reading the manuscript and making some very useful improvements; and my daughter, Limor, who can look at a tablet with an artist's eye, for drawing the clay outlining and background of the cuneiform.

The research was supported by The Israel Science Foundation administered by The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and by The Basic Research Foundation of Tel-Aviv University. Last, but not least, I heartily thank Geerd Haayer for showing interest in my work and for his generosity, enthusiasm and warm friendship.

## Abbreviations

<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>ASJ</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
<i>AHw</i>	see bibliography
<i>ANET</i>	see bibliography
<i>AOS</i>	<i>American Oriental Society</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BM</i>	British Museum
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>CAD</i>	see bibliography
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
col(s).	column(s)
<i>CV(C)</i>	consonant—vowel—consonant)
<i>DN</i>	divine name
<i>EA</i>	el-Amarna; text number in Knudzon 1915 and Rainey 1978
f.	feminine
<i>GAG</i>	see bibliography
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>HKL</i>	see bibliography s.v. Borger
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JSOR</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Oriental Research</i>
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i>
l(l).	line(s)
<i>LE</i>	lower edge
m.	masculine
<i>MA</i>	Middle Assyrian
<i>MB</i>	Middle Babylonian
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>
<i>MSL</i>	<i>Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i>
n(n).	note(s)
<i>NP</i>	noun phrase
Obv.	obverse
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
<i>PN</i>	personal name
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie</i>
Rev.	reverse
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
sg.	singular

## Abbreviations

SR	Special Register (at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
STT	see bibliography
ŠL	see bibliography
UF	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i>
VAT	text number at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VS	see bibliography s.v. Schroeder 1915a
W	text number of Uruk (Warka) tablets
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

## INTRODUCTION

Be a scribe, put it in thy heart, that thy name may fare ... More effective is a book than a decorated tombstone or an established tomb-wall.

(“In Praise of Learned Scribes”, translated from Egyptian by John A. Wilson, *ANET*, p. 432)  
A day at school is of advantage to thee. The eternity of its work is (like that of) the mountains.

(“The Satire on the Trades”, translated from Egyptian by John A. Wilson, *ANET*, p. 434)

### The Amarna archives

At the risk of repeating a well-worn tale, I will describe briefly the nature of the discovery. In the ruins of a city and palace, which, like the palace of Aladdin, rose out of the desert sands into gorgeous magnificence for a short thirty years and then perished utterly, some 300 clay tablets were found,<sup>1</sup> inscribed, not with the hieroglyphics of Egypt, but with the cuneiform characters of Babylonia. They were, in fact, the contents of the Foreign Office of Amon-hotep IV, the ‘Heretic King’ of Egyptian history ... (Sayce 1908: 187–8)

The cuneiform tablets found at Tell el-Amarna in Middle Egypt have drawn enormous attention, both among scholarly and more popular audiences, for they contained the royal correspondence of the Pharaohs during the 14th century B.C., mainly with their vassals in the Levant. “A single archaeological discovery has upset mountains of learned discussion, of ingenious theory and sceptical demonstration,” wrote Sayce, who was one of the first scholars who dealt with the Amarna tablets, and the epigraphist of the first organized excavations at Tell el-Amarna.

The Amarna tablets became known to the scholarly world because of an accidental discovery in 1887. Subsequent systematic excavations have yielded additional tablets. The first archaeological expedition was started on the site four years after the initial discovery, and was directed by Flinders Petrie. Both he and later excavators came up with more cuneiform tablets, which enlarged the original corpus only a little. Yet,

the cuneiform tablets found by Prof. Petrie at Tel el-Amarna have an importance far beyond what their fragmentary condition might lead us to expect. ... They have proved that the Babylonian scribe, or scribes, of the Egyptian Pharaohs worked with the help of dictionaries and lists of characters, and that lexicons had been compiled for their use. (Sayce in Petrie 1894: 34)

Indeed, Petrie’s and subsequent excavations at the site added to the original find which, while consisting mostly of letters, also included texts of different genres, such as syllabaries, lexical lists, literary texts and other educational exercises. Sayce’s interpretation of this find can now be modified, and the texts can be seen as relating to the education of scribes in Egypt (cf., e.g., Artzi 1992).

---

<sup>1</sup> In fact, more than 350 already by the time that book was written.

## Introduction

The corpus of the Amarna cuneiform tablets now consists of 382 numbered items that are preserved in several museums, mainly in Europe and in Egypt. An important part of the Amarna letters was sent to the Egyptian court by Egypt's vassals in the Levant; others are letters sent on behalf of the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mittanni, Hatti, Arzawa and Alashiya, and from minor princes and rulers of the Near East. In addition, some copies or drafts of letters sent from Egypt on behalf of the Egyptian king have been preserved. These letters have been of great importance, producing a body of work examining them with the methods of various scholarly disciplines: linguistic, historical, political and sociocultural. A century of research has resulted in a much better understanding of the contents of these letters, now newly translated in Moran's *The Amarna Letters* (1992; former French edition: Moran 1987a).

Moran's volume includes only the letters. Among the texts related to scribal education in Egypt there are unique pieces of recensions of genuine Akkadian literature, fragments of lexical lists specific to the Mesopotamian periphery, and other intriguing items. The Amarna scholarly tablets are now presented to the public in a renewed edition in order to form a basis for further research into various aspects of these texts in the context of the Amarna cuneiform corpus, as well as in the broader context of literary and scholarly Peripheral Akkadian texts.

### **The corpus of the Amarna scholarly tablets**

The Amarna scholarly tablets currently available for examination include 29 numbered tablets and fragments. The majority of them are syllabaries, and lexical and other practice tablets: EA 342(?); EA 343; EA 344; EA 345; EA 346; EA 347(?); EA 348; EA 349; EA 350; EA 351, 352+353, 354 and 373; EA 368; EA 374 (DN list); EA 375 (one side); EA 377; EA 379. Others are literary texts, namely myths, historical epics and tales, or the like: EA 340(?); EA 341; EA 356; EA 357; EA 358; EA 359; EA 372; EA 375; EA 376.

Some of these are too fragmentary to decide on their exact contents, but their characterization as school tablets seems certain. The corpus further includes one clay cylinder of undetermined genre (EA 355): although its precise genre is still under discussion, it can safely be included in what is here termed "The Amarna scholarly corpus", because it seems not to have been inscribed for administrative use. One other fragment of undetermined genre, EA 360, may have also been part of the scholarly corpus. In addition, EA 382 (a collective number), and two letter-fragments, EA 361 and EA 381, that have not been included in Moran's volume, are also published here, in an appendix. Because of its relevance for the discussion which follows, a brief survey of the findspots of the tablets is presented. For further details on the history of the find and its publication, the interested reader is referred to the introductions by Knudtzon (1915: 1–15), Rainey (1978: 5–7) and Moran (1992: xiii–xviii), as well as to Artzi's brief, yet extensive survey of the present state of the Amarna documents (1988).

EA 340–341 and 356–358 were part of the original find. They form part of the collection of Amarna tablets at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin and have been included in Knudtzon's classical edition. Additional fragments, probably also

## Introduction

from the original find, were discovered at the Vorderasiatisches Museum after Knudtzon's edition had already been published. Schroeder published a cuneiform copy of VAT 1709B in VS 12 (Schroeder 1915a: 179), later designated as EA 360. Two other fragments, VAT 3780 and VAT 3781, were discussed by Schroeder following the latter publication, in *OLZ* 20 (1917). The first, now EA 361, was published in cuneiform copy; the second, now EA 381, was said to be almost illegible except for one word: *yi-eš-mi*. Further, a number of very fragmentary pieces of the Amarna tablets were given the collective number VAT 8525, and these were mentioned by Klengel in his review of Rainey 1970 (Klengel 1974: 262). The EA number of this small collection is EA 382 (Heintz 1996).<sup>2</sup>

EA 342, 344–348, 350–353 and 355 were found during the 1891/2 excavations by Petrie at Tell el-Amarna in two rubbish pits underneath the room complex, or 'the block of chambers No. 19' (Petrie 1894: 23; Sayce in Petrie 1894: 34; now marked Q.42.21, see below). EA 354 was found in the same building, in the southeastern room. These tablets are now kept at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,<sup>3</sup> together with two other Amarna tablets, EA 343 and EA 349, which were not published with the Petrie find and still lack museum numbers in Knudtzon's edition. Their present numbers, however, prefixed by 1893.1–41 like the rest of the Petrie tablets, suggest that they are part of the same corpus (cf. Campbell 1964: 63 with n. 97; Kühne 1973: 70 n. 345). Petrie mentions also a piece of a tablet which he found in house 21, east of 19 (*op. cit.*: 24), which may perhaps be either EA 343 or EA 349. Also from Petrie's excavations is an uninscribed tablet now preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, numbered 1893.1–41 (429) (mentioned by Knudtzon, 1901: 329 and 1915: 13; Artzi 1988: 14).

EA 359 and EA 379 were found during the Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft excavations at Amarna in 1913. EA 359 was unearthed in house O.47.2 and EA 359 in house N.47.3, sites which are located about 1 1/4 km away from house 19, or, as it had been newly marked according to the grid designed by the German expedition: Q.42.21 (Borchardt 1914: 34–36). These two tablets were published by Schroeder (1914; 1915a: 193 and 190 respectively).

EA 368 was found during the 1920/1 excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society in a corridor south of the central hall of house O.49.23 (Smith and Gadd 1925: 230, referring to Peet 1921: 175, who mentions room 8 of this house, and to Peet and Wooley 1923: 17).<sup>4</sup> It was published by Smith and Gadd (1925).

EA 372–377 were found during the 1933/4 excavations by Pendlebury in the same house where the Petrie tablets were found, i.e., Petrie's house 19, i.e., location Q.42.21 (Pendlebury 1951: 114–5, 120, 130). These were published by Gordon (1947). In

<sup>2</sup> EA 380, published under this number by Walker (1979), was given the number EA 382 by Heintz in *I.D.E.A. 1* (1982). Heintz's numbering was accepted by Moran (1987a: 16 n. 12; 1992: xv n. 12). However, objections to Heintz's numbering of EA 380, 381 and 382 were raised by Artzi (1988: 6; cf. also Artzi 1993c). Heintz, having accepted Artzi's arguments, has changed the numbering of the last three EA items accordingly. This numbering is followed here.

<sup>3</sup> EA 351 was destroyed during an unsuccessful restoration attempt. EA 342 and EA 344, reported as missing by Artzi (1988: 14), have been found since.

<sup>4</sup> I do not know where Artzi (1990: 141 n. 9) and Moran (1992: xvi n. 20) recovered the information about the findspots of EA 368 and EA 371 (a letter fragment). Only the latter was found in the so-called clerk's house 43.

## Introduction

addition, two uninscribed tablets were found in these excavations (cf. Artzi 1988: 14 n. 35), now kept in the British Museum (their museum numbers are BM 134867 and BM 134869; these tablets were found together with the bulk of the find in location Q.42.21: Pendlebury 1951: 120 lists nine items found there, of which only seven, later listed on p. 130, are inscribed; cf. also *The British Museum Quarterly* XXXII, 1967–1968: 58).

Further data on previous publications of these tablets and fragments will be found with their respective text editions.

### **Circumstances of the find: the ‘Records Office’ and the question of a scribal school at Amarna**

In the following I shall concentrate on the location of the scribal cuneiform school of ancient Akhetaton. This question is integrally related to the debate about the adequacy of data given by Petrie about his excavations, and also to the lack of first hand information about the initial findspot of the Amarna tablets. I shall try to show that Petrie’s ‘block of chambers No. 19’ may indeed have been the place where the initial find of the Amarna letter archives was made, as well as the place where cuneiform scribal education was practiced.

Sayce’s comparison of ancient Akhetaton to the palace of Aladdin is but one of many romantic accounts of the discovery of Tell el-Amarna and its cuneiform archives. Similar descriptions, using attributes such as ‘sensational’ or ‘revolutionary’ show that the mere story of the discovery of the Amarna tablets has absorbed, from the very beginning, some characteristics of a myth. One of the accounts tells us that “the discovery is said to have been accidentally made by a peasant woman when searching for antiquities in the loose sand and broken stones at the foot of the mountains behind the village, in which there are several interesting rock hewn tombs” (Bezold and Budge 1892: ix). Yet, in another place Budge himself states that the peasant woman “was digging out dust from among the ruins to lay upon her land for ‘top-dressing’” (Budge 1902: 185; the Arabic term *sebakh* has come up in this connection more than once; e.g., Aldred 1988: 52). Budge acknowledges that he “obtained these facts in December, 1887, from a gentleman in Egypt who was, I believe, the first European who saw the Tell el-‘Amarna Tablets, and who had personal knowledge of the men who brought them from their finder” (*op. cit.*: 186 n. 1; also quoted in Knudtzon 1915: 4 n. 1).<sup>5</sup> Yet a different version tells us that “the natives, while plundering about the ruins and carrying off Akhenaten’s bricks for their modern houses, lit upon this record chamber containing many hundreds of tablets” (Petrie 1898: 1). The exact circumstances of the initial find have never ceased to be a subject for speculation and debate; some is relevant to our discussion here (for more details see Knudtzon 1915: 4–9, and, for some implications of this problem, Aldred 1988: chapter 17).

It was Petrie’s location of the initial find which resulted in the theory that the place was the ‘record chamber’. This area yielded — in systematic excavations — more than half of the tablets and fragments edited in this volume, namely, scholarly

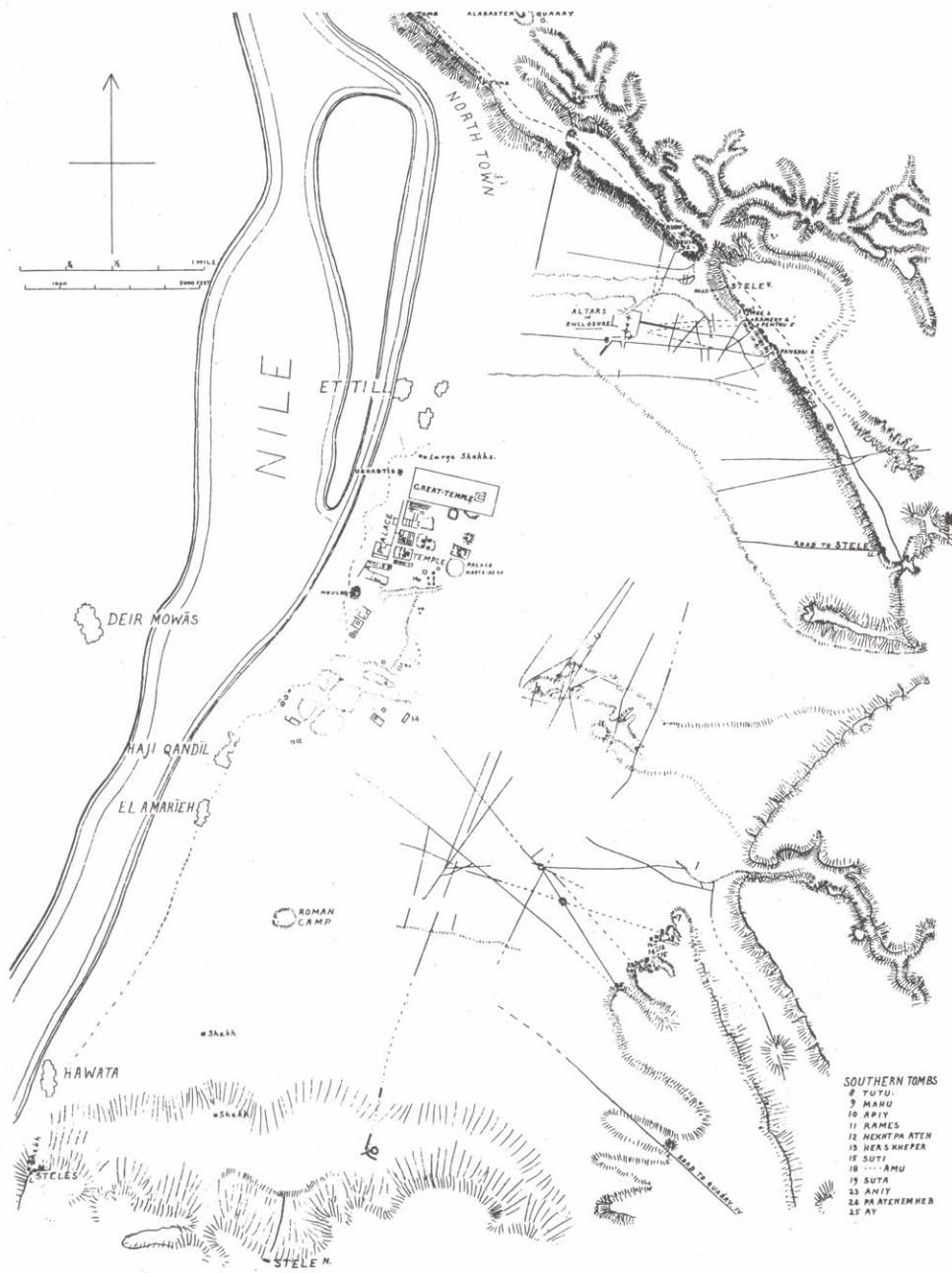
<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the first cited account ignores the fact that the findspot has been quite remote from the location of the tombs at the mountain slopes (see map).

## Introduction

1:40,000.

TELL EL AMARNA. GENERAL PLAN.

XXXV.



Tell el-Amarna area map

From: Petrie. *Tell el Amarna* (1894), pl. XXXV

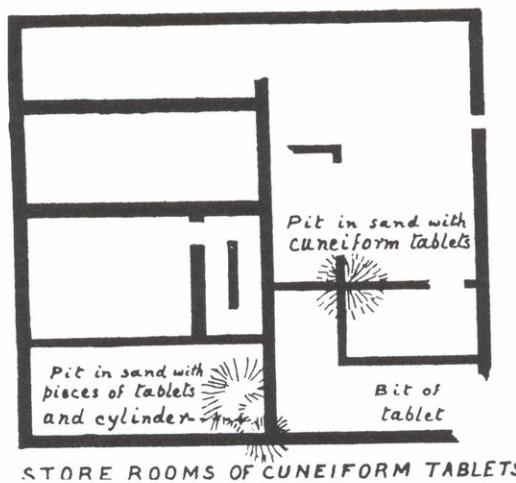
## Introduction

tablets. In fact, all but two of the lexical fragments and all the educational exercises found at Amarna were unearthed in this location. Therefore, it is worthwhile to continue with Petrie's testimony concerning this discovery:

The cuneiform tablets bearing the royal correspondence with Syria, were found in the block of chambers No. 19 (pls. XXXV, XLII). From the appearance of the chambers I believe the tablets were in the S.W. room. This site was shewn to Prof. Sayce in a previous year as the place where the tablets were found. Some natives, while I was at Tell el Amarna, offered to shew me a valuable site if I would employ them; I replied, as I always do to such offers, by telling them to go and get something from it, and I would pay them well and employ them. They went and dug a block of building; I watched them; they found nothing then, as it was exhausted, but it shewed me the spot which they deemed valuable. Afterwards I enquired of a man, where the tablets were found, and he led me to this place. Lastly, when we dug here I found one piece of a tablet in a chamber, and two rubbish pits, which had been filled up before the walls were built, and which contained the other fragments ...

There cannot therefore be any doubt as to the site of this great discovery, which was so lamentably spoilt by the present conditions attaching to such discoveries in Egypt. (Petrie 1894: 23–24)

19.



Tell el-Amarna. The Record's Office (location Q.42.21 = Petrie's house 19)

From: Petrie. *Tell el Amarna* (1894), pl. XLII.

While other sites have come up with scanty cuneiform finds as well, it is this very building that yielded the find of tablets also during the 1933/4 season, and the above cited account by Petrie indeed suggests that the 'block of chambers No. 19' may well be the place where the majority of the Amarna corpus was found. The accepted conclusion that this was the place of the Amarna archives seems, therefore, reasonable.

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Further support is offered by the inscriptions found on the bricks there, which say “The place of the letters of the Pharaoh, may he live, be prosperous and healthy.” (Petrie 1898: 1; hieroglyphs already in Petrie 1894: pl. XLII; Riedel 1939: 145; Pendlebury 1951: 114, 150). The label ‘The Records Office’, given since to this building, reflects this.<sup>6</sup>

As we have seen, Petrie noted that most of the fragments had been found in two rubbish pits beneath the room complex. Petrie suggested that the rubbish pits “had been filled up before the walls were built”. This seems, indeed, a sound conclusion judging from the drawing of the find provided with Petrie’s report, where one of the pits indeed seems to be located just below a junction of two walls (Petrie 1898: pl. XLII, reproduced here). However, doubts have been raised about this conclusion. Recalling Pendlebury’s account about the bad condition of the walls and the floor of the same building, Kühne (1973: 70 n. 345) suggested that Petrie’s statement should be regarded “zugleich mit Respekt und Skepsis”. These doubts have gained acceptance (Moran 1992: xvi n. 20; see also Aldred 1988: 56). Aldred speaks of the “frantic rummaging and upheaval that the friable sand foundations had suffered by the time Petrie dug into them” (*loc. cit.*); Pendlebury related the bad condition of the room “to the hopes of successive generations that more tablets would come to light” (1951: 114; also cited by Kühne). “Whether they (the tablets; Sh.I.) were hidden there (i.e., in the rubbish pit; Sh.I.) or whether the original floor had collapsed into an earlier rubbish pit it is hard to say,” says Pendlebury. Yet, there is some contradiction between the respective descriptions and plans of Petrie and Pendlebury. Pendlebury quotes Petrie as if he said that the cuneiform tablets had been found “in the pit below the level of the floor in the main room to the east” (*loc. cit.*). Aldred (1988:189) goes further as to suggest that the pits were dug at a later stage in order to bury the tablets. Yet, according to Petrie, there were two pits, and one of them, probably the one which Pendlebury mentions, was located under walls between rooms rather than in the central room; the other was located at an external room, where some tablets and a clay cylinder are said to have been found.

According to Kühne further support for these doubts is the subject matter of the find, namely its scholarly nature. Indeed, the lexical and educational tablets (except for the three literary tablets EA 356–358) were not part of the original find. Kühne claims that the separation of genres calls for the conclusion that there had not been two layers of writing activity, and, in the main, two layers of archives, one brought into Amarna and one contemporary and local, built one above the other. The later find of lexical and other texts in the same building also supports Kühne’s arguments against Petrie’s conclusion.

Petrie’s testimony regarding the pit over which walls were built seems to me quite strong. On the other hand, Pendlebury’s statement regarding the poor condition of the stone and building-bricks weakens it. It is possible that the cuneiform find came from the pit as well, without Pendlebury ever being aware of it. As Kühne noted, we do not know in which of the two pits Petrie’s tablets were found. Thus, it is impossible to know if one of the pits contained fragments that were thrown in, while the other

<sup>6</sup> An inscription found at a house nearby suggests, according to Petrie, that an Egyptian scribe, whom Petrie suggested was the scribe of the archives, lived there (Petrie 1894: 24).

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tablets fell into the (second?) pit when the floor collapsed. Also, some fragments found in the pits join other fragments or tablets either from the original find or unearthed during the subsequent excavations. Although previous discussions have centered on the chronological aspect (Riedel 1939; Campbell 1964: 63; Kühne 1973: 70 n. 345), the importance of this issue lies beyond chronology. The question of two different chronological layers brings up the question of the very existence of a scribal school within the Records Office.

In one of the pits a small fragment of EA 14 was found. EA 14 is a big tablet, which consists of a letter from the Pharaoh to the Babylonian king containing an inventory of gifts (now at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin; for the join see Knudtzon 1901: 329). The small fragment unearthed at the pit probably shows that EA 14 was found in the Records Office also. Yet, there is no way to tell whether this specific tablet was a copy kept in the archives, and the Petrie fragment fell into the pit in modern times (as implied from Pendlebury's comments; cf. Kühne, *loc. cit.*), or a draft which had found its way to a disposal pit as a whole in ancient times (cf. Riedel 1939; Campbell 1964: 63). It is to be noted, at this juncture, that some incoming letters were also unearthed from the pit(s) of the Records Office (Sayce in Petrie 1894: 34ff.; cf. Pendlebury 1951: 130).

We have evidence to suggest that the literary tablets EA 356 (Adapa) and EA 357 (Nergal and Ereškigal), and possibly also the related tablet EA 358, were found in the Records Office. We shall see below (p. 82) that like EA 356 and EA 357, the fragment EA 372 found in the Records Office has red points on its surface, and although it cannot be joined to any of the known literary tablets, it still forms part of this small literary subcorpus. The educational tablets found in the Records Office together with the evidence suggesting that this was also the location of literary tablets seems to me proof that the Egyptian students used the Records Office as a place of study (for the importance of the points with regard to this issue see further below). EA 357 may also have been studied: it has black over red points in some of the lines, reminding one of the common procedure known from ancient Egypt, where a master used to correct in black preliminary drawings made by an artist in red (see below, the commentary to EA 357, p. 55).

Other finds in this building include EA 375 and EA 376 of the Pendlebury dig, which show that literary tablets were not only read but also written at this site. EA 376 is written by an uncertain hand (see below, p. 89), and is further support for the assumption that there was a cuneiform school at the Records Office. It is interesting to note that EA 375 was erased by water, broken while still wet, and, as a fingerprint on the break proves, thrown away (for further details see below, p. 87). Likewise, EA 345, a practice tablet of which only a corner remains, is smashed at one of its sides, and it looks as if this was done while the clay was still wet (see below, p. 24). Was it an act of despair by a frustrated student? These tablets appear to have been lying in a garbage pit for millennia before "the hopes of successive generations that more tablets would come to light" destroyed the site and undermined Pendlebury's ability to form sound conclusions. In contrast to EA 375, which may have been an unsuccessful attempt to produce another recension of the *šar tamhāri* epic, EA 359, a good (albeit fragmentary) edition of *šar tamhāri*, was unearthed in another place (see above).

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Another small fragment which turned up at Pendlebury's excavations, EA 377, is a rudimentary exercise, inscribed on a piece of clay which, judging from its shape (it has a concave section), may never have had the form of a complete tablet. Similarly, the fragment EA 343 also has a concave section. This and other fragments which seem to be beginners' exercises (note especially EA 345), were found in the pits. Other fragments, on which syllabaries are written, give the impression that they were cancelled immediately after being inscribed (see comments to EA 348; 349; cf. also EA 346 and the remarks above on EA 375 and EA 345). I find it hard to believe that these were kept in the archives of the Egyptian foreign office, and hence their place in the pit(s) seems to conform with their nature.

EA 354 (*diri*) is a fragment of a lexical tablet which was found in the house yet outside of the pits and has since been joined to three of Petrie's fragments from the pit(s) (EA 351, 352, 353), and to another fragment, EA 373, which turned up at Pendlebury's excavations (see below, the commentary to EA 351). For its own part, EA 373, which consists of two joined fragments itself, has black tint on its lower half, which must have been added after the tablet broke. If this indeed happened in antiquity, there is another piece of evidence for at least this tablet having been disposed of by its original scribes (or users).

In conclusion, I believe the data allow us to surmise that the site of building Q.42.21 (Petrie's house 19) was the place where not only letters, but also educational material — syllabaries, lexical lists, and literary texts — were kept. (The fact that EA 368, the Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary, and EA 379, a fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> list were found at a distance from the Records Office does not necessarily detract from the argument.) The uninscribed tablets preserved at the Ashmolean Museum and at the British Museum, probably indicate that tablets were written here as well (cf. Knudtzon 1901: 329, who attributed the uninscribed tablet at Oxford to Egyptian origin; obviously, there is no reason for assuming the import of uninscribed tablets). Moreover, I think we can safely surmise that this was also the place where students began to learn cuneiform and continued their education. While some of the tablets and fragments could have fallen into the pits during non-professional excavations done in modern times, at least some of them must have been material that was thrown away. If the pit was indeed beneath the walls, the presence of these tablets and fragments would support the view that the building was constructed after the tablets were disposed of and leave room for further debate. But this is mainly an issue of chronology and one that may never be solved. The circumstances of the find of the Amarna tablets have resulted in our inability to fully understand the exact structure of the archives and cuneiform school of ancient Akhetaton.

## Scribal education at Akhetaton

The corpus of Amarna scholarly tablets, in spite of the fact that they are few in number and fragmentary, nevertheless, gives us some idea about the educational curriculum of a cuneiform scribe at Akhetaton. While this is not the place to discuss the issue at length, a new edition of the scholarly tablets warrants a brief discussion of the establishment of the corpus used for cuneiform education.

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At the time the Amarna scholarly tablets were unearthed, it seemed clear to their first student, Archibald Sayce, that it was a Babylonian scribe (or scribes) working for the Pharaoh who was sitting at the Records Office of Akhetaton. As we have already seen, the find which we now identify as school texts was interpreted as if that scribe “worked with the help of dictionaries and lists of characters, and that lexicons had been compiled for their use” (Sayce in Petrie 1894: 34). Knudzon (1915: 24) recognized their scholarly nature, yet the question “who taught Babylonian to the Egyptian?” was first asked by Kaspar K. Riemschneider in a lecture at the AOS meeting in 1976, which, unfortunately, has never been published. Riemschneider’s view is, however, well known, and has since been cited more than once. According to him, it was the Hittites who taught the Egyptians to write Akkadian. Support for this theory has been adduced by Gary Beckman in his treatment of the Mesopotamian education in Hattusa, and he shows paleographical similarities, co-occurrence of some literary material in Hatti and in Egypt, and prominent similarities between fragments of syllabaries and lexical lists in both sites (Beckman 1983: 112–113).<sup>7</sup> The relationship between Hittite and Egyptian cuneiform writing also has been discussed by Gernot Wilhelm, who suggests an older date for the Hittito-Egyptian contact, which resulted in the similarities of their respective scribal traditions (Wilhelm 1984).

It is to be noted that the ductus of each of the tablets edited here may be defined as either ‘Egyptian’ or ‘Hittito-Egyptian’. The distinction between a Hittite ductus and an Egyptian ductus has been made by comparison to the attested Hittite cuneiform texts from Amarna, which are admittedly few. (Otherwise, sign forms can be compared with genuine Hittite material from Boghazkoy, now readily available thanks to the work of Rüster and Neu, 1989.) As has been shown in the studies mentioned above, the Egyptian cuneiform tradition, since it is based on the so-called Old Hittite writing tradition, can in any case be distinguished from the contemporary Hittite one. It is on this assumption that the definition of the ductus of a specific tablet as ‘Egyptian’ rather than as ‘Hittito-Egyptian’ has been based. Wherever there are no specific signs on which to make such a distinction, the ductus was defined as ‘Hittito-Egyptian’.

Among the literary tablets found at Amarna, two pieces of Akkadian literature have direct parallels in Hatti. These are the *šar tamhāri* epic, relating the expedition of Sargon, king of Akkad, to Anatolia (EA 359; EA 375; also EA 376?), and the story of Kešši (EA 341). The writing system and linguistic peculiarities of these texts are directly related to Boghazkoy Akkadian (see below, pp. 18 and 72 for EA 341 and EA 359 respectively). It is thus justified to suggest that these tablets may be direct borrowings of Akkado-Hittite cuneiform material, which, although they may not have been imported from Hatti, seem to be copies of original Boghazkoy tablets. However, this does not have to be the case for the rest of the educational or scholarly

<sup>7</sup> Beckman’s reference to the exchange of letters in Hittite between Egypt and Arzawa to claim that Egyptian scribes could write Hittite is less convincing: although a request to write only in Hittite is explicit in the Arzawa letter to Egypt (EA 32: 24–25), one could imagine a foreign scribe writing the letter of response in his own tongue. In fact, an address to the scribe in Arzawa to specify his name on behalf of his colleague in Egypt (EA 32: 21–23) is a possible hint for the Arzawite origin of this scribe (cf. also Moran 1992: xix n. 35). Similarly, one can show for EA 369, a letter from the Pharaoh to Milkilu of Gezer, that it was written by a Canaanite scribe (Izre’el 1995b: 109–118). Beckman further refers to political circumstances, yet these can serve only to point out the possibility of such contact rather than serve as an actual indication for one.

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material of the Amarna cuneiform school. As for the syllabaries and lexical lists, it has already been shown by Artzi (1990; see especially the chart on p. 153) that the Amarna material has a close relationship with parallel material from Ugarit. We do know that the Hittito-Akkadian school had largely influenced the Syrian cuneiform curricula, both directly and indirectly (cf. Izre'el 1992b: 172). Yet, since a comprehensive study of the Syrian educational curricula is still wanting (Krecher 1969; the Boghazköy and Emar lexical lists also need thorough research), and much of the data is still unpublished, it is highly premature to draw any conclusions about the direct origin of any of the Amarna scholarly particulars.

art.

There is, however, one major exception to this overall picture. These are the literary tablets EA 356, 357 and 358, which are termed in the secondary literature as the 'triad' (Artzi 1982, 1985, 1986), and the additional fragment EA 372. These tablets differ from the rest of the scholarly Amarna tablets in their form (the obverse being the convex rather than the flat side; cf. the commentary to EA 375), script and language. They display a ductus very similar to the ductus of the Babylonian letters sent to Amarna, and thus are to be separated from the rest of the scholarly corpus of Amarna. EA 356 and EA 357 are recensions of original Babylonian myths (Adapa and Nergal and Ereškigal respectively; EA 358 is a fragment of an unknown composition; EA 372 is a small fragment which I could not ascribe). The attestation of these tablets among the scholarly texts of Amarna suggests that there may have been an import of knowledge into Egypt from other sites than Hatti. The language of these texts shows prominent Middle Babylonian traits and some Peripheral Akkadian interference (the latter can be ascertained only for EA 357; see Hutter 1985: 13–14; Izre'el 1991b; 1992a: 199 n. 57). Hence, a contemporary import of texts to Egypt (even if not necessarily of actual tablets) from the Syrian periphery of Mesopotamia, which show direct or indirect access to Babylonia proper, seems very plausible.

The Amarna corpus contains syllabaries, sign-lists, vocabularies, a DN list and literary texts. The scribal curriculum at the Akhetaton school has been discussed by Artzi in various publications, and thus needs not be further discussed. Artzi, who uses the term *edubba* to refer to the Amarna cuneiform school (1988: 7; 1990: 140), has shown that this curriculum bears great similarity (yet not without some deviation) to the curriculum from Mesopotamia proper and to the curriculum from the western Mesopotamian periphery (Artzi 1992). The paucity of material does not allow us to draw any conclusions about the mechanics of the scholarly instruction, especially with regard to the learning of writing. However, a thorough investigation of the literary texts produces insights. As I have tried to show elsewhere (Izre'el 1991b; 1992a), the red point system on EA 356 and EA 357 evidently suggests that the two myths, those of Adapa and Nergal and Ereškigal, were read aloud at Amarna. Furthermore, the system of plene-writing, especially the one attested in EA 357, seems to show that these texts were inscribed through dictation rather than by copying. The attestation of one sandhi phenomenon in EA 357 (*uluballaṭanni*, l. 45; see below, pp. 55–6) lends further support to this assumption.

The *raison d'être* of the Amarna literary texts has raised much speculation. I doubt if there is any propitious strategy for tackling this problem, since the actual find may be just an accidental fragment of the original literary corpus kept at the Amarna archives. It seems premature to speculate (for a preliminary observation see

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Artzi and Malamat 1993: 36 n. 76) that the literary, particularly mythological texts which have reached us, were especially attractive to the Egyptians. The discovery that EA 372 is part of the literary corpus of the Akhetaton cuneiform school, and yet does not constitute another fragment of an already existing tablet, lends further support to the view that the actual find is but a segment of a larger literary corpus. Still, one conclusion can nevertheless be proffered. The ductus of the so called 'triad' (with the newly added literary fragment EA 372) is different from that of the ductus used by Egyptian scribes for letters, and their writing, syllabary and language differ substantially from both the epistolary corpus and from the 'Hittito-Akkadian' literary one (EA 341, EA 359). It thus stands to reason that the texts of this literary subcorpus were used not, or not only for the sake of language instruction, but also for acquainting the local scribes with Mesopotamian cultural lore. One might recall at this juncture that international marriages had brought a Babylonian princess into Egypt, which must also have involved bringing in personnel. Whatever influence that may have had on the scribal curriculum at Akhetaton is still a matter to discuss.

To use the fact that EA 359 was found in a different location as evidence applicable to the scope of the scribal curriculum will, obviously, result in conjectural and highly speculative conclusions; the same applies to EA 379, a fragment of a syllabary. In any case, that any specific tablet found outside rather than in the Records Office was thrown away by a person fleeing from Akhetaton does not appear to be a workable theory to me (e.g., Westenholz, forthcoming; for some preliminary thoughts on the problem of the relationship between the findspots of EA 359 and EA 379 and the Records Office see Borchardt 1914: 36). Any future attempt to interpret such a find should, I believe, be based on both philology and archaeology. The physical features of the bilingual vocabulary EA 368 have suggested that this tablet may be an import into Egypt, or at least may have served as an aid for studying Egyptian (see below, p. 79). In any case, its clay characteristics and ductus, its uniqueness in form, language and syllabary, together with its find spot, allow us to speculate (yet by no means infer) that this document had not been part of the regular curriculum of the Amarna scribes.

The main site of scribal learning is, as far as we know, the site of the Records Office, where tablets — including letters — were kept. It is also there where tablets were inscribed. While we cannot determine the chronology of the site and its building phases, there is sufficient evidence that it is here that students exercised cuneiform writing, learned Akkadian words and phrases, and were trained in reading Akkadian literature. These were, evidently, Egyptian scribes who needed this instruction in order to handle the foreign correspondence of the Pharaoh. Yet, there is some evidence (see below the comment to EA 343: 4') that there were also guest students from abroad, who learned the letter formulae to be used for the correspondence between their lords, the vassals, and their master, the Pharaoh. We do not know who these student scribes were or which cities they came from. Since the language of the bulk of the Amarna letters from Canaan differs substantially from the language of the letters written by scribes of the Pharaoh, one might surmise that there were also local cuneiform schools in Canaan (cf. Izre'el 1995a). Yet, it is also possible that some scribes were educated, fully or in part, in Egypt. It is perhaps in this context that we should understand the mixed ductus and syllabary of EA 340 (see below, pp. 15–6; cf. also the comments on the physical features of EA 342 and EA 368). The implications of this evidence

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for determining the diversity of the Syro-Palestinian cuneiform education and letter writing are, for the time being, beyond our reach, and call for further research (for some preliminary methodological premises see Izre'el, forthcoming a).

### Note:

Tablet measures are given in the formula 'height  $\times$  width'; clay color definitions are based, more or less, on *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1975 edition).



## EA 340 — A historical tale or a letter fragment

### Plate I

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 1583.

Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 1915a: 191 (reproduced).

Previous published photographs: Artzi 1993a: 24.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 954–5; Artzi 1993a.

A fragment from the lower right corner of a tablet; 21×51 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Mixed ductus: Byblian/northern Mediterranean coast with some Egyptianisms (*ni*, *ù*, *GIŠ*; cf. Artzi 1993a).

### Text

Obv.	1'	] [ <i>ma?</i> ] ŠÀ? [
	2'	] [ <i>a</i> ]- <i>la-ki-</i> [ <i>šu?</i> ]
	3'	] [ <i>ki la bá-ni-</i> [ <i>šu</i> ] URU.KI
	4'	] [ <i>LUGAL ù di-[x]-šu</i>
Rev.	5'	ÉRIN.] [ <i>MEŠ-šu GIŠ.GIGI</i> [R.M] [ <i>EŠ ki-i</i>
	6'	] [ <i>x a-ab-ba</i>
	7'	] [ <i>r-pé-ti eš-tu AN</i>
	8'	] [ <i>e?</i> ] [ <i>ki?</i> ] [ <i>ša?</i> ] <i>x</i> [

### Translation

Obv.	1'	]. . .
	2'	] [ <i>his?</i> going
	3'	]. . . the city had not been built (?)
	4'	] [ <i>king</i> and . . . <i>him</i>
Rev.	5'	] [ <i>his [troop]s (and) chario[t]s. When</i>
	6'	] [ <i>the sea</i>
	7'	] [ <i>louds from heaven</i>
	8'	]. . .

### Comments

Following the preliminary observations by Knudtzon (1915: 17–19, 23), it has been accepted that this fragment is not part of a letter, but a literary text of some kind. Artzi suggests that this is a fragment of a historical text, and compares the Hittito-Akkadian account of the siege of the city Uršu. His restorations conform with this idea. Regarding its provenience, both the ductus and the bright clay can point to either Byblian or Egyptian origin. Artzi takes this as a sign of a Byblian-educated scribe writing in Egypt. However, the converse can also be assumed, i.e., that this text was

written by a Byblian scribe who had been educated in Egypt. Regarding what has been left of the content of the tablet, there is nothing that can exclude its being a fragment of a letter. The phrase *erpēti ištu šamē* “clouds from heaven” (l. 7') might well be taken as a metaphor within the content of a letter, of which not few examples are attested in the Amarna letters from Byblos and other sites (for former observations regarding the provenience of this tablet see Jucquois 1966: 122; Hachmann 1970: 64–65). My reading of l. 3' seems also to support the possibility that this is part of a letter (cf. the comment to l. 3' below). Furthermore, the size of the signs is larger than in the other literary texts found at Amarna. Nevertheless, although I am inclined to regard this fragment as part of a letter, I am unable to ascertain this claim at this stage of research. I leave this question, together with the question of its provenience, for further study. Whether this text is indeed to be included in the Amarna scholarly corpus is, consequently, still an open question.

1': Artzi restores: *i]-[na] lib-[bi ma-a-ti* ‘in the midst of the land’. The reading of *na* here is very doubtful; *šA* is suspect as well (see collation).

2': Artzi restores: *i-na] [a]-la-ki-[šu]*.

3': For the reading of the second sign as *la* see Artzi, who regards the form as Egyptian. However, if we take the lower horizontal wedge as part of the right component of the sign, this would make the form of this sign similar to the one in l. 2', where there is only one horizontal wedge as its left component. Its attribution as Egyptian can hence be excluded. In spite of the wrong case ending of *pānišu*, Artzi reads: *[i/uk-]ki-la pa-ni-[šu]* ‘his face became dark’, i.e., he became grieved. Note also that *pānu* is masculine in Akkadian. My suggestion recalls the frequent promises of Aziru to build Sumur, following claims from the Pharaoh that he had not yet done so. See, e.g., EA 160: 20–28; EA 161: 35–40. The value *bá* for *PA* is attested in Egyptian Akkadian (Cochavi Rainey 1988:23); only once in an Amarna letter from Byblos (EA 85:15). There is a large space between ll. 3' and 4'. Knudtzon (n. d) says that there might have been another (shorter) line which is now broken. The arrangement of the lines at the proximity of the lower edge seems to exclude this possibility.

4': Or: ‘and his ...’. Artzi suggests: *di-[im-ta]-šu* ‘his siege tower’, but there is room for only one, rather narrow sign in the break.

6': For the syllabic writing and its significance for the attribution of the text to a location (if not provenience) at the northern Mediterranean coast see Artzi 1993a: 27–28.

7': Knudtzon's reading of the first sign as *ir* seems to be confirmed by collation (cf. *ni* with no small verticals in l. 3'). The interpretation of the first word as *erpēti* was first suggested by Ungnad in his review of Knudtzon's edition (1916: 186).

8': The reading is Knudtzon's. Artzi proposes also the possibility of reading *URU* instead of *e*. Yet, an ‘A’ component in this sign seems to be confirmed.

## EA 341 — The story of Kešši

### Plate II

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 1704.

Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 1915a: 192 (reproduced).

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 954–5. For the Hittite and Hurrian versions see Salvini 1988: 160–1.

A fragment from the lower right corner of a tablet; 42×64 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Hittito-Egyptian ductus; small script (line-height of c. 2–2.5 mm).

### Text

1' ]x[ ]LÚ? x[  
 2' ]-ak-ki a-na <sup>d</sup>U[TU? ]  
 3' <sup>d</sup>JU.GUR 「<sup>u</sup>」 DINGIR.MEŠ gáb-bá-š[u-nu]  
 4' ] <sup>1</sup>ki-iš-ši ki-na-an-[na] [?]  
 (4a') ]

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5' ]-du-šu-nu-ti a-na ŠU-ti DINGIR.MEŠ [?]  
 6' ]-bi-ra a-na 「ŠU」-ti LÚ.I.GAB KÁ.GAL.HÁ-「ni?」[  
 7' ] DINGIR.MEŠ um-ma-a uš-ṣur <sup>1</sup>ki-iš-ši 「<sup>i?</sup>」-「na」[?]  
 8' u]l-tù <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>te</sup>em-ma i-ša-ak-kà-nu[  
 9' ] 「<sup>u</sup>」 <sup>1</sup>ú-「dib」-šar-ri ma<sup>19</sup>(GIŠ)-hi-ir a-[n]a i[l]  
 10' ]「ru<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup>」 g[á]b-bi a-[duk]-ka<sub>4</sub>-šu U[D?] 「an」-「na」[  
 11' ] AN x[ x i<sup>2</sup>-n]a<sup>2</sup> lib[「-bi<sup>2</sup>」[

### Translation

1' ]..[ ...[  
 2' ]... to the S[un?]-God,  
 3' ]U.GUR and all the gods  
 4' ] Kišši thus  
 (4a') ]

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5' ]they<sup>7</sup> [...] them to the hands of the gods  
 6' ]... to the hands of the gate keeper  
 7' ] the gods: “Guard Kišši in<sup>7</sup> ...  
 8' si]nce the Sun-God ordered[  
 9' ] and Udibšarri has accepted<sup>7</sup>. To ...  
 10' ]... him<sup>7</sup> all. I will kill<sup>7</sup> him ...[  
 11' ]..... midst<sup>7</sup> ...

### Comments

As recognized by Ehelolf (1927) and Friedrich (1929: 81; 1948: 50), the attestation of the PN Kišši and Udibšarri suggests that this fragment is part of an Akkadian version of the Hurrian tale of Kišši. Note the tendency to use logograms in this text, which is in accordance with the practice employed in EA 359 and in contrast to EA 356–8. This tablet also shares with EA 359 (*šar tamhāri*) the size of signs, a syllabary and linguistic features which are salient to Boghazkoy Akkadian, notably the doubling of consonant in the first syllable (*uṣ-ṣur*, l. 7; *te-em-ma*, l. 8'); cf. further the comment to l. 8' below. On the other side, which is convex, only a few illegible traces of the first three lines are visible.

3': Albright (1923: 13), following Schroeder's copy, suggested 'Nergal' rather than Knudtzon's 'Sīn'. The reading of the signs is confirmed by collation. This deity (Nergal or Ugur; for this problem cf. Wilhelm 1982: 54) is hitherto unattested in the Hittite and Hurrian versions of the story (Salvini 1988: 162). At the end of the line, the sign *pa* seems to be confirmed (cf. also Schroeder 1915b: 175); an apparent vertical stroke which is visible to the right of the vertical wedge (collated; cf. the photograph) is probably parasitic.

4a': The separation line is elevated towards the right hand side (see photograph; Schroeder's copy does not show it). Yet, it is possible that there was another inscribed line between l. 4' and the separation line, as suggested by Schroeder (1915b: 175), who also changed the enumeration of the lines accordingly. In order to avoid confusion, I chose to adhere to the line enumeration of Knudtzon, followed by other students of this text. The adverb *kīnanna* would hence be followed, as is expected, by some text. For a similar textual organization cf. EA 359: 12', 23', 28' (on the reverse).

5': Possibly restore, after Albright (1923: 13): [*ip-qí-*]du-šu-nu-ti 'they entrusted them'.

6': This line has been reinterpreted by Schroeder (1915b; his line number: 7). The remains of two vertical wedges at the beginning of this line were interpreted by Schroeder as *e*, and he restored: [*e-*]bi-ra. LÚ.LGAB, following Schroeder, may attest the spelling with I for ı (cf., for the Hittite regions, Rüster and Neu 1989: 72). Albright (1923: 13) suggested an interpretation of the verb as *i-ipti* 'he opened'. The plural form KÁ.GAL.ḪÁ-ni = *abullānī*, suggested and drawn accurately by Schroeder, perhaps attests to another feature of Peripheral Akkadian in this text, as core Akkadian has *abullāt-*. Note further that the plural determinative ḪÁ is unusual with KÁ.GAL. Literally, this nominal phrase means 'porter of the gates'. The context and the wording suggests that the text refers to the gatekeeper of the gates of the netherworld.

8': The reading of this line follows Schroeder's suggestion (1915b: 176; his line number: 9), who compared EA 359: 15, 22, where the particle *ultu* is used with the same spelling, and, like here, is followed by the subjunctive (Albright, 1923: 13, interpreted the verb as plural). For the use of DU for *tū*, attested in the Akkadian of Boghazkoy, and elsewhere in Peripheral Akkadian and Amarna, see Durham 1976: 318 n. 376; for *ultu* as a Boghazkoy Akkadian feature see Durham 1976: 444 and n. 4 on pp. 448f. Most instructive is the occurrence in EA 359, the only other attestation in the Amarna corpus with the same spelling.

9': The reading of the sign after *ú* as *dib* (LU) has been suggested by Friedrich (1948: 50 n. 11; 1950: 253). Its form may be similar to *lu* signs in EA 359 (e.g., ll. 30, 33

with their commentary). If so, we have the Hurrian rather than the Hittite form of the name here, as the Hittite one has the vowel *u* instead (cf. Friedrich 1950: 253; Salvini 1988: 162). Collation seems to support Knudtzon's *ir*; I also accept tentatively his suggestion to emend the first sign to *ma*; the reading *a-na* (for Knudtzon's *-te*) is Schroeder's, and is supported by collation. Schroeder's *il* could perhaps also be either *ša* or *ta*, followed by another sign.

**10'**: Knudtzon suggested *di[n] gu[r]* for the beginning of this line. Knudtzon's tentative derivation of the string *a-DUG-qa* from *dâku*, although accepted by other authorities, is difficult both in view of its morphology and its syllabary. It is followed here for lack of a better suggestion. At the end of the line, read perhaps *ūma annâ* 'at this day'.

## EA 342 — An exercise in letter writing?

### Plate III

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1-41 (414).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, VII.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 956.

A fragment from the left side of a tablet; 61×45 mm; light red clay. Non-Egyptian  
dextrus: note *uš* (Schroeder 1915a, list 99); cf. comments below.

#### Text

1'	U[D?
2'	DIŠ ši-n[a?
3'	<i>u uš-</i> [
4'	<i>u i-na-[an?</i> -na?
5'	ša-ni[-tam?
6'	at-t[a?
7'	<i>a-ma[-te?</i> .MEŠ?
8'	ŠE[
9'	Š[E?

#### Translation

1'	...
2'	...
3'	and ...
4'	and n[ow?
5'	Further[more?
6'	you?
7'	The wor[ds?
8'	...
9'	...

#### Comments

The clay color and its rather crude surface give the tablet an appearance identical to EA 344. In the uncertain traces on the reverse one can recognize 10 parallel strokes which must have served as guide lines (Knudtzon). On the obverse, a vertical stroke, relatively far from the edge-curve, marks the beginning of the written text (see copy and photograph). Knudtzon states (p. 24), that while the clay could be Egyptian, the ductus is not. I am not at all sure whether this color is attested in any of the Amarna

tablets for which an Egyptian provenience can be ascertained. Although badly broken, enough of the context remains to make some sense of the signs and thus, Campbell (1964: 63) suggested that the text might be a letter. However, an objection (albeit not categorical) to taking this text as a letter is the layout with the vertical line on the left. This is probably the reason why Knudtzon assigned this tablet, as well as EA 343 and 344, to the corpus of scholarly tablets. Although one might take the text to be an exercise in letter writing (cf. EA 343 and the reverse of EA 351 and EA 354), the non-Egyptian ductus makes this suggestion questionable. Cf. further the comments to EA 344 below. The other side is destroyed.

1': Knudtzon suggested *w[a]*.

2': The DIŠ sign can either stand for the numeral '1' or, with Mercer (1939: 790), for a male determinative.

3': Instead of *u*, one can read, in a different interpretation of this text, the numeral '10'.

6': Or the beginning of a 1 sg. verb in the *-t-* form?

## EA 343 — An exercise

### Plate IV

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1-41 (427).

Previous cuneiform copies: none.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 956.

A fragment; 40×35 mm (inscribed side: 29×30 mm); light gray to very pale brown clay. Egyptian ductus.

#### Text

1'	]	$x^2$ [
2'	]	ù [ù?]
3'	] $x^2$	
4'	]	「 $a^2$ 」- $na^2$ 」 <sup>1</sup> LUGA[L
5'	]	「 $lx$
6'	]	$a^2$ - $n[a^2$
7'		traces?

#### Comments

This is probably a practice tablet, used, at least in part, as an exercise for writing letter formulae (see the comment to l. 4'). At the right side of the inscribed surface, the fragment becomes concave (cf. EA 377). The surface seems erased, at least in part. The small part left of the other side seems empty of signs.

**1'**: Precisely on the separation line, there are uncertain traces of what looks like a double *Glossenkeil*.

**4'**: The *na* sign does not look like Egyptian *na* in Schroeder's list (1915a, 30), but has a counterpart in EA 354 (reverse, vertical section, l. 6), a text with otherwise a prominent Egyptian ductus (cf. the comment for that line in EA 354, p. 40 below). If the reading of the first two signs is correct (so after Knudtzon), then what we have here is the beginning of an opening formula of a letter 'to the king', most probably addressing the Egyptian Pharaoh. A male determinative preceding the 'king' logogram is very common in the Amarna letters, and is employed throughout the entire area of the vassal-correspondence from Syria-Palestine. Thus, this fragment was perhaps written by a scribe of one of the Levantine vassals educated in cuneiform letter writing in Egypt.

## EA 344 — An exercise

### Plate V

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (417).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, X.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 957.

A fragment, which seems to be from the upper edge of a tablet; 74×55 mm; light red clay. Hittito-Egyptian ductus (see the comment below).

### Text

1'	L]Ú or: LUG]AL
2'	] LUGAL
3'	] a-na
4'	] LÚ
5'	]
6'	]A
7'	]

### Comments

The clay and its rather crude surface appear identical to that of EA 342. On the reverse, which is uninscribed, there appear to be 3 double-spaced parallel strokes comparable to those on EA 342 (Knudtzon 1915: 956). This conforms, so it seems, to the difference between the respective scripts of these two fragments. As is the case with EA 342, the remaining signs on this fragment too might suggest its identification as a letter fragment. However, here the signs seem unorganized, even sporadic; note further that there is perhaps a repetition of the similar signs LÚ and LUGAL. Thus, the identification of this fragment as a practice tablet is even more compelling than in the case of EA 342. If the clay is indeed Egyptian (cf. above, pp. 20–1), its findspot together with EA 342 in a rubbish pit (see introduction, p. 3), may add some support to this assumption (the same Knudtzon, p. 24). Regarding the ductus, *na* seems Egyptian, LUGAL looks more like Hittite-type (cf. Schroeder 1915a, list 30 and 81 respectively).

## EA 345 — An exercise

### Plate VI

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (424).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXIII, XVII.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 957–8.

The lower left corner of a tablet; 43×42 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay.  
Hittito-Egyptian ductus.

### Text

Obv.	1'	「I」 ŠE? x[
	2'	I ŠE+x[
	3'	I ḪA? [
Rev.	4'	I GA la-aš-du[
	5'	I GA la-aš-du G[A
	6'	I GA la-aš-d[u A?
	7'	I GA la-aš-d[u NI?
	8'	[I G]A la- <i>&lt;aš&gt;-d[u</i> DIŠ?
	9'	[ ]x[
Left	10'	I ŠE x[

### Comments

On one side there are disfigurements in the clay, which seem to have been made purposely while the clay was still wet and after some signs were already written (see photograph; cf. Knudtzon, p. 957 n. c). Its findspot in a pit and the sign forms, support the conclusion that this is a fragment of a practice tablet. Knudtzon, according to whom the handwriting is that of a beginner (p. 957 n. d), identified the text as a “Schreibübung” (p. 24). Following a suggestion of F. Wiggermann, the fragment may attest to an exercise in writing a lexical sequence reminiscent of Ea tablet IV, 31–34, where one finds the equation of GA (continued by GA.GA, GA.A, GA.NI and GA.DIŠ) with *lildu* “cream” (MSL XIV: 356).

**1'–3', 10':** What Knudtzon marks as separation lines are, in my opinion, guidelines (see drawing and photograph) and, therefore, I did not indicate them in my transliteration.

Knudtzon's readings for these lines are: (1) I še, (2) I tu, (3) I za-man, (10) I še-t[e].

**9':** Perhaps, with Knudtzon: [I GA] 「la」-[aš-du].

## EA 346 — An exercise

### Plate VII

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (420).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXIII, XIII (reverse only).

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 958.

A corner from the left side of a tablet; 28×45 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Egyptian ductus (Knudtzon 1915: 24), yet not conclusively distinct.

### Text

Cols.                    i'                    ii'

Obv.	1'	traces	
	2'	I [z̄i]	
	3'	[zu <sup>?</sup> ]	[du <sup>?</sup> ]
	4'	[ir <sup>?</sup> ]	[ba <sup>?</sup> ]
	5'	ir <sup>?</sup> zu	[ma]
	6'	a	[ma <sup>?</sup> ]
	7'	[a]	[ba]
Rev.	8'	I ha	bi-lu[
	9'	I za	i-d[u <sup>?</sup> ]
	10'	I lum <sup>?</sup>	x[
	11'	I [mu <sup>?</sup> ]	
	12'	[I]	

### Comments

The flat side of the fragment (taken, after Knudtzon, to be the obverse) seems to be smoothed by water. This side, as well as the other, are inscribed in columns; on the convex side there is a vertical separation line, of which traces also are seen on the bottom. Yet, the signs in the respective columns and within each column do not always align. Moreover, the obverse is water damaged, and seems to have been erased for cancelling, as is the case with other fragments in this corpus (cf. EA 345, EA 348, EA 349 and EA 375). Thus, I follow Knudtzon (p. 24), and take this tablet to be one used for writing practice. Cf. also Knudtzon's nn. e and f on p. 958.

Knudtzon regarded the text on both sides of this tablet as consisting of coherent sequences, and transliterated the text as such. If this is so, then we may perhaps see some semantic relationship between the first two lines of the reverse, reading *ha-bi-lu* and *ša-i-du* (for *šayyādu*? Cf. especially Gilgameš I ii 42 and CAD Ḫ: 16b s.v. *ḥābilu* and *ḥābilu-amēlu*). Further research is still needed in order to find further support for this hypothesis and a suitable lexical list for the attribution of this fragment (LÚ?).

**4'-7'**: The rendering of the signs in the right column is Knudzon's. It is hard to tell whether the sign is *ba* or *ma* in any of the respective lines.

**5'**: Or *ni*? Yet, if the ductus is indeed Egyptian, one would expect a *ni* sign without two small vertical wedges (cf. Schroeder 1915a, list 106).

**10'**: Other possible readings of this sign are *di* (also suggested by Moran in his collations of the Amarna tablets; p. c.) or *lam*. The right component is somewhat ambiguous with respect to the shape and number of the wedges.

**12'**: Knudzon (n. g) saw the head of a vertical wedge.

## EA 347 — A lexical list?

### Plate VIII

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (422).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXIII, XV.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 958.

A fragment from the lower (or upper) edge of a tablet; 20×65 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Unspecific ductus (Knudtzon 1915: 24: Egyptian).

#### Text

Cols.            i'            ii'

Obv.? 1'		['I'] [
2'	] <i>x</i>	1 <i>ši</i> [
Rev.? 3' ]		1 <i>ri-ia-ma-n[u<sup>2</sup>]</i>
4'		] <i>nu<sup>2</sup></i> [

#### Comments

The upper edge of a column separation line and a guiding line are visible on the 'reverse'. It may be a fragment from a lexical list.

2': Knudtzon suggests that the sign on the left column is *nu*.

3': Hess (1933: 181), following Edel, takes this as an Egyptian PN.

4': Knudtzon thought he had seen the head of a vertical wedge at the beginning of the second column.

## EA 348 — A fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist

## Plates IX-X

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (419).  
Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXIII, XII.  
Previously published photographs: Artzi 1990: pl. III.  
Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 959; Artzi 1990: 149–152.  
A fragment from the right hand side of a tablet, close to the bottom (Knudtzon 1915: 959 n. a); 100×74 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Hittito-Egyptian ductus.

## Text

Col. ii'

Obv.	1'	I 「TIM」	[
	2'	I TUM	[
	3'	I TUM	[
	4'	I 「EGIR?」	[
	5'	I MAR <sup>1</sup>	[
	6'	I 「DIB?」	[
	7'	I 「TAB?」	[

Cols. i' ii'

Rev.	1'	]	I [UG]
	2'	]	I GÌR
	3'	]	I ALIM
	4'	]—LÀL—	I HUŠ
	5'	]—	I ANŠE
	6'	]—	I GÀR
	7'	]—	I DAR
	8'	]—	I TIR
	9'	] [I] x—	I ZUM
	10'	] [I] AL	I ZUM
	11'	L]ÀL?	I KUM
	12'	]—	[I] K[U]M?

## Comments

This is a fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist (so called: ‘paleographic syllabary’). The tablet was significantly thicker than the other lexical fragments, and seems to have been formed in two layers (see photograph). Disfigurements on the reverse, which seem to have

been done intentionally, suggest that this tablet, like others (cf. EA 345; EA 349; EA 375; perhaps also EA 346), was cancelled immediately following its inscription. Note that this tablet is reported to have been found in a rubbish pit. For the relationship between EA 348 and EA 379 see the comments on the latter fragment, pp. 92–3 below.

Obverse: There may be some traces of another column at the left of ll. 1' and 6'. It is uncertain whether there was another column on the right.

**1'**: The sign is to be interpreted as TIM rather than TUM (pace Knudtzon and Artzi). Parallel recensions of this list have, similarly, only two consecutive TUM signs; the sign TIM follows EGIR (*Ugaritica V*, 113, col. III, 86–88; *Emar VI/4*, 537 [=S<sup>a</sup> vocabulary], ll. 431'–434'; *MSL III*, pp. 25–6, 165–169).

**5'**: The horizontal wedge to the right of the complex is probably missing (the same Knudtzon).

Reverse: The left column is full of blemishes (their location is indicated by dashes), which may be cancellation marks (see above). Of the remaining readable signs, LÀL (l. 4') has been impressed over after inscribing, and there is an impression over the right component of AL (l. 12'). There are some further traces elsewhere (see drawing). Artzi suggests that the left column follows the one on the right, comparing *MSL III*, p. 32 260, 264 (he did not read the sign on l. 4' as LÀL but as H̄I+x). Note that the signs AL and LAL (which should precede LÀL according to the Mesopotamian recensions, *loc. cit.*, 263) are attested in the parallel *Emar* recension (*Emar VI/4*: 538: 510', 519'–521'). What Knudtzon marked as a vertical separation line between the columns on the reverse is actually a guide line for the vertical wedges.

**5'**: The reading ANŠE has been suggested by Artzi, who compared it to the Boghazköy form of this sign. The same form is attested also in EA 14: ii: 3, a letter from Egypt (Schroeder 1915a, list 96).

**10'**: The sign AL has a small Winkelhaken inside, which is unlike the Egyptian form of this sign, but is similar to the Hittite form (Schroeder 1915a, list 117).

**10', 11'**: Artzi thought there was another line between l. 9' and l. 10', and changed his enumeration accordingly. It seems to me that Artzi was misled by a *trompe l'œil*, and that Knudtzon's enumeration is to be kept.

## EA 349 — A fragment of a syllabary?

### Plate XI

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (428).

Previous cuneiform copies: none.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 960.

A fragment; 42×58 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. For the ductus see the comment to ll. 5', 6'.

#### Text

Cols.	i'	ii'
1'	] <sup>1</sup> i	I x[
2'	] i a	I [
3'	] x	I u [
4'	]	I DI[N <sup>2</sup>
5'	]	I DIN [
6'	]	I DIN [
7'	]	[ <sup>1</sup> x[

#### Comments

The organization of signs on this tablet, as well as their values, seems to indicate a syllabary. Some cuneiform shaped strokes perhaps indicate that the tablet was cancelled or that it was an exercise in cuneiform practice rather than an orderly exercise in writing a syllabary. The findspot is uncertain and offers no information (see above, p. 3). Further research may bring us closer to the genre attribution of this fragment. Cf. further the comments to ll. 5', 6' below. The reverse is destroyed.

**4'**: The sign is hardly AH (=DIN+AŠ), as suggested by Knudtzon. What can be seen is probably one oblique wedge above another (or, alternatively, two such Winkelhaken), and twin cuneiform-like (cancellation?) strokes, similar to those found on the left column (see drawing and photograph).

**5', 6'**: The DIN sign does not have a from similar to the one attested in the Amarna tablets from Egypt (e.g., EA 1: 24; EA 369: 28), but rather to the respective Babylonian one (Schroeder 1915a, list 183). My transliteration relies on the left column, and on the parallel of the S<sup>a</sup> syllabary (groups 56–56a and 80). Alternatively, since it is hard to accept a Babylonian form of this sign here, one can regard this column as an abstract exercise in wedge printing.

**EA 350 — A fragment of a *tu-ta-ti* exercise (obverse)  
and *Silbenalphabet A* (reverse)**

Plate XII

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (425).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXIII, XVIII.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 960; Artzi 1990: 143–6.

A fragment from the right hand side of a tablet; 51×57 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Egyptian ductus.

**Text**

Obv.	1'	] [
	2'	] x x x
	3'	u]g <sup>?</sup> ag ig
	4'	a]n in
	5'	sa]r sir
	6'	i]š
	7'	i]l

Rev.	1'	]x
	2'	]x
	3'	] -du
	4'	] -zu
	5'	] -ú

**Comments**

The obverse is part of a *tu-ta-ti* exercise; the reverse is a fragment of a *Silbenalphabet A*.

Obv. l. 7': For *il* (rather than Artzi's *im*) cf. Nougayrol 1965: 29 l. 17, just preceding the *uš-aš-iš* sequence. The 'A' component of *il* is typically attested in Amarna tablets from Egypt (Schroeder 1915a, list 93).

EA 351 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 352+353, EA 354 and EA 373)

### Plate XIII

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1-41 (412).  
Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, V (reproduced).  
Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 960-1.  
This fragment was dissolved during an unsuccessful restoration attempt and lost.

## Text

Obsv.	1'	[	i/3
	2'	[	
	3'	[	
	4'	[	
	5'	[	
	6'	[	]-lum
	7'	[	]ma <sup>?</sup> -tum
	8'	[	]lum
	9'	[N]U.UN.ZU.U	
	10'	[ ]te-um	
	11'	qa-da šum-mu	
	12'	[ ]x ša-mu	
	13'	[ ]bi <sup>?</sup> [ ]	
	14'	[ ]	

Cols.		ii/1	ii/2	ii/3
Obv.	1'			
	2'			] <i>an-</i> [
	3'	]		[ ]
	4'			[ ]
	5'			[ ]
	6'	<i>kur</i>	GU <sub>7</sub> <sup>?</sup>	[ <i>mi-in</i> ]- <i>da-du</i>
	7'			[ <i>na-ma</i> ]- <i>an-du</i>
	8'			[ ] <i>x-ú</i>
	9'	<i>a-gá</i>	ÁG	[ <i>mi-in</i> ]- <i>da-du</i>
	10'			[ <i>ma-d</i> ] <i>a-du</i>
	11'			[ <i>ra-a</i> ]- <i>mu</i>
	12'			[ <i>na-ra</i> ]- <i>mu</i>
	13'	<i>he-es</i>	ZIG	[ <i>kl'</i> ]- <i>iš-ša-du</i>
	14'			<i>n</i> [ <i>a<sup>2</sup>-a</i> ] <i>r<sup>2</sup>-bu</i>

15'			[ <i>em-š</i> ]um
16'			[ <i>      </i> ] šum

Cols.                   iii/1                   iii/2

Obv.	1'	[	
	2'	[	
	3'	<i>tu</i> [	
	4'	[	
	5'	[	
	6'	<i>ki-im-</i>	[
	7'	<i>ki-im</i>	[
	8'		[
	9'		[
	10'	<i>ti-il-</i>	<i>t[i<sup>?</sup>-il</i>
	11'	TUR.TUR.	[LA
	12'	[	
	13'	[	
	14'	[	
	15'	[	
	16'	[	

Rev.	1'	[		
	2'	[		
	3'	[		
	4'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	5'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	6'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	7'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	8'	[ <i>      </i> ]		<i>ba-a[n</i>
	9'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	10'	[ <i>      </i> ]	vertical text (see below)	[
	11'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	12'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	13'	[ <i>      </i> ]		[
	14'	[		[
	15'	[		[
	16'	[		[
	17'	[		
	18'	[		

Vertical section:

1       *]-i LUGAL KUR mi-is-ri.KI* [  
 2       *]a[m<sup>?</sup>-m]i<sup>?</sup>-n[i]m-mi DUMU.KIN-ka* [  
 3       *]i<sup>?</sup>-[x]-ta hal-qa-at* [

4      ]ma<sup>2</sup> [I]TÍ<sup>2</sup>.MEŠ ù 7 MU KUR.HÁ [  
 5      ]ú-ul i-tap-pa-ku [  
 6      ] iš-tu ÍD.MEŠ [

### Translation

1      ].. the king of Egypt [  
 2      ]w[h]y<sup>2</sup> your messenger [  
 3      ]... is lost [  
 4      ].. months<sup>2</sup> and 7 years the lands [  
 5      ]not pouring        [  
 6      ] from the rivers [

### Comments

Knudtzon (p. 962 n. a) suggested that EA 351 and EA 352 might belong to the same tablet. He was followed by Schuster (1938: 241). EA 351, 352, 353 and 354 were recognized as parts of the same tablet (of Ea VII, Appendix) by Borger (HKL II: 132). A physical join between EA 352 and EA 353 was demonstrated by Miguel Civil in a letter to Pinhas Artzi (cf. Artzi 1986: 211), where all these fragments were claimed to be part of the second tablet of *diri*, together with EA 373, already recognized as a *diri* fragment by Gordon (1947). As we shall see in the respective editions which will follow, EA 373 comes from the very beginning of the tablet, i.e., at its upper left side; the join EA 352+353 is to be located at the lower left side, and EA 351 and EA 354 in between and towards the center and right side of the tablet. Although the clay hue of EA 354 is darker than that of EA 352 and EA 353 (cf. also EA 373), there is not a real objection for this multiple join.

A study of the *diri* list is forthcoming in *MSL XV*, where the Amarna fragments will be given their proper treatment in the context of other recensions from peripheral areas, notably from Ugarit (Civil *apud* Artzi, *loc. cit.*). For lack of enough data to fully reconstruct the whole tablet, and since the Ugarit *diri* tablets have never been published (cf. Krecher 1969: 137), I have refrained from doing on my own a serious investigation of these fragments, and present only a renewed edition of what I have been able to read on the extant fragments. This has been compared with a prepublished edition of the Amarna *diri* fragments sent to me courtesy of Miguel Civil. Although the edition presented here has benefited much from, and relies greatly on Civil's edition, I do not give a joint edition of the whole tablet here. Nevertheless, EA 352 and EA 353 are joins. They are published here as a single piece.

A close connection between EA 351 and EA 354 may be proffered, in spite of the fact that the first is now lost. On the reverse of EA 351, there were, according to Sayce's copy and Knudtzon's edition, column separation lines, with some empty spaces between them. The fourth column, vertically inscribed from bottom upwards, attests to an exercise in letter writing, where one encounters some phrases very well known from the corpus of the Amarna letters (cf. also the comment to l. 1 of this

passage below). To the right of this passage, there are two signs written horizontally, which may have formed part of the lexical section of this tablet. Knudtzon separated this column with a line; Sayce did not. Compared with a similar, albeit more fragmentary passage on the reverse of EA 354, a hypothetical physical join can be made between these two fragments: the respective vertically written columns of EA 351 and EA 354 may be located side by side (note, however, that according to both Sayce and Knudtzon, the beginning of the lines in EA 351 do not align, as may be implied from my transliteration; since I have not seen the tablet, I have been unable to convey the space relations between the signs and their relative locations). Although an unambiguously coherent text cannot be offered, some continuity may be noted. I believe that the space between the two fragments is hardly bigger than another line or two on the other side. If this is correct, then Knudtzon's column separation line to the left of the vertical inscription may be regarded a lapsus, since there is none to the right of the vertical inscription on EA 354, and one can see the similarity between the respective columns while comparing their copies, even if not drawn by the same hand.

Sayce's cuneiform copy of EA 351 given here does not fully conform to Knudtzon's transliterations. I have followed Knudtzon's transliteration making only minor changes. My confidence is based on Knudtzon's well-known ability which I have had ample opportunity to observe and to appreciate. The same applies to Knudtzon's observation of the extant lines, which Sayce's copies do not convey. Knudtzon's renderings and values have, of course, been changed according to the conventions of modern scholarship. In addition, line numbering, not included in Knudtzon's edition, has been specified for each column.

cols. i/3 and ii/3: According to both Sayce's copy and Knudtzon's transliteration there is the space of another sign to the left of the remains on ll. 9' and 11' of column i/3. However, it is better to posit here empty, albeit broken gaps between the column separation line and the beginning of the inscription; cf. the string [N]U.UN.ZU.U with the similar ones in EA 354: Rev. 3'-4'. Regarding column ii/3, both Sayce's copy and Knudtzon's transliteration imply a large space at the left side of the column, yet both also imply writing that was widely spaced. Since this fragment is now lost, any of the suggested restorations, although supported by Civil's observations, must remain tentative.

i 10': Civil restores: [še<sup>2</sup>]-]te-um.

ii 6': Knudtzon (p. 961 n. a) suggested KA×GAR (=GU<sub>7</sub> or KUR<sub>8</sub>); Sayce's copy shows a similar sign. Alternatively, one could read, with Civil, NÍNDA×GAR (cf. CAD M2: 46b s.v. *middatu*; N1: 206b s.v. *namaddu*). AHw (725a) suggests GUR<sub>9</sub>(=NÍNDA).

ii 9'ff.: Knudtzon hesitates between *gán* (=gà) and *mal* (=gá), yet the entry demands the latter (the same Sayce).

iii 6'-7': Note reading of *ki-im-ki-im*.

iii 10', 11': Note reading of cols. iii/1-2 in sequence.

Reverse:

**8'**: According to Sayce, the vertical wedge of the sign *ba* is inscribed upside down.

Vertical section:

**1:** That this is not the text of a letter to a vassal is indicated by the occurrence of the phrase LUGAL KUR *misri*. Note that LUGAL GAL preceded by LUGAL KUR *misri* would be the expected form for opening of a letter. Artzi suggests that the first two lines of this passage contain “a highly condensed form of all international letters written to Pharaoh, all complaining about the improper conduct etc. of the Egyptian ambassador or of the king himself” (Artzi 1990: 148 n. 35).

**3:** For Knudtzon’s (and Sayce’s) *ša*, the reading *ta* is preferable. Knudtzon (n. e) refers to EA 190 for the sign form, but the reading there is most probably *ta* (Moran 1992: 270 n. 1, after Na’aman).

EA 352+353 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 351, EA 354 and EA 373)

Plate XIV

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (413)+(421).  
Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, VI and pl. XXXIII, XIV.  
Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 962.  
Two fragments from the bottom (EA 352) and left side (EA 353) of a tablet, joined  
at their corners. EA 352 is 37×67 mm and EA 353 is 49×70 mm; both fragments  
are of light gray to very pale brown clay. Egyptian ductus.

Text

Cols.                    i/1                    i/2                    i/3

1'	[        ]		x x[
2'	[        ]		NE RI[
3'	[        ]		x ta [
4'	[        ]		x ša <sup>2</sup> [
5'	[        ]	[KAS <sub>4</sub> ].KAS <sub>4</sub>	te <sub>4</sub> -b[u-u
6'	[        ]		te <sub>4</sub> -t[a-bu-u
7'	[		[hi-tal-lu-pu
8'	[		[hi]-tal-lu-lu[ <sub>4</sub> ] <sup>2</sup>
9'	[		x ]x KUM
10'	[		na-p]a-gu <sub>8</sub>
11'	[		x ]x x du
12'	[		x x ]x du
13'	[		]

Cols.                    ii/1                    ii/2                    ii/3

7'	[		
8'	[		
9'		[i <sup>2</sup> ][	
10'		bu-r[u <sup>2</sup>	
11'	ga-az-ga	-az	hu[-up-pu-u
12'	GAZ.	GAZ	ru[-us-su-bu
13'			[

### Comments

Together with EA 351, EA 354 and EA 373, this join is part of the second tablet of the *diri* lexical list (see comments to EA 351 above).

There is space for two more lines before the first line of EA 353, which Knudtzon did not number, since no signs have been preserved there. I have given this join new numbering, starting, again, with the first visible signs: EA 353: 1 is now EA 352+353: 1', EA 353: 7 = EA 352: 1 are now EA 352+353: 7', and EA 352: 2ff. are now EA 352+353: 8'ff. Knudtzon suggests that another line may have been inscribed on the obverse, but I doubt if what is here marked as l. 13' was inscribed. Knudtzon's edition suggests another extra line at the bottom, similar to our l. 13'. Both the lower edge and the reverse of these fragments are uninscribed, but still have, together, five column separation lines.

i 3': Knudtzon had *at* for the first sign; *al* or any other similar sign is equally possible.

i 5': Knudtzon saw also the right component of the first KAS<sub>4</sub> sign (see his autograph 183 on p. 1007). At the end of the verb, *ú* rather than *u* is also possible (cf. EA 351: 9'; EA 373: 15). The same applies to i 6' and ii 11'.

i 9': The first visible sign may perhaps be read *bi* or *am*.

i 11': Before the *du* sign, Knudtzon has *al*, Sayce *ka*. What can be seen is perhaps longer than a single sign. Civil suggests: [HAR.HAR] = [sa]-ma-du; (12') [sa-mi]-du. There seems to be more space, however, than that implied by this restoration.

ii 11', 12': Civil notes that *ga-az-ga-az* belongs to col. ii/1, GAZ.GAZ to col. ii/2.

EA 354 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
 (possible join with EA 351, EA 352+353 and EA 373)

Plates XV–XVI

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (418).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, XI.

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 962–3.

A fragment; 69×84 mm; yellowish brown clay. Egyptian ductus.

Text

Of col. i/3 only empty spaces have been left.

Cols. ii/1 ii/2 ii/3

Obv.	1'	]	ŠÁM	[	
	2'			[	<i>m[u</i>
	3'				<i>ša-[a-mu</i>
	4'				<i>šu-m[u</i>
	5'				<i>ti-x[</i>
	6'				<i>ba-[</i>
	7'	<i>sà-am ni-<da></da></i>	ŠÁM		<i>ma-[</i>
	8'	<i>a-[i]a-na</i>			<i>šu[</i>
	9'				[
	10'				

Rev.	1'			[' <i>su?</i> ]- <i>ru-r[ù?</i>
	2'			<i>su-rù r[u</i>
	3'			NU.UN.Z[U
	4'	vertical text		NU.UN.ZU [
	5'	(see below)	—MAN—	—MAN—
	6'			
	7'			
	8'			
	9'			
	10'			

Vertical section:

- 1–3 broken
- 4 ]['*as?*]-*bu-ti* 7'[
- 5 ] *ul ŠE.KIN ù[*
- 6 ]-*na iš-tu AN[-e*

## Translation

1–3    broken  
 4    ]inhabitants? 7? [  
 5    ] not? harvesting and[  
 6    ].. from ... [

## Comments

Together with EA 351, EA 352+353 and EA 373, this fragment is part of the second tablet of the *diri* lexical list. For a discussion of this issue, as well as of the relative relationship between EA 351 and EA 354, see the comments to EA 351 above.

Obverse, ll. 7'–8': Although the sign in the second column is ŠÁM (=NÍNDA×ŠE-A-AN), its name given at the left beside *sà-am* does not take into account the ŠE component. Reverse:

2': The first sign is not *zu*, as suggested by Knudtzon, but *su*. It looks like a *zu* with an extra small horizontal wedge (rather than two, as copied by Sayce). For this form of *su* cf. Rüster and Neu 1989: #213.

3'-4': Civil restores another sign U at the end of these two lines (cf. EA 351: 11').  
 Vertical section:

4: The reading '7' is Knudtzon's.

5: At the beginning, possibly restore *ú]-ul*. For ŠE.KIN as indicating field work cf. ŠL: 697. It might perhaps be better to restore ŠE.KIN.< TAR > for *eṣēdu* (for a single occurrence in Amarna cf. EA 60: 26). For the context, note that *tapāku* (or *tabāku*), which seems to be on the same line in EA 351 (*i-tap-pa-ku*), is well attested for grain pouring (AHw: 1295).

6: The *na* sign is different from the one inscribed on the obverse, l. 8', and resembles the one on EA 343: 4'. Knudtzon (p. 963 n. c) saw the head of a vertical wedge following the sign AN at the bottom of this line.

## EA 355 — A clay cylinder

### Plates XVII–XVIII

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), 1893.1–41 (416).

Previous cuneiform copies: Sayce in Petrie 1894: pl. XXXII, IX.

Previously published photographs: Artzi 1990: pl. III.

Principal previous editions: Knudzon 1915: 963; Artzi 1990: 146–8.

A small clay cylinder, axially perforated. Length: 31.5 mm; diameter: c. 16 mm; perimeter: 44.5–46 mm. Reddish brown clay (see further the comments below). Egyptian ductus.

### Text

1	DU×4
2	TU×4
3	NU×7
4	NA×5
5	ŠA×4
6	AN×5
7	UD×7
8	NI×6
9	KI×6
10	SAR×4
11	DUB×4

### Comments

The clay color is much darker on most of its surface than that of the other lexical and literary texts of Amarna, yet brighter at one side, and hence seems to have been affected by some external cause. A crack and perhaps also a change of its original shape and color presumably occurred during a restoration. The photographs, taken before the deformation occurred, show well the original form of this artifact, which is currently not perfect in its round shape.

The cylinder is inscribed all around with a string of cuneiform signs, each one repeating to fill its line. There may be an indication where reading should start, as there is a double line to the right of the sign DUB (some single guide lines are visible elsewhere; see drawing).

The initial reading of this cylinder, suggested by Sayce and followed by Knudzon, is still generally accepted (with slight changes) despite the difficulties it raises. This interpretation reads the signs from top to bottom thus: *du-tu-nu-na ša <sup>4</sup>UTU-ni-qí SAR.DUB* ‘Dutununa of Šamaš-niqi (the) scribe’. If some kind of a scribal emblem is indeed to be read here, it might be reasonable to try to read the whole string in a

reverse order, so that DUB.SAR ‘scribe’ would be read in its proper order, as suggested by Stephanie Dalley (p. c.).

Two other hypotheses have been offered about the genre of this clay cylinder. Borger takes it as an amulet (*HKL* I: 239). Artzi challenged this view, and claimed that “EA 355 is basically the playful idling of an advanced scribe, a *jeu de profession*, based on composite ‘tu-ta-ti’ writing exercise (...) and a light touch of cryptography” (Artzi 1990: 148; cf. already Weber in Knudtzon 1915: 1357). The matter is still unsolved, in my opinion: for an amulet we would expect the signs to repeat seven times, and perhaps also a sequence making sense, at least here or there (cf. Tonnietti 1979; Horowitz, forthcoming: chapter IX). For Artzi’s suggestion I know of no parallels, and therefore this suggestion cannot be proved as yet.

## EA 356 — The myth of Adapa and the South Wind

### Plates XIX–XXII

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 348.

Previous cuneiform copies: Winckler and Abel 1889–90: 240; Schroeder 1915a: 194 (reproduced).

Previously published photographs: Picchioni 1981: 172–3 (illegible).

Principal previous editions: Jensen 1900: 94–99, 411–3; Knudtzon 1915: 964–9; Picchioni 1981; cf. Izre’el 1993.

An almost complete tablet by the time of find; 175×92 mm; red clay (see comments below). Babylonian ductus.

### Text

Obv.

- 1' *e-pu[-us̄?]*
- 2' *šu-ú-tu• x[*
- 3' *a-na pí-i t[u²-x-i]a [ī]-[ša]-am-ši i x[*
- 4' *šu-ú-tu• [ša²-a²-]ra-ni• ah-he-e-ki• ma-la i-[*
- 5' *ka-a-[ap-pa-]ki lu-ú-še-bi-ir• ki-ma• i-na pí-i-š[u i]q-bu-[ú]*
- 6' *ša[ šu-ú]-ti ka-ap-pa-ša• it-te-eš-bi-ir• 7 ú-[mi]•*
- 7' *[šu-ú-t]u a-na ma-a-ti• ú-ul i-zí-iq-qá• <sup>da</sup>a-nu*
- 8' *[a-na š]u-uk-ka-li-šu• <sup>da</sup>i-la-ab-ra-at• i-ša-a[s]-si•*
- 9' *[a]m-mi-ni• šu-ú-tu• iš-tu 7 ú-mi a-na ma-a-ti• la i-zí-qá•*
- 10' *[š]u-uk-ka-la-šu• i-la-ab-ra-at• i-pa-al-šu• bé-[e-l]i•*
- 11' *<sup>da</sup>a-da-pa• ma-ar• <sup>da</sup>é-a ša šu-ú-ti• ka-ap-pa-ša•*
- 12' *iš-te-bi-ir• <sup>da</sup>a-nu a-ma-ta• an-ni-ta• i-na še-e-mi-[š]u*
- 13' *il-si na-ra-ru• it-ti-bi i-na ku-us-si-šu• šu-p[u²-ur²-ma? li²-i]l²-qu-ni-šu•*
- 14' *an-ni? -ka-a• <sup>da</sup>é-a ša ša-me-e i-de• il-pu-us-[sú?]-m[a]*
- 15' *[a-da-pa(?)]• [ma?]-[la]-[a]• [uš]-te-eš-ši-šu• ka-a-ar-r[a]•*
- 16' *[ul-ta-al-bi-is-sú? ] te-[e]-ma• i-ša-ak-ka-an-šu•*
- 17' *[a-da-pa a-na pa-ni <sup>da</sup>a-ni š]ar-ri• at-ta ta-la-ak•*
- 18' *[a-na ša-me-e te-el-li-m]a(?)• a-na š[a-me-]e•*
- 19' *[i-na ] [e]-li-k[a a-na ba-ab <sup>da</sup>a-ni i-na te₄]-[hi?]-[ka?]*
- 20' *[i-n]a ba-a-bu• <sup>da</sup>a-n[i <sup>da</sup>dumu-zi ù <sup>da</sup>giz-zi-]da•*
- 21' *iz-za-az-zu• im-ma-ru-ka il-t[a²-n]a-a-[lu?]-ka [et]-[lu]*
- 22' *a-na ma-a-ni• ka-a e-ma-ta• <sup>da</sup>a[-da-p]a• a-na ma-an-ni*
- 23' *ka-ar-ra• la-ab-ša-ta• i-na ma-a-ti-ni• i-lu ši-na<sup>o</sup> ha-al-[q]ú-ma•*
- 24' *a-na-ku• a-ka-na• ep-še-e-ku• ma-an-nu• i-lu• še-na• ša i-na<sup>o</sup> ma-a-ti•*
- 25' *ha-al-quí• <sup>da</sup>dumu-zi• ù <sup>da</sup>giz-zi-da• šu-nu• a-ha-mi-iš• ip-pa-la-sú-ma•*
- 26' *is-še-né-eh-hu• šu-nu• a-ma-ta da-mi-iq-ta•*
- 27' *a-na <sup>da</sup>a-ni• [i]-[qá]-ab-bu-ú• pa•-ni• ba-nu-ti• ša <sup>da</sup>a-ni•*
- 28' *šu-nu• ú-ka-la-mu-ka• a-na pa-ni• <sup>da</sup>a-ni i-na ú-zu-zi-ka•*

29' *a-ka-la*• *ša mu-ti*• *ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma*•  
 30' *la-a*° *ta-ka-al*• *me-e mu-ú-ti*• *ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma*•  
 31' *la ta-ša-at-ti*• *lu-ú-ba-ra*• *ú-ka-lu-ni-ik-ku-ma*•  
 32' *['li]*-*it-ba-aš*• *ša-am-na*• *ú-ka-lu-ni-ku-ma*• *pí-iš-ša-aš*•  
 33' *te-e-ma*• *ša áš-ku-nu-ka*• *la te-mé-ek-ki*• *a-ma-ta*•  
 34' *ša aq-ba-ku*• *lu ša-ab-ta-ta*• *ma-ar ši-ip-ri*•  
 35' *ša <sup>d</sup>a-ni*• *ik-ta-al-da*• *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa ša šu-ú-ti*•  
 36' *[k]a-ap-pa-ša*• *iš-bi-ir*• *a-na mu-ži-ia*• *šu-bi-la-áš-šu*•

Rev.

37' *[har-r]a-an* *['ša]-me-e*° *ú-še-eš-bi-is-sú-ma*° *['a]-[-n]a ša-me-e i-t[e-li-m]a*°•  
 38' *a-na ša-me-e*• *i-na e-li-šu*• *a-na ba-ab <sup>d</sup>a-ni*• *i-na te-ži-šu*•  
 39' *i-na ba-a-bu*• *<sup>d</sup>a-ni*• *<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi*• *<sup>d</sup>giz-zi-da*• *iz-za-az-zu*•  
 40' *i-mu-ru-šu-ma*• *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa*• *il-su-ú na-ra-ru*•  
 41' *et-lu*• *a-na ma-an-ni*• *ka-a e-ma-a-ta*• *a-da-pa*•  
 42' *a-na ma-an-ni*• *ka-ar-ra*• *la-ab-ša-a-ta*•  
 43' *i-na ma-ti*• *i-lu še-e-na*• *ha-al-žú-ma*• *a-na-ku ka-ar-ra*•  
 44' *la-ab-ša-ku*• *ma-an-nu i-['lu]* *['ši]-na*° *ša i-na ma-a-ti*° *ha-al-žú*•  
 45' *<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi*• *<sup>d</sup>['giz]-zi-da* *a-ža-mi-['iš]*• *ip-pa-al-su-ma*°  
 46' *iš-še-né-eh-hu*• *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa*• *a-na pa-ni*• *<sup>d</sup>a-ni* •šar-ri•  
 47' *i-na qé-re-bi-šu*• *i-mu-ur-šu-ma*° *<sup>d</sup>a-nu il-si-ma*•  
 48' *al-ka*• *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa*• *am-mi-ni*• *ša šu-ú-ti ka-ap-pa-ša*•  
 49' *te-e-eš-bi-ir*• *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa*• *<sup>d</sup>a-na ip-pa-al be-lí*•  
 50' *a-na bi-it*• *be-lí-ia*• *i-na qá-a-ab-la-at ta-am-ti*•  
 51' *nu-ni*• *a-ba-ar*° *ta-am-ta i-na mé-še-li in-ši-il-ma*•  
 52' *šu-ú-tu i-zí-qá-am-ma*° *ia-a-ši*• *ut-še-eb-ba-an-ni*•  
 53' *[a-n]a bi-it*• *be-lí*• *ul-ta-am-ši-il*° *i-na ug-ga-at*• *li-ib-bi-ia*°  
 54' *[x-t]a*°• *at-ta-za-ar*• *ip-pa-lu*• *i-da-['šu?]* [ *<sup>d</sup>du]m[u-zi]*•  
 55' *[ù] <sup>d</sup>['giz]-zi-['da] *['a?]-['ma?]-['sú] *['ba?]-['ni?]-['ta] *['a]-['na] *<sup>d</sup>a-['ni]****  
 56' *i-qá-ab-bu-ú*• *it-tu-['uh]* *li-ib-ba-šu is-sá-ku-at*•  
 57' *am-mi-ni*• *<sup>d</sup>é-a*• *a-mi-lu-ta*° *la ba-ni-ta*• *ša*• *ša-me-e*°  
 58' *ù er-še-e-ti*• *ú-ki-il-li-in-ši*• *li-ib-ba*°  
 59' *ka-ab-ra*• *iš-ku-un-šu*• *šu-['ú]-ma*• *i-te-pu-us-su*•  
 60' *ni-nu*• *mi-na-a*• *ni-ip-pu-u[s-s]u*• *a-ka-al ba-la-ti*•  
 61' *le-qá-ni-šu-um-ma*• *li-kul*• *[a-k]a-al ba-la-ti*•  
 62' *[i]l-qù-ni-šu-um-ma*• *ú-ul i-k[u-]ul*• *me-e ba-la-ti*•  
 63' *[i]l-qù-ni-šu-um-ma*° *ú-ul il[-ti]*• *lu-ba-ra*•  
 64' *[il-q]ù-ni-šu-um-ma*• *it-ta-al-['ba?]-aš ša-am-na*•  
 65' *[il]-qù-ni-šu-um-ma*• *it-ta-ap-ši-iš*•  
 66' *id-gu-ul-šu-ma*• *<sup>d</sup>a-nu*• *iš-ši-iš* *i-na mu-ži-šu*•  
 67' *al-ka*° *<sup>l</sup>a-da-pa*• *am-mi-ni*• *la ta-ku-ul*• *la ta-al-ti-ma*•  
 68' *la ba-al-ta-ta* [ *a*-ni-ši da-a-l[*a*?-t]i]• *<sup>d</sup>é-a*• *be-lí*•  
 69' *iq-ba-a*• *la ta-['ka]-al*• *la*° *ta-š[a-a]t-ti*•  
 70' *['li]-['i]-['qá?]-['šu?]-['ma?]*• *[te?]-['er?]-['er?]-ra-šu*• *a-['na] qá-qá-ri-šu*•  
 71' *[x x x x x x x x x x x (x) id?]-['gu?]-ul-['šu?]* [*

## Translation

Obv.

1' I di[d (?)  
 2' O<sup>2</sup> South Wind ..[  
 3' I<sup>2</sup> ... according to [m]y ..[. call,?  
 4' O<sup>2</sup> South Wind, [the (other) wi]nds, your brothers, all that [  
 5' (Nevertheless,) I shall break your wi[ng]." As soon as he spoke,  
 6' the South Wind's wing broke. Seven days  
 7' [the South Wi]nd was not blowing toward the land. Anu  
 8' cried to his vizier, Ilabrat:  
 9' ["W]hy hasn't the South Wind blown for seven days toward the land?"  
 10' His vizier, Ilabrat, answered him: "My lo[rd],  
 11' Adapa, Ea's son, broke the South Wind's  
 12' wing." Anu, upon hearing this utterance,  
 13' cried "Help!", (and) got up from his throne. "Se[nd]<sup>2</sup> to b]ring him  
 14' here!" Ea, who knows heaven, touched  
 15' [Adapa<sup>2</sup>], made him wear the hair unkempt, [clothed him]  
 16' with a mourning garb, and gave him instructions:  
 17' ["Adapa,] you are going [to k]ing [Anu];  
 18' [you will ascend to heaven, a]nd [when y]ou will have ascended  
 19' to heaven, [when you will have app]roached [Anu's gate],  
 20' [a]t An[u]'s gate there will stand [Dumuzi and Gizzida].  
 21' They will see you; they will que[st]ion you: 'O man,  
 22' for whom are you thus changed? A[dap]a, for whom  
 23' are you dressed with a mourning garb?' 'From our land two gods are  
 missing, so  
 24' I have done thus.' 'Who are the two gods that are missing  
 25' from the land?' 'Dumuzi and Gizzida.' They will look at each other and  
 26' smile; they will say something good  
 27' to Anu; they will show you the favorable face  
 28' of Anu. When you stand before Anu,  
 29' you will be offered food of death, so  
 30' do not eat; you will be offered deadly water, so  
 31' do not drink; you will be offered a garment, then  
 32' dress: you will be offered oil, then anoint yourself.  
 33' Do not neglect the order I gave you; you should keep  
 34' to what I say to you." The messenger  
 35' of Anu arrived. "Adapa broke the South Wind's  
 36' wing. Send him to me!"

Rev.

37' He put him on the [ro]ad to heaven, and he ascended to heaven.  
 38' When he ascended to heaven, when he approached Anu's gate,  
 39' at Anu's gate there were Dumuzi and Gizzida standing.  
 40' They saw Adapa and cried: "Help!"

41' O man, for whom are you thus changed? Adapa,  
 42' for whom are you dressed with a mourning garb?"  
 43' "From the land two gods are missing, so I am dressed  
 44' with a mourning garb." "Who are the two gods that are missing from the land?"  
 45' "Dumuzi and Gizzida." They looked at each other and  
 46' smiled. Adapa, when he approached the presence of King Anu,  
 47' Anu saw him and cried:  
 48' "Come! Adapa, why did you break the wing  
 49' of the South Wind?" Adapa answered Anu: "My lord!  
 50' For my lord's household I was catching fish  
 51' in the middle of the sea. He sliced the sea in its midst, and  
 52' the South Wind blew at me, and as for me – she drowned me.  
 53' I was plunged into the lord's house. In the rage of my heart  
 54' I cursed [the South Wi]nd(?)." [Du]m[uzi] [and] Gizzida answered (standing)  
     at his both sides,  
 55' they recited his good? speech?  
 56' to Anu. His heart calmed, he became silent.  
 57' "Why did Ea expose to a human that which is wicked  
 58' in heaven and earth? (Why did he) establish a fat  
 59' heart (in) him? It is he who has done so;  
 60' (and) we, what can we do (for) him? Bring him food of life,  
 61' that he may eat." He was brought [fo]od of life,  
 62' but he did not e[a]t; [h]e was brought water of life,  
 63' but he did not dr[ink]; [he was br]ought a garment,  
 64' and he dressed; [he was b]rought oil,  
 65' and he anointed himself.  
 66' Anu looked at him; he laughed at him.  
 67' "Come, Adapa, why did you not eat nor drink? Hence  
 68' you cannot live! Alas for the inferior humanity!" "Ea my lord  
 69' told me: 'Do not eat, do not dr[i]nk!'"  
 70' "Take? him? and [retu]rn? him to earth."  
 71' .... he l]ooked at him(?)[

### Comments

The ductus of this tablet is similar to that of the Babylonian letters found at Amarna, a feature shared also by EA 357, EA 358 and EA 372. Similarly, the system of plene writing employed in this text has traits in common with parallel systems in the Mesopotamian core Babylonian dialects. The syllabary is MB, and there seem to be no overt traces of Peripheral Akkadian features in the language of this text. Therefore, one is unable to determine at this stage of research whether this specific tablet is an import into Egypt from abroad or was copied from such a tablet. For a discussion of this issue see Izre'el 1991b; cf. further the comments to EA 357 below.

EA 356, together with EA 357 and the small fragment EA 372, are unique in the extant Akkadian literature in that they present tinted points, mostly red, applied on the

tablet at specific intervals. This device is borrowed from Egyptian practice, where so-called verse points make a salient indicator of literary texts (see, e.g., Brunner 1986). In the case of EA 356, these points indicate metreme boundaries (Izre'el 1991b; cf. also Izre'el 1992a; cf. the introduction above, p. 8). EA 357 presents a slightly different system (see below, p. 55).

Beside a few lines at the beginning of the obverse (and, accordingly, at the end of the reverse), there was, by the time of the find, a gap in the middle of the obverse. An unsuccessful restoration attempt made since, has resulted in a deformation and the loss of many readable parts, especially on the obverse. Judging from its proportions, the size of the unearthed tablet seems to be close to its original size in antiquity. Its color, however, has probably changed, and it is now dark red. It may be that the outer shape of the cuneiform signs has also been changed by the restoration process. Thus, the one-hand theory advanced by Artzi regarding EA 356, 357 and 358 (Artzi 1982; cf. Artzi 1985; 1986) cannot be endorsed by observation of either the clay or the shape of the signs.

Fortunately, Knudtzon in a collated transliteration and, following Knudtzon's publication, Schroeder in a good hand copy, have recorded the original shape of the tablet, its cuneiform text and the red points applied onto it. Because of the changes in the shape of the tablet, conditions for collation are very poor at present, and much, although not all of the transliteration presented in this edition, both of the cuneiform signs and of the red points, follows my predecessors' and my own former treatments of the text. Due to the present condition of the tablet I have refrained from any further restoration of the red points, either where the surface is mutilated or where it seems smooth (cf. Knudtzon; Izre'el 1991b; 1992a). In the cuneiform copy, the points are appended as full in each case, also where only traces have been preserved. Notation: • marks a certain dot; ° marks a point that is probable, but uncertain. Tinted points are found above the final sign of a word in the middle of a line, or, at line ends, following it.

The comments which follow aim to draw attention to some changes in reading and interpretation regarding the published editions. A new edition of the Adapa myth, which will include all the extant fragments of the tale, will be published in a forthcoming study of the myth (Izre'el, forthcoming b). That edition will offer an extensive commentary to the text.

**1'**: Although not the first line of the tablet, it seems that it was not preceded by a long narrative (cf. above for the original size of the tablet). It may well be that the Amarna recension opened with the scene where Adapa was fishing at sea, and ended with his return to earth. It seems to me that the only possible restoration for the signs *e-BU* at the beginning of this line is *e-pu[-uš]* "I did". The initial *e*-, being the 1 sg. verbal prefix, suggests that this line is part of Adapa's speech which ends in the middle of l. 5.

**2'**: According to Schroeder's copy the sign which follows *šu-ú-tu* can neither be *i* (as suggested by Jensen 1900: 94; a possibility which had already been rejected by Knudtzon 1899: 128n; 1915: 964 n. b) nor *ta* (Kienast 1978: 184). If what is suggested in the comment to l. 1' is correct, then this line too would be part of Adapa's speech, and *šūtu* here would be in the vocative.

**3'**: This line has been subject to many restoration and interpretation attempts, none

of which is sufficiently convincing. See Izre'el 1993: 55–6. The sign just before the break seems indeed to be *tu*, although it is clearer in Winckler and Abel's copy than in Schroeder's.

**4'**: For this plural of *šāru* 'wind' see *AHw*: 1192b. Several restorations may be suggested for the end of this line: *ibaššū* (Böhl 1959: 423 n. 3), *illakūni* 'they will come', *iziqqūni* 'they will blow at me', etc.

**15'**: The restoration of [*a-da-pa*] at the beginning of this line (already suggested by Labat, 1970: 291), i.e., at the end of the verse which begins in l. 14', is based on parallel syntactical constructions where the direct object of the verb appears following an enclitic *-ma* attached to the governing verb. For example: *i-mu-ru-šu-ma 'a-da-pa* 'he saw Adapa' (l. 40'); also *il-si-ma al-ka* 'he cried: come!...' (ll. 47'–8'); cf. also, in Nergal and Ereškigal: *nergal iš-mé-e-ma an-na-a qá-ba-ša* 'Nergal heard this speech of hers' (EA 357: 85). It seems that this construction is admissible only if the subject is explicitly mentioned just before, as in our case. A more common construction is the one where an enclitic *-ma* comes between a verbal predicate and the subject (e.g., *īmurušu-ma anu*, 'Anu saw him', l. 47; in Nergal and Ereškigal: *ilsūšu-ma ilānu* 'the gods called him', l. 29).

**25'**: *ha-al-qú* has been added by the scribe on the left.

**26'**: The Akkadian language (and Sumerian likewise) did not have a special term for the notion of 'word'. The word *amatu* (or *āmatu*, see Goetze 1947) should hence be interpreted as 'speech', 'utterance' or the like.

**36'**: The horizontal line drawn in Knudtzon's edition has no significance for the interpretation of the text, since it is no more than the last of a series of guide lines for inscribing (cf. the comment for EA 357: 43).

**37'**: At the end of this line, the *-t-* form of the verb is preferred — from a grammatical point of view — to the hitherto accepted *illi(ma)* (cf. Izre'el 1993: 56). The reading is now confirmed by collation (see drawing). Remains of an enclitic *-ma* followed by a red point, unnoticed by my predecessors, can also be seen at the end of this line.

**41'**: At the end of this line there is a red point, unnoticed by my predecessors.

**46'**: There is an hitherto unnoticed red point above the sign *šar*, which must have meant to mark the word <sup>d</sup>*a-ni*.

**51'**: This line has hitherto been translated 'The sea was (smooth) like a mirror'. Besides the difficult morphology of the form *mi-še-li* (for standard *mušāli* 'mirror', *CAD* M2: 256–7), and the usage of *ina* instead of the expected *ana* (cf. *AHw*: 623b), this interpretation does not take into account the accusative case ending of the word for 'sea', *tāmta*. Also, had the verb meant to denote 'was similar', we should have expected a stative rather than a preterite form (cf. *CAD* M1: 355b–356). I therefore take the verb *inšil* (← *imšil*) as denoting 'cut in halves', the subject being Ea, mentioned (as 'my lord') in the preceding sentence (cf. already Knudtzon, p. 1603; Dalley 1989: 187; in Izre'el 1993: 57 I suggested that the subject of the verb is the South Wind). The phrase *ina mešēli* is best interpreted as an emphasizing tautological infinitive form of the verb, which would then be the MB form of this infinitive, as is the *i/i* pattern of the preterite form of this verb, *inšil* (cf. *AHw*: 623b). Another possible, yet less likely interpretation of *mi-še-li* would be to take it as a form of *mišlu* 'half'. Although not entirely free of problems, I find this suggestion more attractive, not only in regard to the linguistic domain, but also in regard to other known occurrences

where a sea is described as being sliced in two. Besides the Exodus episode, which is connoted for any modern reader of this text, note that in *Enūma Eliš* Marduk sends winds to overcome Tiamat, and the winds actually cut Tiamat into two, thus forming the Apsu and the sky (Tablet IV). For the role of Ea here, as well as for the mythical significance of this episode, so central to this tale, see Izre'el, forthcoming b.

**53'**: At the beginning of the line, *[a-n]a* is the only possible restoration, as there is no room for *i*. The directional adverbial phrase precludes any interpretation such as 'to spend the day, to take a siesta, to take residence' (cf. Wilcke 1970: 85 n. 3; pace *AHw*: 1274a and others). The interpretation of the verb *ultamšil*, here translated 'plunged', is suggested by the context (similarly Heidel 1951: 151 and others). For the etymology of this verb one may suggest Arabic *‘mṣl* 'dripping (of water)' and perhaps also Hebrew *msula* 'depth (of the sea)'. For the directional adverbial phrase I have returned to Knudtzon's *bīt bēli* instead of the accepted *bīt nūnī* 'home of the fish', already suggested by the first interpreters of this text (cf. Jensen 1900: 96 with n. 3), and followed, with further support by Picchioni (1981: 134–5) and others, referring to the metaphor of 'a house for fish' for a net in Sumerian (Civil 1961; Thomsen 1975; cf. also Vanstiphout 1982). However, the signs do not support this reading, since in this text the signs *be* and *nu* are distinct from each other (cf. Schroeder's drawing, and already the first published cuneiform copy of the text, i.e., the one by Winckler and Abel; see Knudtzon 1899: 130; 1915: 966 n. b). Furthermore, the metaphor of *bīt nūnī* for a net seems to me too far fetched for our context here. In contrast the sea as the home of Ea, Adapa's lord, can be substantiated by parallels from Mesopotamian mythology, an issue I shall dwell upon in my forthcoming study of Adapa.

**54'**: The accepted restoration at the beginning of the line is *[šu-ú-t]a* 'the South Wind'. There is no room for two signs there, yet I cannot think of a better restoration (I withdraw from the problematic restoration I suggested in Izre'el 1993: 57, viz., *šipta*).

**55'**: What Dumuzi and Gizzida seem to be doing here is not saying 'a good word', or rather 'something good' (cf. l. 26') to Anu, but either repeating his good speech or telling Anu about how he spoke nicely to them upon arriving at the gates of heaven. In any case, if the reading is accurate, the text explicitly refers to the speech of Adapa (*amassu* 'his speech'), whereas in the parallel passage (l. 26') it refers plainly to 'a speech' (*amata*).

**57'**: For *lā banīta* I have returned to Knudtzon's translation, rejected since (similarly, *CAD K*: 525). The accepted interpretation of this phrase as attributive to *amīlūta* must be rejected on both semantic and grammatical grounds. For *lā banītu* 'unseemingly or detrimental words and acts' see *CAD B*: 80b. As for grammar, note that *amīlūta*, although feminine in form, underlies the masculine non-linguistic entity which this word signifies, namely Adapa, and hence is resumed by the masculine pronoun *-šu* in the verb *iškunšu* (l. 59'); in contrast, the phrase *lā banīta* is resumed by the feminine pronoun *-ši* in the verbal phrase *ukillinši* (l. 58').

**58'–59'**: The collocation *libba kabra* 'fat heart' may connote wisdom, pride, power, evilness. The exact nuance and the significance of this phrase still needs further study; see Izre'el, forthcoming b.

**59'**: Or: 'It is he who has made him.'

**68'**: For *「a」-「a」 ni-ši da-a-l[ə-t]i* 'Alas for the inferior humanity!' cf. *Ugaritica V*,

p. 277, l. 6; *Emar VII/4* (Arnaud 1987); p. 377, l. 5. The reading *l*[a is Knudzon's; Schroeder (1915a: 194) did not see this sign.

**70'**: There is no *aš* sign in *terrāšu*, as is mistakenly given in Izre'el 1993: 54. I take *qaqqarišu* to be a (misinterpreted?) form of the adverb *qaqqaršu(m)* 'to the earth' (*CAD Q*: 122–3; cf. 124a; see also Groneberg 1978/79: 17, 29). The correct ending being *-šu* 'toward', a tautology with agreement of case ending has resulted in the form *ana qaqqarišu*, perhaps mistaken for 'his earth' or 'his terrain' by a contemporary scribe or at some point during the transmission of the text. Note, interestingly, that a literary text in Ugarit exhibits, in contrast, the locative preposition *ina* in a similar context (*CAD Q*: 122b).

## EA 357 – The myth of Nergal and Ereškigal

### Plates XXIII–XXX

Museum number: British Museum (London), E29865; Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 1611+1613+1614+2710.

Previous cuneiform copies: London fragment: Bezold and Budge 1892: 82; Berlin fragments: Winckler and Abel 1889–90: 234+237+236+239α; Schroeder 1915a: 195 (reproduced).

Previously published photographs: Bezold and Budge 1892: pl. 17 (London fragment). Principal previous editions: Jensen 1900: 74–79, 388–393; Knudtzon 1915: 968–975; Hutter 1985: 6–17 (translation and study); cf. Izre’el 1993.

Six fragments, one at the British Museum and five at the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VAT 2710 consists of two fragments) joined to form an almost complete tablet; 110×105 mm (London fragment); 110×c100 mm (joined Berlin fragments); light gray to very pale brown clay. Babylonian ductus.

### Text

Obv.

- 1 *i-nu-ma i-lu• iš-ku-nu qé-e-re-e-ta*
- 2 *a-na a-ha-ti-šu-nu• e-re-eš-ki-i-ga-a-al•*
- 3 *iš-pu-ú-ru• ma-a-aro• ši-i-ip-ri•*
- 4 *ni-i-nu• ú-lu• nu-uro• ra-da-ak-ki•*
- 5 *ù at-ti• ul ti-li• in-na-a-ši•*
- 6 *šu-ú-up-ri-im-ma• li-il-qù-ú• ku-ru•-um-ma-at-ki*
- 7 *iš-pu-ra-[am]-ma• [e]-ri[-i]š-ki-i-ga-al• nam-ta-a-ra• šu-uk-k[a-l]a-[ša]*
- 8 *i-la-am-ma [nam]-[ta]-ru a-[na] ša-me-e• si-i-ru-ú-ti*
- 9 *i-te-ru-[um?]-[m]a? [nam?-ta?-a?-ru? i]t?-bu•-ma° i-la-nu*
- 10 *ú-pa-ra[ x ]x[ x x x x x ] ik?-ru-ú-[bu]-[m]a nam-ta-a-[ra]°*
- 11 *ma-ar ši-i[p-r]i x x x [x] x x x r[a?] -bi-i-ti?*
- 12 *ik-ru-ú-[ru] x [x x x] x x i-mu-[ur]-[šu]-[m]a° dU. [GUR]•*
- 13 *i-lu• se-e-er-[ru]-[ú] t[i x (x)] x x x x• [x] x [šu?]•*
- 14 *[x x x• z] i? x di? a-k[a-l]a? x x x x x ti be-el?-ti-[šu?]*
- 15 *[x x x x x• x x x x x x]x [i]-ba-a[k]-ki ud-[dá]-ha-as•*
- 16–22 very fragmentary or missing
- 23 *é-[a][x x x x x x x x x x] [še]-[e?] [*
- 24 *il-l[i-ik? x x x x x x x x x u]t?-[-t]e?-e-er•*
- 25 *a-li-[i]k [ù?]-[a?] [ha?] -ti [x x x x]-[bé]-e-ia•*
- 26 *um-ma [a]-l[i? ša?] [i?]-[na] [pa]-[ni ma-ar] ši-ip-ri-ia• la-a• it-bu[-ú]*
- 27 *[a]-[n]a mu-[ú]-[hi?]-[ia?] [šu]-[bi]-[la]-ni-šu-um-ma• lu-ú-du-uk-šu•*
- 28 *il-li•-ka-am-ma• nam-ta-ru• i-d[a]-ab-bu-ub• a-na i-la-ni*
- 29 *il-su-šu-ma• i-la-nu• i-da-ab-bu-bu• it-ti-šu• mu-ú-n[u-ni-a-ti]*
- 30 *a-mu-ur-ma• i-la• ša i-na pa-ni-ka• la it-bu-ú•*

Rev.

43 *li-i-qi<sup>o</sup> a-na e-ri-i-š-ki-gal• i-ba-a[k<sup>2</sup>-ki<sup>7</sup>] U.GUR(?)*  
 44 *a-na pa-ni<sup>o</sup> <sup>d</sup>é-a• a-bi-šu• i-ma•-ra-an[-ni<sup>2</sup>]  
 45 *ú-lu•-ba-la-ṭa-an-ni<sup>o</sup> la-a• pa-al[-ha<sup>2</sup>-(a<sup>2</sup>)-ta<sup>2</sup>]  
 46 a-na-an-dio•-na-ak-ku• 7• u 7• a-m[i-ri<sup>2</sup>]  
 47 *it-ti-ka• a-na a-la-ki<sup>o</sup> <sup>d</sup>x[...<sup>d</sup>...<sup>d</sup>...-ba <sup>d</sup>mu-ta-ab-ri-qá]  
 48 <sup>d</sup>ša-ra-ab-da-[a<sup>2</sup>]• [d<sup>1</sup>] [ra-a-bi-i-ša <sup>d</sup>ti-ri-id <sup>d</sup>di-pip-tu]  
 49 [d<sup>1</sup>bé]-[e<sup>1</sup>]-[en-na <sup>d</sup>si-i-da-na <sup>d</sup>mi-qi-it <sup>d</sup>bé-e-el-ú-ri]  
 50 <sup>d</sup>um-ma• [d<sup>1</sup>] [li-i-ba]  
 51 *it-ti-ka• [x x x x x x x x i<sup>2</sup>-na b]a-a-bu•  
 52 e-ri-i-š-ki-gal• i-[ša]-si a-[tu<sup>1</sup>] [a<sup>2</sup>]-t[u<sup>2</sup>] x [ú<sup>1</sup>] [x pí-ta-] [a<sup>1</sup>]• ba-ab-ka•  
 53 up-pí• ru-um-mi-ma• a-na-ku• lu-ru-ú-ubo• a-na ma-h[ar b]é-e-el-ti-ka•  
 54 e-ri-i-š-ki-gal• a-na-ku• ša-ap-ra-ku• il-li-i[k-]ma• a-tu-ú•  
 55 iq-ta-bio• a-na nam-[ta]-ri• i-lu• iš-te-eno• i-na p[i-]i• ba-a-bio• iz-za-[za]  
 56 al-ka-ma• bu-ú-ri-[š]u-ma• li-ru-ubo• ú-ša-[am-m]a nam-ta-a-r[u]  
 57 i-mu-ur-šu-ma• ha-a-di da'(DU)-an-ni-iš• [il]-[su-]um• iq-ta-a-b[i]  
 58 [a<sup>1</sup>]-[na]• [be-e-e]l-ti-šu• be-e-el-ti• [i-lu š]a i-na• ar-ha-a-[ni<sup>2</sup>]  
 59 pa-[a<sup>1</sup>]-[nu<sup>2</sup>] [-u<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>2</sup>] ih<sup>2</sup>-l]i-qu-ma• [i<sup>1</sup>]-[na pa-n]i-ia• la it-bu-ú  
 60 [šu]-ri-ba•-[šu<sup>2</sup>] [x x x x x i]l-la-ka• lu•-ú-du-u[k-šu]  
 61 ú-ša-am-ma nam-ta-ru i[q<sup>2</sup>-ta<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup>] er-ba• ○ bé-e-li•  
 62 [a<sup>1</sup>]-[na] bi-tu• a-ha-ti-[ka]-ma• mu-h[u-ú<sup>2</sup>]-uro• zí-i-it-ta-ka• [?]  
 63 [x x š]u<sup>2</sup>-[ma]• [d<sup>1</sup>] U.GUR• li-ib[-ba<sup>2</sup>-k]a<sup>2</sup> li-ih<sup>2</sup>-da-an-ni[  
 64 [x x x x (x) i]<sup>2</sup>• x[ x x x x (x) ]x• [d<sup>1</sup>] U.GUR]• be?  
 c. 2 lines missing  
 67 fragmentary  
 68 [d x-x-]ba i-na ša-al-ši• <sup>d</sup>mu-ta-ab-ri-qá• i-na re-e-bi-[i]  
 69 [d ša-r]a-ab-da-a• i-na ha-an-ši• <sup>d</sup>ra-a-bi-i-ša• i-na ši-i-ši• <sup>d</sup>ti-ri-id<sup>o</sup>  
 70 [i-n]a se-e-bi-i• <sup>d</sup>i-dip-tu• i-na sa-ma-ni-i• <sup>d</sup>bé-e-en-na•  
 71 i-na ti-ši-i• <sup>d</sup>si-i-da-na• i-na eš-ri-i• <sup>d</sup>mi-qi-it•  
 72 i-na il-te-en-še-e-ri-i• <sup>d</sup>bé-e-el-ú-rio i-na ši-i-in•-še-e-ri-i•  
 73 <sup>d</sup>um-ma• i-na ša-la-oo-še-e-ri-i• <sup>d</sup>li-i-ba• i-na er-bi-oo-še-e-ri-i•  
 74 ba-a-bio• il-ta-ka-an• hu-úr-ba-a-ša• i-na ta-ar-ba-ši• it-ta-ki-is•  
 75 <sup>d</sup>nam-ta-ra• sa-a-bi-šu• te-e-ma• i-ša-ka-an• ba-ba-a-tu•****

76 *lu pu-ut-ta-a• a-nu-um-ma• a-na-ku• a-la-as-su-ma•-ku-ú-nu-ši•*  
 77 *i-na• li-ib-bi• bi-i-ti• iš-ša-ba-at• e-re-eš-ki-i-gal•*  
 78 *i-na° ša-ar-ti-ša• ú-qé-ed-di-da•-áš-ši-im-ma° iš-tu• ku-us-si-i*  
 79 *a-na• qá-a•-aq•-q[á-r]i• qá-qá-as-sa• a-na na-ka-si•*  
 80 *la-a• ta-du-ka-an-ni• a-hu-a-a a-ma-ta• lu-uq-ba-a-ku•*  
 81 *iš-mi•-ši-i-ma• <sup>d</sup>U.GUR• ir-ma-a• qá-ta-a-šu• i-ba-ak-ki• ud-[d]á-ha-as•*  
 82 *at-ta• lu mu-ti-ma• a-na-ku• lu áš-ša-at-ka• lu-še-es-bi-it-ka•*  
 83 *šar-ru-ta• i-na er-se-e-ti• ra-pa-aš-ti• lu-uš-ku-un• tú-up-pa°*  
 84 *ša né-mé-e-qí• a-na qá-ti-ka• at-ta lu bé-e-lu•*  
 85 *a-na-ku• lu bi-il-tu• <sup>d</sup>U.GUR• iš-mé-e-ma• an-na-a• qá-ba-ša•*  
 86 *iš-ba-si-ma• ú-na-aš-ša-aq-ši• di-i-im-ta-ša• i-ka-ap-pa-ar•*  
 87 *mi-i-na-am-ma• te-ri•-ši-in-ni• iš-tu• ○ ar-ha-ni• ul-lu-ti•*  
 88 *a-du ki-na-an-na•*

## Translation

Obv.

- 1 When the gods held a banquet,
- 2 they sent a messenger *to queen of underworld*
- 3 to their sister Ereshkigal:
- 4 “We cannot descend to you,
- 5 and you cannot ascend to us.
- 6 Send here to take your food portion.”
- 7 Ereshkigal sent Namtar, her vizier.
- 8 Namtar ascended to the exalted heaven.
- 9 [Namtar] has ente[red,] the gods [s]tood up.
- 10 ...[...] they greeted<sup>2</sup> Namtar,
- 11 the messenger [...] great [...].
- 12 Th[ey] set<sup>2</sup> [ a table? ] He saw Nergal.
- 13 The exalted gods [...]...[...] him?
- 14 [...]... the fo[ol]d<sup>2</sup> ..... his<sup>2</sup> lady.
- 15 [...]... he<sup>2</sup> weeps, he<sup>2</sup> is depressed
- 16–22 very fragmentary or missing
- 23 E[a .....]...
- 24 he we[nt<sup>2</sup> ..... re]turned?
- 25 “Go and<sup>2</sup> [...] sister<sup>2</sup> my [...]
- 26 thus: ‘Where is he who did not rise be[fore] my [mes]senger?
- 27 Bring him to me<sup>2</sup>, that I may kill him.’”
- 28 Namtar came, he spoke to the gods.
- 29 The gods called him, they spoke with him: “Recko[n us.]
- 30 Find the god who did not rise before you;
- 31 take him to your lady.”
- 32 Namtar reckoned them. The last god was bald.
- 33 “That god who did not rise before me is not here.”
- 34 [...] Namtar goes. [He made] his [re]port:

35 [“..... I reckoned? t]hem  
 36 [.....] the last [g]od  
 37 [was bald. ....] That  
 38 [god who did not rise before me] was not there.”[  
 39 [.....] her [messe]nger  
 40 [.....] month  
 41 [...] Ea, the honorable lord?  
 42 [pu]t one chair in the hands of [Nergal:]

Rev.

43 “Take (it) to Ereškigal!” [Nergal?] we[eps?]  
 44 before Ea, his father: “She will see m[e  
 45 she will not let me live.” “[You?] should not have fea[r?  
 46 I will give you 7 and 7 obse[rvers?  
 47 with you to go: [DN, DN, DN, Muttabriqa,]  
 48 Šarrabda, [Rabişa, Tirid, Idiptu,]  
 49 Ben[na, Šidana, Miqit, Bel'uri,]  
 50 Umma, [Liba  
 51 with you [...] ... at?] the g]ate of Ereškigal,  
 52 he cried: “Gatekeeper, gateke[eper? ! ... Ope]n your gate!  
 53 Loosen the gate-bolts, that I may enter. To your lady,  
 54 Ereškigal, I have been sent.” The gatekeeper went and  
 55 told Namtar: “One god stands at the gate entrance.  
 56 Come and identify him, that he may enter.” Namtar went out,  
 57 saw him and rejoiced. He r[a]n fast; he said  
 58 to his lady: “My lady, (it is) [the god] who in pre[vious]  
 59 month[s] [was lo]st and did not rise [before m]e.”  
 60 “Bring him? in. [..... let? hi]m come, that I may kil[l] him.”]  
 61 Namtar went out [(and said:) “Come in, my lord,  
 62 into the house of your sister, and rec[ei]ve your share.”  
 63 Nergal [said? to h]im?: “May your heart rejoice with me.”  
 64 [.....] Nergal ..[  
 c. 2 lines missing  
 67 ...  
 68 [D]N at the third, Muttabriqa at the fourth,  
 69 Šarrabda at the fifth, Rabişa at the sixth, Tirid  
 70 at the seventh, Idiptu at the eighth, Benna  
 71 at the ninth, Šidana at the tenth, Miqit  
 72 at the eleventh, Bel'uri at the twelfth,  
 73 Umma at the thirteenth, Liba at the fourteenth  
 74 gate he has set. (When) in the yard, he overcame the fear.  
 75 He ordered Namtar (and) his troops: “Let the gates  
 76 be opened. Now I will run towards you”.  
 77 Inside the house he seized Ereškigal,  
 78 by her hair he bent her down from the chair  
 79 to the ground, in order to cut her head.

80 "Do not kill me, my brother. Let me say something to you."  
 81 Nergal heard her; his hands loosened. She wept, she was depressed.  
 82 "You should be my man, and I should be your wife. Let me make you hold  
 83 kingship in the wide land. Let me put the tablet  
 84 of wisdom in your hand. You should be master,  
 85 I should be mistress." Nergal heard this speech of hers,  
 86 he held her, kissed her, wiped off her tear(s).  
 87 "Whatever you have been asking me since those months (...)"

88 Till here.

### Comments

The ductus of this tablet is similar to that of the Babylonian letters found at Amarna, a feature shared also by EA 356, EA 358 and EA 372. In contrast to the relatively conservative spelling practice manifested in EA 356, the system of plene writing employed in this text seems to be foreign. The plene spelling attested in EA 357 — although rarely occurring in genuine Babylonian texts (cf. Aro 1971) — reminds us strongly of similar spellings which are amply found in Hurrian, Hittite and Hittito-Akkadian texts (cf. Izre'el 1991b: 750–1). Both the syllabary and some linguistic features give us an indication of a Peripheral Akkadian origin for this recension of the myth (cf. Izre'el 1992a: 199 n. 57).

As in the case of EA 356, red points have been applied to the text at specific intervals. While in EA 356 these points indicate metreme boundaries (see above, pp. 46–7), EA 357 shows a slightly different system, where points come not only at word or metreme ends, but sometimes also elsewhere, notably at morpheme boundaries. In ll. 43–46, the red points have been overpainted with black ink. The last visible point in l. 44 (above the sign *ma*), has been applied only with black. The significance of this observation to the application of the points in this text and its system is still to be found. Nevertheless, one is reminded of the common procedure known from ancient Egypt, where a master corrected in black the preliminary drawings made by an artist in red (Ziegler 1990: 15).<sup>8</sup> For red and black points in Egyptian writing see Osing, forthcoming (within section 2: Inhalt, Bedeutung, Gliederung).

As with EA 356, I have avoided all reconstruction of red points, whether on smooth surface or in mutilated sections. However, in contrast to the case of EA 356, the points marked in the cuneiform copy of the BM fragment are those that I collated. The transliteration shows all the red points seen by Knudtzon, Schroeder and myself, with comments on the differences between the three respective collations. In the cuneiform copies, both Schroeder's and mine, the points are appended as full in each case, also where only traces have been preserved. Notation: • marks a certain dot; ° marks a point that is probable, but uncertain. Note that tinted points are found above the final sign of a word in the middle of a line, or, at line ends, following it.

4: The use of the negation particle *ulu* probably reflects interference from Peripheral

<sup>8</sup> I thank Orly Goldwasser for this reference

Akkadian. Note that in the parallel verse, the scribe returned to the common Babylonian *ul*. This rare Peripheral Akkadian form occurs in Amurru Akkadian (Izre'el 1991a: § 4.2.3). It can hardly reflect Babylonian *ullu* (AHw: 1410), not only because of the plain consonantal spelling, but especially since the core Babylonian negational form occurs, beside in very rare other (late) collocations, mostly with *apālu*, to mean 'nein antworten, absagen'. Cf. also the sandhi *uluballatanni* in l. 45 (see commentary below).

7: I have not seen the point on *išpuramma*, restored here after Bezold and Budge and Knudtzon.

9: Collation suggests that the sign following *ru* is neither *ub* (cf. Knudtzon 1899: 130) nor *ú* (pace Knudtzon 1915: 970; also Izre'el 1993: 62), but possibly *um*, reflecting the change *bm*→*mm* (GAG: § 27c). For the restoration of the DN *namtaru* and the syntactic construction, see the preceding line and other similar parallels (cf. the comment to EA 356: 15). As for the second half of the verse, collation suggests *it* (or: *te?*) before *bu*. Knudtzon suggested that the sign could be *bu* and tentatively proposed reading *i-dab-bu-bu-ma*. The reading *i]t-bu-ma* fits the context nicely, as we are told later that Nergal was the only one among the gods who did not rise before Namtar. Cf. already Labat 1970: 99; Hutter 1985: 10.

10: Although the space may be too small for two signs between *ú* and *nam*, the remains seem to suggest this restoration (cf. Oppenheim 1950: 148 with n. 2). Moran (1987b: 115) suggests further: *ú-bá-[ra im-hu-ru ik]-ru-[bu] nam-ta-ra* 'they welcomed the foreign guest, greeted Namtar'. Knudtzon thought he had seen traces of a red point preceding the sign *ru*, but was not completely sure.

11: Knudtzon (1899: 130) claimed to have seen "3–4 kleine schräge Keile", and restored this line as follows: *ma-ar ši[-i-i]p-r[i]-i[m a'-ha'-t]i'-[š]u-n[u r]a-[a]-bi-i-ti* (also Jensen 1900: 130; Knudtzon 1915). However, an overt mimation, especially in the construct state, is improbable.

12: *ik-ru-ú-r[u* 'they set' fits the context quite nicely, if we restore 'a table' or the name of a vessel containing a drink or food in the lacuna which follows (cf. CAD K: 208). Note further the possibility of reading *akala* further below (l. 14), which can also be connected to this theme. At the end, instead of Knudtzon's *balšu*, the reading <sup>d</sup>U.GUR, i.e., *nergal*, can be suggested with enough confidence. The subject of the verb can be either Namtar or Nergal (for either possibility see above, commentary to EA 356: 15'); hence, read either 'he saw Nergal' or 'Nergal saw him'.

14: I have not seen the point before *zi*, restored here after Knudtzon.

15: Pace Knudtzon (and with Bezold and Budge). Note that in the present edition the doubling of the *h* is unmarked in the spelling of the verb *uddahhas* (cf. l. 81). Here, as in l. 81, Foster (1993: 414) takes Ereškigal as the subject of the hendiadys.

16f.: Knudtzon's *harrâ[ni*, i.e., KASKAL, is hardly possible, since (apart from <sup>d</sup>U.GUR for *nergal*) there are no logograms attested in this text. Furthermore, collation does not support Knudtzon's reading for this line or for the following line (see drawing). At the end of l. 17, a red point is visible.

24–25: At the beginning of l. 24, *il-l[i-ik* seems to be a more reasonable restoration than Knudtzon's *il-l[i*; Knudtzon himself suggested the translation 'ging'. At end, perhaps restore *a-ma-ta* or *te-e-ma u]?*[-*t]e?*-*e-er*. An imperative, *te-e-er*, is also possible: *a-ma-ta* [*t]e-e-er*. At the end of l. 25, perhaps restore *qa-b]é-e-ia* 'my speech' (cf.

also Labat's translation, 1970: 99). The spelling with *e* makes the accepted reading *pí-e-ia* 'my mouth' improbable. Knudtzon translated these two lines as follows: "gi[ng, und dem Namtaru br]achte [er diesen Bescheid] zur'ick: 'Gehe h[i]n! A[u]ch meine Schw[es]ter h[at gesprochen wie] mein [M]und...' (italics are Knudtzon's)."

**26:** The expected formula, *ilu/a ša ina pāni NP lā itbū* (cf. ll. 30, 33; also ll. 58–9), is not supported by the traces that remain on the tablet. The reading *['a]-l[i]* 'where', although tentative, fits both the context and the traces seen on the tablet. This suggestion has already been proffered by von Weiher (1971: 49 n. 2) and is followed by others.

**27:** Hutter (1985: 10), following Bottéro (1971–2: 89; cf. Labat 1970: 99), reads: *a-na mu-ú-ti-šu* 'to die' (lit: for his death). This is an attractive restoration, since it suggests an overt pun between *mūtu* 'death' and *mutu* 'husband' (cf. I. 82; Bottéro and Kramer 1989: 458). However, both syntactically and semantically, I find this possibility more difficult to support. Knudtzon's observations on the sign forms (1915: 971 n. k), although reading *e* rather than *ia* (but not *šu*!), also makes the reading *mūtišu* less probable. The Š verb *šubil-* is preferable to Knudtzon's *bil-*. What seems to be a *ma* sign following the 1st person pronominal suffix is perhaps better to be read as *šu* (see my collation), which, together with the following two signs makes a good dative 3rd sg. pronominal suffix, instead of a strange, second occurrence of the hitherto accepted direct speech particle *umma*. (In contrast to Knudtzon's observation, there is no red point preceding the sign *um*; what was seen by Knudtzon was a dark crumb in the clay.) For a similar doubling of the *m* cf. *ú-qé-ed-di-da-áš-ši-im-ma* 'he bent her' (I. 78). In fact, in the late nineteenth century, having collated the tablet for his first publication of the Amarna material, Knudtzon himself transliterated this line exactly as it is here (1899: 131; also Jensen 1900: 74). Later, however, because of difficulties in interpreting the mentioned sign as either *šu* or *ma* he changed his mind.

**28:** I have not seen the point on *namtaru*, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Schroeder).

**29:** The remains at the end of this line suit best the restoration of *nu*. For *mununiāti* cf. I. 32.

**31:** Knudtzon (but not Schroeder) noted doubtful traces of a point on *mahar*, restored here.

**34:** Knudtzon's *[a-mu]r* at the beginning of this line seems very unlikely both with regard to its contextual meaning and with regard to its spelling: a CVC sign, very rarely used in these texts at all, seems improbable here (cf. *a-mu-ur-ma*, I. 30).

**35–40:** For an attempt to fully reconstruct these lines see Labat 1970: 99–100, followed by Hutter 1985: 8 and Bottéro (Bottéro and Kramer 1989: 439). A direct speech introductory formula, as is supposed in all these reconstructions, seems out of place for this text (cf. Vogelzang 1990: 60–61).

**41–2:** The old crux I *us-sa-a* at the beginning of I. 42, can finally be put to rest. The first sign should definitely be read as *[k]u* rather than I, which now makes perfect sense in its context. This suggestion, made already in Izre'el 1993: 63, has now been confirmed by collation. In contrast to the impression that could be drawn from Schroeder's copy of a smooth and clean space to the left of the vertical wedge (the same Knudtzon; see his comment in note e, p. 972), the surface is in fact mutilated, and the restoration of a *ku* sign there is perfectly acceptable. Indeed, close observation

has revealed part of the left component of the *ku* sign (see collation). This line has a parallel in the recent recension of the myth of Nergal and Ereškigal, where Ea would not let Nergal descend to the Netherworld to meet with Ereškigal before he had supplied him with a special throne and given strict instructions concerning his visit (Sultantepe version: *STT* I: 28; II: 23'ff. = Gurney 1960: 112ff.; Uruk version: W 22246: I: 1'ff. = Hunger 1976: 17). This gesture seems to have been a significant (perhaps even symbolic) act, which demands careful examination (cf. Bottéro and Kramer 1989: 460). Ea, mentioned in l. 41, is, therefore, the actor in this situation, and Nergal is the one who receives the throne. The restoration of *lu* to mark a nominative ending of *bēlu* is preferable to Knudtzon's *lī* marking a 1 sg. pronominal suffix. The restoration of the verb *iškun* (first suggested by Knudtzon 1899: 132, but left out of his 1915 edition) seems, now, very plausible indeed. What seems to be an oblique wedge in Schroeder's copy of the *un* sign is, in fact, a horizontal (see drawing of collation). Jacobsen (1976: 229) was the first to incorporate the chair theme into the Amarna version of the myth. This was not noticed by scholars who subsequently treated the text, including myself (Izre'el 1993: 63).

**43:** This line is a continuation of the activity described in the preceding line. I interpret it as Ea's orders and, hence, as direct speech. Note that the horizontal line drawn in Knudtzon's edition has no significance for the interpretation of the text, since it is only the last of the series of guide lines (cf. the comment for EA 356: 36'). The initial verb will hence be an imperative rather than a stative form (as has been hitherto the accepted interpretation). For a similar plene writing of an imperative see the last complete line of the Adapa tablet (EA 356: 70). The restoration of the name Nergal at the end of this line is demanded by the change of the subject, namely the acting character. An enclitic *-ma* often follows the verb in similar constructions (Verb-*ma* Subject). Cf. further the comment to EA 356: 15'. Another possible restoration might be *i-ba-a[k-ki ud-da-ḥa-as]* 'he weeps, he is depressed', thus repeating the formula found twice in this text (ll. 15, 81; cf. Knudtzon). For the significance of formulae in Akkadian mythological texts see, in general, Vogelzang and Vanstiphout 1992.

**45:** The spelling *ú-lu•-ba-la-ṭa-an-ni* reflects a sandhi phenomenon (Speiser 1950: 103 n. 2), between an original *ul* and *uballatanni* in Mesopotamian Akkadian. As can be inferred from the position of the red point, the negation particle may have been perceived at the time of dictation as the Peripheral Akkadian *ulu* (cf. the comment to l. 4 above). At the break, as demanded by the context and the accepted translations, restore (with Jensen 1900: 76) *pal[ḥāta]* in the second rather than in the first person (Knudtzon: *pal[ḥāti]*).

**47–50:** The list of demons is restored after ll. 68–73. See the commentary for these lines.

**51:** Although I have restored *ina* preceding *bābu*, it is equally possible to restore *ana* instead (thus, Jensen 1900: 76). This text (in contrast to EA 356: *a-na ba-ab ḫa-ni*, l. 38' vs. *i-na ba-a-bu ḫa-ni*, l. 39') allows the preposition *ana* to precede a noun in the locative-adverbial case (cf. *ana bītu*, l. 62). It is evident that *bābu* here is in the singular, confirmed by both the order to open the gate (*bāb*) in the following line and by the attestation of the plural *bābātu* in l. 75. I have not seen the point on *ittika*, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Schroeder).

**52:** Taking the second *a* sign as the initial *a* of the second vocative *atū* quite nicely

solves the problem of this sign string. The imperative *pí-ta-]<sup>a</sup>* has parallels in similar formulaic passages; cf. Ištar's Descent, ll. 14f. (Borger 1963: III: 87); cf. also *p[í-ta-an-n]i bāba* in the Sultantepe recension of Nergal and Ereškigal (STT 28: I: 18' = Gurney 1960: 108). Note the gap between the vocative and the verb, unnoticed by previous translators. A similar gap is attested also in the Sultantepe parallel.

53: I have not seen the point on *rummīma*, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Schroeder).

56: With Knudtzon, there is no point on the sign *sa*, as might be read in Schroeder's copy.

57: The sign between *di* and *an* is graphically to be interpreted as *du* (with Knudtzon; Schroeder had by mistake copied an extra vertical wedge and was followed erroneously in Izre'el 1993: 64). However, the bottom horizontal wedge of the sign is a bit higher than expected, which suggests that the scribe may have omitted the lowest horizontal of a *da* sign (see collation, drawing, and photograph). A comparison with *da* and *du* signs on this tablet (e.g., ll. 63 and 60 respectively) supports this assumption. The adverb *danniš* is taken as complementary to the verb *ilsum* 'ran'. The reading is in accord with the context of the line, and is supported by the collocation (cf. CAD K: 19 s.v. *kabbartu* d). It is a better fit with the inscribed remains and makes more sense than my former suggestion *išgum* 'shouted' (Izre'el 1993: 64).

58: I have not seen the point on *bēlti*, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Schroeder).

59: Plural adjectives ending in *-t-* are elsewhere spelled with a *ti* sign (ll. 8, 87). The restoration of *pa-]<sup>a</sup>[-nu-ú-ti* (Knudtzon's *pa-]<sup>a</sup>[-nu-ú-te*) has been made accordingly (the same Jensen 1900: 76).

60: In spite of the red point on the sign *ba*, I take *šu* as a pronominal suffix (Knudtzon otherwise). This text attests to red points not only at word boundaries, but also at morpheme boundaries and sometimes even inside stems. The point on *ludūkšu* is located between *lu* and *ú*. Although this point may well have marked the morpheme boundary, it should be noted that the location of the points in the transliteration is misleading since, unlike the original text, the points are printed between rather than above the signs. In the break perhaps restore *ana muhhiya* after ll. 26–27.

61: Collation shows that the mark following *er-ba* on Schroeder's copy is probably an erasure (perhaps of an *a* sign).

62: For *muhur* see already Labat 1970: 101. For *zittu* 'share' cf. CAD Z: 139ff. While Nergal would understand this as a welcoming invitation, Namtar knows very well what kind of 'share' is expected for Nergal upon entering into Ereškigal's domain... The value *zí* is attested elsewhere in Peripheral Akkadian, although *zé* is more common (Jucquois 1966: 66, 147; Durham 1976: 274 and nn. 460–1 on p. 327). I have not seen the point at the end of this line, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Schroeder).

63: At the beginning, perhaps restore *[iq-bi-š]u<sup>2</sup>-ma*. There is no room for *i(p)-pa-al* in the break. To the welcoming words of Namtar 'receive your share', which are humorously ambiguous, Nergal answers by the same token, and gives a sarcastic response, knowing, on his part, that he is going to prepare an attack. According to Knudtzon (but not Schroeder), there is a point preceding *lihdānni*. Yet, there seems to be a point on the *ih* sign, which has not been marked in previous editions.

67: The names of the first two demons in the list which follows are expected. This is not, however, suggested in the sequence of signs given for this line by Knudtzon:

[ ]x-[l]a<sup>x</sup> [i]d-qa-[a]<sup>x</sup> b[a-][a]-[-b]a<sup>x</sup> [i-n]a e-[r]e-b[i<sup>x</sup>]. Otherwise Knudtzon 1899: 131; cf. also my recent drawing, which differs in some respects from Knudtzon's observations. None of these readings suggest the beginning of the demon list.

**68–73:** For the deities mentioned see von Weiher 1971: 86; Stol 1993: chapter II. Among them there are demons which are related to strikes and diseases; *šarrabdū* and *rābišu* are primarily titles of officials (Oppenheim 1968: 177ff.).

**69:** I have not seen the point at the end of this line, restored here as doubtful, but present according to Knudtzon (but not Bezold and Budge).

**74:** Knudtzon's reading (rejected since) of the second sign in *hu-úr-ba-a-ša* as *úr* seems to be correct, when compared with the same sign in l. 56. For this sign, quite rare in Peripheral Akkadian, cf. Jucquois 1966: 66 203; Durham 1976: 271 and n. 425 on p. 323; cf. in Hittite: Rüster and Neu 1989: 150 124. For *hurbāšu* 'shivers of fear, fear, terror', see CAD H: 248f. The misunderstanding of this word has resulted in the interpretation of *ša* as a pronominal suffix. The verb *ittakis* (from *nakāsu* 'to cut') is interpreted accordingly, producing a metaphoric collocation together with its complement. The actor here is, undoubtedly, Nergal, who had to overcome ('cut') his fear before entering into the realm of Ereškigal. On 'cutting fears' see Wiggermann 1994: 240.

**75:** In Izre'el 1993: 65 I took *namtara sābišu* as an inverse genitive construction, meaning 'the troops of Namtar' (cf. Groneberg 1987: 35f.; Pennacchietti 1984: 273f.). Yet, perhaps an even better interpretation of the syntactic construction here is to see the two noun phrases as standing in apposition; hence my translation 'Namtar and his troops'. The accusative case ending which is attached to the DN Namtar (and the case morpheme on *sābišu*, which may be regarded as a plural form) proves that a scribal error, confusing Nergal and Narntar, is less likely, and that Namtar and (or) his troops must be the direct complement of the predicative (*tēma*) *išakkan* (the same Hutter 1985: 12). The actor is, therefore, as in the previous verse, Nergal. After installing the demons at each of the gate entrances, Nergal overcomes his fear and is now prepared to order that the gates be opened, and to run towards the troops of the Netherworld.

**78:** Knudtzon notes that the traces of the red points on *ma* and on *ina* were very doubtful (and at the end of l. 81). While I have not seen any traces of a point on the *ma* sign, I have seen traces of a point on *ina*. There is, in addition, a point unnoticed by Knudtzon over the middle of the word *uqeddidašsimma*. I have marked all these points here. According to the system by which they were applied, points would be expected at all three locations.

**81:** Note that the subject of *ibakki uddahhas* is (pace Dalley 1989: 180) Ereškigal; later, Nergal wipes off her tears (l. 86). I have not seen any traces of a point on *irmā*, restored here after Knudtzon (but not Bezold and Budge 1892).

**83:** *eršeti rapašti* 'wide land' is, of course, an appellative of the Netherworld. I have not seen the point at the end of this line, restored here after Knudtzon (cf. above, comment to l. 78).

**87:** Between *tu* and *ar* there is an erased sign, probably another *tu*.

**88:** These two words are taken, following Hutter (1985: 12) and Moran (1987b: 115), as extraneous to the text, prominently reflecting the language of Peripheral rather than core Akkadian. The absence of a verb in the preceding line further supports this assumption. *adu kīnanna* 'till here' are therefore the words uttered by the teacher

dictating this text to his student. One may ask why a red point had been applied to this phrase. I suspect that the ancient scholar, who applied the red points to this text in Egypt, had misunderstood — like most of the modern scholars — the actual meaning of this last line, and thought it was the original text. If this last line is indeed an instructive phrase rather than part of the dictated text itself, then the student scribe actually made the same mistake when he inscribed this phrase into the clay. It is significant that the two words are inscribed in a tight script fitting the small space at the left bottom of the reverse. This may suggest the possible reason for the uttering of these words: looking over the student's shoulder, the teacher spoke the words, 'till here' because he saw the space constraints, then the student simply wrote out the oral instruction.

## EA 358 – A narrative of still undetermined genre

### Plates XXXI–XXXIV

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 1612+1617+2708.

Previous cuneiform copies: Winckler and Abel 1889–90: 235+239β; Schroeder 1915a: 196 (reproduced).

Principal previous editions: Knudtzon 1915: 974–977; Artzi 1982 (transliteration of ll. 1'–25').

Four fragments (VAT 1612 consists of two fragments) from the lower part of a tablet; 105×95 mm (joined fragments); light gray to very pale brown clay. Babylonian ductus.

### Text

Obv.

- 1' [x x i-ru-u]m-ma šar-r[u
- 2' [x (x) u]m-ma al-ka am-mi-n[i
- 3' [(x) l]i-ib-bi ke-e-nu ni-la-a[k
- 4' [an-n]a-a i-mu-ur-ma LUGAL in-da-h[a-ar
- 5' [la' ba?] -ni-tu an-ni-tu it-tu ša i[-na li-i]b-bi [bi] -[ti] -[ia]
- 6' [i-b]a-šu-ú il-si-ma a-mal-la tu-š[a (x) x]-ar-ra-[šu]
- 7' [a-l]i-ik li-qá-a tú-up-pa-ti-ma i[ ni? -m]u? -ur [?]
- 8' [it? -t]a an-ni-ta il-li-ik a-mal-l[u a-na b]i-ti-[šu]
- 9' x-ši-ma le-e-a-ni ul ta-na-a[t-ša? -al?] x is x x[
- 10' [it] -ta an-ni-ta ul im-ma-ar[ x x x ]x[
- 11' [a] -na e-kal-li iq-ta-bi a-na LU[GAL? um? -m]a? be-lí ki a-mu-ru
- 12' [ia] -a-nu it-tu an-ni-tu i-na[ le-e-a-n]i is-sa-ku-ut šar-ru
- 13' [iq] -[ta] -bi a-mal-lu lu-l[i-ik a-na r]e-i ka-lu-mi-ia
- 14' [x x x ]x-a it-ta-a[l? -ka? x] x a-na bi-ti-šu a-ši-ib
- 15' [x x x x š]a-š[i iq-ta-b]i a-na ar-di-šu [?]
- 16' [x x x x x] [a] -[n]a [tù] -up-ni-in-ni-[ka] [te] [
- 17' [x x x (x) ru-k]u-us i-na ku-nu-ki ša <sup>4</sup>nin-urta
- 18' [x (x) ku? -un? -ka? -(as?)] -ši-i-ma da-an-ni-iš li-qá-ni-ma

Rev.

- 19' [
- 20' [x x x x] [e?] -kal[
- 21' [x x x x m]a da-an-ni-iš al-ka[
- 22' x [am] [ma] [la?] x[ x x x x x b]i? nu
- 23' [i? -]te-pu-uš il-te-qé x[ x x r]a-šu i-na ba-a[-ab]
- 24' e-kal-li la-bi-ir-ti x[ x x x] a-la-ka x[?]
- 25' [ur] -ha-[a?] ru-[qá] -[a?] -ta-[am] i[l? -li? -ik? -m]a? erasure
- 26' AH x x x x k[i?] [ù] ki[ x x x x x] qa? x[
- 27' [a]r? -[k]i? -[šu] x x nu-ur [ša] [ x x x x] x x

28' *x x x ri la ka-al-l[i<sup>2</sup> x x x ]x x a<sup>2</sup>-di<sup>2</sup>[*  
 29' *x x x at<sup>2</sup> i-pa-al-ši-na x[ x ]šu [ma<sup>2</sup>] e<sup>2</sup> x x[*  
 30' *x x ma<sup>2</sup> x x mi-i-nu-ú [la] m[a]<sup>2</sup> x UD x e [zu<sup>2</sup>] x[*  
 31' *[x (x) ][li]-[ib]-bi [ke<sup>2</sup>]-[e<sup>2</sup>]-nu x[ (x) k]a<sup>2</sup>-ar<sup>2</sup>-ri i-[la]-[a]*  
 32' *[x ]x x [na] [e<sup>2</sup>] [us<sup>2</sup>] x [x ]x il*  
 33' *x x x (x) i-na ša šu[ x x r]a<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup> [ku]-[nu]-[ki]*  
 34' *[x x x ]x x wa [id] [ x x x x (x) ]x x e*  
 35' *[x x ]a-na ti ru<sup>2</sup> x[*  
 36' *[x x x ][a<sup>2</sup>]-[na<sup>2</sup>] la<sup>2</sup> x[*  
 37' traces

### Translation

Obv.

1' [...] the kin[g ente]red [  
 2' [...] t]hus: "Come! Why [  
 3' [...] my<sup>2</sup> heart is sincere. We shall g[o  
 4' [th]is<sup>2</sup>. The king looked, appr[oached]<sup>2</sup>  
 5' "This sign which is i[nsi]de my house is [not<sup>2</sup> g]ood.  
 6' He cried: "The *amallu* — his ... comes forth!"  
 7' ["G]o bring the tablets that [we] may [ch]eck(?)  
 8' this [sig]n<sup>2</sup>." The *amallu* went to his house,  
 9' he ... ed the writing boards. "You do not lo[ok]<sup>2</sup> ..."]  
 10' He does not see this sign [  
 11' to the palace. He said to the ki[ng thus:] "My lord! When I looked,  
 12' there was not this sign in [the writing boards]." The king calmed.  
 13' The *amallu* said: "Let me g[o to pas]ture my lambs."  
 14' [...] he we[nt<sup>2</sup>] ... to his house. He was sitting  
 15' [...] [sai]d to his servant:  
 16' [...] to your box ...  
 17' [...] bi]nd, with the seal of Ninurta  
 18' [...] seal] it strongly. Bring me

Rev.

19' [  
 20' [...] palace<sup>2</sup>[  
 21' [...] strongly. Come<sup>2</sup>[  
 22' .....[.....]..  
 23' [he<sup>2</sup>] made. He took his [...] in the gat[e(s) of]  
 24' the old palace [...] to go ... [?]   
 25' faraway road h[e went](?)  
 26' .....[.....]..  
 27' after him(?) ...[...] ...  
 28' .....[...]...[  
 29' ... he answered them .....[

30' .... what ....[  
 31' [...] my<sup>2</sup> heart is sincere(?) [...] he went up  
 32' ...  
 33' .... in .... [...] seal  
 34' [...] [...] [...] ...  
 35' [...] to<sup>2</sup> ...[  
 36' [...] to<sup>2</sup> ...[  
 37' ...

### Comments

A sizeable portion could be missing from the upper part of the text and, therefore, much of the beginning could be lost. There is no parallel to this text in the extant Mesopotamian literature and although suggestions regarding the genre have been offered none is completely convincing (cf. Knudtzon 1915: 997; de Koning 1940: 16; Borger, *HKL* III: 64; Artzi 1982: 318; Artzi 1993b). In its ductus, its syllabary and its predominately syllabic writing, EA 358 resembles EA 356 and EA 357. It lacks, however, the red points which were applied to both mythological texts. This is possibly due to the difference in genre or style between EA 356–7 and EA 358, the latter being written in prose rather than in verse.

My restorations depend on Artzi's preliminary reconstructions. I have not followed his restorations when they do not agree with the available space.

2': There is no vertical wedge following the sign *am* (pace Schroeder; see collation).

4': Artzi restored *il-si* after *indahar*.

6': Or: [*ib-b*]a-šu-ú 'have appeared' (literally: 'came into existence')? Knudtzon's restoration, [*la b*]a-šu-ú, makes, of course, a great difference in interpretation. Both Knudtzon and Artzi suggest restoring a sound verb in the *iparras* form at the end of this line: *tu-z[a-ma-]ar-ra-šu* and *tu-z[a-ak-ka-]ar-ra-šu* respectively. In both cases, the doubling of the third root-radical is difficult. Is it possible to suggest, tentatively: *tu-s[a ta-qa-]ar-ra-šu* 'you go out, you invite him'? The term *a-mal-lu* is a hapax and its exact meaning or a possible etymology still escapes me.

9': Although Artzi's restoration *iš* or *na* at the beginning of the line (1982, typographical correction in Artzi 1993b) makes a great deal of sense, collation makes me reluctant to accept it. Either *ba* or Knudtzon's *ib* would fit the inscribed traces better. Taking into consideration the possibility of a kind of chiastic complementary parallelism, the subject may be implied, resuming *amallu*, the complement being *ana* (or *ina*) *bītišu*. Regarding the verb in this line, Knudtzon suggested the possibility of conjoining the syllable *ul* to it, resulting in a Š or a Št verb. Artzi suggests a derivation from *nadānu*.

10': Artzi restores further: [*il-li-ik A.MAL-]lu*.

11': Artzi's reading *a* at the beginning of this line is supported by collation.

12': With Artzi, restore either [*le-e-a-ni*] or [*tu-up-pa-ti*]. The remains on the tablet perhaps agree better with the first possibility (cf. also Knudtzon 1915: 976 n. b).

16': Artzi reads this line as follows: [*itta?? annita?? i-]na* *tū-up-ni-in-ni-ka te[-zi-ib]*. Perhaps better, at the beginning: *le-e-a-ni*. For *a-na* see Knudtzon's note c.

17': For Ninurta seals see Artzi 1994; Yamada 1994, with previous references.

22': Artzi restores: *x-am-ma-la* [*šar-ru/LUGAL iq-ta]-bu x(=nu??)* [*x (x)*]. Knudtzon (n. f) thought *nu* was the last sign of this line.

23': Artzi reads: *il-te-qí-i* [*gi-ir]-ra-šu*. At the end, restore either *ab* or *bi*.

24': At the end, restore perhaps a suffixed verbal complement. If so, translate 'I shall come to you/him'.

26': The sign following *AH* may be *sa* (Knudtzon; Schroeder); what follows may be *šu*, *la*, *ad* or the like (Schroeder). Instead of *qa x* perhaps *ak* is possible.

32': Knudtzon indicated four missing signs at the beginning.

34': Knudtzon suggested: [*ša <sup>4</sup>nin-ur]ta[ i]-p[i-i]t - - - - - e.*

36': Instead of *la*, both Knudtzon and Schroeder had *ab*; perhaps *ad*?

## EA 359 – The *šar tamhāri* epic

### Plates XXXV–XXXVIII

Museum number: The Egyptian Museum (Cairo), Journal d'entrée 48396, SR 12223.

Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 1915a: 193 (reproduced).

Previously published photographs: Schroeder 1914: pls. 6, 7.

Principal previous editions: Weidner 1922; Rainey 1978: 10–15; Franke 1989; Westenholz, forthcoming.

The upper part of a tablet; 103×100 mm; pale red clay on the outside, light gray to very pale brown inside; Egyptian ductus; small script (line-height of c. 2–2.5 mm).

### Text

Obv.

- 1 [x x x x x x x x ]il <sup>d</sup>U-DAR a-šu-ri URU.a[k-kà-dì]
- 2 [x x x x x x x ]x ú tam-ha-ri LUGAL qé-re-e[b]
- 3 [x x x x x x x ]x i-qáb-bi qáb-la LUGAL-k[è-en]
- 4 [x x x x x x G]IŠ.TUKUL-[šu] ez-zi <qé-re-eb> É.GAL-lì LUGA[L-kè-en KA×U-šu]
- 5 [e-ep-pu-ša i-qáb-bi a-m]a-tá iz-za-kàr UR.SAG-ia KUR ga-[
- 6 [x x x x x x n]u ú-ba-a qáb-la uk-kà-an-ni-ša[

---

- 7 [x x x x x x x i]m-ma-ta<sub>5</sub> it-ra(-)a ša ID LUGAL-k[è-en]
- 8 [x x x x x x x x] li iš pa-ra-ak-ki KASKAL-na be-lí š[a te-er-ri-i]š a-la-ka<sub>13</sub>
- 9 [u-ur-ha-at šu-up-šu-qá-at a-l]a-ak-ta mar-ša-at KASKAL-an URU.pur-ša-ha-an-[da]
- 10 [ša te-er-ri-iš a-la-ka<sub>13</sub>] KASKAL-an ša a da mu mu uš ši ib bi ir ni-nu im-ma-ti
- 11 [x x x x x x š]u nu-uš-<sup>ša</sup>šab GIŠ.GU.ZA nu-šap-šaḥ sú-ur-ri-iš
- 12 [x x x x x l]q-ta-ta i-da-a-ni bur-kà-ni i-tá-an-ha i-na a-la-ki u-ur-hí

---

- 13 [x x x x KA×U-šu ]e-ep-pu-ša i-qáb-bi iz-za-kà-ra LÚ.SUKKAL ša DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.DAM.['GÀR]
- 14 [DINGIR-kà <sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba] a-lik u-ur-hí mu-še-te-<še>-ru KASKAL-na ha-ia-aṭ ki-ib-ra-ti
- 15 [x x x x x l]i iš pa-ra-ak-ki ša ul-tù ši-it <sup>d</sup>UTU i-na ša-la-mi <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši
- 16 [x x x x x š]a DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.DAM.GÀR šà-šu-nu i-ra-a mar-ta bu-ul-lu-ul IM.mé-hé-e
- 17 [x x x ]<sup>l</sup>mu<sup>2</sup>] ti mi na i-na qé-re-eb URU.ak-kà-dì ki-iš-ši li-il-qut
- 18 [LUGAL-kè]-en LUGAL ŠÚ šum-ni iz-kùr u-ur-ri-da-nu ni-ma-ah-ha-ra ki-iš-šu-ti ú-ul qar-ra-da-nu

19 [x x]-da-a u-ur-*hí* LUGAL lu mi it *har* bi ni pa lu LUGAL *ša* >*ša*< *iz-za-za*  
*qáb-la-šu li-pu-la* LUGAL

20 [x x] *Juš zu-zu* KÙ.GI UR.SAG LUGAL-*kè-en* *li-id-dì-nu-šu ú-ru* KÙ.BABBAR

21 [x x]-ni *ni-il-la-ak in-né-pu-ša da-aš-ša-ti i-na ša ni-ḥu-ma* DINGIR-*kà*  
<sup>d</sup>*za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>*

22 [x x *i*] *p<sup>2</sup>-pa-ah-ra* DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.DAM.GÀR *ir-ru-ba qé-re-eb* É.GAL-*lì ul-tù*  
*ir-ru-bu-ú'(PA)*

23 [DUMU.MEŠ L] *ú-ul im-ḥu-ru* UR.SAG.MEŠ LUGAL-*kè-en* KA×U-*šu*  
*e-ep-pu-ša i-qáb-bi*

24 [*iz-za-kàr*] LUGAL *tam-ḥa-ri* URU.*pur-<ša>-ḥa-an-da ša du<sup>2</sup>-bu-「ba?*  
*lu-mu-ur ge<sub>5</sub>-re-et-ta-šu*

25 [x x x]-*šu ta<sup>3</sup>-ar-šu a-i-ú* HUR.SAG-*šu mi-nu* KASKAL-*an-sú a-i-tù ki-i*  
*li-il-li-ik-ma*

26 [x x x] *x te-er-ri-iš a-la-kà u-ur-ḥa-at šu-「up?*  
*lu-šu-qá-at a-la-ak-ta mar-ṣa-at*

27 [KASKAL-*an* URU.*pur-ša-ḥa-】an-da ša te-er-ri-iš a-la-kà* [KAS]KAL-*an* *ša a*  
*da mu mu ši ib bi ir* 7 KASKAL.GÍD

28 [x x x x] *x ḥur.sag ga-ap-šu ša ták-kà-sú* NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÍN KÙ.GI-*ra-a-ṣú i-na*  
*GAM-šu*

29 [x x x x GI] *š.ḥašḥur* GI.Š.PÈŠ GI.Š.ši-mi-iš-ša-lu GI.Š.ur-zi-in-nu *um-muq<sup>4</sup>* 7  
*ABZU gaš-ra-šu*

30 [x x x x x] *「a」-ṣar im-dah-「ṣú」 ir-ra<sup>2</sup>-qa<sup>2</sup>-du'(UŠ)* LU.LIM KAR *re-ši-šu* 7  
*KASKAL.GÍD GI.Š.mu-ur-di-in-nu*

31 [x x x x x] *x ḥu x[ x x ]x li ma gáb-bi ša* 7 KASKAL.GÍD *is-ṣú it-ta-du li-mi-it*

32 [x x x x x x x x x x x x] *x ik ti is-ṣ[ú x x ]x sú-up-pa* 7 KASKAL.GÍD *kà-lu-u*

33 [x x x x x x x x x x x x] *「u」[ x x x x x ]x šu-lu-ú sú-up-pa*

34 [x x x x x x x x x x x x] *「u<sup>2</sup>」[ x x x x x z]i iz-za-「za」[*

35 [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x] *im-「mu」-ru[*

Rev.

1' [x x x x x x x x] *x bu*[  
2' [x x x x x x x x] *š]u* ÉRIN *x[ x x ]x x[*

3' [x] *x x x x [x x x x]-ra* <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-d[ag-gal K]A×U-šu e-「ep」-pu-ša i-「qáb」-「bi」 x*  
*x[*

4' [am-m]a-tá *iz-za-kàr a-dì-n[i<sup>2</sup> LUGAL-*kè-e*]n la-a il-la-k[à-a]n-na-ši*  
*li-ik-la-aš-šu ki-ib-ru mi-lu-ú*

5' [HUR.SA]G *ga-ap-šu li-pu-uš a-pu qí-il-tá ḥu-bu-tá qal<sub>4</sub>-la ki-is-ṣa-ri*  
*i-ta-wi-lu-ú*

6' [UR].SAG-*šu ip-pa-lu-šu* <sup>1</sup>*nu-ur-dag-gal am-ma-tá iz-za-kà-ru-šu a-ú-ut-ti*  
*LUGAL.MEŠ EGIR-ku-tù*

7' [ù?] *pa-nu-ti a-i-ú LUGAL ša il-la-kà-ma im-mu-ra KUR-ta-a-ti-ni  
¹nu-ur-dag-gal am-ma-tá*

8' [i]š-tu KA×U-šu ú-ul ú-qá-at-ta<sub>5</sub> LUGAL-kè-en *ih-ta*○-pa-ra URU-šu 2 IKU  
KÁ NUN-be úr<sup>1</sup>-tap-pí-iš

9' *x-du-šu mi-li BÀD-šu is-sà-li-it-ma im-ḥaṣkà-la ša GEŠTIN šu-pu-ú et-lu-tù-šu*

10' [LUGAL]-kè-en *i-na pa-ni* KÁ.GAL *it-tá-ḥi* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šu LUGAL-kè-en  
KA×U-šu *e-ep-pu-ša*

11' [i-q]áb-bi a-na UR.SAG-šu a-ma-tá *iz-za-kàr in-ga-na*¹nu-ur-dag-gal *mi-gi<sub>5</sub>-ir  
d-en-líl*

12' [li-id-d]ak-ki-šu *li-ik-kà-ni-iš-šu-ma lu-mu-ur*

---

13' [x] *x a-gi<sub>5</sub> ták-kà-sú ša re-ši-iš-šu* GIŠ.GÌR.G<U>B NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN  
ša šu-pá-la-aš-šu a-du 55 LÚ.MEŠ.MAŠKIM

14' [DINGIR<sup>2</sup>-š]u ú-ši-ib *pa-ni-šu ša ki-ma ša-a-šu i-na* GIŠ.GU.ZA KÙ.GI aš-bu  
a-ši-ib LUGAL *ki-ma* DINGIR-lí

15' [ma-a]n-nu *ki-ma* LUGAL *il-lu-ú*¹nu-ur-dag-dal *ul-te-še-bu ma-ḥar*  
LUGAL-kè-en LUGAL-kè-en KA×U-šu

16' [e-]jep-pu-ša *i-qá-bi a-na*¹nu-ur-dag-gal *am-  
<ma-ta iz-za-kàr> al-kà*  
¹nu-ur-dag-gal *mi-gi<sub>5</sub>-ir d-en-líl ki-ma* táq-bi

17' [a]-dì-ni LUGAL-kè-en *la-a il-la-kà-an-na-ši li-ik-la-aš-šu<sup>1</sup> ki-ib-ru mi-lu-ú*  
HUR.SAG *ga-ap-šu*

18' [(?)]li-pu-šu a-pu qí-il-ta *li-ša-pí-šu* hu-bu-tá *qal<sub>4</sub>-la ki-iš-ša-ri*  
¹nu-ur-dag-gal KA×U-šu *ep-pu-ša*

19' [i-q]áb-bi a-na LUGAL-kè-en *mi-in-de<sub>9</sub>* be-lí ú-ša-〔du〕-ka ú-še-bi-ru-ni-ik-ku  
ÉRIN.MEŠ DINGIR-ka

20' [x x] *li li e-bi-ra* ÍD a-i-ú-〔tù〕 KUR.KUR.MEŠ URU.ak-kà-dá i-ša-an-na-an

21' [a-i-ú] LUGAL ú-ša-an-na-an kà-ša *ge<sub>5</sub>-ru-kà ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši na-ki-ir-šu-nu*  
KASKAL-ru

22' [x x] *tu uh-tim-mu lìb-bi na-ki-ru-ka up-tal-ḥu-ma uš-ḥa-ra-ra*  
tù-te-er-šu-nu-ti

23' [x x x] *x ŠÀ A.GÀR be-lu ša re-ṣú-ú* UGU-šu

---

24' [x x x] [a]-na aš-ri-šu ni-is-sà-ḥar *in-né-ep-ša li-iš-ši* GIŠ.ḤAŠHUR GIŠ.PÈŠ  
GIŠ.ŠENNUR GIŠ.GEŠTIN

25' [x x x x] GIŠ.LAM.GAL GIŠ.zé-er-du *ul pa-nu im-ma-ti i-na aš-ri-šu ú-ul*  
ni-is-sà-ḥar

26' [x x x x l] *i-iš-ši lu bu-zu-* URU.KI *lu-ut-ra-a ṭa-a<sup>1</sup>(2)-bi i-na a-la-ak*

27' [u-ur-ḥi ù] *a-ša-bi mi-nu* LUGAL-kè-en *ir-te-e* URU *un-na-mi-šu* MU.3.KAM

28' [x x x x i] *t-ta-šib*

---

29' [ ] [DUB] 1.KAM ša LUGAL tam-ḥa-ri qa-ti

## Translation

Obv.

- 1 [.....].. of Ištar ... A[kkad]
- 2 [.....].. (of) battle, the king, insid[e]
- 3 [.....].. he is talking war. Sarg[on]
- 4 [.....]his terrible weapon <inside> the palace. Sa[rgon opened]
- 5 [his mouth (and) said,] he spoke: "My warrior(s)! The land of ..[..]
- 6 [.....].. I seek battle, I shall subdue[.....]"

---

- 7 [.....] he fetched [..].... Sarg[on]
- 8 [.....].. dais(es). "The road, my lord, th[at you wis]h to take
- 9 [is a difficult way, the pa]ssage is inaccessible; the road to Puršahanda
- 10 [that you wish to take] is a road that/of ..... We — when
- 11 [.....].. shall we sit on a chair and relax for a moment?
- 12 [.....] our hands have become exhausted, our knees have become tired while walking the way."

---

- 13 [PN] opened [his mouth] (and) said, the *sukkallu*-official of the merchants spoke:
- 14 ["Your god, Zabab]a, is the one who walks in the way, who takes the road, who watches over the regions,
- 15 [.....].. dias(es) from east to west.
- 16 [.....] the heart [o]f the merchants vomitted bile; it is mixed up by a storm.
- 17 [.....].... in Akkad. May [Sarg]on destroy the enemies;
- 18 [Sarg]on, the king of the world, mentioned our name. We are down(?), we will receive strength, we are not heroes,
- 19 [..].. the way, the king ..... the king. May the king pay whoever stands in his battle
- 20 [..].. half a shekel of gold, may Sargon give the warrior(s) a ...of silver."

---

- 21 [..].. we (will?) go; treacheries will be made wherever your god, Zababa, finds rest."
- 22 [...] the merchants were gathered (and) entered inside the palace. As they entered,
- 23 [the m]erchants did not meet the warriors. Sargon opened his mouth (and) said,
- 24 the King of Battle [spoke]: "The mentioned Pur<ša>handa — I wish to see its path,
- 25 its [...], its way back?. Which is its mountain? What is its way through which one is to go?"
- 26 [..].. you wish to take is a difficult way, the passage is inaccessible;
- 27 [the road to Puršah]nda that you wish to take is [a r]oad that/of ..... 7  
*bēru*.

28 [...] a huge mountain with lapis lazuli stones, gold in its circumference,  
 29 [...] apple [tre]es, fig trees, boxwood, sycamore, are 7 *apsûs* deep. Its strength  
 30 [...] where they fought, deers are dancing<sup>2</sup>. The quay<sup>2</sup> of its summit is 7 *bēru*. Bramble trees,  
 31 [...] [...] [...] everything is at the 7 *bēru*. The trees were left uncared for around  
 32 [...] tree[s] [...] massive 7 *bēru*. A dike<sup>2</sup>  
 33 [...] [...] to raise massive  
 34 [...] [...] stands[  
 35 [...] the saw[

Rev.

1' [...] .[  
 2' [...] h]is<sup>2</sup> [...] troops [...] .[  
 3' [...] [...] Nurd[aggal] opened his [mo]uth (and) said ..[  
 4' he spoke: "Until no[w, Sargo]n has not come to us. Let the bank hold him, the height(s),  
 5' the huge [mountai]n. Let the reed thicket form a forest, a copse, a wood; knots will be bound."  
 6' His [war]riors answered him, they spoke to Nurdaggal: "Who are the kings, latter  
 7' [and] former, who is the king who came and saw our lands?" Nurdaggal has not completed the speech  
 8' [f]rom his mouth, (and) Sargon surrounded his city; by 2 *ikû* he widened the Gate of the Princes,  
 9' its [...] ., he cut through the high part of its wall, and smote all his heroes that had been subdued by wine.  
 10' [Sar]gon brought his chair close to the front of the big gate. Sargon opened his mouth (and)  
 11' [s]aid, he spoke to his warriors: "Come on! Nurdaggal, the favorable of Enlil —  
 12' [sum]mon him, make him prostrate, so that I may see."  
 13' [...] a crown with stones on his head; a foot-s<to>ol of lapis lazuli at his feet; with 55 commissioners;  
 Rev.14' [hi]s[ god?] sat before him; he was seated like him in a golden chair; the king is seated like the god.  
 15' [Wh]om will they elevate like the king? They placed Nurdaggal before Sargon. Sargon opened  
 16' his mouth (and) said, <he spoke> to Nurdaggal: "Come, Nurdaggal, favorite of Enlil. As you said,  
 17' '[u]ntil now Sargon has not come to us; let the bank hold him, the height(s), the huge mountain;

18' [(?)]let the reed thicket form a forest, let it make it appear as a copse, a wood, knots.' " Nurdaggal opened his mouth (and)

19' [s]aid to Sargon: "Perhaps, my lord, you were informed (and) the troops were carried for you. Your god

20' [...] to cross the river. What countries are comparable to Akkad?

21' [What ]king is comparable to you? There are no adversaries to you; their enemy is the military expedition

22' [...] have become paralyzed at heart; your enemies have become frightened and I am dumfounded. You returned them

23' [...] midst<sup>2</sup> of<sup>2</sup> the pasture, the owners whose help is on him."

---

24' ["Now<sup>2</sup> ]we return to his place. It has been done. Let him carry apple, fig, šallūru-fruit, vine,

25' [...] ]pistachio, olive [...] Never shall we return to his place."

26' ["I]et him carry [...] Let the city be oppressed. Let me take away the benefits while walking

27' [the road and] while sitting." What did Sargon rule? They left the city. Three years

28' [...] he] stayed.

---

29' [ ]Tablet 1 of The King of Battle complete.

### Comments

On the left side of the tablet there are signs of burning. The color of the clay, which is pale red, may not be the original color, and may be the result of burning, since at the break, inside the tablet, the clay color is of the same light gray to very pale brown as the majority of the Amarna scholarly tablets. The ductus is distinguishable from the contemporary Hittite tablets, and can be defined on the basis of many signs to be Egyptian (cf. the introduction, p. 10 above; for a detailed paleographic study of this text see Franke 1989: 199–216). Yet, as in the case of the Kešši fragment (EA 341; cf. comments there), EA 359 exhibits some linguistic peculiarities that can be attributed directly to the Akkadian of Boghazköy, notably consonant doubling in the initial syllable, which has been dealt with in detail by both Franke and Westenholz. If the clay and the ductus are indeed to be regarded as genuine Egyptian, then one must surmise that this tablet is a copy made in Egypt of a Hittito-Akkadian recension of the *šar tamhāri* epic. Without more evidence, the idea that the text — to be distinguished from the tablet — is an import from Hatti remains just a reasonable assumption. As already noted by Schroeder (1914: 40), there is a red stain on the empty space at the bottom of the reverse, the significance of which is unclear. Its shape is drawn here, added to Schroeder's cuneiform copy. Schroeder notes, with good reason, that the paint is Egyptian; cf. the existence of red points on EA 356, EA 357 and EA 372.

The text is extremely difficult. Not only is much (perhaps half of the tablet) miss-

ing, but the problems of fragmentary preservation are compounded by linguistic and philological difficulties. It is written in an Akkadian style which is part of the continuum of linguistic registers of the Akkadian written at Boghazköy, and its difficulties are perhaps the result of heavy interference from an indigenous non-Semitic language of that area.

The epic of *šar tamhāri* is also known from the Hittite, attested in one main fragment and some less significant tiny fragments (Meriggi 1968; Güterbock 1969). Unfortunately, the Hittite version, although similar in some respects to the Akkadian one, can be of no help in overcoming the difficulties in reading the Akkadian version, since it is not an exact parallel of the Akkadian text. In other words, neither one of the respective recensions derives from a translation of the other. Moreover, the Hittite version itself is not free of oddities. Güterbock (1969: 26) explicitly mentions mistakes in the usage of the enclitic possessive pronouns, and suggests they result from either an intentional archaization attempt on the part of the author, or through inscribing from memory without real understanding of the text. The Akkadian version from Amarna shows some significant non-Akkadian interference, which may well be traced back to Hurrian (the other Akkadian recensions, attested on small fragments from Assur and Nineveh, are insignificant for this study; cf. Westenholz, forthcoming). Some of the salient features which may point towards Hurrian interference are: (1) Confusion in transitivity (e.g., *nu-šap-šah* 'we relax', l. 11; *it-tá-hi* 'he brought near', l. 10'). (2) Ergative or ergative-like constructions (e.g., *li-id-di-nu-šu* 'may he give them', l. 20; [*li-id-d*]ak-ki-šu *li-ik-kà-ni-iš-šu* '[sum]mon him, make him prostrate', l.12'). (3) The usage of nominative for expected accusative (e.g., *zu-zu* 'half shekel' and *ú-ru* '?', l. 20). (For Hurrian interferences on Akkadian see Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936: 136–140; Wilhelm 1970: chapter IV.) Note further that the change of *n>l*, attested in the name Nurdaggal (< Nurdagan; see Güterbock 1969: 18; cf. Weidner 1922: 77 and n. 1) may also suggest Hurrian interference (although the phonetic environment is not the one expected for such a change in Hurrian; cf. Speiser 1941: 27; Berkooz 1937: 59).<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note at this juncture that a Hurrian gloss (*ku-p[a-hi]* 'hat'), marked as one, is attested in the Hittite text (Güterbock 1969: 21, IV 3; parallel to our *a-gi₅* 'crown', l. 13'). These observations conform with a general observation on the origins of the extant Hittite literature on the kings of Akkad, namely that it has reached the Hittite through Hurrian traditions (cf. Kammenhuber 1976: 157–160). It is notable that, although attesting to foreign language interference, the Akkadian recension is nevertheless eloquent in its poetic structure, and word play, parallelism and other poetic features are quite widespread in this text. This shows that even if it is a translation from Hurrian or some other foreign language, the Akkadian text has been composed and structured by a professional and talented poet.

While the detection of Hurrian interference in this text has helped to resolve some of the frustrating grammatical difficulties (it may also account for those that still remain), it has not helped much in clearing up many other textual problems of

<sup>9</sup> Interestingly, a similar change is attested in some Emar tablets; e.g., Tsukimoto 1991: 307 (text 40). I thank Itamar Singer for drawing my attention to this matter. A different perspective on this name has been offered by Nougayrol 1951: 174. For discussions see Vanstiphout 1987; Franke 1989: 242–3; Westenholz, forthcoming, in her introduction to the Sargonide texts and in her introduction to the Amarna recension of *šar tamhāri*. Cf. also the MA GN *Dunni-<sup>d</sup>Da-gal* in the Hanigalbat region (F. Wigermann, p.c.).

the narrative. Besides the grammatical problems, there are also lexical difficulties, problems in the parsing of words, and clear scribal errors (the most obvious is the one on l. 16'). In addition, the text is riddled with fragmentary passages. The text is so difficult that Gütterbock (1934: 86f.) has defined it as "extraordinarily bad". Clearly the last word on its interpretation has not yet been written. I have, therefore, left some of the most difficult interpretational cruxes of the text untranslated. As a rule, I have confined myself to only the most obvious restorations and avoided others which are open to speculative debate. Furthermore, many of the translations are tentative, with regard to both lexicon and grammar. As both Franke and particularly Westenholz have ample discussions of previous editions, I have limited my comments to pointing out some differences in interpretation and new readings resulting from collation. In short, the material presented here is primarily the latest observation on the cuneiform material at hand.

**2:** Although both Weidner and Schroeder have preferred *e* at the end of the line, *e*[*b*], the generally accepted restoration, is preferable (see collation).

**5:** Weidner (1922: 62 n. 3) saw the beginning of what he thought to be *la* at the end of this line, probably two horizontal wedges. This cannot be confirmed since the tablet has since deteriorated at that corner.

**6:** I take both verbs as 1 sg. forms; the ending *-a* in *ukkanniša* seems to be a ventive morpheme (for the doubling of *k* see above). Cf. the Hittite version (Gütterbock 1969), I 13'.

**10:** Franke restores <7 GID.DÁ> at the end of the obscure passage, comparing it with l. 27.

**14:** If the accepted emendation *mu-še-te-*<še>-ru** (Rainey: *mu-še-te-*<eš>-ru**) is correct, the collocation should be translated as an idiom meaning 'to take the road' (CAD E: 358b, s.v. *ešeru* 8b), and hence forms an exact parallel to *ālik urhi*.

**17:** The broken sign at the break can hardly be another *ti*, as might be suggested by Schroeder's copy; *mu* is possible. Perhaps translate: '[frightened? by d]eath'. For *kišt̄ lilqut* 'may he destroy the enemies' cf. CAD K: 461a, s.v. *kiššu* B in the lexical section, where *kiššu* is rendered by *nukurtu*; CAD L: 101, s.v. *laqātu* 2).

**20:** For *Juš* perhaps read *URJUDU* 'copper'.

**23:** I take the verb *iml̄urū* with the meaning 'to meet' rather than the hitherto accepted 'confronted, opposed' or the like. In the scene depicted here, it appears that the respective expeditions did not meet with each other while coming to plea before Sargon.

**24:** Reading *du?-bu-[ba?]* is the most probable interpretation of this string (see collation). The following *lu* is certain, as already noted by Weidner.

**25:** For the second sign, the accepted reading is *ša*, but *ša* is never inscribed with three vertical wedges. I follow Weidner in reading *ta*; cf. *ga* with what seem to be three horizontal wedges in l. 28. In any case, the middle horizontal is not entirely certain. KASKAL is certain; *li-il-li-ik-ma* at the end is also undoubtedly there (thus already Weidner; see collation).

**26:** At the break, *ša* is impossible; hence, a different restoration from the one accepted after the parallel in l. 8 ([KASKAL-*na ša*] is to be sought. Cf. also the comment to the following line.

**27:** The space at the beginning (four, certainly no more than five signs) is too small for this accepted restoration, which, again, follows the parallel in ll. 8–10. Cf. also the comment to the previous line. Admittedly, there seems to be no other conceivable restoration for this line. Perhaps one should either postulate a reading without the phonetic complement *-an* and without the city determinative URU, or, more conceivable for this text, suppose the omission of a sign on the part of the scribe.

**29:** *gaš-ra-šu* ‘its strength’ rather than *bi-ra-šu* goes better with *imdaḥšū* ‘they fought’ of the next line.

**30:** With Weidner, the sign following *im-dah-[šu]* is *ir* rather than *ni* (*ni* does not have two small vertical wedges in this text). What follows may be *ra qa*, as suggested by Weidner, although not without difficulties (yet, pace Weidner, *qa* has only two wedges, a horizontal and a vertical one, in this tablet; cf. l. 29'). *lu* and *ú* are not clearly distinguished in this tablet, so that the interpretation of the following sign as *lu* is acceptable. Is KAR *rēšišu* ‘the quay of its summit’ a metaphor depicting the great length of the mountain circumference or the like? The interpretation of this line is, obviously, highly tentative.

**31:** With Weidner, the sign before *ma* is *li* rather than *šar* (so transliterated after Schroeder); see collation. I take *it-ta-du* as an N form of *nadū* (*ittaddū*). For the meaning cf. CAD N1: 99a.

**33:** For *ú*, *lu* is equally possible.

**35:** With Weidner, the last visible sign is *ru* rather than *ú* (see collation).

**2':** Weidner suggested *e[n]* for the last visible sign. Between ÉRIN and this sign, there is a DIN (or *hi?*) sign attested. Read ÉRIN.HI.<A>? See copy and collation.

**4':** Instead of ‘height(s)’ for *mi-lu-ú* perhaps translate ‘flood’ (<*mišlu*>); for the spelling cf. *ri-sú-ú* (<*rīšu*>) in l. 23' below.

**5':** For *kışru* = *kıṣṣari* cf. the analogical spelling of *miṣri* ‘Egypt’ as *mi-iṣ-sa-ri* in EA 16: 2 (from Assur, but written in Peripheral Akkadian) and EA 31: 1 (a letter in Hittite), as well as the anaptyctic vowels for this GN in letters from Mittanni.

**7':** *ù* at the beginning is possible (see collation). If this is correct, note its Egyptian form (cf. Schroeder 1915, list 179). There is no other attestation of *ù* in this tablet.

**8':** Between *ta* and *pa* there is an erasure. IKU is preferable to GÁ, being an area measure; the two respective signs are indistinct in this tablet (cf. *ba₄=MAL=IKU*, l. 21).

**9':** At the beginning, there is no room for another sign in front of the one of which the right component is still visible. For ‘his (heroes)’, referring to Nurdaggal, perhaps better read ‘its’, referring to the city. For *šuppū* ‘to silence, to subdue’ see CAD Š1: 491b.

**17':** For *mi-lu-ú* ‘height(s)’ or ‘flooding’ see above, l. 4'.

**18':** The second sign in the string *ki-iṣ-sa-ri* is doubtlessly *iṣ* (see collation); Schroeder’s *ma* is a mistake. Perhaps restore: <*i-ta-wi-lu-ú*> after *ki-iṣ-sa-ri* (cf. the parallel, l. 5').

**19':** Probably add <*ammata izzakara*> after *šarrukēn*, to comply with the regular formula. None of the *ni* signs in the tablet has two small vertical wedges; what Schroeder saw here were just some defects on the surface.

**21'**: The word play with *gērū* ‘adversary’, suggested by Westenholz (but with a different interpretation), may well be the cause for the use of *girru* rather than *harrānu* at the end of this line (KASKAL-*ru*). A syllabic reading for this sign, as has been suggested by some students of this text, is hardly possible in Peripheral Akkadian.

**22'**: The sign string which follows *tu* has not been adequately interpreted hitherto. What is seen on the tablet (and actually depicted accurately by Schroeder in his copy) is certainly *AH* followed by *tim* (Schroeder’s list 47; Rüster and Neu 1989: 14). I take *uhtimmū* as a D perfect of *hāmu* ‘to paralyze’, reflecting a “vowel harmony” (←*uhtammū*←*uhtammi+ā*). If the notation of vocalic endings on nouns is correct, *lib-bi* seems to indicate the plural, which is not reflected in the translation. With Weidner, the sign following *uš-ha-ra-ra* is *du* (with the value *tū*) rather than *ma* (Schroeder); see collation.

**23'**: At the beginning, A.ŠA ‘field’ is impossible. For a similar spelling of *rēsu* cf. EA 373: 15. An alternative translation might be: ‘owners who came for his help’.

**24'**: In the Hittite version, trees are being cut off for the way back (Güterbock 1969: 21–23, col. IV ll. 8ff.). *li-iš-ši*, although in the 3rd sg. m., fits this context, and is translated accordingly.

**27'**: *un-na-mi-šu* is interpreted as a plural verb (*unammišū*). Another possibility is to take the ending as indicating the subjunctive (*unammišu*), translating (ll. 27’–28’): ‘He had stayed in the city he left for three years [and five months].’

**28'**: The Hittite version (IV: 9’) suggests the restoration of ‘and 5 months’ at the beginning.

**29'**: There was probably nothing inscribed before the sign DUB. It is a common procedure at Boghazköy to start the colophon line not close to the left edge. As noted by Vanstiphout (1987), the text is complete. Hence, the mention of ‘Tablet 1’ may be just a formulaic chunk, or, as Franke (1989: 198) explains it, mean ‘Die eine Tafel’.

EA 360 — A fragment of undetermined genre

Plate XXXIX

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 1709B.

Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 179 (reproduced).

Principal previous editions: Rainey 1978: 16.

A flake; 26×19 mm; light gray to very pale brown clay. Possibly Hittito-Egyptian ductus (cf. *ra*, l. 4'; Schroeder 1915a, list 129).

**Text**

1'	]x x[
2'	]UD m[a-
3'	]x ú x[
4'	] ra [
5'	]x x[

**Comments**

A fragment of undetermined genre. The ductus is small, and if it indeed originated in Egypt, it might well be part of the scholarly corpus. Note the space between the signs in l. 2'. The other side is broken.

5': The second sign may perhaps be GAL.

EA 368 — Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary

Plate XL

Museum number: The Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), Tell el Amarna 1921, 1154.

Previous cuneiform copies: Smith and Gadd 1925: 233, 237.

Previously published photograph: Peet and Wooley 1923: pl. X (reverse only).

Principal previous editions: Smith and Gadd 1925; Rainey 1978: 38–9; cf. Albright 1926; Edel 1975; Artzi 1990: 141–142; Edel 1994.

The upper part of a tablet; 65×58 mm; dark grayish brown clay. Ductus resembling the one attested in the Amarna Mittanni letters, yet not entirely (cf. the comment to l. 1).

Text

Obv.	1	ma ○ aḥ pi LUGAL (x) x [ru <sup>?</sup> ] bi nu
	2	nam-‘DU-ú (x) mal <sup>?</sup> -la-mu
	3	ma aḥ tu lu a-hi-a-tu <sub>4</sub>
	4	pi-da-aš ni mu ú uḥ da GIŠ qa <sup>?</sup> x x (x) di
	5	x mu ḥat-ma-‘DU <sup>?</sup> -ú šaq <sup>?</sup> -la-[a <sup>?</sup>

6	ši-na-aḥ	ši-qú-[il <sup>?</sup> KÙ.BABBAR <sup>?</sup>
7	ši-na-aḥ-wu <sub>4</sub>	2 [
8	ha-am-tu <sub>4</sub> šu-nu-uḥ	3 [
9	[pi <sup>?</sup> ]-[du <sup>?</sup> ]-ú šu-nu	4 [
10	tí-ú šu-nu	[5][
11	[ša <sup>?</sup> ]-ú	[6
12	šap-ḥa šu-nu	[7
13	ha-ma-an šu-nu	[8
14	pi-ši-it	[9
15	mu-tu	[10
16	[t̪i <sup>?</sup> ]-ib-nu	[
17	[x]x	[

Rev.	1'	[x x <sup>?</sup> ] [mu] tu [
	2'	[i <sup>?</sup> ]-tí-i [
	3'	ti ir tí i [ku] [
	4'	ma na ia mu da l[a
	5'	[pi <sup>?</sup> ]-pa-ru [É <sup>?</sup> ]
	6'	pu-us-bi-ú GIŠ.I[G
	7'	‘DU-ḥu-lu GIŠ.SI[.GAR
	8'	na-ab-na-su GIŠ.N[A <sup>?</sup>
	9'	‘DU-as-bu GIŠ.G[U.ZA

10'	<i>pa-ha-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	GIŠ.「NÁ」[
11'	<i>ha-'DU'-pu</i>	GIŠ.BANŠUR [

## Translation

Obv.	1	...king?	...
	2	The words	...
	3	...	foreign?
	4	Case ...	...
	5	...they are paid	they? are paid

6	šn <sup>c</sup> -weight	sheke[l of silver(?)]
7	Two šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	2 [
8	Three šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	3 [
9	Four šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	4 [
10	Five šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	「5」[
11	Six šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	[6
12	Seven šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	[7
13	Eight šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	[8
14	Nine šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	[9
15	Ten šn <sup>c</sup> -weights	[10
16	<i>dbn</i>	[
17	...	[

Rev.	1'	[...]ten?	[
	2'	...	[
	3'	...	[
	4'	...	[
	5'	The house	ho[use?
	6'	The door	do[or
	7'	The bolt	bo[lt
	8'	The door-posts	door-so[cket?
	9'	The chair	ch[air
	10'	The bed	bed[
	11'	(Offering-)table	table[

## Comments

This is the only extant Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary. Both the ductus and the syllabary, as well as the fact that it is the Egyptian rather than the Akkadian column which is written on the left, suggest that this tablet was written by a non-Egyptian scribe, perhaps as an aid for learning the Egyptian language. It has even been suggested that it is an import into Egypt. Cf. Albright 1926: 187; Kühne 1973: 139; Moran 1992: xvi n. 19; Artzi 1990: 141 n. 9; see further the comment to l. 16.

At the present time the first 5 lines do not form a coherent text (cf. Smith and Gadd 1925: 234), since ll. 2, 3, 5 and probably also 4 show caesuras between the first and the second parts, as does the rest of the tablet. Line 1 may be similar, but due to its fragmentary condition and interpretational difficulties, this remains doubtful. Yet, the occurrence of the sign LUGAL there (but cf. the comment to that line below) may perhaps suggest that the first line consists of a title. As noted by Jeremy Black, there is a ruling after l. 5, but it may have served to separate distinct sections of the vocabulary rather than an introductory section from the main part of the vocabulary. Nevertheless, since some correspondence has been discovered in l. 5 between the Egyptian and the Akkadian columns, a two column opening passage still remains a possibility to consider in future research. Only a few lines are missing from the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse.

The work on this tablet was facilitated by a hand copy made by Aage Westenholz and by collations made by Jeremy Black (some of which have been reproduced together with the cuneiform copy below). Jürgen Osing has contributed to the interpretational aspect.

**1:** Between *ma* and *ah* there is an erasure. This form of the LUGAL sign is unattested in Amarna, but it is found in Boghazköy (Rüster and Neu 1989: 115, last form). The sign could also be interpreted as *in* (Jeremy Black; for the form cf. Labat 1976: 148, in the Middle Assyrian section). In that case, one might regard it as part of the first column of a double-column text (cf. above). At the end of this line, *bi* and *nu* seem certain (the latter has been hitherto interpreted as *mu* with the value *ia<sub>5</sub>*; see Edel 1994: 55); *ru* is probable, whether two (Smith and Gadd; Black; cf. l. 5') or three verticals (Westenholz) are to be seen. Schroeder does not have a *ru* sign with two verticals in his sign list (Schroeder 1915a, list 28).

**2:** *nam-‘DU-ú* stands for Egyptian *n3-mdww.w*. The second sign of this line, which occurs further in ll. 5, 7', 9' and 11', is taken here, after Osing 1976: 734–5 n. 887 (cf. also Kühne 1973: 139; Edel 1976: 14), as a *CV* sign where the consonant is a dental followed by an *u* vowel, to conform with the expected syllabification (cf. already Smith and Gadd 1925: 234). Note that this tablet attests the signs for *tu* (l. 3), *tu<sub>4</sub>* (TUM) (ll. 3, 8, 10'; all in word-final position) and *tu* (ll. 15, 1'), so that the interpretation of the consonant as *d* seems sound. Whether this was significantly different in pronunciation from Akkadian */d/* is hard to tell, and Egyptian etymologies of the respective words spelled with this sign are ambiguous. Note, however, that the original sign *du* may be represented in this tablet as well (l. 9). Note further, that this sign is distinct from *da*, attested in this tablet in ll. 4 (twice) and 4'. Perhaps it would be possible to assume either a different consonantal timbre for the dental represented by this sign, or a distinct vocalic timbre. As for the right column, Black's collation

suggests a damage to the left of the *mal<sup>2</sup>* sign, so that the word is aligned with the other right column entries.

**4:** *pi-da-aš* stands for Egyptian *pds*. Vergote (1982) suggested reading the left column as a transcription of the Egyptian *pds n(i) mswd* 'coffre à brancard'. This is based on following the accepted division of the line into columns with the second column opening with the *GIŠ* sign. The spelling, however, does not seem to favor such an interpretation. Moreover, the Egyptian column seems to end with the *AH* sign, inscribed a little higher than the rest of the line; *da* seems to open the right column. The right column may have had two words in a genitive construction. Instead of *qa*, one may perhaps interpret this sign as a badly written *GIŠ*. In any case, if my division of the line is correct, the string should be read syllabically.

**5:** The beginning is badly damaged. It was read *u(d)-mu* by Smith and Gadd, *pi-mu* by Albright and Rainey. For *x-mu* Black raises the possibility of reading *nam*. His collation might also suggest *mu-ud* or *mu-pi*. Westenholz observed that *ma* was written over erasure. I take the fifth sign ('DU') to be identical to the one discussed above, in the commentary to l. 2 (cf. already Albright 1926: 188 n. 3). In the interpretation of the rest of this line I follow Osing (p. c.). For the left side, Osing suggests the cuneiform writing for Egyptian *htm.tw.w* 'they were (or: will be) paid'. The value *hat* for PA is attested in both MB and MA, as well as in Boghazköy (Durham 1976: 230; Rüster and Neu 1989: 174). As for the right column, Osing suggests reading a stative form of *šaqālu* 'to pay', which may correspond nicely to the Egyptian form (cf. already Smith and Gadd 1925: 231; also Edel 1994: 55). Westenholz saw an extra wedge-head just before the break. If it can be the remains of a vertical wedge, this could be part of the sign *a*, possibly for *šaq-la-a* 'are (f. pl.) paid'. This interpretation makes good sense in the context of the weight list which follows, but final determination cannot be made until a coherent sequence for the line is found.

**6–16:** consist of a list of weight equivalences, as seen independently by Edel (1975) and Osing (1976: 620–1 n. 629; 755 n. 914). Thus, *ši-na-ah* is the Egyptian singular noun, *ši-na-ah-wu<sub>4</sub>* stands for the Egyptian dual form *šn<sup>c</sup>.wy*, and *šu-nu-uh* stands for the plural form of this noun. Osing's suggestion that a noun indicating a metal is to be restored here may explain the *status constructus* form of the word *šiqil*.

**7:** In accordance with Edel's and Osing's interpretation of the word as a dual form, I read *-wu<sub>4</sub>* rather than *-mu* at end. Since, the sign *PI* is used for */pi/* in this tablet, the scribe may have needed a distinct sign for the denotation of */wu/*.

**8:** Egyptian *hmt*.

**9:** Looking for an equivalent for Egyptian *fdw*, the accepted reading for the first word in this line has been *ip-ta<sup>2</sup>-ú*. Yet, the remains do not permit this reading; moreover, there is not enough space for the sign *ip* at the beginning. The reading proposed here is based on Jeremy Black's collation. Osing (p. c.) notes that *ip-du-ú* may represent Egyptian *fdu-*, a form that in connection with *šu-nu* immediately following, may be regarded as the *status nominalis* of the numeral (~Coptic *q̣troy*; cf. Till 1966: 81, 83). Note that if this reading is correct, there is a distinction between the sign *du* and the sign transliterated above as 'DU' (see above, commentary to l. 2).

**9ff.:** The vertical scratches were probably intended to serve as guidelines for the writing of the *AH* sign, as they seem to mark the beginnings and ends of its various components (see drawing and photograph, where actual lines differ from those de-

picted in the copy of Smith and Gadd). Still, there is no explanation for the fact that the signs *šu-nu* too are missing from ll. 11 and 14f. Black suggests that these may perhaps be cancellation lines.

**10:** Egyptian *diw*. The sign *Tí* must indicate *tí* (cf. ll. 16, 2', 3'). Both *TI* and *DI* are attested in this tablet.

**11:** Egyptian *sisw* (for the deletion of the second syllable cf. Albright 1926: 189). There is an erasure at the right side of the sign *ú*.

**12:** Egyptian *sfh*.

**13:** Egyptian *hmn*.

**14:** Egyptian *psd*.

**15:** Egyptian *mdw*.

**16:** The Egyptian weight measure *dbn* is attested in the form *ti-ba-an* in EA 369: 13, where it equals 10 shekels (Ranke 1937). This conforms to our text, where a *šn<sup>c</sup>* is identified as a shekel, and the respective amounts of *šn<sup>c</sup>*-weights equal identical amounts of shekels. However, at that period, 1 *šn<sup>c</sup>*-weight equals 1 twelfth of a *dbn* (Osing 1976: 620–1 n. 629). This discrepancy is explained by Osing on the basis of the small difference between the respective measures, which is insignificant for small amounts (cf. also Edel 1975: 13–4). Osing (1976: 619 n. 627) suggests that the vocalic ending in this word, as is the case with some of the nouns listed on the reverse of this tablet (cf., e.g., *op. cit.*: 370 for *pu-us-bi-ú*), is an Akkadianization which restores the nominative case ending. If so, can this serve as a further indication for the scribe being non-Egyptian?

**17, 1':** For a suggestion how to restore these lines and fill the gap at the broken part of the tablet see Edel 1994: 62–64.

**2':** Or: *['i]-hi-i*.

**3':** Again, the *Tí* sign may perhaps be read as *hi*.

**4':** *ia* is written over erasure, *mu* over some previous wedges. It is unclear where the second column begins.

**5':** Egyptian *p3-pr(y)*. What can be seen before the break has been accepted as a badly written and fragmentary É, to conform with the Egyptian column. The remains suggest a SI or another similar sign, however. See Smith and Gadd 1925: 238; Edel 1975: 15; cf. Osing 1976: 261 and n.135 on p. 477.

**6':** Egyptian *p3-sb3*.

**7':** Egyptian *t3-k3r.t* (Osing 1976: 374–5; cf. Görg 1975a; 1975b; Osing's explanation of the phonetic change seems solid enough, and hence makes Görg's emendation unnecessary).

**8':** Egyptian *n3-bnšw*. The last sign can be either NA or MU. For NA = *manzāzu* 'door-sockets' cf. Artzi 1990: 142. If MU is to be preferred, perhaps restore GIŠ.MU.AN (cf. Rüster and Neu 1989: 98).

**9':** Egyptian *t3-isbt*. The first sign is similar to the one attested in ll. 2, 5, 7' and 11'. It is certainly not *da*, as suggested by Smith and Gadd (also followed by most other students of this text). Note that this is the only occurrence of this sign followed by a different vowel, thus creating a so-called broken spelling.

**10':** Egyptian *p3-h<sup>c</sup>ti*.

**11':** Egyptian *htp*.

## EA 372 — A fragment of a literary text

### Plate XLI

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134872.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 17.

Previously published photograph: Pendlebury 1951: pl. LXXX.

Principal previous editions: none.

A fragment, 41×30 mm; brownish yellow clay. Babylonian ductus.

#### Text

1'      ]x [za<sup>?</sup>]  
2'      ti]m<sup>?</sup>• ki-[a]-[am<sup>?</sup>] [da]<sup>?</sup>-x[  
3'      ]x ú-ša-al-l[i(-)  
4'      -t]im<sup>?</sup> te-ru-ub• x[  
5'      ][i]<sup>?</sup>-na pa-ni<sup>?</sup>-k[a<sup>?</sup>  
6'      š]a<sup>?</sup> ki [

#### Translation

1'      [...] ...  
2'      [...] thus<sup>?</sup> ...  
3'      [...] he<sup>?</sup> ...  
4'      [...] you entered ...[  
5'      ]in your<sup>?</sup> presence<sup>?</sup>[  
6'      [...] [

#### Comments

The clay color is similar to that of EA 373; it is a bit darker, but has about the same tint as EA 375–7. Although darker than the literary tablets EA 357–8, it is possible that the clay is of the same origin, and that different preservation conditions resulted in the difference of clay appearance (cf. the comments to EA 373). There are two red points visible on this fragment, in ll. 2' and 4', which indicates that this is a fragment of a literary text (cf. the commentary to EA 356, pp. 46–7 above). EA 372 does not join either EA 356 or EA 357 and is, thus, a third literary tablet marked by red points. This supports the view that the extant Amarna corpus may only be a fragment of the original corpus (for this matter see, especially, the discussion by Aldred, 1988: chapter 17). The other side of the tablet is broken.  
6': It is possible to restore *lji* instead of *šja*.

EA 373 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 351, EA 352+353 and EA 354)

Plate XLII

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134864.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 18.

Previously published photograph: Pendlebury 1951: pl. LXXX.

Principal previous editions: Gordon 1947: 11–12; Rainey 1978: 48–9.

A fragment from the upper left part of what seems to be a large tablet; 92×73 mm; brownish yellow clay. Egyptian ductus.

Text

1	[	SISKU]R.SISKUR	<i>ni[-quú-u</i>
2			<i>na[</i>
3			<i>na[</i>
4			<i>i[k-ri-bu</i>
5			<i>na-q[ú-u</i>
6			<i>te-es-[li-tu<sub>4</sub></i>
7			<i>te-ez-zi[-tu<sub>4</sub></i>
8			<i>te-ni-nu</i> [
9			<i>ki x x x</i> [
10			<i>ri-ša-t[u<sub>4</sub></i>
11	<i>zu-ur-zu-u</i> r	AMAR.AMAR	<i>ku-nu-u</i> [
12			<i>ku-ti-nu-u</i> [
13			<i>ti-ik-ni-x[</i>
14			<i>sú-uh-hu</i> [
15	<i>la-ah</i>	DU.DU	<i>ri-sú(sic!)-ú[</i>
16			<i>[ba]-ba-l[u<sub>4</sub></i>
17			<i>ša-la-l[u<sub>4</sub></i>
18			<i>[x] [za] [a] x[</i>

Comments

Miguel Civil has suggested that EA 373 joins EA 351, EA 352+3 and EA 354 to form part of the second tablet of the *diri* lexical list (see comments to EA 351 above). EA 373 would, thus, be the beginning of the first column of this tablet. The clay is similar to that of the literary fragment EA 372 and to that of EA 375–7, all found in the same site during Pendlebury's excavations (see the introduction, pp. 3–4 above). Its surface is smooth, and if this fragment is indeed to be joined to EA 351–4, it seems that its preservation conditions were different. EA 373 itself has been joined from two pieces. On the lower piece of the tablet there are unintelligible signs of black ink on the reverse and smearings of black ink on the obverse. As the paint has

a contour around the lower piece only, it seems that it was applied to the tablet after it had been broken (cf. also the observations by Gordon, 1947: 12). Could this be a playful act on the part of one of the Egyptian students at the Records Office school? On the reverse there are vertical column separation lines, but no inscribed signs.

The work on this tablet was facilitated by Miguel Civil's edition of the Amarna *diri* fragments forthcoming in *MSL XV* (see comments to EA 351 and EA 354).

7: This restoration is Civil's; *AHw* (1341b) suggests *tezzimtu* < *tazzimtu*.

9: Neither *ki-it-ru-bu* (Gordon; Rainey 1970) nor *ki-tar-ru-bu* (Rainey 1978) fit the remains around the break.

13: The remains of the last sign are three rather than two horizontal wedges (pace Gordon). Hence, the reading *tu<sub>4</sub>* seems to be excluded. Read *ti-ik-ni-[i]-[-tu<sub>4</sub>]*?

15: The sign in the middle of the third column can hardly be *du*, as is expected. The above suggestion (<*rīsu*) is only tentative. For a similar spelling of the same lexeme see EA 359: 23'. The meaning here may be something like 'go for help'; cf. *AHw*: 960a s.v. *rāsu*.

18: Perhaps: [*na-*]<sup>7</sup>*zaa-z[u]* 'stand'?

EA 374 — A list of divine names

Plates XLIII–XLIV

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134863.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 19–20.

Previously published photographs: Pendlebury 1951: pl. LXXX.

Principal previous editions: Gordon 1947: 13; Rainey 1978: 50–1.

A fragment of what seems to have been a large tablet; 52×92 mm. Pale to very pale brown clay, yet as the surface is crude and covered with stains, it is difficult to determine its precise tint and shade. Egyptian ductus (but cf. note to ii' 3'); large and rough signs.

Text

Side A:

i'	1'	] <i>iš'</i>
2'	<i>m]a<sup>2</sup> x ga du</i>	
3'	] <i>ku ba LÀL</i>	
4'	] <i>ti<sup>2</sup> na</i>	
5'	<i>m]a<sup>2</sup> e</i>	
ii'	1'	<sup>d</sup> <i>x[</i>
2'	<sup>d</sup> LUGAL [	
3'	<sup>d</sup> TI TI[	
4'	<sup>d</sup> QA QA <sup>2</sup> <i>x[</i>	
5'	<sup>d</sup> GU <sub>4</sub> <sup>?</sup>	
6'	<sup>d</sup> GU <sub>4</sub>	
7'–8'	traces	

Side B:

i'	1'	[ <i>x x x (x)]x</i>
2'	[ <i>x x x (x)]x</i>	
3'	[ <i>x x x (x)]<sup>1</sup><i>tum?</i></i>	
4'	[ <i>x (x)]šu um</i>	
5'	[ <sup>d?</sup> ] <i>nin? na<sup>2</sup> x di<sup>2</sup> ba?</i>	
6'–8'	traces	
ii'	1'	[ <sup>d</sup> ] <i>we-e[r</i>
2'	<sup>d</sup> <i>a-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	
3'	<sup>d</sup> LUGAL.SI	
4'	<sup>d</sup> 7.7.BI	
5'	<sup>d</sup> MAŠ.TAB.BA	
6'	<sup>d</sup> HUL.A	
7'	<sup>d</sup> <i>a-[ru?]-[ru?]</i>	
8'	[ <sup>d</sup> [	
iii'	—	Traces of 4 lines with DINGIR signs.

### Comments

Gordon saw that the right hand columns on both sides consist of god names. A parallel to col. ii' ("side B") has been found in the DN lists from Ugarit (*Ugaritica* V: 123: 188–194; cuneiform on p. 414; transliteration of this and parallel texts on pp. 220ff.), which are parallel to the so called Weidner list (Weidner 1924–5). Nougayrol, who edited the Ugarit lists and saw this parallelism, suggested also a parallelism between col. ii' of side A and another section of the Ugarit list, viz., ll. 106–112, thus: <sup>d</sup>[lugal. giš]ür.ra], <sup>d</sup>lu[gal. giš]immar], <sup>d</sup>si(!)-mu(!)[-ut], <sup>d</sup>ra(!)-qa[-du], <sup>d</sup>si[ris], <sup>d</sup>k[ù(?).nun.na] (*Ugaritica* V: 226). Rainey followed and accordingly changed Gordon's numbering of the columns. Despite Nougayrol's confidence in this restoration, collation has not confirmed his suggestion, and other parallels are to be sought. My indication of the sides of the tablet as A or B, although following Rainey's order, should be regarded as purely arbitrary. In spite of some progress made in identifying signs in the two left columns, they still elude adequate decipherment. Note that the parallel columns on either side can hardly be regarded as explanatory of each other, as suggested by Gordon: On side A, the lines in col. i' are closer to each other than those in col. ii'; on side B, the lines in col. i' seem also somewhat closer to each other than in col. ii'.

#### Side A:

i' 2':  $x = \check{se}$  (or  $za^?$ ) +  $li\check{s}$  (or  $UD??$ ).

i' 4': Cf. the comment to ii' 3'.

ii' 3': The characters taken as *ti* signs (so also Gordon) seem to have two Winkelhakens to the right, which is unlike the usual form of the sign *ti* in the Amarna tablets from Egypt (cf. Schroeder 1915a, list 33; in fact, such forms of *ti* are not recorded by Schroeder in any of the Berlin Amarna tablets). The Winkelhakens at the utmost right could be parasitic or phantom wedges rather than inscribed components of the sign. Note, however, that similar forms of *ti* are attested in texts from Boghazköy (Rüster and Neu 1989: 37). In i' 4' we have another proposed *ti* sign, with only one Winkelhaken, however. A reading *bal* seems unlikely, for the lack of another horizontal wedge at the left of both signs.

#### Side B:

col. i': The first identifiable line in this column is parallel to l. 2' of col. ii'. The estimates of the missing signs at the beginning of each line depend on the assumption that my reading of the DINGIR sign at the beginning of l. 5' is correct, and that this column too comprises a DN list.

i' 4': For *šu* read, perhaps: [<sup>d</sup>*n*]in<sup>?</sup>. The last sign can be DUB as well.

EA 375 — A fragment of the *šar tamhāri* epic

Plate XLV

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134866.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 20–1.

Previously published photograph: Pendlebury 1951: pl. LXXX (“literary” side).

Principal previous editions: Gordon 1947: 13–14; Rainey 1978: 52–3; Westenholz, forthcoming.

A fragment from the lower(?) side of a tablet; 56×49 mm; brownish yellow clay. Egyptian ductus.

### Text

1' UR]U? ak-kà-dì a-na 「AN」[  
2' ]x URU tar-ṣú-ú x[  
3' i?-]「kà?」-aš-「ša?」-「ad?」[  
4'-5' traces

### Translation

1' the cit]y<sup>2</sup> of Akkad to ..[..  
2' .. they were in order [in?] the city ..[  
3' he ]arrives(?)[  
4'-5' ...

### Comments

Most of the written side was erased by water, probably for cancellation. The clay looks as if it was broken while still wet, and on the break on its right side there is a fingerprint. There is, therefore, no doubt that this fragment had been disposed of while still wet. Three large horizontal wedges are visible at the bottom of the written side of the fragment, and these were imprinted — vertically! — after the tablet had been erased. On the other side of the fragment, upon which a vertical column separation line is visible, there is one unidentifiable sign at the upper break and a few large cuneiform impressions which look as if they were put on clay for fun (see drawing and photograph). Thus one side of this tablet was prepared for writing columns, probably a syllabary or a lexical list, while the other, published side, attests to a (cancelled) passage from a literary text, probably *šar tamhāri*.

There is hardly a point in deciding which side of this tablet is the obverse and which is the reverse. Gordon, who was followed by Rainey, had decided that the legible side was the reverse, probably due to the fact that it opens with a horizontal line, and that the other side has a similar line at the bottom. The side upon which the transliterated text is written is flat; the other one is convex. In many of the Amarna scholarly tablets, including EA 359 (the other *šar tamhāri* tablet), the convex side is the reverse. Note this is the way Boghazköy tablets are commonly inscribed. In EA 356 and EA 357, however, it is the other way around.

2': The first *x* is a vertical wedge; read: *i-n]a?* Both Rainey and Westenholz took *tar-sú-ú* as indicating *tarṣu*, and translated, accordingly, 'distant city' and 'city period' respectively. However, since the last vowel is probably long, I would rather see in this form a 3 m. pl. stative of *tarāṣu* (cf. *AHw*: s.v. *tarāṣu* II).

EA 376 — A fragment of a literary text

Plate XLVI

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134865.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 21.

Previously published photograph: Pendlebury 1951: pl. LXXX.

Principal previous editions: Gordon 1947: 14.

A fragment of what seems to have been a large tablet, since it is relatively thick; 62×68 mm; brownish yellow clay. Egyptian ductus (but cf. *ni*; l. 7'); rough script.

Text

1' [(x) ]x a [i? ] (x) li ha x x HAR LU[GAL]  
2' 30 GUN x (x) [a] x 30 iš-ku-un x[  
3' x x x (x) du [ú] un? ga ú [ú-x[  
4' [x x x x s]i? šu-[u?] iq-ta-bi t[a]l?-tá[m-  
5' dmi x x SUD ia ra? (x) x-ti-ia it-ru?- [  
6' [ú?] e-p[u?-u]s? šu-kán [U]RU-lì li-ba?-a-šu-[nu?] [  
7' [ú?] uš-kā-ni an-nu-ú Á? iš-tu ma? še [  
8' [x x x ]x x id x x[

Translation

1' ..... the ki[ng?]  
2' 30 biltu ..... 30 he deposited [  
3' ..... and P[N]  
4' [...] he? said: "You? ...[..  
5' DN ..... my ... he ...[..  
6' and? I ma[d]e? the worth of the city. Let him search? them[  
7' and? he/I prostrates? at? this side? from ...[  
8' [...] ....[

Comments

The text is only a fragment, nevertheless, the script suggests the uncertain hand of a student. It was unearthed in the Records Office and may be further evidence that the Records Office was also a training site for cuneiform scribes. The vertical line at the left may be either an indication of a double (or multi) column tablet, or, as is the case with EA 342, just a bordering line showing where to start writing. At the end of the extant passage, there is a double horizontal line (cf. EA 359 between the text and the

colophon; cf. also EA 355). Although its fragmentary state makes the genre of this tablet difficult to determine, it may be an historical account. The possibility that it is another piece of the *šar tamhāri* epic, attested in the Amarna corpus by EA 359 and probably also by EA 375, cannot be excluded. The other side of the tablet is broken. The text being that fragmentary, what follows can only be a tentative transliteration, with a few hazardous renderings.

1': Before LU[GAL<sup>?</sup>], perhaps read *ni-mur* 'we saw' or, perhaps even better, *lu-mur* 'I wish to see'.

5': Or: <sup>4</sup>GI<sub>6</sub> 'the night divinity'. For SUD read AH? Instead of *ra* perhaps read *si*.

6': Or, if from *bâ'u* rather than from *bu>û*: 'let him come forth' or the like, *šunu* starting a new sentence.

7': I take the verbal form as if from *šukēnu*, with a hanging *-i*. Similar forms with an *a* vowel are attested in MA and in rituals from Boghazköy (AHw: 1263a). The sign *ni* is not usually inscribed with the two small vertical wedges in Egypt (cf. Schroeder 1915, list 106).

EA 377 — An exercise

Plate XLVII

Museum number: British Museum (London), 134871.

Previous cuneiform copies: Gordon 1947: 21.

Principal previous editions: none (cf. Gordon 1947: 14).

A fragment; 41×20 mm; brownish yellow clay. There are no identifiable signs on this fragment.

**Comments**

This is evidently an exercise tablet. The tablet is not very well made and it is concave on the left side (cf. EA 343). As can be seen from the photograph and the drawing, some of the signs are inscribed upside down in relation to others. It is evidently an exercise in writing cuneiform and may never have been formed as a tablet.

## EA 379 — A fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist

### Plate XLVIII

Museum number: The Egyptian Museum (Cairo), Journal d'entrée 48397, SR 12224.

Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 1915a: 190 (reproduced).

Previously published photograph: Schroeder 1914: 40 (hardly legible).

Principal previous editions: Schroeder 1914: 39–40; Rainey 1978: 56; Artzi 1990: 148–152.

A fragment from the left side of a tablet; 67×36 mm; brownish yellow clay; Egyptian ductus.

#### Text

i'	0'	[I ]x[
	1'	I x[
	2'	I NI
	3'	I NI
	4'	I NI
	5'	I NI
	6'	I NI
	7'	I BU
	8'	I BU
	9'	[I] MUŠ
	10'	[KU?]
ii'	1'	I M[U
	2'	I TA[H
	3'	I GIŠ[
	4'	I GIŠ [
	5'	I GÁN [
	6'	I GÁN [
	7'	I [MAL?]
	8'	I MAL [
	9'	I GÁN [
	10'	[I] GÁN [
	11'	[I GÁ]N? [

#### Comments

This is a fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist (so called “paleographic syllabary”). Artzi demonstrated the connection between EA 379 and another fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist, EA 348, which he thought to be part of the same tablet. Information unavailable to Artzi at

the time shows this not to be the case. These two fragments can hardly form part of the same tablet. First of all, the respective fragments were not found in the same site (see the introduction, p. 3 above). The width of the respective tablets is not the same, EA 348 is much thicker than EA 379 (cf. the comments to EA 348, p. 28). Also, their clay color is not the same, although this difference might have been the result of different preservation conditions. In any case, EA 379 should come before EA 348 in the *S<sup>a</sup>* list (see Artzi's discussion).

In order to keep the original line numbering of the already published material on this fragment, I started the obverse with number 0', which does not exist in the published studies of this text (see below). Regarding the organization of signs on the tablet, note that l. 1' of col. ii' is found to the right of l. 2' of col. i'. The lines of the two columns are not parallel. The reverse is uninscribed.

i 0': The lower part of a Winkelhaken appears above the first line on Schroeder's copy. Comparing this fragment to other *S<sup>a</sup>* signlists, Artzi proposes reading it as the remains of a RI sign. Since there is usually a repetition of the sign in similar lists (cf. *MSL* III: 5, 15–16), I would prefer reading another BI sign here. The surface of the tablet is, however, so crude that various interpretations of the remains are equally possible, and *HU*, which comes before RI in the *S<sup>a</sup>* list, cannot be excluded (see collation).

i 1': Schroeder suggested to read BI. The remains are somewhat inconclusive (see copy and collation).

ii 7': Or GÁN.

ii 9': For SUD (Artzi 1990: 149 n. 41). That this is not an ad hoc scribal error is proved by Emar tablet 74193a: i: 16 (7th group).



## APPENDIX

ZIOZEPPIA

## EA 361 — A letter fragment (join with EA 56)

### Plate XLIX

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 3780.  
Previous cuneiform copies: Schroeder 1917: 106 (reproduced).

Principal previous editions: Rainey 1978: 17.

A fragment from the middle of the bottom of a tablet; 11×31.5 mm; brown clay (but see the comments below). Lebanon-area ductus (cf. *nim*, l. 29; Schroeder 1915a, list 171; see further the comment on *zu*, ll. 28, 30 below).

This fragment was not included in Knudtzon's edition, but it was part of the original find in Amarna brought to the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (Schroeder 1917). EA 361 can now be joined to EA 56, a letter from an unknown sender in the Qatna-Amurru region to the Pharaoh. Its color is different from that of EA 56 (=VAT 1714), which is brighter and has a grayish shade, a difference caused by the fact that the small fragment, i.e., EA 361, is burnt, whereas EA 56 is not.<sup>10</sup> EA 361(: 1'-6') fits in EA 56: 27-32. The text given below is the joined passage, i.e., EA 56+361: 27-32.

### Text

Obv. 27 *it-[ti] a-tá[q?-qa]-[ma] x[*  
28 *i[m]-ta-na-[a]h-ha-sú-n[im*

---

LE 29 *ù am-mi-nim be-lí-ni[*  
30 *DUMU.MEŠ [x z]u x[*  
Rev. 31 *ù aš[ x x U]RU? [*  
32 *la iš-t[a-ha-a]t [*

### Translation

Obv. 27 with Ata[qqa]ma? .[. .  
28 they were? fightin[g

---

LE 29 Why our lord[  
30 the sons [...]. .[. .  
Rev. 31 and I? [... the c]ity? [  
32 (that? he) do(es) not at[tac]k [

<sup>10</sup> I thank Joachim Marzahn for this information.

## Comments

**28, 30:** Similar sign forms of *zu* can be found, *inter alia*, in EA 179: 16, a letter from the Lebanon valley, and in EA 252: 17, a letter from Shechem (note, however, the normal form of the *zu* sign in EA 252: 27 and 30). In Emar, the sign *zu* is very commonly written with three vertical wedges. (In EA 221: 4 and EA 232: 3, *zu* is written with four verticals; cf. *su* in the Byblos area, Schroeder 1915a, list 5).

**28:** For the plural ending *-ūni(m)* cf. Izre'el 1984; 1991a: 136–9. This morpheme is a shared isogloss between the Akkadian dialects of Amurru and Qatna.

**29:** Although this letter usually makes use of the 1st sg. form, note the use of *nīnu* ‘we’ in the preceding passage (l. 23).

**30:** I wonder whether one should restore [*uṣ-ṣ*]ú-*n[im]* ‘they go out’ or the like.

**31:** The horizontal wedge (“Aš”) might also be the beginning of a sign.

## EA 381 — A letter fragment

### Plate L

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 3781.  
Previous cuneiform copies: none.

Principal previous editions: none (cf. Schroeder 1917: 105–6).

A fragment; 47×47 mm; red clay. Unspecific ductus; possibly from northern Canaan.

#### Text

1'-2'	— —
3'	]x [ru <sup>?</sup> ] [e <sup>?</sup> ][
4'	]ma <sup>?</sup> [
5'	]r̄še <sup>?</sup> [
6'-8'	— —
9'	]aš-te[
10'	a]d <sup>?</sup> š[i
11'	lyi-eš-m[i
12'	a]d <sup>?</sup> x[
13'	— —
14'	traces

#### Translation

1'-8'	.....
9'	]I have [...
10'	.....
11'	]may he liste[n
12'-14'	.....

#### Comments

This is an almost illegible fragment. The other side is broken. The prefix *y*- of the verbal form *yi-eš-m[i* (l. 10') suggests that this is a letter of Canaanite provenience. Note also the string *]aš-te[* (l. 9'), which may suggest a 1st sg. verbal form with the prefix *a*-, attested in some Canaanite subcorpora, notably in Byblos.

3': Instead of *e* read perhaps *un*.

4': Or *šu*.

5': Or, less probable, KUR.

10': Read *a]d* or *I]a*.

12': Or *tu*; hardly *la*.

## EA 382 — A Collective Number

### Plate LI

Museum number: Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin), VAT 8525.

#### Comments

VAT 8525 is a collective number given at the Vorderasiatisches Museum to dozens of small unplaced fragments from their Amarna collection. H. Klengel (1974: 262) brought attention to the existence of this museum item in his review of the first edition of Rainey's *El-Amarna Tablets 359–379* (Klengel 1974: 262). For the EA number of this assemblage see above, p. 3 with n. 2. The two largest fragments measure 40×34 mm and 47×13 mm. Many are tiny jots and flakes with or without inscribed signs. About fifty others are legible enough for a patient and devoted scholar to make use of them.

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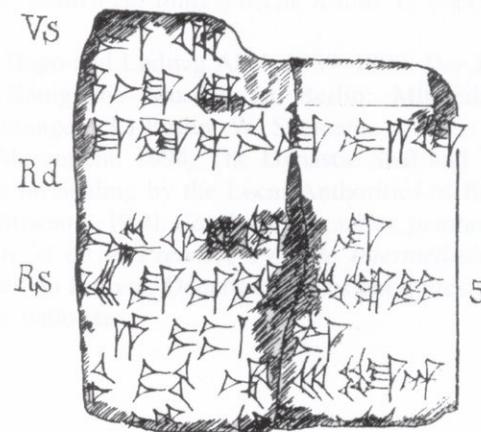
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**PLATES**



## EA 340 — A historical tale or a letter fragment



EA 340 = VAT 1583  
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 191

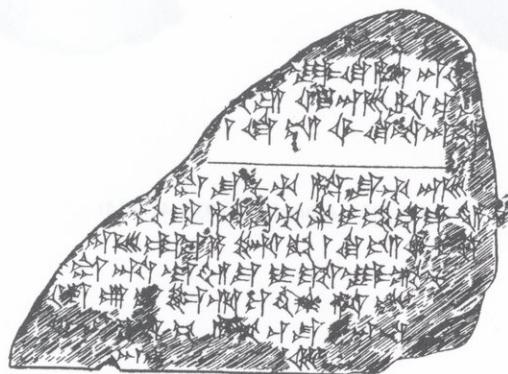
## EA 341 — The story of Kešši



Obv.

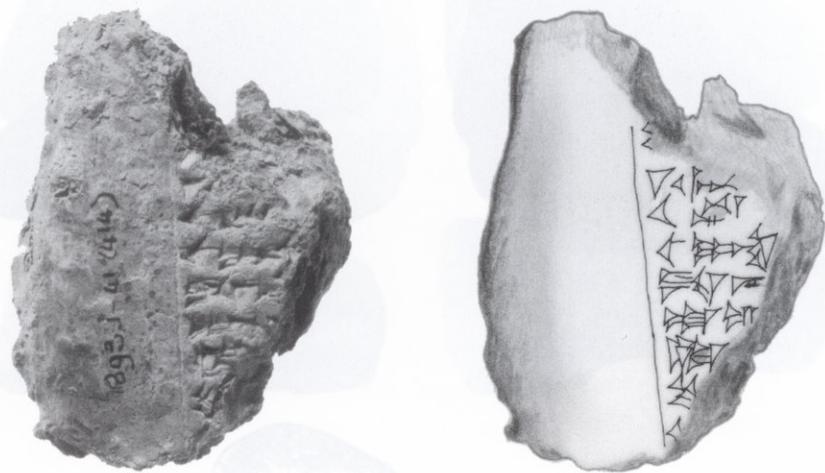


Rev.



EA 341 = VAT 1704  
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 192

EA 342 — An exercise in letter writing?



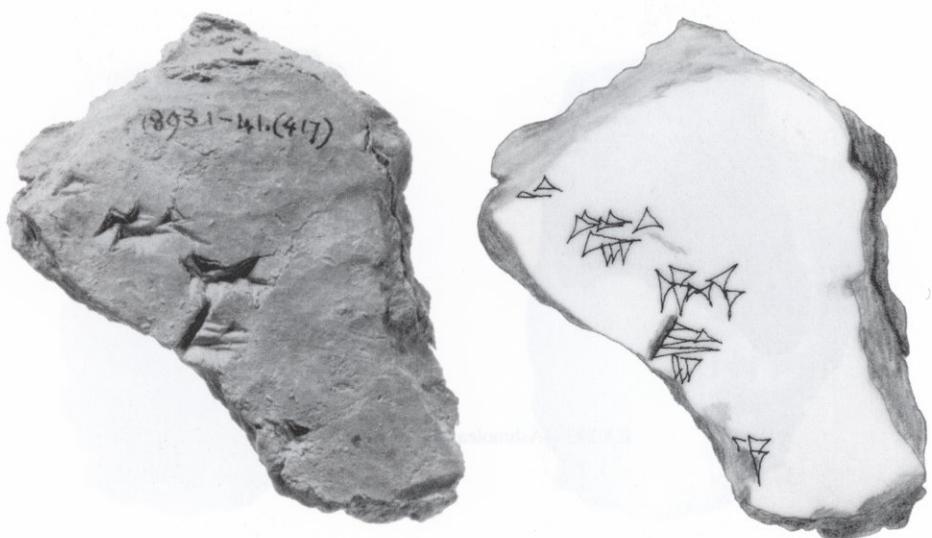
EA 342 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (414)

EA 343 — An exercise



EA 343 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (427)

EA 344 — An exercise



EA 344 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (417)

## EA 345 — An exercise



Obv.



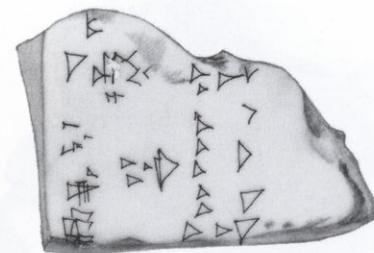
Rev.



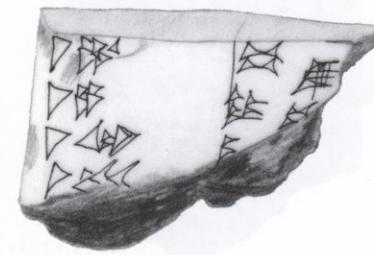
Left side

EA 345 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (424)

EA 346 — An exercise



Obv.



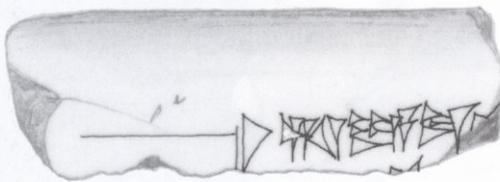
Rev.

EA 346 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (420)

EA 347 — A lexical list?



Obv.?



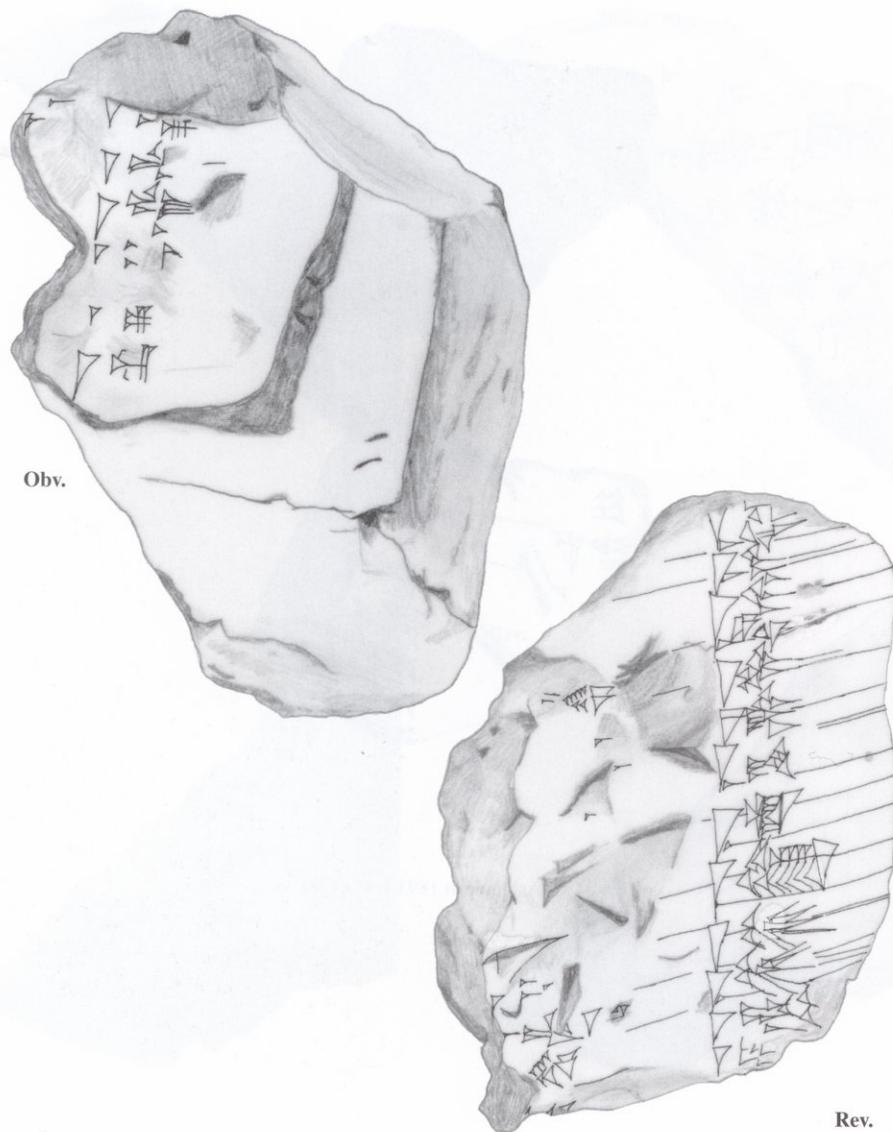
Rev.?

EA 347 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (422)

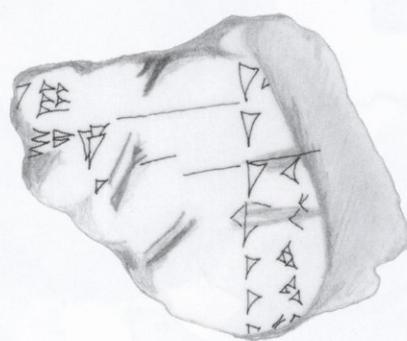
EA 348 — A fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist



EA 348 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (419)

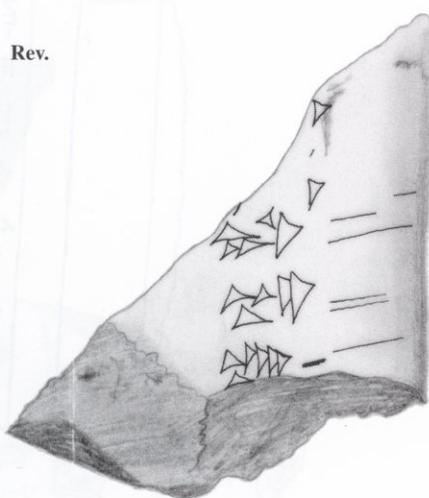
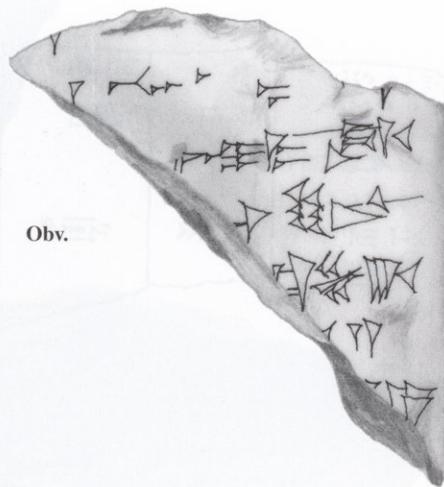


EA 349 — A fragment of a syllabary?



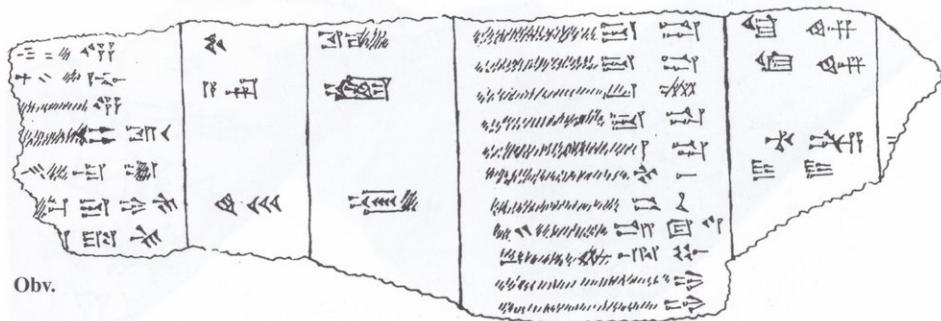
EA 349 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (428)

EA 350 — A fragment of a *tu-ta-ti* exercise (obverse)  
And *Silbenalphabet A* (reverse)

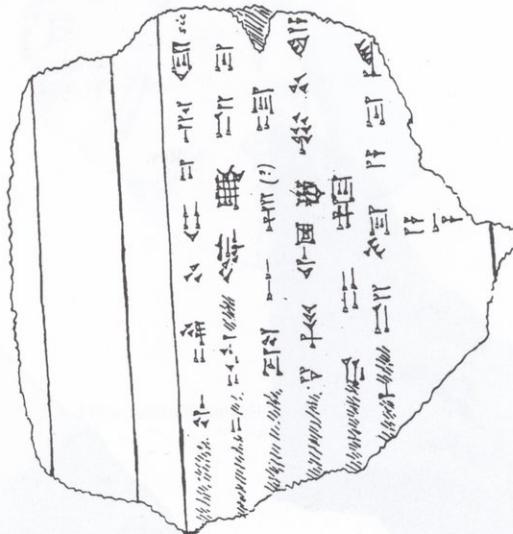


EA 350 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (425)

EA 351 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 352+353, EA 354 and EA 373)



Obv.



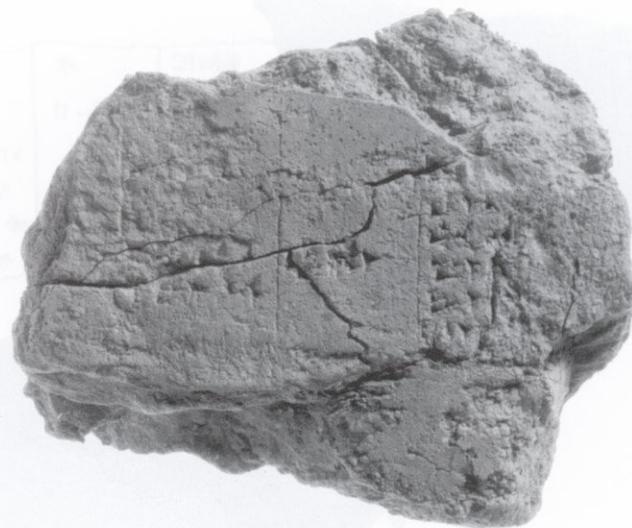
351 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (412)  
From: Sayce in Petrie; *Tell el Amarna*. Pl. XXXII. V

EA 352+353 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 351, EA 354 and EA 373)

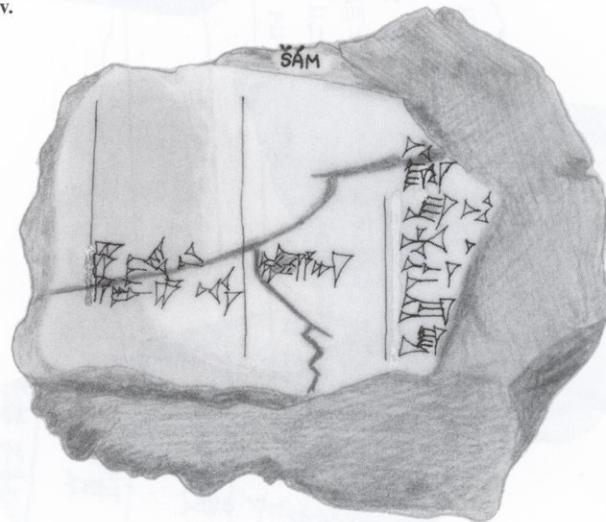


EA 352+353 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (413)+(421)

EA 354 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 351, EA 352+353 and EA 373)



Obv.

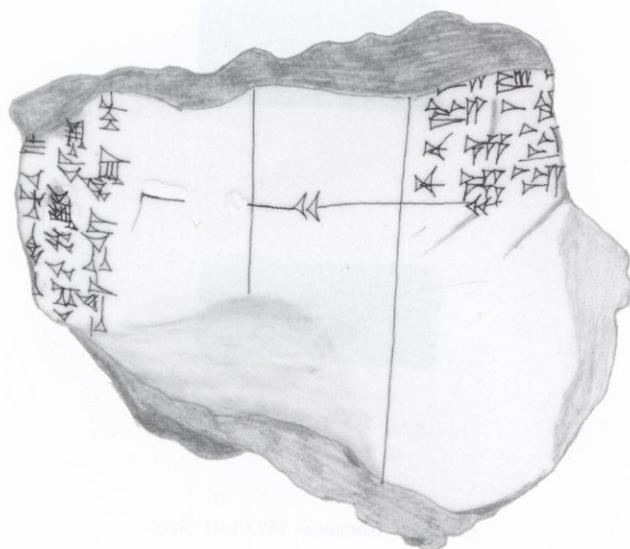


EA 354 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (418)

60



Rev.

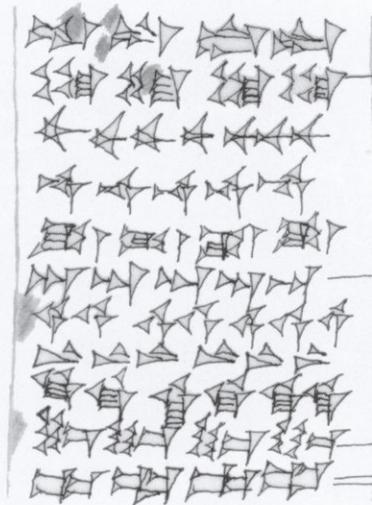


EA 355 — A clay cylinder



EA 355 = Ashmolean 1893.1-41 (416)

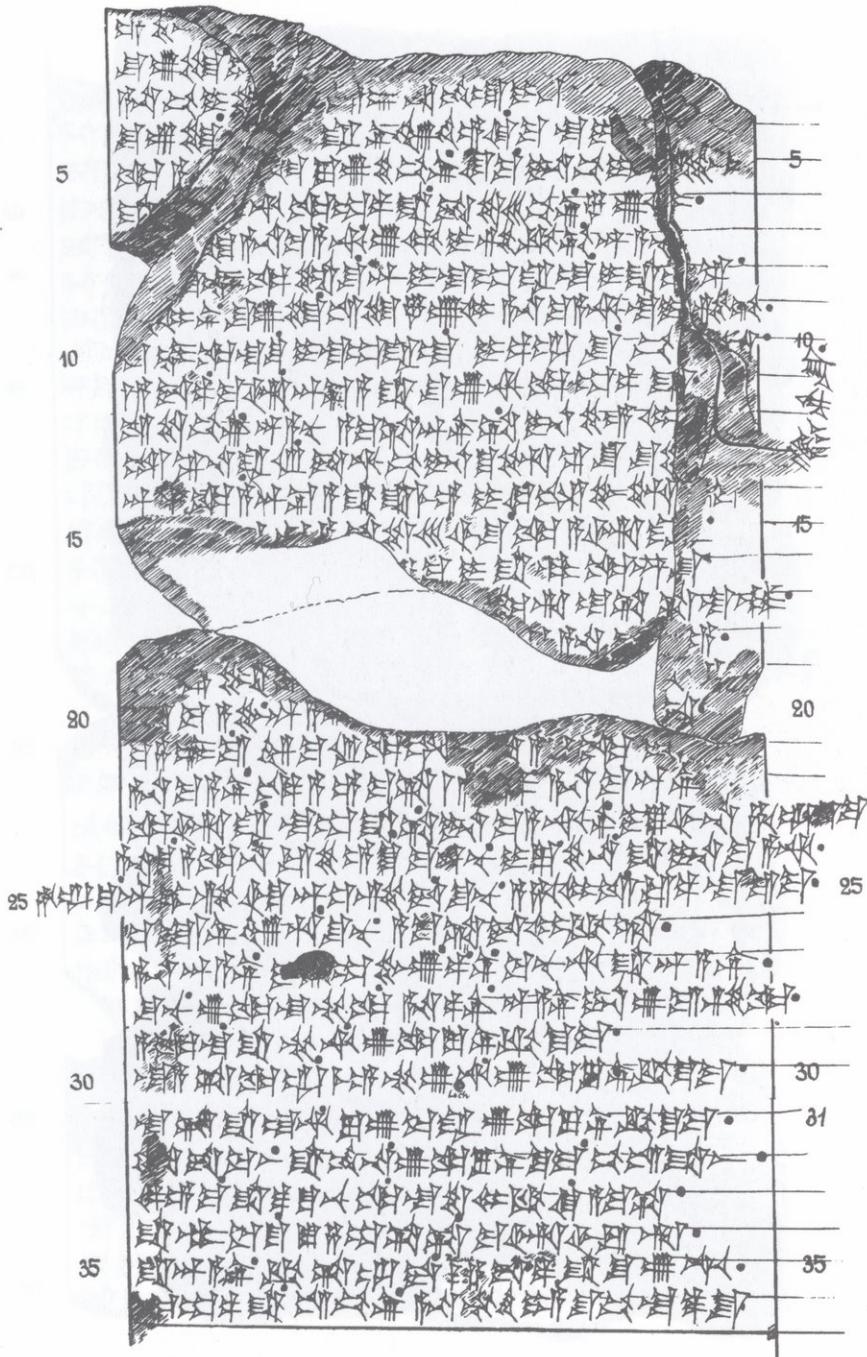
bei H. dargestellt bzw. nachdruckt ist. — 127. f. 3



EA 356 — The myth of Adapa and the South Wind



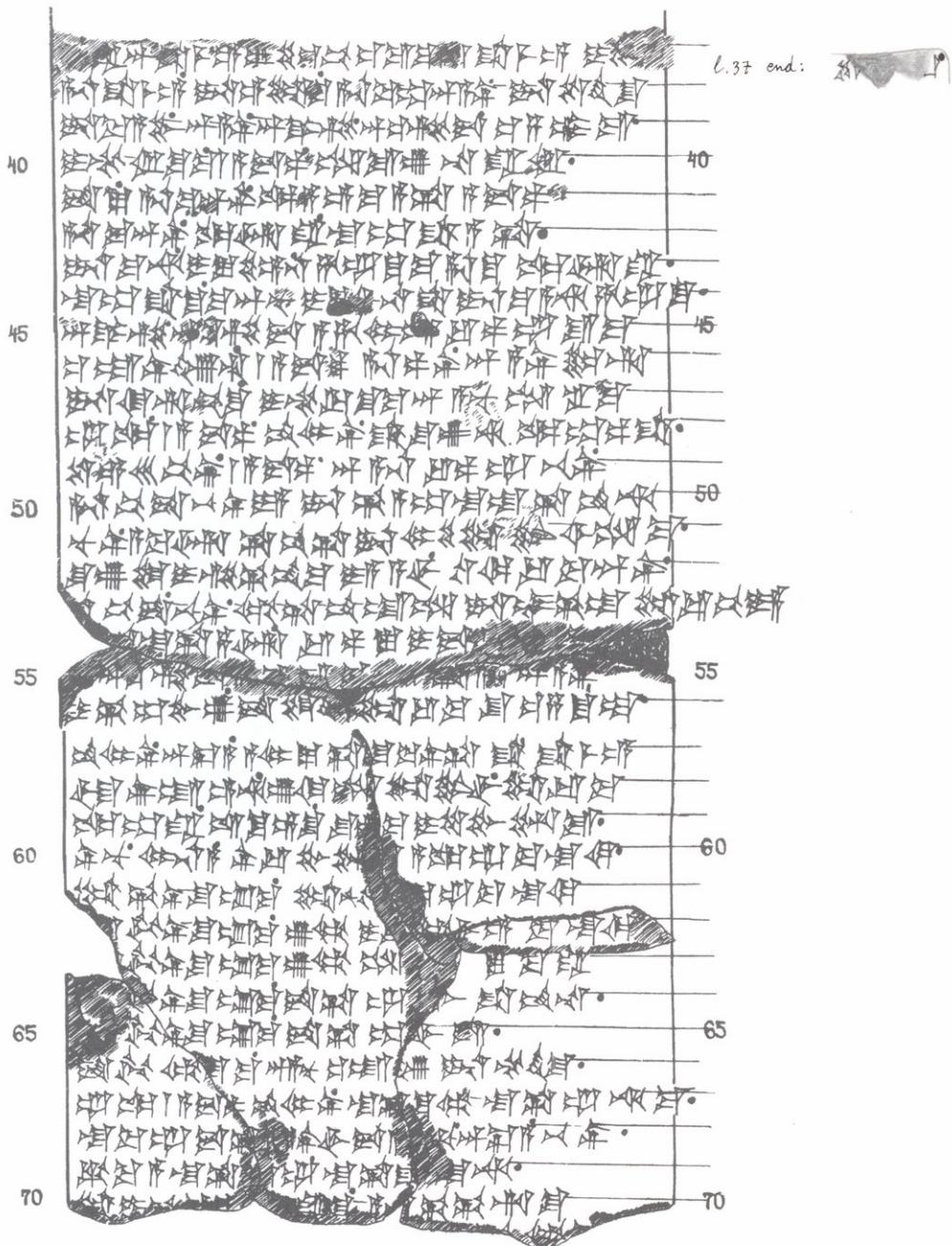
EA 356 = VAT 348 — Obv.



Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 194

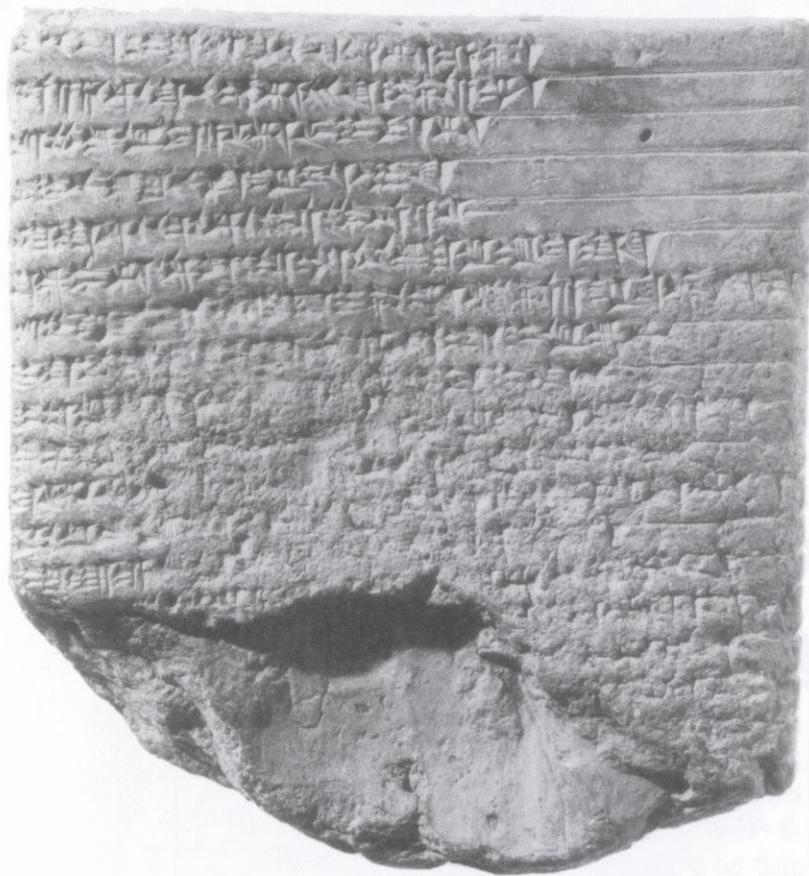


EA 356 = VAT 348 — Rev.

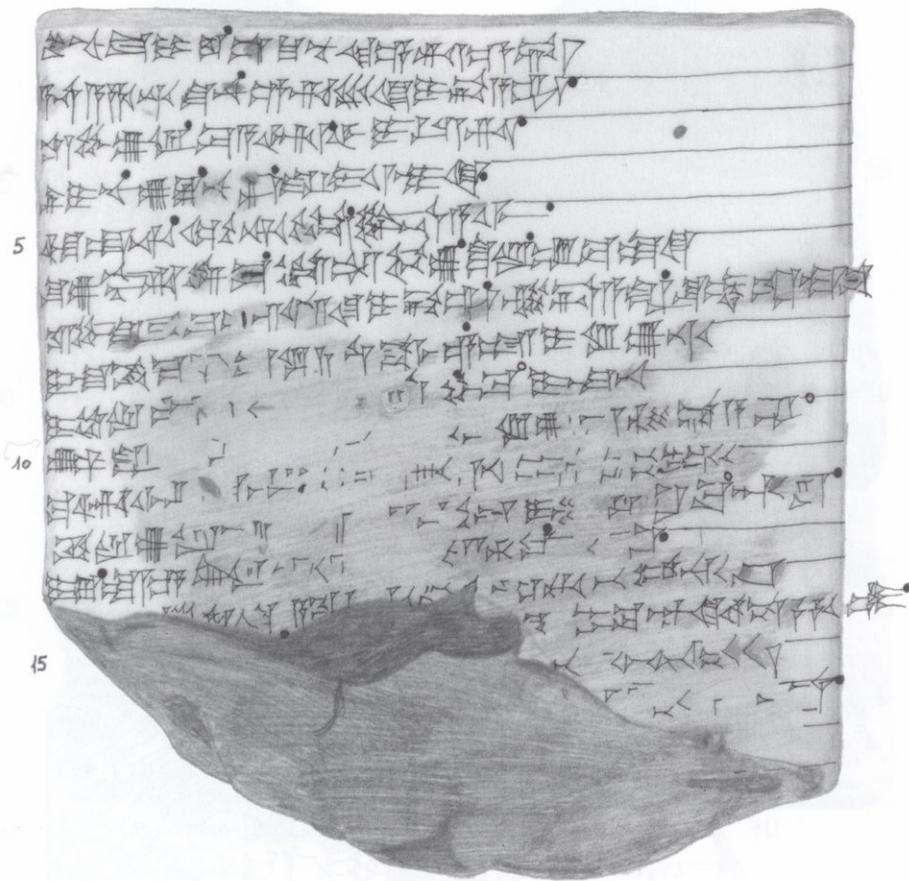


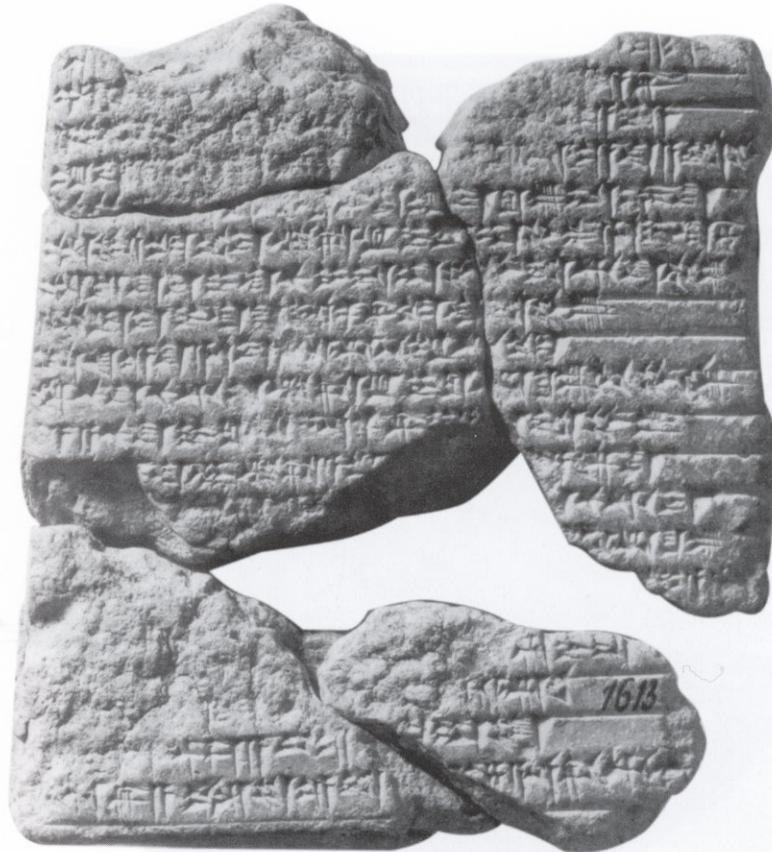
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 194

EA 357 - The myth of Nergal and Ereškigal

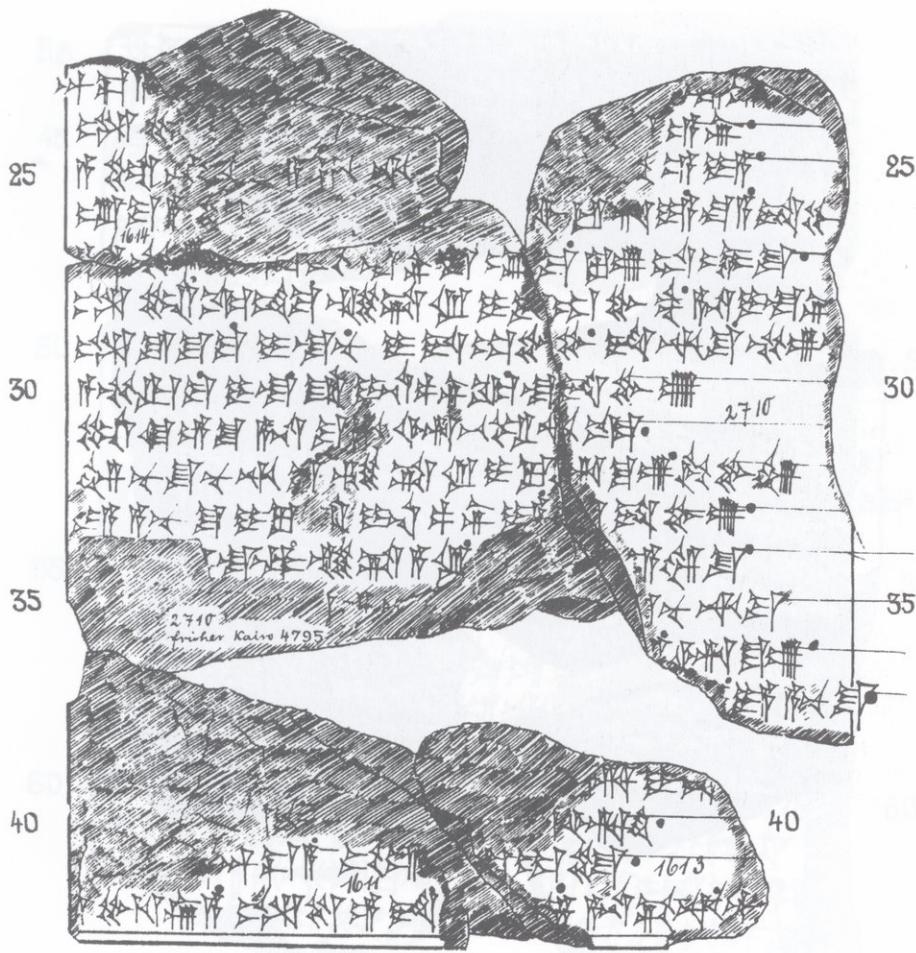


EA 357 (Londen fragment) = BM E29865 — Obv.





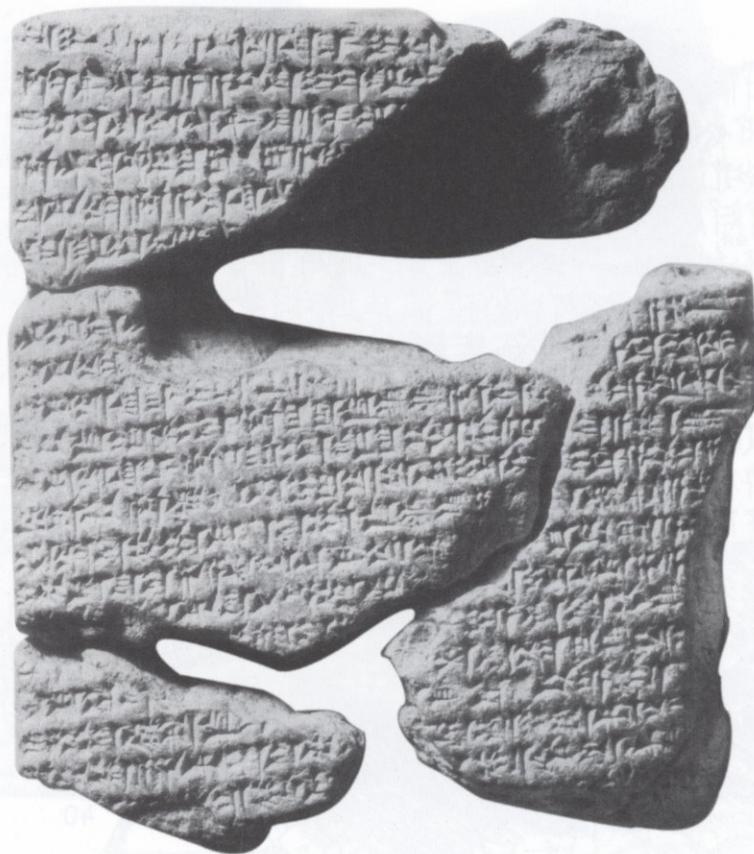
EA 357 (Berlin fragment) = VAT 1611+1613+1614+2710 — Obv.



Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 195

## Collations:

l. 27: *ni-su*: l. 42: beginning: *gu-un*:



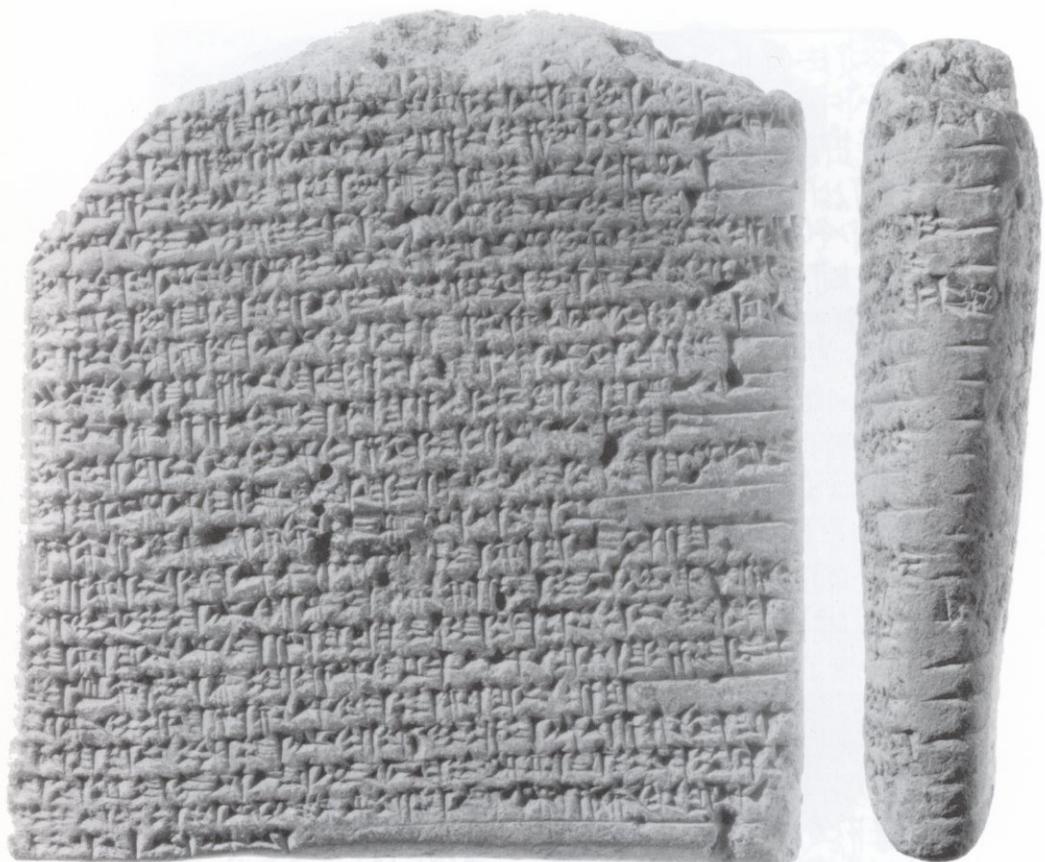
EA 357 (Berlin fragment) = VAT 1611+1613+1614+2710 — Rev.



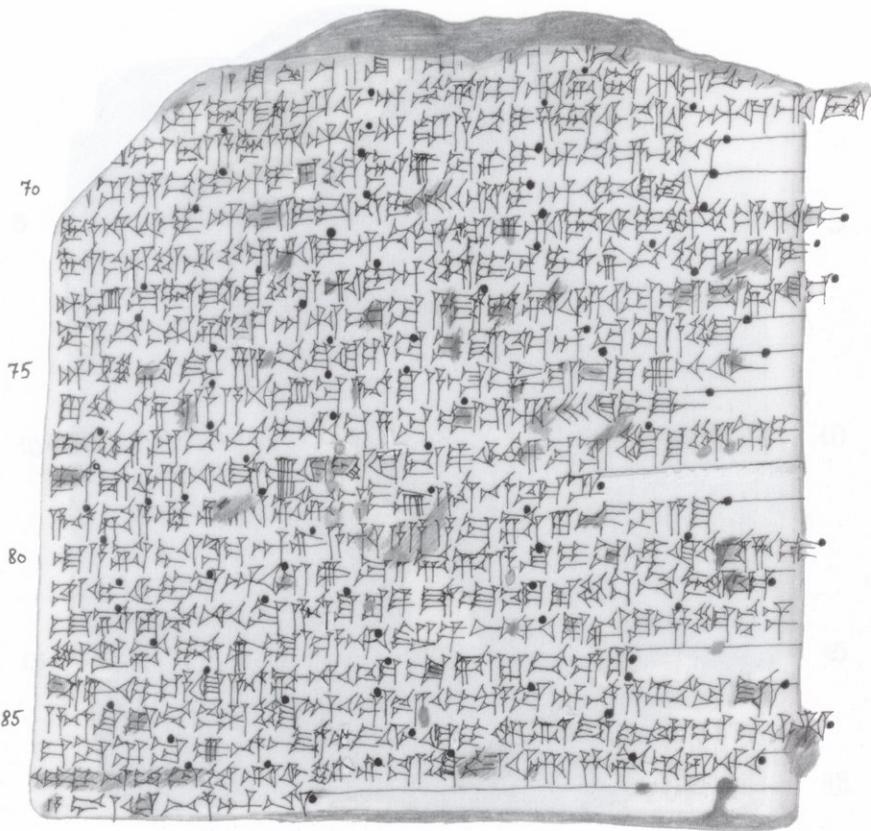
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 195

Collations:

l. 57: ha ... is:



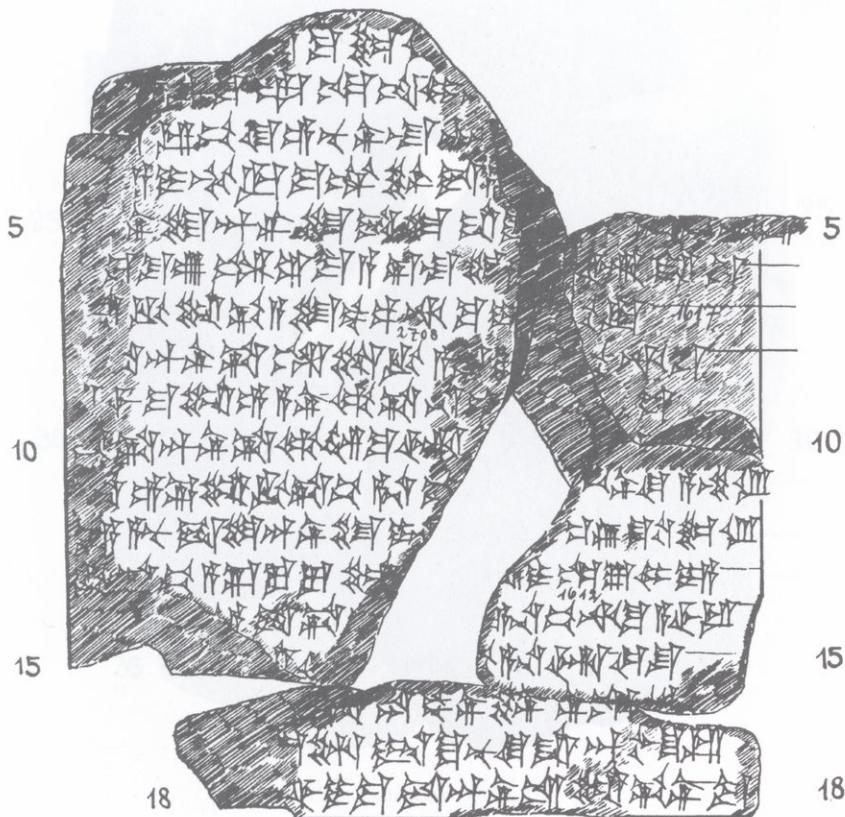
EA 357 (Londen fragment) = BM E29865 — Rev.



EA 358 - A narrative of still undetermined genre



EA 358 = VAT 1612+1617+2708 — Obv.<sup>1</sup>



Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 196

## Collations:

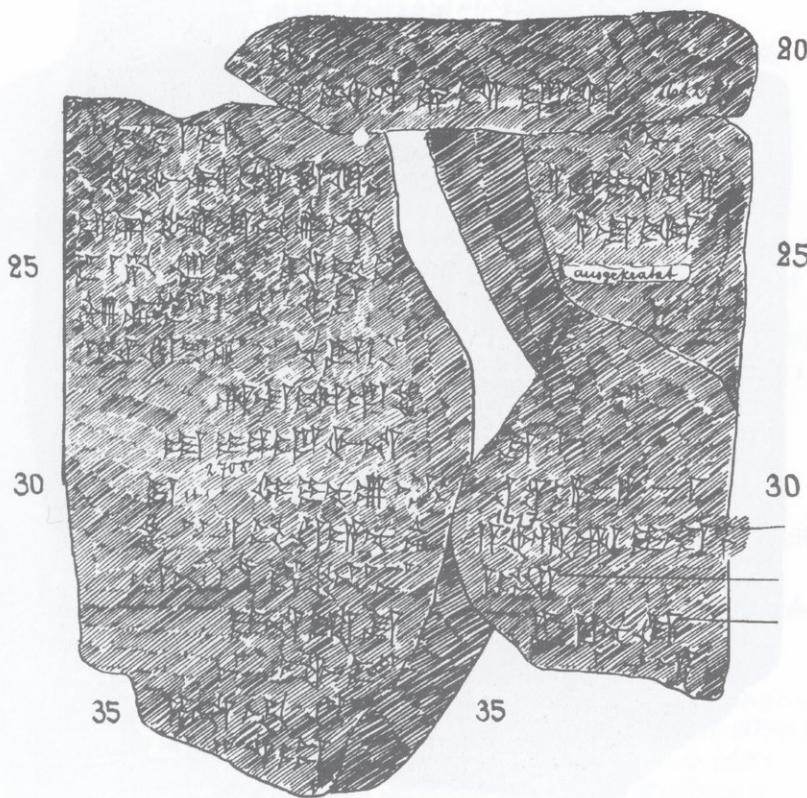
l. 2': am-mi:   
 l. 3': [i]i:   
 l. 4': [n]a:   
 l. 5': bi bi:

l. 8': mal:   
 l. 9': x-ši: end:   
 l. 11': a-na: [m]a:

XXXIII

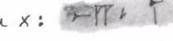
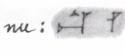
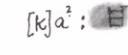


EA 358 = VAT 1612+1617+2707 — Rev.

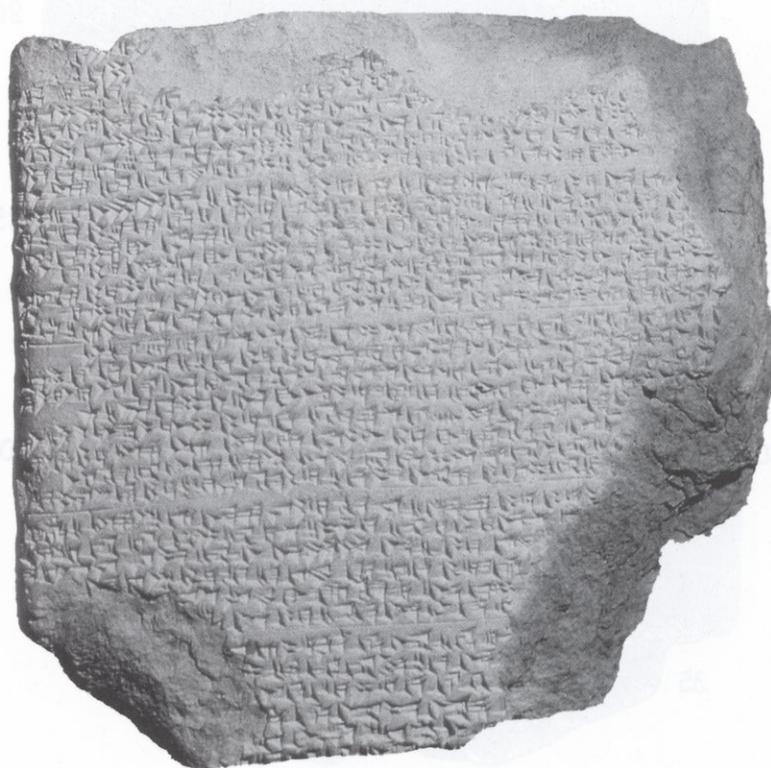


Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 196

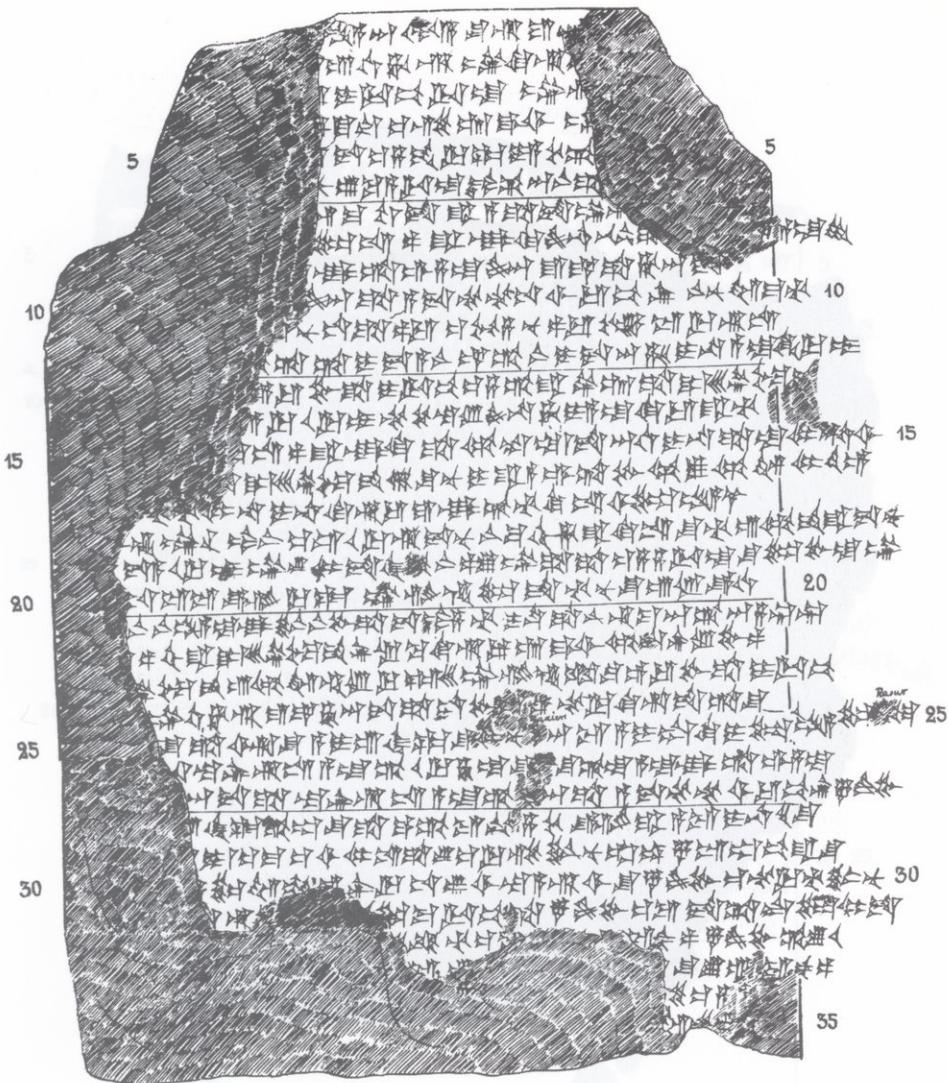
## Collations:

l.20: 'e<sup>2</sup>-kal: l.22: 'la: l.23: [n]a-šu: l.24: first "x": l.26: second ki:  last "x": l.27: end: l.28: end: l.29: end: l.30: m[a]:  zu x: l.31: following nu:  [k]a<sup>2</sup>: l.33: [n<sup>2</sup>-šu<sup>2</sup>: l.35: ru<sup>2</sup> x: l.36: la x: 

EA 359 - The *šar tamhāri* epic



EA 359 = Egyptian Museum 48396, SR 12223 — Obv.

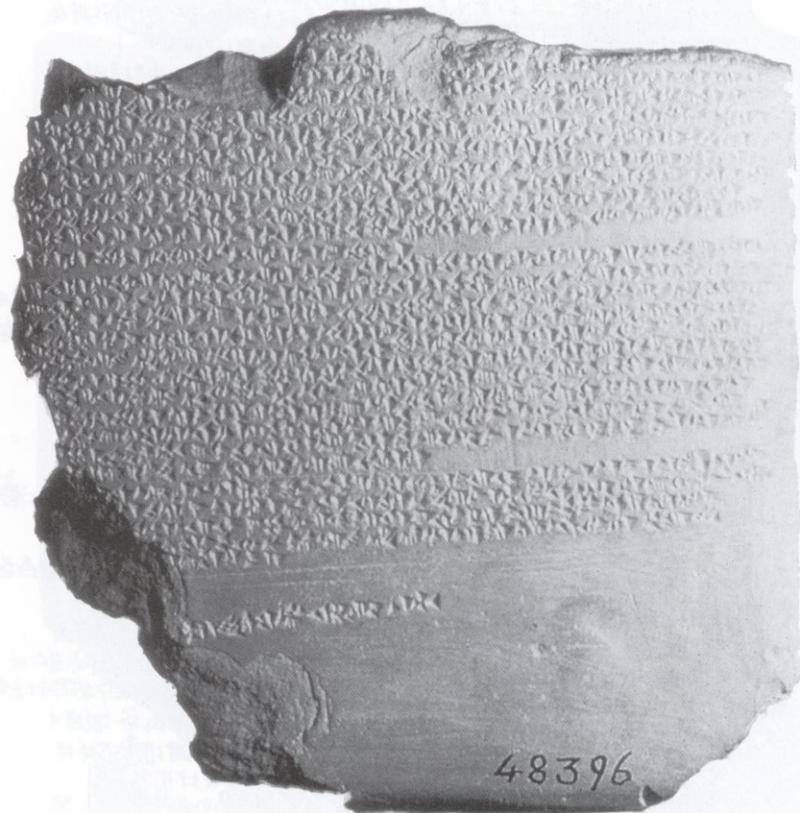


Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 193 (disproportionate)

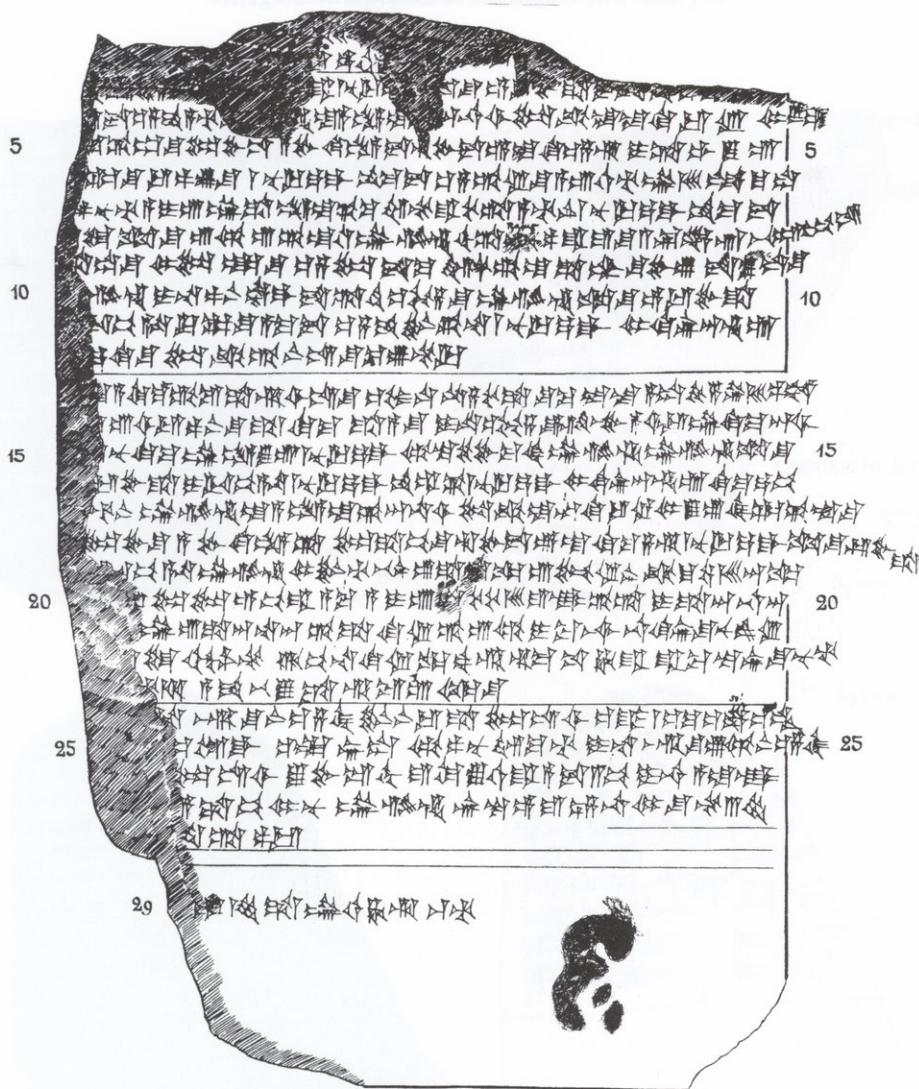
l.24: *“du<sup>2</sup>-bu-<sup>7</sup>ba<sup>7</sup>”*: 

## Collations:

l.2: *re-e<sup>2</sup>b*: l.25: *KASKAL*:  end: l.4: *šu*: l.28: *KA<sub>4</sub>*:  (Schroeder, VS 12: 95)l.17: first sign: l.29: *lu*:  (Schroeder, VS 12: 95)l.21: *ra*: l.30: *ir etc.*: l.31: *li*: l.35: *ru*: 



EA 359 = Egyptian Museum 48396, SR 12223 — Rev.



Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 193 (disproportionate)

## Collations:

l. 1:

l. 2:

l. 7: beginning:

l. 8: end:

l. 9: beginning: BAD:

l. 13: beginning

l. 18: is:

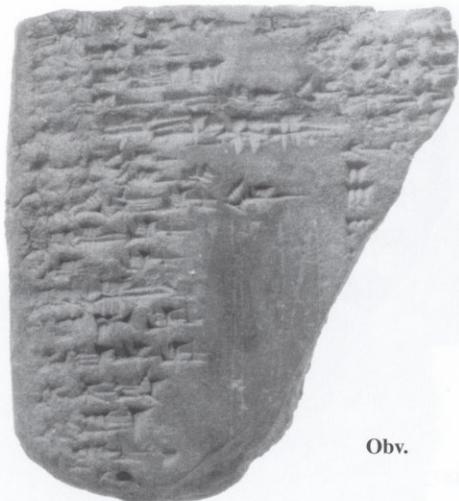
l. 22: tu:

EA 360 — A fragment of undetermined genre

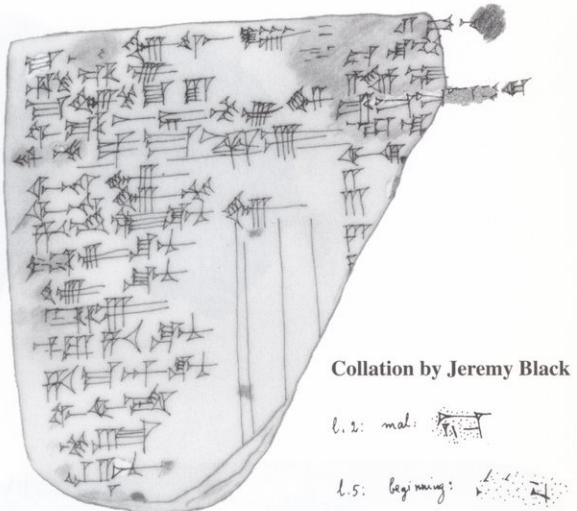


EA 360 = VAT 1709B  
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 179

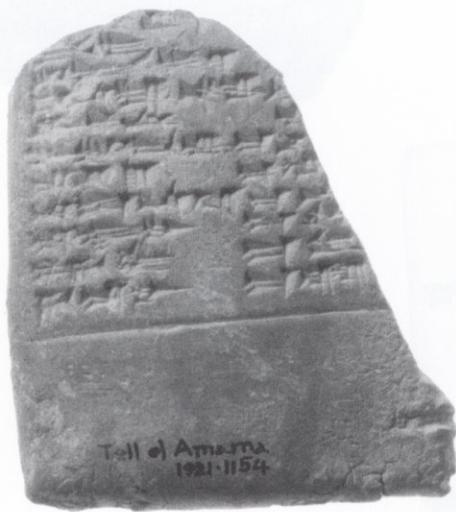
## EA 368 — Egyptian-Akkadian vocabulary



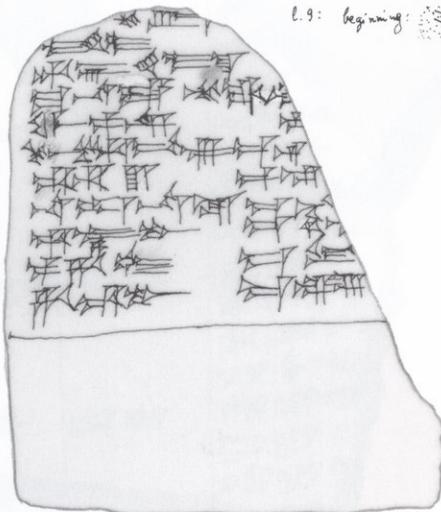
Obv.



Collation by Jeremy Black

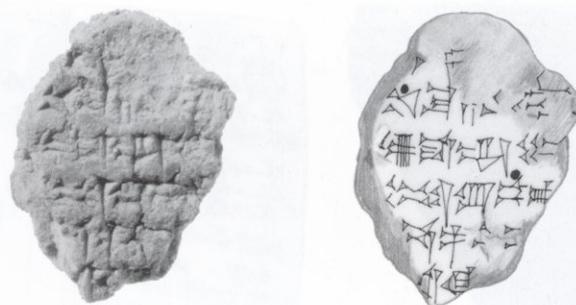
l. 2: mal: l. 5: beginning: l. 9: beginning: 

Rev.



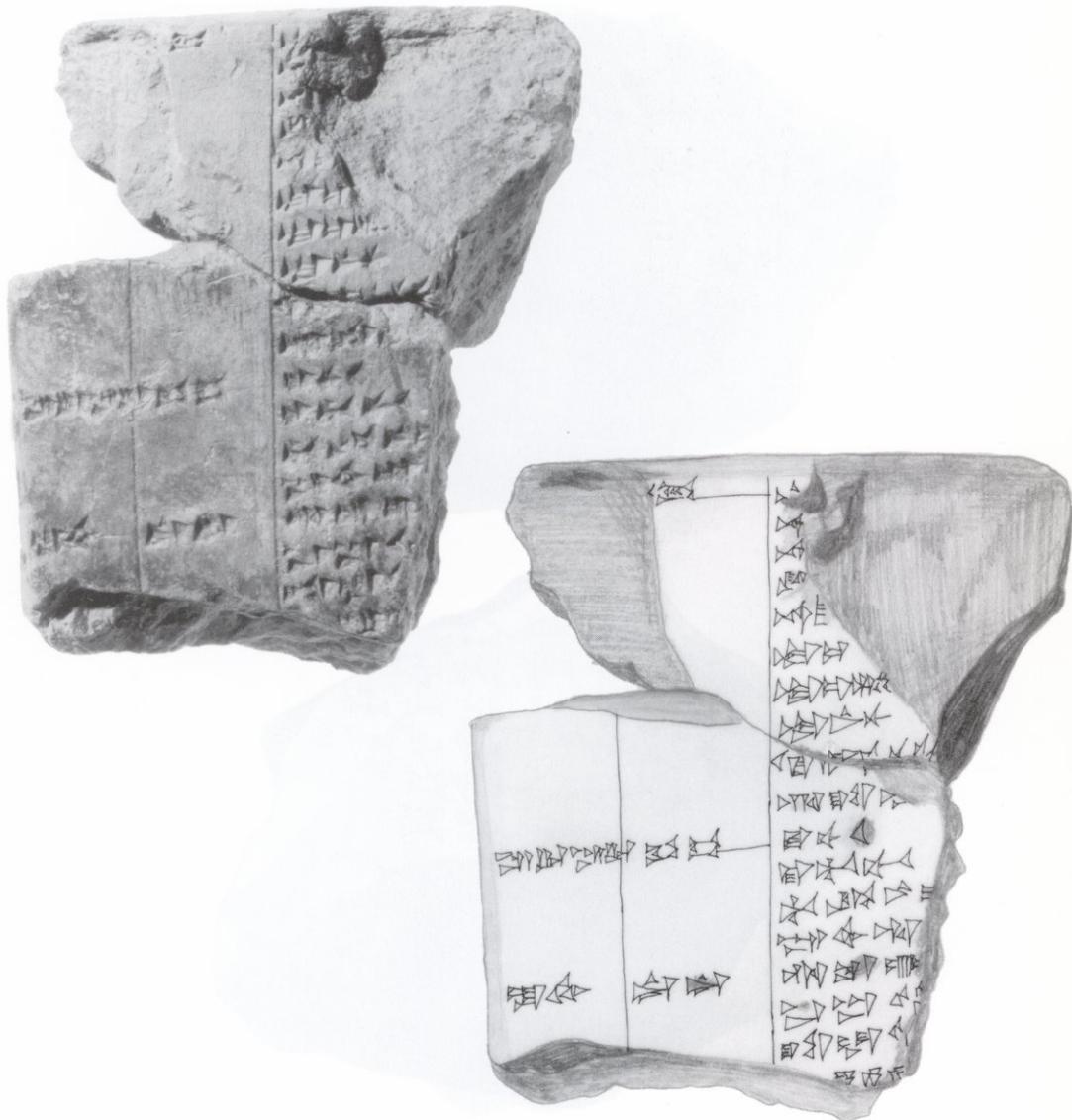
EA 368 = Ashmolean, Tell el Amarna 1921, 1154

EA 372 — A fragment of a literary text



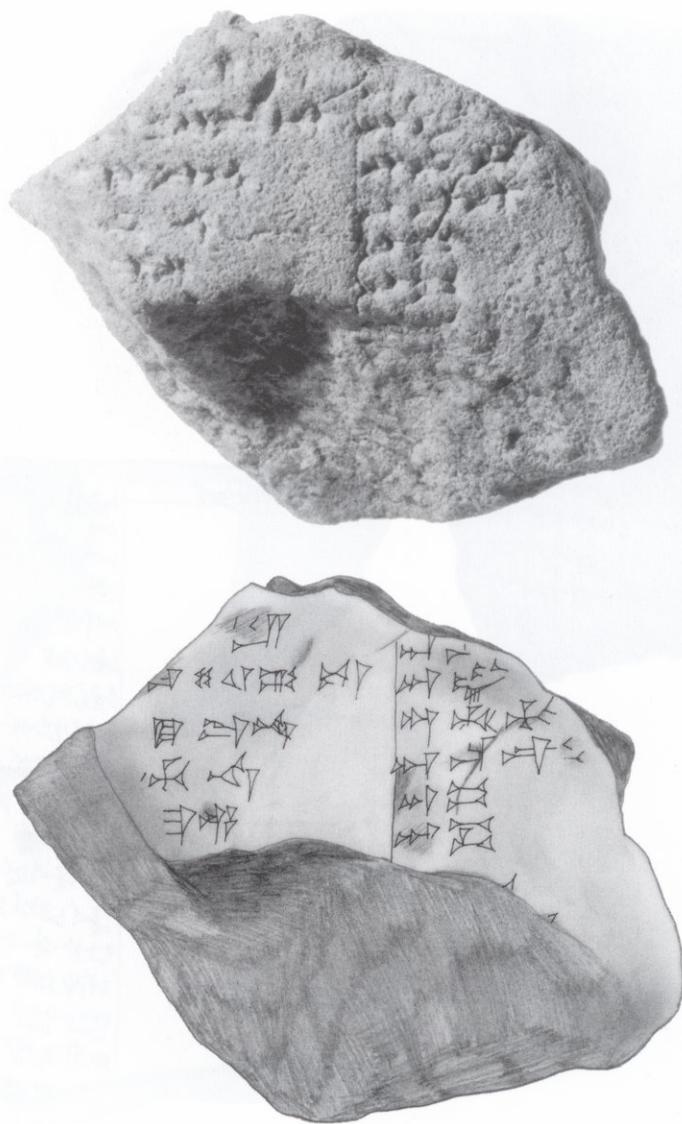
EA 372 = BM 134872

EA 373 — A fragment of *diri*, tablet 2  
(possible join with EA 351, EA 352+353 and EA 354)

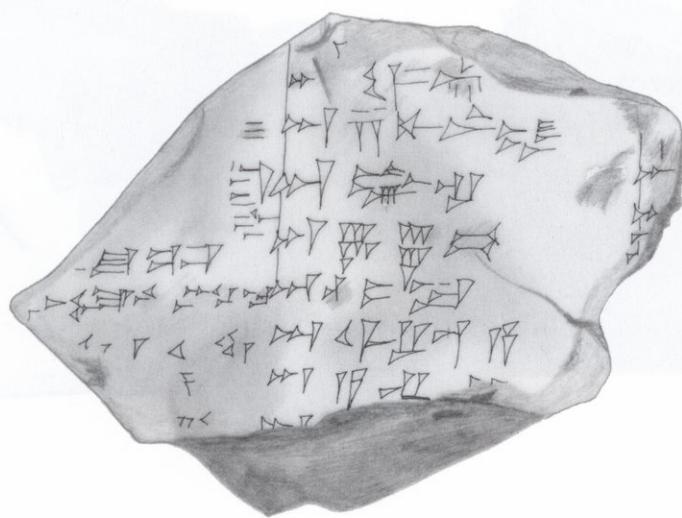


EA 373 = BM 134864

EA 374 — A list of divine names

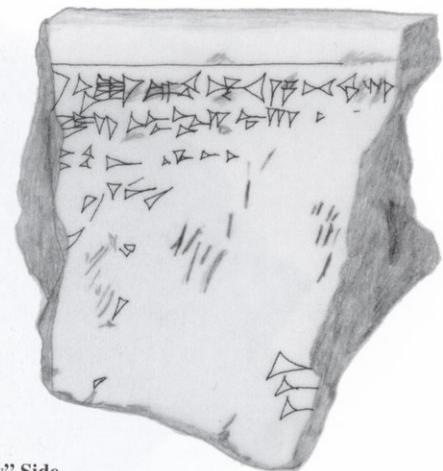


EA 374 = BM 134863 — Side A

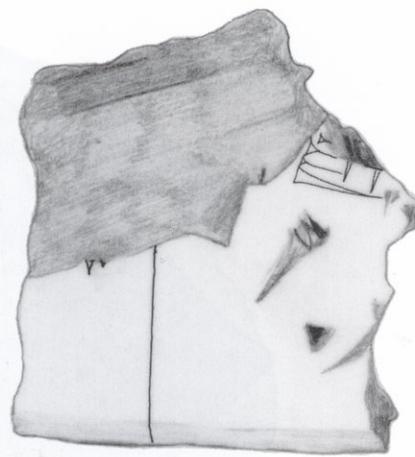
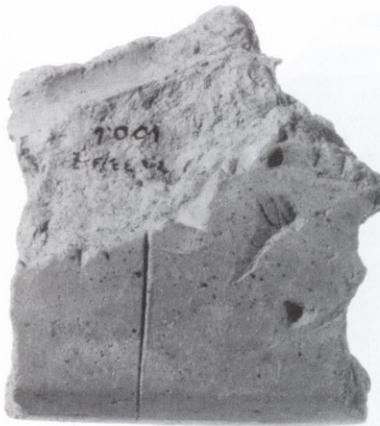


Side B

EA 375 — A fragment of the *śar tamhāri* epic



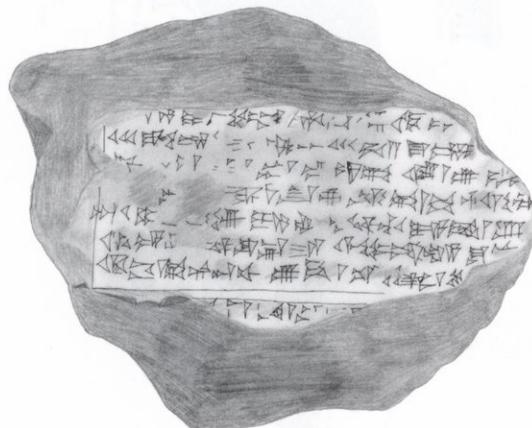
“Literary” Side



Other Side

EA 375 = BM 134866

EA 376 — A fragment of a literary text



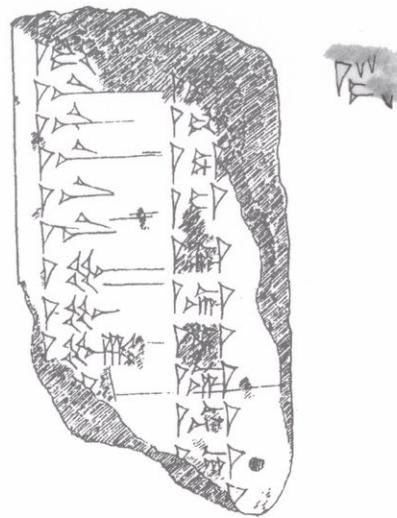
EA 376 = BM 134865

EA 377 — An exercise



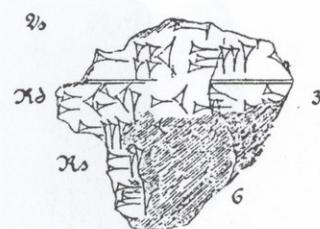
EA 377 = BM 134871

EA 379 — A fragment of an S<sup>a</sup> signlist



EA 379 = Egyptian Museum 48397, SR 12224  
Copy: Schroeder, VS 12, 190

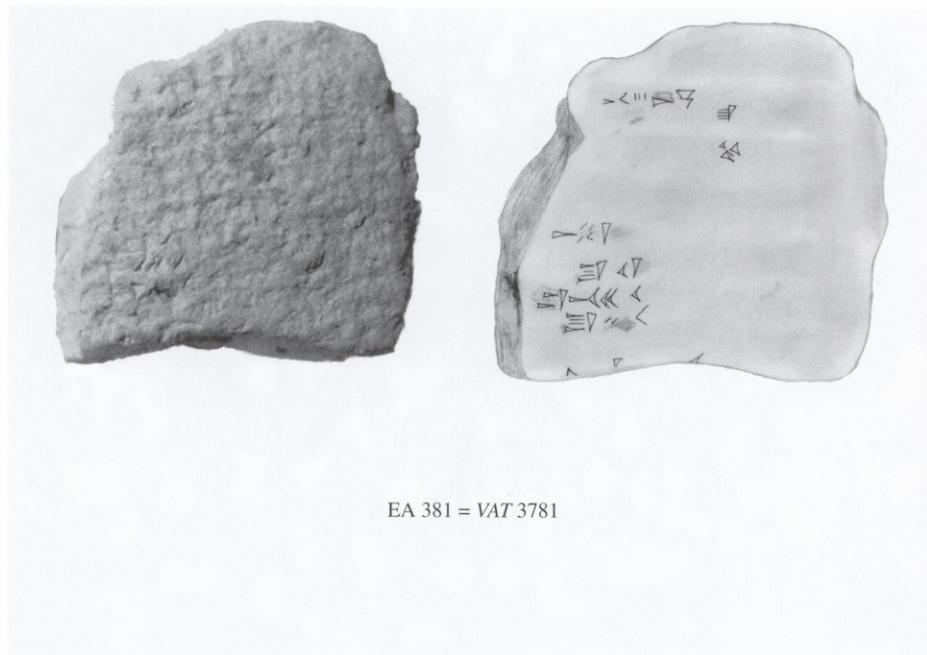
EA 361 — A letter fragment (join with EA 56)



EA 361 = VAT 3780  
Copy: Schroeder, *OLZ* 20 (1917), 106

L

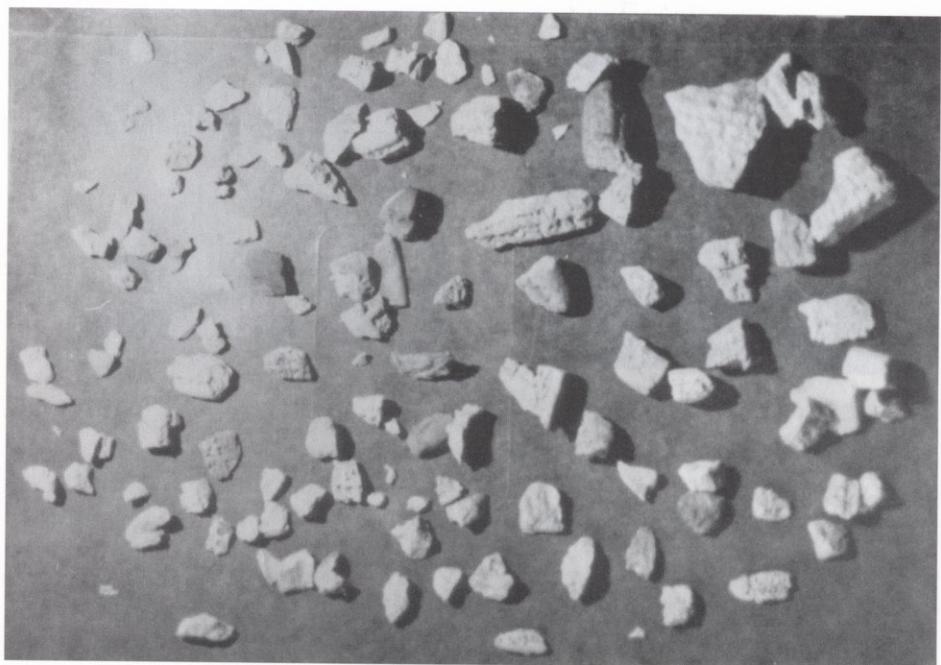
EA 381 — A letter fragment



EA 381 = VAT 3781

LI

EA 382 — A collective number



EA 382 = VAT 8525







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